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SENSUOUS FESTIVAL:

What Can the Experiential Reveal
About the Role of Difference in
Carnival?

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R de Matas

PhD 2014

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Carnival?

Réa de Matas

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements of the Manchester
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of Doctor of Philosophy

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DECLARATION

I certify that the thesis I have submitted for examination for the PhD degree of the Manchester Metropolitan University, Faculty of Art & Design, MIRIAD, is my own. The work of others where referenced has been appropriately credited.

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'rdm'.

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Masqueraders at the, Nottingham carnival, UK, 2012

"If you strike a thorn or rose, Keep a-goin! If it hails or if it snows, Keep a-goin! 'Taint no use to sit an' whine When the fish ain't on your line; Bait your hook an' keep a-tryin'— Keep a-goin!" (Frank Lebby Stanton, 1857 – 1927 cited in Gardner, 1995, p. 134).

ABSTRACT

This research takes the sensory turn in academia and applies it to carnival studies in order to offer a “third way of learning” about carnival (O’Neal, 2001, p. 18). I argue that not enough emphasis has yet been placed on the sensory dimensions of carnival, and that the senses, and bodily experience, can help us understand the role of *difference* in carnival. I define difference as the various and sometimes contested ways in which people experience, sense, reproduce, represent, and understand carnival culture. With this in mind I examine the variety of positions adopted by people within the festival as a result of difference. Although in considering the role of the senses in carnival, I recognise the importance of language, I suggest that language is “just one of the ways we experience and represent the world” (Drewal and Mason, 2003, p. 333). My original contribution to this field lies in my examination of the experiential and of the senses, and how these might cast some light on the concepts of difference and positionality.

Together with a reflexive approach this thesis uses autoethnography as it will provide an opportunity for me to explore my own personal experiences, weaving together the personal and the culture being studied, a way of bringing “multiple layers of consciousness” to the research (Ellis, 2004, p. 37). Thus I aim to gain an understanding of people and culture through the process of self-exploration, because autoethnography enables the researcher to use self “to get culture” (Pelias, 2003, p. 372).

This research looks at difference at the level of individual experience, a level often unaddressed in social science orientated studies of carnival. I draw from a variety of disciplinary fields (for example psychology, anthropology, performance studies, dance and fashion studies), to shed light on the links between the “partially masked” aspects of carnivalist behaviours, dress and the body, and people’s impulses to dance, celebrate, express and share (Stern, 1998, p. 141). Some of the key theories I use to support my

argument are: Paul Stoller's (1997) "sensuous scholarship" or sense phenomenology; Maurice Merleau-Ponty's (1962) phenomenology of perception; the function of the body as offering experience from an embodied position (Barbaras, 2001); Pierre Bourdieu's (1990) habitus and the importance of cultural bodily knowledge; Daniel Stern's (1977, 1995, 1998) psychological theory of attunement, which is concerned with bonding between infant and mother and which I use to understand bonding and harmonising in a cultural context; Stuart Hall's (1992) positionality, which is used as a means of understanding the different ways in which people interpret information; Gernot Böhme's (1993, 2013) theory of atmospheres, and Elizabeth Hallam and Tim Ingold (2007) and Edward Bruner's (1993 cited in Hallam and Ingold, 2007, p. 2) writings on the improvisatory nature of creativity.

This thesis draws attention to how carnival is represented both by those who take part in it and those who study it. It examines the varying claims that research respondents make about carnival, why they interpret it in the way they do, and whether carnival is a means of empowerment or disempowerment. It examines carnivalists' experiences of the Caribbean diasporic carnival in the United Kingdom (UK), from pre- to post-carnival. It considers how ideas of unity might be susceptible to change: either giving way to different concepts or taking on different meanings in a UK context. I consider how marginalised carnivalists confront, challenge, and embody resistance through craft production, which acts, in UK carnival, as a counter-hegemonic response to contestation in the realm of the carnival. In addition I analyse the relationship between culture and hegemony with regards to the cultural politics involved in funding ethnic events, demonstrating the importance of the production and promotion of ideas, and how the ideas of the ruling class have been used to control and manipulate both the masses (who enjoy carnival) as well as carnivalists (who remake¹ it).

¹ I use the term *remake* because Caribbean diasporic carnivals are modelled on the Trinidad-style carnival and they are remade differently in diasporic spaces. In

The empirical research on which this thesis is based was conducted in the UK and data was collected through face-to-face semi-structured interviews and informal discussions with fifteen carnivalists, as well as eighty face-to-face informal discussions with spectators/participants and revellers at carnival events and at mas' camps, and with members of a steel pan band. Interviews and discussions took place in different locations in the UK: as part of the 2012 Carnival Tour I visited ten carnivals and travelled from south-east England to the Midlands, and on to the north of England. Respondents in the study were aged between 25 and 90 years old. My research also gathered information through participant-observation at a pan yard and at mas' camps² in south-east England, in order "to have a nuanced understanding of the world" from the perspective of the carnivalists "being studied" (Yanow and Schwartz-Shea, 2013, p. 196).

The thesis begins with a literature review and a comparative study of Trinidad and UK carnivals, highlighting the ideas which I argue have been imposed on carnival by "people in position" that "assert their visions" of carnival (Green and Scher, 2007, p. 9). Consequently, I examine the varying ways in which carnival has been assigned, framed and interpreted. The literature review highlights that dominant meanings about carnival have been constructed mainly in the fields of history, politics and scholarly discourse. I then consider individual experiences, and look at how carnival is adapted, adopted and contested by individuals, focusing on the ways in which people become attuned to carnival, and exploring how the carnival experience is able to impose its unique stamp on people. Moreover, I look at how carnival can, in return, offer people the opportunity to put their own stamp or ideology on carnival. Finally, I look at contestation in carnival, highlighting that the festival is not 'freely free', despite the fact that carnivalists maintain that they are free to parade through the streets (Schechner, 2004, p. 5). Their

chapter five of this thesis I explain the dilemmas carnivalists face when they attempt to replicate the Trinidad-style carnival in diasporic spaces.

² *Mas' camps are an integral part of carnival it is where mas' is made, sold, and bands are organised. It is also a place of learning and teaching and community participation.*

³ *In 'The Anthropology of Music' Alan Merriam (1964) describes syncretism as*

experiences reveal that whilst they are attuned to ideals of liberation, within carnival's varying forms of cultural expression, carnivalists experience conflict, constraint and dependency: the very opposite of freedom as it is presented in various discourses.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 OVERVIEW

In this chapter, I outline my original contribution to the field of carnival studies and address the aims and objectives of this research. I also state the main theories and debates that are pertinent to this study. I explain my motivations for conducting this research and how I situate myself in the study. I describe the people being studied and define the terms used to describe them, and I describe how they are experiencing place and negotiating space. I address the relevance of a comparative study to contemporary carnival research, explaining that in this thesis carnival is approached as a globalised form. I explain in detail my use of Daniel Stern's (1977, 1995, 1998) attunement and misattunement theory and how it is relevant in understanding carnivalists' behaviours: how carnivalists are attuning to carnival and coping with periods of misattunement. I describe the use of the word 'creativity' and what it means in the context of this study of carnival. Finally, I provide an outline of the chapters discussed in this thesis.

1.2 CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE: THE EXPERIENTIAL

This thesis presents the outcomes of my research into the sensory dimension of people's experiential knowledge of carnival. Significant to the study is the exploration of concepts of unity, belonging, community and identity-formation in relation to people's experiences of carnival, some of which may be closely linked to the way carnival is funded, promoted or marketed. The research has sought to understand the varying meanings or interpretations that have been assigned to carnival by those who have a part

in it, and to explore how those meanings may differ, depending on the carnival's location, culture, the people involved in it, or their causes.

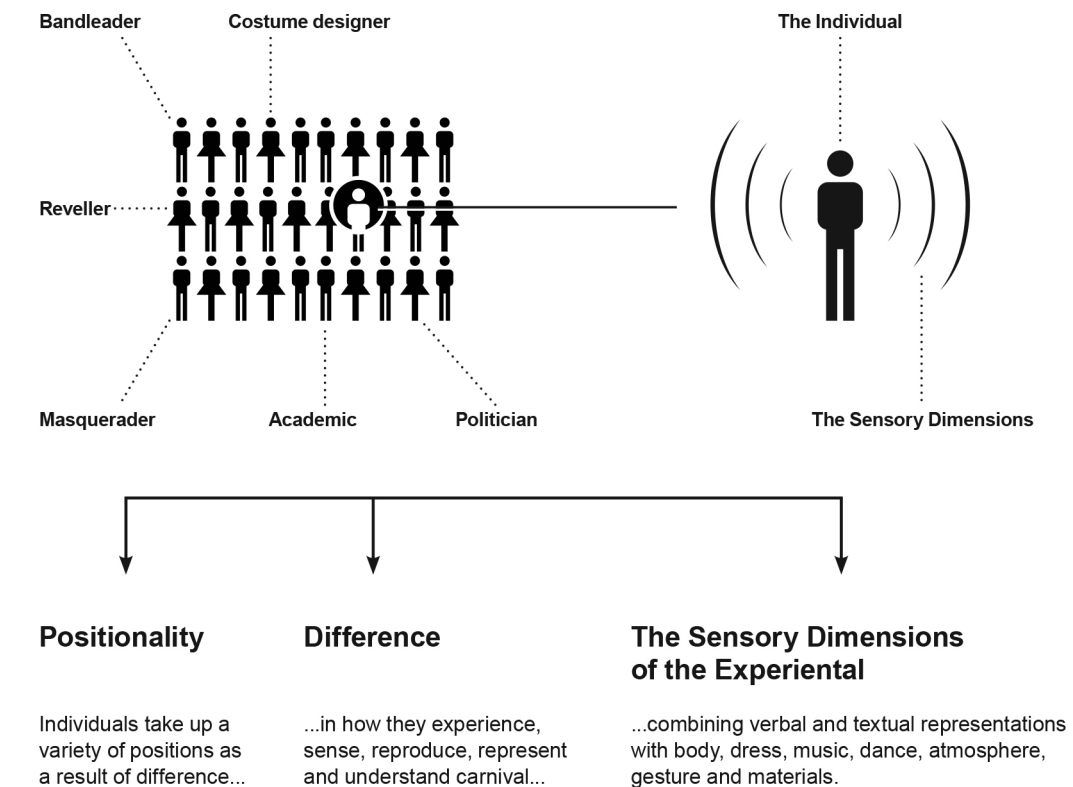


Diagram 1

Main Argument

The main arguments (see Diagram 1) I advance in this thesis are as follows:

- That the sensory dimensions of experiential knowledge, particularly bodily experience, can help us understand the role of difference in carnival, through the various ways in which people experience and understand carnival. I will demonstrate that carnivalists are attuning to carnival and absorbing it through their senses as they go about their everyday lives, and as they work to remake carnival and engage in festive performances.

- Esiaba Irobi (2007) emphasises the importance of bodily experience and compares West African festival theatre with African diasporic carnival, Irobi argues against Paul Gilroy's (1993) perspective concerning African forms in the "New World", suggesting that they have been "transformed, syncretized, or creolized in the African diaspora" (Irobi, 2007, p. 896). He contends that the "body has a memory and can be a site for resistance through performance" and that carnival "...illustrates that transcendence, the word most associated with phenomenology, in the Western academy, is more easily achievable as a bodily and performative experience than an intellectual or logocentric engagement" (Irobi, 2007, p. 896). While this thesis does consider speech, it considers it within the context of the sensory and experiential aspects of carnival, following Irobi's view that in order to provide a deeper examination of the bodily experience involved in carnival, one must not rely solely on scholarly discourse.

- Trinidad carnival can be understood as hegemonic and the UK carnival as broadly counter-hegemonic. For example, in Trinidad, carnival is a vehicle for nationalist identities and in the UK it is part of what Cecil Gutzmore calls "threatening culture" (Gutzmore, 1993, p. 370). Keith Nurse (1999) suggests that carnival employs an "[a]esthetic of resistance" that challenges "hegemonic modes of representation", which in turn "acts as a counter-hegemonic tradition for the contestation and conflicts embodied in constructions of class, nation, "race", gender, sexuality and ethnicity" (p. 663).

This research differs from earlier studies of carnival because the sensory turn in academia has not previously been applied to carnival. Thus, for example, while hegemony has been analysed in terms of carnival cultural politics, I seek to understand how hegemony can work through the senses and through perception, as seems to be the case in Trinidad carnival.

1.3 AIM, OBJECTIVES, THEORIES AND DEBATES SIGNIFICANT TO THE RESEARCH

The aim of this research is to investigate what the experiential can reveal about the role of difference in carnival on a tacit or embodied level. The purpose is to identify and describe the varying positions, experiences and the construction of ideological perspectives that inform the creativity, aesthetics and counter-hegemonic responses associated with carnival, by focusing on the unarticulated aspects of carnival, particularly those associated with the body and with sensory experience (aspects which are fundamental to carnival).

My objectives in setting out on this research journey were to:

- examine mas' so as to understand people's experiences of, and the meanings of, mas' camps.
- examine how people's way of shaping and being shaped by carnival influences how they feel and what they understand about carnival.
- critically examine discourses about the liberatory dimensions of carnival.
- examine carnival's varying forms of cultural expression and its promotion of different sensory experiences.

Key questions that became apparent, based on the work undertaken, were:

- how do people make meaning based on the way carnival is framed by, for example, "people in position" (Green and Scher, 2007, p. 9).
- what effect do dominant voices and ideology have on participants in the study?
- how is carnival used with regards to the discourse around multiculturalism?
- are there parallels between Trinidad carnival and UK carnival?

In identifying key debates around some of the concepts studied in this thesis, and to frame the argument I myself advance, I have made particular use of the following theories (see Diagram 2): Paul Stoller's (1997) "sensuous scholarship" or sense phenomenology; the concept of absorbing carnival through the senses advocated by Henry John Drewal and John Mason (1997), C. Nadia Seremetakis (1996), Sarah Pink (2009), and Maurice Merleau-Ponty's (1962) phenomenology of perception; the function of the body as offering experience from an embodied position (Barbaras, 2001, p. 175); and Pierre Bourdieu's (1990, p. 73) habitus and the importance of cultural bodily knowledge. In seeking to understand and interpret carnivalists' behaviours, I have been influenced by Daniel Stern's (1977, 1995, 1998) psychological theory of attunement and misattunement. I have used Stuart Hall's (1992) positionality as a means of understanding the different ways people interpret information. Gernot Böhme's (1993, 2013) theory of atmospheres, which theorises the relationship between environmental qualities and human states, has also been important, as has Elizabeth Hallam and Tim Ingold's (2007, p. 2) and Edward Bruner's (1993 cited in Hallam and Ingold, 2007, p. 2) writings on the improvisatory nature of creativity.

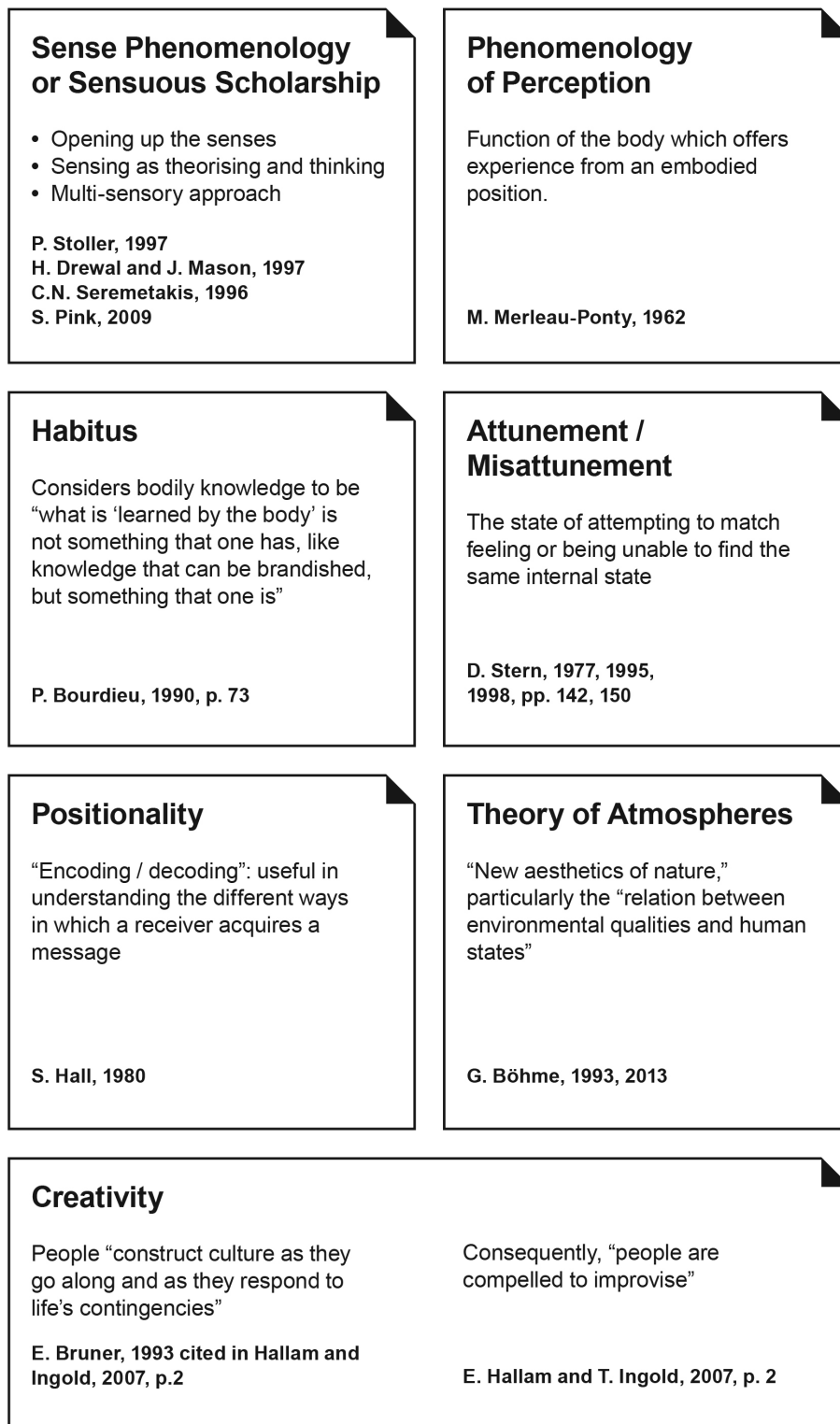


Diagram 2

Main Theories Referred to in this Thesis

Reviewing this literature has enabled me to identify debates that are significant to my subject, that have assisted me in defining the role of my research and in establishing my original contribution to the field of carnival studies. Important debates and areas of analysis I have identified include:

- Lyndon Phillip's (2007) study of syncretic³ features demonstrates that the carnival creates a space for expressive culture that cuts across ideas of nationality and ethnicity, therefore constructing a new expressive culture that is assembled through the UK experience. Paul Gilroy emphasises the importance of exploring expressive culture outside of the realms of music. Carnival provides one such area to explore. Within carnival one can explore a new expressive culture that is assembled through the UK experience, and is neither wholly Trinidadian nor European but which is a fusion of both (see pp. 76, 114 - 115).
- Richard Schechner (2004, p. 5) discusses the fact that carnival is never "freely free" and considers that the liberating ideals of carnival have more to do with the "enactment of the most-of-the-time forbidden" (see pp. 94, 95) than with freedom. Schechner highlights that one of functions of Trinidad's carnival is the maintenance of smaller communities. How might these concepts and ideas apply in a UK context, where carnival is funded by the Arts Council's combined arts programme (see pp. 116, 117)? This will be discussed further in Chapter Five, *Contestations in UK Carnival* (see p. 294).
- Garth Green & Philip Scher (2007, p. 9), writing about "minimized alternative interpretations", emphasise the contours of carnival discourse. For example, in this literature review I discuss Eric

³ In 'The Anthropology of Music' Alan Merriam (1964) describes syncretism as "specifically that process through which elements of two or more cultures are blended together, this involves both changes of value and of form" (p. 314).

Williams' assertion that the state always has power over carnival. In May 2010 the newly appointed Trinidad and Tobago government's reassertion of state power over carnival demonstrated the fact that the attributes of carnival are partly the result of the actors that frame it, and their intentions in doing so (see pp. 89, 90, 91).

- Aisha Khan (2004, p. 23) in her work on "collection of masks" proposes "a strategy of "fitting in" and suggests that this is how Trinidadians cope with difference as a result of the many diverse cultural practices (inherited through a history of slavery) that fluidly move into one another in the Trinidadian culture. In beginning this study I hypothesised that coping with difference might take a different form amongst the Caribbean diasporic community in the UK as a means of "fitting in" (see pp. 96, 97, 98).

- Abner Cohen (1993, p. 120), writing on "cultural politics", proposes that "culture and politics" has contributed to the "development and structure" of UK carnival. Cohen uses a structural approach in his research into the Notting Hill Carnival. Although Cohen's discussion of culture and politics in carnival are useful in understanding the cultural politics and structure of carnival and its beginnings, my own thesis argues that research within the field of carnival should take into account people's experiences of carnival by bringing structural and experiential understandings together, as these perspectives may offer a richer understanding of carnival than that arrived at solely by looking through the lens of a structural perspective.

As is already evident, there are varying approaches to the study of carnival (see Diagram 3). Scholars have associated carnival with liberation, with preservation and with resistance (Liverpool, 2001, p. 51; Cudjoe, 2003, pp. 1, 174); as a site for hegemony, suggesting that carnival is not "freely free" (Turner, 1986, p. 314; Munasighe, 2001, pp. 221, 223; Schechner,

2004, p. 5); as a political involvement which focuses on the development of an Afrocentric culture; or as a marketing tool where cultural heritage is used to provide state wealth (Scher, 2010).

Carnival studies, both in relation to Trinidad and to the Caribbean diaspora, are usually centred on concerns of ethnicity, politics, tourism, race, gender and class. This study does not evade these approaches but rather it examines carnival from a different perspective – looking particularly at how dominant ideologies regarding carnival may have an effect on the positions that people take up within the carnival, how cultural values and ideology are embodied, and how people negotiate the remaking of these, often in sensory ways.



Diagram 3

Key Debates and Areas of Analysis

1.4 THE ROLE OF DIFFERENCE IN CARNIVAL CULTURE

In this thesis I refer to difference, in terms of how carnival can be analysed as a heterogeneous experience. I use this notion of difference in contrast to much of the writing about carnival which seems to overlook difference in its sensory and individualised forms. This research takes the view that individual and varied experiences are significant since: "no two people are exactly the same and no two people react exactly the same to the same experience" (Frantz, 2006, p. 103). Thus, a more heterogeneous treatment widens the scope and thinking with respect to carnival studies. The aim here is to highlight the theoretical underpinning of 'difference' and how it has been analysed by diverse disciplines.

This thesis aims to explore difference and positionality in carnival, but it does so by approaching these things in a new way—from the perspective of the senses and the experiential. Within carnival studies there has been some analysis of difference and positionality in relation to experience and representation, and cultural difference (see p. 366). However what has been missed in this work is the question of how this works through, or is challenged by, a focus on the senses.

Stuart Hall (1997) examines theoretical approaches with regard to difference and asks why difference matters (p. 234). He draws on four perspectives: linguistic, dialogic, anthropological, and psychoanalytical. First, regarding the linguistic approach, Hall analyses Ferdinand de Saussure's "use of language as a model of how culture works" (Ibid.). Here, difference is significant to how we create meaning and to the comparisons we make in order to distinguish, for example, "white and black". We can also employ difference in terms of, for example, ethnicity, culture, gender or race (Ibid.). Hall suggests that "'difference' signifies" and "carries a message" (Ibid, p. 235).

The second is the dialogic argument made by Mikhail Bakhtin. Although this argument considers language, it comes from a different school from Halls' linguistic category. Bakhtin's argument focuses on difference in terms of "constructing meaning through a dialogue with the 'Other'" (Ibid.). Here it is through dialogue, together with challenging diverse ideas, that we can begin to gain understanding and make sense of our ideas.

Third, is the anthropological argument made by du Gay, Hall et al., and by Mary Douglas, which suggests that "culture depends on giving things meaning by assigning them to different positions within a classificatory system" (Ibid., p. 236). Consequently, difference is generated through principles of classification: for example, giving meaning to things by allocating each thing to a group. Thus, "difference is fundamental to cultural meaning" (Ibid.).

Fourth is the psychoanalytical argument advanced by Sigmund Freud, which suggests that "the Other is fundamental to the constitution of the self, to us as subjects, and to sexual identity" (Ibid.). In this argument the 'other' is considered to be different from the 'self': this is how we are able to formulate our identities. The psychoanalytical perspective suggests that we are able to distinguish self from other through our childhood. Freud considers this process to have a sexual dimension. Hall discusses the "Oedipian complex", taken from the Greek myth: for example, a boy's identification with his mother. For Freud "at a certain point the boy develops an unconscious erotic attraction to the Mother, but finds the Father barring his way to 'satisfaction'" (Ibid., p. 237).

In this analysis of difference Hall reminds us of the significance of the "question of difference and otherness", as well as considering the ambivalent qualities of difference. He suggests that difference is central to the "production of meaning", as well as the "formation of language and culture". It

is also necessary for “social identities and a subjective sense of self as a sexed subject”, whilst “threatening” it is a “site of danger” and “negative feelings ... towards the ‘Other’” (Ibid., p. 238).

My aim is not to choose one theory over another but to highlight how these four theoretical approaches to difference, convey varying points of analysis, in their focus on categorical forms of knowledge all in some way or another mediated by language, influence the basis from which difference is considered and distinguished in terms of race, identity, or even discerning difference in carnival (Ibid.). While I consider “cognition and verbal information” essential to how we “represent” and “experience” the world (Waskul, 2013, p. 24; Drewal and Mason, 2003, p. 333), in this thesis I also consider the sensory to be an essential element: following the widespread critique of linguistic approaches that resulted in poststructuralist theories, I see the experiencing body as no less important than the study of verbal and textual representations. With this in mind, this thesis emphasises the knowledge and meaning that is produced through “the human body—through its senses and sensations” (Ibid.). My aim is to frame difference in terms of the sensory, whilst considering the carnivalists’ “capacity to live with difference” (Hall, 1993, p. 359). Hall asserts that the “capacity to live with difference” is a significant enquiry “of the twenty-first century” (Ibid., p. 359). This proposal is vital when considering the way in which carnivalists live with difference. For example, carnivalists have lived with difference whilst assimilating into Britain, and in doing so they are nostalgic: trying to remake what they perceive as traditional mas’—that which “cannot be regained” (Ibid.; Green, 2007, p. 65). They are at once experiencing similarities as well as differences as they move in and through carnival culture, because of the festival’s ability to welcome, for example, migrant communities; hence its syncretic character. In terms of the theoretical approaches regarding difference (such as language, dialogue, anthropology and psychoanalytical perspectives), what is relevant here is that these approaches possess commonalities in that they see difference as being significant to making

meaning, making sense of our ideas, or the “production of meaning” (Ibid., p. 238). However, my time in the field has led me to consider that making meaning is not a homogenous exercise, even though carnivalists may have shared experiences. Hence, within carnival culture how carnivalists give meaning to things is dependent on the position they have taken up within the festival. Regarding making meaning and “bodily ways of knowing”, Waskul (2013) asserts that, “unlike the mind” the body “neither necessitates language” nor is it “easily articulated through language”—in essence, the “body has different ways of ‘understanding’”, as well as of “finding and creating meaning” (p. 25).

Difference matters from the perspective of the senses, the experiential, and positionality, as it emphasises that making meaning and knowledge are not “exclusively” a “mental affair” (Ibid.). The senses can also help us to make distinctions about, for example, the Trinidad carnival and the Trinidad-styled carnival that takes place outside of Trinidad, even if our distinctions are not “easily articulated through language” (Ibid.). As suggested by Waskul, “ways of knowing through (and about) our body are multiple, irregular, and often complex”, therefore our “bodily awareness” of things “may be hidden or disappear from consciousness” until our senses are heightened (Ibid.). Thus, visiting numerous carnivals around the world, as well as carnival as a year-long process, intensifies the carnivalists’ senses, enabling them to make distinctions about the festival, the costumes, the music and so on. The festival itself involves embodied knowledge (taste, movement, sound, atmosphere); thus, feelings, emotions or bodily ways of knowing can alert carnivalists to things in specifically sensory ways. With this in mind, the carnivalists’ positions are decided based upon their senses and embodied knowledge, how carnival appears or how it is perceived, as well as based upon their “capacity to live with difference” (Hall, 1993, p. 359).

In this thesis difference is related to the way people are both attuned and misattuned to carnival. The thesis explores how carnivalists are trained

and shaped through everyday processes, as well as through the senses and the body (see p. 39). It considers the “production of meaning”: how people respond to the various experiences they encounter and the relationships they have developed with carnival culture.

1.5 CARNIVAL: BEYOND MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE FESTIVE CULTURE

In this thesis I seek to widen the scope of carnival: I consider that carnival goes beyond the medieval and renaissance folk event by focusing on the senses. I examine how and what people are “incubating, articulating, and expressing” as they remake carnival (Irobi, 2007). In doing so I explore UK Caribbean diasporic carnival, and consider that this contemporary culture includes some aspects of the carnivalesque, which may well engender a space for cultural resistance. I also recognise that although resistance is an undercurrent that is expressed in some aspects of this thesis (see pp. 215, 236, 292) it is not the main focus. This thesis focuses on how difference is manifested, which is something that has not been adequately explained by current writing about carnival.

Considered a leading literary theorist, Bakhtin’s work is significant in relation to the subject of political resistance. In this section I will examine how Bakhtin’s theories form a body of thought that is significant to carnival studies. Inspired by Francois Rebelais’ vulgar humour in his sixteenth century novels, Bakhtinian ideas might help to shed some light on festive culture and celebration; the duality of the everyday versus seasonal change; inversion and suspension; and the concept of belonging. I will also consider how this thesis goes beyond Bakhtin’s theory in a comparative analysis, exploring his theory of sixteenth century festive culture and the Caribbean diasporic carnival, focusing on how they differ – particularly by examining the cultural and political conditions of both carnivals.

Russian literary critic and philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of medieval and renaissance carnival and laughter was born out of an engagement with the writings of French renaissance writer, humanist, physician and Franciscan monk Francois Rabelais. During the 1930s Bakhtin produced full-length and book-length articles about education and history, including his doctoral thesis, which was examined during the 1940s, and later published in 1965 (Dentith, 2003, p. 6). The French renaissance writer Rabelais' sixteenth century series of five books *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua* was written between 1532 and 1552 (Bakhtin, 1984, pp. 339, 439). In Bakhtin's theory of carnival he aims to convey "the oneness and meaning of folk humour" and "its general ideological, philosophical, and aesthetic essence" (Ibid., p. 58). Bakhtin considers Rabelais' work to offer an appropriate way to "penetrate the very depth of this matter", and deems his work as "concrete material in which folk tradition is collected, concentrated, and artistically rendered at its highest level" (Ibid.).

Francois Rabelais spent his adult life as a Franciscan monk during ca. 1508–1524. By 1530, after receiving "a medical degree at Montpellier", Rabelais "left the monastery forever" (Kinser, 1990, p. 3). After some time he became "a secular priest" but, despite his "learned studies", proceeded to write about a carnival world of the grotesque – ribald songs and language, rude jokes, sexuality, and bodily excess (Ibid.). In spite of the fact that moderation during the sixteenth century was unusual for Rabelais, he sought to emphasise the importance of moderation – even though his writing is generally considered to revel in bodily excess (Ibid.). Bakhtin's analysis of Rabelais' mythical and grotesque medieval carnival world led him to advance the concept of the carnivalesque, which he regarded as an "historical phenomenon and literary approach" (Arya, 2014, p. 55). For Bakhtin, the "carnivalesque body is grotesque"; Bakhtin uses the term "grotesque realism" to describe "a peculiar aesthetic concept of the human body" derived from "Rabelais and traced back to folk culture" (Ibid.; Czachesz, 2012, p. 2). Bakhtin considers the grotesque body as "never finished, never completed, it

is continually built, created and builds and creates another body" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 317). Thus, the grotesque body is "in the act of becoming" (Ibid.). Arguably, the grotesque may be associated with today's contemporary carnival culture: sexual behaviour, such as wining, is part of the carnival, and soca songs advance ideas such as 'make a bacchanal', 'mash up de place', or 'all o we is one' from pre- to post-carnival. Contemporary carnival culture also has a relation to the grotesque body in the way that things become exaggerated and inappropriate behaviour comes to be acceptable. An example of this can be seen in the *jouvay* aspect of carnival, which is considered to be the 'opening' aspect of carnival (see p. 130).

Beyond Bakhtinian theory, Gareth Green argues against the idea that "carnivals everywhere are inherently oppositional" which he explains "has grown through the application" of Bakhtinian folk festivals (Green, 2007, p. 79). He contends that the "Carnival in Trinidad cannot be reduced" to the "oppositional", the "subversive" or the "alternative to the established social order" and should not "simply be characterized as supporting social order" (Ibid.). Green suggests that "like any complex social and cultural practice, there are multiple effects and interpretations of the Carnival" (Ibid.). He sees carnival as a means of supporting "existing relations of domination by providing an opportunity for existing forces of control to re-assert their vision of society and of the place of distinct groups within it" (Ibid.). Thus, the medieval and renaissance festivals function as an inversion and suspension of top-down ordering. The medieval and renaissance carnival, as Bakhtin puts it, is a "two-world condition" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 6). My own experience of both Trinidad and UK carnivals has shown that there is no suspension of top-down ordering; rather, it feels like there is a particular code of behaviour for each of these carnivals, depending on the space and place, as well as the expectations of the community. For example, some UK carnivals seem to have a family atmosphere and the organisers aim to keep the carnival cheerful and family friendly – at least this is what one carnivalist explained to me. He suggested that some carnival organisers inform him in

advance about the kind of crowd they are expecting, and in turn the carnival organisers try to maintain a carnival that is fitting for the kind of spectator/participants they are expecting. However, in some carnivals certain types of behaviour, for example 'dutty wine' seem almost out of place. But, generally, at every carnival I have attended, there are always security people and stewards who work to keep the peace and make sure that the day passes without incident. This is also a good example of how contemporary carnival, although controlled by the state as a means of maintaining power (from the funding that produces the carnival to the parade routes where the bands perform), is a negotiated space, because organisers are still concerned about spectator/participants and the kind of carnival they would like to attend.

De Freitas' estimation of Bakhtin's notion of carnival focuses on Bakhtin's assumption of an "economic-festive separation", and suggests that the "Carnival space" she experienced was "both festive and commercial". De Freitas comments on how "work intersected with pleasure" and "boys... with sacks on their backs competed for discarded redeemable beer bottles of revelers" (De Freitas, 2007, p. 49). Similarly, in the UK carnival street vendors and stalls prepare and sell food, drinks and carnival paraphernalia during the carnival making it "both festive and commercial" (Ibid.).

Although there are some elements of inversion in contemporary carnival, it is difficult to categorise contemporary carnival culture as a festival of total inversion. Consequently, moving beyond Bakhtin's theory this thesis considers bodily ways of knowing and the varying ways in which people pattern themselves around carnival. It examines the individual experience, and demonstrates that much can be learned by using empirical evidence (see p. 69) – thus focusing on how individuals perceive carnival through their own bodies. It also considers carnival as a year-long process and not just one that takes place on carnival days; as such, I consider carnival and the everyday. In the next section I will focus on the flow of the everyday and how this flow enables carnivalists to achieve and remake carnival.

1.6 CARNIVAL'S EVERYDAY FLOW

In Bakhtinian theory medieval and renaissance festivities are considered to be a "two-world condition" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 6). However, Caribbean diasporic carnival, as a year-long process, is not solely about the few days of carnival festivities – there is more to carnival than the event itself. In this section I will consider the flow of the everyday and how it enables carnivalists to achieve and remake carnival, and how their experiences are sensed through their everyday activities.

The everyday is closely associated with the habitual, the day-to-day, or the temporal, where people carry out tasks, "perform[ing]" them "time collectively" (Matos Wunderlich, 2010, p. 45). The considerable quantity of writing that has been published about the everyday highlights varied views: for example, Marx identified the everyday as the "dull compulsion of economic relations", highlighting the labourer in subjugation to the capitalist (Marx, 1954, p. 737). He suggests that as subjugation becomes habitual it "develops a working class" that is conditioned through "education, tradition, habit"; hence the working-class considers this conditioning "as self-evident laws of nature" (Marx, 1954, p. 689). Henri Lefebvre contends that capitalism compels people to follow everyday in the realm of boring repetition. Lefebvre considers everyday life and rhythms "tiring, exhausting and tedious" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 73). Goffman considers everyday actions and focuses on two regions, the front and the back: the front region is unmasked and seen by all actors, thus behaviour can be scrutinised by an audience or society; the back region is hidden from the public and actors improve or perfect their performance as they remain concealed from society. Other writers have contended that in the everyday sometimes the unexpected happens, highlighting that "in the everyday enactment of the world there is always immanent potential for new possibilities of life" (Harrison, 2000, p. 498). This idea corresponds with Band A bandleader's feelings about his everyday routines at the mas' camp: he explained that everyday brings new

challenges. He described how his day was filled with learning, interaction and making, and he had varied tasks, such as managing the band, attending community and council meetings, designing and making costumes for his band as well as other bands inside as well as outside the UK. Band A bandleader stated that at times he feels he has to put on the hat of a businessman in order to find lucrative ways of maintaining not just the band but the running costs of the mas' camp.

My own experience of being in the mas' camp and getting a glimpse of carnivalists' everyday craftwork showed me how continuous training can produce moments of heightened experience and flow. This began with gaining access, getting to know about the carnival network and locating participants – spending as much time with carnivalists as I was allowed to (not overstaying my welcome) in a suspicious community of carnival creatives. My time with carnivalists in both Band A and B was not as consistent as I would have liked, for different reasons. For example, carnivalists sometimes had to visit other mas' camps or attend to a personal matter. Nevertheless, I had to be flexible and I was able to adapt to the ways in which they worked – experiencing how carnival flowed through their lives. I began to pay attention to carnivalists' day-to-day encounters, their behaviours and practices – particularly how they adopted and adapted carnival in their social world. For Henri Lefebvre “(e)verywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time, and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm’ (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 15). Consequently, the mas' camp provided a space for working, socialising and belonging; it was also a space where I was able to experience habitual rhythms of the everyday – the actors and their actions. I considered how carnivalists' craft production or work flowed through pre- to post-carnival – they seemed to sense through the changing seasons. Consequently I was able to gain a better understanding of how the flow of the everyday is central to the remaking of this contemporary culture. My experience of the carnivalists' everyday behaviours and practices leads me to consider two main areas that converge – temporality and

improvisation, between carnival and the everyday – which seems less likely to diverge. Thus, habit provides a platform for improvisation, as carnivalists are not working by a particular set of guidelines – in fact, they seek to set their own guidelines as a way of exploring new or imaginative ideas. As suggested by Paul Harrison in regard to the everyday and the “potential for new possibilities” I consider that carnivalists are responding to life’s eventualities (Harrison, 2000, p. 498). Consequently, the “feeling states” of carnivalists can be interrupted as they become attuned or misattuned to carnival.

The day-to-day activities or goings on in a mas’ camp, though habitual, holds “transgressive, sensual and incandescent qualities” (Gardiner, 2000, p. 208). We are not robots, but through repetition we become skilful: skills become embodied and habitual. For Lefevbre, “dressage” is “an automatism of repetitions” and the flow of the everyday helps carnivalists to achieve success on the day of the carnival day – as the everyday is a creative realm, the habitual processes enables things (Lefevbre, 2004, p. 40). Tim Edensor suggests that “endless” training can produce moments of heightened experience and flow, and highlights the “equestrian pursuit of Dressage”, suggesting that the “trained bodily rhythms merge into transcendent moments of sensation and accomplishment” (Edensor, 2010, p. 15). Edensor suggests that the “endless, repetitive, everyday dressage of rhythmic action” enables “a shared euphoria between horse and rider” (Ibid.) For the carnivalists, habit and rhythm produces an awareness of community, which in turn encompasses moments of transcendence.

1.7 SITUATING THE RESEARCHER

This research was born out of my interest in carnival, Trinidad’s national festival, and the ubiquitous hold it has on Trinidadians. The carnival season “lasts from Christmas to Ash Wednesday” and observance of the

carnival is “traditionally stronger in the more Catholic population of Trinidad” (Forbes-Erickson, 2009, p. 240; Winer, 2009, p. 171). Growing up in Trinidad and Tobago, in my early life carnival in my household was for the most part treated as a teaching tool. I learned about carnival partly from my parents, partly at school and partly through the intense annual promotion. As I got older, my parents introduced my siblings and me to religion, and carnival became less important and was eventually forbidden because of our religious practices. From that point onwards I was in conflict with myself because some religious practices meant we were not allowed to sing soca songs, dance or wine⁴, nor get involved in any school activity that was carnival-related. However, on the island there was no getting away from pre-, post-, or on-the-day carnival promotion and programmes. Everywhere I went I would hear the music and see footage of the carnival. Even in my own neighbourhood there were carnival events, be it fetes or neighbourhood carnival bands. Despite the conflict I experienced, I enjoyed watching the costumes and listening to some of the carnival music. At the time I thought I was experiencing carnival from a distance by not being directly involved. I have since come to realise that it is likely that I was still a part of carnival, but not in the way most people on the island engage in it. From my perspective, as someone who had been inducted into carnival in a sensory way as a child but was now on the edges of the festival, I often wondered if carnival really offered the things it has been promoted as offering: ‘freeing up’ of participants, and ‘unity’ (Schechner, 2004, p. 5). The word ‘free’ from Old English is ‘freo’, meaning “exempt from, not in bondage, acting of one's own will” (Harper, 2001, The Online Etymology Dictionary). I questioned the idea of carnival being ‘free’ because it seemed that people were guided or instructed to celebrate carnival, either by way advertising, or through the influence of political ideology. These ideas and questions were likely based on my position of being barred by my family from having direct involvement in carnival. Living in the UK for more than ten years and experiencing carnival

⁴ *Wine or wining is a type of rhythmic dance moving the hips and waist in a kind of circular movement; it can also be slow and sensuous.*

in the UK, I subsequently became interested in how the Caribbean diaspora in the UK engaged in carnival, what it means to them, and how they take up positions in carnival.

When I commenced my research I discovered that my position of difference was not adequately explained by current writing about carnival. This sense of difference related to the way I was both attuned and misattuned to carnival. I had been trained and shaped aesthetically, through my senses and body, to respond in one way and then, when this response was disallowed by my family circumstances, I could not help but continue to carry this embodied patterning. This placed me in a kind of in-between relationship with regard to the phenomenon of carnival. I knew from my own experience that the senses played a big role in shaping my position in relation to carnival. Discovering that the sensorial landscape of carnival had not been explored adequately by academics, I set out to understand whether, and how, a focus on the experiential and the senses might illuminate something about difference and positionality.

I realise that the foregoing is an admission of potential bias in the study. However, I have dealt with possible biases in this self-reflexive approach, thus considering how my background and experience of Trinidad's carnival might impact on the research. Although auto-ethnography has been criticised as being "self-indulgent writings published under the guise of social research" (Coffey, 1999, p. 155), Carolyn Ellis (2004) asks some critical questions highlighting the importance of self-reflexivity in research: "is ethnography only about the other? Isn't ethnography also relational, about the other and the 'I' of the interaction? Might the researcher also be a subject?" (p. xix). Consequently auto-ethnography is not used here to "validate the self" nor is it used to "[twist] theory to fit the preferences of the self" (Hills, 2003, p. 81). In fact, I have strived to use data triangulation, thus collecting data from different sources (using mainly primary sources), as evidenced in the empirical data: I spoke with carnivalists, attended carnivals in various

locations across the UK, and spoke with revellers and masqueraders; I spent time in a pan yard speaking with members and spent time in mas' camps, speaking with members of the camps and getting involved in craft production; I have also relied on my personal experience. Thus, I have used varied approaches as well as my own personal insight in order to maintain objectivity.

I have observed that I may not be alone in occupying this position of being marginal to carnival. For example, carnival is considered "a national treasure, an especially Afro-Trinidadian affair that perplexes or offends some Hindus, Muslims, and Pentecostal Christians in Trinidad" (Green and Scher, 2007, p. 9). In an article I read in the Trinidad newspapers about a staunch Pentecostal, Harriet Alvarez, she explained that even though her son, soca artist Bunji Garlin (Ian Antonio Alvarez), had won "Soca Monarch" four times, she would not attend his shows: "Nah. I can't be in that crowd, ...never ever" (Martin, 2011, Trinidad and Tobago Express Newspapers Online). Having raised her children in the Pentecostal faith she "had no idea" that her son's love for music "would be spun into a career as a songwriter and performer", despite bringing up her son and his sibling in the church (Ibid.). She explains that her son showed signs of interest in music at the age of 13 and wanted to join the "Kisskidee Karavan—a camp of local entertainers that enjoyed a stint of wild popularity during the early 1990s—she disagreed on religious grounds" and explains "I was totally against it" (Ibid.). I see some similarities between this experience and my own, particularly how religious practices in Bunji Garlin's household were much stronger than carnival, and his situation as a teenager wanting to get involved in non-religious activities, and not being allowed to do so. The experience related in this article demonstrates that individuals take up a variety of positions in relation to carnival, based on how carnival appears to them.

In the context of my own experience, the more obvious study would have been to research those for whom carnival is disallowed. However, I have instead chosen to study those who are a part of carnival. Because I am

not trying to prove as a result of my own ideological upbringing, that carnival is not what it seems – out of a sort of resentment or to prove that my parents ideas about carnival was right – that people who engaged in carnival are not really free. I wanted to discover difference more generally, as it relates to carnival, than to focus narrowly on those who occupy a marginal position in relation to the festival. Which I already had some insight from my own experience. Despite the surface homogeneity projected by the ubiquitous carnival, it seemed to me – partly as a result of my own experience – that there was likely to be great heterogeneity in people's positions, and that differing positions might be related to the senses. This is what I sought to discover.

Many previous studies of carnival have been carried out, in fields such as anthropology, cultural studies, diasporic studies, ethnicity studies, ethnomusicology, sociology and performance studies. Contributions have also come from the field of art, which has been particularly concerned with “carnival as an indigenous art form” that can be used “for the development of a meaningful art curriculum in schools” (Gill, 1979, p. 3). The present study has been made from the perspective of an art and design environment that supports interdisciplinary work. From this position I have been able to examine crossovers between, for example, Caribbean diasporic culture, history, material culture, postcolonialism, sense phenomenology and auto-ethnography (a reflexive form of personal enquiry that is also a way of striking a balance between emotional and personal association and objectivity). All of these varied perspectives were fundamental in gaining a closer view of the subject. James Elkins' (seminar-led scholarly) discourses on PhD degrees highlights Herbert Read's writings on research “through art”, emphasising how art can be used to “learn about fields outside of art”, as well as providing an opportunity to “learn about culture and society” (Elkins, 2012, pp. 119, 120). Although I am not doing a practice-led PhD, as someone who came from an art, craft and design background, I wanted to

understand the practices of carnival in a department where practice is taken seriously.

In this thesis I also chart my own learning of carnival, starting from the position of being an enforced non-carnivalist, as a child. In this way, I bring together personal experience and tacit knowledge. I will discuss the significance of my personal narrative and what I learned and interpreted about carnival later on in this thesis (see pp. 195, 388).

1.8 OVERVIEW: DIASPORIC HISTORY IN BRITAIN

I will now examine the diasporic history in Britain: assessing the movements and the different categories of diaspora, and emphasising the reasons for migration to Britain (for example, labour, trade, imperialism, or religious persecution). Migration has always occurred in Britain. The Romans invaded Britain first “in 55 BC ...under the leadership of Julius Caesar” and later “in AD 43 with [Emperor] Claudius’ ...invasion”, in order for Claudius to “assert ...military authority” (Zoch, 2013, p. 5; Schofield, Carmen and Belford, 2011, p. 57; Alston, 2013, p. 160). At the end of the Roman Empire or “the Post-Roman period AD 410 to c.1000” England experienced another invasion, that by the Germanic tribes the Jutes, Saxons and Angles “somewhere between AD 400 and 600” (Ibid., p. 60). By the middle ages Jewish communities, although small, came to England. It is said that “there were no significant Jewish communities in England until after the Norman Conquest”, which was led by William the Duke of Normandy (Fritze and Robinson, 2002, p. 284).

Another wave of migration to Britain began during the sixteenth century and involved the slave trade. In the 1560s slave trader John Hawkins journeyed to West Africa and the Caribbean. It was at this time that “English involvement in the African slave trade is generally thought to have begun” (Richardson, 2005, p. 67). During the 1640s the increasing “demand for African labour”, as a result of the “sugar Revolution”, resulted in the steady

participation by the English in the African slave trade” (Ibid.). It is estimated that in the late eighteenth century “Africans (both people who were African-born and people of African descent) made up perhaps as much as 2 percent of London's population”; this amounts to approximately 14,000 to 20,000 Africans (Fredericks, 2014, p. 220). During the 1780s “the majority of ...Africans living in England were Black Loyalists who had settled in Britain ...discharge[d] after the American Revolutionary War” (Ibid.). Other Africans living in Britain at the time came “as sailors or students or were personal slaves, accompanying their West Indian masters” (Ibid.). By 1807 the Abolition Act made it illegal for British subjects to import slaves (Black, 2002, p. 151).

In 1290 Jews were expelled from England but “by 1734, there were 6,000 Jews living in England”. The Jewish population grew throughout the nineteenth century (Karesh and Hurvitz, 2005, p. 138). By the late 1500s other kinds of European migration increased in Britain. For example, in 1572, after the St Bartholomew's Day massacre, French Protestants or Huguenots fled to England and “settled throughout the south east” of the country (Panayi, 2014, p. 17). During the seventeenth century the Huguenots fled to Britain again and it is estimated that 50,000 migrants sought refuge “adding 1% to the country's 5m[illion] population” (Flensted, Sibbersen, and Toft, 2008, p. 132). German refugees, so-called ‘Poor Palatines’, migrated to England in 1709. It is estimated that 14,000 ‘Palatines’ left their homes as a result of the French invasion (Backscheider, 1992, p. 262). In 1831 Poles met with disaster at the hands of the Russian Empire, resulting in Poles migrating to England (Procyk, 2001, p. 166). After the Second World War Europeans were allowed to work in Britain, which was “fearing a labour shortage” (Panayi, 1999, p. 34). It is estimated that 150,000 Polish immigrants “made up one of the first groups to arrive”, notably the “Polish army fleeing German and then Soviet forces” (Ibid.).

According to Panikos Panayi (2014) by the mid-nineteenth century immigration became “a central issue in political and social discourse in

Britain” (p. vii). Panayi, writing about the history of immigration and multicultural racism in Britain starting from the 1800s, explains that following the late 1840s the Irish famine migration to Britain increased, and migration continued to increase “after the arrival of East European Jews from the 1880s” (Ibid., p. vii). Arthur Redford, writing about labour migration, particularly from the first decade of the nineteenth century to the 1850s, observes the lack of reliability concerning statistical data, and explains that “no reliable statistics of migration in England are available earlier than those contained in the census of 1851” (Redford, 1976, p. 10). Redford suggests that the “earlier census reports” provided information concerning “the approximate numbers of the population”, including “rates of increase”; however, he suggests that “information concerning other matters must be regarded as unreliable” (Ibid, p. 10). Thus, in 1851 the British census reports began documenting people’s countries of birth, including a “statistical study of migration in England” (Ibid.).

Other episodes of migration to Britain involved Indians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; Indians “were free to enter the UK” because they were considered “British subjects under colonial rule” (Das, 2011, p. 25). Chinese also migrated to Britain: “the 1860s Sino-British Treaty of Peking allowed” them “to go abroad freely” (Sik Ko, 1990, p. 29). The Chinese population in Britain grew during 1901 to a total of 387, and later, in 1911, to a total of 1,319. In 1921 the population had reached 2,419 (Parssinen, 1983, p. 116). Commonwealth migration allowed people within the Commonwealth “free entry into the UK” with respect to its rules (Anwar, 1998, p. 274). In June of 1948 Britain saw “the start of mass migration” with “the arrival of the Empire Windrush” (Anwar, 1995, p. 274). I will next discuss the Trinidadian perspective during the post-war migration.

1.9 OVERVIEW: THE TRINIDAD DIASPORA IN THE UK

In much writing about transatlantic migration the Trinidad diaspora is

categorised as part of a much larger Caribbean diaspora. In this section I would like to highlight the emergence of the Trinidad diaspora in the UK, through literature, politics and culture. I will discuss Trinidadian scholars, writers, and intellectuals, and their construction of a literary and political community in the UK; the effects of major migration of Trinidadians to the UK that led to a 'brain drain' in their former home; and the Trinidad diaspora's contribution towards constructing UK carnival culture.

The first wave of post-war Trinidad migration to the UK occurred in 1948 (James and Harris, 1993, p. 276). Trinidadians who served in the British army "were encouraged to move to Britain" in order to "assist with the post-war reconstruction" as a result of this "a major flow between Trinidad and Britain" began (Rojek, 2007, p. 193; Leach, 2012, p. 96). However, before the post-war labour migration during the 1930s young people – particularly young men – were encouraged to study abroad "at ...well-established universities" in the hope that they might "bring their knowledge back to help build their country's economy" including "its emerging governmental system" (Leach, 2012, p. 96). Trinidadian C.L.R James, along with other Trinidadians such as Dr. Eric Williams, heeded the encouragement, leaving behind the warmth of the Caribbean, and travelled to England. In order to pursue a literary career James left Trinidad in 1932 and his interest in "Marxist and anti-colonial politics" resulted in him becoming "a leading Marxist theoretician in Europe" (Bogues, 2014, p. 152). His interest in cricket led him to become "a leading cricket correspondent for the Manchester Guardian" (Ibid.). Away from his home in Trinidad, James wrote *World Revolution (1917–1936)* *Minty Alley* and *Black Jacobins*. In 1938 James was considered "a leading figure in radical English political circles" (Ibid.). Along with other anti-colonialists he organised "the most significant anti-colonial groupings in London" (Ibid.).

Former pupil and friend of James, Dr. Eric Williams also travelled to England upon winning a scholarship to Oxford University in 1932. While at Oxford Williams studied history. His thesis was concerned with the

“economic reasons for the abolition of the British slave trade” (Campbell, 1997, p. 56). Both James and Williams took “their knowledge back to help build” Trinidad; however, throughout his career C.L.R. James travelled back and forth to America, Trinidad and the UK, and later spent most of the 1980s in the UK before his death in 1989 (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, pp. 98–99).

James describes his experience of 1930s England compared to the 1950s and suggests that “there were a few black people in London or in the country”, adding that he “only recognised how few there were in the 1930s” as a result of seeing “a whole lot of them in the 1950s” (James, 1984, p. 60). By 1948 the Nationalities Act, which was devised to “admit people from British colonies and former colonies to make up for the domestic shortage of labour during post-war reconstruction” resulted in larger groups of Caribbean migrants, particularly men (Fraser and Brown, 2010, p. 582).

Born in 1932 V.S. Naipaul worked hard at Queen’s Royal College in Trinidad, and in 1950, at the age of eighteen, he won a Government scholarship and began to study at Oxford (Ray, 2002, p. vii). In 1954 Naipaul completed his scholarship at Oxford and opted to continue his writing. He worked at the “catalogue department of the National Portrait Gallery of London”, later acquiring a position at the BBC writing and editing the “Caribbean Voices programme” (Ibid.). He continued in his passion for writing and began publishing from 1955 onwards (Ibid.). For his contribution to literature, he was awarded a knighthood in 1990, and in 1993, as the author of twenty-eight books, received “the David Cohen British Literature Prize” (Cooke, 2013, pp. 99, 100). Naipaul, a Trinidadian writer of Indian ancestry (who considered himself to be a “British writer”) also received the Nobel Prize in Literature (Ibid.). In 1959 Dr. Eric Williams, eager to “reverse” the “brain drain” in Trinidad, sought to encourage Naipaul to work on a book that would “attract talented nationals who had migrated”, and encourage them to “come back and contribute to a new Federation” (Bagoo, 2014, Trinidad and Tobago Newsday Newspapers Online). However, when *The Middle Passage* was published, Williams – perhaps horrified by Naipaul’s scepticism

regarding Trinidad's culture – thereafter was said to have “never publicly” discussed the book (Ibid.). But the state's response to the problems of Trinidad's brain drain, for which the increased migration to the UK and the US was responsible, was to complain about “the loss of West Indian culture and society” and blaming “the siren song of the Western world” (Green, 2007, p. 88).

In 1948, when the SS Empire Windrush docked at Tilbury, two calypsonians disembarked: Lord Beginner and Lord Kitchener (Hall, 2002, *The Guardian*). Before landing, calypsonian Aldwyn Roberts, better known as Lord Kitchener, had sung a song he had composed onboard the ship, entitled ‘London Is the Place for Me’ (Featherstone, 2005 p. 50). His notable composition seemed to “convey[s] the immense optimism” shared “by this initial group of migrants to the colonial metropolis” (Dawson, 2007, p. 1). But after experiencing the harsh realities of Britain Lord Kitchener's 1956 composition ‘My Landlady's Too Rude’ demonstrated the strain of living in his new home (Ramazani, 2007, p. 206). During the “1950s and early 1980s” calypso music was the popular sound of “black Britain” (Hall, 2002, *The Guardian*). Calypso was considered to be a form of nostalgia for those longing to “relive memories of the street marching, the costume floats and steel pan music that dominate Port of Spain” (Ibid.). However, the music brought to Britain by Caribbean migrants was not only composed and performed in Trinidad: in fact, “calypso music about the migration experience” was “composed and performed in Britain” (Ibid.). One such calypsonian composing and performing in Britain was Lord Kitchener, who developed a “highly successful career playing at pubs, dance clubs, cellar bars and semi-legal “bottle parties” of the London and Manchester underground” (Ibid.). However, Kitchener, after his success as a calypsonian in Britain, permanently retreated to Trinidad in 1962 (Ibid.).

Another noteworthy Trinidadian intellectual is Claudia Jones. Jones is characterised as an important figure in organising the first Caribbean newspaper and the first indoor carnival in Britain in 1959 (Schwartz, 2003, p.

16; Boyce-Davis, 2007, p. 168). She contributed towards constructing the UK carnival culture as a way of dealing with the impact of racism. The carnival culture continued to have a strong influence on Caribbean culture and experience in Britain (see p. 102).

1.10 CULTURAL IDENTITY AND THE UK CARIBBEAN DIASPORAS: EXPERIENCING PLACE, NEGOTIATING SPACE

In the literature review (see p. 114) I note that diasporas are brought and held together by their “shared customs”, and their identities are continually “producing and reproducing themselves anew” (Manning, 2005, p. 160; Hall, 1990, p. 235). Some definitions of the terms I use in this thesis follow. The term Caribbean diaspora is used to refer to “peoples of the Caribbean abroad” who are “usefully characterized as a cultural diaspora” (Cohen, 1997, p. x). The term ‘carnivalist’ used in this thesis refers to members of the UK Caribbean diaspora and their British-born offspring who are involved in different areas of carnival.

Stuart Hall's critical writing on cultural identity and diaspora is analysed in this section in order to demonstrate the complexities of identity and how participants in this study choose to represent or identify themselves. The empirical evidence also demonstrates how people position themselves within carnival. For example, a carnivalist explained that she sees herself both as 'Vincy' and black British, explaining that she was born in the UK and one parent is British-born while the other is St Vincentian. This woman described her equal passion for designing, making and promoting her own small UK and 'Vincy' band. It seemed as though the participant had defined her identity based on her individual experience; hence her position highlights the “immense diversity and differentiation of the historical and cultural experience of black subjects” (Hall, 1989, p. 225). Consequently, the carnivalist is also sensing through their identity; therefore the process of becoming (see p. 74) is not just concerned with mas' but combines the

concept of identity.

Hall analyses Jacques Derrida's argument about difference (meaning differ) and *différance* (meaning to defer) and applies Derrida's *différance* to identity, affirming that identity is continuously shifting. By applying Derrida's play on words to identity politics or "black cultural politics" Hall focuses on the changes he had experienced in black British and Caribbean culture (Ibid., p. 223). He does not consider these changes to be "definitive" and suggests two "clearly discernible phases" (Ibid.). Hall proposes that "one is in the past" and the other or "the new" is regarded as the "beginning", and the two are considered "neatly counterposed to one another" (Ibid.). Thus, Hall points to the relationship between both phases, categorising them as being "of the same movement" whilst simultaneously merging and overlapping with each other. The origins of the two phases are the same "both are framed by the same historical conjuncture" and "rooted in the politics of anti-racism and the post-war black experience in Britain" (Ibid.) Hall also points out the difference between these two phases by distinguishing between "two different 'moments'", highlighting that the first "moment" is "grounded in a particular political and cultural analysis (Ibid.). The term 'black' was used as a way of uniting people of different ethnicities, or as Hall suggests, "referencing the common experience of racism and marginalisation in Britain" (Ibid.). Thus, unity takes the place of difference. Hall argues that "the black experience" was both a "singular and unifying framework" that brought together people of different ethnicities and cultural differences" possessing a "“hegemonic”" influence "over ethnic/racial identities" (Ibid.). The emergence of "new ethnicities" in the second moment, at "the end of the innocent notion of the essential black subject" was concerned with both questioning and challenging the "black" subject commonalities and position. In this thesis diasporic identities are seen as changeable, "never complete", consistently "in process", "and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (Hall, 1990, p. 221).

During my fieldwork I noticed that many of the Caribbean emigrants

and their British-born offspring held key roles within carnival, such as mas' and pan bandleaders or organisers. With this in mind, the research seeks to understand the lived experiences of carnival participants from the Caribbean diaspora, and how they make sense of carnival in the cultural and social location of the UK. I examine how the Caribbean diaspora negotiates space, and experience place, through their carnival networks, particularly within the context of cultural politics (see pp. 104, 114). Geographer Jon Anderson (2009) has highlighted the relationship between culture and geography, remarking that "how individuals and groups use their power to take and make a place is the very stuff of cultural geography" (p. 63). Thus, I focus on how the Caribbean diaspora asserts their year-round carnival practices and processes in the places where they live. Anderson analyses the tensions that arise in taking and making 'place' and draws attention to Bakhtin's '*carnavalesque*' in the context of resistance, suggesting that "dominating power *licenses* dissent", and hence "[turns] a blind eye to some deviancy, in order that control is maintained in the long term" (Ibid.). The UK diasporic carnival can be seen as resistance, which is present as an undercurrent in this thesis, the UK diasporic carnival can be seen as a means of resistance as well as resilience. However, Richard Schechner, in his paper *Carnival theory after Bakhtin* (2004), reminds us of the difference between the contemporary carnival and Bakhtin's medieval renaissance carnival, which stems from cultural and political conditions that are different from those of, for example, the Trinidad carnival. Schechner, putting Bakhtin's carnival into perspective, adds, "Bakhtin's notions of carnival are founded on a settled, stratified society – a non-democratic society", thus "authority can be suspended or set aside temporarily" (Schechner, 2004, p. 3). Consequently, Bakhtin's appraisal of the carnival depicted a time of freedom from work, conventional behaviour and rules.

Later in this thesis (see pp. 53, 138) I explore the cultural politics of UK carnival and note some parallels that arise between both the UK and the

Trinidad carnival, and certain contrasts. The next sub-section sets out why I considered it relevant to examine Trinidad's carnival when my research and empirical data was gathered in the UK.

1.11 CARNIVAL: GLOBALISED CULTURAL FORM

Although the fieldwork for this thesis was carried out in the UK, the research makes some comparison of Trinidad and UK carnival, and the literature review covers both locations. Comparisons between the two carnivals have been explicitly noted and written about before, for example Philip Scher "focuses both on the rise of Trinidadian-style Carnival in Brooklyn, New York, and on Carnival in Trinidad" (Scher, 2003, p. x). Scher examines the "Trinidad "transnation"" which he considers:

employs ...the "reproductive imagination" to present itself as a collectivity with a set of identifiable cultural traits that are associated with what is taken to be the "national culture" of the homeland, ...is exemplified in and by the form of the nation state. (Ibid.)

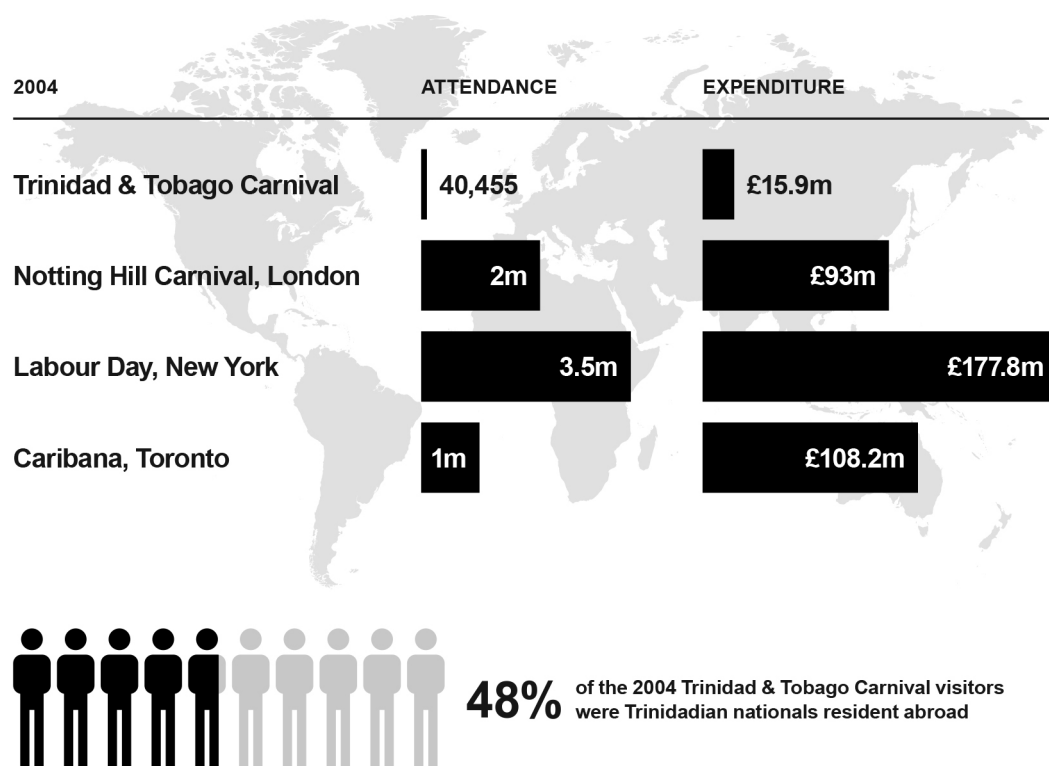


Diagram 4

Carnival: Globalised Cultural Form

Statistical information taken from: (Nurse, 2010, p. 81; Tull, 2005, Academia.edu Online)

Scher notes that for “the transnation to exist requires not only an act of imagination” but it includes “active ongoing interaction, reciprocity and negotiation” (Ibid.). Other comparisons highlight similarities between Bakhtinian and Trinidad carnival (Scher, 2007, p. 81), or historical and compare Trinidad carnival to other Caribbean carnivals (Cowley, 1998, p. 108).

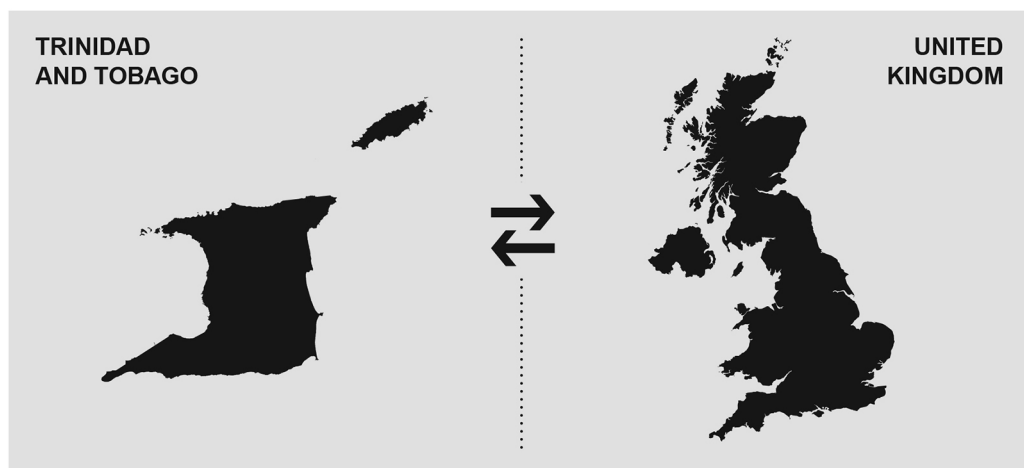
It is important to examine both Trinidad and UK carnivals, because carnival has become a globalised cultural form (see Diagram 4 and 5). Green and Scher (2007) suggest that “throughout the twentieth century,

Trinidadians have migrated to the United Kingdom, throughout the West Indies ...and North America” (p. 11).

DIFFERENCES

In Trinidad and Tobago, carnival is the official state culture but in the UK, it is not.

- In Trinidad, history, politics, race and nationalism helped to construct dominant ideologies about the festival. Carnival, then, becomes a site for hegemony which promotes Afro-Trinidadian culture.
- In the UK, carnival is counter-hegemonic and, therefore it is a space for asserting blackness as well as a place in which community spirit can resist and rebel against what the community interprets as injustices.
- In Trinidad, the government “pours” large sums of money “into calypso, fetes, mas’ pan and wine and jam” because of the profits and returns derived from the different events, costume sales, food and drink, and accommodation.
- In the UK, funding for UK carnival is not the only concern of funding bodies, and carnival falls within the category of “minority and ethnic arts”. In contrast, UK “contemporary arts” receive more funding and support.



PARALLELS

Marginalisation seems to exist in both UK and Trinidad carnival, but it tends to work differently in each country.

- In Trinidad, the governing elite use carnival as a means of promoting unity, nationalism and party politics, but party politics become part of broader debates concerning race and ethnicity.
- In the UK, although Notting Hill Carnival is a major event and gains yearly funding, it is marketed and supported in relation to tourism, and is considered by some to be a very important aspect of promoting multiculturalism in the UK.

It is clear that in both Trinidad and the UK, carnival can be assigned or framed in a variety of commercial, cultural and political ways, and as such carnival may be considered an artefact that can be used and manipulated.

Diagram 5

Example of Differences and Parallels Between Trinidad and UK Carnivals,
Text taken from: Literature Review Summary (see pages 137 -138)

They explain that Trinidadians moved to the United States in the 1920s, and then again in the 1960s in far greater numbers; they also note the significant migration to Great Britain “following World War II” (Ibid.). As a result of migration they suggest that “Trinidadian immigrants [re]created carnivals in New York and Notting Hill” and “mas’ designers would follow them in what eventually became a year-round circuit of carnivals” (Ibid.). During fieldwork, I observed carnivalists engaging in this “year-round circuit of carnivals” and how they attempted to utilise their experiences by remaking them in the UK. Some debates emphasise “the globalization of Trinidad Carnival is directly related to the spread and expansion of a Caribbean diaspora in many parts of the world” (Nurse, 2004, p. 246). This highlights the strength of feeling Trinidadians have towards their carnival: they take it with them wherever they go. My literature review also highlighted that carnival is syncretic, a blending of cultural art forms within the community that takes part in it (Phillip, 2010, p. 83). Green and Scher explain that “to properly understand Caribbean Carnivals, both Trinidad and around the world, it is necessary to place them within the broader context of cultural politics” (Green and Scher, 2007, p. 2). They advise that “key to such a project is understanding the ways local and global histories are interwoven” (Ibid.). Their research has identified that carnivalists deeply connected to the carnival in Trinidad and those in England (see Photographs 1, 2 and 3), the United States, Canada, and other parts of the Caribbean, constitute aspects of the processes of cultural change in the “metropole” and in the “periphery” (Green and Scher, 2007, p. 2). I am in agreement with Green and Scher’s assessment, that, “to prioritise either of these locations is to lose sight of the active and ongoing relationships that the so-called core and peripheral locations have had for centuries” (Ibid.).



Photograph 1 – King and Queen carnival competition, Trinidad and Tobago. I met Geraldo Vieira for the first time in August 2007. He had a long career in designing and making costumes spanning decades. He allowed me to take many photographs of his personal photographic archive and gave his consent for me to use them in my thesis. Nine of which I have used in the introduction section of this thesis. He did not offer much detail about all the photographs, but I use them in this thesis to give the reader an idea of Trinidad carnival. Geraldo Vieira passed away 21 September, 2012.

Photograph provided by Geraldo Vieira



Photograph 2 – Carnival time in Trinidad

Photograph provided by Geraldo Vieira



Photograph 3 – Masqueraders wearing and waving Trinidad and Tobago national flag, Nottingham carnival, UK, 2012

1.12 ATTUNEMENT AND MISATTUNEMENT IN CARNIVAL

The psychologist Daniel Stern (1995) has developed the concept of ‘affect attunement’, an observational method for evaluating mother and infant feeling states (p. 73). According to collinsdictionary.com attunement “is an attuning or act of making harmonious.” Daniel Stern’s (1995) research into infancy focuses on mother-infant affect attunement. Stern suggests “patterns of attachment established by parent and infant are proving to be one of the best predictors of the quality of the parent-infant relationship” (Stern, 1995, p. 73). He provides an example of ‘vitality affect’, which he considers to be a description for the “function of permitting affect attunement” (Stern, 1977, p. 14). Stern explains that, “an infant, in a burst of excitement, lets out “AaaaaAaaaaah”, in which there is a crescendo then a decrescendo of

intensity. The mother can attune to the infant without faithfully imitating him, by saying “YeeeeEEEEEEeeah” (Ibid.). Stern explains in the following way:

The mother’s vocalisation has the same duration and the same crescendo-decrescendo form, but is a different sound. It is a selective imitation. By doing this the mother lets her infant know that she has shared his experience, especially an affective part. She has increased the intersubjective world that they now share. The experience becomes a “we” experience, not only a “me” experience” (Ibid.).

Stern highlights how, in such a case, the mother senses the infant’s behaviour via vocalisation, capturing the infant’s inner experience and in turn responding to it. But to understand how one senses behaviour by sensing very subtle details, Stern refers to his description of ‘vitality affects’, developed in 1985. He suggests that “metaphors for temporal dynamics ...are more than metaphors” and that “vitality affects” can be applied “far beyond mother-infant intersubjectivity” and “exists in all subjective experience, at all ages, and in all domains and modalities” (Ibid., 1977, p. 14). He notes that “the phenomenon of affect attunement is best shown by examples” and explains that “affect attunement is often embedded in other behaviours” and “relatively pure examples are hard to find” (Ibid., 1998, p. 141). The attunement may be “embedded in other actions and purposes” and as a result is “partially masked” (Ibid., p. 142). Stern further explains his theory of attunement, stating that “affect attunement, ...is the performance of behaviours that express the quality of feeling of a shared affect state without imitating the exact behavioural expression of the inner state” (Ibid., 1998, p. 143). Stern suggests that the characteristics of attunement are “ideal for accomplishing the intersubjective sharing effect” (Ibid.). One characteristic of attunement gives the “impression that a kind of imitation has occurred” (Ibid.). Another is focused on matching, whereby the “channel or modality of expression used by mother to match the infant’s behaviour is different from the channel modality used by the infant” (Ibid.). In two examples of channel

modality, the “intensity level” of the infant’s voice was “matched by the mother’s body movements” (Ibid.). In the second example the infant’s “arm movements are matched by features of the mother’s voice” (Ibid.). Stern explains that “what is being matched is not the other person’s behaviour per se, but rather some aspect of the behaviour that reflects the feeling state” (Ibid., p. 142).

I argue that the empirical data gathered by Stern demonstrates similar characteristics to behaviour I observed during my fieldwork, and that Stern’s theories can illuminate the “feeling states” of carnivalists as they are becoming attuned to carnival. I became particularly interested in the attunement that is “embedded” in carnivalist “actions and purposes” that are consequently “partially masked” (Ibid.). It is important at this point to also note the significance of Paul Stoller’s (1997) “sensuous scholarship”. Stoller also advocates that those wanting to gain a better understanding of culture study the way the senses are used. Taking these ideas together, it became clear to me that a sensory approach to research could help me to understand the “partially masked” aspects of carnivalist behaviours that are less visible pre- and post- carnival (Stern, 1998, p. 141).

According to Stern, misattunement occurs when the “mother incorrectly identified, to some extent, the quality and/or quantity of the infant’s feeling state, or she was unable to find in herself the same internal state” (Ibid., p. 149). Both examples of misattunement are called “true misattunement” (Stern, 1977, p. 150). I found Stern’s theoretical concept of misattunement useful in describing and understanding carnivalists’ behaviours when their “feeling state” is either “incorrectly identified” or during those moments when they are “unable to find ...the same internal state” (Ibid.).

The empirical data in chapter four provides a number of examples of carnivalist attunement experiences, which take place as the carnivalists learn

about carnival: taking in the carnival atmosphere, or making carnival costumes. Attunement also takes place when carnivalists assert additional ways in which to use their embodied carnival knowledge transferring their skills to creative fields outside carnival. In chapter five, the empirical data provides different examples of conflicts or disagreements in carnival, demonstrating some characteristics of misattunement where bonds are not formed.

1.13 CREATIVITY IN CARNIVAL

The term creativity is used in this thesis to describe carnivalists' abilities to reproduce or remake the carnival. Key debates and perspectives concerning creativity have tended to focus either on the improvisatory nature of creativity, or on the idea of creativity as an innovation, in ways that are said to break with the past. Other debates have aligned creativity with originality and appropriateness (Sternberg and Lubart, 1995, p. 11).

Challenging the concept of creativity as novelty or individual talent, anthropologists Elizabeth Hallam and Tim Ingold (2007) take an approach that is closer to that of Edward Bruner who suggests that people “construct culture as they go along and as they respond to life’s contingencies” (Bruner, 1993 cited in Hallam and Ingold, 2007, p. 2). As a result of this, people are “compelled to improvise”, “not because they are operating on the inside of an established body of convention, but because no systems of codes, rules or norms can anticipate every possible circumstance” (Hallam and Ingold 2007, p. 2). Hallam and Ingold propose that “anthropology” is most appropriate for “debates around creativity” (Ibid.). They suggest that it challenges the “polarity between novelty and convention” including the “innovative dynamic of the present and the traditionalism of the past”, which they explain “has long formed such a powerful undercurrent to the discourses of modernity”. (Ibid).

To take one example: during fieldwork I asked a bandleader (Band A bandleader) how he felt about the creative aspects of costume making. He explained that there were no rules and that he could let his imagination go wild, far enough to push boundaries. Lesley Ferris' (2013) interview with a Trinidad-born carnival artist, Clary Salandy, who established her band in 1989 and has designed and made carnival costumes for both Trinidad and UK carnivals (Ibid., p. 125), echoed the bandleader's point about pushing boundaries. Ferris explains that Salandy has imposed "artistic challenges" in an effort "to capture the essence" of carnival and to "push the boundaries of what is possible" (Ibid., p. 130). The article demonstrates some examples of how Salandy sets her own guidelines for her work, developing new guidelines and exploring different design concepts with every band she creates. The article makes clear that Salandy's unique set of guidelines is based on her background in theatre design, which she studied as a young adult in London (Ibid., p. 136). This is just one example of the way carnivalists come from various backgrounds, some learning their skills in the mas' camp and others (such as those I encountered during my fieldwork) coming from engineering or design backgrounds. With this in mind, creativity in carnival operates differently for different players. Much of this difference may also have to do with how carnivalists interpret carnival, or how it appears to them.

Another example of a carnivalist who interprets carnival differently and who sets her own guidelines for, and has her own ideas regarding, her designs, is Trinidadian June Sankar (see Photographs 4 and 5). Sankar, who had no formal training, became a costume designer. She designs and portrays the Dame Lorraine character in carnival competitions. The Dame Lorraine is "a traditional carnival character who originally mocked French plantation wives" (Martin, 2004, p. 286). Sankar's Trinidad carnival band "Belle Dame à la Rue, (Beautiful Ladies on the Street), [which she] designed for Carnival 2009" was developed as a result of her fascination with the Dame Lorraine character (Small, 2008, Trinidad and Tobago Guardian Newspapers Online). Sankar explains how she began designing the

costumes, “the first time I saw a Dame Lorraine costume, I studied it carefully. Then I thought of ways to improve it... I wanted it to be brighter and more stylish,” ...more attractive and pulled together” (Ibid.). Sankar could be said to be “construct[ing] culture” as she moves in and through carnival. She is therefore “respond[ing] to life’s contingencies” (Bruner, 1993 cited in Hallam and Ingold, 2007, p. 2).



Photograph 4 – June Sankar’s Dame Lorraine costume, Trinidad and Tobago Guardian newspapers, 2011

Some carnivalists are concerned about pushing boundaries so far that it may lead to too many changes to costume-making. “Historians of the costumery of carnival” express “with growing dismay, the systematic paring down of an elaborate thematically inspired costume tradition” embracing the ““Rio-styled” Carnival pageantry in which spandex and string bikinis dominate” (Barnes, 2006, p. 85).



Photograph 5 – Example of other Trinidad traditional costumes, (from the left) fancy sailor, fancy Indian, midnight robber, Trinidad and Tobago Newsday newspapers, 2012; Trinidad and Tobago Guardian newspapers, 2013; Trinidad and Tobago Newsday newspapers, 2012

In a conversation between myself and Geraldo Vieira in August 2007, Vieira described his passion for creating “beautiful costumes” (see Photographs 6 - 12) and expressed his feelings for costumes that use little fabric, lack imagination and quality. Vieira explained that some costume designers explore traditional concepts and present them with a 21st century twist, whilst others aim to use a pre-packaged piece that bring about quick financial rewards. I asked him to explain what he meant by pre-packaged and he explained that some designers are importing costume parts from China. He continued, “...it’s not like before when designers made everything from scratch - from start to finish...” (Geraldo Vieira, 6 August, 2007, 4:00pm). Vieira stated that carnival is moving away from the era of beauty and creativity in the mas’ and more towards sex, and claimed that carnival

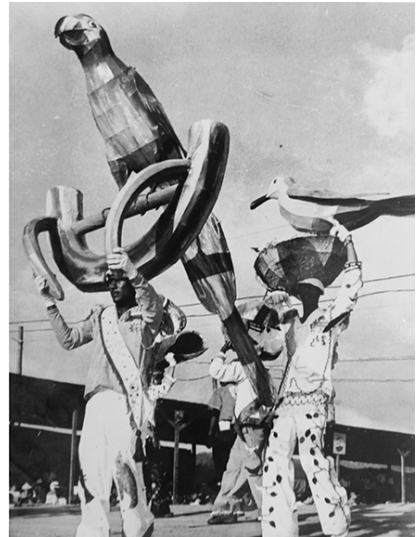
enthusiasts were interested in tiny costumes to play mas'. He explained, "my belief is a costume is supposed to beautify the human body" (Ibid.). These perspectives demonstrate carnival creativity is improvisatory in nature, "because no systems of codes, rules or norms can anticipate every possible circumstance" (Hallam and Ingold, 2007, p. 2).

In chapter five I question how, for example, through their creativity carnivalists might be crafting conflicting views and positions, and what this might tell us about how they use craft production as a way of working through their differences (see pp. 295, 296).



Photograph 6 – Flowers by Geraldo Vieira, 1959

Photograph courtesy Geraldo Vieira



Photograph 7 – Joseph Vieira working on a costume and fancy sailors holding birds, *Photograph courtesy Geraldo Vieira*



Photograph 8 – Early wire-bending work
Photograph courtesy Geraldo Vieira



Photograph 9 – Geraldo Vieira working in his mas' camp

Photograph courtesy Geraldo Vieira



Photograph 10 – Geraldo Vieira working with metal

Photograph courtesy Geraldo Vieira



Photograph 11 – Geraldo Vieira costume fitting

Photograph courtesy Geraldo Vieira



Photograph 12 – Production Team making costumes in Vieira mas' camp

Photograph courtesy by Geraldo Vieira

1.14 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

The following chapters take up, in a variety of ways, the concerns sketched in the previous sub-section. In chapter two, a review of relevant literature, I discuss the range of literature that I have examined and highlight the varying ways carnival has been framed and interpreted. I ask if it is possible to describe people's ways of shaping and being shaped by carnival, based on what they understand, interpret and embody, or in view of how carnival appears to them (see pp. 94, 95). The literature review highlights that carnival has no one fixed and essential meaning, thus different people perceive carnival in different ways (see p. 121).

In chapter three I describe my methodological journey and the challenges and changes that occurred during the research. In particular, I discuss certain methodological limitations with which I was faced, and which ultimately became strengths, offering a rewarding introduction to UK carnival. Analysis of my data, which I discuss in chapters four and five, show that the phenomenological approaches I adopted - for example making costume alongside carnivalists - allowed me to understand the process of absorbing carnival through the senses and how carnival is reproduced in a tacit, embodied form. The experiential nature of this research helped me to understand that craft production offers an opportunity for carnivalists to attune to carnival when they are dealing with conflicts within the carnival that can easily result in misattunement.

In addition to these approaches, the interviews and informal discussions I carried out highlighted some of the passionate views and feelings offered by carnivalists, and provided insight into the influences, interpretations and complexities of carnival that have shaped carnivalists' remaking of carnival. The complexities of carnival, and the varying ways carnival can be used, indicate that it is a mutable form of cultural expression. This mutable form has not until now been examined in relation to the experiential dimension, as a means of identifying how people's meaning-

making experiences are embodied and symbolised in the context of carnival. These experiential meanings have therefore not been expressed or rigorously examined in scholarly debate.

Consequently, this thesis presents empirical evidence about UK carnivalists and their networks. It focuses on their engagement in carnival practices and processes, illuminating the different ways in which they work, as they remake carnival, and the ideas they construct or believe in. Many of the carnivalists I met during my fieldwork were born in Trinidad and had moved to the UK. They had introduced their families to UK carnival and in many cases to Trinidad carnival as well.

This research provides new insights, meanings, and possibilities for carnival studies, showing that much can be learned by using empirical evidence to test theories through a multi-disciplinary perspective. The emotive first person narratives in parts of this thesis are intended to share my own embodied experiences as well as to capture and portray the work, performances and, in some cases, the disputes that occur in the everyday experience of a carnivalist. In this way, I aspire to get closer to carnivalist experiences and, as Paul Stoller has recommended (1989), to provide an ethnographic account that is “faithful to the realities of the field” (p. 9).

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 RELEVANCE OF THIS REVIEW TO THE RESEARCH

This literature review focuses on a comparative study of Trinidad carnival and the Caribbean diasporic carnival in the UK. My aim is to understand how ideas of unity in contemporary diasporic carnival are recreated in the UK, and how people position themselves in relation to carnival events. The literature review examines how carnival is promoted: I compare settings such as Notting Hill and Luton to gain insights into the promotion of, and visibility of, carnival in the UK. The review forms the basis for the main focus of the study which concerns the sensory dimensions of the experiential, in particular how a focus on the experiential and the senses might illuminate something about difference in terms of how people interpret experience, sense, reproduce, and represent carnival, and the variety of positions they take up within carnival.

The review is especially concerned with experiences of carnival that may include ambivalence about the discourses carnival generates and expresses. Is it possible to describe people's way of shaping and being shaped by carnival based on what they understand, interpret and embody, or in view of how carnival appears to them? What experiences are there of carnival on a tacit or embodied level (unarticulated aspects of carnival)? Whose voices are heard from the different perspectives on carnival and why and what might we learn from these voices? In addition, the literature review will also question how the more dominant ideas that people hold about carnival, such as those of 'freeing up', 'unity' and 'togetherness', are produced and reproduced through experience that may be embodied. Are the defiance and sense of empowerment exhibited and felt by revellers at

carnival as much a matter of free choice as discourses surrounding carnival suggest?

The literature review will pursue these questions by focusing on people who participate fully in carnival, those that have found their own methods of self-expression that do not include the patterned behaviour of the carnival ritual, and people who choose not to take part in carnival. It will address the role of 'the experiential' in shaping the meaning of carnival: the complex and intimate ways in which individuals experience, position and interact with one another through carnival with regards to social, ethnic, religious and gender differences. These accounts will come from a variety of academic sources and positionings: members of the Caribbean diaspora who either had some connection with carnival in their past - perhaps playing mas' during childhood - or who learned about carnival via word of mouth, story-telling or the media; members of a Caribbean diasporic family who have observed their family's love for carnival but have no enthusiasm to take part in the ritual; and the descendants of the Caribbean diaspora who share their family's love and commitment to carnival and are constantly looking for ways to outdo the previous year's carnival experience. Within the Caribbean diaspora, I compare those who actively participate in the yearly carnival, and those that stand outside carnival, as well as those who may find their own space to be somewhere between these two positions. The review will also ask what are the major differences between these two categories? What more can be revealed about ideas of self-expression and 'freeing up', and how are these ideas maintained and continued?

Understanding what carnival means and asking questions about its future involves identifying the range of different views held by the many people and organisations involved in carnival, and focusing on why, and in what ways, they participate in carnival. This review therefore seeks to gain knowledge about the unique things those in the Caribbean diaspora living in the UK actually do, and considers how cultural values and ideology are

embodied and how people remake the Caribbean carnival, particularly how the Caribbean diaspora in the UK become immersed in a sensate world of enjoyment and festivity.

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW: INTRODUCTION

Peter Mason's (1998) *Bacchanal: The Carnival Culture of Trinidad* describes the excesses of the Trinidad carnival: sound, colour and ebullience. Mason particularly focuses on Trinidad's steel bands, calypso, and masquerade, and examines the effects of the commercialised carnival. He explores how carnival weaves together all aspects of Trinidad's cultural identity - music, folk traditions, language, humour, ethnicity, gender, food and religion - and emphasises that "carnival is invested with much year-round importance, preparation and anticipation" (p. 7). Keith Nurse's (2004) essay, *Globalization in Reverse, Diaspora and the Export of Trinidad Carnival* examines globalisation, not by looking at the growth of cultural forms, but, in reverse, demonstrating how the world's appreciation of the culture of Caribbean migrants has led to cities across Europe and North America holding carnivals modelled on the Trinidad carnival. UK carnivals are usually one-day events that takes place in a city centre during the summer period. Of these, Nurse states that they are "modelled on the Trinidad Carnival or borrow[s] heavily from it in that they incorporate the three main art forms (pan, mas' and calypso)" (Ibid., p. 246).

The lyrics of calypso and soca songs present the Trinidad carnival as a time of unity and freedom, drawing on the dominant ideologies of carnival constructed through discourses of national culture and Trinidadian subjectivity (Vale de Almeida, 2004, p. 9; Green and Scher, 2007, p. 3). Such discourses are arguably formed at the intersection of different factors, including party political interests, the marketisation of the carnival experience, and cultural memory (Birth, 2007, p. 36). But while some

Trinidadians experience carnival - precisely as the music suggests - as a time of freedom and unity, leading to feelings of being entirely 'unsuppressed' by carnival, the aim of this research is to explore the experiences of others, those who, standing outside carnival, may not be convinced that carnival is really about 'self-expression', 'freeing up' and 'togetherness'. The wider context for such an exploration is the suggestion by a number of scholars (Aching, 2002, p. 98; Birth, 2007, p. 117; Guilbault, 2007, p. 77; Green and Scher, 2007, p. 7; Riggio, 2004, p. 46), that the unity conveyed by forms such as calypso and soca songs is in fact a byword for a normative national identity. If this is in fact the case, I ask are there more divergent senses of identity and belonging that are invoked by, and involved in, carnival?

Nurse (2004), highlights that the diasporic carnivals symbolise persistent ideas of unity, that "all o' we is one" (p. 247). But even if the UK carnival utilises some elements of the Trinidad-style carnival, it seems possible that ideas of unity might be susceptible to change, either giving way to different concepts or taking on different meanings in a UK context. My research will explore this, asking, for example, about the effects of the funding priorities of mas' camps on UK carnival. To take one case, in areas like Luton where there are tensions around extremist ideology, it is important to ask whether carnival plays a complementary role in community cohesion. Are ideas of "all o' we is one" in danger of being lost? Additionally my research will investigate the effects of the community cohesion and participation of the mas' camp on the meanings and experiences of carnival for individuals.

Mas' camps and pan yards provide a place for people to meet and communicate, sometimes on a daily basis. With this in mind, my research questions whether Trinidadians living in the UK may add to or influence the dynamic ways participants accept, reject or negotiate the meaning of carnival. Carnival "plays a crucial part in blending the wide variety of

identifications” (Connor and Farrar, 2004, p. 266), it is “used as an effective creative tool for bringing disparate communities together in common celebration” (Ibid., p. 266). Carnival is considered to have “repeatedly demonstrated the potential it offers for communication and unification across social, cultural and political boundaries” and within recent times it is regarded as “a model for artistic and social co-operation, integration and cohesion” (Ibid.). But if unity is normative, it cannot be chosen completely freely: while some people may ‘buy into’ this normative vision of carnival, others contest it or negotiate it, either openly or unconsciously through their own behaviour (i.e. without realising they are doing so).

Nurse (2004) observes that “diasporic Caribbean Carnivals have developed into means to affirm cultural identity and to promote socio-political integration within the Caribbean diasporic community as well as with the host society” (p. 248). The diasporic Caribbean carnival is a social event that offers “a creative opportunity for social and political change” (Connor and Farrar, 2004, p. 266). Nurse’s suggestion is that carnival in Britain provided an opportunity for West Indians to feel part of a community and assert identity while also creating a social and political space. But is this the case for everyone within the diaspora? What other experiences and meanings might carnival hold than those proposed by Nurse? To what extent does the lack of scholarly research concerning the sensorial landscape of carnival mean that these other experiences and meanings are unexamined?

As explained in the previous chapter (see pp. 37, 38), my interest in examining the experiential knowledge of carnival held by various people arose out of my own history and out of my thinking about how I became involved in Trinidad carnival as a child, as well as how I adapted to different settings in the UK and how my experiences as an emigrant challenged my view of Trinidad culture. Nurse’s view that carnival affirms identity and integration does not easily correspond with my own experiences as a native Trinidadian living abroad. The literature review sets out to understand more

about how carnival and the experiential are intimately tied to one another, and in particular what the role of difference can reveal about diasporic Caribbean life.

First, I examine carnival as a globalised cultural form, tracing its origins and exploring how it has been adapted and adopted. Then I look at the politics of cultural heritage surrounding the Trinidad carnival, exploring how history and politics construct dominant ideologies for carnival and how these factors may influence dutiful participation in carnival. I will examine the cultural concept of *toutoulbé*, using it to explore the positions taken up in and around carnival. I will also examine how politics and culture intertwine in the UK and how West Indian culture was assembled through the UK experience. Finally, I will explore the sensory and emotional aspects involved in acquiring knowledge in relation to carnival, particularly focusing on how people feel about becoming immersed during carnival.

2.3 CARNIVAL: ORIGINS

The word 'bacchanal' is often used in relation to the Trinidad carnival, to articulate or describe carnival's excess. According to Mason (1998) "it is a large, noisy and confusing party decorated by scandal and excess. Trinidadians describe it: it is 'bacchanal'" (p. 16). The word 'bacchanal', from 'bacchanalia', is "derived from Bacchus, the epithet of the Greek god Dionysus and the name by which the god was known to the Romans" (Merriam-Webster, 1991, p. 34). Dionysus was the essence of various divergent traditions and "came to represent the productive, life-giving, and intoxicating power of nature. His liberating power was most naturally and fittingly symbolised by wine, which was called "the fruit of Dionysus" (Ibid., 1991, p. 34). Dionysus carnivals were orgies "in the original sense of the word: secret ceremonial rites held in honour of the god and featuring ecstatic singing and dancing" (Ibid., p. 34).

Derivatives of carnival took shape gradually, in various forms: from drunken symposia to rituals and theatrics. The Roman Empire adopted the Greek gods and their related rituals and festivities: bacchanalia or orgies was established in honour of Bacchus, which were inherited from the Ancient Greeks (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1854, p. 347). The Romans would carry out their immoral processions secretly at night. Eventually they were discovered and bacchanalia was prohibited in 186 BCE in Rome as well as Italy because it was deemed to be a “threat to public order” (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1854, p. 347; Grafton, Most and Settis, 2010, p. 116). In the Byzantine Empire in the early fourth century there were significant changes, particularly due to the growing influence of Christianity, which at the time was considered the preferred (and later became the established) religion. But did bacchanalia continue?

Grafton, Most and Settis (2010) suggest that in the Middle Ages other kinds of carnival similar to bacchanalia took place, and they suggest the difficulties in determining if these represented a continued social practice or of knowledgeable observers watching rural customs through classical spectacles (p. 116). They also propose that some folklorists assert that the festival has its origins in Bacchanalia, and suggest that the name Bacchanalia is derived from “the wheeled ship (carrus navalis)”, which is considered to “[contain] the god’s image” (Ibid.).

Grafton, Most and Settis also note that Saturnalia (fifth century CE) was a Roman festival that was celebrated on 17 December and signalled various rituals of inversion: for example, the masters waiting on their slaves (Ibid.). They suggest that this inversion may have signified “renewal” or “regeneration” (Ibid.). They also write that the festival remained in existence into early Christian times, suggesting similarities to “late medieval and early modern festival” (Ibid.): for example, the twelve days of Christmas, which are described as similar to Saturnalia (Ibid.). Grafton, Most and Settis detail what the ritual of inversion was like, adding that within these twelve days, 28

December, the day the Church memorialised the Massacre of the Innocents⁵, which was “celebrated in parts of medieval Europe, particularly in France as the “ritual of inversion”, it was recognised as the “Feast of Fools” (Ibid., 2010, p. 116). They suggest that a ‘bishop’ or ‘abbot’ of the fools would preside and the clergy wore masks or women’s clothing or sometimes decided to place their vestments in reverse, then a mock Mass was performed and rather than being blessed the congregation might instead be cursed (Ibid.). Hence, from December to January the festival included dancing in church (Ibid.).

According to Max Harris (2003) carnival’s origin is linked to the ritual of inversion, or the world turned upside down, that took place at Christmas in the medieval period. Harris explains that Christmas was also an inversion, and the Feast of Fools ritual, which was prevalent during the Middle Ages in Europe, was customarily affiliated with the “Feast of the Holy Innocents on the 28 December” (p. 8). Harris explains the complexities of festive celebrations, proposing that carnival may have originated from the “doctrine of the incarnation” (Ibid., p. 9).

Harris also quotes a letter dated 1445 issued by the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris to the bishops and chapters of France, informing them of the abhorrent clerical behaviour during seasonal festivities (Ibid., p. 139). Harris goes on to describe the priests’ and clerks’ behaviour during the rituals, explaining that they wore masks and “monstrous visages at the hours of office”. They were also dressed in women’s clothes or dressed as “panders, or minstrels” and danced in the choir (Ibid.). The priests’ and clerks’ behaviour extended to singing “wanton songs”, eating “black pudding at the horn of the altar while the celebrant” was “saying mass...” and “play[ing] dice [...] cense with stinking smoke from the soles of old shoes” (ibid). The priests and clerks would run and leap through the church, without any regard or having no shame about their behaviour (ibid). To mark the end

⁵ *Herod’s slaughter of infants in the days after Jesus’ birth.*

of their ritual the priests and clerks drove around the town and its theatres in run-down traps and carts; inciting the laughter of their peers and onlookers holding abominable performances, with indecent gestures and verses defamatory and unchaste⁶ (Ibid.).

Harris states that “the season of shenanigans” was Christmas and not carnival, in contrast to what has usually been accepted (Ibid.). He suggests that popular theories link carnival to the pre-Christian seasonal rites, a last pagan fling before Lent (Ibid.). He adds that other versions of this theory were developed by the Renaissance humanists and church reformers, associate carnival to the “urban Greek and Roman rites of Bacchanalia and Saturnalia” (Ibid.).

Other theories proposed by “nineteenth century Romantic folklorists” assume that carnival originated from the “ancient rural fertility rites of spring” (Ibid.). Harris contends that none of these theories have received much scholarly acceptance, adding that historians of the feast assert that the “modern carnival” has “no documentable” relation with the “ancient festivities” (Ibid.). Theories about carnival being pre-Christian seasonal rites continue “because it serves a wide range of contemporary needs” (Ibid.). For Harris, “Christmas...bred carnival” but Christianity's influence on carnival was concerned with demonising carnival, dissociating it from Christmas (Ibid.). He explains that Christianity's steady detachment of carnival from Christmas, together with its “confinement by the authorities—wherever possible—to the few days before Lent” was as a result of several forces: for example, the “Renaissance penchant” for emulating “Roman festive practice” (Ibid., p. 9).

Harris suggests reasons for the “sixteenth-century Reformation of the churches”, the growth of a “fastidious bourgeoisie”, including the “Romantic

⁶ *Faculty's Letter; Patrologiae...Latina*, 207:1169–76. The letter is dated “anno Domini 1444, die XII Mensis Martii”, equivalent to March 12, 1445, in the modern calendar.

inclination” to locate “pre-Christian seasonal rituals” within “peasant customs everywhere” (Ibid.). He proposed that carnival advanced within the “Christian community from the topsy-turvydom of Christmas” adding that “throughout medieval and early Europe, Christmas was a time for festive reversals of status” (Ibid., p. 140).

Some theories also emphasise that carnival can be linked to Ancient Roman Lupercalian rites, as well as early “ritual traditions from the civilizations of Egypt and the Near East,” particularly because “mystic dimensions of the festival were dominant” (Stewart, 2001, p. 208). It is unlikely that the origins of carnival will ever be definitively settled, but there are a family of resemblances in all things carnival – the “season of shenanigans” being a kind of constant (Harris, 2003, p. 139).

2.4 TRINIDAD CARNIVAL: EXPRESSIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

2.4.1 Overview

The Trinidad carnival is usually celebrated on the Monday and Tuesday before Ash Wednesday. During the days of carnival many people fill the streets wearing costumes as part of an organised band, while those without a band end up liming⁷ and chipping⁸ to the carnival music. Pan men and women play the steel drum or steel pan, with each band or orchestra vying for the chance to win Panorama - the main steel band competition during carnival. Calypsonians instruct the crowds, telling them how to move, in both the ‘all inclusive fetes’ and the carnival, to ‘get on bad’, ‘play mas’, and ‘make a bacchanal.’ Each calypsonian competes to win the Calypso and Soca Monarch competitions. The carnival is full of activities from pre- to post-

⁷ *To spend time with friends and family, drinking and talking.*

⁸ *Dancing.*

carnival, with costumes sometimes being prepared months in advance. During the pre-carnival and post-carnival, musicians travel to carnivals around the globe promoting their music and many Trinidadians look forward to the carnival, planning how to finance the purchase of their costumes.

In this section, I explore how Trinidad's politics and history have constructed dominant ideologies about carnival, how these dominant ideologies have been transformed through ideas of ownership of carnival, and how this is marketed. Although my fieldwork was carried out in the UK, the aim of this section is to lay the ground for an understanding of how dominant ideologies about contemporary diasporic carnival are remade in the UK, and how people position themselves in relation to carnival events. First, I examine the construction of the "New Society" of Dr. Eric Williams⁹ and the PNM¹⁰ as Trinidad gained its independence, and in particular the role of carnival in nation building in a newly independent society (Valley and Marshall, 1990, p. 32). I consider how a dominant ideology about carnival, and how scholarly interest in its history, have been articulated around definitions of Caribbean nationhood, in order to understand how dominant meanings about carnival have been constructed in the fields of history, politics and scholarly discourse. Second, I focus on ideas of racialised ownership and identification with carnival, in particular the idea of carnival as a site for hegemony, by examining Africanist ideology and Indianist views. Third, I consider the *toutoulbé*¹¹ carnival reveller. I use the cultural concept of *toutoulbé*, which is explored in this literature review, in order to consider one of the many positions people take up in and around carnival. I also consider how revellers might be persuaded into accepting dominant meanings of carnival. If there are people who are not *toutoulbé* at all or if they might be *toutoulbé* in the same way. I also examine how gaining an understanding of

⁹ PNM's party leader.

¹⁰ PNM: People's National Movement.

¹¹ *Toutoulbé*: Pronounced *Toot-tool-bay* is used to describe a gullible or lovesick person.

the positions people take up in relation to carnival was important in supporting my fieldwork in mas' camps.

2.4.2 Williams' "New Society"

Come let us work hand in hand, because this is our land, come my brother, come my sister, and let us build a nation together. ('Let us build a nation', Merchant, Dennis Franklyn Williams, 1982)

Dr. Eric Williams was a scholar, historian, author and politician, who was elected Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago in 1962 (MacDonald, 1986, pp. 98, 99). Williams became the leader of the People's National Movement (PNM), formed in 1956, and played a vital role in guiding the newly formed political party and providing political education to both party and public (Rose, 2002, p. 28). According to Selwyn Ryan and Gloria Gordon (1988) in their historical assessment of *Trinidad and Tobago: The Independence Experience: 1962 – 1987* (Ryan and Gordon, 1988, p. 145), under Williams's leadership, "the PNM must be given credit for introducing disciplined party politics" in Trinidad and Tobago (p. 142). In 1956 the era of parliamentary politics was ushered in Trinidad and Tobago (Rose, 2002, p. 28), and at a PNM convention in 1958, Williams announced the party's achievements in his *Perspectives for Our Party*¹² (1958) speech. His speech centred on the "PNM Miracles" (Williams, 1958). The party's first achievement was the ability to establish a "...party government which has already brought the country to the threshold of internal self-government expressed through a Cabinet broadly based on the United Kingdom" (Williams, 1958). The second and third achievements of the party were the appointment of a political leader that addressed the party and country, and the creation of a "party forum", the "University of Woodford Square", where

¹² *Eric Eustace Williams, Perspectives for Our Party (Address Delivered to the Third Annual Convention of the People's National Movement on October 17th, 1958).*

Williams and the PNM sought to offer “political education” to the people (Ibid.). Williams and the PNM underlined the party’s commitment to education in creating a new state, “...because all these projects we must undertake would be nothing without a Party and public, educated¹³ to take advantage of the opportunities we propose to create” (Williams, 1981, pp. 108, 114). In *An Introduction to the History of Trinidad & Tobago* (1996) Brereton points out that the party’s ambitions were to achieve “self-governance, economic development, unity between the races, and political education” (Valley and Marshall, 1990, p. 29; Brereton, 1996, p. 100; Williams and Palmer, 2006, p. 3). Education was a key component in achieving PNM’s party ambitions.

John Stuart Mill (1865), in *Considerations on Representative Government*¹⁴, gives his ideas about pluralistic voting, self-governance, and minority representation. Mill’s insights into self-governance may help in understanding why Williams and the PNM viewed education as a key component in achieving their party ambitions.

Regarding ‘ex-slaves’, ‘self-governance’ and the ‘power of education’, Mill suggests that in order to attain ‘self-governance’ what is needed is guidance and not force (p. 16). Williams and the PNM used their “party forum”, namely the “University of Woodford Square”, to achieve a significant party ambition, that of providing “political education” to the people (Williams, 1958). Mill proposes that a “slave” is one “who has not learnt to help himself” and is “one step in advance of a savage” and as such “he has not the first lesson of political society” which he is “still to acquire” (Mill, 1865, p. 16). Mill emphasises the “power of education” and how it is used to encourage, noting that the, “lowest ranks of the people ...take part in acts which directly affect the great interests of their country” (Ibid., p. 66). Williams’s role as both party leader and political educator sought to acknowledge the intelligence of the

¹³ Eric Eustace Williams, *Forged from the Love of Liberty: Selected Speeches of Dr. Eric Williams* (Longman Caribbean, 1981).

¹⁴ John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government* (Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1865).

electorate or appease them by not underestimating their intelligence, which he considered was a fundamental mistake of his political counterparts, bringing to the foreground the concerns of the people at the time (Williams and Palmer, 2006, p. 159). In an effort to demonstrate that there was no force or coercion on the part of the PNM, Williams claimed that the “political education” of the people of Trinidad and Tobago in a “new society” now learning to help itself ought not be restricted or exclusive to the PNM’s guidance (Williams and Cudjoe, 1993, p. 187; Valley and Marshall, 1990, p. 32).

However, while on the face of it this seems progressive, was Williams and the PNM’s “political education” and collective participation an opportunity to inform and offer guidance, or rather to manipulate the non-politically educated (or less politically educated) (Williams, 1981, pp. 108, 114; Williams and Cudjoe, 1993, p. 187)? Carl Campbell’s (1997), *Endless Education: Main Currents in the Education System of Modern Trinidad and Tobago, 1939 – 1986* explores the education system in Trinidad and Tobago from as early as 1834. Campbell explains that “social systems had to adjust” as a result of the expansion of education in the 1930s and 1940s (Campbell, 1997, p. ix). He also notes that Williams’s initial thoughts on education possessed a “highly nationalist flavour” as he wanted to construct a “nationalist education system responsive to the will of the sovereign government” (Ibid., p. ix; 1996, p. 289). Campbell suggests that Williams imposed West Indianisation in Trinidad’s education system in order to instill in the people a sense of pride, laying the foundation for nationalism and decolonisation with the intention of promoting West Indian concerns (Ibid., 1997, p. 67). Campbell suggests that the PNM leader used state education to inculcate a West Indian perspective of the world: textbooks provided learners with a dominant ideology (Ibid., 1997, p. 67). With Trinidad being “ethnically and politically” divided, a “nationalist government” understood the “transforming potential of education” (Campbell, 1996, p. 289). Morgan Job, an economist, writer, radio personality and retired politician, has expressed

his views about education in Trinidad. He suggests:

Eric Williams did more injury, more harm to Trinidad than you could ever imagine. All because he did not want people to understand that we have to deal with the education and culture gap in Trinidad. It is not about race it is about culture and the PNM continue exploiting people under Williams' legacy. (Job, 2014, Power 102 FM Radio Online)

Stefano Harney (1996) has explored the perspectives offered by fiction authors on nationalism, and the friction between fictitious writing and official debates concerning nationalism in Trinidad. He examines the work of historian and social theorist C.L.R. James focusing on his “essays and public lectures ...in the late 1950s” (p. 170). Harney emphasises that C.L.R. James demonstrates his belief in people and notes, “imagining a people, and not just a nation, is what gave James his popular nationalism” (Ibid., p. 183). Harney adds, “he believed in the genius of the people, just as he feared the official nationalism that sought to manipulate that genius” (Ibid.). C.L.R. James may have posed a threat to Williams because of his belief in the “genius of the people” (Ibid.). In 1965 when C.L.R. James return to Trinidad as a sport correspondent for a West Indies cricket match, he was detained and was “placed under house arrest¹⁵” following claims of subversion (Worcester, 1996, p. 169).

In an analysis of the links between history, politics, nationhood, public speech, and essays delivered by prominent political individuals, Marian Mcleod (2007) examines an anthology entitled *Commonwealth Public*

¹⁵ *James may not have intended to get involved in Trinidad politics and did not try to do so following his dismissal from the PNM in 1961 because he was considered a radical. However he became entangled because of the sugar workers strike (Worcester, 1996, p. 283).*

Address: Essays in Criticism. According to McLeod, all of Williams's speeches were dramatic, powerful, direct and vivid and he "...customarily traces the historical development of present problems", "...to the ugly heritage of colonialism" (pp. 55, 57). Attempting to unify the Afro and Indo audience, Williams used the common experience of oppression, and frequently used the metaphor of "master-slave", in order to demonstrate the ills of colonialism (McLeod, 2007, pp. 54, 55, 57; Palmer, 2006, p. 25). McLeod adds, "his purposes is not merely to inform", rather his treatment of the facts were aimed at building "a case in favour of his own view" (McLeod, 2007, pp. 55, 57).

Prior to Williams's career in politics he authored *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944). His treatment of slavery in this historical account has been disputed by economic historians and authorities on slavery (Sheridan, 1987, pp. 317-45). Williams sought to demonstrate the origins and abolition of slavery and the slave trade. He proposed that slavery was "economic, not racial", the "triangular trade ...gave a triple stimulus to British industry", and provided the "accumulation of capital ...which financed the Industrial Revolution" (Williams, 1944, pp. 19, 52, 108). From chapter six onwards, Williams explains the decline of the Atlantic slave trade, and asserts that the abolition of slavery was due to its non-profitability as a result of declining plantation revenues (Williams, 1944, pp. 19, 52, 108).

Williams attained much of his knowledge of economics from seventeenth and eighteenth century writers (Sheridan, 1987, pp. 45, 317). Richard B. Sheridan's (2004) *Eric Williams and Capitalism and Slavery: A Biographical and Historiographical Essay* outlines how Williams's work was influenced by diverse schools of historiography. Sheridan explains that Williams "drew heavily upon economic writers." He also points to influences that informed Williams's anti-colonialist and anti-capitalist¹⁶ ideology, namely

¹⁶ Gerard R. Bosch's (1998), essay 'Eric Williams and the Moral Rhetoric of Dependency Theory', focuses on the moral aspect of capitalism which he calls the

2.4.3 Cultural Hegemony

The concept of hegemony might be useful in determining how beneficial Trinidad carnival was in terms of nation building and participation by consent, and thus how it might have become a political commodity. Hall, Neitz and Battani (2003) in *Sociology on Culture* highlight the work of the Marxist intellectual Antonio Gramsci who coined the term ‘cultural hegemony’ in exploring how the ideas of the ruling class become widely accepted. “Gramsci...was concerned with the role of culture in a ruling group’s domination of a social order, which he termed “cultural hegemony” (cultural domination)” (p. 183). Hall, Neitz and Battani note that Gramsci was indeed a Marxist, and they suggest that Gramsci proposes that “cultural hegemony” is sustained by the advancement of a culture that serves people’s social interests, but in doing so does not endanger “ruling-class interests” (Ibid.). They also highlight that Gramsci’s theory proposes that the central objective for the ruling class is to safeguard the “traditional cultural workers” in order to “staff the production of culture”, facilitating an array “of tastes [and] publics”, resulting in “produced culture”, with its diverse content, which will continue to appease the public (Ibid.). Thus this perspective emphasises the elite’s position as not having an interest in “imposing elite culture” on others, rather their concerns are allayed if “other people’s culture” does not jeopardise their interests. (Ibid.)

Green and Scher (2007) highlight similar values concerning ruling-class interests in carnival, suggesting that elites or “people in position” establish

dependency school. He suggests that scholars such as Eric Williams were concerned with the “original accumulation of capital” similar to “Marx’s concept of a build-up of capital that allowed for the growth of the industrial system.” He considers Williams’ use of Marx “a moral critique of capitalism, one strand of the larger critiques of that system that are part of both Marxism and modern anti-colonialism. Moreover, without the moral critique this theory would lose much of its persuasive power” (pp. 817 - 818).

“their visions of... carnival”, thus they “extinguish” or otherwise “minimise alternative interpretations and activities”, and by doing so they reward “representations and practices” that accommodate “their vision...” whilst disapproving of any vision that does not uphold their interests (p. 9).

The relationship between culture and hegemony suggests that the ideas of the elite may be used in order to control and manipulate the masses. Seen in this light, the Trinidad carnival might have a divergent status in relation to the emphasis on unity, and unity may in fact be only a byword for a normative national identity. One example of a national spectacle serving to enforce a cultural hegemony can be seen in historical accounts of ancient Rome. Bread and circuses were used as a device to indulge the people and to secure their backing. According to the historian Donald Kyle, they also offered the “crowds of commoners... a sense of confidence and power” (Kyle, 2001, p. 9).

Kyle states that “spectacles, obviously but not solely” was an opportunity for “political devices” to be “used by leaders” a means of earning “support under the Republic and by emperors to appease the masses” (Ibid., p. 8). He suggests that this occurred “under their autocratic system in the age of ‘bread and circuses’ (Ibid.). Williams endorsed carnival as being a thread that binds Trinidadians together in a multi-ethnic society. This thread may have been a symbol of stability but it also possessed an alternative intention: the assertion of state power over carnival.

2.4.4 The Construction of Dominant Ideologies about Carnival

Scholarly interest in history attended to definitions of Caribbean nationhood. Williams, who received his academic training in the 1930s, understood the potential of Caribbean history as “an indispensable tool both for nation-building and for regional co-operation” (Brereton, 1999, p. 327). He considered Caribbean history a “legitimate field of study in its own right”, and

Caribbean history was used to deliberately demonstrate the ills of colonialism (Ibid.). In light of this it seems pertinent to ask how scholarship, political thought and national history have constructed dominant ideologies for carnival.

Williams and his party managed to weave together Caribbean history, politics, race and nationalism: a combination that served the party's political intentions (Munasinghe, 2001, pp. 221, 223; Harney, 1996, p. 57; MacDonald, 1986, p. 98; Campbell, 1997, p. 57). The PNM's radical West Indianisation of Trinidad's education and culture brought with it the knowledge of what it meant to be West Indian, and the promotion of national pride, which enhanced the opportunity for decolonisation (Campbell, 1997, p. 57). Gordon Lewis' *The Growth of the Modern West Indies* (2004), a historical and comprehensive study of the factors involved in the shaping of West Indian society, examines the inter-war years from the 1920s to the 1960s. According to Lewis, the PNM began organising "cultural standards", for the nation and, "after 1956, the official recognition of Carnival" was launched "by the Peoples' National Movement Government as a national cultural heritage..." (Ibid., p. 23). Lewis asserts that in preparing a "new state" and "organizing cultural standards" the entertainer and folk artist became the ambassador of Trinidadian culture and national pride: "he is told that he is important to the tourist industry, that he personifies the West Indian¹⁷ cultural identity abroad; that he must improve his public manners" (Ibid.). In *Eric Williams and the Making of the Modern Caribbean* (2006), Colin Palmer emphasises the political dimension of Eric Williams's relationship with-carnival: his use of it as a means of uniting and integrating Indo-Trinidadians so as to silence or manage disruption and opposition, with

¹⁷ The term 'West Indian' used by Palmer was once used to describe indigenous inhabitants in the late 1500s but by the 1960s referred to black immigrants according to Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1989). Arif Ali (1988) emphasises in *Third World Impact*; the "belief by the African section of the population that they are authentic West Indian and Indians are immigrants." Calypso music typically identifies the "Caribbean man" as African, thus implying Indians as not being Caribbean.

the intention of retaining political power (p. 262). Palmer quotes Eric Williams promoting carnival as unity:

one has only to recall... the recent carnival to appreciate the hollowness of the claim that the Indians were not good West Indians. Carnival, that great leveller in our community, is liberty, equality, above all fraternity, not as an empty slogan, but as a living and fascinating reality for two days in the year. (Ibid.)

Despite Williams's official interests and his commitment to appeal to a multicultural Trinidad in his predominantly Afro-Creole political party, Williams himself was an Afro-Creole, and Indo-Trinidadians were concerned about Williams's "black neo-colonial nationalist domination" (Ramdin, 2000, p. 308). This might tell us something about how carnival became a site for hegemony.

Kevin Birth (2007) has discussed how Williams and the PNM advocated carnival as a means to secure national belonging and suggests that the "state's attempts to create a sense of nationhood had to contend with sources of division between religious, class, and ethnic groups, as well as between rural and urban areas" (p. 48). Birth proposes that carnival was used to forge national identity and suggests that "the "culture" with which the national identity would be forged included the dynamism of carnival and calypso" (Ibid.). He emphasises that "the link between music and popular discourse was well established before independence", highlighting that "carnival and calypso" were used to "challenge hierarchy and criticize authority" (Ibid.). Political commentary was used by calypsonians, and politicians also used "music in their representations of Trinidad". However, the colonial government attempted to censor propaganda in these musical forms (Ibid.). Birth asserts that "music played a role in the formation of middle-class imaginings of the nation" (Ibid.). This prompts the question whether other political parties have used, or do use, carnival to promote their

own ideas; and if so, how?

Trinidad and Tobago elected a new government in May 2010. The People's Partnership Government appointed Winston "Gypsy" Peters as Minister of Arts and Multiculturalism. During the month of November 2010, Peters made several announcements concerning carnival and its development. The Minister proposed, 'bring yuh mas' and come', inviting revellers to the capital Port of Spain, to come out and play mas' for free. He suggested that revellers could bring their own costume, even their antique costumes, and made clear that he sees this as an opportunity to bring back traditional mas'. Peters insisted that there would be no restrictions or band sections (Bowman, 2010, Trinidad and Tobago Express Newspapers Online).

Thereafter, there was growing concern and debate about the Minister's ideas and how these could be put into action without upsetting the carnival with which revellers were familiar. This represented a real change in the way carnival had been organised in previous years: from the organised method of revellers purchasing costumes from mas' bands, to revellers preparing their own costumes to play mas'. In fact, the 'bring yuh mas and come' concept seemed to be one without restriction, control or surveillance. A few weeks later, on 21 November 2010, at a carnival launch party, the Minister made another announcement: 'carnival every three months.' The newspapers responded by posing the question: "should a proposal be made to have carnival in this country every three months?" (Ramdass, 2010, Trinidad and Tobago Express Newspapers Online). The article in question highlighted the views of Minister Peters and his endorsement of proposals to hold more than one carnival per year. In the article, Peters is described as seeing carnival as the "quickest developing thing" and a product and a business that can be used to bring people to Trinidad. He says he is serious about holding a carnival every three months (Ibid.).

Behind the Minister's promotion of carnival might lurk alternative intentions: carnival is being promoted "as a product" which will produce revenue for the country. A reassertion of state power over carnival is exactly what Eric Williams has been criticised for by scholars (Munasinghe, 2001, pp. 221, 223; Ali, 1988, p. 120; Griffith, 2001, p. 70; Puri, 2004, p. 218), and former prime minister Patrick Manning (1991-1995 and 2001-2010) of the PNM was criticised for "removal of the stage and three years of street parades" (Trinidad and Tobago Guardian Newspapers Online).

My argument here is that Trinidad carnival may have been one of the most important elements in arousing and sustaining patriotism. It has also been profitable, as highlighted by Green and Scher (2007) "...a money spinner...", and "...a cultural come-on to potential investors..." (p. 9). It is clearly important when thinking about carnival to consider how carnival is framed, by whom, and with what outcomes.

2.4.5 Africanist Ideology and Indianist Perspectives

Political scientist Anton Allahar (2003) has asserted that "afrocentricity" exists in cultural politics and is apparent in Trinidad's national carnival (p. 36). He suggests that carnival embodies what it means to be Trinidadian, and the term Trinidadian¹⁸ denotes a "historical and ethno-cultural mixture of a polyglot people" (Ibid., p. 42). The term "we" used to express togetherness and possession of carnival has a racial element and "the intention is clearly one of racial inclusion and exclusion, for those who are not defined as "black", which in this context means "African" (Ibid, p. 40). This emphasises that carnival as a "racialised" festival is closely associated with "African history and traditions" (Ibid., p. 39).

¹⁸ Allahar (2003) asks two significant questions about what it means to be Trinidadian, "...how does one define "African in Trinidad?" and "how does one privilege the "African" over the other elements?" He maintains that an "uncritical understanding of the term "Trinidadian" makes no sense (pp. 41, 42).

The racialised ownership and identification with carnival by Afro-Trinidadians is evident in Calypsonian Black Stalin's song 'Caribbean Unity,' which excludes all other ethnic groups in Trinidad and characterises the "Caribbean man," "West Indian," and "Caribbean culture" as Afro-Caribbean. This has upset many Indo-Trinidadians (Ali, 1988, p. 120; Griffith, 2001, p. 70; Puri, 2004, p. 218). Indo-Trinidadians were concerned that Williams and the PNM agenda to organise cultural standards focused on the Afro-Creole racialised ownership of, and identification with, carnival. Viranjini Munasinghe (2001) in her historical and ethnographic case study, entitled *Callaloo or Tossed Salad? East Indians and the Cultural Politics of Identity in Trinidad*, examines the politics of the cultural struggle between Afro- and Indo-Trinidadian. Munasinghe argues that Williams and the PNM did not emphasise the development of any particular cultural identity, as their aim was to unite all inhabitants of the island in their plan for "nation-building" (Munasinghe, 2001, p. 214), and she notes that this proved fruitful for the PNM as the party gained the participation needed from the electorate outside its majority group. However, Indo-Trinidadians found that Williams's ideas and call for "national unity" did not offer the "mechanisms to achieve such unity" (Deosaran, 1981, p. 134; MacDonald, 1986, p. 146). Munasinghe suggests that carnival then became a site for hegemony as a result of the promotion of Afro-Trinidadian culture and the PNM's lack of interest in including Indo-Trinidadian culture in cultural events (Ibid., pp. 221, 223). She proposes that Williams's view of "nationalism was based on homogeneity rather than heterogeneous elements, which Williams associated with disunity" (Ibid., pp. 221, 222).

2.4.6 Toutoulbé Carnival Reveller

The cultural concept of toutoulbé is used here to explore the positions - hegemonic, negotiated, and oppositional - taken up in and around carnival (Hall, 1992). Cultural theorist and sociologist Stuart Hall's model of mass

communication emphasises the autonomy of the receiver and is useful in understanding that a message, or in this case carnival, is not accepted by the receiver simply because of their being exposed to it. Hall identifies three divergent modes of decoding a message in the communication process. There is the 'dominant-hegemonic' position (decoded as intended), the 'negotiated' position (a combination of hegemonic and oppositional, which fosters conflict and misinterpretation), and the 'oppositional' position (interpreting the message appropriately but being set against it). In what follows I explore the position of the toutoulbé or lovesick reveller in carnival. Is the toutoulbé or lovesick reveller wooed by carnival? Do they accept dominant ideologies that influence concepts such as, 'free up', 'get on bad', 'play yuh self', and 'make a bacchanal?' Are they compelled to engage in the yearly carnival? I also consider other positions, for example revellers that are not toutoulbé in the same way, or for that matter not toutoulbé at all. What are their reasons for not participating in carnival? All of this begs further questions concerning carnival's power and liberation, including people's ability to understand carnival and its origins, based on their way of shaping and being shaped by carnival.

Mason (1998) emphasises the power of carnival and claims that it is an unbeatable force that is difficult for Trinidadians to resist. He suggests, "avoiding carnival is difficult enough during the season itself, but it is increasingly hard to shake off, even outside its traditional boundaries" (p. 122). Anthropologist Richard Schechner (2004) essay *Carnival (Theory) After Bakhtin* questions the liberation of carnival and asks, "if people believe that they are collectively sovereign, then against whom is carnival staged? From what overall authority is carnival a relief" (p. 3)? Schechner explains that although "...Carnival originated as a liberationist exuberance celebrating emancipation from enslavement, it never was 'freely free'" (Ibid., p. 5) Schechner proposes that carnival from its very beginning has been controlled, even though revellers may feel they are the ones causing disorder: in fact it is the dominant politics that are creating disorder. He

explains that carnival is “too valuable to let run freely free”, and suggests that what is “free” is the “licentious, and spontaneous – the enactment of the most-of-the-time forbidden” (Ibid., p. 5). He notes that “one of the functions of Trinidad Carnival is to sustain smaller, local communities” such as “mas camps, steel band yards, and the calypso tent” (Ibid., p. 5). Schechner’s probe into the power relations and dominant political ideologies around carnival leads to questions about the toutoubé reveller’s acceptance of dominant political ideologies, and thus their belief that “they are collectively sovereign” (Ibid., p. 3). Mikhail Bakhtin (1984) describes medieval carnival as being “shaped according to a certain pattern of play” (p. 7).

To further understand the lovesick reveller’s compelling urge to celebrate the annual carnival or ‘jump up’ and ‘free up’ on command, it might be useful to examine the process of induction into carnival. Is the process of learning about carnival gained through direct experiences and does tutoring make carnival enticing? Mason emphasises the importance of the Kiddies Carnival¹⁹ and its part in the preservation process and notes, “Traditionalists fret that young people no longer understand the connections between what they do on the streets now and what has gone before” (Mason, 1998, p. 157). Henri Lefebvre (2004) proposes that ‘dressage’, for example school or training, is used to inculcate traditions or customs. He suggests that “liberty is born in a reserved space and time, sometimes wide, sometimes narrow; occasionally reduced by the results of dressage to an unoccupied lacuna” (p. 43). Lefebvre is concerned with the state and the way in which it creates institutions to enforce particular habits but also how it directs people away from exploring for themselves.

Moreover, Mason emphasises how the Trinidadian carnival traditionalist frames carnival and points to how their concerns (for example,

¹⁹ *Kiddies Carnival is an all-day event where hundreds of children assemble to play mas’, many of whom may not have played mas’ before. Some may have played mas’ at school but probably not as an all-day affair.*

the generation gap, concerns about the continuity of carnival, and tradition) indicate the ambivalence some may feel about carnival. Various questions (such as, are Trinidadians toutoulbé “in roughly the same way” (Böhme, 2013, Cresson Online)? or, why are some Trinidadians not toutoulbé at all?) are concerned with participation and the variety of positions adopted by Trinidadians within carnival. Such questions are perhaps part of a wider debate concerning ideology and tradition in a modern society. But carnival is not simply inculcated. It can be engaged in critically, hence the argument that there are varying ways of shaping and being shaped by carnival, and that carnival does not involve just one position or ideology.

Questions concerning toutoulbé Trinidadians may be useful in understanding the impact of Trinidadian nationalism and how it has influenced the Caribbean diaspora. Perhaps different generations have within them their own ideological concept of: what is mas’? How to play mas’? What is tradition? What is modern? In my own case, this line of questioning proved useful in the field, when obtaining first-hand accounts and perspectives on-the-ground as a means of grasping how people take up positions in and around carnival in the UK. Certainly Hall’s model of mass communication (hegemonic, negotiated, and oppositional) provides a framework through which to understand the varying ways carnival in the UK is experienced or perceived. These questions may also help in understanding what unique qualities people bring to carnival, as diasporic carnivals are considered syncretic (Phillip, 2010, p. 83).

Anthropologist Aisha Khan’s (2003) sensitivity to concrete events from the “lived experience of Indo and Afro Trinidadians” (p 224), indicates her interest in “on-the-ground relations of power” (Ibid., p. 226). Khan combines ethnographic and archival research, and oral histories, and focuses on the correlation between race, religion, and ethnic identity; particularly how

“mixing²⁰” (Ibid., p. 13) affects the ways in which identities are managed, perceived and analysed. She argues, “...mixing underlay[s] the ways the past is interpreted, the present assessed, and the future imagined” (Ibid.). Khan suggests that multiculturalism acts as a veil for deep racial discrimination on Trinidad, noting that Trinidadians use a “collection of masks” depending on the situation or event due to “plural acculturation” - which she proposes has two modes, “plural” and “differential”, which are instrumental in how people cope with Trinidad’s diversity through “a strategy of fitting in” (Ibid., p. 23). As Khan explains, Trinidadians “have learned to cope with difference by becoming chameleon-like, since identities, it has long been assumed, are coherent wholes. Firmly bounded and exclusive of contrasting ways of being” (Ibid.).

With regards to “fitting in” (Ibid.), Eric Williams proposed that Trinidad’s “democracy means freedom of expression²¹” (Williams, 1962), and initiated the “Nation slogan: Discipline, Production, Tolerance” (Ibid.). These ideas not only shaped the minds of Trinidadians but seemed to have continued to place a veil over issues of race, as highlighted by Khan. They may have also had an impact on the positions people took up within Trinidadian society: trying to fit in to the mould created for them (Khan, 2004, p. 23). Williams’ nationalist ideology was used to control or ‘discipline’ Trinidadians, it also encouraged ‘production’ - that would increase the nation’s income. Whilst Trinidadians were busy producing economic wealth, they were also encouraged to ‘tolerate’ each other - which, as Khan has asserted (Khan, 2004, p. 23), can imply a false sense of unity. It is possible that the nation’s slogan also helped in constructing a post-independence Trinidadian identity, and it is likely that it has in some way fed into the “collection of masks” (Ibid.) to which Khan refers. Williams understood that Afro- and Indo- Trinidadian in

²⁰ *Mixing for Aisha Khan refers to multiculturalism and creolisation, in Trinidad the term callaloo is also used to describe mixing.*

²¹ *Eric Williams Independence Day address delivered on national radio, 1962 taken from Eric Eustace Williams and Selwyn Reginald Cudjoe, Eric E. Williams Speaks: Essays on Colonialism and Independence (Calaloux Publications, 1993).*

a post-Independent Trinidad would have to coexist, and in order to move ahead with decolonisation he prepared a model for “fitting in” (Ibid.). Hence Afro- and Indo- Trinidadians have learnt to tolerate each other rather than accept each other, and within the politics of multiculturalism, carnival is used to shape ideas of unity that have never actually materialised (Ibid.).

Using psychoanalysis and literary text, together with ethnographic fieldwork, Gerard Aching (2002) has focused on masking and mimicry. Aching looks at masking in terms of visibility and invisibility. His study of carnival and popular culture in the Caribbean highlights social conduct outside carnival and how modes of communication may reveal much about such conduct. Through his analysis of Earl Lovelace’s perspective of carnival in *The Dragon Can’t Dance*, which tells a story of a community preparing for a carnival, Aching shows how Lovelace uses carnival as a motif. Lovelace explores a newly independent Trinidad society facing pressure and hardship. In doing so, he demonstrates the predicament experienced by colonised Trinidadians. Lovelace’s work is one example of the dominant discourse around carnival, and his text describes “masking” and “masking practices”. Aching notes that Lovelace’s character Aldrick, who creates and wears his dragon mask, is eager for everyone to see him. But, of course, as he wears the dragon mask his identity remains hidden. Aldrick concocts an elaborate plan to present a convincing mask and performance: once the crowd see him they will “be blind not to see” (Aching 2002, pp. 1–2; Lovelace, 1979). Aching uses the text to distinguish the link between “observers and masked subjects” in order to understand how “masks and masking activities” within “contemporary Caribbean” culture facilitates “social relations” in and outside of carnival (Ibid.). Aching proposes that masks and masking activities have come out of challenging authority.

Regarding masks, Hollis Liverpool has examined the Trinidad carnival from 1763 to 1962. Liverpool focuses on origins and changes to carnival. He describes how a law was passed in 1841 to inhibit masking practices and to

“control stick-fighters and revellers” (Liverpool, 2001, p. 240). Liverpool also highlights how Africans used masks: some used them to “commit criminal acts” but the “majority” used masks to reveal and communicate to their employers how they really felt; in some cases masks were used to enact “revenge” against their “masters or enemies” for cruel acts that they believed were perpetrated against them (Ibid.). Thus a “mask” was considered to be a symbol of “resistance” (Ibid.).

Whilst Liverpool defends the idea of the mask being a symbolic gesture of resistance, Aching probes further, by considering the issue of ‘social (in)visibility.’ He suggests that during the twentieth century “many forms of masking and mimicry took place during carnival celebrations”. He explains that these forms “became highly charged and complex modes of subversive communication through satire, parody, caricature, and witticism in costuming, song and dance” (Aching, 2002, p. 4). He also notes that, based on these “modes of communication”, vital information can be obtained from “social conduct” outside of carnival festivities (Ibid.).

2.5 UK CARNIVAL: OVERVIEW OF CARNIVAL BEGINNINGS

2.5.1 Overview

In this section I examine debates concerning the origins of UK carnival, particularly focusing on how carnival was adopted and adapted in the UK. I will also focus on the clashes and contestations that took place: how carnival emerged through specific social conditions and the developments that followed. I also examine discourses about the diasporic context for carnival and compare these to stated official interests in cultural diversity, community cohesion, multiculturalism and nationalism.

2.5.2 UK Carnival Origins

The beginnings of UK carnival has been a subject of debate, particularly as regards who founded the London Caribbean carnival, when it first began, and how the Caribbean-style carnival became the Notting Hill Carnival (Boyce-Davis, 2007, p. 183)? Social anthropologist Abner Cohen (1980) argues that the Notting Hill Carnival began in August 1965 (p. 66) and was organised by Rhaunee Laslett. Cohen suggests that, from 1965, the date he suggests the first carnival began, the Caribbean carnival in Britain falls into “three distinct periods: 1965-70, characterised by poly-ethnic participation and heterogeneous cultural expression” (Cohen, 1993, p. 8). He suggests that “1971-75, characterised by the domination of the Trinidad tradition of steel band music, calypso and masquerading” (Ibid.). Adding that 1976-79, dominated by the appearance of British-born West Indian youth and the introduction of Reggae pop music, with its associated Rastafarian symbols and ideologies” (Ibid).

According to Cohen’s account, in the early 1960s Laslett (who founded the Community Neighbourhood Service) “in between sleep and wakefulness [...] had a vision suggesting that she gather people from different ethnic groups in the area in a joyful procession” (Ibid., 1980, p. 68). Laslett spent a few months planning and organising talent from within the community for the Notting Hill Carnival (Ibid.). Cohen suggests that in the following years greater sophistication in organisation and artistic activities was introduced, with the enterprising Mrs Laslett “mobilising local talents for the Carnival” (Ibid.).

Bill Schwatz (2003) has examined the activities of West Indian intellectuals, and the ideas and culture they brought with them to Britain. Schwartz informs us that in March 1958, launched the first West Indian Gazette (p. 14). A year later, in February 1959, London’s first carnival took place in St Pancras Town Hall (Ibid., p. 16). Schwartz adds that the UK

carnival was organised to coincide with the carnivals in the Caribbean (Ibid.). Schwarz suggests that Jones played a vital role in re-establishing carnival. He notes that Jones was at the forefront of those individuals who were convinced that carnival would help to create a community at a time of fear and hatred (Ibid.). According to Schwartz, Jones was born in 1915 in Trinidad and Tobago. Later her family took her to Harlem, New York, where they lived. He describes Claudia Jones as a young woman that “became a tyro in the Young Communist League” but “poor health and constant harassment from the authorities wore her down” and she eventually spent time in prison (Ibid., p. 14). Schwarz notes that in 1955 Jones was deported to Britain since Trinidad, as he puts it, “wanted nothing to do with her” (Ibid.). He highlights that in Britain Jones continued her involvement in political activity, showing an ability to bring people together.

Schwarz argues that, via the Gazette, Claudia Jones was able to create a public voice, one that Schwarz indicates epitomised a “new kind of politics in Britain” and recognised “racial oppression” in the process (Ibid., p. 15). He explains that at that time there was “no public voice” and the Gazette became a “public voice” that “represented a project produced by West Indians, for West Indians” (Ibid.). He suggests that, concerning the matter of decolonisation, the Gazette communicated to “Britons” the process of decolonisation as something that was not simply happening “over there” but something that was happening “closer to home” (Ibid.).

In her writing on Claudia Jones’s legacy, Boyce-Davis also explains that the first London Caribbean carnival took place during winter and was held indoors, as opposed to on the streets (Boyce-Davis, 2007, p. 179). Boyce-Davis indicates that Jones has become the focus for cultural memory: Jones was able to analyse and determine the state of West Indian life in Britain by observing the parallels and differences of the “colonial world” and of the “United States” (Ibid., p. 168). Boyce-Davis explains that the “West Indian Gazette” and the “Afro-Asian Caribbean News” were the first

significant and leading Caribbean newspaper chains in Britain, and Jones sought to steer the expansion and growth of a Caribbean readership (Ibid.).

Both Boyce-Davis and Schwarz highlight Jones's ability to bring groups together, as well as how she helped transform carnival from a cultural festival to a political activity (Schwarz, 2003, p. 15; Boyce-Davies, 2007, p. 168). They also emphasise her role in adopting and adapting carnival in the UK: condensing a Trinidad-style carnival (which usually lasts for two days) into a one-day event in the UK (Ibid., 179). For Boyce-Davis the only distinctions between the first Caribbean carnival in 1959 and later manifestations in 1965 concern the dynamics of indoor and outdoor, and an issue of time and scale (Ibid.). Jones struggled against her colleagues because they considered carnival an inappropriate way of dealing with the bigger issues concerning their fight for "rights in the United Kingdom" (Ibid., p. 174), Boyce-Davis explains that Jones considered the positive effects of "Caribbean traditions": she considered carnival to be an opportunity to create a "culture of human happiness over the ignorance and pain of racism" (Ibid.). Boyce-Davis asserts that "the London Carnival", more than any other "initiative or event", has had a significant influence in bringing "Caribbean culture central to the British experience" (Ibid.).

Schwarz (2003) explains that West Indians who remained in Britain after the riots in the late 1950s recognised that, in order to build a life in Britain, reliance on their own resources was important (p. 15). Schwarz suggests that it was this recognition that resulted in West Indians re-establishing the idea of carnival in the UK. But, in as much as they were able to establish a notion of cultural West Indian-ness, establishing this notion was assembled through the UK experience. For example, the Caribbean Arts Movement (1966–72) a "British centered arts movement", founded by Kamau Brathwaite and John La Rose, was developed as a result of the "cultural dynamic of West Indians exiled in London during the 1960s and the early 1970s" (Courtman, 2008, pp. 234–235; Ibid.). Anne Walmsley, an original

member of the Caribbean Arts Movement, has described the history of the movement and the conditions that prompted it and influenced its development (Ibid.). Walsmley (1992) explains that members of the Caribbean Arts Movement attempted to locate their own “aesthetic and chart new dimensions for their arts and culture; to become acquainted with their history” (p. xvii). She notes that they also sought to “rehabilitate their Amerindian inheritance”, as well as “reinstat[ing] their African roots” and “re-establish[ing] links” with the “folk” by way of combining the “people’s language and musical rhythms in Caribbean literature” (Ibid.): a way of reasserting “their own tradition in the face of the dominant tradition” (Ibid.). In its six years of existence the Caribbean Arts Movement promoted “Caribbean and black British writing, art, criticism and publishing”, creating a space for intellectuals as well as artists outside of the Caribbean whilst inspiring a younger generation (Courtman, 2008, pp. 234–235). Linton Kwesi Johnson, a young member of the Caribbean Arts Movement in the early 1970s, moved to Britain from Jamaica in the early 1960s (Dawson, 2007, p. 73). As popular culture became increasingly important because of the artistic struggle as well as conflict and political events at the time (Ibid., p. 73), Linton Kwesi Johnson engaged in debates within the Caribbean Arts Movement about “appropriate forms and themes of artistic production among members of the Caribbean exile community in Britain” (Ibid.). He soon followed in the footsteps of Kamau Brathwaite and began crafting his own style of poetic language (Ibid.). Linton Kwesi Johnson’s cultural West Indian-ness like that of many other West Indians at the time, was assembled through the UK experience.

In Linton Kwesi Johnson’s case, he developed a “vernacular aesthetic” or “phonetic textualization” (Dawson, 2007, p. 74; Habekost, 1993, p. 227), which was influenced by the Jamaican Rastafarian’s dub poetry movement but which, at the same time, “had its own distinctive British flavour” (Habekost, 1993, p. 16). Johnson regarded this aesthetic as a “vital connection to the lives of black diaspora youths” (Dawson, 2007, p. 74).

Additionally, it “responded to the political and aesthetic desires that emerged as West Indians settled in Britain” (Ibid.).

West Indian intellectuals created a space they believed would instill a sense of community, to counter the racial prejudice West Indians endured in the UK, in an attempt the use art and culture to define their own aesthetic, and to look towards new possibilities. Linton Kwesi Johnson not only developed his craft as a dub poet but found a new aesthetic, a tribute to his UK experience, commenting on black Atlantic culture that cuts across or goes beyond nationality and ethnicity. In this way he constructed a new expressive culture. Paul Gilroy (1993) has called for an examination of practitioners or artists within “expressive culture of the black Atlantic” who have utilised “music as an aesthetic, political, or philosophical marker” in the construction of what he calls the “critical social theories” (pp. 78–79). But Gilroy acknowledges that musicians are usually represented in terms of expressive culture and are “presented as living symbols of the value of self-activity” (Ibid.). Gilroy highlights the significance of black Atlantic “expressive culture” that sits outside the realm of music, and highlights “the work of exemplary figures”: for example, “ex-slaves, preachers, self-educated scholars and writers” (Ibid.).

2.5.3 Clashes and Developments

Violent clashes and confrontations did not hinder the Notting Hill Carnival; instead, carnival emerged through these social conditions (Owusu, 1986, p. 158). Trinidadians who were already involved in carnival, as pan men and mas’ bandleaders, “brought with them this tradition of celebration and creativity” (Ibid.). Owusu notes that, one year after Claudia Jones’ death, the Notting Hill Carnival was first held on “August Bank Holiday in 1965” suggesting that the relatively small event was “significant” even though it scarcely received “national coverage” (Ibid., pp. 158–159). He explains that before this event Caribbean cultural events took place in “shabeens” or “pubs

and clubs” in London (Ibid.). Notting Hill had a large West Indian population, so the development of the carnival on the street was perhaps no coincidence. Owusu describes the riot in 1958 as a success that promoted confidence for future carnivals, as a result of the victory that the “black community” won over “extreme right-wing attacks”, which occurred as a result of the murder of Kelso Cochrane (Ibid.). He describes a convivial atmosphere, suggesting that people took to the streets to meet, greet and visit friends, and family: it was a chance to reawaken the positive feelings of the Caribbean. Owusu describes the carnival as an “annual mecca”, where revellers had the opportunity to “re-enact a powerful cultural and political symbolism”, a re-enactment that had become significant to “daily black existence” in Britain (Ibid.). Owusu also discusses the development of the carnival from 1965 to 1975, a period which saw an increase in steel bands as well as revellers, and an emergence of mas’ camps for the organisation and preparation of costumes. Opposition to carnival persisted as a result of its growth at a time when financial constraints meant that elaborate costumes were difficult to prepare. As Owusu explains, “improvisation fired creativity in novel directions, and deepened the process through which carnival came to reflect the black working class experience in Britain” (Ibid.). Owusu emphasises the significance of carnival to the black working class and their experience of carnival in their new environment.

Whilst Owusu describes the development of carnival from 1965 to 1975, highlighting the significance of the steel bands, revellers, mas’ camps (all modelled on the Trinidad carnival), Cohen’s account (1980) focuses attention on the carnival organised by Rhaunee Laslett in 1965, which he indicates “was a working-class, poly-ethnic event” (p. 68). Cohen describes 1965-70 as a “period was characterised by co-operation across ethnic lines, notably between West Indian immigrants and British working-class natives” (Ibid., 1993, p. 20). He notes, “in Notting Hill there was clear working-class solidarity between immigrants and natives, struggling with local authorities over housing, school, and neighbourhood amenities. Carnival was an

expression, as well as an instrument, of that class solidarity” (Ibid., 1980, p. 68). But Cohen highlights what he calls “a dramatic change in the character of carnival between 1971 and 1975, which he explains “became exclusively West Indian in its leadership and arts and nearly so in attendance” (Ibid.). Did this “working-class solidarity between immigrants and natives” change over time, and with what results (Ibid.)?

Owusu (1986) explains that carnival in 1975 was “a mass activity” adding that it “became obvious with [the] introduction of large sound systems” including the “attraction to carnival of large groups of black youth” but while “carnival’s expanded its cultural and political horizons” there was growing “white opposition” to the festival (Owusu, 1986, p. 160). Cecil Gutzmore (1993) also draws attention to the conflict surrounding the “culture of the black masses” (p. 361), and suggests that this must be considered in relation to “cultural events”, “cultural venues” and “cultural forms” (Ibid., pp. 361, 362). With regards to “cultural events” Gutzmore refers to two incidents: the 1973 “Brockwell incident” involving clashes between police and “black youth” (Ibid., p. 361), and the 1975 “Leeds Bonfire Night incident which led again to an affray charge” (Ibid.). These clashes and confrontations began in 1969 and continued thereafter, and police became aggressive towards “black culture and social activity” (Solomos, 1988, p. 103). Gutzmore suggests venues including bookshops were “targets for violence” (Gutzmore, 1993, p. 362), adding that “cultural forms”, such as dances, weddings, and house parties, were treated by the police with the same response - violence. He questions why the Notting Hill Carnival did not look “threatening in the first eight years” of its existence and suggests that from 1966 the carnival was organised by “white people” (Ibid., p. 368). He suggests that “a woman called Raune Laslett was one of the whites who was central to the early organization of the Notting Hill Carnival” (Ibid.). Gutzmore states that “later white organizations like the North Kensington Amenity Trust, which is a control agency for the local borough council, then run by ...Anthony Perry” was involved in the organisation of the carnival at this time (Ibid.). Gutzmore

suggests that “there were few blacks involved, but these were subservient” although not necessarily subservient people (Ibid.). Gutzmore notes that there were “battles within the carnival for control by black people, to take the thing out of the hands of white people” (Ibid.). Eventually, after a competition between “blacks for control of the Carnival” Leslie Palmer won “because he got the backing of one of the white organisations ...the North Kensington Amenity Trust” (Ibid.). Leslie Parmer used Capital Radio to advertise the 1975 Notting Hill Carnival, and the event received a favourable turnout: “five hundred thousand people, or thereabout, attended the carnival” (Ibid., p. 370). Gutzmore suggests that this turnout meant that the “carnival entered the domain of threatening culture, because it was then mass culture, active mass culture and it had therefore, to be suppressed, or controlled” (Ibid.).

But how did Notting Hill continue, despite the entering this period in which it was regarded as part of a “threatening culture” (Ibid.)? Gutzmore alludes to the difficulties of continuing the Notting Hill Carnival. “There was a long battle following the 1975 carnival, for the preservation of carnival itself and for the retention of it on the street” (Ibid., p. 371). He explains that the carnival faced prohibitions and controls and police presence was visible around most of the bands” (Ibid., p. 373). In Cohen’s (1993) account once it became apparent that the carnival was bigger and could not be controlled or banned “the authorities sought to contest it and contain it – economically, politically, culturally and ideologically” (p. 45). Different tactics were used “with subtle, loose coordination of policy by different public authorities: the Home Office, the police, the Council for Racial Equality, the local council, the now defunct Greater London Council and the Arts Council” (Ibid.).

These accounts demonstrate that carnival is a contested site, meaning different things to different people, and having political, ideological or economic aspects. Cohen has also argued that there are other areas of contestation within carnival, explaining that the Arts Council were reluctant to

give funding or financial support to carnival because it was not considered artistic. Cohen explains that:

for an institution which principally allocated money to such elitist arts as the opera and the theatre it was difficult to see any artistic merit in popular masquerades and in 'repetitive jerky jumping that went on all day', as one Council official put it. (Ibid., p. 46)

According to Cohen "considerable polemic had gone on between the carnival organisers and officials of the Arts Council over whether carnival arts were truly artistic" (Ibid., p. 46). This prompted the chairman of the Carnival Development Committee²², Trinidadian Darcus Howe, to make a statement in 1978 concerning the matter, in which he suggested that carnival art was significant and valid (Ibid.). These issues continued, according to Cohen, and in 1981 the Arts Council declared against offering funding (Ibid.). Today, however, the Arts Council offers funding to carnival, deeming carnival to be a part of the combined arts.

One other contested aspect of carnival is the conflict between Trinidadians and Jamaicans concerning how carnival is meant to be celebrated. Gutzmore explains that as a result of the prohibitions, the carnival was controlled, meaning "no illegal sale of drinks, no smoking ganja on the streets: basically, no jollity. ...no sound systems on the street" (Gutzmore, 1993, p. 373). Trinidadians were not concerned about the prohibition of the sound system since the Jamaicans' reggae music drowned

²² Cohen discusses the rift between the Carnival Development Committee (CDC) and the Carnival Arts Committee (CAC), the changes in leadership and their ideological perspectives, the growth of the festival and the complex carnival movement (p. 45). He also highlights changes in the festival after the appointment of Claire Holder to the Carnival Enterprise Committee (CEC). The CEC were then focused on enterprise and were keen on making the festival a "self-financing ...source of employment and income for the community" (p. 66).

out the sound of the steel band. According to Gutzmore the Trinidadians felt that the Jamaicans did not “understand carnival at all” (Ibid.).

Aside from these confrontations and clashes, what does carnival mean in the UK, and what are some of the official interests regarding carnival? In one of its annual programmes, the Victoria and Albert Museum (2007) expressed its aim to communicate the cultural diversity of London to the rest of the UK through an exhibition about carnival. In the programme, the Museum asserted that they had begun work in this area over 20 years ago. They also explained that they were “motivated by a low percentage of black audiences at the V&A, and as a result developed public programmes which focus on black heritage” as a means of “attracting significant numbers of black audiences despite having no gallery or collection dedicated to the African Diaspora” (Victoria and Albert Museum, 2007).

Compared to those of the grass roots organisers of carnival, the Victoria and Albert Museum’s focus and interests regarding carnival might be different. Some of the aims of the grass roots organisers of carnival in Britain were to create and maintain a growing Caribbean diaspora community amidst fear and hatred, the aim of public expression and creating social and political space. In contrast, the Museum focused on widening participation by perhaps considering access, inclusion, and diversity. Perhaps the Museum’s role may be to understand, interpret and portray a changing society. Vertovec and Wessendorf (2010) have explored the social circumstances surrounding, and political debates concerning, multiculturalism. They suggest that the “UK forms one of the classical European examples of long-established multicultural policy and practice” (p. 23). They explain that it “has recently come under scrutiny in both political and public debates especially since 2001” (Ibid.). Culture is used to promote multiculturalism, with importance placed on “diversity in participation”: thus, the UK carnival is becoming a “multicultural or polyethnic festival” (Nurse, 2004, p. 248).

The foregoing discussion raises questions about what social cohesion is in Britain and whether it has encouraged diversity among various ethnic groups. Is multiculturalism providing a sense of harmony and integration amongst ethnic groups? What are the effects of community cohesion? Part of what I am interested in understanding in this research is whether the discourse concerning multiculturalism is policy-focused rather than people-focused. Whilst governments decide policy, people live and work in their communities and may adapt to difference and diversity within their communities; to what extent is this taken into account by government policy?

In a newspaper article Kenan Malik (2010) has suggested that, *Multiculturalism Undermines Diversity*. In the article, Malik questions multiculturalism in Britain (Malik, 2010, The Guardian Online). Malik advises that, for some, multiculturalism articulates the idea of a 'liberal society' in Britain, but for others it brings about segregation (Ibid.). He states that the reasons for the "difficulty with this debate is that both sides confuse the lived experience of diversity, on the one hand, with multiculturalism as a political process, on the other" (Ibid.). Malik also suggests that multiculturalism "describes a set of policies" that seeks to "manage diversity by putting people into ethnic boxes" thus "defining individual needs and rights", applying the "virtue of the boxes into which people are put" but also "using those boxes to shape public policy" (Ibid.).

Malik suggests that the irony of multiculturalism in light of the political process is that it undermines diversity as a lived experience. He also highlights that the stated role of multiculturalist policies is to empower minority groups but that it is actually 'community leaders' who are empowered. Malik explains that multicultural policies consider minority communities as homogenous, overlooking differences within them (Ibid.). Malik agrees that diversity in lived experience has been positive for Britain. But he suggests that a separation of the debates concerning 'immigration

and diversity' from the issue of 'multiculturalism' must take place since multiculturalism has not been good for Britain (Ibid.).

In recent times, concerns about state multiculturalism have been raised by Prime Minister David Cameron in his speech on "radicalisation and Islamic extremism", at the 2011 Munich security conference. In a time of austerity Cameron has contended that state multiculturalism has failed, thus adding to the possibility of terrorism in the UK. Cameron's speech was delivered on the same day that the fascist organisation the English Defence League carried out a march in Luton (5th February 2011) and prompted mixed reviews (Lancaster Unity Online, 2011).

Senior political editor of the New Statesman, Medhi Hasan (2011) responded to David Cameron's speech proposing that the "debate over multiculturalism has little to do with the debate over extremism and radicalization" (Hasan, 2011, New Statesman). He suggests that the "two should be kept separate" (Ibid.). He explains that "Terrorism is a political problem; not a cultural problem" and "extremists, violent or otherwise, come in all shapes and sizes, all colours and creeds" (Ibid.). He argues that the "English Defence League" is "made up of violent extremists and yet they are not a product of "multiculturalism", failed or otherwise" (Ibid.).

But how can Cameron's idea of a "clear sense of shared national identity that is open to everyone" be achieved and is it the way forward for community cohesion (Number 10.gov.uk)? David Cameron mentions in his speech (on "radicalisation and Islamic extremism") the launch of a campaign called the "National Citizen Service: a two-month programme" in which "sixteen-year-olds from different backgrounds live and work together" (Ibid.). According to Cameron, he believes that "we should encourage meaningful and active participation in society, by shifting the balance of power away from the state and towards the people" (Ibid.). Thus "common purpose can be formed as people come together and work together in their neighbourhoods"

(Ibid.). Now, I will briefly consider how politicians may use language to emphasise ideas such as “meaningful and active participation in society” as outlined by David Cameron or ‘community cohesion’ (Ibid.).

Barbra Arneil (2006), in her book *Diverse Communities: The Problem with Social Capital*, has considered how government ministers may use *language* to emphasise ‘community cohesion’ which becomes linked with ideas of ‘Britishness’:

...government ministers in the United Kingdom adopt the language of social capital to underpin not only the principle of ‘active citizenship’ but the search for both ‘community cohesion’ and - more strangely in a country not republican by disposition – national unity, as evidenced by a series of ministerial speeches that link social capital or civic renewal with finding a transcendent ‘Britishness’ through common and shared norms. (p. 232)

Stuart Hall (1997) has discussed the importance of language for emphasising thought, and asks the following, “how does language construct meanings? How does it sustain the dialogue between participants which enables them to build up a culture of shared understandings and so interpret the world in roughly the same way?” (p. 1). He proposes that, “language is able to do this because it operates as a representational system” (Ibid.). He explains that “in language, we use signs and symbols – whether they are sounds, written words electronically produced images, musical notes, even objects – to stand for or represent to other people our concepts, ideas and feelings” (Ibid.).

2.5.4 Nationalism: A Limitation or Potential?

In the various discourses about nationalism, some consider nationalism as offering a potential, while others stand against it. But what are the limitations of nationalism? In Trinidad, carnival is respected and promoted as 'national culture' or 'we ting'. In some ways this may even be a disservice to other newly appropriated cultural arts forms. Nationalism in Trinidad seems to take the position of top-down ordering which supports a political agenda; perhaps post-independence, the 'national culture' ideology had already been set. However, in Britain, carnival does not seem to have the same significance: preservation of the national culture is of utmost importance and nationalist ideology seems to focus on being British. In this analysis, the focus on being British is similar to the 'we ting' of the Trinidad carnival, since it is regarded as a badge to promote 'cultural diversity'. Additionally, in the UK attempts have been made to reclaim carnival in order to promote London's cultural diversity to international tourists. It is used for social cohesion or, as outlined by Connor and Farrar, it is a "subtle cultural/political response to white racism" (Connor and Farrar, 2004, p. 268).

Jyoti Puri (2004) has examined how nationalism has developed in Britain, explaining that it "was built on attempts to maintain clear differences between Britons and the "native" peoples in its colonies" (pp. 91, 92). Puri outlines that "England was a destination for immigrant groups, including the Irish, Scots, West Indians, Chinese, Africans and East Indians (Ibid.). She suggests that "...their presence and periodic racial discrimination in the form of harassment and forced exile made a myth of the idea that England or Britain was a cohesive nation" (Ibid.). Puri also emphasises that 'people of colour' (Ibid.) did not fit into the idealised view of the English middle and upper classes. Puri's account emphasises the complexities in discourses around nationalism, and how differences can be overlooked.

In the UK government's attempt to embrace cohesion, is it possible that

they might be neglecting *difference*, by trying to place diverse groups into their idea of what it means to be British. Based on David Cameron's speech on "radicalisation and Islamic extremism" where he proposes that "we need a clear sense of shared national identity that is open to everyone" (Number 10.gov.uk), perhaps carnival might be continue to be used as a tool to promote cultural diversity in Britain.

2.5.5 Caribbean Diasporas: Remaking Carnival

Green and Scher (2007) suggest that studies concerning the carnivals of the Caribbean diaspora usually examine their "political significance and their implications for community formation, and their influence on the construction, maintenance, and assertion of identity" (p. 11). They also acknowledge that understanding "developments, specifically in relation to the entrance of Trinidad into a changing global economy, is vital for understanding the shape and form of the exported Carnivals" (Ibid., p. 12). Nurse (2004) proposes that globalisation "is directly related to the spread and expansion of a Caribbean diaspora in the North Atlantic" (p. 246). He suggests that "after World War II, in response to the demand for cheap immigrant labour... almost every major city in North America and England" organised a "Caribbean-style carnival that is, in large part, modeled after the one found in Trinidad" (Ibid.). Nurse's comments also draw attention to the strong connections Trinidadians feel towards their carnival: when they travel they somehow manage to take it with them.

Patrick Manning's (2005) *Migration in World History* defines a diaspora as "a community that maintains contact with its various elements and that keeps its identity across great distances. Diasporas generally have no army and no government – they are held together by shared customs" (p. 160). Stuart Hall (1990) defines the diaspora experience as being held together "by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity"

(p. 235). He explains that “diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference” (Ibid.).

Lyndon Phillip (2010) examines the syncretic features of diasporic carnival and suggests that carnival is “a multivocally constructed space that elaborates across difficult imaginaries that do not always point back to a singular and identifiable source” (p. 83). Phillip notes that “this is the countercultural politics of carnival spaces, which also spills across the dynamics of the intergenerational contradictions of community” (Ibid.). It may be that Caribbean diasporic carnivals are syncretic, a fusion of West Indian and European traditions and ideas. They are therefore not wholly Trinidadian and not entirely British, but a combination of cultural art forms within the community that are involved in the carnival.

A discourse about community integration is a significant aspect of the UK carnival and reminds us of its grass roots beginnings, but unlike the parent Trinidad carnival, UK carnival is not part of the official state culture. Nurse (2004) suggests that the Caribbean diasporic carnivals “have allowed for integration as well as contestation with the dominant white population in addition to the other immigrant communities within the host societies” (p. 253). Perhaps integration is possible within carnival since, having no one essential meaning, it can be used in different ways: what it means has much to do with how it is framed and interpreted. For the Caribbean diasporic communities, the politics of marginalisation occurred in situations where people wanted to make their voices heard on matters of discrimination, and perhaps in situations of anger and rebellion. Claudia Jones used carnival to bring people together following the race riots in 1958 (Schwarz, 2003, p. 15; Boyce-Davies, 2007, p. 168). But Jones was confident that carnival had the potential to create a community (Schwarz, 2003, pp. 15-16). Jones “exemplified this blend of autonomous cultural and political organizing” (Dawson, 2007, p. 47).

Nurse (2004) suggests that there are “over sixty diasporic Caribbean Carnivals... with as many as thirty” in the UK (p. 246). He states that “no other carnival can claim to have spawned so many offspring” as has the Trinidad carnival (ibid.). These UK carnivals possess the potential to bring people together and to give them the chance to express their anger about injustices.

UK carnival has been able to tackle or address other issues. Economist David Marlow (2011) considers UK carnival to be a means of tackling social exclusion, of boosting the economy, and of lifting the nation's spirits in light of “deeply worrying economic news” (Marlow, 2011, *The Guardian*). He describes carnival's profitability and its positive qualities in bringing “social and economic returns”, suggesting that carnival brings people and communities together (ibid.). Marlow comments on carnival's ability to bringing people and communities together because of their involvement and participation in voluntary work—“the archetypal big society showcase” (ibid.). Marlow suggests that the Arts Council recognises carnival arts as a “combined art” that includes many “art forms and traditions” The Arts Council sees carnival as a “new innovative production and performance” (ibid.). Marlow explains the importance of investing in combined arts, suggesting that doing so can potentially offer “future social and economic returns” (ibid.). He notes that carnival arts are also vital in terms of engaging disadvantaged young people in the community, whom other “traditional art forms cannot reach” (ibid.). Marlow suggests that carnival can play a positive role in digital creative industry, by creating “new commercial opportunities” with the “priority sectors”, alongside the “government's plan for growth” (ibid.).

Commenting on the growth of carnival in the UK, arts consultant Adam Jeanes (2005) has suggested that the second largest carnival in the UK is Luton Carnival: the event boasted 150,000 attendees in 2005 (p. 50). Jeanes

explains that carnival in Luton first took place in 1976 (Ibid.). The Arts Council England (2010) suggests that the Luton 2010 carnival was expected to attract more than 3 million visitors and a considerable £34 million to Luton's economy. The Arts Council notes that the UK Centre for Carnival Arts in Luton, launched in May 2009, is considered a "pioneering artistic hub" (Arts Council England, 2010). The Arts Council has set out its vision for the UK Centre for Carnival Arts in Luton, explaining that it offers "accredited training" for carnival enthusiasts; opportunities to work with "international artists"; and "valued space for business start-ups" (Ibid.).

Notting Hill Carnival generates "tens of millions of pounds for London's economy" (Metro Web Reporter Online, 2011). The Notting Hill Carnival's growth, and its ability to address a wide range of issues, are evident with regards to its involvement in the 2012 Olympics. The 2012 Notting Hill "Olympics Carnival" (London Evening Standard, 2011), expected an increase in crowds of "one million" to "5.5 million visitors", organisers considered the carnival as a "mega-carnival", and were collaborating with Brazil as they had a well-known carnival and were "hosting the next Olympic Games and World Cup" (London Evening Standard, 2011). Due to the timing of the Olympic Games, the 2012 carnival was moved to the month of July instead of its usual time in May and was said to have been organised so as to coincide with the Olympic Torch's arrival in Luton (Luton Borough Council Website).

One very important aspect of carnival is the mas' camp. Regarding the Trinidad mas' camps Mason (1998) notes "each band bases itself at a 'mas camp' usually an unused shop or small set of offices where sketches of the costumes will be hung on the wall with prices attached" (pp. 79, 81). He explains that "a couple of helpers will sit at a desk in the front, ready to sign people up, while others sit in a room at the back, sewing, spraying and gluing the costumes together" (Ibid.). He also explains that "some of the work that goes on behind the scenes at the mas' camp is highly skilled, artistic and dedicated" and in the "smaller bands most of the work may be done by a

husband and wife team or a circle of friends” (Ibid.). Modelled on the Trinidad mas’ camps, UK Mas’ camps also play a significant role in the remaking of carnival. In the UK there are many mas’ camps, each promoting their own uniqueness but all sharing a similar aim: to design and produce eye-catching costumes. The mas’ camp offers a social space where people meet and share ideas, complementing and supporting community cohesion, training, and youth programmes. Concerning carnival’s hybrid cultural forms the importance of mas’ camps, Dawson (2007) has suggested that they are “practically a year-round affair, they play a significant role in consolidating neighbourhood Caribbean communities around the metropolis” (p. 79). Discussing the tensions regarding carnival as a result of its not being accepted by the British establishment “as an art form”, Dawson emphasises the significance of carnival to the people who engage in it each year. He suggests that “identities are grounded in a spatial and cultural geography that interweaves the local and global” (Ibid., p. 76, 77). He suggests that “Moving from the mas’ (masquerade) camp to the calypso tent to the streets of Notting Hill” the spectator/participant can “carve the bonds of social cohesion uniting local communities of Caribbean origin in Britain” (Ibid.).

Lyndon Phillip (2007) has carried out research regarding black youths in the Toronto carnival, which is modelled on the Trinidad carnival. Phillip examines “the way in which black youth contest and contradict traditional notions of Carnival in Toronto by tapping into their diasporic sensibilities” (p. 103). He argues that although these youths may seemingly contradict traditional values or demonstrate “a total rejection” of carnival, they are “combining aspects of Carnival and other cultural styles shaping young black lives” (Ibid.). Phillip discusses the way in which black youths embody carnival traditions: he highlights that they may not be bounded by carnival, and as a result they can move between varying cultural styles that they may have experienced. Thus, these youths find their own way of embracing carnival traditions, not through rejection or avoidance but by merging their “diasporic sensibilities” with “other cultural styles” (ibid.). Similarly in the UK carnival,

Linton Kwesi Johnson found his own method of “merging” (Ibid.), creating a new aesthetic within the UK carnival experience.

2.6 SENSORY AND EMOTIONAL LANDSCAPE

2.6.1 Overview

*Feeling to party, feeling to fete, Feeling to party until
meh clothes wet baby, Ah feeling to dance boy, ah
feeling to dance... Play yuh self, play yuh self. ('Feeling
de feeling', The Mighty Shadow, Winston Bailey, 1989)*

In this section I examine sensory and emotional aspects of acquiring knowledge in relation to carnival. I am particularly interested in how people feel about becoming absorbed and immersed in the many things they are surrounded by during the carnival. How does the process of taking things in, or of absorbing one's surroundings, happen through the senses? In addition, how is this absorption reproduced in a tacit embodied form? With regard to the senses, how do participants feel about carnival's many adaptations, forms, performances, and improvisations?

I will draw from disciplines and sub-disciplines relating to the senses to understand “the ways in which meanings are ...invested in and conveyed through ...the senses” (Classen, 1997, p. 405). I will explore emotions, which are a part of our daily lives and which are “elicited by significant events” (Frijda, 1986, p. 6). According to Frijda (1986) emotions are an important biological sense that helps us learn and relearn about ourselves and the world. (Ibid.) I will also draw on performance studies, dance studies and fashion studies, in order to shed light on the links between dress and the body, and on the impulse to dance, celebrate, express and share.

2.6.2 Carnival: Why the Sensory and Emotional Landscape?

In tracing carnival transformations manifested in the carnival in Trinidad, and in the Trinidad carnival's offspring in the wider Caribbean diasporic community, anthropologists Garth Green and Philip Scher (2007) have commented on the various approaches to the study of carnival. They suggest that carnival is particularly analysed by historians, writers, scholars and social scientists from the perspective of social, political, race, identity, class and gender (p. 6). In addition, they explain, "the most illuminating analyses of the Trinidad Carnival take the greatest care to identify and trace the social transformations that affect the festival and identify the social location of key actors involved in cultural debates" (ibid.). However, Green and Scher suggest that the "less successful studies appear to be more interested in promoting a particular nationalist agenda or restating a long-held grievance than directly encountering the apparently contradictory aspects of carnival head-on" (ibid.). Their view highlights that carnival has been analysed mainly from an academic perspective, and emphasises the main voices in discourses about carnival. Discourses about carnival have associated carnival with liberation, preservation, and resistance (Liverpool, 2001, p. 51; Cudjoe, 2003, pp. 1, 174). They have suggested that carnival is a site for hegemony, and not being "freely free" (Munasinghe, 2001, pp. 221, 223; Schechner, 2004, p. 5), that carnival involves political involvement, which focuses on the development of an Afrocentric culture, or as a marketing tool where cultural heritage is used to provide state wealth (Scher, 2010). Green and Scher also propose that "...carnival is a framework of possibilities" (Green and Scher, 2007, p. 9).

Few scholars, however, have examined the possibilities of analysing the senses and emotions of the people who experience carnival, either as spectator, participant, or artist, or those who adopt other positions in relation to carnival. Green and Scher also comment on:

political agendas informing scholarship and a woeful lack of theoretical reflection [that] explain the too frequent dismissal of ambiguity and contradiction in the carnivals. The carnival is subject to numerous forms of reductionist analysis. That is to say that many scholars are eager to demonstrate just how carnival is a form of resistance (and that's all). (ibid., p. 10)

The varying ways in which people engage in carnival, and how they perceive carnival through their own senses, has been little document. Thus, examining what the senses and emotions can reveal about this stimulating and expressive festival may be useful in understanding how people engage with carnival on an embodied level, and it offer a more nuanced approach of the kind Green and Scher call for. This is what my research seeks to do. In addition, I want to explore how hierarchical organisation or ordering informs the sensory experience. Having examined the dominant discourses in this literature review, many of which appear to centre on verbal discourse, I have not excluded verbal communication (interviews and discourse), I recognise the importance of language and have tried to use speech in the context of other sensory and experiential aspects of carnival.

Carnival involves embodied knowledge: it is a festival, full of movement, colours, tastes, sounds, smells, and things that are touched. It involves fetes, competitions, traditional carnival characters, and contemporary mas', all occurring at once. The carnival's heightened atmosphere and sense of enjoyment is produced in multiple ways: by sensual dance or wining in the streets; liming (a social activity, similar to hanging out); food and tasty treats prepared by vendors; masking; mimicry in song and performance; singing, speech bands (a space for voicing political and social issues); and ole mas' (an aspect of jouvay and street theatre). Thus, under the umbrella of carnival there are varying forms of cultural expression, each of which may offer a different experience or sensation.

Departing from Husserl's phenomenology, Merleau-Ponty expresses the significance of phenomenology as existential in relation to the lived experience (Carman, 1999, p. 215). He suggests that "all my knowledge of the world, even my specific knowledge, is gained from my own particular point of view, or from some experience of the world without which the symbols of science would be meaningless" (1962, p. ix). He explains the function of the body as offering experience from an embodied position which helps us to understand our world (Barbaras, 2001, p. 175). Paul Stoller (1989) also emphasises the importance of the move towards an appreciation of the role of the senses that has occurred in anthropology and other social sciences, to access the world, and examines the methodological and theoretical implications of understanding the senses for writing ethnography and fieldwork. Stoller explores Merleau-Ponty's position on nature and explains that both "...Cezanne and Merleau-Ponty realized that the world consists of much more than observed objective reality and the hypotheses, theorems, and laws which scientists extract from their observations" (Stoller, 1989, p. 37). He adds, "Merleau-Ponty believed that we lose much of the substance of life-in-the-world by thinking operationally, by defining rather than experiencing the reality of things" (Ibid.). Stoller uses the term "gaze"²³ and suggests that "much of what we see is shaped by our experiences" adding that "our "gaze" has a "direct bearing on what we think" (Ibid.) He explains that "what we see and think... has a bearing upon what we say and what and how we write" (Ibid). Stoller (1997) proposes "sensuous scholarship" as it employs different qualities or kinds of participation and observation: "anthropologists should open their senses to the worlds of their others" and ethnographic writing should capture "smells, tastes, textures of the land, the people, and the food" (Stoller, 1989, p. 29). For Stoller, the senses are important in providing a better understanding of other cultures. Indicating the importance of using one's senses in the field, Stoller highlights that, for the Songhay, hearing is more significant than sight, which he calls,

²³ Paul Stollar's use of the term "gaze" is taken from Michael Foucault's empiricism.

“the privileged sense of the West” (Ibid, p. 3).

Stoller does not, however, exclude observation. He advises: that “empirical anthropologists [should] participate fully in the lives of those they seek to describe” (Stoller, 1992, p. 214). He highlights the long-term fieldwork of Jean Rouch who uses a “blend observation and participation, science and art, constructing a provocative ethnographic oeuvre that challenges many ...provincial assumptions about Africa” (Ibid., p. 23). Similarly, anthropologist/filmmaker David MacDougall (2006) used visual technologies to conduct long-term fieldwork, and examined the Doon School in India, a residential boys’ school renowned for its successful graduates and the positions their students go on to achieve in society. MacDougall examined the school as a creative piece, an artwork of sorts, and as a result was encouraged to look at the social aesthetic of the school. Exploring the school’s ideology via the everyday life and routines, MacDougall noticed “patterns of gesture, posture, and visible social behaviour” which construct a particular cultural and physical environment. He examined how the boys live within the school whilst affirming character against the milieu of the everyday (Ibid., 2006, p. 102). MacDougall’s study also defined alternative ways in which research is concerned with understanding the “relation of individuals to their societies” (Ibid.). He examined the boys in both their social and intimate settings and emphasised that the school is a “self-consciously created community” and that “aesthetic design and aesthetic judgments” played an important role in how they operate within this constructed community (Ibid., pp. 95- 96).

MacDougall describes the school’s social aesthetic that is made up of various elements, and suggests that what is important is the interrelations as a whole and their individual effects (MacDougall, 2006, p. 98). He refers to elements such as the design of buildings, how clothing and colours are used, life in a dormitory and the rules and regulations that pupils are expected to obey, how students’ time is organised, specific styles of speech and gesture,

and the various “rituals of everyday life” that are part of activities such as “eating, school gatherings, and sport” (Ibid.). Thus despite his interest in examining such things as “clothing, colors, timetables, ...gestures and postures”, which he points out are supplementary, compared to bigger issues concerning “belief” and “social structure”. With this in mind, he decided to separate objects that are commonly imbued with knowledge and significance from their “symbolic meanings”, which perhaps broadened his own “feeling of being into seeing”, alerting him to a “world in miniature” that had its own idiosyncratic features or “material signature” (Ibid., pp. 1, 96). MacDougall’s examination of this prestigious school’s distinctive qualities emphasised how the school had a strong impact on its students and “impressed its own distinctive stamp” on them (Ibid.).

Henry John Drewal and John Mason (1997) have considered the role of the senses in understanding and appreciating African art. They suggest that “language, for example, is just one of the ways we experience and represent the world” (p. 333). They speculate that before the existence of language humans began by “perceiving, reasoning, theorizing, and understanding” through the senses. They suggest that even though we are not always aware that we are using our senses we continue to use them as we “make sense of the world” (Ibid.).

Drewal and Mason propose that “sensing (hearing, tasting, etc.) is thinking” and that “sensing is theorising”, highlighting that “in the beginning, there was no word” (Ibid.). Although Stoller (1989), Drewal and Mason (1997), describe fieldwork from the perspective of the outsider looking in, perhaps the outsider researcher with experience of the cultural practice being studied should not aim to “unmask” preconceived ideological assumptions (De Freitas, 2007, p. 57), but rather should consider a multisensory approach that does not rely solely on language-based approaches (which is only one way of experiencing and representing the world) (Drewal and Mason, 1997, p. 333; Stoller, 1989, p. 3). Merleau-Ponty’s concept of life-in-the-world

leaves much to consider before one embarks into the field and before one commences writing about a subject. Consequently, in order to offer new perspectives, it is important to consider the study of carnival as experience, as well as to try to define perspectives, ideologies and representations. Thus the role of the field worker is empathic - sensing as a means of theorising - and, as a result, participation is more important than observation. The ethnographic writer uses the senses to give the reader a description of “the smells, tastes, and textures” of their subject (Stoller, 1989, p. 29).

2.6.3 Dance: Wine Down Low

Wine down so, Wine down low, Wine, wine, wine.
(‘Nani Wine’, Calypso Crazy, Edwin Ayoung, 1989)

Dancing or wining in carnival can take the form of improvised or of choreographed movements, depending on a person’s role in the festival. For example, participants belonging to a costume or masquerade band can dance along with their band; they can also improvise their dance movements as they stay with their band and move through the streets or on the stage. Spectators may try to join a band, pleasurably wining or dancing without worrying about losing the band or falling into another masquerade band. However, in contrast, a choreographed performance requires a more controlled performance, one that has been rehearsed in costume. In some cases the movements of the masquerader changes once the costume is fitted, depending on its size and weight, and so participants have to learn to wear their costume as well as to dance in it. It is customary for people to follow any sound system, and to dance in a purely improvisatory way. What knowledge is encoded in dance? What emotions can be communicated in and through dance? What can dance tell us about carnival?

Yvonne Daniel (2005) explores spiritual dance and the knowledge encoded in it in, providing an examination of the African diaspora in the

Americas. Daniel suggests that "...dance movement and music interconnect and reference other dimensions beyond the social arena" (p. 51). Daniel's evocative ethnography offers a sensual approach to dance, and emphasises the significance of the senses for learning and teaching. She explains that the African Oya dance is used as "...spiritual communication, physical healing, and social balance" (Ibid., p. 352) using touch, sight, and hearing. Daniel also proposes that through dance human resilience becomes visible as a result of "the nonverbal messages...of persistence, deliberation, dedication...and ultimately calm and strength [that] are all taught, learned over time, and transferred beyond the dance/music event to other arenas of social life" (Ibid., p. 357). Her description highlights how dance and the everyday become entwined as the dancer learns coping mechanisms through the ritual dance, and so maintains calmness in the everyday.

In Trinidad, dance - such as wining during carnival - may not be performed as a spiritual ritual but much can be learned by investigating Trinidadians' social lives and what aspects of wining are maintained once the annual two day carnival has ended. Daniel Miller highlights non-verbal forms of communication in social life with regards to wining, and discusses how people's expression in dance is as important as the way they may express themselves verbally.

Miller (1991) comments on his experience in the 1988 Trinidad carnival and explains that prominence was given to wining in the local debates and the newspaper articles at the time. He describes the analysis of dance as "absolute freedom", which, he asserts, has its foundations in the combination of two aspects: for example, on those occasions when "women take on the project of objectifying freedom", which he asserts is commonly "associated with men", and "create a form" which briefly offers in its "completeness an extreme exemplification of this cultural imperative" (p. 324).

Miller describes “wining” as a “dance movement based on gyrations” where a person moves their “hips and waist”—adding that wining can be either performed by a man or a woman dancing on their own, dancing with a partner, or dancing in a group (Ibid., p. 325). He suggests that wining is not wholly related to carnival and it can also be experienced in parties, ‘fetes’, or other gatherings (Ibid.).

Miller makes distinctions between wining for fun and excitement and erotic pleasure, emphasising the different occasions on which wining can take place, besides carnival. He explains that in parties, a casual type of wining can occur amongst families, which he proposes is very different from wining in an erotic fashion at a bigger fete at a larger venue. He reflects on a different type of gathering: for example, in a mall where hundreds of people assemble and music is provided by live bands and DJs. Miller considers dance in settings where crowds gather to be a kind of “display” that is “dominated” mainly by men. This dance includes “break dance”, or “rough wine” dance forms, in which men perform elaborate routines, in some cases as “individuals”, showing off to their friends, or as a “small group” (Ibid., p. 325).

Miller indicates the different settings or designated areas in which wining takes place, including spaces where dancers display their latest moves, and casual settings, like liming or hanging out—where wining is performed in an improvised way purely for pleasure. Miller proposes that wining is connected with ‘cuss-outs’ (the use of offensive language in a verbal argument), but stresses that this is prominent between low-income groups, or couples living together. He explains that among the “community of squatters” cuss-outs occurred every day; they were one of the four themes that were vital to his fieldwork (Ibid., p. 325). He suggests that at times the “community of squatters” would break out into lengthy conflict that might sometimes initiate “fighting” but primarily “verbal abuse”. Miller adds that “cuss-outs” attract an audience of people that wine in response to the “cuss-

outs” (Ibid.). He also suggests that this form of wining has become infrequent. This kind of wine or dance seems to be about making a point or underlining one’s position in a debate, making sure everyone understands it. Miller points to the difference between wining to underline one’s position in a debate and wining during carnival, and explains the transformation that has taken place in regard to what is acceptable and what is not. He adds that “carnival... assume[s] a certain licence”, resulting in “women” feeling that they can push boundaries during carnival and being less likely to suffer the risk of physical abuse from their partners (Ibid., p. 326). He suggests that the degree of licence may vary, from the case of “highly restricted housewives” that have been given approval from their partners to participate, to that of “women who habitually wine”—in this case the woman is free to make decisions about who to dance or ‘free up’ with (Ibid.).

Miller raises various issues related to the 1988 Trinidad carnival, with regard to dance, but also refers to how dance has changed the way both men and women view the festival. He draws attention to women wining²⁴, suggesting that they go further during the festival: wearing less in the way of costume and wining without limitation. He shows that some males felt that this dominated carnival, and that it was not in line with the meaning of the festival.

Drawing on existentialist outlooks on dance, Sondra Horton Fraleigh (1996) suggests that “the universal impulse to dance is one of celebration: in its most fundamental state, dance celebrates embodiment. We dance our sentiment, embodied existence” (p. xvii). She explains that “dance stems

²⁴ Gerard Aching (2002) questions Miller’s debate about wining, suggesting that Miller considers, “that while winin’ looks erotic, it is not necessarily” because “gradations of eroticism exist, and venues where winin’ takes place vary considerably” (Aching, 2002, p. 91; Miller, 1994, p. 123). Aching suggests “a crucial issue with respect to winin’ ...is to explain women’s erotic dancing in the street with such scarcity or in the absence of men” (Ibid.). Aching (2002) argues that Miller arrives at ‘autosexuality’ with regard to the women-only parties, where women imitated “heterosexual male conduct” (p. 92), but “without [providing] a broad enough picture of which women wine and under what circumstances” (p. 92).

from an impulse to express and sustain a vital life and to project and share its aesthetic dimensions” (Ibid.). She notes that “in dance we celebrate our living, concrete reality – our embodiment – and within the complexity that embodiment proffers. It is thus that dance may be called a sign for life” (Ibid.).

Miller’s account highlights the importance of exploring dance or wining, and shows how it is a part of social activity, contestation and debate, involves pleasure and nonverbal communication. Miller also demonstrates how wining is used to dance a sentiment or indicate one’s position in a debate. He demonstrates how dance can be used in different settings by anyone and he also shows that dance is taught and learned by others in social gatherings among family and friends. Dance or wining is a means of sharing and expression. In her account of African dance, Yvonne Daniel explains the importance of embodied knowledge and observes how dance is entwined with daily life (Daniel, 2005, p. 51). Horton Fraleigh insists upon the embodied, non-symbolic aspects of dance, emphasising how dance may offer insightful analysis into not only expressive and emotional movement but also into life. My argument is that there is much to be learnt about UK carnival through the sensory dimensions of the experiential, such as dance, body, dress, music, atmosphere, gesture, materials and perhaps, as in Miller’s example of wining, about social life beyond carnival.

2.6.4 Play Mas’, Play Yuh Self

*Blue, we go paint de town blue, turn the whole world
upside down. Blue, a colour of pigment... Getting on
bad doh want to behave. (‘Blue’, 3 Canal, 1997)*

The above lyrics express the transformation of the carnival reveller

once the blue pigment is applied to the body. The jab molassie²⁵ or devils take to the streets normally during jouvay²⁶ (or jouvert taken from the French jour ouvert, 'opening' or 'daybreak') the 'opening' phase of the carnival (Green and Scher, 2007). Today the devil character (see Photograph 13) is a reminder of carnival traditions but is also part of the contemporary mas'.



Photograph 13 – Blue devils, Trinidad and Tobago carnival, 2011 – 2014, Trinidad and Tobago Newsday newspapers

My own experience of learning about the opening of carnival, or jouvay, involved seeing revellers wearing old clothes (some revellers prepare and make their own devil costume) before getting covered in either red or blue

²⁵ *The Jab Molassie is one of many variations of the devil mas' – the word jab is French patois for 'Diable' (Devil), and Molassie is French patois for Mélite (Molasses).*

²⁶ *Errol Hill (1972) suggests that the term jouvay comes from a Trinidadian folklore about a soucouyant. He explains that the soucouyant, "sheds her skin at midnight before flying through the air to attack a victim, knowing that she must resume her form before daybreak. In the story, however, the soucouyant is unable to recover her skin because someone has sprinkled salt upon it, and as day approaches she is left crying 'jouvay, jou paka ouvay?' (daybreak or no daybreak?)" (p.86). Jouvay is also associated with the origination of Cannes Brulées (Canboulay) a French term meaning "burning cane" (p. 30). Canboulay is considered a celebration of emancipation and the slaves resistance of their slave masters (Ibid.). Canboulay was celebrated after emancipation on August 1st and was later moved to Dimanche Gras – which is the Sunday that precedes the carnival celebrations (Ibid.).*

pigment. Some revellers used molasses or grease, but there are varying forms and varieties of the devil mas'. Covered in pigment or grease, wearing a mask, horns and a tail, the devils would blow their whistles, sing and chant: 'pay de devil, (jab, jab)', and wine or gyrate with their devil's fork. The devil's imps usually played music on oil tins, but some devils wore chains and keys around their waist and their imps, instead of beating the oil tins, hold the devil's chain in order to restrain the wild devil - this is all part of the performance. This particular experience stands out to me because it seemed that once the blue pigment touched the body there was only one way of being. The reveller would represent a devil like creature ready to 'turn the world upside down', as described in the lyrics above.

Bakhtin's (1984) characterisation of medieval and renaissance carnival is described in the context of resistance. For Bakhtin, the playful carnival as *communitas* was a "second life organized on the basis of laughter", a temporary life separate from the everyday (p. 8). But, arguably, Bakhtin's writing on historical carnivals privileges a dominant perspective. My aim is not to use Bakhtin's notion of resistance, though I do want to explore whether dressing the body offers the reveller a "second life" or holds a transformative power.

Carol Tulloch (1999) examines "the headtie and issues around Black British women's identity" (p. 63). She explains that "clothes have the conflicting ability to initiate and confirm change, to broadcast the political conflict or status within a community; and to be a metaphor of domination and conversely opposition" (Ibid.). Tulloch's examination of the headtie emphasises the significance of clothes and its transformative power. Her argument can be extended to carnival costumes. Whether the costume is created by the masquerader or by an experienced costume maker, the wearer becomes the character "broadcast[ing]" not only their "political conflict or status" but how they feel about being whatever character they play (Ibid.). Another aspect of carnival that allows masqueraders to "broadcast" their

“political conflict” (Ibid.) is the ole mas’ competition (see Photograph 14). Revellers interpret everyday political drama in Trinidad and present their version of it, mainly through mimicry (impersonating political leaders) or offering other humorous slants on current affairs (Ibid.).



Photograph 14 – Ole Mas’ competition, Trinidad and Tobago, 2009 – 2013, Trinidad and Tobago Guardian and Newsday newspapers

Joanne Entwistle (2000) has examined fashion in relation to the body and explores the importance of the links between the body, fashion and dress. Acknowledging the importance of dress in all cultures, she suggests that “dress is the way in which individuals learn to live in their bodies and feel at home in them. Wearing the right clothes and looking our best, we feel at ease with our bodies” (p. 7). She proposes that as a result of wanting to “feel at ease with our bodies” dress becomes both an “intimate experience of the body and a public presentation of it”, and it therefore functions on the

periphery “between self and other” and the “interface between the individual and the social world, the meeting place of the private and the public” (Ibid.). Entwistle explains that “body and dress operate dialectically” (Ibid., 2001, p. 36): dress is a way in which we understand the body and it possesses communicative features within different cultures; in most cultures it is acceptable to dress the body. In commenting on the potency of the naked body, Entwistle adds, “when it is allowed to be seen, as in the case of art, it is governed by social conventions” (Ibid., 2000, p. 7). Although she is not exploring the dressed body in terms of carnival, Entwistle does emphasise how the body in the everyday seeks to dress within the conventions of culture. In the case of carnival, the body dresses for the everyday as well as for carnival, and within these two states (carnival and everyday) lie cultural codes and conventions. For example, unless there is a carnival or some particular cultural event or holiday, or a costume party, wearing a flamboyant costume that may not necessarily fit in with one’s everyday dress. However, some people use dress as a way of expressing what is inside, and they dress in a way that reflects how they feel.

Adorning oneself – by masking and costuming - is an important aspect of carnival, and much debate has arisen concerning the origins of masking (Riggio, 2004, p. 95). For example, as was discussed in the section above, concerning the *Toutoulbé Carnival Reveller* (see pp. 93, 94), Liverpool (2001) has suggested that “a mask is “a symbol of resistance”” (p. 240), while Aching (2002) has suggested that masking and mimicry took place during carnival in the twentieth century, which “became highly charged and complex modes of subversive communication through satire, parody, caricature, and witticism in costuming, song and dance” (p. 4). Aching also suggests that:

masks as socially significant practices in the Caribbean must not only specify the contexts and styles of masking; such an inquiry should also go beyond

simplistic binarisms by describing and interrogating the ways in which masks and masking devices are dynamically employed to (re)configure and (dis)place competing categories of (self)knowledge in extremely diverse settings. (Ibid., p. 16)

For Aching, the significance of masking relates to power relations, and ways of gaining knowledge about the self and the other. Aching is also interested in the ideological function of some forms of (un)masking. How are feelings managed and expressed?

Sociologist Arlie Hochschild (1993) has emphasised how people manage their emotions in private and public, for example in the work place. She argues that “feeling is a form of pre-action, a script or a moral stance toward it is one of culture’s most powerful tools for directing action” (p. 56). Thus, Hochschild describes emotional reactions to situations as “feeling rules”, and explains that “feeling rules are what guide emotion work by establishing the sense of entitlement or obligation that governs emotional exchanges” (p. 56). Feeling rules are cultural codes and norms that inform and guide our emotional responses and we recognise them by inspecting our assessment of our feelings as well as by how others assess our emotional expression. Hochschild explains that we know feeling rules, “by the way others react to what they think we are feeling” (Ibid., p. 58). Hochschild makes distinctions between public and private emotions, by examining the “real self”, “surface acting” and “deep acting” (Ibid., p. 34). The “real self”, she asserts, is pushed inside and becomes inaccessible (Ibid.). “Surface acting” is much like faking an emotion. Whereas “deep acting”, which comprises two actions, is concerned with either trying to present a legitimate emotion, thus applying a past emotion to project a legitimate emotion. Can similar distinctions be made in relation to carnival, between public and private emotions? Does masking allow the “real self” that becomes “inaccessible” to

come out (Ibid.)? Does the mask provide an opportunity to express emotions away from the everyday?

In her exploration of masks and mask makers²⁷ and traditions from around the world, Deborah Bell (2010) focuses on the stories of mask makers, but also the performance of the mask. Bell explains that at a conference in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, conference participants looked on at performances presented by performers (p. 75). She comments on one of the performers:

on stage Faust transforms himself into the flamboyant, large-bosomed African American Margie by seemingly effortlessly donning a fat suit on stage and then wrapping himself in a large rectangular white and black print dress topped with a red bolero jacket and beaming, rosy-cheeked mask... (Ibid.)

In Bell's account, the mask becomes more than a decorative object or "symbol of resistance", and goes much deeper than masking styles (Ibid.). As Faust considers himself to be Margie it seems as though he finds, by masking, a way to become connected with the woman he considered a surrogate mother. Faust's pride in performing Margie, and his perspective of the mask and his performance in it, is of interest because he has to deal with the "political sensibilities of some audience members" (Ibid.), or their cultural codes and conventions. Entwistle suggests that "dress is a matter of morality: dressed inappropriately we are uncomfortable; we feel ourselves open to social condemnation" (Entwistle, 2000, p. 7). Bell's account also demonstrates the social significance of masking outside the Caribbean, as well as outside carnival, and the feelings the performer expresses about his experience. Faust performance of Margie indicate the importance of

²⁷ In Trinidad a mask maker is referred to as a mas' man or mas' woman who makes carnival costumes.

understanding the emotions of the performer. These questions arise in relation to the UK carnival, as regards how the reveller responds to their costumed body.

2.7 LITERATURE REVIEW: SUMMARY

By looking at the origin of carnival, the literature review has demonstrated that carnival is adaptive. It has also shown that theories concerning the origins of carnival remain contested. Some theories link carnival to rituals of inversion or the world turned upside down during the medieval Christmas period (Harris, 2003, p. 8), while others propose that “nineteenth century Romantic folklorists” assumed that carnival originated from “ancient rural fertility rites of spring” (Ibid., p. 139). Max Harris contends that these theories are not “given much scholarly credence”, claiming they contain “no documentable connection with ancient festivities” (Ibid.). However, Harris emphasises how the festival is adapted to “serve a wide range of contemporary needs” (Ibid.). He is also convinced that, “coupled with the universal inclination to make mischief, Christmas...bred carnival”, but Christianity's influence on carnival was concerned with demonising carnival - dissociating it from Christmas (Ibid.). Another area of debate discussed in this summary concerned carnival's roots and the cultural politics of heritage in Trinidad. Some scholars claim a distinctive origin for the Trinidad-styled carnival, and demonstrate this origin by tracing the contribution of Africans in Trinidad, and the element of resistance, thus focusing on how Africans adapted the festival (Liverpool, 2001, p. ix).

The literature review has also highlighted a growing debate about multiculturalism, with some suggesting that multiculturalism has negative implications for Britain but also suggesting that whilst governments decide policy, people live and work in their communities and may adapt to difference and diversity (Malik, 2010, The Guardian Online). Yet other debates consider

that carnival has “repeatedly demonstrated the potential it offers for communication and unification across social, cultural and political boundaries”, proposing that it is regarded as “a model for artistic and social co-operation, integration and cohesion” (Connor and Farrar, 2004, p. 266). As the review has shown, Khan emphasises that multiculturalism is a contested site in Trinidad and is used to conceal deep racial discrimination in Trinidad. In the UK, multiculturalist policies and discourses seem to combine discussion of immigration, diversity, extremism and radicalisation. Although Prime Minister David Cameron is concerned about multiculturalism failing, which he suggests will add to the possibility of terrorism, some discourses argue that terrorism is a political problem, not a cultural one (Hasan, 2011). These discourses demonstrate that in both Trinidad and the UK, multiculturalism is a contested site, although in Trinidad concerns do not include possibilities of terrorism.

In this comparative study of the Trinidad carnival and the Caribbean diasporic carnival in the UK I notice parallels and differences between the two. In my exploration of the Trinidad carnival I noticed differences, when compared to UK carnival, in the way Caribbean history, politics, race and nationalism helped to construct dominant ideologies about the festival. Caribbean history was used as part of the nation building process and, as emphasised by Allahaar’s “Afrocentricity” (p. 36), this history is present in cultural politics and in Trinidad’s national festival, the carnival. Afrocentric discourses promote ideas of carnival as belonging to Africans, a cultural politics that leaves out Indo-Trinidadian culture (Munasinghe, 2001, pp. 221, 223). Carnival, then, becomes a site for hegemony which promotes Afro-Trinidadian culture (Ibid.).

In the UK, carnival is not the official state culture and concerns over carnival as an African festival are not part of the dominant discourse. In the UK, carnival is counter-hegemonic and, therefore it is a space for asserting blackness as well as a place in which community spirit can resist and rebel

against what the community interprets as injustices. Marginalisation seems to exist in both UK and Trinidad carnival, but it tends to work differently in each country. In Trinidad, the governing elite use it as a means of promoting unity, nationalism and party politics, but party politics become part of broader debates concerning race and ethnicity. However, in the UK, although Notting Hill Carnival is a major event and gains yearly funding, it is marketed and supported in relation to tourism, and is considered by some to be a very important aspect of promoting multiculturalism in the UK. It is clear that in both Trinidad and the UK, carnival can be assigned or framed in a variety of commercial, cultural and political ways, and as such carnival may be considered an artefact that can be used and manipulated.

The review also attempted to establish that carnival involves embodied knowledge. It is a festival, full of movement, colours, taste, sound, smell and touch. However, the varying sensory ways people engage in the festival, and how they perceive carnival using their own bodies, their aesthetic sensibilities and their senses, has been little document. The review highlighted that carnival has been analysed principally from a sociological, historical and political academic standpoint as opposed to art and design or performing arts perspectives. As a counterpoint to such approaches, the review drew attention to the sensory and emotional landscapes involved in carnival, as a means of understanding other perspectives.

John O'Neal (2001) has provided an analysis of Du Bos' "[*Critical Reflections on Poetry and Painting*] first published in 1719" (p. 15). O'Neal states that "Du Bos' work entails an analysis of emotion, sensibility, the soul, reason, rules, genius, experience, the senses and music as they were understood in the first half of the eighteenth century" (Ibid.). John O'Neal also highlights that Du Bos' use of experience brought with it "a kind of third way of learning" (Ibid., p. 18). Like Du Bos, this research aims to establish a "third way of learning", particularly by examining the varying claims different people make about carnival and why they understand carnival in the way they do.

3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 OVERVIEW

In this chapter, I provide details of the methods and approaches used in this research. I set out the design of this qualitative research project, and outline the three main phases of the study and what each phase entailed. I also address ethical considerations, data collection methods, justification of methodology and data analysis. Finally, the details of my fieldwork experiences and methods, including the setting where I carried out my fieldwork, the way I gained access, and how I adapted in the field, are discussed.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN AND JUSTIFICATION OF METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this research project was to investigate what the experiential dimension can reveal about the role that difference plays in carnival on a tacit or an embodied level, as explained in the introduction of this thesis (see p. 7). The principal method applied in this study's methodological approach was participant observation. Although I did not use a camera in the same way as visual anthropologists/filmmakers such as David MacDougall (2006) and Jean Rouch (2003) use visual technologies in conducting long-term fieldwork. I consider their deep sensory attunement to ethnography. Thus their work is grounded in ethnography, however film is the means by which they gain knowledge through their own sensory experiences. With this in mind my work draws on the methodologies and understanding of MacDougall and Rouch in particular their sensory and

reflexive approach to ethnography.

MacDougall has suggested that it is “through our senses we measure the qualities of our surroundings – the tempo of life” adding that “the dominant patterns of color, texture, movement, and behaviour” tends to “make the world familiar or strange”, these combined “make the world familiar or strange” (MacDougall, 2006, p. 94). As mentioned in the *Literature Review* (see p. 123), MacDougall’s study of the *Doon School* as a creative cultural work led him to examine the social aesthetics of the school, exploring its ideology through everyday life and routines. Consequently, he noticed “patterns of gesture, posture, and visible social behavior” which constructed a particular cultural and physical environment (MacDougall, 2006, p. 102). By pursuing this analysis and way of understanding, MacDougall’s ethnographic films of the school were able to represent aspects of the boys’ everyday lives.

“Sense phenomenology”, or “sensuous scholarship”, is an evocative approach to the senses that has been upheld by Stoller (1997), Drewal and Mason (1997), Seremetakis (1996), and Pink (2009). Grimshaw and Ravetz (2005) note the development of “more phenomenological inflected approaches”, including forms of “sensuous scholarship”, and suggest that the “growing interest in areas of ethnographic experience that lie beyond discursive reach has brought to the fore questions about anthropological technique, forms of knowledge and modes of representation” (p. 6).

Stoller’s sensual phenomenology focuses on the everyday and its relation with the construction of knowledge, including the way in which people shape and are shaped by carnival. His work emphasises the importance of the sensual turn within anthropology as a means of accessing the world, focusing on both the methodological and theoretical implications for understanding the senses in writing about ethnography and fieldwork. Developing during the 1980s, the sensual turn in anthropology came about

when the textual revolution began to move into its secondary stage, and “a few anthropologists questioned the disembodied nature of much contemporary ethnography”, including dependence on “language-based models of analysis” (Howes, 2003, p. 20). During the secondary stage, anthropologists “prepared the ground for the sensual turn in anthropological understanding”, thus considering “cultures as ways of sensing the world” rather than “linguistic and textual paradigms” (Ibid.). But how is it possible to find out what people are sensing and experiencing? Michael Pickering (2008) examines this methodological question and proposes empathising with embodied experience (p. 135). He suggests two methods for taking the researcher “closer to other people’s sensory embodied experiences” (Ibid.): the first encourages “people to reflect on and thus define their experiences” to the researcher; and the second can “provide the researchers with opportunities to experience similarly and use their own sensory embodied knowledge as a basis from which to make assumptions about that of others” (Ibid.).

In addition to having similar experiences and using my own sensory embodied knowledge, adopting a reflexive approach is important in sense phenomenology. Kim Etherington (2004) explains that “to be reflexive we need to be aware of our personal responses and to be able to make choices about how we use them” (p. 19). She refers to being “aware of the personal, social and cultural contexts in which we live and work and to understand how these impact on the ways we interpret our world”, and emphasises the importance of responding “to the world around us, other people and events, and [using] that knowledge to inform our actions, communications and understandings” (Ibid.). Etherington suggests that the researcher should share personal stories, and mentions that “being open is also an attempt to balance the power relations between myself and those whose stories I have used” (Ibid., p. 22).

Regarding participation-observation, Yanow and Schwartz-Shea (2013) explain that “each participant-observer goes in with his or her own experiential background, theoretical preferences, research questions, and ideas about how to obtain the appropriate data to answer the initial research questions” (p. 196). They propose that the “goal” of participant observation is “to have a nuanced understanding of the world” from the perspective of the people being studied (Ibid.). Thus, I opened my senses to the carnival world in order to capture the smells, tastes, and textures: sensing the festival in order to understand it.

Opening the senses is valuable, because approaches to the study of carnival have paid little attention to articulating the carnival experience, and have not stood “inside culture” as well as “outside” in order to see the “patterns, connections, and differences” (De Freitas, 2007, p. 58). Concerning the experiential nature of participation-observation, DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) have highlighted a limitation in respect of data that “come[s] from observation gained while experiencing and participating in events” (p. 125). They explain that “the experiential nature of the method can also allow researchers to ignore the importance of processes taking place outside the rather circumscribed world of the local community” (Ibid.). The present research focuses on the UK carnival network and its wider connections. I gained access to participants of different carnivals around the UK, as well as pan yards and mas’ camps, and I gained information from people with varying levels of participation.

In order to understand how respondents perceive carnival, face-to-face interaction helped me to capture a “deeper perspective” (Marshall and Rossman, 2006, p. 53), and understanding their perspective, regardless of their position within carnival, helped me to identify different forms of participation, position, and experience.

Slevin (2003) has explained that the “main criticism offered by opponents of qualitative research methods is that there is an over-reliance on

the use of subjectivity, intuition, human senses and expressed views that are not 'tested' by rigorous scientific means" (p. 306). Nevertheless I chose qualitative research methods as the most appropriate approach in this research because such methods focus on understanding the "processes, experiences and meanings people assign to things" (Kalof, Dan, and Dietz, 2008, p. 80). Such methods also "focus on *how* people make sense of their settings and experiences" via "symbols, social roles, [and] identities", including "elements of culture and *why* people think and act as they do" (Ibid.).

Ferraro and Andreatta (2011) have suggested that while participation-observation has an "obtrusive effect" on the participants being studied, it also has "certain methodological advantages for enhancing the quality of data" and "enables the fieldworker to distinguish between normative and real behavior" (p. 103). Consequently, the "participant-observer gains a more accurate picture of culture by observing what people actually do rather than merely relying on what they say they do" (Ibid.). Ferraro and Andreatta highlight the disadvantages of participation-observation and suggest that it "poses certain methodological problems that can jeopardize the quality of the data" (Ibid.). They note that "because participation-observation are both in-depth and time-consuming fewer people are actually studied than would be if questionnaires or surveys were used" (Ibid.). Ferraro and Andreatta indicate the difficulties in coding data, resulting in challenges when "synthesizing and comparing the data", and also suggest that "participant-observers face special problems when recording their observations" in ceremonies or at events that require the researcher to move quickly from one task to another. Taking notes may be difficult in certain circumstances, and "the more time that passes between the event and its recording", the more likely it is that the researcher will lose or forget important details (Ibid.).

On the other hand, participation-observation allows the researcher to "take[s] part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group

of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture” (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011, p. 1).

This thesis may offer “rich, thick” descriptions and a “snapshot in time and place” (Major and Savin-Baden, 2010, p. 15). In the present study, this can allow the “reader a glimpse of the lived experience” of the participants of the study, and the varying claims they make regarding carnival (Ibid.). Moreover, this study focuses on questions of representation and considers the “depth” for which a qualitative method is “valued”, because it offers “information about a particular phenomenon” (Ibid.).

This thesis also considers that “qualitative inquiry is not a single, monolithic approach” as suggested by Patton (2002, p. 76), who highlights that there is a variety of qualitative enquiries analysing the theoretical traditions and perspectives that inform them (Ibid.). With this in mind, I used phenomenological approaches to understand what the sensory and emotional landscape suggests about how people feel about becoming absorbed and immersed in an expressive festival. Sense phenomenology goes beyond a “distanced objectivity” of the “participant-observer” (Drewal, 2003, Sensory Studies Online), and is valuable because “one works as a sensorially-engaged participant, opening many paths to knowledge and understanding” (Ibid.). It is used to gain an understanding of the process of absorbing through the senses. Since this research explores what bodily ways of knowledge, affect, and attunement may offer the field of carnival studies it is influenced by Drewal’s “body–mind work” and Stoller’s “sensuous scholarship” (Drewal, 2003, Sensory Studies Online; Stoller, 1997): personal and participant experiences, creativity, performance, formal and informal discussions, and interviews, notes, photographs, voice recordings and personal archives were utilised, in order to explore people’s experiences and understanding of mas’ camps, the liberatory dimensions of carnival, the carnival’s varying forms of cultural expression and their promotion of different

sensory experiences, as well as how the way people shape and are shaped by carnival influence how they feel and what they understand about carnival.

Given the sensory nature of carnival, we might ask to what extent written text is able to convey carnival experiences. Drewal (2003) suggests that “in order to come closer to such sensory experiences, affective, evocative words are needed, a style of expression that approaches poetry” (Sensory Studies Online), but notes that this skill is not easily acquired. Hence, this research considers Stoller’s suggestion that the sensual approach in the field should seep into ethnographic writing. He contends that this kind of writing “will render our accounts of others more faithful to the realities of the field-accounts which will then be more, rather than less, scientific” (Stoller, 1989, p. 9). Stoller’s work on the Songhay of Niger is an example of a sensual approach, demonstrating how he placed himself in the story, writing himself into his work, so that the result became an account of his experiences. Recognising that “ethnography is deeply personal and emotive”, I have used an emotive voice in places, to convey the personal and sensitive nature of participant experiences and information (Coffey, 1999, p. 152).

3.3 THREE PHASES OF THE STUDY

Pre-carnival – from January to May, I was involved in learning and working in mas’ camps and pan yards, and at the respondents’ homes, using a stills camera to take photographs of the preparations. Field notes were usually documented once I left the setting or site, and a voice recorder was used to record formal/informal discussions and interviews. During my time in the mas’ camps and at the respondents’ homes, I was treated as a beginner or apprentice. I was given simple roles, such as sewing, embossing, and binding the costumes. At the pan yard I was involved in introductory pan-playing lessons. Within these capacities I was able to learn about the

activities of UK carnivalists. This revealed as much about the style and aesthetics of those involved in producing carnival as it did about their words (Drewal, 2003, Sensory Studies Online). I gained insight into the nuances of the creative processes through formal/informal discussion, “watching, listening, [...] making mistakes, being corrected by example, and trying again”, making this a “transformative experience” (Ibid.). I became immersed in these processes, which were guided by instructions from the carnivalists (Ibid.). This corresponds with Drewal’s “multi-sensorial experience”: I not only compared positions, interpretations, and framings of carnival amongst those with whom I participated and who I observed during the fieldwork, but I also, during the pre-carnival period, gained a better understanding of UK carnival and the “culture and history that shape it” (Ibid.).

Carnival – in 2012 certain carnivals in the UK coincided with the 2012 Olympics. The first carnival of the tour began in July. The carnivalists in Bands A and B explained that the carnival season is usually held from May to August. I attended ten different carnivals and, I travelled from (see Diagram 6) South-East England to the Midlands, and on to the North of England, visiting Notting Hill, High Wycombe, Hertfordshire, Luton, Northampton, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, Manchester, and Leeds. During this period I was involved in performance, and mainly used a camera and voice recorder; field notes were usually documented once I left the carnival. At the various carnivals I attended, I used my camera to take both still images and brief moving images, and used the voice recorder to record informal discussions with participants, visitors, and masqueraders from the mas’ camp I worked with, as well as other bands I met at the carnivals.

This stage of the study provided me with the opportunity to experience how the mas’ camp production team performed in the costumes they had been working on for months. It also allowed me to gain an additional perspective on how the respondents (from embodied worker or costume-maker to masquerade) moved in and through the festival. This stage (the

carnival days) corresponds with Drewal’s (2003) “body–mind work” on “Efe/Gelede masquerades”: I considered the performances as a “multi-sensorial, multi-media spectacle of sights, sounds, smells, tastes, touches, and movements” (Sensory Studies Online).



Diagram 6
 Map of UK Carnival Tour

Post-carnival – after the carnival has finished, respondents at the mas' camp sometimes prepare costumes for other carnivals, and engage in discussions about the carnival season as well as their concerns and ideas for the year ahead. My fieldwork at this stage involved informal discussions, taking field notes, and examining photographs and carnival memorabilia, such as antique costumes. Once I had gained permission, I photographed images of past carnivals. The respondents' personal collections of photographs of past carnivals helped me to understand how they feel about carnival, past and present. As suggested by Murchison (2010), "cultural artefacts" such as "informal archives" or "personal collections" can be used to "answer questions about how long social and cultural phenomena have been in existence", in order to "build a larger picture that considers historical antecedents and the course of social and cultural change" (p. 162).

3.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS: ANONYMITY AND CONFIDENTIALITY

Before the fieldwork was due to commence, I sought approval from the University's Academic Ethics Committee (UAEC) of Manchester Metropolitan University, under the University's Ethical Policy, which outlines the framework for ethical concerns in academic research. I also sought permission to gain access to two mas' camps. In addition, permission was sought from each camp's bandleader, after I explained what my research was about. To avoid deception, respondents at both mas' camps were provided with a detailed explanation of the research, and an information sheet and consent form. I gave each respondent a copy of the consent form they signed. At the outset, respondents were also informed about their right to withdraw from the research, and were not coerced or persuaded to continue (BERA, 2004, p. 7). As the respondents were busy working or engaged in performance during the festival, this research was also conducted with respect for their time.

In some situations where respondents were unable to sign the consent form, they provided their verbal consent to taking part in the study. In such situations I had to be flexible in dealing with the varying circumstances encountered in the field: whilst informal discussions were useful due to the nature of these situations, I continued, from the outset, to briefly explain and discuss the study with the potential respondents. In addition, respondents were informed that they could sign the consent form and post it back in their own time. UAEC's Ethical Policy, highlights that where written consent is not obtained, "satisfactory justification" should be given. Examples of situations where respondents were unable to sign the consent form were during the carnival, where respondents were performing or quickly moving from one area of the festival to another, or where they were busy working on costumes. Difficulty also arose because some participants were suspicious of signing the form even though they were "carefully and truthfully informed about the nature of the research" (Klenke, 2008, p. 149).

Data was kept secure during collection, reporting and analysis, and confidentiality, anonymity and privacy were protected and maintained. Thus, each respondent was notified before the study and assured that data collected concerning them would be anonymised and kept in confidence. As a result, I have withheld the names and locations of respondents throughout the study, from collection to final write-up. It was also central to maintaining confidentiality, anonymity, and privacy, that I have withheld the locations of the mas' camps and pan yards, as there are not many bands and respondents could easily be identified by reference to the location.

Research data will be retained for no more than five years, and stored on a password-protected computer. Formal interviews were recorded and stored on an SD card. Once the interviews were transcribed, the card was destroyed.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

3.5.1 Overview

This research took place in three main phases: pre-carnival, carnival and post-carnival. From February to October 2012– a period of nine months – I was involved in fieldwork, and used a combination of participation-observation and formal and informal semi-structured interviews to determine how respondents in the study feel and interpret their experiences. Participant-observation helped me to develop a rapport with the respondents “over time in the course of interaction”, and to “understand [...] informants’ perspectives by living as they do” (Feldman, Bell, and Berger, 2003, p. 119; Bernard, 2011, p. ix). Developing a rapport made it possible for me to work in the mas’ camp with Bands A and B, learn about costume design and production, attend carnivals with Band A and travel with them on their tour bus, and attend other carnivals, and play pan music. A good rapport provided me with the opportunity to accompany a bandleader to a meeting organised by the local council for mas’ bands to discuss the 2012 carnival.

I was also invited by a participant in the study to the funeral of a well-known Trinidadian mas’ man, and although the funeral was not an appropriate occasion at which to carry out interviews, I was able to meet many Trinidadians involved in carnival in the UK and the Caribbean. Developing a good rapport during participation-observation led me to places and events which were highly relevant to my research, allowing me to collect data in the carnivalists’ everyday settings and the participants in their everyday lives.

During the pre- and post-carnival phases of the research, formal face-to-face interviews were conducted, and participants were interviewed privately either in their homes or at the mas' camp or pan yard. They were provided with information about the research before the interview and asked if an audio recording could be made. However, in situations where the respondent did not want to be recorded, they were not pressured or encouraged to agree to be recorded, and the interview continued without the use of an audio device; instead, detailed notes were made. When this was inappropriate or uncomfortable for respondents, notes were made after the interview.

During carnival, informal interviews or discussions were conducted. Because of the festival atmosphere, a brief introduction and explanation were appropriate. However, in this phase of the research, unsigned or verbal consent was given, and after the discussion I recorded the consent agreed to by the respondents. In addition, respect for the participants' time was also important, so as not to interrupt their performance and their enjoyment of the carnival. Informal interviews or discussions that took place inside a band (where masqueraders perform) or outside of the barriers (where participants watch, dance, and perform) were audio recorded with the respondents' consent, and later transcribed.

Respondents were asked if they would like to speak privately or away from the crowds, but many opted to respond openly in the presence of their friends and family. They were asked one question at each carnival, which was: "How do you feel about carnival?" Many responded with only a few words, such as, "Nice vibes" or "Great atmosphere", while jumping up and down, and waving their hands in the air. Asking one question during the carnival was appropriate, because it was relevant to the study and was easier to manage during the busy festival, when there was not enough time to conduct a semi-structured interview. Asking one question also had the potential to develop further conversation with the respondents. The question

asked was direct, easy for the respondents to understand, and provided information on themes and how people interpreted the carnival atmosphere. Some of the responses helped me to reflect on what I had observed and participated in through my own experiences, gestures, and aesthetic sense.

Field notes proved very useful in this study, particularly because many of the respondents were fearful, suspicious or mistrustful. Schensul and LeCompte (2012) have drawn attention to the method applied by the anthropologist Tom Taaffe: Taaffe wrote up field notes soon after events, spending time in settings and sites where young people “socialize, listen and dance to music, and use various substances” (p. 50). Although the present research was not focused on young adults, Taaffe’s research experience highlights the usefulness of field notes and how they can supplement other data collection methods. It indicates that field notes are the best option in situations where the researcher’s actions are being observed, and, if used appropriately, can be unobtrusive. Taaffe demonstrates this, as he wrote his field notes “immediately upon returning home from the field (or next morning)” (Ibid.).

The respondents in the mas’ camps and pan yards were particularly nervous about my involvement, even though I had gained their permission to work in these settings. Getting them to open up was in itself a challenge: one bandleader explained that people would not open up because they were afraid to reveal something that the carnival funders might object to. Taking this and other comments on-board, as well as bearing in mind the other concerns I had about the respondents (for example their being upset about me openly writing down their responses) I thought it would be best for them and myself if my documenting was unobtrusive. Hence, I wrote my field notes on the way home on the train or once I got home. In certain cases when I arrived home late, I would prepare my notes first thing the next day.

Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2007) suggest that fieldworkers should be sensitive and “avoid jotting down those matters which participants regard as secret, embarrassing, overly revealing, or potentially harmful” (p. 357). They draw attention to sociologist Erving Goffman, who recommends “off-phase” note-taking, which is a “means of minimizing reactive effects”, for example not writing your “notes on the act you’re observing because then people will know what it is you’re recording” and thus it “may offend others when the focus of the jotting appears to be the *current* activity” (Ibid.). To avoid situations where respondents may be offended, I “conceal[ed] the act of making jottings while in the field”, left the “scene, incident, or conversation that ha[d] just occurred” and withdrew “to a private place to jot down key words and highlights” (Ibid.).

It became apparent that some respondents at the larger mas’ camp began opening up when they noticed that I was not jotting things down or recording audio. They noticed that I was busy working on sewing, embossing or binding, and to them I appeared totally involved in the work I was doing. On a few occasions I even went to the toilet to jot down keywords, themes or descriptions of a particular event or activity.

Bruce Jackson has referred to a PhD student who conducted research in a factory who did not reveal his “real identity” (Jackson, 1987, p. 264), but “meant no one any harm” by doing so (Ibid.). However, such a scenario is different from concealing “the act of making jottings while in the field” (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw, 2007, p. 357), as was the case in my work. Participants in this research were informed that I was a student working on my thesis and was trying to protect their anonymity. My own concealment was intended to ensure people did not feel vulnerable, and not an actual deception.

Jason Hart (2013) discusses the implications of participatory research involving vulnerable adolescents in situations of armed conflict and argues

that “participatory research is not automatically ‘more ethical’ than traditional scientific enquiry” (p. 272). He suggests that “due to the public nature of participatory research activities, ethical issues, such as confidentiality, need to be considered carefully” (Ibid.). He adds that is important “especially when the research involves young people and is conducted in the context of armed conflict” (Ibid.). Although this research was not conducted in the context of armed conflict, the conflict between some carnivalists and funding bodies made participants feel vulnerable; thus, in order to protect my participants’ anonymity and confidentiality, I decided not to make this a fully participatory, co-created piece of research.

Schensul and LeCompte (2012) suggest that “field notes based on field observations are expansions of notes, jottings, and other mnemonic devices that help the ethnographer to remember step by step, what took place and with whom” (p. 50). In my own case, jotting down keywords, assumptions, and observations was also helpful for monitoring thoughts, questions, themes, perspectives, and assumptions, but returning to notes was crucial in this study. DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) emphasise the importance of “constant re-reading of field notes” (p. 193), which acts as a reminder, and helps in analysis and finding things that may previously have been overlooked. My field notes also became a guide in helping me to look at things objectively, and to separate myself from the intensity of camp life. However, my closeness to the camp helped me to see how ideas fit together and to fill in the gaps (Ibid., p. 193).

I collected data through face-to-face semi-structured interviews and informal discussions with fifteen carnivalists, and face-to-face informal discussions with eighty spectators/participants and revellers at carnival events. The participants’ ages ranged from 25 to 90 years. During the semi-structured interviews, carnivalists were asked questions such as, ‘How long have you been involved in carnival?’ and ‘Where did you learn about carnival?’ Some carnivalists in the mas’ camps and pan yards responded by

saying that they had been involved in, for example, the Trinidad carnival, and then defined their race/ethnic background as either Trini' (Trinidadian), Vincy' (St Vincentian), black British or Jamaican. To ensure the respondents' anonymity and confidentiality was maintained at all times, I anonymised all the semi-structured interview and informal discussion data: changing the names of the respondents. I have retained a copy of the consent forms that the respondents signed, and this document contains their real names. Participants' identities were not revealed to my supervisory team. I refer to the mas' bands as Bands A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, and the pan group as Pan Group A. Other respondents in this thesis are referred to as: Band A Production Team Members One, Two, Three, and Four; Musician X; Artist X; High School Music Teacher; Organiser SC; Spectator/Participant A, B, C; Costume Designer X; Parent A; Panist A; Costumer Maker A; Parent at Luton; Carnivalist A, B, C, D, E, F, G; Dance Teacher; Teenage Girls; Kind Samaritan; and Trinidadian Band Member.

Some participants did not want to provide me with their names, and in these situations I asked if they would like to suggest a name for themselves. Since the participants declined, I assigned a name to them. Although anonymising data means that some details of the data collected may be sparse, it was crucial for maintaining anonymity and confidentiality, which was promised to all participants.

The duration of the interviews varied: formal interviews in both the pre- and post-carnival stage lasted 10 to 20 minutes, and informal discussions during carnival usually lasted no longer than a minute. Some interviews and discussions ended abruptly because the respondents were busy preparing for carnival or were engaged in the festival.

Vox pop, a term derived from the Latin phrase "vox populi" ("voice of the people") (Bradley, 2007, p. 366), was useful, as it gave participants the

opportunity to comment on a particular topic, and thus gave “a qualitative indication of public opinion” (Ibid.).

I kept what I called an experience journal, in which I was able to express myself and to sketch out and reflect on my experiences through monotypes and collagraphs using mark-making, colours, tones and textures (see Photograph 15). Anthropologist Michael Taussig (2011) has suggested that “drawing is [...] a depicting, a hauling, an unraveling, and being impelled towards something or somebody” (p. 1). Mark-making also helped me to explore the question I had been asking carnivalists and spectators/participants throughout the fieldwork: how do you feel about carnival? By using my journal, I not only expressed myself, but was able to communicate how I feel about carnival, develop themes and ideas, and deal with difficult experiences; it was also a source of inspiration. Ambrose and Aano-Billson (2010) suggest that “mark-making, drawing and image capture are all sensitive human activities that allow us to record the world we live in” (pp. 62–3). Thus mark-making was a way of being a “sensorially-engaged participant” which opened up “paths to knowledge and understanding” (Drewal, 2003, Sensory Studies Online).



Photograph 15 – Mark-making in my experience journal. On my return from the mas' camp and after spending many hours in creative spaces. I used mark-making as a creative outlet but also as a way of recording how I engaged with the research.

3.5.2 Data Analysis

This research considers the sensory dimensions of carnival, as well as how carnival appears and how it is used. It also focuses on how carnival is adapted, adopted and contested. In order to examine these considerations, I reflect on Denzin's (1970) suggestion regarding participation-observation, that it "simultaneously combines document analysis, interviewing of respondents and informants, direct participation and observation, and introspection" (p. 180). Thus, a "constant interplay between collection and analysis" supports the disassembling and assembling of data, using creative ideas, consistent document analysis, and introspection (Walliman, 2006, p.

129; Denzin, 1970, p. 180; Yin, 2011, p. 190). I approached the data analysis with questions and theories that emerged from the literature review. Additionally, my position as both insider and outsider, with my knowledge of Trinidad carnival but little knowledge of UK carnival, might have been useful in steering and shaping my ideas.

To avoid “inconsistency and inaccuracy” I regularly revisited themes collected at the beginning of the fieldwork and compared them with other themes collected at different phases of the research. This helped ensure the research remained faithful to the original data (Yin, 2011, p. 190). Looking for patterns in the data and then analysing the themes that were of interest or related to the main research topic helped to shape the research as it developed. The fieldwork unveiled emerging themes, but these were not conclusive, and - to avoid contradictions - they were organised and categorised, and then used to gather more information, which led to additional themes also being organised and categorised. Deciding what could be considered a theme was also important to the research: repeated issues, concerns or experiences that became evident in more than one situation were considered a theme. I also considered themes that seemed distinctive and related to the research topic. I used concept maps (see Diagram 7) to sketch ideas, using circles, lines or arrows as a visual way of connecting ideas and themes together. In this study, concept maps provided an overview and an opportunity to examine the main ideas at the three main phases of the research (pre-carnival, during carnival, and post-carnival).

Key themes from the concept map were compared with initial themes and assumptions gathered during the literature review. The relevant themes were examined further, and then grouped so as to carry out additional interpretation and consideration of the relationship between them.

To transcribe the audio, I first listened to the recording and then proceeded to type the conversation into the computer using word processing

software (Apple Pages). Transcription codes were used; as highlighted by Willow Powers (2005), “transcription should put down in writing those aspects of recorded speech that are relevant to one’s research and to future uses of the transcript” (p. 10). I decided to transcribe the audio in a way that was sympathetic to speech, context, emotion, interpretation, and meaning, following the inconsistencies of the speaker (Ibid., p. 11). Thus, I decided not to overuse codes in order that features such as meaning, interpretation, and context which were relevant to the study were not lost or made difficult to understand. Stephanie Taylor (2001) highlights the difficulty in reading transcript data when “notation of details which are not relevant to the analysis” is added to the transcript (p. 38). She explains that “it can also reduce the amount of material which can practically be analyzed and also reproduced in the writing up of the analysis” (Ibid.). She suggests that a transcript “constructs a certain version of the talk or interaction which is to be analyzed”; however, this does not “mean that it is false or misleading, but simply that it is not neutral” (Ibid.). Thus, the transcript “selects out the features which the analyst has decided are relevant” or what the analyst “counts as data” (Ibid.).

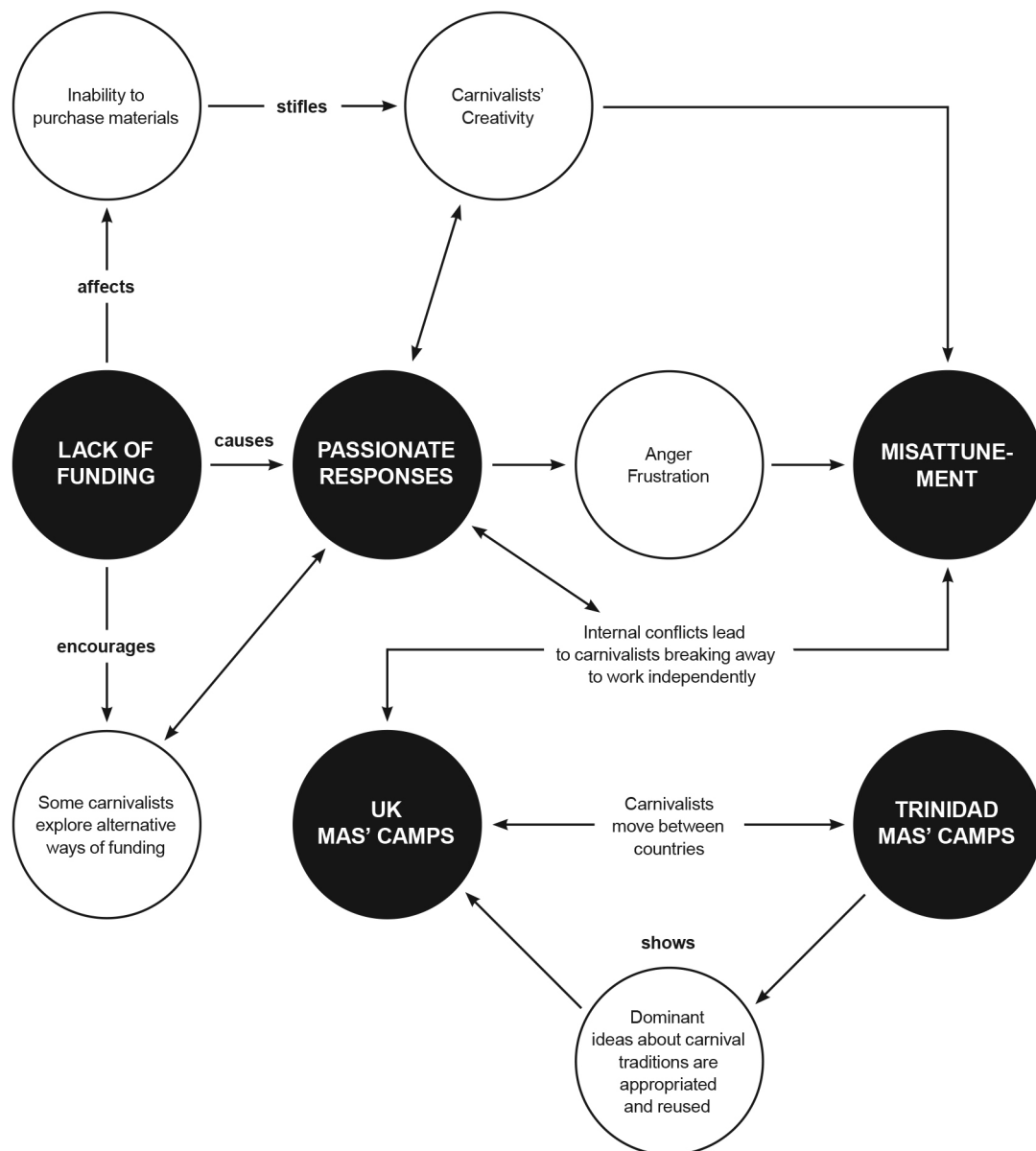


Diagram 7

Example of Pre-Carnival Initial Concept Map Example

Depicts Links Between Variables

Notes were also transcribed and then documented using word processing software (Apple Pages), which helped in organising and maintaining the data. The data for each band were placed in folders relevant to each carnival. During data collection I discussed the themes and ideas coming out of fieldwork with my supervisors: this helped me to define a

critical approach and also to avoid “inconsistency and inaccuracy” (Yin, 2011, p. 190). I also kept up-to-date with the relevant literature on the senses, atmosphere, and embodiment, which helped me to recognise any patterns and associations between the data collected and the literature. All photographic images collected during the three main phases of research were examined, but only those that related to relevant themes were analysed.

At the end of fieldwork I was able to examine the data away from the research site. Themes were refined and then cross-examined with the themes and descriptions collected during the three phases of research. I examined all the data collected, and colour-coded the main themes that were similar or contrasting, such as the positions that respondents took up within carnival, or their feelings and contestation within the festival; this helped me to locate themes and quotes with ease. The refined themes were used to structure the chapters and sections of this thesis.

3.5.3 Limitations and Strengths of the Research

Before commencing the fieldwork, I contacted several mas’ camps and received permission from one to conduct research. Unfortunately, the field site I originally organised was unable to facilitate me and, as a result, cancelled our arrangement. This meant that I had to spend time locating another mas’ camp that would permit me to conduct research. This required getting involved in the day-to-day activities of the camp. I also learned that the timing of the UK carnival scene does not coincide with Trinidad carnival. As a result, many carnivalists attend the Trinidad carnival and other Caribbean carnivals before returning to the UK.

All of this meant that the research got off to a slow start. However, with lessons learned, I persisted and obtained permission to carry out research from two mas’ bands and one pan yard. As a result, I was able to

work with a larger mas' camp and a smaller family band. I was also able to examine the variety of positions people take up within the carnival. Because many respondents attended the carnival in Trinidad as well as on other islands, I gained added insights into their carnival experiences abroad. Perhaps if I had worked at the mas' camp that cancelled my permission, I would not have become acquainted with so many people or have developed a positive rapport with them. The study could also have been confined to only one setting, and I might not have had the opportunity to attend different carnivals around the UK. The limitation I have described therefore became a strength, because my experience turned out to be a positive and fruitful introduction to the UK carnival scene.

Kimberly Powell (2006) provides an example of participation-observation of taiko drumming and discusses "empathy gained from similar experiences" of people being studied (p. 59). She suggests that the "goal of participation is not necessarily empathy" (Ibid.), and explains:

I could not directly step into their shoes and into their personal experience of being Japanese American. I could, however, directly step into their world, in the spaces between drums, people, and movements and attempt to understand first-hand the qualities of their learning experiences and the ways in which such embodied knowledge is a critical step – indeed, an act of empowerment – toward achieving the broader social goal of shaping Asian American identity. (Ibid.)

Powell highlights the implications for the methodological question: how is the researcher able to find out what people are sensing and experiencing? I noted that there were similarities between the carnivalists and myself, and I used my own sensory embodied knowledge to get "closer" to their "sensory embodied experiences" (Pickering, 2008, p. 135). However, during the

fieldwork, I was moving between different carnival phases, spaces, and events, which demonstrated my shifting position and the many ways in which one could interpret meaning from the carnivalist world or its reality. Thus, I realise that there are implications in trying to find out what people are sensing and experiencing.

3.6 FIELDWORK

3.6.1 Fieldwork Beginnings

[...] fieldworkers tell us of the contexts in which their information was gathered, [but] can they ever tell us (or themselves know) enough about how their own presence altered or defined the context? A fieldworker doesn't merely observe a context; the fieldworker close enough to observe it becomes part of it. (Jackson, 1987, p. 16)

The information I have gathered in the field is a collection of experiences that are not so different from my own, but I am aware that my presence may have “altered or defined” the context in which this “information was gathered” (Jackson, 1987, p. 16). Some of my experiences were exciting, enlightening, difficult, confusing, and at times frustrating, and in some ways have shaped the way I now perceive and appreciate carnival. At the beginning of February 2012, immediately after completing my literature review and after having a discussion with my supervisors, I was ready to embark upon the fieldwork. I had a plan, schedule, notebooks, and a willingness to immerse myself; however, I had no idea what to expect, whom I would meet or how I would find a site where I could conduct the research. I did not realise that the field site or mas' camp where I was due to start my participation-observation – or work experience, as they called it – was

involved in Caribbean carnival as well as UK carnival. Consequently, they wrote to me apologising that they had to change the date of my work experience. This led to an abrupt cancellation at the beginning of March, as the camp was unable to accommodate me because of other commitments. Disappointed, but still respectful of their decision, I could not help but question why our arrangement never got off the ground. Perhaps their reason was as they explained and nothing more. But in retrospect I considered whether it might have been due to fear, suspicion or distrust. For example, other carnivalists that I tried to arrange meetings with, despite introducing myself as a student, asked questions such as:

Carnivalist G: *“Who do you work for?”*

“Why are you interested in carnival?”

“Are you with the Arts Council?”

“How did you get my details?”

(transcribed from notes and memory)

I noticed further suspicion when I asked questions specifically about their mas' camp.

Réa: *“Where is your mas' camp located?”*

Carnivalist G: *“Why do you want to know? Only band members or the production team are allowed on the premises.”*

(transcribed from notes and memory)

I quickly realised how difficult it would be to gain access, and why some carnivalists were not too keen on my interest in carnival. The difficulty also lay with the fact that I did not know very much about the carnival network in the UK, and at the time I was only able to locate the mobile numbers of some

bands. Moreover, whilst some carnivalists were concerned that I was spying on behalf of the Arts Council, others were concerned that I was spying in order to steal ideas for other bands. Although I cannot confirm this, it is possible that the mas' camp that cancelled my permission might have had similar thoughts and that this was the reason they cancelled. At this initial stage of the fieldwork, I was able to gain some data about the carnival network and I learned that there is a lot of competition surrounding carnival, in terms of creative ideas and funding.

As a result, I became more conscious of what I asked or said, whether in person, by phone or email. It seemed that because I was unknown, had no contacts, and would have to forge relationships on my own, I had to face endless scrutiny before gaining access. I kept asking myself: is it me? Am I asking the wrong questions? Am I presenting myself in the right way? What is the right way to introduce myself? I even thought of other ways I could introduce myself in the hope that I could gain trust and therefore gain access to the field site or mas' camps. I had to pay attention to my conversations with carnivalists, since they were mainly concerned with who I was, what I wanted, and why I was interested in carnival.

Although I was surprised by those that behaved suspiciously towards me, and were distrustful, I continued with the process of calling the numbers I had found on the internet. There was no time to feel alienated or anxious about my situation: I had to find a new field site as well as to make friends and associations that would help me gain access. I kept my introduction friendly but brief, outlining the three things I had noted were of issue to the previous respondents. This, however, was not the only major area of concern at the beginning of my fieldwork journey.

During February and March 2012, I spoke with some members of a mas' camp who explained that their mas' camp would not be properly open to the public until April. Others explained that the bandleaders and organisers

were at the Trinidad carnival and would not be back until April. The month of April seemed to be a crucial time for the UK carnival, and I was anxious to understand more about the temporal aspects of the festival. For example, I began to notice that the trends were slightly different in the UK. In Trinidad, costume design and making is a year-round affair. With the UK carnival a few months away, I was surprised that many of the mas' camps I contacted were closed or visiting other carnivals. An interview with a Trinidadian bandleader on 16 March 2012 helped me understand several things, such as when the season begins, why the camps were closed, and how the UK carnival world operates.

Band F Bandleader: “You have to understand, carnival in the UK is really the diasporas, the older ones; they keep it going and they are connected to the other islands like Trinidad and Barbados.”

Réa: “What do you mean by keep it going and connected?”

Band F Bandleader: “Well, they go back an’ forth, to see and play mas’ or buy materials they can’t get anywhere else. Some go to work with a band they are affiliated with, some combine it with their annual vacation, others go to organise performers for the UK carnival. But I have also noticed that some go to get ideas for their UK bands.”

(transcribed from notes and memory)

Many respondents in the study echoed the bandleader’s perspective regarding “keeping it going” and being “connected”. Some even alluded to carnivalists as not being stationary, but always moving to and from different carnivals and events, wherever the festival is welcomed. The bandleader

also explained that there were several carnivals and festivals in the UK, thus “bandleaders can pick and choose which carnival or carnivals they want to attend”. This information helped to set me on a new path, and I began to map out the different carnivals and the dates and times they took place, bearing in mind that many of these had changed so as to accommodate the 2012 Olympics.

By 23 March 2012, after weeks of trying to gain entry into the carnival world, I got a lead from one of my contacts about a pan group that had started practising for the carnival season. I received permission to attend the pan lessons at their pan yard once a week on Tuesdays, between the hours of 6 p.m. and 9 p.m. I had also managed to arrange a few interviews, which helped to keep me busy. It seems my persistence had begun to pay off: I was able to meet people who then offered new leads. When I consider how my journey in the field began, I realise why it is important to explore problems that arise, and to explore ways of dealing with and resolving them. I did not simply ignore the suspicion and distrust I experienced, but also did not allow myself to become fixated on it, which would have resulted in fear and anxiety. Instead, I chose to learn from it, and saw it as an opportunity to become aware of my position and role as a student researcher. However, by no means did I become complacent, or consider that because I am Trinidadian people would automatically be responsive and welcoming. I had to acknowledge that my “presence” would make a difference and that I would constantly be scrutinised by people who seemed vulnerable and frustrated about carnival. For some people, I was someone to whom they could recount nostalgic moments, while others were sure I was trying to make money out of, and get fame from, carnival.

These experiences helped to clarify how I perceived myself as an insider/outsider. I am Trinidadian and have experienced carnival all my life as an insider. However, in this new space within the UK carnival network, even though many of the people I met were from the Caribbean, some

respondents noticed my lack of knowledge and considered me an outsider. Moreover, my intentions seemed to be of utmost concern to many of the carnivalists. Nevertheless, I was always polite and answered all of their questions. It was very important not to feel or come across as fed up with the sometimes intense and confrontational inquisition, however embarrassing the situation. As a result of the fact that I did not break under the pressure, some respondents shared leads and details with me, explaining that they were concerned about their funding and being able to continue the festival. Others mentioned that their funding had been cut and relayed their fears:

Band A Bandleader: *“They trying to mash up carnival.”*
“If we don’t get funding, we can’t keep it going.”

Band B Bandleader: *“They trying to discredit carnival so they could cancel it altogether.”*

Band C Bandleader: *“Carnival use’ to be about the community; with little funding or none at all, how can we progress?”*

Band D Bandleader: *“Everyone is afraid right now because things are changing, particularly with the funding.”*

Band E Bandleader: *“It is difficult to produce a band without the funding.”* (Comments collected from bandleaders of Bands A, B, C, D, and E, March and April 2012)
(transcribed from notes and memory)

Not only did the carnivalists’ have fears about funding, spying, fame, and money, they were also concerned about how they would be represented

in my thesis. Here is an excerpt from a brief phone conversation I had with a bandleader with whom I was trying to organise an interview:

Band G Bandleader: “If you want me to talk about carnival, I need to know what you going to write.”

Réa: “Okay, I can show you what I have written, but only what pertains to you.”

Band G Bandleader: “Oh no, I want the entire thing, and I hope you know you will have to pay me for the interview.” (April 2012)
(transcribed verbatim)

Once our conversation had ended, I burst into laughter; I do not know what came over me - perhaps it was nervousness. I considered the humorous side of the situation, and this helped to release some of the tension I had been feeling as a result of similar experiences. Nonetheless, I never got a chance to meet the bandleader, because he was travelling to the Caribbean and would not return until after my fieldwork was completed. It was an enlightening experience.

I began to meet more people and was gaining greater cooperation from the carnivalists, but it was still early days. Initially, the only way I could reach out to some of them was via phone, but by late March 2012 onwards I was finally conducting face-to-face conversations. Although most respondents were cooperating, some did not give much away, and their responses to my questions were cautious and guarded. I was constantly thinking about my approach, and considering how to interact with them in order that they might feel comfortable enough to open up to me. I began to

realise that not all participants would want to respond, no matter what approach I used.

3.6.2 Gaining Access

Gaining access into marginalized communities is not an innocent undertaking; such entries are always fraught with ethical considerations. (Subedi, 2007, p. 56)

Gaining access to the mas' camps and pan yard meant contacting the gatekeepers, or in my case the bandleaders and organisers who make the decisions for the camp; Maintaining a positive rapport with these people was essential in order to accomplish a productive research experience: it meant they were less suspicious, resulting in less interference. My slow start at the beginning of fieldwork helped me to learn a lot about the respondents and why they were not responsive to the research.

The UK carnival scene as I came to know it is a connected community. Bandleaders may send headpieces to be designed and made by a rival band, or may take part in wire-bending workshops with other bands. Members sometimes work with more than one band, and panists or musicians make costumes with mas' bands. Hence, in situations where people may not like each other, I had to be careful of my approach and how I came across, because if word got around to other mas' camps, pan yards or carnivalists, this would ultimately interfere with my gaining access and would raise even more suspicion. A straightforward approach was best, so introducing myself and explaining the research clearly and what I wanted to do was essential. In situations where I was working in a mas' camp or pan yard, and a member of the production team did not know who I was or what I was doing, or when respondents in these settings challenged me, I had to explain the research until they were satisfied. I always kept copies of the information sheet, consent forms, and my business card in my bag; that way

I was always ready to offer full disclosure of the research and my contact details.

A bandleader explained his negative experiences with other researchers and conveyed that he was concerned about this research.

Band H Bandleader: *“There has always been a poor relationship between researcher and carnival.”*
(transcribed from notes and memory)

Another bandleader stated that he resents research because it portrays carnival in a negative way. My position as both insider and outsider provided me with an opportunity to turn things around - for example, to gain access and perhaps help in changing carnivalists' views. One respondent asked, “What are you going to do differently?” It was obvious that this question would lead either to me gaining access or being denied access. I responded carefully, and mentioned that I wanted to be given the opportunity to discuss how this research can adopt different approaches in the way it collects and disseminates information. I added that I am a Trinidadian and grew up in a carnival country, but that I wanted to learn and understand more about the UK carnival scene. On a few occasions I told the carnivalists this before providing them with the information sheet or consent form, and so I had to convince the respondents that I would conduct the research ethically.

Gaining access to the respondents' homes or carnival events was done either through word of mouth, or by members of the production team at the mas' camp inviting me to events. Cerwonka and Malkki (2008) note the improvised nature of fieldwork and suggest that “our engagement in fieldwork is often a combination of credentialing ourselves, intellectual journey, personal commitment, and improvised encounter” (p. 95). I arranged to meet a writer who was involved in curating an exhibition about early carnival in the UK. After our meeting, he mentioned that there was a funeral for a well-

known mas' man the following week and that I could attend the reception. He said it would be a good chance to meet "your Trini' brothers and sisters", but what he meant was that I would not stand out and my presence would not be questioned. Being both Trinidadian and a UK resident, and knowing what life in the UK is like, was helpful during conversations about funding.

3.6.3 Fieldwork Experiences

My first experience at a UK mas' camp brought back memories of being in Trinidad and walking past the mas' camps as they prepared for the festivities. The smell of glue and sound of soca tunes were instant reminders that I was somewhere inherently connected to my childhood memories. At the same time I was learning that how UK bands prepare, produce, and promote themselves seemed so different from what I remembered from back home. For example, UK masquerade bands are much smaller and cater for fewer participants, which means they produce fewer costumes and do not necessarily have to start making these right after carnival. Some bands, however, seem to prepare the designs in advance so that they can begin promotion earlier, which also gives them an idea of the size of the masquerade band.

Another interesting aspect of the UK carnival scene is that there are many carnivals taking place across the UK at different times of the year. Although I had visited the Notting Hill carnival twice, several years ago, the experience of visiting ten carnivals was a new, unique experience for me. A few of these were memorable; for example, the Luton carnival had a variety of bands from within the community, all of which followed one route from near a park through to the town centre. After parading through the streets of Luton, some of the bands went on stage to display their costumes to the judges, and a decision was made on the winning band. In Nottingham the parade began in the town centre and ended up in a huge park, with rides, food, and music. There was a stage on one side of the park for

performances, and a few bands took part in a dance-off. Leicester's carnival had the longest route of all those I attended: beginning in a park, passing through the town centre and ending up back in the park. Leeds carnival had two main elements: the early morning jouvay, and the carnival, which took place later in the day. The jouvay (see Photograph 16) started at around six in the morning and travelled along a few streets within the mostly Caribbean community. The streets were packed full of revellers, some of whom were obviously drunk, causing a major concern for the police and the stewards. Revellers followed the mobile sound system on the large trucks as it moved slowly along the street, and behind them the police offered security. Stewards walked beside them to make sure things went smoothly. It was both interesting and comical to see people joining the band as it approached their home. One gentleman joined in wearing his bathrobe, together with boxer shorts and a vest, and some revellers were in their nightclothes. This caught my attention, because during the Trinidad jouvay, people wore costumes or covered themselves in mud or paint, some even in chocolate. But here, only a few people had made a costume (see Photographs 17 and 18), including myself – I was a 'superstar butterfly'.



Photograph 16 – Leeds jouvay, UK, 2012



Photograph 17 – Superstar butterfly self-made costume
Leeds Jouvay, UK, 2012



Photograph 18 – Masqueraders in self-made costumes
Leeds jouvay, UK, 2012

3.6.4 'At Home' Culturally or Not? Or Somewhere In-between?

I wanted to join the band at the Leeds jouvay, although I was concerned about the drunk revellers. As soon as I did so, however, I no longer felt safe. I struggled to get out and stepped onto the pavement. This was not as exciting as being inside the band, but it was as good as it was going to get. Not long after, there was an altercation involving two young men, and the stewards rushed to the scene in an effort to maintain the peace. Although I enjoyed the Leeds jouvay, I was slightly disappointed, as I thought I would see some of the traditional costumes and enactment I had seen in Trinidad. In fact, I could not wait for it to be over, as there were too many drunks, and the threat of violence made me feel uncomfortable and made it difficult to conduct informal discussions.

My study of the UK carnival scene also led me to a funeral reception, which was a very interesting site for this research, and gave me an opportunity to witness how the Caribbean diaspora in Britain gather in these spaces. It was not intimidating for me or for the attendees. Rather than being asked to leave, I was offered a seat and some food. None of the competitive and secretive attitudes I had become acquainted with in certain mas' camps were evident here. Of course, the event did not go without a hitch, and if it had not been for my quick wit, I might have had to leave. One gentleman who seemed to have had a bit too much to drink tried to grab my hand, but luckily for me a kind Samaritan helped me out and told the man:

Kind Samaritan: *"Leave the gyal alone, yuh too drunk."*
(transcribed from notes and memory)

The man immediately moved away.

Another gentleman I had met earlier that afternoon, who had been introduced to me by one of the respondents in the study, was informed that I

was a student conducting research on carnival. Even after our introduction and an explanation of the research, he tried to stir up trouble with his many questions and accusations while I was chatting with a group of Trinidadians:

Carnivalist F: *“Who are you?” “Do you know the deceased?”*

I quickly told him that I had heard about the funeral from a friend and had been attending pan lessons at the pan yard, so I thought I’d come to pay my respects. He told the group that I was doing research, which I had not withheld from anyone, but he said it in a malicious manner. When he did not get the response he wanted, he shouted:

Carnivalist F: *“You trying to make big money from carnival.”*

I quickly responded:

Réa: *“No, sir, I would not make a very good living from carnival.”*

Surprisingly, he laughed and then replied:

Carnivalist F: *“I like you, you are a very interesting young lady.”*
(transcribed from notes and memory)

Little did he know how nervous I was. I felt like a stranger among my Trinidadian natives and knew only too well how easy it is to rub them up the wrong way, and what would be the price of that misfortune. On a positive note, and as an aside to conducting research, spending time with Trinidadians who regularly visited home was a perk. I found out what was

happening back home. Interestingly, the conversations always returned to carnival. Discussing Trinidad helped me appear less concerned with my carnival research, and thus it was easier for me to make acquaintances. I tried not to be completely detached from the respondents in the study, and for me this took little effort because in some ways I am similar to them: I was raised in the Caribbean and have been exposed to carnival all my life, even though my family came out of the carnival scene in Trinidad and turned towards religion. I know about the festival, the music, the costumes, the designers, and current issues regarding the Trinidad carnival. This knowledge was helpful in relation to starting and continuing conversations. The differences between myself and my respondents lay in my lack of knowledge of UK carnival and that I had not attended many carnivals at home or in the UK. Although I knew very little about the UK carnival, some respondents were kind enough to explain how things work, and because of their knowledge of both UK and Trinidad carnival they were able to point out some similarities and differences. At the same time, my experience as an Art and Design Lecturer, and my creative experience, helped me to connect with the respondents, particularly those at the mas' camp. I understood the difficulties of ordering stock, particularly the fact that some tools and materials can have more than one name. I was able to talk about the challenges of design and production, the importance of planning, and the effects of using certain materials and tools for particular design and production purposes. Additionally, I was empathic with the respondents in regard to the situations they had to deal with as craftsmen and craftswomen. As a result of these experiences, I wondered if I was 'at home' culturally or not, or whether I was somewhere in-between. Or were there sensitivities I brought to the field that had an effect on how I perceived carnival?

Rapport and Overing (2000) suggest that the concept of auto-anthropology:

covers the notions of an anthropological study of one's own, one's home and one's self, and explores the murky ground, at once physical, phenomenological, psychological, social and personal, which an 'anthropology at home' gives onto. (p. 18)

Marilyn Strathern (1986) asserts that "auto-anthropology [...] is anthropology carried out in the social context which produced it, [and] in fact has a limited distribution. The personal credentials of the anthropologist do not tell us whether he/she is at home in this sense. But what he/she in the end writes, does" (p. 17).

Trinidadian anthropologist Patricia De Freitas (2007) highlights the implications of examining carnival as a fieldworker. De Freitas is concerned with the masquerader–anthropologist connection and the politics of studying carnival, as well as the ways in which the Trinidadian native responds to her as a native and as an anthropologist. She explores the implications for anthropological ethnography, and grapples with the positions of the "insider" or "native doing ethnography 'at home'" and of the "outsider anthropologist". She considers the anthropological task as multiple, and thus anthropologists should promote "an appreciation and understanding of the human endeavor as it is manifested through space and time" (Ibid., p. 58), which she explains involves standing "both 'inside' a culture, as well as 'outside' in order to see the patterns, connections, and differences that exist within and between human societies and configurations", and as a means of capturing cultural reality (Ibid.).

In terms of the senses, what considerations must the outsider researcher, with experience of the cultural practice being studied, maintain in the field? Anthropologists Nigel Rapport and Joanna Overing (2000) consider "auto anthropology", and question if "anthropology [is] better undertaken in certain geo-physical settings than others". They propose that "anthropology

‘at home’ in short has unique lessons to teach, concerning cultural ambiguity, hybridity and heterogeneity” (Ibid., p. 22). But they also highlight the complications involved in conducting research ‘at home’, and suggest:

[it] may not always be possible to gain that distantiation which has been the hallmark of anthropological method – so-called ‘culture-shock’, by which the conventions of local life are seen as strange and thereby calling for translation, if not ‘explanation’, by the anthropological observer. (Ibid.)

They propose that the “anthropologist at home must sometimes work harder not taking things for granted and to make himself view things as a stranger might” (Ibid.).

3.6.5 Experiencing Difficulties During Fieldwork

I will now focus my attention on a unique and unpleasant situation I encountered during fieldwork, which reveals the cultural and social bias of the researcher and which presented me with an opportunity to gain knowledge from being reflexive. At Band B’s evening classes, members of the band gathered every Friday just before the carnival season. These evening classes were an opportunity for the band to meet regularly, learn new choreography, and practise their dance moves. I had been attending the classes for four weeks, so the respondents knew who I was and that I was conducting research on carnival. A few of them had given me the nickname ‘historian’, and although I did not know how they arrived at this term, I immediately realised it was meant to ridicule rather than to praise. I honestly have no idea how the altercation that followed between a Trinidadian band member and myself began. All I can recall is being questioned about carnival and then, before I knew it, the band member began poking fun at me. At this point I maintained a calm demeanour so as not to encourage further conflict,

but unfortunately, the situation intensified and the man began shouting obscenities even louder. I was gobsmacked and froze, unable to respond, but the abuse did not stop and the band member continued to refer to me as 'historian'. Despite the fact that Band B's bandleaders were watching these events unfold, they did nothing to maintain or restore the peace. I was embarrassed, but I did not think that responding to these obscenities was a positive response to the situation. This may sound strange, but the only thing I could think to do was to pray, so I silently prayed that the situation would end. The man continued with his abuse. I did not respond. As a result of my silence he commented:

Trinidadian Band Member: "All you Trini' girls are the same."

(transcribed from notes and memory)

I was so shattered by this unexpected and random experience that I went home feeling stressed and harassed. It was a few days before I could write down what had happened.

However, in retrospect, I learned about resilience in fieldwork and knowing when to retreat from a situation that is becoming unworkable. I had been happy to go to Band B's mas' camp because I could compare similarities or differences between a smaller family mas' camp and a larger mas' camp that produces a larger band. It was also a good opportunity to meet different groups of people, and examine different carnival networks and how different bands produce their carnival band. But as the weeks went by I noticed they would rudely ask me to leave, and wanted me to concentrate on designing promotional items, which would obviously have taken me away from my fieldwork. Despite all the work I did for Band B, it seemed that it was never enough, and they began to treat me as though I worked for them. To some extent I think they forgot that I was a student researcher. Nonetheless, I was always respectful, kind, enthusiastic, and mindful not to upset them.

Perhaps I did not see the signs, or maybe there was an early indication that this arrangement was not working.

In any case, I gained four weeks' fieldwork experience with Band B and had good reason to be concerned for my safety. I also considered if working with Band B was a productive exercise. My main concern was lack of space, and there was also a sick relative living at their house whose health began to deteriorate. I decided that since the carnival tour was drawing near, I would spend more time with Band A, and not continue going to Band B's mas' camp or classes. I informed Band B of my decision, explaining that there was limited space at their home and that it was becoming difficult for them to facilitate me. During the carnival I saw Band B and chatted with them briefly, which confirmed that there were no negative feelings between us.

I learned that smaller family bands lack space, particularly when they are producing costumes, and this can be an issue when conducting research. Consideration must also be given to the fact that in such cases the family home is used, and respect for it should come first. As a result of this difficult situation, I realised that a student researcher should look for indications that she/he has overstayed her/his welcome, and should consider working shorter hours to minimise distress. Additionally, I realised that setting boundaries at the beginning of the research is important. In my case, I discussed with Band B how much I should give back, and we agreed that I would design a mini-website so that they could establish an online presence. However, the goalposts kept moving, and I reminded them that what was requested was more than I was able to offer because of my research duties.

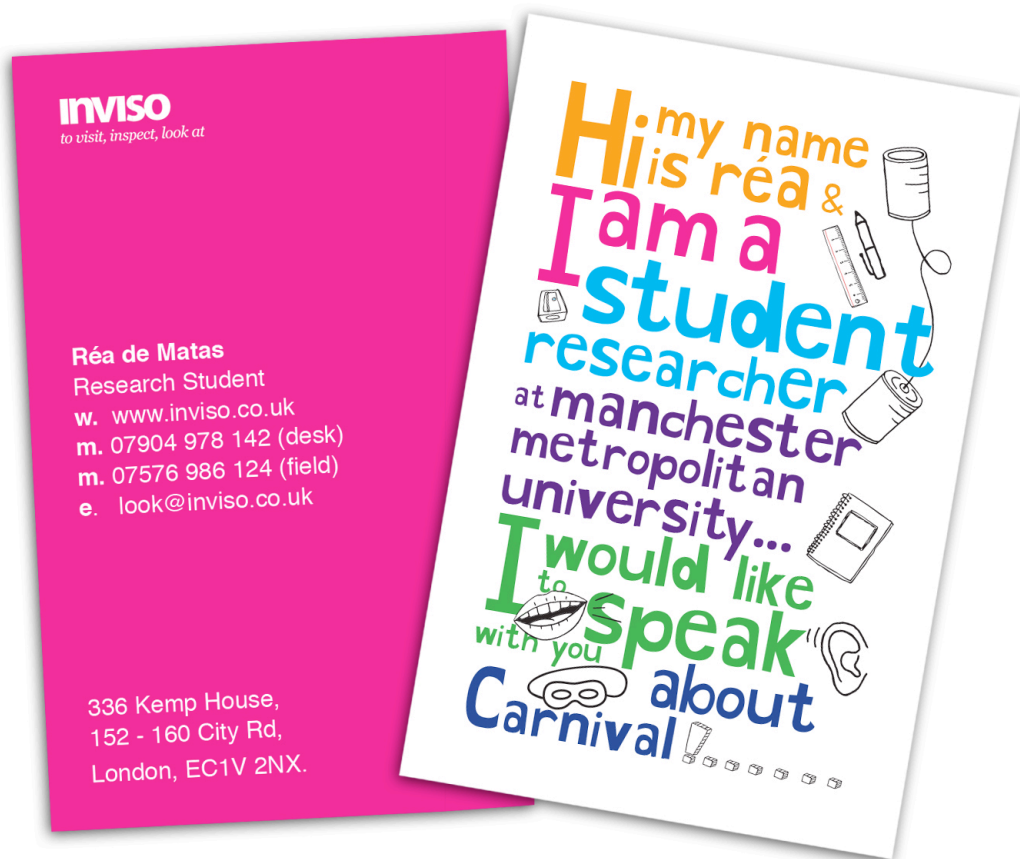
3.6.6 Adapting in the Field

Adapting in the field to the many new experiences I encountered was challenging, but rewarding. Once I gained access to more bandleaders, mas' camps, and pan men and women, I dealt with the respondents' suspicions

and distrust in ways similar to my experiences at the beginning of the fieldwork. I considered what I could do to demonstrate that I was not a spy or there to examine how they spent their funding, and that I was certainly not conducting research as part of a money-making venture.

I also considered that during the carnival tour I needed something to attract respondents and at the same time demonstrate what I was about. I decided that along with my consent form and information sheet, I would also prepare and design a T-shirt and business card (see Photographs 19 and 20). The results were positive.

When the respondents asked me if I was working with the Arts Council or any other institution, I answered no and offered them my business card. Some commented on the card, complimenting the design, and they generally seemed more at ease, enabling me to gain their trust over time. With regard to the carnival phase of the research, the T-shirt and business cards were a good combination, providing me with a way to introduce myself. The T-shirt also allowed the respondents to spot me in a crowd, particularly in situations where they wanted to amend their comments, or decided to withdraw from the research.



Photograph 19 – Business card I designed and used during fieldwork



Photograph 20 – T-shirt I designed and used during fieldwork

3.6.7 Research Setting

During the fieldwork, I spent most of my time at mas' camps. The camps, with the many tools and devices for performing different tasks, reminded me of my father's workshop. On my first visit to the larger mas' camp (that of Band A), I noticed that the space could facilitate almost any kind of creative work, and the bandleader mentioned the potential of some of the tools.

There were ten respondents in Band A, but I later realised that the production team consisted of more members. Due to family, work or other commitments, the members came at different times: for example, some members from the production team would come after work and would bring their children with them. Their children seemed very enthusiastic and got involved in the costume-making with their parents. The bandleaders were supportive of this, and explained that the production team are the main masqueraders of the band. The three carnival queens also came to the camp after work, to work on their costumes (see Photograph 21). As the carnival season drew nearer the mas' camp became busier and some people from the community came to see the large costumes on display.

Some members of the production team were quiet and busy working, while others were engaged in conversation and laughter while they cut, glued and bound headpieces. Initially, it was easier to approach those members who seemed conversational or outgoing, but after a few visits the other members would approach me to chat or ask for my assistance. Some would ask about the Trinidad carnival: the food, the people, or even the best tourist areas on the island. This reassured me that I was not sticking out or interrupting the flow of things in the respondents' natural setting. Despite this, I always considered my presence in the setting and how it could either influence or upset the setting. Getting involved with the work really helped resolve this concern. Additionally, because carnival was drawing near,

conversations about it tended to flow quite naturally, and I was privy to the respondents' concerns and experiences. Again, working and chatting helped me to ask questions.



Photograph 21 – UK carnivalist working on a costume, 2012

Band B had a smaller, more intimate space, where only a few respondents were making costumes. Similar to some other camps I visited, this one was situated in the front room/living room of the house. Although the band was smaller, the production team managed the demands of designing and making costumes, accounting, and administrative duties. Discussions about carnival flowed quite easily and, initially, they did not seem concerned about my presence. They spoke about the carnival tour, the costumes, the weather and how it affects the carnival, which carnivals were cancelled and why, and the keep-fit classes. It became difficult to work at the smaller mas' camp because there was little storage for the costumes once finished, and even less space for more than two people to move around.

The UK pan yard I attended had a relaxed atmosphere and the pan tutors were quite easy-going. There were tenor pans, double tenors and six bass pans that filled the space. Although the pan lessons were quite intense and there was no break, they did give me the opportunity to speak to some of the experienced musicians. Also, before the lesson, the students listened to soca music on their phones and tried to find the notes on the pan. This was a good conversation starter, and an opportunity to get to know the pan players, and for them to get to know me. Some of the students at the pan yard came to learn pan not because of a love for carnival, but simply because they liked the instrument. As a result, on these occasions, conversations about carnival did not flow as easily, and the more experienced panists or pan players seemed to know more about carnival than the students.

3.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: SUMMARY

This chapter has outlined how I moved through the different phases of carnival and research, and describes the sensuous methodology that I designed for the carnival research I undertook. Throughout the fieldwork, my experiences led me to consider how I presented myself and how I was perceived by carnivalists, and I considered if I was 'at home' culturally or not, or somewhere in-between. Many of the carnivalists I encountered called me 'Trini', as they recognised my accent, and during the initial stages of the fieldwork some of them noticed my lack of knowledge of the UK carnival network. I was not completely detached from the participants and could see similarities and differences between them and myself, as well as between the carnival events I had attended in Trinidad and those in the UK. Recognising similarities was a good opportunity to initiate conversation and build a rapport with the participants, but I tried not to take such similarities for granted, so as to see the carnivalist world as if it were new to me.

Experiential understanding is important, because it helps us to understand others. This kind of understanding helped me to understand how the carnivalists felt about me: their suspicions and distrust during the initial stages of the fieldwork, and why they were suspicious. I had to find ways to demonstrate that I was not a spy and, as a result, I prepared an information sheet, consent forms, T-shirts, and business cards as a way of introducing myself. At the beginning of the fieldwork my supervisors and I discussed how I could give something back to the participants: this was a positive way of demonstrating to them that I was not interested in taking what I could and walking away. I was able to offer help with costume-making to both Bands A and B, but I also used my many years of teaching and work experience in web and graphic design to help Band B develop its brand identity and website. I took many photographs of Band A's carnival band at the different carnivals they attended and later gave them all the images on a USB stick. I also designed a family crest for Band A that could be used on T-shirts, mugs, banners, or any other promotional item.

I opened up to the participants by sharing my personal experiences about carnival. I realised that having empathy and understanding for participants has implications, and although I could walk into the UK carnival world and use my own sensory embodied knowledge to get closer to the participants, I could not step directly into the UK carnivalists' shoes and understand their personal experiences of being a carnivalist.

Adopting a reflexive approach helped me to be aware of my personal responses to what I was experiencing, and to make informed choices about how I use these experiences. Charlotte Davies (2012) has described reflexive ethnography and suggests that "reflexivity expresses researchers' awareness of their necessary connection to the research situation and hence their effects upon it" (p. 7). I also considered a reflexive approach when writing up the data: including the participants' conversations that were

significant to the research was a way of connecting with participants through the data collected.

The examination, in my research, of what bodily ways of knowledge, affect, and attunement may offer the field of carnival studies demonstrates the importance of sensuous phenomenology. Stoller suggests that “sensuous scholarship” is an endeavour to “reawaken” the “scholar’s body”, indicating “how the fusion of the intelligible and the sensible can be applied to scholarly practices” (Stoller, 1997, p. xv). Stoller’s use of the term “gaze” highlights how it is significant to what we see, think, say, and “what and how we write” (1989, p. 39). The ethnographic gaze led me to see beyond the carnival events and to explore, for example, the participants’ working bodies and how they were able to utilise the skills they learned at the mas’ camp in other ways, as well as how they dealt with contestation and attuned to affective atmospheres. By not focusing specifically on the carnival events, I was able to get a better understanding of sensual qualities, and how carnivalists adapted to pre- to post-carnival.

4 BECOMING ATTUNED TO MAS'

4.1 OVERVIEW

This chapter grows out of the previous discussion, in the literature review (see p. 120) and the methodology chapter (see p. 139), regarding the sensory and experiential dimensions of knowledge and how these dimensions might affect our critical understanding of carnival. In the literature review I examined the sensory and emotional aspects of acquiring knowledge of carnival. I focused on how people feel about becoming absorbed and immersed in the many things they are surrounded by during carnival. Regarding the senses, I asked how the process of taking things in or absorbing one's surroundings happens through the senses. How is this process reproduced in a tacit embodied form? How do people feel about the carnival's many adaptations, forms, performances and improvisations? The literature review also highlighted that carnival involves embodied knowledge: as a festival it is full of movement, colours, taste, sounds, smells and things to touch. The review stressed that the varying ways people engage in the festival and how they perceive carnival using their own senses has been little document. It emphasised that carnival has been analysed principally from a verbally discursive standpoint, and demonstrated the importance of focusing on the sensory and emotional landscape. This does not exclude verbal communication, but rather recognises the importance of it, and I consider verbal communication as "just one of the ways we experience and represent the world" (Drewal and Mason, 2003, p. 333).

In the present chapter I explore my findings, focusing on how the respondents in this study move in and through UK carnival, examining their many ways of becoming attuned to the festival. I explore how carnivalists are introduced to, and educated about, carnival. I also explore the skills

carnivalists embody through work performed at the mas' camp and how they transfer their carnival bodily knowledge to other creative outlets which go beyond costume making. I will examine how carnivalists are adopting and adapting to carnival, in order to understand how carnivalists are anticipating, preparing and sensing the festival. In doing so, I draw attention to the fact that carnival is a year-round process, one that is happening all the time.

Regarding attunement, I stated in the introduction to this thesis (see p. 57) that Daniel Stern's theory of affect attunement, a development in the field of psychology, relates to an aspect of parenting behaviour. Stern suggests that attunement "express[es] the quality of feeling of a shared affect state" (Stern, 1985, p. 142), and highlights the relationship to art and performance where "the participant in rituals, artistic performances, spectacles and communal activities, like dancing or singing together, all can result in a transient real or imagined intersubjective contact" (Ibid., p. 109). Thus I consider attunement with regards to carnival as bonding and harmonizing, a "shared affect state" that occurs "without imitating the exact behavioural expression of the inner state" (Ibid., 1985, p. 142).

My argument is that, as part of this year-round process, the carnivalist is constantly attuning, bonding and harmonising through embodied knowledge. In the literature review (see p. 121) I explained that carnival involves many expressive outlets, such as fetes and competitions, which are all occurring at once. The carnival's heightened atmosphere and sense of enjoyment is produced in multiple ways: the sensuous body expresses and interacts through sensual dance, mimicry in song and performance, costume making, or singing soca and calypso - each form offering a different experience or sensation. Thus the "conditions for the lived, intentional subject" are not confined to sight and, in turn, "enable[s] us to open ourselves" in order that we might "effectively create, our environment" (Shilling, 2005, p. 56).

As respondents prepare for and attend carnival they are sensing time and moving through space. I note the importance of “time, space and bodies” in reference to the “immediacies of everyday, lived experience” and I consider the body and emotions as the “very matter of everyday experience” (Scott and Morgan, 2004, pp. 18). Consequently, I ask how the body is attuning to carnival? How is it sensing through various ideologies and positions, atmospheres, in work and in leisure, and how is it communicating feelings and transposing carnival bodily knowledge? According to Waskul (2013), “in our everyday lives, most of us pay little conscious attention to *how* we sense”, whereas a “...great deal of attention...” is paid to “...*what* we sense” (Waskul, 2013, p. 8). By exploring not only “*what*” the body senses but also “*how*” it senses it, a better understanding about the sensual textures embodied during pre-carnival, carnival and post-carnival might be achieved. One of the carnivalists I met during this research explained their experience of carnival by saying that it unlocks the feelings and sensations of the daily grind, and that for them carnival is a way of “purging” negative and unwanted feelings and emotions.

The aim of this chapter is to interpret and describe *what* the carnivalists are attuning to and *how* they are “creat[ing]” their “environment” (Shilling, 2005, p. 56). The goal is to explore the sensory dimensions of the experiential through carnivalists’ introduction to carnival: how they work to remake the annual festival, or how they embody carnival work and practices and transfer their embodied knowledge to other aspects of their lives.

During the fieldwork I interacted with artists, bandleaders, musicians, DJs, carnival organisers, families, members of the Caribbean diaspora, revellers, masqueraders and spectator/participants. I will draw from my participation-observation of events, semi-structured and informal interviews, and will provide quotes and evidence, in order to describe and demonstrate how respondents became attuned to mas’. I will explore some of the UK carnivals I attended with some bands, visiting more than ten carnivals in

different boroughs around the UK, on what is called a 'carnival tour'. I discuss two mas' camps or bands and one pan group. Band A has more than thirty masqueraders, including a king, queen and full band. Band B is a smaller band working out of their home, and has less than twenty masqueraders including king, queen and full band. Pan Group A has more than ten professional pan players and offers pan lessons to the public during the week. Pan Group A is able to train more than ten students at a time.

In this chapter I will also consider my own attuning to carnival and what I learned about carnival, growing up in Trinidad. Paul Stoller (1997) recommends a reawakening of the scholar's body and the importance of incorporating "into ethnographic works the sensuous body – its smells, tastes, textures, and sensation" (p. xv). Regarding the reawakening of the scholar's body, Stoller asks "why engage in the pursuit of knowledge, ...if not to enrich the quality of life?" (Ibid., p. xvi). He suggests that sensuous scholarship is "an opening of one's being to the world – a welcoming" (Ibid., p. xviii). By writing about my own attuning to carnival, and what I learned about the festival during childhood, I am "opening" myself to the research through self-reflection (Ibid.). My personal narrative is a way of examining and analysing my own experiences and assumptions about carnival, and at the same time a way of bringing new ideas, interpretations and awareness to the fore. Ellis and Brocher (2000) suggest that auto-ethnography or self-reflective writing calls on the reader to "become co-participants, engaging the storyline morally, emotionally, aesthetically, and intellectually" (p. 745).

In my household, teaching was gendered, so the education I received as a woman was inherently different to that provided to men, symbolising the the contradictory role of women. My parents, who were not carnivalists, used Trinidad's carnival to teach morality, and seemed to be in agreement with the media's fixation on women's social roles and the "female image" (Franco, 2007, p. 38). My parents' responses to carnival were based on ideologies, positions, and how the festival appeared to them. I will examine my early

experiences of carnival against those experiences obtained during my fieldwork and I will examine the insights I gained about the different aspects of the festival through this comparison. I will consider my introduction into carnival and will draw on my past experiences of Trinidad carnival. I will consider how my introduction may be responsible for the ways in which I engage with the festival. I will carry out self-reflection when I highlight points of view and experiences that diverge from my own.

In addition, I will examine the different ways the UK respondents I spoke to were introduced to carnival culture, the positions they take up within the festival, and the kind of participation they adopt. In the literature review (see pp. 93, 94), using Stuart Hall's model of mass communication, I explored the cultural concept of the *toutoulbé* or the lovesick reveller, and I explored their position in the festival as a means of understanding if revellers readily accept dominant ideologies that influence, 'free up', 'get on bad', ideas about the Trinidad carnival. I also examined other positions, for example the position of Trinidadian revellers that are not *toutoulbé* in the same way, or who are not *toutoulbé* at all. Using empirical data I will draw on Stuart Hall's model in order to understand how UK carnivalists interpret and frame carnival as a result of their introduction into carnival. I will examine the importance of education and how it is used to communicate dominant encoded messages and how these messages or dominant ideologies about carnival are shared and promoted. In my analysis, the sensory is one way in which dominant ideologies are reproduced.

I will then explore the roles and duties that respondents perform and the emotional experiences they encounter, as they move in and through carnival. I will examine what their roles and duties might reveal about how they adopt, adapt, and embody carnival. In the literature review (see p. 122) I discussed how Merleau-Ponty has proposed an existential reading of Husserl's phenomenology (Carman, 1999, p. 215), suggesting that "knowledge of the world" is acquired "from some experience of the world"

(1962, p. ix), hence Merleau-Ponty identifies the body as offering experience from an embodied position (Barbaras, 2001, p. 175). Consequently, in this chapter I consider what existential phenomenology can reveal about how carnivalists work to remake carnival. I focus on “how knowledge resides within the body when know-how is exercised habitually” (O’Loughlin, 2006, pp. 113, 114), examining how carnivalists “by means of tacit knowledge – that which is acquired through sensuous experience” are remaking carnival (Ibid.). I also examine how carnivalists’ tacit knowledge goes beyond the festival, in order to understand how they are using their embodied knowledge in other aspects of their lives.

I will then go on to examine affective atmospheres in carnival, focusing on how carnival-lovers experience a sense of attunement, and how carnival atmospheres are reproduced. I will use insights from Gernot Böhme’s aesthetic theory, based on the concept of atmospheres, which he tells us “come upon us from we know not where, as something nebulous” (Böhme, 2013, Cresson Online). I will describe what atmospheres are, and how they relate to carnival’s sensuousness - particularly how atmospheres intensify the receiver’s sensuous experience of carnival. I will also examine how carnivalists experience a sense of attunement as they produce and receive the atmosphere.

4.2 SELF-REFLECTION: MY ATTUNING TO MAS’

In this ethnographic research I share my personal experience in order that I might challenge and develop my ideas about experiencing carnival, as a way of mapping my process of learning to become a carnivalist after being an enforced non-carnivalist in childhood. I demonstrate that my position and individual experiences are different from the experiences of others that I encountered during fieldwork. Carolyn Ellis (2004) explains that auto-ethnography or personal writing is “...research, writing, story, and method that connect the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social, and

political” (Ellis, 2004, p. xix). Consequently my personal narrative is used in this section not just to describe my early carnival experiences but also to serve as a point of entry into broader meanings about carnival culture and carnivalists’ positions, experiences and practices. My narrative brings together the construction of ideas I experienced in my family household, and the construction of ideas I experienced within Trinidad politics and during fieldwork in the UK. My experience might also be a starting point for “properly” understanding carnivals within a global context as it might shed some light on how “local and global histories are interwoven” (Green and Scher, 2007, p. 2).

Aching’s (2002) ‘masking practices’ considers “the relationship between observers and masked subjects” in order to understand how ‘masking activities’ and strategies “mediate social relations both within and outside carnival” (pp. 1 - 2). He argues that “real, figurative, and rhetorical masks and masking devices maintain forms of (self) knowledge in abeyance” (Ibid.). I refer to my childhood in Trinidad to highlight the use of ‘masking practices’ in my household, which was evident in the way my parents mediated social aspects of carnival for my siblings and I. For example, in my household, my parents used carnival as a means of teaching morality: in particular they stressed its vulgarity and immoral performances. I obeyed my parents because I did not want to be scolded, but I have always wondered why I do not possess a natural urge to take part in carnival dutifully? I occasionally considered if and how my upbringing may have had anything to do with my lack of participation. Although my parents allowed us to take part in carnival a few times between the ages of five and nine, as we got older this changed. I vaguely remember wining and dancing whilst my parents demonstrated their amusement by laughing and clapping their hands. Now I am an adult, my mother reminds me of how well I could wine as a child. I am not quite sure how and where I learned to wine but my parents thought it was fun to watch me dance. My mother has suggested that I learned wining by seeing it around me, but I am not exactly sure where I saw such movement and

gyrations, or where, in turn, I got the idea to perform in front of an audience. As I became older (by the age of ten onwards) I learned from my parents' negative reactions and disapproval, that it was not acceptable to wine and dance in the manner I had grown accustomed to anymore. I felt embarrassed and never danced like that again in their presence.

In the weeks before carnival, the festival usually intensified, there was much more promotion of fetes and events, and at night you could hear the loud amplified music coming from sound systems nearby. Not too far from where I lived, the Exodus pan orchestra practised every year for the Panorama competition and put on a show of their rehearsals. The sound of the rubber hitting the pan caught you from miles away, calling you to see the band in its magnificence. The atmosphere in the pan yard was electric: some enthusiasts danced and sang along to the chorus, while passers-by tried to get a glimpse of the band. Others, connoisseurs of pan, sat in the yard listening attentively to every note, hook, and melodious run. The importance of sound was brought to life during the festive months. I could hear calypsoes and soca rhythms blaring from neighbouring houses, shops, and taxis as they passed by. I enjoyed listening to the upbeat catchy tunes and would tap my feet or sing along quietly to them. But my parents were adamant that certain songs were too vulgar to repeat. Although some songs were captivating and rhythmic, they possessed what my father labelled 'dirty lyrics'. My mother's sayings remain indelibly inscribed at the forefront of my mind, particularly the ones she repeated frequently. One of her favourites was, "words are powerful", and this had an impact on the way I felt about singing soca songs. As a result, I became mindful of what I was repeating, and I paid more attention to songs that were evidently vulgar or more sexually suggestive. My mother frequently repeated phrases and Biblical scriptures at home, which were received with esteem, in some situations were a form of discipline when my siblings and I committed a mischievous act. Her ability to quote phrases or scriptures for almost any situation no doubt grabbed my attention. I noticed a pattern: not only could my mother

quote words appropriately and by memory, but it also became abundantly clear that she was demonstrating the relationship between God's word and the sins of the festival. This suggested that the Bible equally provided comfort and a response to almost every situation, including carnival. For my parents, carnival seemed to be an opportunity to demonstrate the good, bad and ugly of our social world. It certainly was an opportunity to teach us restraint, manners, how to behave, and how to appear in public.

Franz Fanon's (1967) *Black Skin White Masks* describes black oppression of colonised people. Fanon contends that one of the methods by which colonisation takes place is through language. Fanon explains that "middle class in the Antilles [...] spoke creole to their servants and their children were taught to scorn the dialect" (p. 20). I relate Fanon's observations to how we presented ourselves in public when I was a child, which was of real importance (particularly to my mother). I was taught not to speak dialect in public and was corrected each time I attempted to do so. My mother would instantly correct me by reciting these words (in dialect of course), "doh speak like dat, when people hear yuh talk, dey should know yuh come from a good home." This was very confusing to me as a child. I did not understand what speaking dialect had to do with coming from a good home. Similarly I did not understand the significance of coming from a good home.

Fanon examines "colonial assimilation, without acknowledgement" and considers that the "use or command of a language ...an indicator of one's relationship to the language's home culture" (Peterson, 2007, p. 93). Thus in the "colonial context, mastery of the colonizer's language indicates the acceptance of the qualities and characteristics of colonial society" (Peterson, 2007, p. 93). Fanon argues that "to speak is to exist absolutely for the other" and "above all to assume a culture" (Fanon, 1967, p. 17). He also states that "the black man has two dimensions, one with his fellows, the other with the white man" (Ibid.). In addition, Fanon explains that the two faces of

the oppressed consciousness is at the root of what he calls “self-division”, which he considers arises as a result of colonialism (Ibid.).

Aching highlights that Caribbean masking practices, which can be traced to “African masking traditions”, were used to “protect ordinary individuals” from the king’s piercing gaze during a ritual (Aching, 2002, p. 6). Aching refrains from using the term “unmasking” as he considers it to imply “the mask is removed from someone else” and uses instead the term “demasking” to stress “the action of literally or figuratively removing an ideological mask from oneself...” (Ibid.).

Earl Lovelace’s (1979) novel *The Dragon Can’t Dance* focuses on a community preparing for the carnival season. Lovelace’s narrative highlights Miss Cleothilda, who is usually hostile and unfriendly, but who once the carnival season approaches, demasks as part of her preparation to play the queen of the band. In my mother’s case, the language she used during carnival could have meant ‘demasking’ or ‘self-division’: perhaps she might have noticed the contradiction in explaining that I should not use dialect whilst she herself spoke it. My parents’ ambition to give my siblings and me the best start in life involved three related elements: first, enforced religion (making sure we read the bible, had regular bible studies and attended church meetings three times a week); second, to scorn carnival, the wine and jam affair of the streets, pubs and clubs, and any kind of vulgarity (something that happened once I was past the age of ten); third (which was very difficult for me to understand but which I believe was even harder for them to enforce) using carnival to demonstrate the differences between males and females. My parents always quoted these remarks, “little girls should be seen and not heard”, or “a man can get his trousers dirty, get up and dust it off, but a woman cannot.” This was a way of reminding me of my role as a female and of protecting my sexual propriety. In turn, I felt that I was expected to behave differently from my brothers. My brothers were allowed more freedom and did not get the earful of quotes, scriptures, cautions and disciplinary

warnings I received. As I got older, I remember constantly complaining about these differences and the unfairness in what was expected of me as opposed to what my brothers had the freedom to do. My parents' motive for allowing my brothers more freedom was mainly related to gender. As with wining and dancing, it seemed that males did not undergo the same level of scrutiny as females. In fact, as I look back on my childhood, the lessons in this sphere were twofold: to teach me morality and the role of a woman, and to teach my brothers about the kind of women they should not choose to marry. Now I have a better understanding of the relationship between wining and gendering I am interested in understanding how wining and gendering is interpreted, and what it symbolises in Trinidad society?

4.3 MY INTRODUCTION TO TRINIDAD CARNIVAL CULTURE

My first carnival experience was at the school I attended, an all girl's Roman Catholic school located in one of the oldest towns in Trinidad, Saint Joseph. The carnival organised by the teachers took place in the school compound. I was chosen to play the queen, mainly for aesthetic reasons (the length and thickness of my hair made me the choice for queen). I remember my mother telling me that I was chosen to play the queen of the band and I responded by asking lots of questions (such as "what do I do?" "How do I play a queen?" "What is playing mas'?") and a host of other questions my mother was not prepared to answer.

The day of the carnival arrived and my family and I got to the school and went to the classroom to get ready. There were many people around me that day, some were preparing me for my role as queen and others were preparing the other members of the band. I remember wearing lots of make-up; it was the first time my mother allowed me to wear make-up and opened up my thick long hair. She dreaded having to comb out all the glitter from my

hair and constantly reminded me that the make-up was only for the carnival. My costume was beautiful, a long white dress with frills. I wore something like a panier underneath the gown, and over the long white dress I wore a bright red cape with gold edging. To complete the outfit, I wore white stockings and shoes. For my accessories, a head-piece with gold glittered edging and a rod, that my father made, which was a piece of wood about three feet in length to which was stapled some card that contained a painted design with sequins. I think the school provided the design that was stapled to the rod. Music began to play as we were all getting ready: it helped set the mood for our performance. Everyone was excited. Once we were all in costume, the band came alive. My experience, as the queen of the band and wearing my first costume (which was quite heavy) made me feel a sense of pride and a great deal of responsibility. I vaguely remember the other bands that performed on that day but I remember the king of the band dancing beside me. Because I attended a Catholic school for girls, the role of the king was played by a girl, my childhood school friend. As I recall she took the role quite seriously: she deepened her voice and painted a moustache on her face to get into character. Although I do not quite recall what the other roles in the band were (they may have been ballerinas), the experience was an enjoyable one and at the time I did not think that there would come a time I would not be allowed to play mas' again. The other members of the band followed us as we led the band around the school compound. At the time I believed the costume transformed me from being a little girl to a queen.

I am not quite sure how many times we went around the school compound but the entire afternoon went on for several hours. I could see my parents smiling, waving, cheering at me and taking pictures: it was a happy occasion and it was my first induction to the carnival celebrations. All the hard work of organising my costume and making sure everything was ready for the big day was mostly done by my parents, who had to locate someone that could make the costume (the design was decided, and provided to them, by the school). All this had paid off: the event was to be a great memory for

me and my family. My mother kept the costume for a while and I played with my rod around the house. I suppose, thinking back on it now, I did not want to let go of the memory of my first experience playing mas', or for that matter of being the queen of the band.

My mother reminds me that I played mas' on three or four other occasions. The only other carnival I remember is the carnival in Port-of-Spain, the Red Cross Kiddies Carnival at the Queens Park Savannah, a parade organised for children. Hundreds of children assemble to play mas'. For many this would be their first time, although some of them might have played mas' at school (although this would be unlikely to have been an all-day affair). At this all day event children were accompanied by their families and arrived dressed, and ready to parade in, their costumes. Kings and queens, on the other hand, had the duty of meeting bandleaders at the event, to get fitted into their large and sometimes extravagant costumes. My parents felt that the Port-of-Spain carnival organised for children at the Queens Park Savannah would be a good experience and an opportunity to meet other children. On arrival there were a great many parents and children, some looking for their bands, others waiting to get on stage with their band. My brother, my childhood friend and I waited patiently in the hot sun: my childhood friend and I were anxious to get on stage to perform, but my brother was anxious to get home. There were many costumes of all shapes and sizes: some children wore costumes twice their size! Because we spent most of our time waiting to get on stage, I remember mostly the smell of the carnival. I could smell the strong scent of glue from the costumes and accessories, including boiled corn, roasted corn, pelau, faded scents of people's fragrances, cotton candy, snow cone syrup and just about any food you could think of. The wait in the brutal hot sun was longer than our performance on stage, which seemed to last only a few minutes, mainly because there were many bands awaiting their turn on stage. On the way home we chatted about the event and the many costumes we saw and how it felt to play mas' in Port-of-Spain. This is as much as I can remember of

playing mas' with the Red Cross Kiddies Carnival at the Queens Park Savannah.

4.4 LEARNING TRINIDAD CARNIVAL: HOME AND SCHOOL LIFE

Before my mother became deeply involved with religion, both my parents would host pre-carnival fetes at our family home. The fetes began late at night and would continue till the early hours of the morning. Our house was the second to last house on a narrow cul-de-sac, and on a few occasions the fetes would spill onto the street even though there was plenty of space for dancing inside the house. These parties somehow gave me, as a young child, a sense of wonder, excitement and delight. I enjoyed looking at people dancing as my father played his favourite mix of soca tunes on the turntable. My mother prepared her most tasty fried rice, barbecued chicken and a side of salad. Some guests chatted with my mom in the kitchen, while others eat the food she prepared. There were also those who were eager to shake and gyrate their hips on the dance floor.

Little did I know at the time how much my mother's dedication in pursuing her deep spiritual passion for God would teach me about carnival. I have always grappled with what the impetus was for her search for religion: was it the fetes at home? Did she become tired of seeing people drink and wine? Or was it due to concerns at the time about the intensity of carnival's immorality and vulgarity? Could it be that she was particularly concerned about the lewd and boisterous behaviour of women during carnival? Did she believe that the carnival she saw as a child no longer existed? Unfortunately I never really asked her these questions. However we were required to attend every church and pray meeting she could find. Although I was not really emotionally attached to carnival I felt sad about the abrupt changes in our home life.

Although we stopped attending carnival events and holding fetes at home, we were pretty much up-to-date with the goings-on of the national festival. The newspapers, radio and television stations plugged carnival heavily; and at school students and teachers would discuss some of their carnival experiences amongst themselves. On our way back from social events organised by the church we would bump into revellers playing mas' on the streets. I think all this had an effect on me: even though we did not participate in carnival we were certainly not completely cut off from it. It was fun to watch the calypso competitions and king and queen of the band costumes on television. I would always keep an eye out for the best costume design. During my teenage years things became especially difficult, because of my admiration for, and interest in, the creative aspect of the festival. As a result I had to find an outlet for my creativity and even though, at the time carnival arts was not a taught subject, I would spend a lot of time painting. This became my outlet. To this day my interest in carnival stems from my interest in art: I place colour on canvas to express, in a "carnival state", the feelings I am unable to express in words about my religious upbringing.

High school in Trinidad during the carnival season proved difficult: I was not allowed to take part in many school activities. As if that was not enough, I listened as students discussed and debated pretty much everything carnival, from costumes to music. Satnarayan Maharaj (2005) expresses his views about children's responses to carnival, pointing to the "debauchery, lawlessness and incitement to "Mash up de place, put your han' on a bam bam, jam it, jam she" and such instructions which they act out at school" (Maharaj, 2005, Trinidad and Tobago Guardian Newspapers Online). Maharaj argues that "violence and misbehaviour at some schools in the state sector is a national scandal" (Ibid.). My parents were concerned about what I learned about carnival in high school and became stricter, making sure I attended religious meetings, and participated in home Bible study with members of the church.

In my school most students came from the main towns in the east of Trinidad and knew more about carnival than I had expected. Some students came from a long line of costume makers and pan bands or lived near mas' camps or pan yards. Sometimes debates concerning the best soca tune or fete for that year would have either a positive or negative effect on the classroom morale. It seemed that certain topics about the festival had more damaging effects than others, especially since some students played pan with well-known pan groups during the carnival season. Some students would reveal their competitiveness, for example, "we goh lick dem up in de finals", their certainty or responses would become too intense to hide.

On some occasions, students would show their appreciation for a particular song by rhythmically beating the desks whilst part of the class joined in and sang along. Year after year, discussions about the festival would revisit like an old friend. For some it was particularly intense as they became focused on either playing pan (and doing so professionally) or their support of a particular mas' band or pan orchestra.

Eventually I joined the school pan group after successfully convincing my parents that it would be good for me to learn an instrument and it would not interfere with attending church meetings. I was granted permission to join the newly formed pan group where I learned to play the cello, four bass and six bass pans. The music teacher taught mostly current soca songs: there was no Beethoven or Bach in his class. He took pleasure in telling us that we did not need to read music to play pan, something that annoyed me as I had signed up to the class to learn music and I expected to learn to read and write sheet music. Although it is quite normal for pan orchestras to play classical songs, our tutor decided that we would only learn and play soca. He declined our unrelenting proposals to learn music other than soca. In fact, it seemed that classical music to him meant early compositions by calypsonians like Lord Kitchener or Mighty Sparrow. Sadly the teacher did

not relent and we grew accustomed to playing only the music he arranged, which he taught by demonstration. I often wondered about his commitment to teaching only soca songs and if he was aware of his commitment to the 'we culture', 'we ting' ideology. Maybe his commitment to teaching soca songs was an opportunity to shape the ideas that he strongly felt a part of: ideas of nationhood that are usually weaved together with quotes like 'we must love we culture'.

Once I took it upon myself to ask the teacher to teach me to play a rhythm and blues (R&B) song. His reply was: "What happen yuh doh like soca? If yuh doh want to play in de band somebody else can play the bass". His response weighed heavily on my mind and only helped to fuel thoughts of betrayal and confusion. What or whom was I betraying if I wanted to learn other songs on the pan? On the one hand, at home I was not allowed to sing certain soca songs. My parents' musical tastes were eclectic and they allowed us to listen to all kinds of music provided that the lyrics were 'clean'. On the other hand, at school the tutor did not want the group to play anything other than soca. Not to mention the fact that my parents were increasingly becoming uneasy with the musical connotations, in soca, of "wine and jam". I was torn.

I remember hearing an old song as a teenager entitled 'Get off the radio', sung and composed in the 1970s by Lancelott Layne. Layne was probably the first artist to record 'rapso', a type of music that is considered a "vehicle for protest" (Diouf, 2010, p. 220). For Layne spoken verses over a rhythmic musical bed with African drums was a way of embracing the message rather than the beat (Ibid.). More than a recurring memory of Trinidad's musical past, the song was a protest against the disparity in radio airplay between Trinidad local culture and foreign culture. I remember Layne speaking on the radio in a brief interview about the dangers of American influences on Trinidad culture. Layne expressed an unwavering belief that outside cultures and influences would only serve to strip our identity and

obliterate our culture. He conveyed his concerns about preserving cultural identity and not relinquishing African traditions, and seemed sceptical of the optimistic gaze of a modern world. Layne was known for his contributions to commemorating Emancipation Day: he embraced African history and was of the Orisha faith. Layne's song recurs in my mind as I see some connections between Layne and my music tutor: both shared similar Afrocentric ideas. Afrocentric views are largely manifested through political culture, and amongst some Afro-Trinidadians carnival is considered as belonging to Africans, a point of view that ignores Trinidad's diversity and complex racial ethnic mix (Allahar, 2003, pp. 38, 39). The dashiki-wearing, soca-loving, music teacher enjoyed the African rhythms and transferred his Afrocentric views to his teaching style.

For quite some time I was divided between 'de Trini' culture' ideals and wanting to embrace other types of music, poetry, arts and crafts. Today I am still working through these ideas and living away from the "carnival state" of Trinidad has been useful in doing so. Fanon's view on "self-division" can be pushed further. Self-division may not only be about the black man having two dimensions - that of self and that of society (Fanon, 1967, p. 17), but could also have to do with the divisions within self, struggling with ideas of oneness, sameness, religion and conscience.

During childhood I attuned (see Diagram 8) to carnival through playing mas' at school, making carnival accessories with my father, playing pan in high school, and by the carnival parties my parents held at home. I connected with carnival, embodying the different practices and activities that are an integral part of the festival. Misattunement to carnival – the subject of the next chapter - occurred when my mother began her search for religion, which meant that the bonds I began to form with carnival were suddenly disconnected. Consequently I began to attune to religion and the various ideas my parents taught me about carnival.

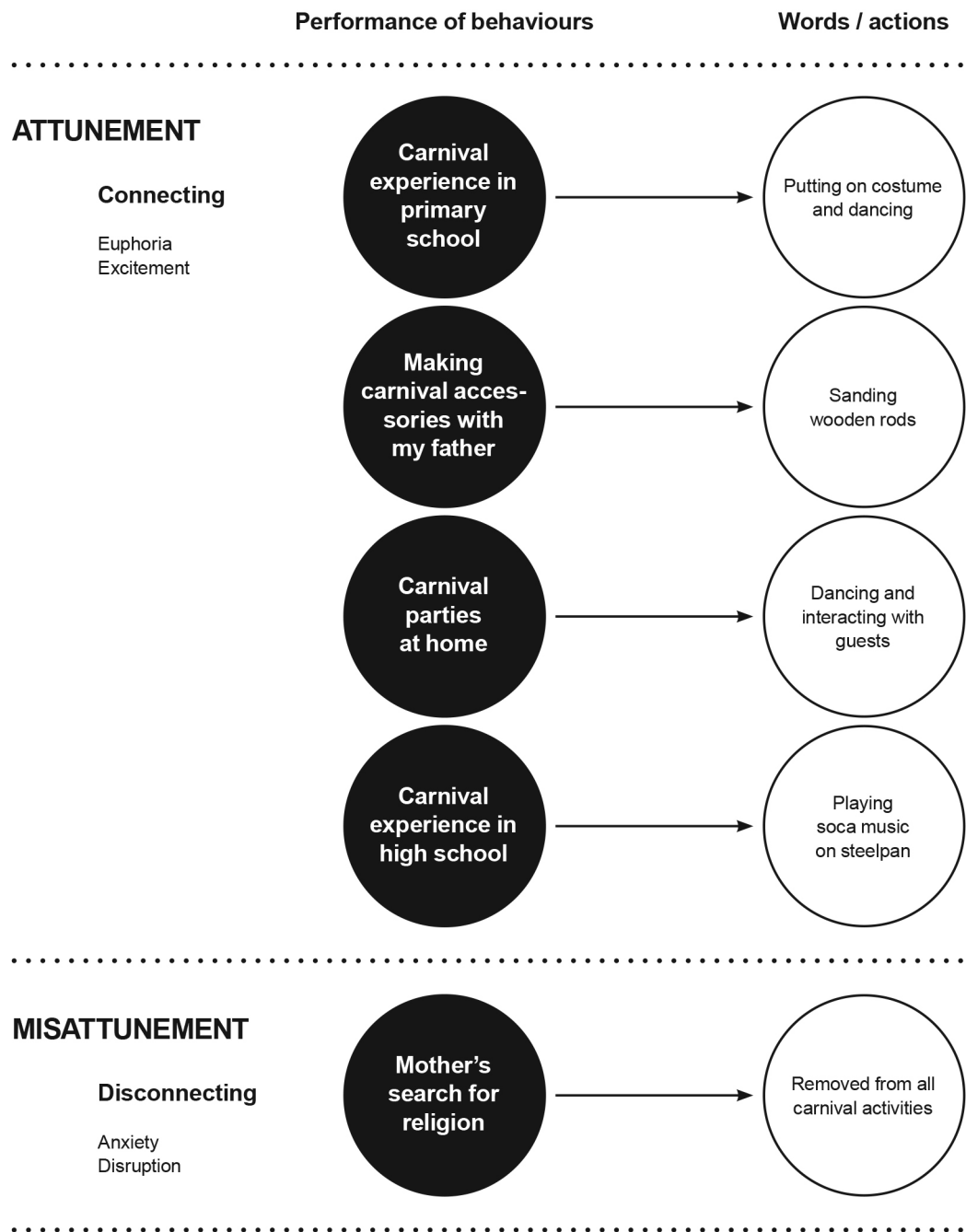


Diagram 8

My Attunement / Misattunement: "Performance of Behaviours" (Stern, 1998)

In the next section I will examine UK carnivalist attunement to carnival and how this is expressed through performance of behaviours and words and actions, in order to understand how others' ways of becoming attuned to carnival during their introduction to the festival might be different from my own. I will also examine how UK carnivalists were introduced to carnival, in order to demonstrate the different ideas, positions and experiences involved, and to highlight how ideology plays a significant role in carnival. In my experience the construction of ideas about carnival in my household defined how I interpreted and engaged with the festival. To some extent much of what I embodied at home shaped the way I feel about carnival today, in particular ideas that influenced my behaviour and taught me a particular morality.

As discussed in the literature review (see pp. 88, 89) the construction of ideas regarding the unity of the Trinidad carnival (that is synonymous with national identity) combines national spectacle and cultural hegemony. The construction of ideas demonstrates how dominant ideas are framed "by people in position" therefore "minimizing alternative interpretations" by manipulation and control (Green and Scher, 2007, p. 9). Thus, in the next section I will also explore how UK carnivalists interpret and make meaning, based on how carnival appears to them and how it is framed by those "in position" that "assert their visions" for the festival (Ibid). I will examine how UK carnivalists in leadership roles and positions construct ideas to appease their members, as well as the devices they may use to invite and encourage continued participation.

4.5 INTRODUCTION TO UK CARNIVAL: INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCES

4.5.1 Overview

In this section I explore how UK respondents are introduced to carnival culture. I consider the kind of participation they adopt, based on how they were introduced to, and educated and nurtured in, the carnival world. My main aim is to understand how dominant ideologies – most of which seek to promote resistance and preservation – are shared and promoted through introduction to, and education about, carnival culture, examining how UK carnivalists perceive their introduction to carnival through their senses. What are the devices used to encourage participation by those who hold leadership roles in mas' camps and pan yards? I consider whether the Trinidad diaspora plays a role in endorsing Trinidad's dominant ideology regarding, carnival since this ideology is regarded as vital in promoting Trinidad's cultural products. For example, I discussed in the literature review (see p. 89) the construction of ideas that advocated carnival as "national cultural heritage" during the late 1960s (Lewis, 2004 p. 23), as developed by the PNM government, and how the PNM's ideas were part of the organising of a new society which included "organizing cultural standards" (Ibid.). Consequently, the entertainer and artist were seen as ambassadors of Trinidad culture and national pride, an important tourism resource, embodying the West Indian cultural identity and taking it wherever they may go (Ibid.). In the 1990s, the Trinidad government used similar ideas and promoted carnival as a tourism resource (see p. 89).

Ideas for remaking carnival have been developed through notions of cultural and national pride and it is important to understand how these ideas are used by Trinidadian carnivalist to introduce UK participants to, and engage them in, the festival (see Diagram 9). Thus, Trinidadian carnivalists "in positions" of leadership within their UK mas' camp or pan group may

consider themselves ambassadors of Trinidad's culture and as such "assert their visions" for their camp, group and carnival. This might suggest that carnival can be "change[d] in accordance with the needs, desires, and longing[s]" of the carnivalists that remake it (Green and Scher, 2007, p. 9). I will also examine how respondents are attuning to their introduction to carnival, as well as the positions they take up within it, which might suggest how they are embodying particular aspects of the festival.

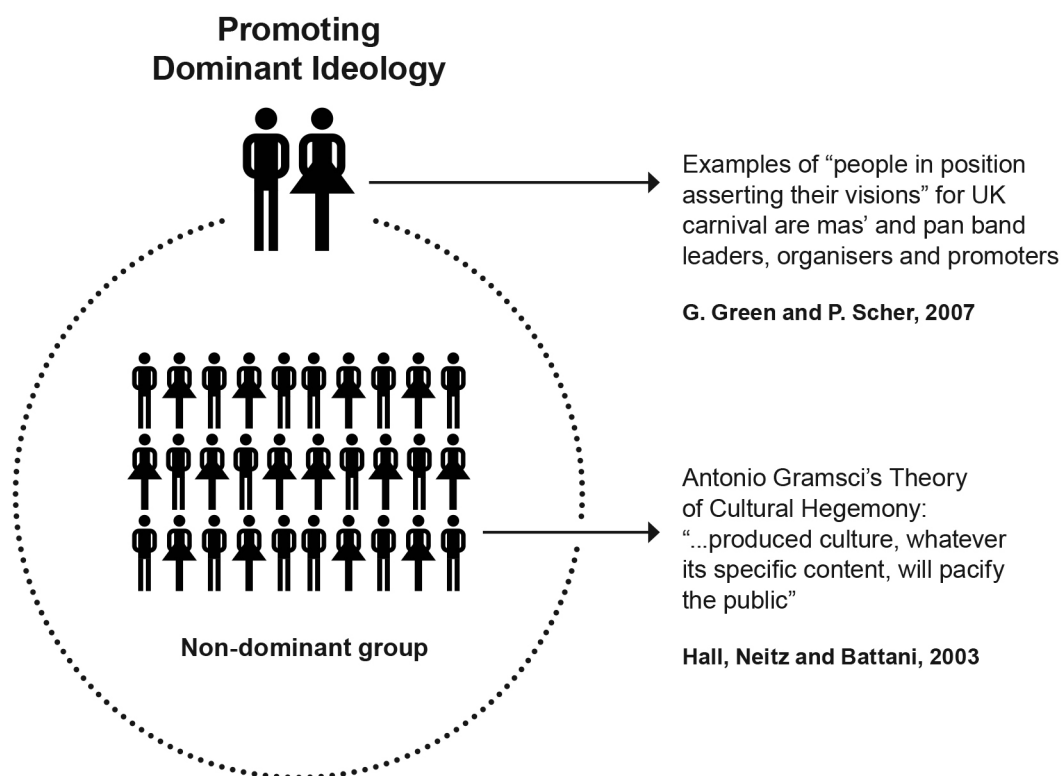


Diagram 9

People in Position Promoting their Vision for Carnival

I spent time with respondents who participated in UK carnival either fully or partially and I also met respondents who understood carnival's dominant ideology but possessed their own personal views about the festival. These respondents appeared to be devising their own ways of engaging with the festival, and their feelings, thoughts and behaviour did not appear to be

driven by any dominant group. For example, on 6 July, 2012, I visited a carnival arts centre, where I met a woman who makes costumes. She seemed quite busy but while she was binding some wire frames I found a brief opportunity to speak with her. I asked:

Réa: *“Are you looking forward to the carnival?”*

Costume Maker A: *“I hate carnival.”*

Surprised by her response (she was busy working on a large costume) I asked:

Réa: *“Why?”*

She shrugged her shoulders and answered:

Costume Maker A: *“I don’t like the crowds, the loud music, dancing in the street and the vibes.”*

Réa: *“Why do you make costumes?”*

Costume Maker A: *“I’ve been making and repairing costumes for a long time so I know a little about carnival. I don’t design I just make them. But the only thing I like about carnival is making costumes. It’s a piece of art. But I don’t like rushing to finish them like today. I like to take the time to make them.”*

Réa: *“What other activities do you get involved in?”*

Costume Maker A: *“Just costume making. That’s it.”*

(Band A, Production Team Member (mas’ camp), 6
July, 2012)

(transcribed from notes and memory)

This was a brief conversation and I was not aware of the woman’s background (for example, religious or otherwise). Thus it would be difficult for me to argue that she was resisting dominant carnival ideology. However, it strikes me that her dislike for the festival, coupled with her love for making costumes, demonstrates how the respondent was able to negotiate a space within the festival that did not include performing with a band or going out on the streets on carnival days. In which case, she seemed to have devised her own way of engaging with carnival, based on how she feels, and what she feels comfortable with. In addition, her bodily experience may be vital in understanding the creative or artistic elements of the festival that she appreciates. Henry John Drewal’s exploration of African artists and audiences shows how these groups “use the senses (sight, taste, hearing, speaking, touch, motion, and extra-sensory perception) to create and respond to the affective and aesthetic qualities of art” (Drewal, 2003, Sensory Studies Website). Drewal suggests that, “while the sense of sight is certainly used to perceive them initially, it is the sense of touch (whether actual or virtual) that provokes a deeper sensual pleasure and appreciation” (Ibid.).

To untangle the positions respondents take up within the festival, I want to consider Stuart Hall’s (1992) ‘encoding/decoding’ model of communication, as mentioned earlier in the *Toutoulbé Carnival Reveller* section (2.4.6) of the literature review (see pp. 93, 94). I will apply Hall’s theory to some of the empirical data collected during fieldwork. This will allow me to describe respondents’ positions, particularly how they send, receive and decode information related to their introduction to UK carnival. Hall’s concept of divergent modes of decoding a message might be useful in understanding the dominant meaning encoded in messages, and the

ideology behind them. In addition I will be asking how meaning is decoded by respondents who may or may not share the same ideology as members within their mas' camp or pan group. This may result in misinterpretation, or in the respondent decoding the message as intended. Hall suggests three different modes of decoding (see pp. 93, 94). First there is the 'dominant-hegemonic' position (decoded as intended), "operating inside the dominant code" (Hall, 1992, p. 115). Second is the 'negotiated' position ("a combination of adaptive and oppositional elements"), acknowledging the "legitimacy of the hegemonic definitions to make grand significations" but where, at a "more restricted, situational (situated) level", the decoder "makes its own ground rules" and "operates with exceptions to the rule" (Ibid., pp. 115-116). The third mode of decoding is the 'oppositional' position which "detotalizes the message in the preferred code in order to retotalize the message within some other alternative framework of reference" (Ibid., p. 116). The insights gained in this analysis might shed light onto how some leaders or those holding positions in UK mas' camps and pan yards try to organise and maintain a homogenous environment: nurturing similar views and positions for carnival and suppressing alternative ideas, emotions and perceptions of carnival without opposition.

Education may also be used as a vehicle for transferring dominant encoded meanings in messages, as well as introducing respondents to both UK and Trinidad carnival cultural traditions, and encouraging continued participation. Peter Mason (1998) highlights the importance of "education" and "national awareness" regarding the Trinidad carnival, and notes how schools make "great efforts to teach children about the older ways of carnival, as well as newer aspects such as pan" (p. 157). He also suggests that the "kiddies carnival has played an important part in this process" adding that "young people still hear about carnival as it used to be from their parents and grandparents" (Ibid., p. 157). With Trinidad carnival so firmly connected to nation building and cultural politics (or 'we culture' ideology), when it is "[re]created by transplanted Trinidadians in their new homelands of Canada,

Aruba, New York, and England” (Green and Scher, 2007, p. 1), they may seek to endorse Trinidad’s dominant encoded meaning in messages. Moreover, I will be arguing that since UK carnival is not the dominant culture in the UK, “transplanted Trinidadians” (Ibid., p. 1) not only share their carnival traditions and practices, but may utilise the history of UK carnival, which is considered a “cultural and political response to white racism” (Connor and Farrar, 2004, p. 268), to further demonstrate the ideological background of carnival culture as resistance and preservation.

According to sociologist Immanuel Wallerstine (1990) culture is an “ideological battleground” where dominant groups seek to secure their interests (p. 31). Wallerstine notes that “since it is obvious that interests fundamentally diverge” then “such constructions of ‘culture’ are scarcely neutral” (Ibid.). He suggests that “the very construction of culture becomes a battleground” which he explains is the “key ideological battleground in fact of the opposing interests within this historical system” (Ibid.). For Wallerstine “the heart of the debate ...revolves around ways in which the presumed antinomies of unity and diversity, universalism and particularism, humanity and race, world and nation, person and man/woman have been manipulated” (Ibid.). In the following section I will consider these questions: within this “ideological battleground” (Ibid.) of dominant ideas and interests, how does an introduction to carnival appear to respondents? How much of UK carnival’s cultural politics affects how people feel about the festival? Do UK respondents have an understanding of both Trinidad and UK political issues and agendas? Or are they more aware of, and concerned with, the creative and performative aspects of carnival?

4.5.2 ‘Negotiated’ Position

One ‘transplanted Trinidadian’ (Green and Scher, 2007, p. 1) residing in the UK explained how he was introduced to Trinidad carnival and how UK carnival began at Notting Hill. On 17 April 2012, a few months before the

carnival season I visited an elderly gentleman, Musician X, who had been involved in carnival for many years in various capacities. He mentioned that he still gets involved in carnival:

Musician X: *"From time to time - not as much as I used to."*

He explained:

Musician X: *"Carnival was spontaneous."*

Musician X described how carnival in the UK began and how people were introduced to it: he noted that during 1951, when he first came to the UK (see p. 100) from Trinidad, there was no carnival. He added:

Musician X: *"The Notting Hill, how it started - I went to play for a children's fair in the road on a Sunday. Playing with these pans around my neck there were no pan stands. I was going to take a walk instead of standing in one place. So I told the lady move the barriers because we will take a walk around the block. It was just a short block. So there was a juggler, donkey, and a clown, you know it was for the kids. So I told them just follow us, and as we went around the block people came, the shoppers, people came to see this steel pan they had not seen it before. It was the biggest march ever in the Notting Hill Gate. We went way down Queens Way down to Holland Park and come right back just carrying it on because more people started to join in. So when we got back Miss Laslett said 'this was so beautiful we must do this again next year' and we did. It went on for a few years and it was after that,*

people started setting up committees and these things so I didn't really want to get involved in carnival after that. But this is what I remember about how carnival really started in the UK. People were mesmerised by the pan, seeing three people wearing pans around their neck and the sound coming from where they could not recognise it. It blossomed as more people started coming in by the late 50s from Trinidad and steel bands started to form because in those days they did not have any big steel bands. But when carnival started there was no route. I could go where I want. You could walk all between places, we were with the slow trucks so I could just filter myself where I choose. But then after they came and started putting a route, the police and so on, so that became a route. But when the carnival first came there was no route and wherever I see fit to go with my band I go. Now carnival has lost spontaneity it is too formal now and that's my feeling about it. It is too regimented. I mean I have always played for the Lord Mayor show and this is similar to a Lord Mayor show. Now you have to park up and go this route. Trinidad also has this same thing with routes. Carnival has changed even in Trinidad when I grew up as a young kid, you know, outside your house or whose house we starting from. But now they all meet by the savannah they all go on the route, its nearly a route march at the end of the day. But you can't blame London entirely 'cause Trinidad carnival is also changing in that way they have to go down Ariapita Avenue or Wrightson Road and wait for the band to come to join in. The bands, the people, it is more crowds in carnival but as a little boy carnival didn't have anything near a million

people. They have a million people in Trinidad carnival and a lot of people come in London for the carnival too. But you can see why the restrictions - but then too much of it takes away the fun, it's like a pageant."

Réa: *"How were you introduced to carnival?"*

Musician X: *"Well, huh, carnival would sometimes start from my door step and that is how I know about carnival."*

Réa: *"Was that in Trinidad?"*

Musician X: *"Yes. But I think it's lost some of the fun but it's still a tremendous spectacle. The greatest show on earth, but personally as a player I feel the changes more than the spectator who just come to look at it they don't know that certain vibes are not there. The spontaneous vibes, because long ago we had the freedom to go anywhere. But now it's too restricting. But not totally, I must say, the police sometime turn a blind eye for carnival day."*

Réa: *"Do you still get involved with carnival events?"*

Musician X: *"Yes, sometimes. I use to move out from here with a jouvay band for a little while right here some years ago now, we did not play mud mas' but we just come in anything and do we own thing." (Musician X, 17 April, 2012)*
(transcribed verbatim)



Photograph 22 – Pan around the neck in London, UK, 1960s. This photograph was given to me by Panist A. He explained that it was taken during the early Notting Hill Carnival. This is all the information the participant provided. The photograph is used here to give an idea of the pan round the neck and the early Notting Hill Carnival.

Photograph courtesy Panist A

The respondent explains that he “feels the changes” in carnival and describes the kind of changes by using words such as “formal” and “spontaneity”. The importance he places on spontaneity (see Photograph 22) is exemplified in these sentence segments: *...outside your house...we*

starting from; ...wherever I see fit to go...I go; ...there was no route...I could go where I want; ...lost spontaneity...too formal...too regimented; ...it's nearly a route march; ...outside your house or whose house we starting from.

These themes highlight how the respondent engaged in the festival both in Trinidad and the UK, and regardless of the place, carnival seems to represent for him a kind of spontaneous flow. Additionally, his appreciation of “spontaneity” combined with his ability to empathise with the changes he experienced, demonstrates the respondent’s ‘negotiated’ position (see Diagram 10). This is exemplified in the following sentence segments: *...more crowds in carnival but as a little boy we didn't have anything near a million people; ...a lot of people come in London for the carnival too, but you can see why the restrictions - but then too much of it takes away the fun, the spontaneous vibes; ...still a tremendous spectacle but personally as a player you feel the changes more than the spectator.* Moreover, although the respondent considers carnival as the “greatest show on earth” and enjoys the festival, he finds his own way of celebrating it and, as Hall suggests, “operates with exceptions to the rule” (Hall, 1992, p. 116). He does not seem to be a part of any group or band, and appears to be mindful of dominant ideas controlling carnival. This is exemplified in the following sentence segments: *...people started setting up committees; ...didn't really want to get involved in carnival after that.* He also mentions that he: *use to move out with a jouvay band for a little while, we just come in anything, and do we own thing.* These comments indicate that there was no significant planning for the jouvay band, and it was a spontaneous affair involving friends and neighbours. Perhaps the respondent’s views and position are based on how he was introduced to carnival and how he experienced it (including his partial involvement or participation in the festival). Thus, his spontaneous performance in the children’s fair in Notting Hill demonstrates some of the customs he was exposed to growing up in Trinidad and experiencing carnival in the way that he did.

According to Merleau-Ponty “the world-structure, with its two stages of sedimentation and spontaneity, is at the core of consciousness” (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 116). Philosopher Catriona Mackenzie (2010) explains further: “spontaneity is the general power of using sedimented habits, capacities, and knowledge to engage with a new situation” (p. 117). Applied to the experience of Musician X, I suggest that in his participation in the children’s fair in Notting Hill and his jouvay band, his body “accumulated habits and capacities of past actions” thus opening “new possibilities for action in the future” (Ibid.).

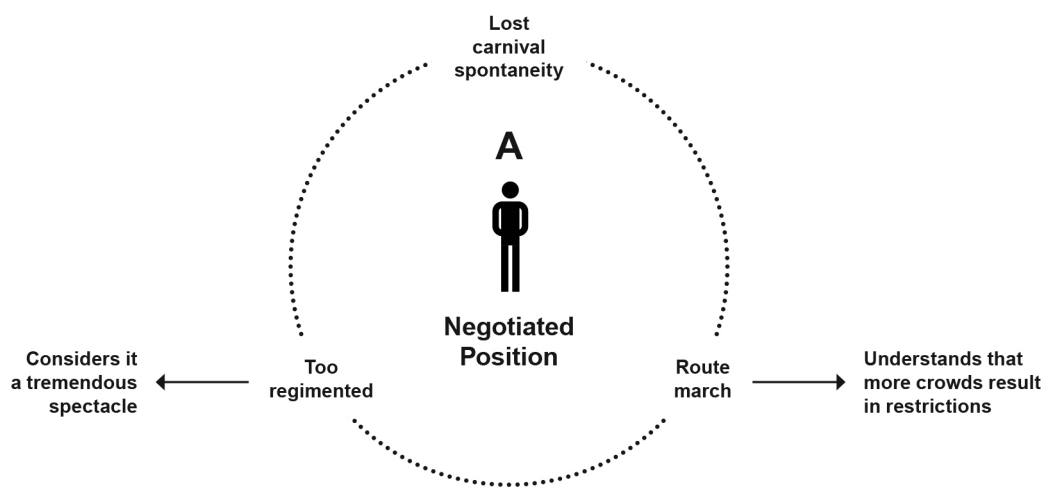


Diagram 10

Musician X's: Negotiated Position

4.5.3 'Dominant-Hegemonic' Position – Example One

To highlight my earlier point concerning the role of education in the process of being introduced to carnival, I draw upon two informal discussions with respondents at a mas' camp and pan yard. My aim is to demonstrate how some respondents, after being introduced to carnival, seem to have become captivated by the creativity and performance of the festival. Thus becoming proficient in their chosen creative work, and responding to carnival in those terms. Moreover after prolonged and full participation with pan

yards, mas' camps, sound systems, and with the community, the relationships these respondents developed created a strong emotional connection to the festival, promoting a cycle of continued participation. For example, one respondent describes their introduction to carnival culture as "very important", the impetus for "playing mas' and working in a mas' camp from day one." The respondent further explains:

Band A Production Team Member One: "Carnival is DNA, I was born into it. My family were strongly involved in carnival, especially me mom. She encouraged me to get involved because she did not have it as a child, because her family were involved in church. Me mom and I enjoy everything about carnival. But I became attracted to the vibrant colours, the mas', the music. I have always been in a mas' camp making costumes and have been making costumes and playing mas' ever since."

The respondent went on to describe how she feels about her role within carnival, and how she considers herself as a "carnival multi-tasker." She explains:

Band A Production Team Member One: "I am happy when I am working on a costume from the idea to seeing it on the road. But I like to get involved in the different aspects so I see myself as a carnival multi-tasker."
(transcribed from notes and memory)

When I probed further I also found out that the respondent was born in Trinidad and moved to the UK as a child. I became even more curious and asked if she had noticed any differences between her introduction into

carnival culture in the UK and in Trinidad. The respondent explained that she continued playing mas' after moving to the UK, but at the time she was a child and the differences she noticed were mainly regarding the weather, and that there were carnivals in different counties. I also asked:

Réa: *"What do you know of the history of the Trinidad carnival?"*

She answered:

Band A Production Team Member One: *"For me carnival is spiritual and it's about paying homage to my ancestors, to the ones I know and the ones I don't know. It is about our emancipation, knowing that we are celebrating freedom. I do my best to treat it as celebrating emancipation. A good time to sort of purge yourself, I suppose, of certain things that you might have felt inside that you sort of release on them days."*

Réa: *"Where did you learn about carnival?"*

Band A Production Team Member One: *"You learn all these things in the mas' camp and by being around the people who have been part of it all their lives. And I'm still learning new things all the time."*

Réa: *"Who are you learning these new things from?"*

Band A Production Team Member One: *"The mas' camp. We get a chance to express our views on certain thing but mostly listening to those that have been in*

mas' for a long time, they have the experience to pass on to us."

Réa: *"How do you feel when you learn new things about carnival?"*

Band A Production Team Member One: *"It makes me feel good that I'm really paying homage and I'm giving back."*

Réa: *"Can you give me an idea of some of the new things you learned?"*

Band A Production Team Member One: *"Yes, mostly about the history of carnival in Trinidad and some of the police clashes in the Notting Hill Carnival."*

Réa: *"What do you think about the history of the Trinidad carnival and the clashes in Notting Hill?"*

Band A Production Team Member One: *"Well it shows the kind of problems carnival has gone through and the strength of carnival. No matter what, it continues. And on a spiritual level we continue and share the festival of our ancestors."*

Réa: *"How do you use the knowledge you learned about carnival's history?"*

She stopped and considered my question for a brief moment and then answered:

Band A Production Team Member One: *"It comes back out in the carnival, making costumes and on the road carnival day."*

Réa: *"What do you mean?"*

Band A Production Team Member One: *"Well, the experience and knowledge of the past becomes part of our experience and we celebrate the knowledge in what we do for carnival and making sure we continue."* (Band A, Production Team Member One, 30 August, 2012) *(transcribed from notes and memory)*

The above comments emphasise the respondent's attraction to carnival's creativity and performance. Hence, sentence segments such as: *attracted to the vibrant colours, the mas', the music; working on a costume from the idea to seeing it on the road exemplifies how she pays homage. "Pay[ing] homage"* seems to be very important to the respondent: she feels good about it, and for her it means getting something out of her dedication to the festival. The respondent also mentions that, carnival is in her *"DNA"* (*"I was born into it"*) and explains that her family were strongly involved in carnival especially her mother (*"me mom"*). During my interview with the respondent, the relationship she shares with her mother and the mas' camp, as well as her mother's deep involvement with mas', seemed to intensify her feelings for the festival.

According to Mary Chamberlain (2011), in her exploration of *Family Love in the Diaspora: Migration and the Anglo-Caribbean Experience*, African-Caribbean families take pride in their family life. She notes, "over and over in our study we heard stories of pride taken in the family, of its importance for both support and solace, identity and differentiation" (p. 110). Chamberlain also highlights the strong family bonds that emerge and

suggests that this enables “migration” whilst “facilitating return” (Ibid.). She explains that “as African-Caribbean family patterns in Britain continue to conform to those identified in the Caribbean as transnational links” these “continue to affirm the influence of the Caribbean” and “the idea of family and the meanings attached to it” materialise “as key elements in the narratives of belonging and identity” (Ibid.).

But of course this does not apply to all African-Caribbean families, this family bond applies to “particular” families with “identifiable beliefs and values” that “represents a formidable network of kin” (Ibid.). Additionally “loyalty—as members of a shared lineage—can be taken on trust” (Ibid.). Philip Scher (2010) echoes similar concerns in relation to how “transnational connections are maintained” and suggests that “even during a protracted absence from the home country most Caribbean migrants remain, in various ways, part of a family, household and personal transnational network” (p. 253). These perspectives on the maintenance of transnational networks might help in understanding this respondent’s loyalty and deep commitment to family and carnival. It may also help in understanding her closeness to mas’ camps both in Trinidad and the UK.

With regard to the respondent’s introduction to, and education in, carnival culture, the mas’ camps in Trinidad and the UK (including her mother’s involvement) introduced her to carnival arts, and some basic historical facts about the festival. Thus she gained insights into her craft from those that she considers “*have the experience.*”

The following sentence segments: ...*paying homage to our ancestors*; ...*strength of carnival*; ...*continue and share the festival* - reflect the respondent’s ‘dominant-hegemonic’ position (see Diagram 11). Moreover, re-organising the order of sentence segments emphasises the respondent’s participation and how the festival appears to her: *strength of carnival*; then, *paying homage*; and then *continue and share the festival*. This ordering

highlights the dominant views the respondent has acquired from the mas' camp, her family, her friends, and her community. These views can be said to have been decoded as intended, and the respondent has acquired the dominant message. As a result, certain sentence segments: (*...learn things in the mas' camp; ...being around the people who have been part of it all their lives; ...still learning new things; ...listening to those that have been in mas' for a long time; ...they have the experience to pass on to us*) show that the respondent shares views and cultural practices with those who teach her. However, although the respondent has acquired the dominant message from, and shares similar views with, the sender, it is possible that a conflict may occur between those that have the experience to pass on knowledge (or those in leadership roles and positions) and those that are still learning new things (the subordinates).

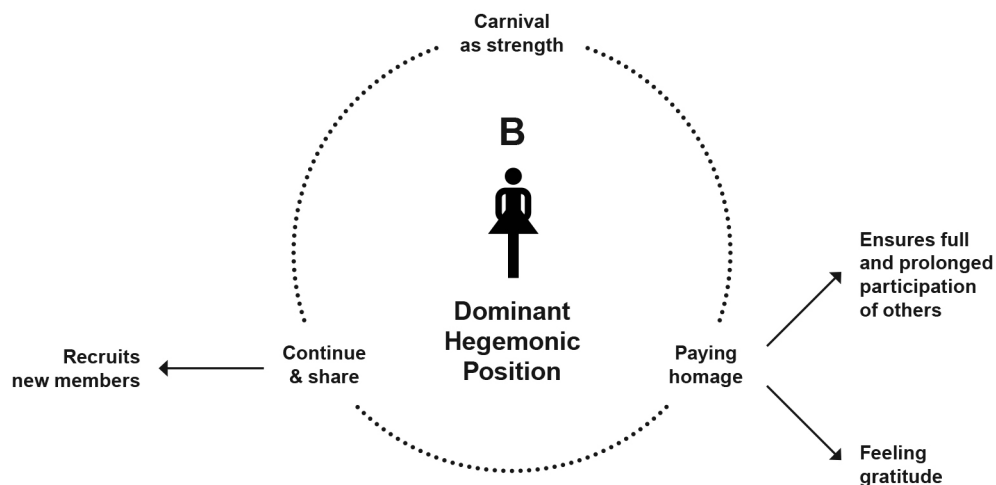


Diagram 11

Production Team Member: Dominant-Hegemonic Position

4.5.4 'Dominant-Hegemonic' Position: Example Two

Another example of the 'dominant-hegemonic' position which can be considered was revealed to be at the pan yard. On 24 April 2012, I arrived at the pan yard at 5:30pm, before the pan lessons had begun. I was able to have a brief discussion with one of the pan members. This respondent described her introduction into carnival culture as "*amazing*." She explained that carnival culture is an "*amazing celebration of culture*."

Réa: *"How were you introduced to carnival?"*

Pan Group A Panist: *"Ahh, well I always grew up with people from the West Indies in my community. So I embraced the culture 'cause I've always been around it, but it was really a lady at my church she actually told me about mas' first, and then I saw the mas' and that was it. I fell in love: the colours and costumes. I saw pan bands practising and got involved with playing pan at primary school. But I got more into it at about 13 years old and now I play with this band because it has had major success and it tours globally. I have also been travelling to Trinidad for the past eight years and I play with a big band there for the panorama competition, and last year I played mas' in Trinidad."*

Réa: *"Have you played mas' in the UK?"*

Pan Group A Panist: *"Oh yeah lots of times but it was my first time in Trinidad."*

Réa: *"What was it like?"*

Pan Group A Panist: *“Amazing! It was different - the bands were bigger, everything was on a bigger scale compared to Notting Hill ...and the people were more laid back and friendly ...very welcoming. It was overwhelming.”*

Réa: *“What do you know about the history of pan and carnival in the UK?”*

Pan Group A Panist: *“Well I heard a lot of stuff from the Trinidadians in my community and other members in the mas’ camp and the pan yard - mostly from the more experienced pan members. The group that comes in later are the more experienced players, this group is for beginners and I assist the teacher.”*

Réa: *“What have you heard about carnival?”*

Pan Group A Panist: *“Mostly about the riots and the politics, how they try to change carnival routes or shut it down, which will never happen.”*

Réa: *“Why?”*

Pan Group A Panist: *“Because it is the people’s carnival.”*

Réa: *“What do you mean by the ‘people’s carnival’?”*

Pan Group A Panist: *“No one could stop carnival, people are so used to coming out on the street for two days: even if it is cancelled, people will still come out.”*

Réa: *“What do you know about Trinidad’s carnival?”*

Pan Group A Panist: *“Okay, I know about the slaves and mimicry, hummm don’t remember it right now but I have heard the other pan players talk about it.”*

Réa: *“How do you feel about what you learned?”*

Pan Group A Panist: *“I feel, hummm, it is good to know about carnival and pan, to understand the tradition and carrying it on.”*

Réa: *“Can you tell me a bit about being a teacher?”*

Pan Group A Panist: *“I love teaching people how to play pan - they get really excited to learn the instrument.”*

Réa: *“What do you get out of teaching pan?”*

Pan Group A Panist: *“Well I get to show someone else what I’ve learned and it feels good to show someone else. It’s like giving back.”*

Réa: *“What do you mean by ‘giving back’?”*

Pan Group A Panist: *“Hummm, well being a part of this culture has been really good for me. I learn new things, travel, and meet people. It is rewarding to give back and show someone else this amazing culture.”*
(Pan Group A Panist 24 April, 2012)
(transcribed verbatim)



Photograph 23 – Steel pan player, UK, 2012

Sentence segments: *I loved the colours and costumes* shows the respondent love for carnival's creativity and performance. A sentence segment such as: *I saw the mas' and that was it* indicates her immediate and positive response to her experience. Sentence segments: *got involved with playing pan at primary school ...got more into it at about 13 years old* – indicates her continued participation and love for steel (see Photograph 23). I also found out that the respondent was born in the UK and is of African and

Irish decent. She explained that she was an Irish dancer but as she got older she embraced carnival culture and stopped her dancing lessons.

In highlighting the intricacies of race, class and culture in Britain Paul Gilroy has explored “black cultures within the framework of a diaspora” (1987 / 2002, p. 154). Gilroy asserts that such cultures “cannot be contained neatly within the structures of the nation-state” (Ibid.), and suggests that as “Black Britain defines itself crucially as part of a diaspora”, black cultures “draw inspiration from those developed by black populations elsewhere” (Ibid.). He points to “black America and the Caribbean” suggesting that their cultural forms are vital “raw materials for creative processes...” (Ibid.). Gilroy notes that the creative processes assist in redefining “what it means to be black, adapting it to distinctively British experiences and meanings” (Ibid.). Thus Pan Group A Panist found inspiration in Caribbean culture, showing that black cultures are not confined to any particular structure or cultural influence. Additionally, this respondent’s prolonged and full participation in the festival, including *“travelling to Trinidad” with the pan band, playing mas’ and playing pan at the Trinidad panorama competition*, may have supported her “creative processes” (Ibid.), which may have also played a part in helping her to define where carnival fits in to her life.

The respondent mentioned that she is African-Irish and that sometimes, *“people don’t realise I am mixed race”*. She explained how much she feels a part of the carnival culture, and how the band have taken her under their wing. Perhaps the respondent’s attraction to carnival culture and the way in which she embraced it helped her to relate to the differences she noticed within her mixed cultural background. At any rate, it seems that she has established her own way of being and living within her community that is different from her parents’ way of life. For example, although no one else in her family plays pan or is heavily involved in carnival culture, she is committed to it and has found that the people within it are *“like another family”*. It seems that the pan band is a key element of the respondent’s

prolonged and full participation in the festival. The fact that she has “[travelled] to Trinidad with the band for the past eight years”, as well as experiencing carnival in the UK, demonstrates how the pan band in Trinidad and the UK helped introduce her to carnival culture. It also demonstrates that the way she engages and learns about carnival culture is mainly through her association with the pan band. Her knowledge about carnival culture seems to mainly come from “the more experienced pan members.” Sentence segments: *...I heard a lot of stuff from the Trinidadians in my community; ...members in the mas’ camp and the pan yard and mostly from the more experienced pan members* - exemplify the ‘dominant-hegemonic’ position (see Diagram 12). The respondent has interpreted the dominant message, communicated by the leaders in the band, as intended. Sentence segments: *embrace the culture; carrying it on; and giving back*; exemplify how this respondent has adopted the dominant ideology. In addition, the respondent strongly believes in the festival. Sentence segments: *people’s carnival* and *no one could stop carnival* exemplify her beliefs.

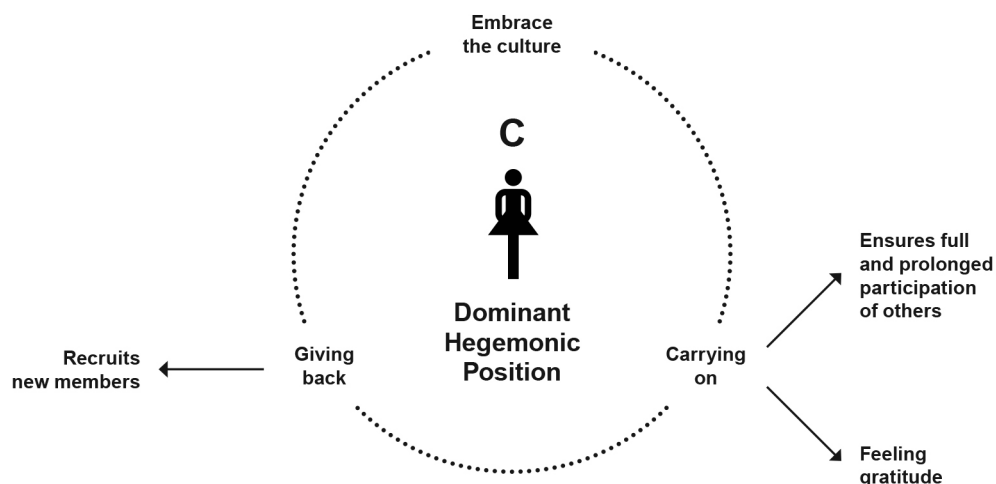


Diagram 12

Panist: Dominant-Hegemonic Position

My investigation suggests that there is no standard method for introduction into, and no specific initiation rite for, carnival culture. Thus one's introduction into carnival culture and learning about the history behind it may be different for each individual. The respondents in this section were introduced to carnival differently, but both respondents in the 'dominant-hegemonic' position share similar views about carnival and both have had prolonged and full involvement in the mas' camp and pan yard. Their comments highlight their 'dominant-hegemonic' position, indicating that they seem to accept dominant views of carnival. On the other hand, the respondent in the 'negotiated' position seems to have adopted his own views which may have been fostered by the way in which he experienced the festival in Trinidad during his childhood. Unlike the respondents in the 'dominant-hegemonic' position, this respondent is not compelled to engage in the annual festival and has adopted a "*spontaneous*" approach to the festival. In addition, he expresses his disregard for carnival organising. It also seems that he did not spend as much time in the mas' camp or pan yard as the other two respondents. A sentence segment such as *people started setting up committees and these things, so I didn't really want to get involved in carnival after that* is evidence of this.

Moreover, although respondents are aware of some of the political issues and agendas within carnival, they seem to know very little about the history and cultural politics of the transnational festival. Those within the 'dominant-hegemonic' position seem to focus more on the creative and performance aspects of carnival. According to cultural critic Henry Giroux (1984), the production of hegemonic ideology "'hides' behind a number of legitimating forms" (p. 24). For example, the "dominant classes" may claim that "their interests represent the entire interests of the community" (Ibid.). Perhaps the festival's creativity and performance acts as a shop front where the "production of hegemonic ideologies 'hides'" (Ibid.)? This may be of consequence to those within the 'dominant-hegemonic' position, particularly if they have strong "transnational connections" or family relationships within

carnival (Scher, 2010, p. 253). Additionally, respondents' perceptions of the ideological background of carnival culture may also depend on their introduction to carnival, their education and experiences in it, their environment, their position, and their participation in carnival. As they move in and through carnival they are experiencing and sensing the festival: some may consider how to become a "*multi-tasker*" or how to be proficient in the varying aspects of carnival's creativity and performance, whilst others may give less concern towards creativity and performance and be more focused on organising and maintaining the festival and their personal goals and ideas.

The little knowledge the two respondents in the 'dominant-hegemonic' position have regarding the political developments regarding UK carnival, does not seem to get in the way of their conviction. For example, they believe in carnival's ability to resist social and political tensions. But even within these overall perspectives, not all of the respondents appeared to share similar views about the festival. This is highlighted by my discussion with a production team member who expressed her dislike for the festival, but who nevertheless negotiated a space within the festival. As Giroux explains, "hegemony in any of its forms or processes does not represent a cohesive force" and possesses "contradiction and tensions that open up the possibility for counter-hegemonic struggle..." (Giroux, 1984, p. 24). Although I have explored a variety of positions using Hall's (1992) concept of an 'encoding/decoding' model of communication, it seems likely there are more positions, ideologies and differences amongst those involved in carnival than the three Hall suggests. Indeed I would argue, following Green and Scher, that the carnival is a "framework of possibilities" (Green and Scher, 2007, p. 9).

4.6 WORKING BODIES: TOTING CARNIVAL FEELINGS

4.6.1 Overview

In this section I explore the roles and duties that the respondents perform and the emotional experiences they encounter. These roles and duties may reveal something about how the respondents adapt, anticipate, prepare, and embody the various phases of carnival, from pre-carnival through to post-carnival. They may also tell us more about how the respondents' work and leisure during the festivities are entwined. I will consider work (waged and unwaged) in two ways: the first way is as a precursor to leisure or enjoyment, where in some respects work is carried out for the reward of seeing, touching and feeling the costume against their bodies, performing in the costume, and seeing the costume being performed. In the second I will focus on the enjoyment of leisure that inspires continued work. With this in mind, I consider what kind of work ethic bandleaders demonstrate and what kind of values they consider vital to their craft skills and creative business. Additionally, I consider what respondents' working patterns, from pre-carnival to post-carnival, tell us about their working experiences. I will show how marginalised carnivalists confront, challenge, and embody resistance through craft production – a counter-hegemonic response to contestation in UK carnival. I will describe the tacit knowledge, practices, patterns they develop to remake and craft carnival. I will also explore the various and diverse skills acquired in the mas' camp through costume making, and how carnivalists are utilising their embodied knowledge in other aspects of their lives.

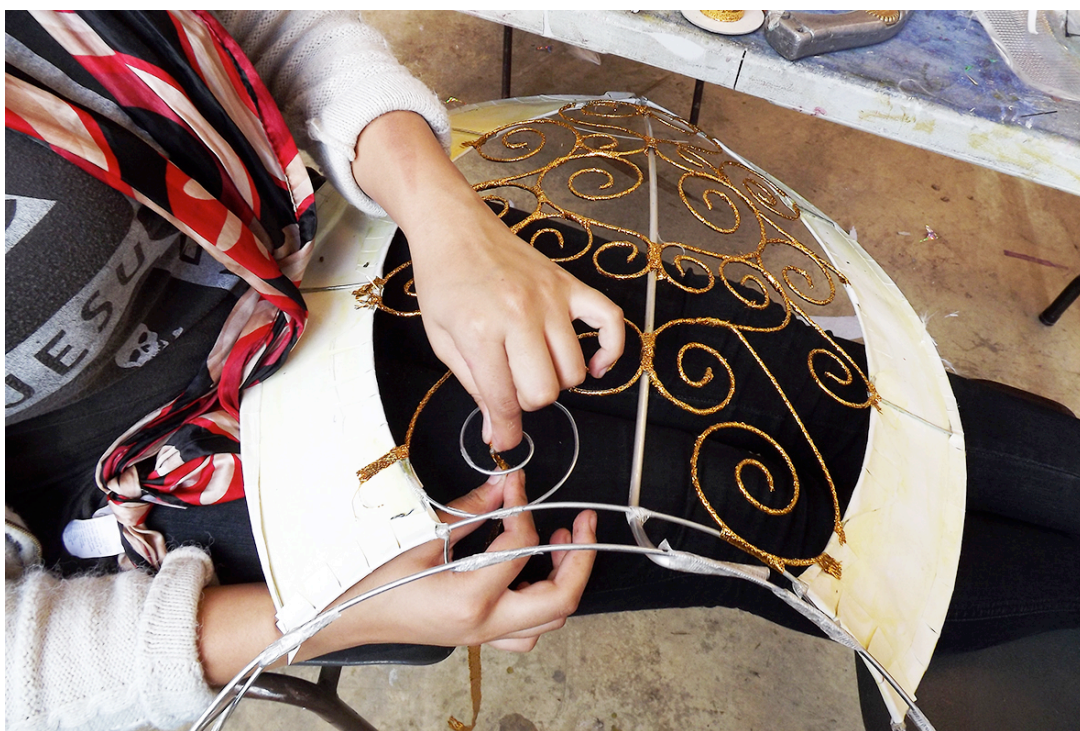
Louise Waite's (2006) *Embodying Working Lives* is an ethnographic exploration that is concerned with the embodied working lives of non-industrial labourers. Waite suggests that "many accounts of work focus predominantly on the infusions of power in social relations of workers and

employers. They seldom fully explore subjective experiences that are partly shaped and given meaning by everyday physicality” (p. 4). For Waite, “the understanding of working experiences will be enhanced through considering the physicality of everyday labour. The primacy of bodies in everyday work means that labouring should be conceptualized as embodied” (Ibid.). She asserts: “...bodies shape labouring experiences, and in turn, the embodied conditions of the labourer are affected and patterned by work” (Ibid.). Although the carnivalists’ roles and duties are mainly creative and administrative, they possess “personhood, preferences and desires which play a part in social relations” (Ibid.). Consequently, considering the embodied with regards to work experiences “allows attention to agency and enable[s]” carnivalists “to be seen as affective beings” (Ibid.). In order to understand how “bodies shape labouring experiences” that become “affected and patterned by work” I consider some of the duties performed in the mas’ camp.

The mas’ camp, whether it is in a house, warehouse or commercial unit, is the space where work and duties are carried out (see Photographs 24, 25, 26 and 27). The time respondents spend at the camp is varied and in some cases dependent on the projects they are involved in: for some bands work might be year-round, for others bands it might be more seasonal, particularly in the pre-carnival phase.



Photograph 24 – UK carnivalist working on costume during pre-carnival phase (1), 2012



Photograph 25 – UK carnivalist working on costume during pre-carnival phase (2), 2012



Photograph 26 – UK carnivalist working on costume during pre-carnival phase (3), 2012



Photograph 27 – Carnival costume wire frame, UK, 2012

Because they have no employer, the bandleaders in this study manage their own time, their team, and their projects and deadlines, and they delegate roles. Although bandleaders make decisions with their core team, they sometimes appoint someone to attend to most of the administrative duties relating to the band, so as to focus on their creative roles. Some respondents in the study mention how time-consuming these administrative duties are, and would sometimes discuss the various things that needed to be done, while they were working on costumes. These included renting the tour bus, taking payments from members, networking, organising promotional events, editing and updating websites, blogs and Facebook pages, buying materials and supplies, and keeping good records of income and expenditure. At times the demands of focusing on both administrative and creative duties can become difficult, resulting in duties big or small getting left behind. For example, one member of Band A's production team designs and makes costumes for other bands outside of the mas' camp. As a result this respondent takes on not only creative duties but also some administrative duties. During the pre-carnival season the respondent expressed her frustration about not having enough time to complete her own costume because of mounting duties. The respondent explained:

Band A Production Team Member Two: "I have to complete head-pieces for two bands and I still have other materials to collect before I get started. Plus the beads that they decided on were sold out so I have to source them elsewhere. At this rate I'm not sure when I will have time to even get started on my own costume."
(Band A, Production Team, 3 July 2012)

On 4 August 2012, during the middle of the carnival season, the respondent journeyed to Leicester carnival with the band. Whilst on the tour bus the

respondent was trying to put the final touches to her all black costume. She explained:

Band A Production Team Member Two: *“I stayed up till late last night working on this costume, while I was working I was preparing some soup for today. I knew I would not have had time to finish it so I brought my sewing kit with me.”*

Once we arrived the respondent was still adding a few stitches to her masterpiece. About an hour after arriving in Leicester the band was ready to take their place behind their sound system and the respondent was ready to join in with the band. I was able to have a brief discussion with the respondent and asked:

Réa: *“What does it feel like to juggle so many roles and duties?”*

Band A Production Team Member Two: *“Well you get used to it. I think of it as enjoyment rather than a chore. It is frustrating thinking about all the things you need to get done. But at the same time I love the excitement of it all.”*

Réa: *“Is every carnival different in terms of the roles you take on?”*

Band A Production Team Member Two: *“It feels different because each experience is different. Sometimes I learn something new but I do have many roles. It does get harder every year to juggle between*

them.” (Band A, Production Team, 4 August 2012)
(transcribed from notes and memory)

With the sound system just starting up I was unable to continue our discussion. The respondent was able to finish the costume near the end of the carnival season and even though they wanted to add more to the costume, and other duties were left behind, they enjoyed having these commitments and seem to consider it to be part of the excitement.

4.6.2 Work Flow

In the field I observed bands that predominantly take on work throughout the year. These bands appear to have a routine and a work schedule for the year. In trying to understand more about the work flow or work patterns within the different phases of the carnival I asked Band A's bandleader:

Réa: *“When do your carnival duties begin and end?”*

The bandleader sat quietly in his chair with a large coil of 16-gauge wire between his legs, which he bent to create a costume frame. After a short pause he uttered:

Band A Bandleader (One): *“The carnival is never finished, as soon as the season is over for the spectators we still carry on, doing what we do.”*

Sweat was pouring down his face and he wiped it with one hand as the other held the bent wire in place. The bandleader dried his wet hand on his jeans and continued to work with both hands, moving them in a rhythmic process – sculpting and bending, as if to the rhythm of the music in the background. At

times he used the muscles in his upper body to put pressure on the wire, pressing his fingers tightly on the wire as if to tame it or to obtain its obedience. Seen on their own, these wire frame sculptures can be considered as beautiful pieces of art in themselves: the shapes can be as complex or simple as needed. It took the bandleader less than forty minutes to create his desired frame. He had no costume pattern in front of him but he knew the wire, and the design was in his head. He sculpted and bent the wire; he felt the wire curve, and he knew how it felt when it was taking the correct shape. He used a sculpture he had prepared earlier as a guide and thoroughly measured both the guide and the incomplete sculpture. The bandleader smiled when he saw that the sizes were a match and the outcome of his replica was as he expected. Without being prompted or questioned he continued:

Band A Bandleader (One): “*I know this wire and I know what I am creating.*”

He got caught up in shaping the wires once again and the discussion came to a brief halt as he bent the wires into position and bound them in place with fiberglass tape. A few moments later he continued explaining the work flow as he examined the almost completed frame at a distance. He explained, with ease and confidence:

Band A Bandleader (One): “*Carnival work can be seasonal for some but for us it is year round, we produce costumes for other carnivals. We travel to other carnivals teaching them how we do carnival.*”
(Band A, Bandleader, 3 July, 2012)
(*transcribed from notes and memory*)

By asking my initial question concerning work flow or work patterns I

stumbled on something that interested me: an aspect of the bandleader's working experience that is concerned with movement and bodily knowledge. The bandleader declared that he understood the wire but, even more importantly, it was clear his body movements demonstrated this. As a result of his bodily knowledge of where and how to place the wire coil to the way he knew how to use the natural curve of the wire to get the desired shape. If something felt wrong with the wire or the process he seemed to study it and adapt quickly. According to Merleau-Ponty "a movement is learned when the body has understood it, that is, when it has incorporated it into its 'world', and to move one's body is to aim at things through it; it is to allow oneself to respond to their call, which is made independently of any representation" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, pp. 9, 139, 140). For Merleau-Ponty this bodily knowledge is considered to be "original" and "primary." He contends that, "our bodily experience of movement is not a particular case of knowledge; it provides us with a way of access to the world and the object, with a 'praktognosia', which has to be recognized as original and primary" (Ibid., p. 140). Merleau-Ponty suggests that the 'intentional arc', "which projects round about us our past, our future, our human setting, our physical, ideological and moral situation, or rather which results in our being situated in all these respects. It is this intentional arc which brings about the unity of the senses, of intelligence, of sensibility and mobility" (Ibid., p. 136).

Philosopher Hubert Dreyfus has explained this "intentional arc" and the idea of getting a "maximal grip." He suggests:

the intentional arc names the tight connection between the agent and the world, viz. that, as the agent acquires skills, those skills are "stored", not as representations in the mind, but as dispositions to respond to the solicitations of situations in the world. Maximum grip names the body's tendency to respond to these solicitations in such a way as to bring the current

situation closer to the agent's sense of an optimal gestalt. (Dreyfus, 1998, Online Database)

Thus, the bandleader bends and shapes the wire by using “stored” skills, his embodied knowledge is “sedimented” (Dreyfus, 1998, Online Database; (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 116; Mackenzie, 2010, p. 117), involving past and future, social environment and ways of working with the tools and materials. Similarly, Pierre Bourdieu’s consideration of bodily knowledge, through his concept of habitus, suggests that, “what is ‘learned by the body’ is not something that one has, like knowledge that can be brandished, but something that one is” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 73). Bourdieu explains the “relation of presence in the world, of being in the world in the sense of belonging to the world, being possessed by it, in which neither the agent nor the object is posited as such” (Ibid., p. 141). Hence, becoming absorbed by habitus steers the bandleader’s actions and response to the situations he encounters, indicating how tacit knowledge, practices, and patterns are used to develop and remake carnival.

4.6.3 “Quality” Work

Is the carnivalists’ work ethic due to ‘habitus’ or is it “‘stored’ as dispositions (to respond to the solicitations of situations in the world?)” (Dreyfus, 1998, Online Database). This is an important question because it relates to the aims and purpose of the present study. It also demonstrates the counter-hegemonic embodiment of marginalised carnivalists and how carnival traditions are communicated through continued work or craft production.

Band A has four leaders who share administrative roles, as well as taking part in design and production. Some of the production team are also masqueraders in the band. They pay a small fee for the costumes, which they are involved in making. The production team also help with making

costumes for other commissioned projects. Work undertaken in Band A's mas' camp looks like a creative performance. The production team, under the watchful eye of the bandleaders, stick pieces of fabric together on the workbench, whilst another person walks up to the bench for the glue. This person focuses on the pieces of foam and the alignment of those pieces, before gluing them together. In another corner of the room some of the team sit and bind the wire frames for the headpiece, a process that can be difficult if a person is unskilled. There is a lot of wire to cover with the gold binding and the process has to be done tightly, securely and neatly: one has to know how much glue to apply as well as to consider the various twists and turns of the wire (which looks like a maze): this means that binding work has to be planned in advance. In addition, because there are quite a few wire structures that require binding, skill - including speed - is of utmost importance. Sometimes the team engage in chatting, laughing, making funny movements and jokes (for example when materials take on a shape they consider to be humorous), listening to soca songs and deciding upon the best tunes of the season. They also move from the workbench to other areas of the camp. Although the bandleaders engage in some of the humour they assert a level of authority, reminding the team of the way in which each task should be handled. It seems that their focus is always on *"quality"*.

To give an example, on one occasion the bandleader was engaged in conversation with another bandleader at a workbench. Two benches behind him were other members of the team who began engaging in quiet conversation that then turned into loud laughter. The bandleader turned around to examine what was happening and responded:

Band A Bandleader One: *"I am happy you are having fun but I want good craftsmanship. Remember we are a quality band. Make no mistake about that."* (Band A Bandleader, 22 June 2012)

The team immediately went back to work with added focus and concern for their task, each asking the other about their pieces - making sure there were no errors. This did not put an end to their humour and banter, however, for they continued their fun. Nevertheless, the rest of the afternoon they seemed a bit more mindful of the “*quality*” of the work (see Photographs 28 and 29).



Photograph 28 – Production member paying attention to detail, UK, 2012



Photograph 29 – Attention to detail, UK, 2012

Later, I asked the bandleaders:

Réa: *“What does the word “quality” mean to you?”*

Both of them had something to say on the matter, one suggesting that:

Band A Bandleader One: *“Quality means everything to us - that is how we put our stamp on our work. Our work can be seen anywhere in the world and you will know it came from our mas’ camp because of the craftsmanship.”*

The other bandleader explained:

Band A Bandleader Two: *“Not only that, but we travel and go on tour with our costumes so they have to be the best. It must not fall apart, they are built to last past a year.”*

The bandleaders also drew my attention to some costumes they had designed and created a few years ago. They picked them up and began showing me how they had been made:

Band A Bandleader Two: *“This is not a new costume it is a few years old. We flat pack the old costumes as well as new ones because of a lack of storage but it is also good for travelling. Which is another reason “quality” is important to us.”*

Réa: *“Does the team understand what you mean by “quality?””*

One bandleader responded as the other bandleader had to attend to a query:

Band A Bandleader Two: *“Yes they understand, they see it during carnival when they wear the costumes for many carnivals in the sun, rain or cold. The costume still looks great and everything is intact.”* (Band A Bandleader, 22 June 2012)
(transcribed from notes and memory)

The camp’s everyday work and duties demonstrated how the team behaved whilst working, and their use of body language, but it also demonstrated how they were able to move between work and fun, which seems to be part of the camp’s culture and environment. It also indicated the importance of “quality”

and how “*quality*” is the key to encouraging the team to work hard (although this did not necessarily take away from the atmosphere). Hence, the word “*quality*” conveys the kind of work ethic and value the bandleaders possess and promote. It is possible that the team may associate “*quality*” with feeling, for example, how it feels to wear a costume that lasts beyond a year. The band also seem to associate “*quality*” with their own skills, whilst the bandleaders seem to consider it as a major part of their work ethic. It is interesting that the team responded to the bandleader and reacted swiftly to the concept of “*quality*”. It is as though the team had found a way to embody, interpret and produce “*quality*”.

4.6.4 Embodiment as Intercorporeality

Intercorporeality is a term which was coined by Merleau-Ponty, and which has been developed by Gail Weiss. In Weiss’s description of this approach to embodiment she contends that “to describe embodiment as intercorporeality is to emphasize that the experience of being embodied is never a private affair, but is always already mediated by our continual interactions with other human and nonhuman bodies” (Weiss, 1999, p. 5). For example, on my first attempt at embossing, I cut out shapes from a foil sheet, and then I used a pen to draw the pattern on the matt side of the foil. The difficulty for me was to work out which side was matt: to my eye both sides looked the same. Once the pattern is completed, the shape is turned over on the glossy side and then glued onto the costume. Bandleader Band A provided me with a prototype and explained:

Band A Bandleader One: “*I want quality: draw the shapes using the prototype as a guide, then begin cutting, then do the embossing.*”

The first few pieces I completed were not what the bandleader expected. He asked me to examine a few completed embossed pieces and explained:

Band A Bandleader One: *“This is the kind of quality I’m after.”* (Band A Bandleader, 6 July 2012)
(transcribed from notes and memory)

The bandleader then took over the task and demonstrated the process again. I could not achieve *“quality”* as I was not attuned to the social environment that produced that kind of *“quality”* - because I had not experienced the “continual interactions” or embodied continuity that would steer my bodily knowledge.

Anthropologist Helene Wallaert’s (2013) examination of “craft production” particularly focuses on “apprenticeship procedures” (p. 20), and is an example of intercorporeality. Wallaert examines tradition that is imparted through creativity and embodied continuity, drawing attention to social apprenticeship and the way it is used to promote attunement to one’s social environment. Wallaert conducts fieldwork in Northern Cameroon examining the learning and teaching processes of the Dowayo potters. “Among the Dowayo, potters represent a small percentage of the female population, and all belong to the endogamous group of the potter-blacksmith that can be seen as a community within the community”, they are “bounded by technical abilities” and “specific activities (e.g., traditional healing, organization of rituals, or handling of burials) and symbolic powers” (Ibid., p. 25). Regarding craft production Wallaert suggests that “the learning period appeared to be a key moment in the lives of producers, since choices available to them are guided by cultural conventions, transmitted socially through apprenticeship” (Ibid., p. 22). Starting at around the age of six, the Dowayo girl starts a seven to nine year apprenticeship. She experiences a five stage learning process, each one “characterized by specific tasks” (Ibid., p. 29). The first stage is intended to stimulate motivation, the second stage (“the birth of the apprentice”) learning by herself through a process of “active

observation” thus “understanding her instructor’s actions” (Ibid.). In the third stage, the instructor changes behaviour and explains techniques. However, “individual initiative is strictly forbidden” and “technical mistakes” are considered “proof of social disorder” (Ibid.). In the fourth stage the apprentice aims at producing a bottle, which is considered difficult, but at this stage the apprentice is “capable of executing and describing every stage of the production process” (Ibid., p. 30). For a few weeks the apprentice engages in the fifth stage of the process and “learns to apply decorative patterns, and is allowed to organize a firing on her own, and learns to master postfiring treatments” (Ibid.).

Although the Dowayo’s “learning and teaching processes aim at strict respect for tradition ...some divergence from the rules can be observed, mainly occurring in the layout of the decoration as small differences that can be recognized as microstyles” (Ibid.). The Dowayo potters become attuned to their tradition and each stage symbolises the essence of that tradition. Maintaining the tradition is vital to the entire process. The apprentice embodies not only the skills, methods and techniques used to create pots, but their embodied continuity or learning stages guide their bodily knowledge. This acts as a replacement for speech, as they are not allowed to ask questions during three stages of the process.

Unlike Dowayo potters, costume design and making is not governed by a series of interdictions. However, Band A’s production team are also required to do more than merely copy. They are expected to adapt to each stage of the process, thus embodying “*quality*”. Moreover, similar to the Dowayo potters, Band A’s production team seem to learn costume design and making through similar stages. But these are not as strictly defined as they are for the Dowayo potters, leaving room for the learner to make technical mistakes: their mistakes can also be used as a teaching example for the team. For example, my own introduction to wire bending at the mas’

camp introduced me to some of the stages involved. The atmosphere at the mas' camp helped to stimulate motivation to learn this creative craft.

My first task was to draw something that I wanted to create. I decided that I wanted to design and make a dragon. Then I had to decide which wire gauge was suitable for my miniature dragon wire frame. Thus, it was important to get a feel for the different wire gauges, to know how to use the coil to obtain a preferred shape, and to know the right tools for the job. Even though I could call on the bandleader for help, I think he wanted to see how much I could learn on my own. I also considered that it might have been his way of judging if I was cut out for the task or perhaps to decide on the level of my ability. In any case once I had made a start on the wire frame he came over and explained some of the techniques and methods he adopted. He also explained how other wire benders attack certain design and bending challenges. Although my wire frame remains incomplete, due to the mas' camp's intense preparation for carnival, even at a beginner's level I feel that applying my creativity and through embodied continuity I can produce a miniature wire frame. Band A's learning and teaching processes focus on the art of wire bending since this is the foundation of all their costumes. Hence, embodying the techniques and methods are crucial to the process. However, if the student does not grasp these techniques and methods they can still get involved: they are allowed to help with other duties around the camp including decorating wire frames.

Unlike the Dawayo potters the mas' camp's embodied work is a precursor to leisure or enjoyment, and feelings of anticipation appear to run high as carnival approaches. For example, the day before the first carnival of the tour the team were working in spaces filled with finished and unfinished costumes, materials, and tools. Time seemed to draw swiftly near as the mounting work looked as if it would have no end; final details play an important role in the appearance of the costumes, but they take quite a bit of time to complete. Some costumes still required embossing, and beads were

also being applied on some of the bras for the ladies costumes, with the team taking care not to place the glue on areas that do not require it. For the team, the finished costumes were pieces of art as they stared in awe of their handiwork, smiling as they touched the finished piece. They discussed the things they worked on and how pleased they were with the finished costume. Some mentioned how the colours, shapes, and accessories worked well together, but most significantly some could not wait to try on their costume. For example, with her costume finished and ready to wear, one of the production team was leaving the mas' camp to finish some of her preparations at home, getting her shoes, nails, and hair organised for the big day. She threw her hands in the air waving her friends good-bye - excited about the next day. She did a brief performance and her friends were laughing: they too were excited. Unable to contain her emotions this team member explained to me as we walked towards the train station:

Band A Production Team Member Three: *"I can't wait for tomorrow, all our hard work will pay off, the costumes are great. Each section looks exciting and we get to enjoy ourselves."*

Réa: *"How long have you been playing mas?"*

Band A Production Team Three: *"A few years now."*

Réa: *"Do you always get this excited?"*

Band A Production Team Member Three: *"Of course we get a lot of work done before the carnival, and it is not just me - my friends get excited too. We can't wait to get on the road."*

Réa: Does the work and preparations help you to get ready for carnival?"

***Band A Production Team Member Three:** "Definitely. We get used to the way things are working on the costume then we have a good time wearing them."*

She responds as though it is part of the cycle: work, then:

***Band A Production Team Member Three):** "get out on the road and have a good time." (Band A, Production Team, 6 July 2012)
(transcribed from notes and memory)*

After a few years at Band A's mas' camp it seems that she has become committed to the cycle: she expects and knows that work must be done before she can engage in the enjoyment. The enjoyment of the festival appears to inspire continued work. I was privy to a conversation between two members of the production team during the last few carnivals of the tour. They were chatting about the 2013 carnival and the kind of costumes they would like to create. Perhaps the 2012 costumes and trends inspired the conversation, but I considered that they were in the middle of enjoying carnival and wanted to discuss the year ahead. Is this commitment or embodiment? Commitment would require some sort of obligation, and considering that the carnival was in full swing and they were engaging in this conversation even after having just completing several costumes, it is unlikely that they were driven by commitment. They were getting ready for what they had been waiting for, thus it is not just skills and ways of working that are "stored" and "sedimented" (Dreyfus, 1998, Online Database; (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 116; Mackenzie, 2010, p. 117). The lived body

embodies the changing seasons, it understands when and how to get ready for each season and is continually conscious of it.

4.6.5 The Embodied: Transposed

Now I will examine the various and diverse skills acquired through costume making in the mas' camp that are "stored" and "sedimented" (Ibid.), focusing on how these skills are transferred to other creative activities, exploring how carnivalists move through the scripted carnival life, challenging their carnival practical craft skills. I will also examine how Trinidadian carnivalists have transferred their bodily knowledge outside their field of costume making.

Joanne Entwistle's (2009) *Tacit Aesthetic Knowledge: The Fashion Sense and Sensibility of Fashion Buyers* "challenge[s] conventional thinking on tacit knowledge" suggesting that it is "both silent on the issue of embodiment, and assumes a simple mapping of tacit onto local" (p. 129). Entwistle argues that with regards to fashion "much of the knowledge needed to calculate fashion is tacit in nature" and explains that the "knowledge is globally mobile" therefore "tacit aesthetic knowledge in fashion is an embodied knowledge" (Ibid.). Entwistle suggests that the embodied knowledge is "worn on the body of those who calculate it and 'travelling' with them along global networks" (Ibid.). Defining "tacit aesthetic knowledge as expressive and embodied knowledge", she suggests that the "body is a knowing location; that is, a site for the enactment and distribution of knowledge" (Ibid.). The term tacit aesthetic knowledge—as used by Entwistle and used in this context—is not concerned with the concept of beauty but rather can be interpreted as embodied transposed. It is particularly concerned with the "distribution of knowledge" but not the way "tacit aesthetic knowledge" is shared out to other carnivalists, but rather how it spreads over into other areas of one's life (Ibid.).

Thus my interest lies with the way in which carnivalists' skills are embodied through work performed at the mas' camp that goes beyond costume making: hence engaging and challenging the carnivalists' and his practice. I will argue that the body as a "knowing location" and a "site for the enactment and distribution of knowledge" can transpose carnival's tacit knowledge into other forms of creative expression (Ibid.).

To unpack this concept I consider the Greek words 'ensomatosis' and 'metathesis' (see Diagram 13). "Ensomatosis" means 'embodiment', which is taken from the Greek word 'soma', meaning 'body', and the prefix 'en' which means 'in', thus 'en + soma' = 'becoming part of the body' (Harper, 2001, The Online Etymology Dictionary). "Metathesis" taken from Greek the 'meta', 'in pursuit' or 'quest of', and 'thesis' from root 'tithenai' 'to place', 'put', or 'set', thus 'meta + thesis' = 'change of position', or 'transposition' (Ibid.).

Ensomatoses

Embodied carnival practical craft skills

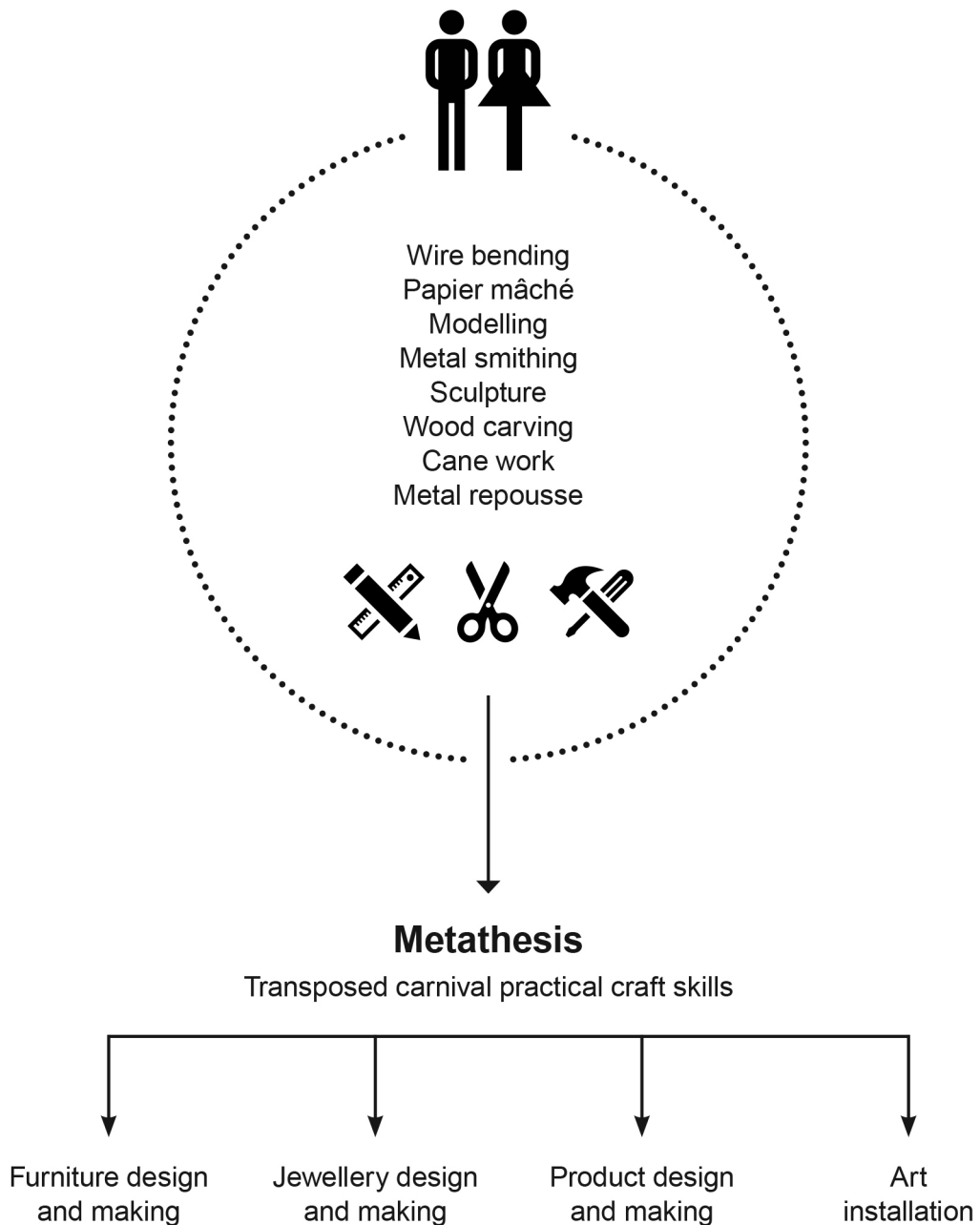


Diagram 13

Example of Embodied Carnival Practical Craft Skills Transposed to Creative Fields Outside Carnival

4.6.6 Trinidadian Carnivalists Transferring Bodily Knowledge

Deborah Bell's (2010) worldwide exploration and account of masks and mask makers highlights how carnivalists transfer their carnival bodily knowledge to other creative outlets. She draws attention to carnivalists Sheldon Clemdore and Marlon Griffith, and explains the range of skills they both learned from working with their mentors in mas' camps. Bell explains, "Clemdore credits Geraldo Vieira with mentoring him ...he has a wide range of skills such as fabric painting, wire-bending, and sculpturing", and also creates "molds for plastic and foam products" (Bell, 2010, p. 148).

Bell explains that Marlon Griffith worked with the Callaloo mas' camp in Trinidad, under his mentor Peter Minshall, and "learned a wide range of skills and techniques, such as wire-bending, papier-mâché molding, cane work, wood carving, and metal repousse" (Bell, 2010, p. 53, taken from Tancons, 2004, online). Bell's exploration also highlights the importance of the mas' camp. Nicholas Laughlin's article in the *Caribbean Beat Magazine Online* entitled "*Mas' by Other Means*" provides a brief description of mas' and mas' camps. He explains that:

"A mas' camp is a design studio and a factory, a laboratory and a school, all at once. It is where skilled craftsmen pass on the detailed aesthetic and technical knowledge on which Trinidad Carnival depends: practical crafts like wire-bending, papier-mâché modelling, and metalsmithing, as well as conceptual skills and a mastery of formal principles like colour, scale, and balance" (Laughlin, 2013, Caribbean Beat Magazine Online).

Perhaps this is why carnivalist Sheldon Clemdore, who began costume making at age eleven, considers himself as a "total mas' camp" and

“multi-task oriented” (Bell, 2010, p. 148). He now uses his creative skills learned through costume making to create “molds for commercial uses such as lamps, furniture, and three-dimensional sculptures for storefronts, movie houses, and the island’s international airport” (Ibid.). According to Laughlin, artist Marlon Griffith is inquisitive about “how mas’ as a creative process can engage with contemporary art practice, challenging people to reconsider who they are and where they come from” (Laughlin, 2013, Caribbean Beat Magazine Online). He explains that, “Griffith uses a range of media and forms: sculpture, installation, performance”, and “works with materials as diverse as paper, plastic, talcum powder, and galvanised steel” (Ibid.).

Laughlin’s account of Marlon Griffith’s experience provides an interesting example of the carnival body moving through the scripted carnival life. He explains that artist “Christopher Cozier pushed Griffith to apply for a residency at Bag Factory Artists’ Studios in Johannesburg, where artists from around the world are given working space while they explore the South African art scene. Dropped into this unfamiliar location, Griffith was impressed by the energy of the other Bag Factory artists. “It really changed not only how I look at art, but also a certain discipline in how I make work,” he says. And it was an opportunity to see how mas’ could adapt to life outside a Caribbean context” (Ibid.). Griffith was affected by the other Bag Factory artists, which influenced his work as well and how art appeared to him. He embodied mas’ and later changed his position, focusing on “how mas’ could adapt to life outside a Caribbean context” (Ibid.). Mas’ seems to be the driving force behind his motivation. Although “Griffith grappled with the relationship between mas’ design and conventional notions of “fine art” (Ibid.), he asked himself: “How do I put these two things together?” (Ibid.). His response to mas’ as a creative process became part of his bodily knowledge, his continuous experimentation led him in the direction of contemporary art and gave him the opportunity to embody and adapt to new skills and environments. Griffith found new ways to transpose his embodied knowledge into other forms of creative expression.

4.6.7 UK Carnivalists: 'Ensomatosiis' and 'Metathesis'

Similarly, my participation and observation at Band A's mas' camp can be related to 'ensomatosiis' (embodiment) and 'metathesis' (transposition), and this is exemplified by my visit to the camp on 13 June 2012. During the pre-carnival season, whilst a member of the production team was working on a costume, I took the opportunity to have an informal conversation with her. I asked her a few questions concerning her skills and how she uses them outside of carnival.

Réa: "Have you been able to transfer your carnival skills outside of carnival?"

Band A Production Team Member Four: "So much of what I do is part of carnival I have been fortunate to learn so much, and the work I do outside of carnival I can see the connection to carnival. But I can also see where I can do more because of all the things I've managed to pick up from carnival, and doing this for as long as I have it really makes a difference because my approach is different."

Réa: "What are some of the skills you acquired?"

Band A Production Team Member Four: "Well I am multi-skilled and some of the things I do, to give you an idea, is wire bending, costume design and making, I work with papier mâché, and I can do fabric painting."

Réa: "Can you give some details where you think you have used your carnival skills outside of carnival?"

Band A Production Team Member Four: *“A good example would be my costume jewellery design and making. I used my skills with wire bending to design and make jewellery but I notice that I can also use some of the skills I learn in jewellery making back into carnival, for me it’s a two way street really.”*

Réa: *“How do you feel when you are working on your jewellery?”*

Band A Production Team Member Four: *“I feel excited. I start with a little sketch, then I start working with the wire. And it feels really good to see it get to the finished piece.”*

Réa: *“Do you think your jewellery design and making goes beyond costume making?”*

Band A Production Team Member Four: *“Even though it has a certain vibe about it, yes it does go beyond carnival. Don’t get me wrong, carnival is art; but my jewellery work pushes boundaries on another level. It’s like carnival makes me feel like I can do more with my jewellery.”*

Réa: *“Do you think that your jewellery making challenges you as a carnival artist?”*

Band A Production Team Member Four: *“I do not think of myself as just a carnival artist because I feel I can move between different creative skills and*

methods.” (Band A Production Team, 13 June 2012)
(transcribed from notes and memory)

By asking about the respondent’s skills, and how she uses them outside of carnival, I learned that the respondent acquired many skills through her work in carnival and has transposed these skills to other creative outlets, namely jewellery. The respondent uses her wire bending skills to design and make jewellery but notices that her jewellery making skills feed back into carnival. She explained that her work has a carnival vibe but believes her jewellery design and making pushes boundaries. Concerning ‘metathesis’ (transposition) the following sentence segments exemplify the carnivalist transferring her skills to jewellery making: *...connection to carnival; ...do more because of ...carnival and using skills in wire bending to design and make jewellery*. She also considers both her carnival and jewellery work as entwined, as expressed in these sentence segments: *...two way street; ...and the skills acquired in jewellery making goes back into carnival*.

Another example also relates to ‘ensomatosis’ (embodiment) and ‘metathesis’ (transposition). On 4 July 2012, I arrived at the mas’ camp at 1:00 pm. The bandleader came outside to greet me and was excited for me to meet his good friend and colleague. In the interests of anonymity and confidentiality I will refer to the bandleader’s friend as Artist X. I became excited and followed Band A’s bandleader inside the camp. Sitting on a chair with both his legs supported by another chair in front of him was a small man: he seemed relaxed in the chair, almost asleep. The calm and laid-back character opened his eyes, smiled gently at us and commented:

Artist X: *“I was dosing off.”*

The bandleader introduced me as a student doing research on carnival. After the introductions the bandleader left, leaving us to continue chatting. It turned

out that the bandleader's colleague was one of the artists I had been trying to establish contact with through another participant, in order that I might conduct an interview with him for the purpose of this study. In our brief introductions he immediately noticed my accent, and responded:

Artist X: *"You Trini?"*

Réa: *"I was born in Trinidad and Tobago, and I now reside in the UK."*

Artist X: *"I was born in Trinidad. Can you hear my accent? But I live here also."*

Réa: *"How long have you lived in the UK?"*

Artist X: *"My dear I have lived here many years - since the 60s."*

Not letting the opportunity slip away I kept the impromptu conversation going and Artist X did not seem to mind. I continued:

Reá: *"What is your preferred medium?"*

As he made himself more comfortable on the chair he answered:

Artist X: *"Well I work with wire, I sometimes use papier mâché but I have experience with sheet metal."*

Just then, a band member - recognised his voice - walked towards Artist X and greeted him with a hug and a kiss whilst he remained seated on the chair. Our conversation was briefly suspended as they began chatting, and

after a few minutes the band member hurried away to attend to a costume. My conversation with Artist X resumed and he continued without prompting,

Artist X: *“Yes I used to work as a specialist sheet metal worker, not many people know much about my background. I also trained as a photographer and worked in photography, played pan for a while, and was heavily involved with it. Sometimes while I am playing with the band if the tenors had a solo I would come out from between my pan and take photos, Ha, ha, those were the days. But then I got involved in making costumes and then we started a band. And then eventually I decided I wanted to do my own thing and try something different and I started doing wire formed sculptures.”*

During our conversation I noticed that Artist X moved through various aspects of carnival: photography, pan, costume design and making, and wire formed sculptures. I was curious about how he embodied the multi-faceted aspects of carnival and I wanted to know more about what motivated the various changes of position. In our informal discussion Artist X was quite forthcoming but I needed to maintain a conversational approach. To this end I asked additional questions that pertained to his responses but I kept these questions brief, in order to give the respondent the opportunity to reveal more. With this in mind I responded to the tone of the conversation and asked:

Réa: *“You seem to have worked in varying aspects of carnival, how did it happen?”*

In his relaxed state, Artist X continued to move around in the chair seeking a comfortable position. Putting his hands to his face he yawned and then replied:

Artist X: *“Well I don’t know - it just happened. Carnival has always been in my life but it is a starting point in a sense. Some of the other carnivalists do not understand this at all. I think there are two types of carnivalists and it comes down to motive. For some it is about money, fame or power, and for others it is about trying different things and that’s why I think carnival is like a starting point. But I must not forget that the mas’ camp was the place that I was able to develop my skills and I was able to try out different things.”*

Réa: *“Do you think that you are challenging carnival arts?”*

Artist X: *“A lot of work goes into carnival and even more to challenge new ideas. There’s no manual for this thing, it is organic you feel it, carnival is powerful and you can learn so many skills and you can do so much creatively inside and outside this genre. I just wanted to try different things and see what it was like to do it on my own. So I guess I did challenge it.”* (Artist X, Production Team, 4 July 2012)
(transcribed from notes and memory)

The following sentence segments exemplify ‘ensomatosis’ (embodiment): *carnival has no manual; it is organic you feel it; carnival is powerful and you can learn so many skills and you can do so much creatively*

inside and outside this genre. These sentence segments exemplify ‘metathesis’ (transposition) ...*challenge new ideas; ...I wanted to do my own thing and the mas’ camp was the place that I was able to develop my skills and I was able to try out different things.* Both of these examples demonstrate that the body, as a “knowing location” and a “site for the enactment and distribution of knowledge”, can transpose carnival’s tacit knowledge into other forms of creative expression (Entwistle, 2009, p. 129).

My investigation showed me that the roles and duties respondents perform reveal how respondents in Band A’s mas’ camp adapt to, anticipate, prepare for, and embody the festival’s seasons. This demonstrates that attunement to the camp’s social environment and embodied continuity is shaped by “habitus” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 73), and entails absorbing the camp’s culture, and tacit knowledge that respondents seem unaware of, and are able to recall when needed. As Bourdieu suggests, “the body believes what it plays at: it weeps if it mimes grief. It does not represent what it performs, it does not memorize the past, it enacts the past, bringing it back to life” (Ibid.). Work, values, ethics, enjoyment and the anticipation of the seasons are “internalized as a second nature” (Ibid.). The body is a “knowing location” and the mas’ camp is a place where the carnivalist can enhance their skills, taking other activities that go beyond costume making (Entwistle, 2009, p. 129).

4.7 “AH FEELING DE CARNIVAL ATMOSPHERE”

4.7.1 Overview

*We ready, yeah we ready, ready, ready, ready, ready,
Look how the sun now raising up and the crowd now
waking up, the atmosphere have vibes and nuttin’ cyah
break it up. The gyal dem ah wine non-stop, we ha de*

drinks dem inna my cup we gonna party all nite, all nite
24 parties we hit inna row ('Differentology', Bunji Garlin,
Ian Antonio Alvarez, 2013)

In this section I examine the concept of affective atmospheres in carnival, by means of an exploration of the toutoulbé carnival reveller and how they may experience a sense of attunement as they produce and receive the atmosphere. I use German philosopher Gernot Böhme's aesthetic theory, based on the concept of atmospheres, in order to spell out what atmospheres are, and I develop the concept of atmospheres-particularly in relation to carnival's sensuousness – in the way that it intensifies the receiver's sensuous experience of carnival because of its sensuous character. With regards to carnival's sensuous character, I mentioned in the literature review (see p. 121) that carnival's heightened atmosphere and sense of enjoyment is produced in multiple ways. Some examples of this include: sensual dance or wining in the streets; liming or hanging out; food prepared by the vendors; and masking and performance.

Böhme's theory as an approach to carnival and a contribution to the discourse within carnival studies is used here to identify how carnival elicits different atmospheres and what it can tell us about attuning to affective atmospheres. I note here that discourses within carnival studies have paid little attention towards the affective atmospheres in the festival.

To exemplify how carnival elicits different atmospheres, I discuss a few of the carnivals I visited. My aim is not to provide a detailed account of each event I attended, but rather to demonstrate the different atmospheric characters of the carnivals, whilst obtaining a deeper understanding of how carnival atmospheres are reproduced.

In this section I focus on three main areas: a definition of carnival atmospheres relating to the sensuous character of the festival; the toutoulbé

carnival reveller experiencing the carnival “in roughly the same way”; examining both the production and reception of atmospheres (Böhme, 2013, Cresson Online). First, I ask what are atmospheres? Then I consider carnival’s atmospheres and how these might intensify the receiver’s sensuous experience.

For Böhme the concept of atmosphere brings together space, emotion and subject and object. For example, he defines atmospheres with regards to space as a “felt presence of something or someone in space”. Concerning emotions, he suggests “quasi-objectivity”: meaning that one cannot distance oneself from the atmosphere (Böhme, 2013, Cresson Online). Böhme contends that:

independently of the culture-relative character of atmospheres, their quasi-objective status is preserved. It manifests itself in the fact that atmospheres can be experienced as surprising, and, on occasions, in contrast to one's own mood. (Ibid.)

He provides an example of this and suggests that:

...in a cheerful mood, I enter a community in mourning: its atmosphere can transform my mood to the point of tears. For this, too, the stage set is a practical proof. (Ibid.)

Regarding subject and object, Böhme suggests that these are an “intermediate phenomenon”, suggesting the rewards of exploring both aspects “from the side of subjects and from the side of objects, from the side of reception aesthetics and from the side of production aesthetics” (Ibid.).

Next, I consider why the toutoubé carnival reveller might experience the festival “in roughly the same way”, i.e. “waking up” to the carnival “vibes ...nuttin’ cyah break ...up” (Böhme, 2013, Cresson Online; ‘Differentology’, Bunji Garlin, 2013). The lyrics at the beginning of this section, although written by a Trinidadian about the Trinidad carnival, capture some of the qualities of the UK carnival atmosphere. It seems to also resonate with the collective voice of people in love with the annual festival. “We ready, yeah we ready” conveys eagerness, and a body poised on the threshold of the norms of the everyday and the inebriated atmosphere of the festival. The “vibes”, “wine nonstop”, “drinks”, “party all nite”, and “head out on the road” describes the toutoubé carnival reveller in action: attuned and immersed in the festival’s atmosphere (Ibid.).

I then consider the most memorable carnival of the tour, and provide some details about the band I spent most of my time with during my fieldwork. I discuss how they set up and perform, and how this demonstrates their attunement to the festival and their production and reception of atmospheres. I also examine how I myself took in the carnival atmosphere – how it changed my mood without warning and led to me become a performer in the band, not only receiving but producing the atmosphere.

4.7.2 What are Atmospheres?

Böhme explains that the term atmosphere originated within the “meteorological field” and has been used “metaphorically, for moods which are “in the air”, for the emotional tinge of space” from the 18th century (Böhme, 2013, Cresson Online). Today the term atmosphere “is hardly even regarded as a metaphor”, and it is used to refer to “a landscape, a house, the atmosphere of a festival, an evening, a season” (Ibid.). Böhme explains that “the way in which we speak of atmospheres in these cases is highly differentiated - even in everyday speech” highlighting that “an atmosphere is tense, light-hearted or serious, oppressive or uplifting, cold or warm” (Ibid.).

In his analysis of how we speak about atmospheres, for example, “the “petty bourgeoisie”, the atmosphere of the Twenties, the atmosphere of poverty” (Ibid.), Böhme demonstrates that “atmospheres can be divided into moods, phenomena of synaesthesia, suggestions for emotions, communicative and social-conventional atmospheres” (Ibid.). He explains that when we speak about atmospheres, “we refer to their character” thus we “...bring our understanding of atmospheres close to the sphere of physiognomics and theatre” (Ibid.). He adds:

The character of an atmosphere is the way in which it communicates a feeling to us as participating subjects. A solemn atmosphere has the tendency to make my mood serious, a cold atmosphere causes me to shudder. (Ibid.)

Carnival spectators/participants that I met during the carnival tour offered comments that were clichéd, which demonstrates that the character of the atmosphere “communicate[d] a feeling” to them “as participating subjects” (Ibid.). Their clichéd comments bellowed above the blaring sound systems and the fast moving people following their groups, bands or families that made it quite difficult to interview respondents. At each of the carnival events I attended I kept questions very short so as not to interfere too much with the spectator/participant’s fun and enjoyment. Consequently I asked:

Réa: *“How do you feel about carnival?”*

Here are the responses I collected from spectator/participants during the carnival tour.

Responses from Participants: *“I love the feeling of carnival, it’s just right”, “carnival is love”, “I just love it”, “fantastic”, “one love”, “it is wonderful”, “I feel good, it’s*

magic”, “great vibes from the people”, “it’s crazy but infectious”, “lots of variety and beauty”, “I absolutely love carnival”, “love the costumes”, “the performances are amazing”, “I love the vibe”, “I feel free”, “love the community spirit”, “it’s about people coming together”, “absolutely amazing ...can’t wait for next year”, “it is happiness”, “love the sound system”, “carnival is really about the people, the community”, “it is powerful”, “love the atmosphere”, “I love the costumes, they transform the street”, “everyone enjoying the music from the sound systems”, “nice vibes”, “the community coming together one love.” (July to August 2012)
(transcribed from notes and memory)

Böhme suggests that the “quasi-objectivity” or distancing oneself from atmospheres “is demonstrated by the fact that we can communicate about them in language” (Böhme, 2013, Cresson Online). These brief responses capture how respondents at the various carnivals I attended succumbed to the atmosphere and were able to distance themselves from the atmosphere to communicate about it through language. For example, they described the things that were most affective, such as the sound system, costumes, performances, beauty, and people. Other responses referred to happiness, freedom and togetherness, and most of the responses reiterated the love of the “vibes” and the atmosphere. These responses demonstrate how the spectator/participant engages with the festival, but also how it engages them. Sara Ahmed suggests that “when feelings become atmospheric, we can catch the feeling simply by walking into a room” a “crowd” or “collective body from being proximate to another” (Ahmed, 2010, p. 40).

In scholarly discourse “the term atmosphere is relatively new” and “it began in the field of psychiatry” (Böhme, 2013, Cresson Online). Böhme

suggests that Hubert Tellenbach's book "Geschmack und Atmosphäre [Taste and atmosphere]" introduced atmosphere to the field (Ibid.). In this case "atmosphere refers to something bordering on the olfactory" for example "the climate of the homeland or the smell of the nest" (Ibid.). Thus it is, a "sphere of familiarity which is perceptible in a bodily-sensuous way" (Ibid.). Böhme explains that "atmospheres have been researched in detail by phenomenology" and it "plays a part today" in many fields (Ibid.). Böhme explains the diversity of atmospheres, suggesting that they are "involved wherever something is being staged"; for example, "wherever design is a factor - and that now means: almost everywhere" (Ibid.).

Böhme draws attention to the "matter-of-fact way in which atmospheres are talked about and manipulated" and suggests that "atmosphere is itself something extremely vague, indeterminate, intangible" (Ibid.). He explains:

the reason is primarily that atmospheres are totalities: atmospheres imbue everything, they tinge the whole of the world or a view, they bathe everything in a certain light, unify a diversity of impressions in a single emotive state. (Ibid.)

Böhme argues that "atmospheres are something entirely subjective" by this he means that "in order to say what they are or, better, to define their character, one must expose oneself to them, one must experience them in terms of one's own emotional state" (Ibid.). He explains that without the "sentient subject" the atmosphere is nothing (Ibid.).

How could carnival's atmosphere intensify the receiver's sensuous experience? During carnival I noticed masqueraders interacting with spectators/participants. In situations where the spectator/participant is not thoroughly engaged in the festival the masquerader may try to tease them

but not in an aggressive or hostile manner. Rather the teasing is more of an inclusive or sharing action, it is as if they are using their body, costume and movement to bring the spectator/participant into their festive playful atmosphere. This in turn may intensify the receiver's sensuous experience. If the spectator/participant accepts, or reacts positively to, the masqueraders' advances, the spectator/participant may move towards the masquerader for a quick wine or dance or they may go even further and take hold of some part of the masquerader's costume and dance round with it. On the other hand if the spectator/participant rejects the masqueraders' advances they may either stand in a fixed position and become inattentive and uninterested, or wander off into the crowd. When the masquerader succeeds in their interaction with the spectator/participant they "communicate" (Böhme, 2013, Cresson Online) their feeling to them and the spectator/participant steps off the pavement and into the street, tuning into the atmosphere. Sometimes this goes further than a little wine on the side: the spectator/participant might perform for the crowd or dance with other masqueraders. At Notting Hill I observed one example of a spectator/participant going further than a little wine: one spectator/participant accepted a masquerader's advances and then moved closer to the paint bucket (the paint inside the bucket this is used to rub and splash paint on members of the band and is similar to the Trinidad jouvay where blue pigment is applied to the body). As she moved closer, dancing and wining with the masquerade, this spectator/participant put her hands inside the large plastic container where the paint was stored and smeared some of the paint across her chest, rubbing the excess on her trousers. She then proceeded to 'jump, jump, jump and wave' as the soca song playing in the background requested.

Thus, the creation of an affective atmosphere is generated by the people (i.e. masqueraders, spectators/participants, toutoulbé carnival revellers, carnivalists) enjoying the festivities on the street, and affecting each other. Consequently, the atmosphere is being "co-produced" (Edensor, 2012, p. 36) by the masquerader, whose role it is to excite and encourage

the spectator/participant by intensifying their experience (see Photograph 30). This experience may in turn become more sensuous.



Photograph 30 – Example of masquerader and spectator/participant sharing the carnival vibes, Leicester, UK, 2012

4.7.3 Affective Atmospheres in UK Carnival

The toutoubé carnival reveller might experience the festival “in roughly the same way” (Böhme, 2013, Cresson Online). Böhme suggests that the quasi-objectivity of atmospheres, as a result of which “we can communicate about them in language” (Böhme, 2013, Cresson Online). It is this communication that he explains “has its preconditions” (Ibid.). Thus “an audience which is to experience a stage set in roughly the same way must have a certain homogeneity” by this he means that “a certain mode of perception must have been instilled in it through cultural socialisation” (Ibid.). For many carnivalists, the carnival is a year-round process: their “mode of perception” is being “instilled” through their continuous involvement in carnival or “cultural socialisation” (Ibid.).

Geographer Tim Edensor’s exploration of atmospheres in festive environments demonstrates the significance of affective atmospheres in relation to the toutoubé carnival reveller experiencing carnival “in roughly the same way”, which Böhme suggests is the “culture-relative character of atmospheres” (Böhme, 2013, Cresson Online). Edensor demonstrates how the Blackpool illuminations, a festival of lights, holds affective qualities. He also examines how atmospheres are “co-produced by visitors” attending the festival (Edensor, 2012, p. 36). He argues that the “anticipation engenders the co-production of an atmosphere by preparing visitors for an emotional and affective encounter with the resort in non-cognitive and cognitive ways” (Ibid., p. 29). Respondents in the present study (for example, bands, carnivalists, and musicians) anticipate carnival for months.



Photograph 31 – Spectators/participants enjoying the carnival vibes behind the sound system, Derby, UK, 2012



Photograph 32 – Atmosphere in the city streets, Derby, UK, 2012



Photograph 33 – Atmosphere in the city square, Derby, UK, 2012



Photograph 34 – Atmosphere in the park, Manchester, UK, 2012

Geographer Ben Anderson (2009) suggests that atmospheres are “always being taken up and reworked in lived experience – becoming part of feelings and emotions that may themselves become elements within other atmospheres” (p. 79). He highlights that atmospheres (see Photographs 31 – 34) “emanate from but exceed the assembling of bodies” (Ibid., p. 77). Thus carnivalists anticipated feelings and emotions are worked and re-worked in the mas’ camp or pan yard. Some mas’ camps or pan yards have multiple purposes: workshop, rehearsal room, meeting place, performance studio, and concert hall. Or they may be a space to reminisce about carnival, anticipating the next one and the one after that. It is also the space where ideas for carnival are initiated and later prepared or constructed. These carnival meeting spaces are where the “culture-relative character of atmospheres” (Böhme, 2013, Cresson Online) are generated, and where atmospheres are co-produced outside of the festival itself. For example, some respondents at the camps or yards discussed their expectations for the coming event, the songs they could not wait to hear the DJ play on the sound system, the ‘wicked tune’ that they feel intensifies the vibes. Anticipation is part of the carnival vibe, from getting into a costume to getting on to the carnival route. The different and shared anticipatory feelings and emotions “prepares” (Ibid., p. 28) the attuned masqueraders, toutoulbé revellers, and spectator/participants.

With regard to the “emotional and affective anticipation” Edensor considers communication at the light festival, for example how people convey their feelings and engage with each other. Suggesting that the light festival is a friendly atmosphere, he notes, “visitors make apparent rich and convivial social interaction, where friendship and familial bonds are forged through sharing experiences” (Ibid., p. 30). Similarly, some visitors or revellers at carnival meet old friends and in some cases begin new friendships, celebrating the euphoric festivities together, thus solidifying the bonds of friendship. Although the UK festival is organised and controlled so as to maintain order, some revellers seem to put all of that to one side and

concentrate on the music and the moment. Caught in a kind of temporary trance they wine and let go on the pavement, and even venture out to join the masqueraders on the streets. For them the carnival as catharsis celebrates “temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order” (Bakhtin, 1984, p.10).

4.7.4 Memorable Luton

The UK carnival season begins May and ends August, and usually takes place in town centres across the country. The 2012 festival was combined with the celebration of the 2012 Olympics, and some mas’ bands paid tribute to the games via their costume designs, impersonating past Olympic winners. Some carnival events were also designed to coincide with the passing of the Olympic torch through their town. For example, Luton promoted the ‘Love Luton 2012 Festival’, combining the Olympic torch relay, Olympic flame evening celebration, Luton International Carnival, and other festival activities. The ‘Love Luton 2012 Festival’ attracted more than 75,000 people during the three-day affair, between the 6 to 9 July (Luton.gov.uk). In addition it boasted 37 diverse performance groups and more than 1500 people participated in the parade, including 11 sound systems (Ibid.). On 8 July 2012 I attended the Luton International Carnival, which was the start of my own carnival tour. It was also the first carnival I had attended in the UK from the very beginning and in which my involvement extended beyond merely standing behind barriers or behind a massive crowd. In retrospect Luton was more intense than the few carnivals I had attended in Notting Hill because in Luton I knew most of the masqueraders from the mas’ camp, I was familiar with them and I chatted with a few of the masqueraders. It was a friendly atmosphere, an example of what Edensor describes as the “emotional and affective anticipation” which is generated by communication and how people express their feelings and engage with each other (Edensor, 2012, p. 30).

I met Band A during my fieldwork and worked with them at their mas' camp. During the carnival season I visited a few UK carnivals which were part of their tour. Luton was the first carnival in their tour and I travelled there and met with the band. I arrived early to spend the full day with them, observing them as they set up and put on their costumes. The setting up was well organised: the van arrived at the place where the band were to begin the route, the flat packed costumes were already lined up against a fence in front of a building (see Photographs 35 and 36).



Photograph 35 – Carnival costumes lined up against a fence (1), Luton, UK, 2012



Photograph 36 – Carnival costumes lined up against a fence (2), Luton, UK, 2012



Photograph 37 – Costume fitting, Luton, UK, 2012

The bandleader, organisers and production team helped the masqueraders into their costumes. It was interesting to see how costumes were first disassembled from their flat packaging and then re-assembled on the masquerader. The whole process, with carnivalists moving and working to unpack the costumes and other masqueraders waiting to be fitted into their costumes, was part of the performance. People looked out of their windows, catching a glimpse of the bands as they got ready to take to the streets. The carnivalist who worked to affix the costume moved around (see Photograph 37) locating items necessary to complete the task, sometimes tapping their feet or shaking their heads as they enjoyed the music whilst the masquerader awaiting their turn to be fitted into the large structure of wire, feathers, and fabric, moved to the rhythms of the blearing sounds, singing along, waving to passers-by and getting ready for the route ahead. Sometimes carnivalists offered each other brief reminders about the costume, things the masquerader may need to be aware of, or suggestions on how to move around in the costume. The masquerader who had been fitted into their costume moved around, trying to get a feel for the costume.

The interaction between the band members during this time of preparation is important: it seems to get them, as the Band A bandleaders suggested, “focused and ready to represent”. There may also be a bit more to it than this: each member, whatever their role in the band, whether masquerader, production team member or leader, is attending the festival with other feelings, emotions, thoughts combined with their anticipation. For example, one of the masqueraders had a terrible back pain and her costume was quite heavy. She mentioned this to the bandleader and once he realized that she wanted to get into costume he took out some of the pieces of the costume to make it a bit lighter. She got herself some painkillers as well as some brief kind words from the band and her mood changed from “I’m in pain” to “I’m gonna enjoy myself today”. Perhaps she got caught up in the atmosphere of the preparation and seeing other members in their costume and getting the support from the band helped to change her mood, enabling

her to forget the pain for a moment and embrace the festive atmosphere. Thus it may have been the “capacity” of the atmosphere “produced through” the festivities - the liveliness, the movement and captivating sounds - which affected her (Edensor, 2012, p. 8). As Edensor has observed, the “capacity” of the atmosphere is affective to all “bodies and emotions” and “varies in intensity” (Ibid.).

It was time to get on the carnival parade route and Band A’s DJ made an announcement on the microphone from the band’s truck which was fitted out with an impressive sound system. After this, the masqueraders ran to take up their positions behind the sound system, assuming their respective sections within the band. Bunji Garlin’s soca tune entitled ‘So and So’ welcomed Band A on the street: the last mas’ band to appear on the carnival route. As the band started to move, dancing to the chest-rattling rhythms of the band’s massive sound system I followed them into the main parade route. Soon there were mobile phones and cameras flashing, and people pointing and waving at the band from behind the barriers. The streets, usually filled with vehicles and commuters, received the bands of various styles and sizes to their town. Some members from Band A stopped to take photographs with onlookers, smiling and interacting with them. Although there were not many street decorations advertising the carnival, the bands decorated the streets with their colourful costumes, movement and performance. There was music all around, and the loud sounds continued to vibrate through my chest. It was so powerful I was unable to hear anything else, and it undoubtedly stole my attention.

The combination of music, spectators and performers adorned with vibrant costumes dancing through the streets, and the dialogue between masquerader and spectator/participant, created an exciting and mesmerising atmosphere. The spectators/participants embraced the moment dancing behind the barriers and at times running inside the barriers to nick a wine with a masquerader. One woman threw her hands out in the air, bent forward

and proceeded to wine whilst singing along to Machel Montano's soca song 'De vibes cyah done'. Her friends joined her and they all danced together, hugging and following the band.

The feeling of being inside the band completely overwhelmed me, at the same time it was cathartic: I danced, laughed, threw my hands in the air, sang along loudly to the music, I even cried. I felt so many emotions flying through me throughout the day. The most powerful was when I got completely caught up in the music, and for a moment I forgot where I was and it did not matter. I remember staring at the performers in their costumes and at the same time keeping a steady movement behind the sound system. I must have maintained that steady movement for at least twenty minutes until suddenly tears ran down my face. I could not believe it; I touched my face for evidence. The carnivalists in this study had obviously been anticipating carnival for months. On reflection, I too had been anticipating carnival for months thus "engender[ing] the co-production of an atmosphere". By spending time at the mas' camp I was being prepared for "an emotional and affective encounter" (Edensor, 2012, p. 29). This is to say that my anticipated feelings and emotions were being re-worked in the mas' camp and pan yard, the spaces in which I spent most of my time during the pre-carnival season.

Once I came out of what I can only describe as some kind of trance, I noticed that a few spectators/participants had joined the band and they too seemed to be in a trance. As the band moved along the streets of Luton I continued to look out for signs of Olympic decorations or banners. However, it seemed that it was only the costumes, particularly the children's costumes, which presented a reminder of the Olympics on the way to the city centre. As the band approached the main stage at the city centre I noticed the Olympic decorations and Love Luton banners but the carnival atmosphere was overwhelming and the performances and the parade during that part of the day did not seem to be connected to the Olympics.

I stood on the side of the stage trying to observe the bands' performances. Once the bands came off the stage they followed their sound system through the street, moving closer towards the location where they had started. It was the last lap of the route and I was at the back of the band. We were dancing and enjoying the last few minutes of the parade. The dancers at the back of the band were rushed off the route, but kept looking back as the Olympic flame drew nearer. It was the only time the Olympics were clearly a visible part of the festival. Even so it was not very cohesive, in that the masqueraders were not aware of what was going on.

The end of the carnival was a bittersweet moment: the flame was behind us and we danced even more, laughing with excitement. The performance had come to an abrupt end, as organisers urged us to hurry as the Olympic flame was a few steps behind us. I followed the band into a nearby car park: some masqueraders were taking off their costumes there, others were still wining and enjoying the music from the band's sound system. Some of the masqueraders were singing Machel Montano's soca song 'De vibes cyah done', one of the most played songs through the day. They did not seem to want to go home, even as the rain began to fall. They kept repeating 'De vibes cyah done'. Perhaps it was their way of voicing their dismay that the carnival had come to an end for the day. Or perhaps it demonstrated how they were attuned to the festival.

My investigation has shown me that the carnival is experienced, perceived and promoted in many different ways, and possesses emotional relief and a dynamic way of bringing visitors or revellers together. Thus, the fact that a toutoulbé carnival reveller experienced the festival in a similar way was the result of the reveller's year-round involvement in carnival preparations or work (Böhme, 2013, Cresson Online).

In addition, the carnival atmosphere intensifies the receiver or spectator/participant's sensuous experience. In this, the masqueraders play their part by successfully teasing the spectator/participant: using their body, costume and movement to bring the spectator/participant into their festive and playful atmosphere.

Consequently, I agree with Edensor's analysis of a festive environment, that it "impacts upon bodies, ...drawing them into its orbit" thus "encouraging expressive play and dance, social and familial interaction, sensations of other place and times, and conjuring symbolic allusion" (Edensor, 2012, p. 33). The festival "impacts" on the attuned carnivalist – be they masquerader, toutoubé reveller, or spectator/participant. The 'wine and go down', 'play yurself', 'make a bacchanal', the DJ spinning the tracks that they know will change the atmosphere and excite the masses, or even crowds of people singing soca tunes collectively, are part of the carnivalists' need for expression. Edensor suggests that festive "bodies respond to other bodies" expressivity, further augmenting their capacity to be affected and affect others as part of a distributed affect" (Ibid.).

4.8 BECOMING ATTUNED TO MAS': SUMMARY

In this chapter I have discussed my attunement to Trinidad carnival through activities such as playing mas' at school, making carnival accessories with my father, playing pan in high school, and the carnival parties my parents held at home. I have also shown the changes I experienced as a result of my mother's involvement with religion. Because of my experiences of carnival I have come to realise and understand the importance of the construction of ideas and how ideas are used to define the imagined. Benedict Anderson (2006) suggests that "communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (p. 6). Trinidad carnival is entwined with an imagining of nation and national identity that combines national spectacle and cultural hegemony. As Raymond Ramcharitar points out in his newspaper article, *Carnival and the National Imagery*, political interests at a local level is a "strategy of controlling culture" (Ramcharitar, 2011, Trinidad and Tobago Guardian Newspapers Online). My parents did not allow national culture to control or dictate to them how to raise their children. Consequently I dealt with competing ideas: for example, what I learned at school, which was part of the nation building or nationalist agenda, and what I learned at home, which was closely related to a personal and religious perspective which ultimately influenced how I perceived carnival (carnival was framed as lacking morality, and involving lewd behaviour, and dirty soca lyrics and wining). I often wondered how other people perceived carnival and if their introduction and education shaped their views about the festival. I was able to get a better understanding of this during fieldwork. My findings have helped me to see that ideology or the construction of ideas is just as important to the UK carnival. I noted how those within the Caribbean diaspora who have leadership roles "assert their visions" for carnival, demonstrating that carnival can be "change[d]" or framed to suit the "needs" of the carnivalists that remake it (Green and Scher, 2007, p. 9).

Connor and Farrar (2004) have discussed members the Caribbean diaspora that has helped to remake UK carnival. They suggest that “carnivals in Leeds and London ...symbolize the creative, surreptitiously political, energies of men and women formed in the English-speaking Caribbean in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s” (p. 255). Thus “these men and women were inspired by their recent memories of the massive Trinidad Carnival, or the smaller, but equally vibrant carnival in St Kitts-Nevis” (Ibid.). The carnival they remember “had a special place as an embodied, artistic representation of the pleasures, pains and protests of their lives in their islands of origin” (Ibid.). These men and women at times found Britain “un-loving”, and “many of their children grew up within households in which the politics and art of carnival were central” (Ibid.). While “others perhaps not deeply involved in the preparations, learned that the carnival summer Bank Holiday was a specially joyous, and specifically Caribbean, highlight of their year” (Ibid.). Today the “younger people ...join with their parents and grandparents in the [re]making of carnival (Ibid.).

Through the experiences of the senses, carnivalists are attuning to carnival. This is expressed through “performance of behaviours” (Stern, 1998, p.142) and words and actions (see Diagram 14), exemplified in their (introduction and education into carnival culture; their creative work and the atmospheres in the mas’ camp, pan yard and during carnival). Their actions, for example playing mas’, making and repairing costumes, or teaching pan, show that carnivalists are attuning to carnival. It also shows that they are “creat[ing]” their “environment” (Shilling, 2005, p. 56), through the process of learning, working and co-producing atmospheres. They are attempting to create a homogenous environment that at times might be difficult to attain, hence members are reminded of the kind of work or “*quality*” they need to aspire to. They are also reminded that they need to work cooperatively, hence bandleaders hold a dominant position and it is their standards that create and maintain a homogenous environment. The Band A bandleaders explained that they have to work at maintaining the homogenous

environment in their mas' camp and that people management is part of their role as leaders. With this in mind, carnival's embodied creativity, becomes (see pp. 60, 296) a site for counter-hegemonic resistance and a response to oppressive ideas that engenders a social homogeneity that possesses an aesthetic quality.

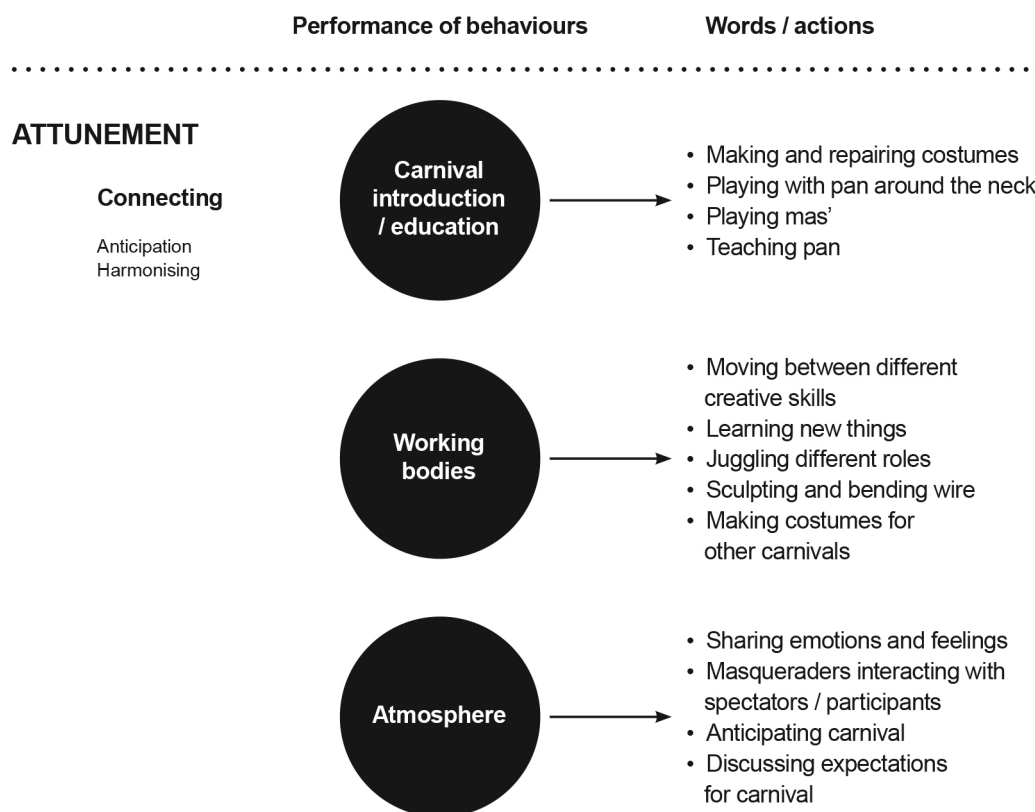


Diagram 14

Example of Carnivalists' Attunement: "Performance of Behaviours" (Stern, 1998)

Through my examination of the sensory dimensions of the experiential I have learned that the carnivalist's introduction to carnival is varied, and differs for each individual. I understand that working is an important process and that practical craft skills associated with carnival are embodied and can be transferred to other areas of their lives. The festival "impacts" on the attuned carnivalist and, as they express their feelings and emotions, their "bodies respond to other bodies' expressively" (Edensor, 2012, p. 33). The

carnivalists' sensuous, embodied and emotionally engaged behaviour is one distinct dimension of carnival, indicating the importance of the sensory landscape.

In chapter five I will examine disputes within the festival that might cause carnivalists distress, and may result in misattunement. I will look at how carnivalists deal with conflict and how they interpret carnival in the light of this conflict. I also consider how carnivalists cope with difference arising from the many issues and views that they are faced with.

5 CONTESTATIONS IN UK CARNIVAL

5.1 OVERVIEW

In chapter four I examined different ways of becoming attuned to mas' which demonstrated how carnivalists attune to the festival. I explored how carnivalists are introduced and educated into the festival, and how the skills they embody through work performed at the mas' camp that are transposed and which go beyond costume making. The ways in which carnivalists adopt and adapt to carnival also highlights how carnivalists anticipate, prepare for and sense the festival. I also drew attention to the fact that carnival is happening all the time, as a year round process. In this chapter I use the data from participation-observation, semi-structured and informal interviews, to examine contestations within the festival as a means of understanding how carnivalists adopt and adapt to opposing views and ideas about carnival.

Simon Featherstone (2005) has explored postcolonial cultures, and highlights that disputed and competing ideas for carnival are nothing new. He suggests that carnival's postcolonial history "diverged between the experience of 'original' colonial carnival", for example the Trinidad-style carnival, and "that which emerged as a force of emigrant expression in London" (p. 226). He adds that "the postcolonial history of carnival maintained the tension between legitimated disorder and the potential for a performative expression of emergent social organizations and political expression" (Ibid., p. 226). Featherstone's considerations echo points raised in sections 2.1 and 2.2 (see pp. 71, 73) of the literature review and emphasise how deeply connected contemporary carnival is to its colonial, postcolonial and "emigrant expression" celebrated in the UK (Featherstone, 2005, p. 226). The festival in its varying forms, be they performative, political

or emigrant expression, has been hotly contested.

This chapter comes out of my participation-observations in the field. I noticed that, whilst trying to focus on preparing for their carnival tour, carnivalists were dealing with different forms of conflict, from funding and resources, to costume making issues. I observed as carnivalists dealt with disappointments and difficulties, sometimes collaboratively with the help of their team, or in some cases shouldering their burdens on their own. I reflected on how, despite their difficult experiences throughout the different phases of carnival, they were able to keep carnival going.

By examining conflict in carnival I hope to be able to analyse different responses and concerns about carnival that come out of a festival that has continually endured disputed and competing ideas. I also hope to analyse how carnivalists are remaking carnival under difficult conditions. The aim of this chapter is to consider if conflicting views help to shape the way carnivalists understand carnival, or if they influence the claims carnivalists make regarding carnival and the positions they take up within the festival. I examine whether conflict is a means of empowerment or disempowerment, how concepts of empowerment or disempowerment influence carnivalists' remaking of the festival, as well as examining carnivalists' difficult and challenging experiences as they strive to tune into carnival during periods of misattunement.

Because of my interest in examining the sensory dimensions of the experiential, particularly how people feel about becoming absorbed and immersed in the many things they are surrounded by during the festival, it became apparent to me that while carnivalists were attuning to carnival, other kinds of dynamics were also occurring which added another dimension to carnival. In the literature review (see p. 97) I mentioned Aisha Khan's (2004) suggestion that the "collection of masks" was "a strategy of "fitting in", pertaining to the ways in which Trinidadians cope with difference, particularly

the many diverse cultural practices inherited through a history of slavery (p. 23). In this chapter I argue that similar ideas of coping with difference, though they may work differently in the UK amongst the Caribbean diasporic community, are a means of “fitting in” (Ibid.). Thus the Caribbean diasporic community, whilst remaking carnival in the UK, use a “collection of masks” to cope with the cultural politics of space, place, race and traditions (Ibid.).

I therefore consider how Stern’s concept of attunement might shed some light on misattunement. In the thesis introduction (see p. 57) I provided details about, and examples of, Stern’s concept of attunement and misattunement. His theory on ‘affect attunement’ might be useful here, to show how carnivalists become absorbed in disputes which leave some carnivalists feeling insecure and which makes them, in turn, become defensive - something I observed during fieldwork. Stern identified true misattunement as coming about when the “mother incorrectly identified” with the “infant’s feeling state”, or if the mother was “unable to find in herself the same internal state” (Stern, 1998, p. 150). Consequently, in the course of attaining attunement the carnivalist can feel excitement, anticipation and eagerness or, conversely, can feel strain, tension or worry. In the latter case they may develop a sense of fear, anxiety and suspicion regarding certain issues, such as funding. This can be considered a form of misattunement.

For some carnivalists, carnival’s creativity may be a counter-hegemonic response to oppressive ideas or an opportunity to question and challenge leaders within their band or within the wider carnival network, council or state. Green and Scher (2007) highlight how carnival can be used as a “tool” for “patronage, cynical racial manipulation, and commercial opportunism” (p. 7). They also suggest that others may use carnival as a “medium through which hegemony may be countered, wherein racial, gender, and class stereotypes, stigmas, and hierarchies may be challenged, questioned, and subverted” (Ibid.). The present section sets out to understand more about contesting positions in carnival and the different

ways carnivalists experience carnival. It questions how, for example through creativity, carnivalists might be crafting conflicting views and positions, and what this might tell us about how they work through their differences.

Abner Cohen's examination of the cultural politics of Notting Hill Carnival brings in to focus transformations that seem to continue to loom over the festival, adding to the varying intricacies of both culture and politics (ibid). Cohen notes the expansion of the festival from a multicultural, to a Trinidadian, to a West Indian affair. Cohen explores the complexities of culture and politics and emphasises the tensions and shifting character of the London carnival. He identifies "five periods of distinct character", highlighting the temporal aspect of the festival. According to Cohen, from the mid-1960s to the 1970s, carnival possessed a poly-ethnic and heterogeneous character from the early 1970s to mid-1970s it attracted a strong Trinidad style carnival; from 1976-79 it was marked by the presence of "British-born West Indian youth"; from the early 1980s to 1986, state intervention tried to "co-opt and institutionalize" carnival; in 1987-91 "the subjection of the carnival" took place (Cohen, 1993, p. 8). Cohen's research, as well as the other views concerning carnival expressed above, though important and though they provide a critical account and comparison of contested discourses of diasporic and Trinidad carnival, nevertheless fail to fully capture the emotions and lived experiences of the people being studied. Cohen's work, in particular, tells us what participants adapted to and gives us some idea of time and space (when he mentions pre-carnival and carnival time) but it does not reveal how people felt about these periods nor does it reveal the author's own feelings about the changes, challenges, and different issues he might have encountered or experienced as he conducted the research. Cohen's work spans a period of over thirty years, documenting the many changes in the Notting Hill Carnival. His work demonstrates the need to also take into account and to understand emotional effects and the meanings of carnivalists' lives. A richer understanding can only be arrived at by applying a structural and experiential understanding. The argument of this thesis is that

knowing the sensory dimension of people's experiential knowledge of carnival might provide a different perspective from which new terrain can be explored.

During my fieldwork, one Trinidadian born UK carnival organiser helped me to see the importance of understanding and documenting carnivalist lives. In an interview with Organiser SC, he began to point out the things he experienced in carnival and tried to demonstrate similarities and differences between past carnivals, both in Trinidad and the UK. He also discussed how he felt about how carnival is misrepresented and the lack of information disseminated about the festival. The following excerpt demonstrates what has been lost through, for example, Cohen's focus on the structural dimensions of carnival.

Organiser SC: *"The struggles we had from way back, maybe 45 years, it goes way back. I started in the 60s we went through a lot of situations of riots fighting the Arts Council for funding and with the borough councils Kensington and Chelsea and some part of Westminster. Carnival was a stigma and it is still a stigma now in the paper, the media and in the press."*

Réa: *"In what way is it a stigma?"*

Organiser SC: *"Cause it's black people getting together and if you look in the past you see nothing about carnival in the press all they show you is a big black woman dancing on a police and that's what is in the press after carnival - nothing about the artistic form of costumes, how we get involved how we sacrifice to make them, how we keep things going. They don't observe what we do and how we do it. But, yes, we've*

been fighting that, but I think that all of us have done what we had to do and carried on, making costumes and kept things going. We hope this other generation that is coming behind would really appreciate what it means to be involved in carnival, and about costume and all that. Making costumes in the United Kingdom right now is a very expensive project and there is nothing in return, nothing to come in to go back to the street of Notting Hill.” (April 2012)
(transcribed verbatim)

His comments helped me to consider that through creativity carnivalists have found ways to explore difference, with creativity becoming a means of articulating and expressing non-verbal feelings and emotions. In the introduction to this thesis (see p. 60) I referred to Hallman and Ingold’s theory of creativity. Hallman and Ingold suggest that creativity is improvisatory, as people are not “operating on the inside of an established body of convention” since “no systems of codes, rules or norms can anticipate every possible circumstance” (Ingold and Hallam, 2007, p. 2). Trinidadian “choir director and conductor of pan orchestras” Pat Bishop contends that “the carnival thrives on novelty and coming different (Bishop, 1994, in Green and Scher, 2007, p. 9).

In the remainder of this chapter, I will examine the passionate politics of UK carnival, which elicit strong emotional responses and feelings. I will consider how discussions concerning funding and related issues, such as resources, accommodation and concerns regarding the lack of support from stakeholders and funding bodies, seem to be emotionally charged (with some participants becoming angry at the mere mention of funding for carnival). I examine how other participants try to locate funding independently, mainly through out of season activities, and express pessimism about how funding is distributed. Some respondents see funding

as a symbol of the level of support provided by stakeholders and are concerned that London gets more support. I will also consider how carnival's emotionally charged political discourse raises issues regarding how carnival is promoted and regarding preserving carnival traditions.

Next, I will focus on the presence of teenage girls in UK carnival. At a few of the carnivals I visited during my time in the field, I observed the presence of teenage girls. Some bandleaders doubted that the garments these girls wore were costumes in the traditional sense. I will also examine concerns regarding a lack of tradition in UK carnival, for example, some carnivalists remarked on the scarcity of pan bands and traditional mas' in UK carnival.

I will also explore the mixture of cultural traditions in UK carnival, which reflects the diversity of the festival, alongside opposing ideas that UK carnival is not about tradition but rather is a means of bringing communities together. As I will show, some bands respond to both tradition and unity and see the potential to develop a stronger carnival presence in their community. I will also examine the interconnectedness between carnival organising and the kind of participation that is encouraged, in order to understand the purpose of the participation of teenage girls in the carnival. In this connection, I will consider the ability of teenage girls to merge different styles, focusing particularly on costumes. I will also consider the issues that this is posing for bandleaders who aim to promote what they consider to be traditional Trinidad style carnival.

Finally, I will explore conflicting views over movement and how freestyle dancing differs from instructional dance movement, focusing on dance classes that prepare participants for carnival against the less demanding freestyle dancing. I will also reflect on an experience at a dance class and how this sheds light on the politics involved in the band's remaking of carnival, and the challenges they face to define their band identity.

Before I explore these various things, however, I will reflect on my own insider/outsider dynamics and the role this played in conducting research. I will focus on the kind of information I was privy to after becoming more knowledgeable about, and gaining access to, carnival in the UK.

Discussions about carnival contestation occur in a variety of disciplinary fields and within certain specific subject specialisms. For example, in literary criticism, Ashley Dawson (2007) has suggested that UK “carnival helped to promote dialogue and contestation around black identities” (p. 88); and James Procter (2003) has noted that carnival possesses “contestation of the dominant modes of representation” (p. 95). In journalism, Jake Lynch (2008) has suggested that Notting Hill Carnival is “one of the key arenas of contestation and negotiation over the meaning of race in the UK” (p. 115). Writing the “first book-length study on the London Carnival”, social anthropologist Abner Cohen examined the Caribbean diasporic carnival in Notting Hill and coined the term “cultural politics” (Alleyne, 2002, p. 76). His work highlights how “culture and politics were dynamically related in the development and structure of the carnival” (Cohen, 1993, p. 120). Within the field of cultural geography, Rachel Spooner has explored “carnival’s potential to contest hegemonic discourses, to denaturalise them and to expose them as partial” (Spooner, 1996, p. 187). She addresses the “cultural politics of place” and examines “intersecting dynamics of ‘race’ and gender” (Ibid.). Despite these various disciplinary perspectives, carnival’s sensuousness is not fully described in any one discipline, and part of my argument in this thesis is that these discourses limit us and prevent us from obtaining more detailed descriptions about how participants feel about the researcher in the field, and how the researcher is adopting and adapting to working with carnivalists in the field. What is the researcher learning about participants and the way they are sensing their world? Or about how their working bodies continue to create and craft through contesting views, helping them to continue the festival (which

carnivalists such as Organiser SC believe possess a 'stigma')? There is very little knowledge concerning how researchers writing about carnival deal with differences in space and place and how they move through pre- to post-carnival as they come up against the many areas of contestation within the festival. Or how their position and experiences in the field may help or hinder them from gaining detailed information from carnivalists and spectators/participants, and, thus, learn about contested views, experiences, values and practices. Little is known about what researchers share with, and how they open themselves to, the carnivalists they study.

Here are two examples, from researchers in the field of cultural geography and ethnomusicology, illuminating their perspectives about their positions whilst conducting research into carnival in the UK and Trinidad. Rachel Spooner (1996) conducted her research in the UK and considered her position in the research as "an example of 'race' tourism" (pp. 189-190). She mentions that "although at some points during the research I felt myself to be Other, I could leave the situation and 'de-race' (Ibid.). She adds that the "travel metaphor" she used to describe her position and experience "is widely connected with ethnography", a way of negotiating the distinctions between the "familiar and the strange" (Ibid.). Spooner notes her movement between the familiar and strange and suggests that she recognises "that ultimately the balance of power swung" in her favour. She contends that she "appropriated the experiences of the 'colonised' for her own resolve" (Ibid.). Jocelyne Guilbault (2007) has been conducting research in the Caribbean since the late 1970s and suggests that she was aware of her position "as a foreign researcher" and notes the opportunities in "education, the institutional and financial support" her "white skin" have offered her (p. 15). She notes the different ways that she has been treated and perceived in the field, sometimes considered a "long-time friend" or an "auntie" (Ibid.). Others call her a "culture vulture", in a "half-joking" manner, and on some occasions she mentions she has "been perceived as a threatening white woman" (Ibid.). Other labels were a little more sympathetic,

referring to her as a “musician” or “researcher” (Ibid.). Guilbault contends that her position “never stands still” nor does it “sum up” her experiences in the Caribbean (Ibid.). Thus, she suggests that “the different types of exchange and levels of sharing” she experienced and “the various ways” she has been perceived “cannot be neatly compartmentalized in the misleading binary divide of foreigner versus non-foreigner, with the ensuing series of associations each of these terms carries” (Ibid.).

What follows is my own experience and how I dealt with the shifting boundaries and inequalities of my insider/outsider position in the field. I explore some of the experiences I encountered and the common knowledge, understanding and feelings I shared with carnival participants, which allowed me to also get close to some of the things that I previously did not know and understand about how participants live with and feel about differing views in carnival.

5.2 POSITIONALITY, INSIDER/OUTSIDER DYNAMICS: “YOU TRINI?”

In this section I examine the dynamics of positionality, and question if my insider/outsider status was the only element that encouraged and fostered participation between myself and carnivalists (after first gaining access to the carnival network). I also consider how I was able to gather detailed information about carnivalists’ contested ideas about carnival, their ambivalent feelings and emotions, and their values and practices. I reflect on the different ways participants perceived me and the ways in which I engaged with them, which helped me to maintain positive and effective communication once I became better informed.

In chapter three, in the section 3.6.3 entitled *Fieldwork Experiences* (see p. 172), I explained my insider familiarity with carnival and the empathy I had for the crafts men and women I met in the field. I also reported on some difficulties I experienced as an outsider, and issues I faced concerning gaining access. I explained the suspicion and distrust I experienced at the beginning of my fieldwork. In the beginning stages of this fieldwork I could clearly see the distinction between insider/outsider: insider and outsider seemed to be two separate entities. However, as I progressed and learned more and more about the UK carnival scene, I felt as though I was becoming less of an outsider and the dichotomies of insider/outsider, participant/observer and shared views/differences were not always distinctive: at times they became blurred and were difficult to explain. Merriam et al (2001) comments on insider/outsider positions and highlights that they are not always fixed, and suggest that:

Discussions of insider/outsider status have unveiled the complexity inherent in either status and have acknowledged that the boundaries between the two positions are not all that clearly delineated. In the real

*world of data collection, there is a good bit of slippage
and fluidity between these two states. (p. 405)*

In chapter four, in the section 4.2 entitled *Self-reflection: My Attuning to Mas'* (see p. 195), I discussed my own attuning to carnival, which demonstrated my positions in my childhood, becoming an enforced non-carnivalist. I highlighted being exposed to contested views about the festival and how these experiences helped me to establish a relationship and familiarity with carnival. I adopted carnival through an enforced non-carnivalist perspective, but adapted to it as a creative and expressive outlet: this highlights another aspect of my insider status. Discourses that consider whether qualitative researchers should be "members of the population they are studying" highlight the "notion of the space between that allows researchers to occupy the position of both insider and outsider rather than insider or outsider" (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, p. 54). Corbin Dwyer and Buckle (2009) suggest that, "being an insider might raise issues of undue influence of the researcher's perspective" while "being an outsider does not create immunity to the influence of personal perspective" (p. 59). They suggest that "there might be caveats to being a member of the group studied" and for many researchers "access to the group would not be possible if the researcher was not a member of that group" (Ibid.). Consequently "the positive and negative elements of each must therefore be carefully assessed" (Ibid.).

Here I will consider the dynamics of insider/outsider positions in researching one's own culture and the challenges and complexity of positionality "when conducting research within one's own culture and across cultural boundaries" (Merriam et al, 2001, p. 406). Merriam et al note that "all researchers begin data collection with certain assumptions about the phenomenon being investigated, situations to be observed, and people to be interviewed" (Ibid.). They suggest that "the more one is like the participants in terms of culture, gender, race, socio-economic class and so on" the more likely that one "[assumes] that access will be granted" or "meanings shared,

and validity of findings assured” (Ibid.). In my case I did not assume access would be granted because of an insider status. However I did not think that it would be as difficult as it turned out to be. I explained in chapter three that during the initial stages of fieldwork, in order to gain access to the mas’ camps and pan yard, I had to meet with the gatekeepers or bandleaders and organisers. Maintaining a positive rapport with them helped me accomplish a productive participation-observation method. Thus the following examples highlight that commonality should not be assumed nor does it automatically equate to access or presume a participant’s confidence and trust to share their personal views, values and practices.

Regarding my presence in the field and how I was perceived by carnivalists, and the blurred distinctions that lay between insider/outsider as I became more knowledgeable, some second and third generation West Indians living in the UK, on hearing my accent, perceived me to be a newly arrived Trinidadian: an outsider. At the same time, they embraced me as Caribbean: an insider. In these situations my insider/outsider status was not fixed, there was a “bit of slippage and fluidity between these two states” (Ibid., p. 405).

5.3 PRIVY TO CARNIVAL CONTESTED VIEWS

On many occasions during fieldwork I was asked: “you Trini?” On each occasion I responded politely in an accent that some carnivalists considered to be a “thick Trinidadian” accent. Even a few Trinidadians thought my accent was “very strong”, as if I had never left Trinidad, and commented “I feel like I’m in Trinidad”. My Trinidadian accent was associated with their home in the Caribbean, a place many carnivalists took real pride in explaining that they regularly visited. Their connections with the Caribbean were strong and they were aware of the trends and issues facing Caribbean carnivals. This was helpful when I asked them about the similarities and differences they experienced in the carnivals they attended throughout the year. I never became self-conscious about my accent nor did I feel uncomfortable to use certain dialect words or phrases from time to time while in the field. My accent and dialect was understood and accepted amongst the carnivalists, and sometimes it was an icebreaker - a way to begin a more natural conversation. Nevertheless, I still had to think of ways to maintain and continue conversations, particularly when I was being challenged or when I felt there was a wall that prohibited communication between myself and participants in the study. My accent also encouraged carnivalists to ask questions such as, “how long are you here for?”, or “are you staying long?”: presuming that I was in the UK for a visit and was not a resident.

In chapter three I mentioned that in the initial stages of fieldwork some respondents at the bigger mas’ camp began opening up when they noticed that I was not jotting things down or recording audio. As time went by and I learned more about carnival, I did not have to ask many questions as some members were keen to talk. I also noticed that when some carnivalists felt comfortable with my responses to their endless questions I felt the wall that prohibited communication weaken. Over time my involvement and full participation in activities helped them to soften towards me even more. My interpersonal skills, which I relied upon heavily to relate to carnivalists in

order that they might feel comfortable enough to open up, served me well. Other carnivalists still remained tight-lipped, not prepared to share anything, and made it clear by their actions and behaviour that it would never happen. The inconsistencies between carnivalists who were prepared to open up, and those that remained tight-lipped, made me wonder how carnivalists perceived me and how they determined that I was not a threat? I considered that I was sensing the field, allowing myself to stand “both “inside” as well as “outside” culture in order to understand processes, practices, meanings and interpretations (De Freitas, 2007, p. 58). Sensing was happening mutually: carnivalists were not just responding to my insider/outsider status, my accent, or my dialect, which they regarded as being inside the culture, but also how I participated with and responded to them, their thoughts, concerns, and their way of life. Sensing helped them to understand what was going on and how my presence in their space made them feel. I did my best to participate “fully” by getting involved in their activities and work, which they encouraged. Sarah Pink (2009) notes that an “important step towards understanding other people’s sensory categories” including the “way they use these to describe their experiences, knowledge, and practice lies in developing a reflexive appreciation of one’s own sensorium” (p. 51).

Stoller outlines the importance of participating “fully in the lives of those we seek to describe” and the benefits of “lending one’s body to the world”, thus being able to “accept ...complexities, tastes, structures, and smells” (Stoller, 1992, p. 214; 1997, p. xvii). Sensing helped carnivalists to understand what was going on, vis a vis my presence in their space, and my full participation helped me to get a better understanding of their world. I also considered my own biases, or what Sarah Pink (2009) describes as “sensory subjectivity” (p. 52). Pink suggests that “accounting” for one’s own “sensory subjectivity” is:

*[a]n ability to be reflexive about how this subjectivity
might be implicated in the production of ethnographic*

knowledge and an openness to learning how to participate in other sensory ways of knowing. (Ibid.)

Thus I tried to be open to, and aware of, different sensory expressions as different cultures have:

[d]ifferent ways of living out – for instance, gendered, ethnic, generational, professional or other – identities might be associated with different ways of practising, understanding, recalling and representing one’s experiences sensorially. (Ibid.)

Stoller emphasises the role of sensory research into cultural practices which focuses on “the sensual aspects of the field” and tends to make us “more critically aware of our sensual biases”, pushing us to “write ethnographies that combine the strengths of science with the rewards of the humanities” (Stoller, 1989, p. 9).

5.4 THE CARNIVALIST: SENSING THE STUDENT RESEARCHER

One curious carnivalist was eager to know more about me: where I came from and my position in carnival. She took her time in building a relationship with me. On every visit to the mas' camp I arrived ready to do whatever work was asked of me - mostly sewing. She carefully watched what I was doing and how I was doing it. Needless to say the atmosphere during this time was a bit tense. But I always had a smile, never showing signs of stress or discomfort. One day she unexpectedly offered me a seat in the mas' camp and began asking many questions. She asked questions such as, "How long have you been involved in carnival?", "How much do you know about costume making and design?", "What bands do you play with in Trinidad?", "Have you been to other carnivals?", "Which ones?", "How many mas' camps are you involved with?", "Do you visit them regularly?" "How often?", "How long will you be in the UK?" I felt I was being interrogated. Once she was finished asking one question she would think of another to ask. When the opportunity to answer arose I shared information about myself with her and explained where my passion for creativity came from. This was my response:

Réa: "My father was a carpenter and designed and made furniture for over twenty years. He also specialised in wood turning. He had his own workshop: the first was at the back of the house, then we moved and the workshop was at the front of the house. I spent a lot of time in his workshop making things, trying to make wooden dolls and games from bits of wood. They weren't great artistic pieces but I enjoyed the experience of making and then playing with them. Sometimes my dad would join in and help me with my little projects. As a child I felt very comfortable in his workshop. I liked the idea of working in the creative

space. One carnival, I remember my dad had to make wooden rods for a kids' carnival band near where we lived at the time. I remember helping him prepare the rods by smoothing the rough edges so that they were ready for the designer to paint and to place on them a cardboard design that would be stapled to the top of the rod. It was quite an interesting experience - we did not know much about the band but we made our contribution. The experiences in my dad's workshop were probably where I began to even consider creating or making. But at some point my mother began her journey towards finding religion and I was not allowed to participate in carnival. So I became more and more involved in art because I was able to express my admiration for carnival art. I think this is where my interest in carnival comes from. So you see I am not part of any organisation, nor have I played mas' as an adult or have membership in a mas' camp."

While I was speaking to the bandleader I felt that she was paying attention to what I was saying and how I moved my hands as I was speaking. My body language and responses were under scrutiny. She then asked: "So you like workshops and tools?" I realised she wanted me to elaborate on my experiences and I remembered something and began to share it with her:

Réa: *"My memory is not so great but I remember the feeling I had going to the seamstress' house the few times my parents and I visited, whilst she was preparing my costume and crown. I was probably about five and I was picked to play the queen of the carnival band. I like going to her house: for me her front room was where everything was happening, it was a creative space I*

was used to, it reminded me of my dad's workshop. There was fabric everywhere and only she knew what each piece of fabric was for. She had a long cutting table at the centre of the front room and a few chairs around it. She always had her sponge with pins, fabric chalk, measuring tape to hand. I think it was her first experience making a costume. Going there helped me to appreciate costume making and carnival preparation."

The bandleader responded, "I like your accent. What part of Trinidad are you from?" I took her response to mean that she was pleased that I had opened up to her, I had shared something with her and now she realised that I was not there just to take. I was able to ask her, "How do you feel about carnival?" She began to share her views about carnival with me. She explained:

Band B Bandleader: *"Carnival has changed a lot since we started in it in the 80s, getting people to buy costumes is a challenge because it is not a priority for the average family, as a small family band working outside of London we have to make costumes with cost in mind, so costume prices are much lower than London and we also have to keep our band small. We are anxious about funding to develop our band and we seem to be getting less and less each year. Although we try to have a community spirit with other bands we think some bands are not using their funding appropriately. One year at the Notting Hill Carnival a big band that received big funding did not finish the costumes and patrons were waiting behind the band's truck for their costume, which was unfinished. Some*

costumes were stapled onto people's bodies, patrons were complaining about costumes falling off. This is so unfair that they get so much and do so little, doing shoddy work and giving carnival a bad name and many of us have worked so hard to build a good reputation for carnival."

Réa: *"How does this make you feel?"*

Band B Bandleader: *"Angry, very angry. The little funding we get has to go far, buy fabric and materials, so that they can pocket their funding and show no respect to those of us that keep carnival going and making it look good."*

(transcribed from notes and memory)

Her concerns highlight how she associated funding and the quality of costumes with carnival's reputation. This meant something to her, as she expressed "they have no respect for the art form". She was getting upset: her hands started moving around, her face changed from a suspicious look to an annoyed and angrier expression. I could see how stressful the situation was for her and while I understood her situation I was also sensitive about asking more questions as I thought it might only feed her anger. I thought I would have another chance to ask even more questions another a time, however on this occasion I felt that I made some progress as she was less suspicious of me and I was able to finally communicate with her. This led to more conversations later on.

I now consider my emotions when faced with participants' problems and frustrations. Patton (2002) proposes that a researcher apply "empathic neutrality", and suggests that the researcher should "take and understand the

stance, position, feelings, experience, and worldview of others” (p. 52). Empathic neutrality refers to understanding participants’ views and experiences without judging their words and actions (Ibid., p. 53). Patton explains that empathy “communicates understanding” and neutrality can “facilitate rapport and help build a relationship that supports empathy by disciplining the researcher”. Patton instructs researchers “to be open” to others and “non-judgemental in that openness” (Ibid.). Thus, although I shared my experiences and was empathic to Band B Bandleader’s feelings and emotions, I remained neutral, not judging or taking sides.

Communicating and sharing with the bandleader was not solely down to insider/outsider status: there were other elements involved, such as my honesty, openness, full participation in group work and activities, empathy, and keen interest in what the band do. Taken together, this played a significant role in encouraging the respondent to share her experiences. Although researching an aspect of my own culture provided opportunities to go to places where I was able to fit in (for example, participants’ homes or carnival meetings), trying to get deeper or more detailed information and rich empirical evidence from carnivalists relied on using the elements mentioned above (i.e. honesty, openness, full participation in group work and activities, empathy, and keen interest in what the band do) when conducting the research. Corbin Dwyer and Buckle (2009) propose “that the core ingredient is not insider or outsider status but an ability to be open, authentic, honest, deeply interested in the experience of one’s research participants, and committed to accurately and adequately representing their experience” (p. 60). They suggest that the hyphen between insider-outsider “can be viewed not as a path but as a dwelling place for people” (Ibid.). They suggest that “this hyphen acts as a third space, a space between, a space of paradox, ambiguity, and ambivalence, as well as conjunction and disjunction” (Ibid.). They also note the “complexities inherent in occupying the space between”, and suggest that the researcher “may be closer to the insider position or closer to the outsider position”. However, they state that bearing in mind that

the researcher's perspective is shaped by their position he or she "cannot fully occupy one or the other of those positions" (Ibid., p. 61). Thus as the research developed and I entered and moved through different times (pre- to post-carnival), spaces and places, and participated in shared experiences with carnivalists as well as non-carnivalists my insider/outsider positions did not remain static.

As has been shown, Band B bandleader highlighted that carnivalists are faced with many issues, some of which might be the cause of disagreements between bands. There seems to be a great deal of disappointment concerning funding and how it is distributed. The following sentence segments suggests this: *a big band received big funding and costumes were incomplete, they received so much and offered little, they are giving carnival a bad name*. In the next section I consider how carnivalists deal with tensions and politics, which seem to evoke passionate responses. I also examine how they cope with issues over funding and support for carnival.

5.5 UK CARNIVAL: PASSIONATE POLITICS

5.5.1 Overview

In this section I examine the cultural politics of carnival, and the conflicting views within it, which provoke strong emotional responses and feelings. For example, some carnivalists argue that some bands have become too dependent on funding and others feel resentment towards bands they consider are being treated better by, and getting support and large amounts of funding from, funding bodies. This sparked interesting debate in a few of the mas' camps where I conducted fieldwork, a debate that highlights how carnivalists perceive funding, the positions they take up within these debates, and their suspicions about bands that they consider receive large amounts of funding.

Consequently, I here consider how discussions concerning funding and related issues such as resources, accommodation, carnival routes and concerns regarding the lack of support from stakeholders, funding bodies, politicians, and sponsors, seem to be emotionally charged, with some participants becoming frustrated at the mere mention of funding for carnival. Arliee Russell Hochschild (1998) suggests that "like other senses, hearing, touch and smell, emotion is a means by which we continually learn and relearn about a just-now-changed, back-and-forth relation between self and world, the world as it means something just now to the self" (p. 5). I examine the stress some carnivalists feel as they try to locate funding independently, mainly through out of season activities, and the pessimism they express about the way funding is distributed. Some respondents see a lack of funding as a symbol of the level of support provided by funding bodies and are concerned that London carnival gets more support. Others hold the view that certain carnivalists are failing to find ways of becoming self-reliant and less dependent on funding.

As mentioned in section 2.5.3 of the literature review entitled *Clashes and Developments* (see p. 104), organisers of the 1975 carnival fought in order to preserve carnival and for it to remain a street festival (Gutzmore, 1993, p. 371). The clashes highlighted the frustrations and emotions of both the carnivalists and the authorities. At the time, carnival endured the threat of prohibitions, controls and police presence, which Cecil Gutzmore deemed to be a “threatening culture” (Ibid., 1993, p. 370). Abner Cohen suggests that when it became evident that there was cause for concern about carnival’s growth, fear that it could not be controlled or banned encouraged authorities to “contest” and “contain” the festival “economically, politically, culturally and ideologically” (Cohen, 1993, p. 45). Cohen highlights how the Arts Council threatened to withdraw funding for carnival and suggests that “in the early years the Arts Council had been cagey about giving financial support to Notting Hill Carnival on the grounds that it was not an artistic event” (Ibid., p. 46). Thus a controversial dispute between the carnival organisers and the Arts Council ensued and carnival was scrutinised by both parties for its artistic qualities. By 1981 continued disputes led the Arts Council to confirm it would not continue funding carnival (Ibid.). Cohen highlights the passionate words of Darcus Howe concerning carnival arts: “our artists are not Picassoes... they are not reviewed in The Times or the Guardian... they are nevertheless artists” (Ibid.).

The “threatening culture” of early carnival was also evident in resentment felt by carnivalists today (Gutzmore, 1993, p. 370). A few of the experienced carnivalists I spoke with during fieldwork still remember the clashes that began in 1969, which led to police hostility towards “black culture and social activity” (Solomos, 1988, p. 103). They remember the difficulties they experienced with the Arts Council and the conflicts over funding. One carnivalist explained:

Carnivalist A: *“The clashes and funding left a dark cloud over carnival and it will always follow carnival.”*

Even now people are afraid of losing their funding, especially now with the economic crisis.”

The “threatening culture” of early carnival has left a stamp on the festival: the stamp of resentment, dependency and fear (Gutzmore, 1993, p. 370). Some carnivalists express their concerns passionately, but they are careful in doing so, as they do not feel safe to communicate their views to people they do not know and trust. However, some carnivalists consider themselves fearless because they are not solely reliant on funding and have been able to secure other financial means to maintain their bands. I will demonstrate the fearlessness of a few carnivalists by reference to a carnival meeting with the council that I was invited to attend.

During my time in the field I was able to develop a positive relationship with Band B’s bandleaders. One day I arrived at their camp as was previously arranged and found them preparing to leave. Rather than ask me to visit another time they asked if I would like to go with them. They explained that they were going to a meeting and I accepted their invitation. On the journey to the meeting they explained that they did not like these meetings and that they did not intend to attend but at the last minute changed their minds and decided it would be a good idea to attend. The meeting was prepared for all the bandleaders taking part in the carnival, for ethical reasons outlined in the ethics section of this thesis I am unable to mention the council that prepared the meeting in the run up to the carnival in that county. Band B’s bandleaders expressed their scepticism and explained:

Band B Bandleader: *“There is too much politics in carnival, it is a never ending politics from all sides with little concern for the people that making carnival happen.”*

(transcribed from notes and memory)

On arrival at the meeting I entered a room and there were at least twenty bandleaders seated, most of whom were looking at the council representatives in dismay. We arrived a few minutes late and missed the beginning of the meeting but by the responses of a few carnivalists I realised I had stepped into a very heated debate, which I discuss here. It was the first time since I began my fieldwork that I experienced such heated passionate exchanges amongst carnivalists. The carnivalists I spoke to during fieldwork expressed their feelings to me but at times it felt as if they were holding back, trying to maintain composure, or for other reasons, such as suspicion and distrust. But at the council meeting there was a different atmosphere: it was tense and the intensity of the carnivalists' words filled the room. A few carnivalists that I met in the field attended the meeting. On the few occasions I spoke with them they seemed reserved. But on this occasion they were not: they were fearless and showed their frustration. They shouted profanity at the council representatives and were annoyed that the decision makers did not turn up for the meeting. This meant that they would not get the results they sought during the meeting and they would most probably have to wait for feedback. With the loud obscene language that filled the room I became self-conscious and kept looking in front of the room where the council representatives were seated. I made sure not to draw attention to myself by not reacting to the carnivalists' responses and I did not take notes as it would have interfered with the dynamic and the carnivalists would have had no problem in directing me to the door or asking me to leave. Thus although I empathised with them I remained neutral, as I have done throughout my fieldwork, neither judging nor taking sides.

One carnivalist angrily stated:

Carnivalist B: *"We are tired and beaten, we have been ignored and we want our voices heard."*
(transcribed from notes and memory)

Whilst a few carnivalists were shouting profanities, a few other carnivalists briefly pleaded with those shouting obscenities to calm down so that they could hear what was being said in the meeting. But as the council representatives began to discuss changes to the route another flare-up of obscene language, between the carnivalists shouting obscenities and the council representatives, occurred. The council representative began to get annoyed and told the carnivalists that she was just the messenger and if they did not stop shouting she would leave the room. On hearing this the carnivalists began arguing amongst themselves, urging those that were shouting to stop or leave. After a few minutes everyone regained their composure: the carnivalists apologised and the meeting continued. The issues concerning the route meant that the band would have to go along another route and they were displeased at having to do so. Next on the meeting agenda was a discussion concerning the trucks that supplied the music. The carnivalists listened intently and did not seem impressed by what they heard and the shouting began again. The council representative explained that there was a concern that the trucks would not be able to go through the new routes because of restrictions regarding vehicle weight. The council representative asked if golf carts would be a good alternative to the trucks. The carnivalists began to laugh at her suggestion. One gentleman said:

Carnivalist C: *“All these years we have been celebrating carnival have you ever seen a golf cart in the carnival?”*

Another gentleman said:

Carnivalist D: *“the council have not yet grasped what we do, we are singing from a different hymn sheet, every year you want to put something different in the mix.”*

Band A bandleader explained:

Band A Bandleader: *“There is no way we could use a golf cart, it would not give us the same vibe as the big truck. The bass, the energy and the carnival atmosphere, you won’t get that with a golf cart”*

The major concerns of the evening were the route and the trucks. All the carnivalists in the room agreed that if the council wanted to continue with their plans there would be no carnival. A calm voice at the front of the room expressed her unhappiness with the changes and declared that if the carnival transpired then it would be her last. She explained:

Carnivalist E: *“I’ve had enough: little or no funding, changes every year and no support. This is non-stop, the enjoyment has faded.”*
(transcribed from notes and memory)

Her comments helped me to understand that carnivalists are going through disputes and stresses: the threat of losing funding and changes enforced by the council are part of a yearly process. These situations or the “threatening culture” can cause misattunement to carnival. For some carnivalists the challenges they undergo spurs them to continue the festival, and the history of UK carnival is a demonstration of their persistence and resistance. However, there may be more carnivalists who share the view that they have “had enough” and that having to focus more on the politics of carnival, rather than the areas of carnival they enjoy, is becoming too much to bear.

As I sat in the meeting, listening to and observing the suggestions the

council made and the issues the carnivalists expressed (issues that they felt had not been dealt with), I reflected on the significance of funding, support, and the lack of understanding between carnivalists, funding bodies, the council, stakeholders and politicians - and how the lack of understanding invigorates passionate discourses. What are the difficulties of applying for funding? How are carnivalists utilising the funding they receive? What is the cause of dependency on funding?

5.5.2 Poli-tricks of Funding and Dependency

In Trinidad, money for carnival comes from the government and some members of the public argue that the government “needs a carnival plan and a new way of evaluating the costs and little benefits of this massive state investment in fete and mas” (Maharaj, 2005, Trinidad and Tobago Guardian Newspapers Online). The Secretary General of the Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha Hindu organisation, Satnarayan Maharaj, calls for “an objective evaluation of government spending on carnival” and argues that carnival “promote[s] debauchery, racism in calypso and lawlessness” (Ibid.). Some carnival events might be more successful than others and the downside of spending large sums of money annually on unsuccessful events is the lack of “profit” gained from “events funded by the state” (Ibid.). For example, this year 2014, the steel band association of Trinidad and Tobago, Pan Trinbago, decided to add an additional event during the National Panorama semi-finals: the annual Trinidad steel band competition. The event, which was coordinated by Pan Trinbago and Aqua Fun Park, involved the installation of a “14,000 cubic feet of water in [the] inflatable pool” in the Greens of the Queen’s Park Savannah, in Port of Spain (Trinidad and Tobago Newsday Newspapers Online, 2014). The \$700 TT dollars per ticket entrance fee was organised to “host families with children or bikini parades” (Ibid.). But the event sparked outrage by some “pan purists” who considered it disrespectful to pan, the country’s national instrument, and a “grave distraction” (Ibid.). A

spokesperson for the event contended that “‘Pan Splash’ was a success and will be back in 2015” (Telesford, 2014, Trinidad and Tobago Express Newspapers Online). On the other hand, some reports claim the event had a “dry response” (Clyne, 2014, Trinidad and Tobago Guardian Newspapers Online). In Minister Douglas’ former role as Minister of State in 2011, he noted that carnival is a “sexualized culture” and this is “reflected in the incidence of carnival babies” (Kong Soo, 2014, Trinidad and Tobago Guardian Newspapers Online). In his current role as Minister of Arts and Multiculturalism, Douglas expresses his personal concerns about some of the lyrics in carnival music and suggests that “artistes should aim to deliver a quality of music that is world standard” (Ramdass, 2014, Trinidad and Tobago Express Newspapers Online). Despite these issues, Minister Douglas and the government is said to be “committed to the culture of TT and Carnival’s transition from a festival to an industry” and “a total of \$190 million has been allocated” to carnival 2014 (Douglas, 2014, Trinidad and Tobago Newsday Newspapers Online; Ramdass, 2014, Trinidad and Tobago Express Newspapers Online). This demonstrates the government’s dedication and commitment to the festival. In previous years also, the government allocated millions to carnival: for example, in 2011 “100 million” TT dollars were spent on the festival (Hassanali, 2011, Trinidad and Tobago Guardian Newspapers Online). In 2012, “\$96.5 million” TT dollars were allocated, and in 2013 “\$224 million” TT dollars were allocated for carnival (Ramdass, 2012, Trinidad and Tobago Express Newspapers Online; Douglas, 2013, Trinidad and Tobago Newsday Newspapers Online). The government considers carnival to be a profitable investment. The National Carnival Commission (NCC) explains that it generates an estimated “\$1 billion” TT dollars (Trinidad and Tobago Express Newspapers Online, 2011). Although “there are some who can bear testament to the receipt of a piece of carnival returns” disputes concerning “how the Government spent the money allocated to the festival” suggests that there are some “stakeholders who are disappointed with their share” (Trinidad and Tobago Express Newspapers Online, 2011).



Photograph 38 – Trinidad and Tobago newspapers' coverage of carnival disputes, 2013 and 2014, Trinidad and Tobago Newsday and Daily Express newspapers (for full referencing details see bibliography on pages 413 – 417)

In the UK, funding for carnival works differently: the government does not “pour” large sums of money “into calypso, fetes, mas’ pan and wine and

jam” (Maharaj, 2005, Trinidad and Tobago Guardian Newspapers Online). Although Trinidad carnivalists and stakeholders may argue over cuts to their funding, the government usually allocates funding to carnival because of the profits and returns derived from the different events, costume sales (which cost an “average of \$3,000” TT dollars), food and drink, and accommodation (Trinidad and Tobago Express Newspapers Online, 2011). UK carnivalists apply for funding every year and are noticing cuts to their funding and additional difficulties in applying for it. Funding for UK carnival is not the only concern of funding bodies, and carnival falls within the category of “minority and ethnic arts”. In contrast, UK “contemporary arts” receive more funding and support (Smith, 2003, p. 139). Consequently, fear and suspicion is prevalent amongst some carnivalists: they do not want their funding disturbed. The Band B bandleaders described the difficulties they face when they apply for funding. One bandleader explained that:

Band B Bandleader: “Applying for funding in an art form in itself. You have to understand the application and the Arts Council has made many changes to the way we apply for the funding. Some people get a bid writer to help them apply for funding.”

A few other carnivalists have explained that the process of applying for funding is not an easy one and sometimes they do not receive the amount of funding they applied for from the Arts Council. Band B explained that they do not begin making costumes until the funding has been received, they also use some of their funding to prepare costume prototypes for the following year. They explained that it is better to wait for the funding to be approved because if they begin work before the funding is approved they then have to make changes to the costumes in order to be able to afford to complete them, particularly if they receive less funding than expected. A cut to funding seems to be a common occurrence but they did not tell me how much

funding they receive. They explained:

Band B Bandleader: *“Our funding is even much less than last year and we have to try and make it work not only for costume materials but we have to hire truck, generator for music, and a bus to take our band on the carnival tour, and there are other additional costs involved.”*

Band B bandleader also explained the stress they feel when they are preparing the forms, during the wait for the funding, and when the funding has been cut.

Band B Bandleader: *“I don’t have a bid writer to do my forms so I used to take days to do all the paper work. But now they have an online form and I have to complete the form the same day if not I’ll be timed out of the page. You can imagine how stressful it is for me to get the form complete before it times out. I get so worked up and frustrated. They keep trying to make it difficult for us to get funding and when we do get it there is not enough for us to do much with. Then we have to wait to find out if the application is successful. We are on egg shells because we depend on it.”*

Band B bandleader’s frustrations about carnival are echoed by comments made by these respondents at several of the carnivals I attended. When I asked ‘how do you feel about carnival?’ They replied:

Spectator/Participant A: *“They need to do more for this carnival, people are turning out but there’s not enough bands, not enough to see or get excited about.”*

Spectator/Participant B: *“Too much ‘health and safety’ it takes away from the essence of the carnival.”*

Spectator/Participant C: *“The way this carnival has been organised is like they don’t want a carnival.”*

Although Band B bandleader is unsatisfied about the direction of carnival because of the lack of funding and the band’s inability to generate funds of their own, they continue to apply for funding every year. Band B bandleader explains:

Band B Bandleader: *“We are not getting enough support from the council to push carnival, they changing our routes and trying to make things difficult for us. It kills the spirit not only for the band but for the spectators. We want to be able to organise our own funding instead of depending on funding but in our current situation it is very difficult.”*
(transcribed from notes and memory)

In *Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies*, Melanie Smith (2003) highlights debates in arts management concerning participation in arts. The debate highlights that within the “contemporary arts scene in Britain” it is well-known that contemporary arts are dominated by “predominantly white, middle-class, middle-aged audiences” (p. 139). Thus “minority and ethnic arts activities tend to be under-funded and less supported than mainstream arts” (Ibid., p 139). She adds: “there is still arguably a certain snob value attached to the arts which is linked partly to the nature of so-called high art forms, but also to the host institution, its location and its pricing structure” (Ibid.). Smith explains: “venues such as Covent Garden Opera House in London have

been criticised in the past for not facilitating access to a broader range of potential audiences” (Ibid.). Smith asserts that “barriers to access... need to be overcome” in order for the arts to become “democratic in their audience development, and funding”. She contends that “support needs to be increased for minority activities” (Ibid.).

Kwesi Owusu (1986), in *The Struggle for Black Arts in Britain*, gives an idea of the amount of funding bands received at the height of the festival’s popularity. He explains:

The main arts body responsible for funding Notting Hill Carnival is the Arts Council of Great Britain. Subsidies have been consistently low, bearing no relation to the scale and popularity of the event. In 1984 the subsidy was £36,000, of which £5,500 went to the Carnival Arts Committee. Twenty-eight bands were supported, with an average subsidy of £250. (p. 15)

Owusu’s comments on low subsidies for carnival highlights what Smith argues is a “snob value”, and the lack of funding and support given to “minority activities” which, according to Owusu, had “no relation to the scale and popularity of the event” (Smith, 2003, 139; Owusu, 1986, p. 15). The cost of materials for costumes alone may have consumed most of the £250 subsidy.

Organiser SC gave me his views of carnival funding and commented on what carnivalists need to do to become independent and to discontinue using funding. He explains:

Organiser SC: *“I’ve had many disappointments with funding, sometimes it was less than we expected or none at all, so I decided to hold more fetes, big, big*

fetes, right through the year to fund the carnival. It wasn't easy but it was the only way we could have better control and independence from the Arts Council. This is how it had to be because we wanted to concentrate on making mas' and not spend all of our time worrying about when we getting funding, how much to expect and so on. Some bands that got less than they expected couldn't survive, so quite a few bands over the years did not make it. I try to tell the younger ones coming up, carnival is a tough business and they have to have a business head to get everything right, the costumes, the team of people that work with you, to get the costumes and band on the road. But not just that, they have to work all year to get the funding and investment to maintain carnival."

Réa: *"What do you think the funding bodies get out of reducing and cutting funding?"*

Organiser SC: *"You have to look at it in terms of control, and when people are depending on something it is easy to control them. It is the same like the 'dole', people who can't afford to live get on this thing and some lose their dignity, you see. It is not difficult to understand. The Arts Council always had a problem with carnival - over the years the relationship got a bit better but they are the ones funding most of the bands in carnival. So a bandleader might be dependent on the state to eat, to live, and at the same time he or she is also dependent on funding for carnival. And that is exactly why carnival can't progress for black people because someone else is pulling all the strings. We*

depend on funding, on sponsorship, this is very damaging to carnival. But all that is happening, and yet the masses still coming out to see the carnival. By now carnival should be an independent big business that black people could be proud of. But it is not too late. As I said, I continue to teach the younger ones coming up about an independent carnival, one without being dependent on funding.”
(transcribed verbatim)

Organiser SC is concerned that dependency on funding is damaging to carnival. His concerns encouraged him to organise and promote fetes in order to fund his carnival band.

Smith's case study may shed some light on Organiser SC's concerns of the underfunded carnival survival. She suggests that “the Notting Hill Carnival has survived despite being traditionally underfunded like many other ethnic events” (Smith, 2009, p. 223). Smith explains that the carnival “has frequently been threatened until the last minute by the apparent unavailability of sponsorship” (Ibid.). She suggests that “if the carnival continues to descend into chaos, external funding may be even harder to come by” and while the “festival has become increasingly popular” with many tourists, “they do not make any financial contribution” towards the festival (Ibid.). What are the implications for Organiser SC's concept of an “independent big business” or a more commercialised carnival? Smith suggests that “if it were moved and commercialised further, it would almost undoubtedly lose its cultural roots” (Ibid., 223). The issues raised by both Smith and Organiser SC demonstrate that carnivalists need to find better approaches or more effective means for locating funding and sponsorship, to ensure the longevity of the festival. Approaches that involve funding being acquired independently whilst “retaining ownership” and maintaining carnival's “cultural roots”, and in the process not becoming too “commercialised” (Ibid.). But if carnival and

other ethnic arts events are attracting “large numbers of tourists” to the UK, why are they not supported properly?

Gelder and Robinson (2011) examine *Events, Festivals and the Arts* and explain the importance of events that “gain widespread recognition and awareness” (p. 130). These events are considered hallmark events and are important to tourism marketing. Gelder and Robinson explain that, “hallmark events are those that have played a major role in international and national tourism marketing strategies” (Ibid.). They also note that hallmark events “primary function is to provide a host community with the opportunity to secure high prominence in the tourism market place” (Ibid.). Thus “events and their host destinations become inseparable in the minds of consumers and provide widespread recognition and awareness” (Ibid.). They suggest that the Notting Hill Carnival is one example of a hallmark event in the UK (Ibid.).

In his comparison of the ‘dole’ and carnival funding Organiser SC points to a scenario where a carnivalist is dependent on both the ‘dole’ and carnival funding, and explains that such a person is being controlled. Organiser SC argues that carnival is not progressing because of a dependency on funding and is confident that organising and promoting fetes and shows is a way out of dependency on funding. During my fieldwork a few of the bandleaders I met explained that they found it hard to hold down their day jobs, which pay for their living expenses, resulting in them applying for benefits. As a result they have become dependent on both the ‘dole’ as well as the Arts Council funding. The bandleaders also comment on the prospect of independence. Although it seems to them to be a good idea, they do not seem to know how to go about achieving it, nor have a plan in mind. Band B bandleader explains:

Band B Bandleader: *“It is frustrating to depend on the state to live and for my art. When our circumstances*

changed we had to get additional support to keep us going. We already had bad experiences with the Arts Council, now we had no other choice but to go through the same frustrations with benefits.”

(transcribed from notes and memory)

Band B bandleader's comments echo Organiser SC concerning the similarities between dependency on both the 'dole' and carnival funding, with both evoking similar emotions of irritation, resentment, ambivalence and fear. In addition, having experienced applying for and receiving arts funding, Band B bandleaders are convinced that there is a lack of diversity in arts funding. Band B bandleaders are concerned that as the cost of living rises and benefits and arts funding cuts persist, carnival arts might suffer as a result.

My investigation shows me that the cultural politics of carnival are passionate, and carnivalists are faced with what Gutzmore calls “threatening culture”, as explained in (see p. 107) the literature review (Gutzmore, 1993, p. 370). According to Gutzmore the “threatening culture” occurred as a result of black people taking control of carnival and because of the large turnout to the festival (Ibid.). Carnival was then considered a “mass culture” by the authorities and it was “suppressed” and “controlled” (Ibid.). Whilst “threatening culture” has its constraints, it certainly ignites the passionate emotions of the carnivalists who recreate and continue the festival (Ibid.). The “threatening culture” which exists today, in the form of funding and sponsorship, is a strategy that protects ruling class interests and disturbs minority group cultures (Ibid.). For example, arts funding is an opportunity to control minority group cultures and to protect ruling class interests. As highlighted by Smith, “high arts” gain more support than ethnic arts. Smith examines the attraction of “high arts” and suggests that, “in terms of motivation, the “high arts” (e.g. opera, ballet, classical concerts) often tend to attract audiences who are motivated partly by the prestige value or social

status of attending” high art events (Smith, 2003, p.139). Smith compares “high art” with other arts events and explains that “the genuine and spontaneous delight that spectators and participants often take in” at events such as a “carnival or rock concert” demonstrates “why certain events are more popular with tourists and the general public than others” (Ibid., 139). Smith’s comments are a reminder of the cultural hegemony of the 1970s and the carnivalists’ fight for equality and for carnival art to be considered as valid. With carnival becoming “increasingly popular with large numbers of tourists”, if too large a financial contribution is offered to carnivalists by politicians and funding bodies, to stage carnival, ruling class interests may not be protected (Smith, 2009, p. 223). Hall argues that:

cultural hegemony is never about pure victory or pure domination (that’s not what the term means); it is never a zero-sum cultural game; it is always about shifting the balance of power in the relation of culture; it is always about changing the dispositions and the configurations of cultural power, not getting out of it. (Hall, 1992, p. 24)

In section 2.5.5 entitled *Caribbean Diasporas: Remaking Carnival* of the literature review (see pp. 114) I asked: if the political tide is turning away from multiculturalism what lies ahead for mas’ camps? How does the Arts Council’s “combined arts” support mas’ camps, besides offering funding? How is funding allocated? Is it based on the size of the mas’ camp or the varying programmes they offer? With these questions in mind, I consider that the strategies that funding bodies and politicians use are less about support, and more about control. For example, lack of diversity in funding, and under-funding of ethnic art events and “unavailability of sponsorship”, are about “shifting the dispositions of power” (Smith, 2009, p. 223; Ibid., p. 24). Hall explains that popular culture is what “Mikhail Bakhtin calls “the vulgar” –the popular, the informal, the underside, the grotesque” (Ibid., p. 25). Adding that popular has “always been counter posed to elite or high culture, and is thus a site of alternative traditions” (Ibid.). Thus, the “dominant tradition has always

been deeply suspicious of it", resulting in suspicions "that they are about to be overtaken by what Bakhtin calls "the carnivalesque" (Ibid.). As mentioned in (see p. 87) the literature review Antonio Gramsci's theory suggests that "cultural hegemony is maintained by the promotion of any culture that accommodates people to their social fate, so long as it does not threaten ruling-class interests" (Hall, Neitz and Battani, 2003, p. 183). Gramsci's theory also suggests that the "elite has no interest in imposing elite culture on other people; its interests are satisfied so long as other people's culture does not threaten their power" (Ibid., p. 183). Hence the relationship between culture and hegemony in the poli-tricks of funding show the importance of the production and promotion of ideas, and how the ideas of the elite or ruling class have been used to control and manipulate the masses who enjoy carnival and the carnivalists who remake it.

5.6 ROLL IT GAL: TEENAGE GIRLS IN UK CARNIVAL

Free yurself gal, you got class, and you got pride, come together cuz we strong and unified, Roll, roll it Gal, roll it Gal. (Roll it Gal, Alison Hinds, 2005)

5.6.1 Overview

In this section I focus on the presence of teenage girls in the UK Carnival and the reasons behind their participation in the festival. I explore conflicting views over movement and the cultural significance of dance and the contentions concerning modern and rehearsed dance routines and performances. I also consider how participants perceive dance and what it means to them.

During my fieldwork I observed UK carnivalists applying contradictory ideas in remaking carnival. For example, one idea seeks to maintain or preserve the performance in the UK of what UK carnivalists consider to be traditional Trinidad carnival. On the other side it is acknowledged that the carnival is in a different space, it is diasporic and happens outside of Trinidad. Both views demonstrate the complexities of remaking carnival in the diaspora. Green and Scher suggest that:

the particular configuration that any carnival may take and the role it may play in the lives of those who participate in it and those that do not depends upon the particular conjunctions of class, gender, ethnicity, and generation as well as the broader structures of community and nation found in the locale. (Green and Scher, 2007, p. 2)

I examine how carnivalists are able to use these two different ideas in order to promote their unique brand of traditional. I reflect on the importance Trinidadian participants in the UK place on carnival dancing as self-expression and 'freeing up'. In examining this, I focus on conflicting views within carnival's popular culture, versus traditional, discourses.

In academic debate, the relationship between modern and traditional is viewed in quite nuanced ways, with an acknowledgement that tradition is to an extent an idea produced by modernity and with quite a broad acceptance that tradition encompasses so-called change. In *Navigators of the Contemporary: Why Ethnography Matters* David Westbrook (2009) describes the shifting nature of ethnography and argues that traditional ethnography continues to be a worthy tool as it provides an intellectual way to understand the world we live in. Westbrook argues that "when modern came into contact with traditional, the traditional would succumb and become modern" (p. 58). He notes that "the division between modern and traditional grew less clear", thus the "idea that the traditional would somehow "give way" to the modern came to seem an unduly primitive conception of social change" (Ibid., p. 59).

Where do UK carnivalists' notions and ideas of tradition come from? Most of the carnivalists I encountered during my fieldwork frequently travelled to the Caribbean and discussed their trips in the mas' camp. For example Band B bandleaders continuously expressed their love and longing for Trinidad carnival. Gareth Green (2007) has indicated when this concept of tradition and nostalgia began, suggesting that "in the early 1990s, the rhetoric of economic development merged with that of cultural nationalism in promoting the Carnival as the basis for cultural tourism" (p. 63). This was as a result of the desires of "artisans, entrepreneurs, and political leaders" to "make the carnival a more attractive tourist event" (Ibid., p. 63). Consequently, he suggests that there is a "cultural gap between those who administer and manage the carnival and those who actively participate in it"

(Ibid., p. 64). Green explains that it is the “calypsonians, political leaders, and culture brokers” that “wield the concept of “tradition”” which he argues is used as a “weapon in discussions and performances about the history of the Carnival in Trinidad and Tobago and its place within a national cultural assemblage” (Ibid., p. 63). Green contends that “all nostalgia is necessarily selective, as is memory in general, but nostalgia suggests a certain longing and desire for what was past, lost, and can never be again. Nostalgia is about attempting to re-create what cannot be regained” (p. 65). He adds, “nostalgic enactments are specific events that emerge out of representations of the past.” They also “reveal a politics of historical reminiscence and representation that influences how people who participate in them or view them come to understand their histories” (Green, 2007, p. 65). Thus UK carnivalists’ attempts to recreate or remake traditional mas’ is an attempt to “re-create what cannot be regained” (Ibid.).

I will examine the participation of teenage girls in UK carnival, and their ability to merge different styles in UK Carnival, and how this may be problematic for bandleaders who are trying to promote what they believe is a traditional Trinidad-style carnival. One style of carnival that even Trinidad carnivalists are fighting against is the commercialised beads and bikini costumes, “where the party culture supersedes the history, traditions, and art form of carnival” (Ferris, 2013, p. 121).

Scholarly discourses concerning popular culture and the role that music and dance play in Caribbean diasporic spaces and places have highlighted that whilst these discourses have noted the importance of diasporic carnivals “for Trinidadians and other Caribbean population groups” and “the crucial role popular culture - most particularly music - has played in such contexts” (Guilbault, 2007, p. 198), not enough research has been done to address “the specific role the new music styles have played for West Indian audiences in diasporic spaces” (Ibid., p. 198). Guilbault suggests some of the questions that go unanswered, for example: “what kinds of

identities do they perform and for whom? In their transnational circuits, do they reinforce or abandon the notion of nationhood?" (Ibid.). In the literature review, I examined Lyndon Phillip's analysis of black youths in the Toronto carnival, which appear to highlight some of Guilbault's questions about performing "identities" and "transnational circuits" (2007, p. 198). Phillip examined the presence of urban music in the Toronto carnival, and contestation over "legitimate carnival arts" and the watered-down North American street festival" (Phillip, 2007, p. 103). He describes the dilemma of the "carnival purists and traditionalists" in defending "carnival's pillars - calypso, masquerade, and steelband" (Ibid., p. 102) and examines the way "black youths are reading and performing carnival in Toronto" (Ibid., p. 103). He suggests that black youths' performance is more of a "mediating relationship" bringing together "aspects of carnival and other cultural styles" (Ibid., p. 103). Thus, within these diasporic spaces they are performing a mediated style born out of their experiences of both traditional and modern. But in terms of Guilbault's concerns about reinforcing or abandoning "notion[s] of nationhood" (2007, p. 198) this seems to be a contested area amongst carnivalists in the UK. For example, during my time in the field I noted some of the views held by UK carnivalists, who believe in promoting a Trinidad-style carnival in the UK and, by extension, promoting a nationalist Trinidadian perspective; whilst others hold the view (with some ambivalence) that the UK style carnival is a multicultural affair. I have also met carnivalists from other islands that are promoting their island's style of carnival in the UK and are particularly interested in attracting visitors to their island.

Regarding Phillip's "mediating relationship", during the carnivals I attended in the South East, the Midlands and the North of England, I noticed that young teenage girls seemed to have found a way to move between the Trinidad 'wining' and Jamaica 'dutty wine'. It seems that the music is very much the driving force of the seamless flow between these styles. However, I often wondered where they were learning these dance moves, which they seem to perform so fluently. In a similar way to the Toronto carnival, it seems

that while purist and traditionalist views in the UK are a site for contestation, teenage girls have found their own way of embracing carnival by merging their “diasporic sensibilities” with “other cultural styles” (Ibid., p. 103). This section is concerned with the contradictions, ambivalence and the inconsistencies regarding appropriate and inappropriate costumes worn by, and performances carried out by, teenage girls, within the different carnivals in the UK.

During the 2012 UK carnival season, in July, I was at the mas’ camp. The focus of much of the discussions concerned the kind of wining and dancing performances on display and the style and quality of costumes at the carnivals we had already attended on the tour. The bandleader then began to explain that one or two bands would not be allowed to attend a few carnivals on the tour because the organisers want to project a family friendly atmosphere, which seemed in contradiction with the way in which a few carnivals are promoted across the UK.

In this regard, I will first examine Jamaican dancehall culture (networks, styles and diversity). Jamaican dancehall culture is “a genre of Jamaican popular music” that with “the proliferation of stage shows and other staged events ...resulted in dancehall’s identification as a music that is tied to a space and place” (Hill, 2007, p. 72) I will also examine the tradition of calypso, and the development and transformation of soca music, in order to demonstrate how these elements shape musical styles within transnational performance spaces. I will also focus on UK carnivalists’ views about merging the traditional Trinidadian aspects of carnival, together with other cultural styles or popular culture. I will explore these conflicting views in order to understand how they contribute to promotion, participation and organising of carnival. Next, I will examine how carnival organising relates to the kind of participation that is encouraged, in order to understand the purpose of teenage girls’ participation in the carnival. I will examine teenage girls’ ability to merge different styles, particularly costume, in the UK carnival, and the

issues that this is posing for bandleaders who aim to promote a traditional Trinidad-style carnival. Finally, I will explore disputes over movement and how freestyle dancing differs from instructional dance movement, focusing on dance classes that prepare participants for carnival (as against the less demanding freestyle dancing). I will also consider my experience at a carnival band's meeting and dance classes for members of the band, and the conflicts around dance that highlight how some bandleaders might be remaking carnival based on their ideas.

5.6.2 Traditional Culture Versus Popular Culture in UK Carnival

The important point is the ordering of different aesthetic morals, social aesthetics, the ordering of culture that open up culture to the play of power, not an inventory of what is high versus what is low at any particular moment. (Hall, 1992, p. 26)

The expansion of dancehall highlights the significance of its networks, styles, and its diversity in merging with other music, for example soca (a subculture of calypso). Dancehall music, a genre of reggae music, is said to have been “around since the birth of reggae music in 1968”, while others argue that it “developed in the 1980s” (Donnell, 2013, p. 92; Moskowitz, 2006, p. 79). Yet further accounts claim that singer Sugar Minott began singing and promoting “ghetto talent” in the late 1970s with his “own sound system called Youthman Promotion” and that Sugar Minott and the singers he promoted “were the first to be called ‘dancehall’” musicians (Chang and Chen, 1998, p. 59). The musical style habitually uses “existing reggae rhythms that are reproduced on a drum machine at a much greater speed” and “involves a DJ singing or toasting over a repetitive beat” (Moskowitz, 2006, p. 79).

Dancehall singers' lyrical content emphasises debates such as "sexual situations, drug use, or criminal activity", and love (Ibid.). Carolyn Cooper (2004) has examined Jamaican popular culture and how it is characterised as vulgar. Cooper argues that this culture should be recognised as a form of cultural expression. She states that her study of Jamaican dancehall culture is "rooted in a politics of place that claims a privileged space for the local and asserts the authority of the native as speaking subject" (p. 2). Defending the lyrical content of dancehall DJs and singers, Cooper (1995) explains that lyrics "define the furthest extreme of the scribal/oral literary continuum in Jamaica. Unmediated by a middle-class, scribal sensibility DJ oracy articulates a distinctly urbanised folk ethos" (p. 136). Curwen Best (2008) notes the intensity of offensive lyrics in the 1990s suggesting that some "artists deliberately immersed their creations in proudly offensive lyrics that degrade their women and the very society they claimed to represent" (p. 104). Cooper (1994) comments on lyrics that are degrading to women and explains that the "representation of women in dancehall culture as powerful sexual agents is an affirmation of the capacity of the female body to generate submissive respect, however much male devotees may "mask" this respect in the apparently abusive catalogue of glorified female body parts" (p. 443). Cooper also comments on the "freedom of women to claim a self-pleasuring sexual identity" and describes the dancehall as a "potentially liberating space in which working-class women and their more timid middle-class sisters assert the freedom to play out eroticized roles that may not ordinarily be available to them in the rigid social conventions of the everyday" (Cooper, 2004, p. 17). Muehleisen and Migge (2005) highlight another aspect of Jamaican dancehall lyrical content and suggest that "one of the most popular features of Jamaican dancehall is the policing of sexuality through the medium of lyrics which condemn sexual practices such as homosexuality and oral sex" (p. 103). Jocelyne Guilbault (2004) draws attention to soca music's focus on partying and fun, explaining that although some songs involve social commentary "most party songs either vigorously invite participants to jam and wine or focus on relations with

the opposite sex” (p. 233). She suggests that “soca songs are thus seen at best as lacking any political value or as cultivating an escapist attitude” (Ibid.). Guilbault explains that soca music’s wine and jam content is “thought to encourage sexual looseness” undermining “consensual standards of decency” (Ibid.).

How does soca differ from dancehall? Both tend to undermine “consensual standards of decency” in different ways (Ibid.). Soca’s lyrical content is focused on “sexual looseness” and has moved away from “language of socio-political resistance and critiques of a regressive form of identity politics” (Guilbault, 2004, p. 233). Dancehall’s lyrical content is focused on “slackness”, which Carolyn Cooper explains “is not mere sexual looseness though it is that” (Cooper, 2004, p. 4). She suggests that slackness is a “contestation of conventional definitions of law and order; an undermining of consensual standards of decency” and it “challenges the rigid status quo of social exclusivity and one-sided moral authority valorized by Jamaican elite” (Ibid.).

Sonjah Nadine Stanley-Niaah’s *Dancehall from Slave Ship to Ghetto* draws attention to dancehall’s diversity, its ability to move between “public” and “private spaces”, as well as outside Jamaica - working its way into diasporic spaces (Stanley-Niaah, 2010, p. 13). She also focuses on the influence of popular culture on youth, and the tensions and contesting ideas that surround Caribbean popular culture, and suggests that “the consistent and prevailing influence of the popular on the youth is comparable to, if it does not exceed, the influence of the churches” (Ibid., p. 13). She examines early dancehall music, highlighting that the evolution of “early Negro Christian churches” contributed to the expansion of dancehall networks locally, regionally and internationally (Ibid., p. 17). Stanley-Niaah suggests that there is insufficient “cultural history of dancehall” (Ibid., p. xviii). As a result she examines “African traditions, and their continuities within Jamaica and the Diasporic space” in order to highlight “systems, symbols and

philosophies at work” (Ibid., p. xviii). Stanley-Niaah suggests that “there is a broader field and practice in which Jamaican dancehall can be located, compared and analyzed” and notes “that there are many sites through which ...it has even greater significance” (Ibid., p.17). She also notes that “...performance space is a collective construct that has spawned communities, diasporas and transnational geographies” (Ibid., p. 15). She highlights that the artists’ concept of community that “operates in the popular dance spaces” also “served to integrate peoples even beyond their areas of origin” (Ibid., p. 14). In addition, she regards “Jamaica’s popular cultural space” as “a cutting-edge site of autonomous creation and negotiation of identity” particularly for the “disenfranchised families” and “inner-city youth” (Ibid.). The concept of community is considered in much broader terms, “relating ...to wider cultural and social processes including world view (Ibid.). It is through the perspective of “looking at one’s space as a discrete entity in relation to other spaces” that Stanley-Niaah examines how the artist is able to “mirror the sentiments of their communities”, as well as the sentiments expressed in the “wider community of dancehall participants” (Ibid.). This demonstrates how dancehall is able to break through cultural boundaries, but also remain diverse, maintaining a prolonged existence in its country of origin but also within and outside Caribbean diasporic spaces.

Trinidad was once labelled the “*land of calypso*” by calypsonian ‘Roaring Lion’ (born Rafael de Leon) in his 1950s composition. However, unlike dancehall’s insufficient cultural history (Stanley-Niaah, 2006, p. xviii), reports on the cultural history of Trinidad carnival has been considered from the time of “slavery to [the] present” (Cowley, 1998, p. 232). John Cowley’s (1998) *Carnival, Canboulay and Calypso: Traditions in the Making* explores the “evolution of black music in Trinidad” (Ibid., p. 1), and explains that “some of these developments can be traced in the United States, mainland South America and other islands” (Ibid.). Guibault highlights that “Trinidad is not the only Caribbean island where calypso has been performed”, she explains that historians from Barbados suggest that in the early seventeenth century

“calypso was widely practiced on their island” (Guilbault, 2007, 22). However, Trinidadian calypsonians claim “calypso as emblematic of its land” (Ibid.). Guilbault suggests the reason for this might be because “Trinidad’s material conditions combined with its unique socio-political history has given Trinidad a privileged position over the other English-speaking islands in the Caribbean region” (Ibid.). Addressing the complexities of musical traditions in Trinidad as a result of migration, Cowley notes that Trinidad carnival “represents a multiplicity of cross-cultural influences” (Cowley, 1998, p. 232). He suggests that “calypso emerged as the pre-eminent carnival song from the end of the nineteenth century” and examines calypsos’ “association with the festival”, by considering the “first commercial recordings by Trinidad performers” (Ibid., p. ii). Cowley also suggests that “Call-and response singing by carnival bands was the tradition in Trinidad when calypso began to be sung regularly in English” (Ibid., p. 231).

Guilbault’s examination of postcolonial calypsoes suggests that “calypso became an important site in which to articulate received notions of modernity, authenticity, originality, and ‘cultural’ independence” (Guilbault, 2007, pp. 135-136). In the literature review, in the section (2.4.2) entitled *Williams’s New Society* (see p. 82). I noted the assertion of PNM’s radical West Indianisation of Trinidad’s education and culture, which included the promotion of national pride (Campbell, 1997, p. 57). The PNM also organised “cultural standards” and “after 1956, the official recognition of Carnival by the Peoples’ National Movement Government as a national cultural heritage...” took place (Lewis, 2004 p. 23). Thus, post independence, calypsoes helped to promote a nationalist agenda. Calypso is also viewed as a tool and an opportunity for some calypsonians to promote “ignorance, racism and stereotyping” (Job, 2014, Power 102 FM Radio Online). As a result it also developed to include additional styles such as soca, ragga soca, chutney soca and rapso. Soca and its varying musical styles are currently the popular music in Trinidad and, as suggested by Guilbault, “these musics have sparked a rethinking of the expression, representation, and positioning of the

nation and its discrepant diasporas” (Guilbault, 2007, p. 169). Guilbault focuses on the 1990s music scene in Trinidad, the period she suggests “dramatically transformed carnival musics’ relations with the state and their later articulations of nation and diaspora” (Ibid., p. 170). She identifies that in the 1990s the focus moved from “nation building” to “economic issues”, initiated by the “rise of chronic unemployment” and “lack of funding” (Ibid.). This suggests that “in the wake of Thatcherism’s policies in Britain, Trinidadian state agencies implemented neoliberal²⁸ measures” and this resulted in the Trinidadian government’s new focus on the importance and commercial value of Trinidad’s popular culture (Ibid., pp. 170-171). This encouraged further transformation and expansion of soca music, providing opportunities for musicians, organisers, and entrepreneurs to develop Trinidadian cultural expression.

At the same time, dancehall, which became more visible around the 1980s, has been a very important “influence on Trinidad musical culture” (Hernandez-Ramdwar, 2008, p. 66). It also “resulted in some cultural purists asserting what is considered to be the “real” Trinidadian identity: a nationalistic adherence to the performance of calypso and steelband” (Ibid., p. 66). Concerns about merging “specific ethnic, racial, class and national identities with popular cultural forms” are also contested in the diaspora (Ibid.). In Trinidad, concerns about merging music styles became a site of disagreement between the traditionalists and those aiming to expand and experiment with different cultural rhythms, such as Jamaican dancehall and Indo-Trinidadian music (Birth, 2007, p. 154; Mason 1998, p. 52). For example, calypsonians such as ‘Ras Shorty I’ (Garfield Blackman) began experimenting with Indian cultural rhythms and calypso and, in 1973, he named his “sokah” (Leu, 2000, pp. 45-58; Guilbault 2007, p. 305; Rommen,

²⁸ Philip Scher (2010) has examined neoliberalism as it has become well established in the Caribbean, and focuses on Trinidad’s Carnival as an example of how culture is used, especially in times of economic hardship, as a marketing tool. See his article “Heritage Tourism in the Caribbean: The Politics of Culture after Neoliberalism” (pp. 7-20).

2007, p. 124). Guilbault suggests that “the paternity of the musical style named “sokah” – later renamed “soca” – has been in dispute” (Guilbault 2007, p. 305). Soca is also “said to be an abbreviation of “soul-calypso” that came out of a “combination of traditional calypso, Indo-Caribbean influences and American soul and disco which were popular in Trinidad” during the 1970s (Hernandez-Ramdwar, 2008, p. 66; Mason, 1998, p. 29). Mason notes the significance of soca music in relation to performance in Trinidad, suggesting that it became “associated with the high energy party music”, adding that it “relies heavily on dance gimmicks and crowd participation” whereas “calypso is becoming a generic term” (Mason, 1998, p. 30). In addition, he suggests that soca is associated with music that is “cutting-edge, fresh and young” (Mason, 1998, p. 30).

In Curwen Best’s (2004) analysis of the rise and development of popular music in the Caribbean, he emphasises the significance of what he calls “hard-core soca” and dancehall styles on a transnational performance space. He highlights trends in “post-soca” music worldwide by the end of the twentieth century. He suggests that by 2000 the internet became an important factor in transmitting “video clips of artists” to a wider audience, thus Caribbean musics’ “technological links” are promoting “Caribbean culture at the edge of global developments” (Best, 2004, p. 147). Best notes that the internet surpassed Caribbean television in that it offered “...smaller organizations and entities” the opportunity to broadcast and “keep people in touch with the pulse of cultural expression throughout the region” (Ibid., p. 147). Best’s views demonstrate how the internet has played an important role in not only sharing but shaping music styles within transnational performance spaces. However, transmitting Caribbean popular culture to wider or global audiences raises concerns about the kind of images that are being broadcast: images that are focused on the popular and not the traditions of carnival, thus promoting a carnival “...devoid of history and context...” and instead showcasing “...scantly clad, gyrating women...” (Barnes, 2004, 9. 89).

Brian Alleyne (2002) has outlined the dichotomy in the transnational performance space of carnival of the traditional and popular, and the difference between music and costumes. Alleyne's exploration of black activism and cultural politics in Britain, show how "Caribbean-heritage Britons reproduced and transformed the Trinidad-derived carnival tradition in the contested space they occupied in the new country" (Alleyne, 2002, p. 72). Alleyne emphasises the views of the mas' band and sound system, the "People's War", created by the Trinidad-born La Rose brothers, and their concerns about supporting "a distinctive Caribbean-heritage identity" whilst bringing "a political tone to its masquerade by making 'serious' as opposed to 'pretty' portrayals" (Ibid., p. 72). Similar concerns about the 'serious' as opposed to 'pretty' mas' or "commercialized pleasure" are also contested in Trinidad (Ibid.; Ferris, 2013, 135). Alleyne asserts that the discourses about the origins of the Notting Hill Carnival "...have tended to take the re-articulation of Caribbean cultural forms in Britain... as their point of departure" (Alleyne, 2002, p. 67). Thus, carnival's development in Britain is seen "in terms of a struggle by West Indians to make a public expression of a collective identity in the face of a structurally racist and hostile social reality in Britain" (Ibid.).

UK carnivalists' and groups such as the La Rose brothers "People's War", although focused on "Caribbean-heritage", understood the intensity of Jamaican cultural styles or popular culture. The La Rose brothers saw that "Jamaican speech patterns and popular music in the form of reggae were dominant at the time" which they noted had a strong "impact on the carnival" (Ibid., p. 72). Consequently, the La Rose brothers faced "Jamaican music chauvinism" and at times were "threatened with violence for playing music other than reggae" (Ibid., p. 69). Alleyne highlights how the La Rose brothers, 'People's War' sound system dealt with the issues they faced at the time, and how they adopted carnival as a means of identifying "with some of the

struggles against oppression that were going on around the world” (Ibid., p. 69). Thus adapting carnival by asserting a “diverse Black Identity by playing a wide range of Black Diaspora music” such as “calypso, soca, reggae, rhythms and blues, funk, soul ‘cadence’, hi-life” (Ibid., p. 72). The La Rose brothers mas’ band “sought to give public expression to ideas of anti-racism and anti-imperialism” (Ibid.). The contesting views and conflicts they experience contributed to the way in which they projected themselves as a sound system and mas’ band.

The ‘People’s War’ experiences reminds me of the discussion I had with Organiser SC about his experiences of organising and promoting the contested festival in the “contested space they occupied” (Ibid.).

Organiser SC: *“I’ve been involved in my organisation for 30 years and in carnival for 40 something or 45 years. My organisation was born in Swiss Cottage and I looked around and saw that there was a lot of Trinidadians and we had nothing to do on a bank holiday like Easter Monday. So I decided to get a place like a community centre with grounds for children to play, and we created a lime, we charge two pounds to come in, we carry on like a fete. This was in early 80s and we decided to sell souse and peas and rice and roti. At the end of the day it is more about a culture and about keeping a community of Trinidadians together and doing we own thing. And when we started off we were pushing a Trini’ head and I watched the situation and I say nah we can’t keep pushing this Trini’ head, and I told them let us stop that, you know something let us push a Caribbean head: bring your national colours, find your flag, don’t mind you born here find you flag from your grandparents and parents. Walk with your*

national colours, and that is how my organisation has become what it is today. The original Trinidad tradition don't really fit here - the wave your flag or the Trini' flag is not bringing people together. The fete worked because while people get introduced to the culture, they get to know about the Caribbean. Some bands did not agree with this but that is politics."

Réa: *"Was it difficult for your organisation to understand and adopt your 'find your flag' vision?"*

Organiser SC: *"No, no, no, but what it was - people thought that is mas' but I was trying to show them that there was a second and third generation coming through, right? And this second and third generation were more English than anything else because all their friends were English. And if they go on holidays they would go to Portugal or Spain and Cyprus and all that, forgetting where they come from in the Caribbean. Through that we have developed something where the Grenadians and St Vincentians started to go back and check out where their parents came from and started to realise they had lots of family, cousin, sister, brother everything, aunts, uncle. Today a lot of them went back, on the strength of find your colours, to develop their country. That is why I say the politics will always be politics but we stayed out of it and I know we motivated others bands to bring a standard that was very high in terms of design and organisation."*

(transcribed verbatim)

Organiser SC's experiences demonstrate how he adopted Trinidad culture and adapted it to his new experiences in the space in which he lived. He explains that he noticed that the people that were getting involved in his 'limes' and fetes were from different parts of the Caribbean. Consequently he decided to discontinue the nationalist promotion and instead promote a vision that was more inclusive. This, he explains, led to many Caribbeans going to the birthplaces of their Caribbean families. Cohen echoes Organiser SC's comments and suggests that "although these West Indians had hailed from different islands of origin, many of which did not have a carnival tradition, they had embraced the Notting Hill Carnival as an all-West Indian institution" (Cohen 1993, p. 5). Cohen also highlights that "West Indians from the different islands were exposed to each other's foods and styles. Trinidadians ate Jamaican fried dumpling, ackee and saltfish and Jamaicans ate Trinidadian roti, crab and callallo" (Ibid., p. 54) He explains that "there was a great deal of cultural homogenisation, and men and women who lived in different parts of London and the provinces interacted with one another and formed new friendships or revived earlier ones" (Ibid., p. 54).

The organiser's comments demonstrate that carnival became an institution and that he saw the mixture of cultural traditions amongst Caribbeans and the younger generation as a way of bringing the Caribbeans living in the UK and a younger British born generation together. His comments also suggests that he began to challenge the nationalist identity: he started to "push" and out of that came unity and the potential to develop a stronger carnival presence in his community. His experience also highlights how organising and participation are interconnected.

5.6.3 Encouraging Participation

I wanted to understand how ambivalent feelings and contesting views shape and contribute to carnival promotion, participation and organising. This question grew out of my experience of a situation at a mas' camp that made

me wonder how carnival is being continued, even through changing trends. At Band B's mas' camp I observed that the girls in the band wanted their costumes shorter. The bandleaders were not very happy about this and for a few weeks I heard them discuss this amongst themselves. "Why do we have to make alterations of our costumes for them, they are kids, these are our designs, they want poom poom shorts and batty rider; that is not the kind of carnival I want to put out". But when a few of the girls realised during their costume fitting that the costumes were not as short as they had wanted, they informed the bandleaders that they would no longer take part in the carnival tour. On hearing this the bandleaders deliberated and wanted to stand their ground, because as far as they were concerned these was their costumes, and this was their band and they were the adults in this situation and would not be told what to do by teenage girls. As the first carnival of the tour was quickly approaching the bandleader tried to convince the girls to stay on the tour and they also complimented them, explaining to them that looked great in their costumes. Their words fell on deaf ears and as they were running out of time more members were backing out. One afternoon I noticed the bandleader looking for the completed costume shorts and proceeding to make them shorter. Her husband, who leads the band with her jointly, asked "what are you doing?" She answered "giving them what they want". He replied, "Are you making them shorter?" She responded, "Yes, what else can we do?" He held his head and responded "No, nah, nah, nah, I can't live with that". She kept explaining to him "We have no other choice, if they don't show up, we have no carnival, yeah and all this work would be for nothing". What I witnessed was one of the many difficulties bandleaders had been telling me about during my time in the field. I nodded and empathised with them but it was different seeing first-hand the tensions between what carnivalists deem to be traditional, versus the novelty of different cultural expressions. The girls, conspiring amongst themselves, wanted to try something new and found a way to protest and get their voices heard in order that they would get what they wanted. Until this experience I had not given much thought about what it must feel like for bandleaders when they

have to alter their design or when people are not willing to participate in the manner they would like: the kind of participation that they have established for their band, something they believe makes them original or stand out from the rest. Moreover, I also had not considered how they felt about having to back down and give in to demands that contradict their views and position in carnival. When things had settled down a bit I asked the bandleaders about their change of heart and they both expressed their concerns about the lack of participation in their borough. They explained that because of a recent price increase in their costumes they felt it was the only way to boost morale and encourage participation.

Band B's bandleaders commented on teenage girls' interests in carnival:

Band B Bandleader: *"Although we promote strong traditional themes and a Trinidad vibe in our carnival, we offer carnival workshops in schools and we notice that it is mostly teenage girls that are interested in costume making. Maybe it is all the glitter and colours and fabrics. But they are seeing Rihanna in Barbados carnival in the British newspapers and they want to emulate what they see. Rihanna is not wearing a costume: it is bikini and beads. They going on YouTube and they are taking in all sorts not just music and costumes but dancing everything. They don't understand the Trini carnival traditions, and we have to teach them - but it is getting harder and harder because they want what is in the media and if we don't give them that we are the ones that will lose. We try to keep a moral side as well: we are concerned about the girls and we have to protect them when they are playing with our band. "*

(transcribed from notes and memory)

This reminded me of a conversation I had with a costume designer, who explained that girls are more interested in her costume design workshops.

Costume Designer X: *"I do costume workshops in school and the girls gravitate to it quickly because of what they seeing in the media. They want to take part but, at the same time, I encourage their enthusiasm but I cannot get caught up in the media myself because I want to keep the Trinidad carnival traditions going."*
(transcribed from notes and memory)

These carnivalists possess ambivalent feelings whilst trying to maintain the elements of Trinidad's carnival that appeal to them. "Mediating relationship" with "diasporic sensibilities" and "other cultural styles" (Phillip, 2007, p. 103) is a difficult but necessary process. Writing about masquerading in Toronto Caribana festival, Jenny Burman (2011) has commented on some bands' costumes, explaining that "Caribana has a high proportion of "bikini and beads" bands, in which participants wear glittery skimpy costumes that vaguely adhere to a theme, rather than bands with traditional Caribbean masquerade characters" (p. 140). Green and Scher describe the different stages of costume design and development in Trinidad, starting with the decline of Trinidad's traditional and historical mas' in the early 1970s, which included characters such as sailors, devils and bats (Green and Scher, 2007, p. xxv). They suggest that the pretty mas' evolved during Trinidad's oil boom in the late 1980s and "formally educated middle-class artists changed aesthetic standards through their use of new materials and application of their wide-ranging knowledge of theatrical design on carnival costuming and performance" (Green and Scher, 2007, p. xxviii). Green and Scher note the development of the "skimpy mas" in 1988, with women in scanty costumes

“wining before the television cameras” (Ibid., p. xxxi). They suggest that “skimpy mas’ has been an issue of growing concern in the last fifteen years” and hard-wining critics see the “parade of flesh and the behaviour of women” as “problematic” (Ibid., p. xxxi). Similarly today, and as mentioned in (see p. 352) of this chapter, the beads and bikini style mas’ has found its way to the UK by way of some of the popular beads and bikini bands in Trinidad. Thus the “shift to commercialized pleasure” is “a worrying trend” for some UK carnivalists (Ferris, 2013, p. 135). UK carnivalists that try to maintain a costume aesthetic or an authentic style of costume making may find it difficult to apply a Trinidadian concept of tradition and nostalgia in the UK, as seen with Band B’s experience with the teenage girls.

Stuart Hall makes the interesting point about “popular culture”, that “in one sense” it “always has its base in the experience, the pleasures, the memories, the tradition of the people” (Hall, 1992, p. 26). He explains that these experiences come from “local hopes and local aspirations, local tragedies and local scenarios that are the everyday practices and the everyday experiences of ordinary folks” (Hall, 1992, p. 26). He suggests that for these reasons the popular is a “site for alternative traditions”, explaining why the “dominant tradition has always been deeply suspicious of it” (Ibid., 1992, p. 26). He adds that “black popular culture, like all popular cultures in the modern world, is bound to be contradictory, and this is not because we haven’t fought the cultural battle well enough” (Ibid.). Band B’s bandleaders fought for their ideas and position but, as Hall points, out “black popular culture is a contradictory space” one of “strategic contestation” (Ibid.).

I spoke to two carnivalists and asked them about their views regarding merging traditional and popular culture:

Réa: “How do you feel about merging traditional and popular culture in UK Carnival?”

Band A Bandleader: *“Carnival has gone through so many phases and that is probably down to participation but carnival as a whole should be for everyone. So I am not designing costumes just for the young people because I think carnival needs to be more inclusive. In fact we need to revisit the Trinidad carnival of the 1950s and 1960s or even the Trinidad kiddies carnival; these carnivals had themes for their bands and well-made costumes. But I try to put a little something in my costumes for everyone. Organising a band is a lot of planning involved and we have to think about what worked and what didn't in the last carnival. Sometimes even the band members might tell you the costume too heavy or backpacks too heavy and you might have to give that some thought and compromise a little bit - not too much because carnival is a show and costumes need to be big and spectacular. So the younger ones coming up want Brazilian style costumes they won't get that here. My members know that we are here to promote Trini mas' and that is what has made us stand out as a band and get invited all over the world: the artistry and performance the real carnival vibes.”*

Band C Bandleader: *“We must promote Trinidad carnival, we must not let our traditions die out.”*
(transcribed from notes and memory)

Teenage girls' ability to merge different styles, particularly as regards costume and performance, in the UK carnival, and the issues that this is posing for bandleaders that aim to promote a traditional Trinidad style carnival, is part of the “cultural battle”, as it has been called by Hall.

Some of the teenage girls (see Photographs 39 – 44) I saw in the carnivals were applauded at and cheered, they were encouraged to dutty wine, sometimes wearing non-traditional costumes, and were applauded each time they wined on each other.

One parent at the Luton carnival explained that while she encouraged her seven-year-old daughter in the carnival festivities, she did not like the dutty wine. She stated that at some stage she would take her daughter out of carnival because the wining is too promiscuous in nature. Her comment reminded me of my own experience (as discussed in chapter four (see pp. 38) when my parents took me out of carnival because of what they perceived to be its vulgarity and the immoral performances. The difference between my experience and the parent in Luton – provided she follows through with her proposal to take her daughter out of carnival - is that Trinidad's carnival is a state celebration and it is difficult to get away from the festivities. Whereas in the UK carnival is not heavily promoted, so it will be easier for the parent in Luton to take her daughter out without having to contend with the intense promotion of carnival, which was my parents' experience. The parent in Luton is therefore in the negotiated position – adapting to carnival but also opposed to certain elements of the festival. She acknowledges carnival's fun and creativity and will allow her daughter to engage with it until she decides it is time to move away from the wine and jam.

In the Trinidad carnival there are similar issues and concerns about the sexual nature of the festivities and the impact this is having on the youth. For example, former Minister of State Dr Lincoln Douglas has addressed the consequence of Trinidad's sexualised culture, expressing that the carnival "culture in T&T ...is a highly sexualised [one]", adding that during "October or November which is exactly nine months after carnival" there is "an increase in birth rates" (Kong Soo, 2011, Trinidad and Tobago Guardian Newspapers Online). The situation is not exactly the same for the UK but it demonstrates

similar concerns to those of the parent at the Luton carnival about the effects of carnival's "sexualised culture" (Ibid.).



Photograph 39 – Teenage girls, Derby, UK, 2012



Photograph 40 – Teenage girls, Nottingham, UK, 2012



Photograph 41 – Teenage girls, Manchester (1), UK, 2012



Photograph 42 – Teenage girls, Manchester (2), UK, 2012



Photograph 43 – Teenage girls, Manchester (3), UK, 2012



Photograph 44 – Teenage girls, Manchester (4), UK, 2012

5.6.4 Show Meh Yuh Motion: Contestation Over Movement

To create a carnival is to create a politics.

(Featherstone, 2005, p. 230)

Contesting views over movement became apparent to me at the dance classes Band B bandleaders held for the younger members of their band. The bandleaders told me that their Friday meetings were not just a dance class: the meetings provided a space for members to meet and greet, lime, unwind, and watch the younger members learn, practise and get ready for the carnival season. Sometimes the bandleaders would bring some bits of costume work and members would get involved and help them with the work. The band was small and they did not have a large space, making costumes in their front room. Hence these meetings were usually held in a school assembly hall and started late March or early April, depending on when the bandleaders returned from other carnivals in the Caribbean. The meetings provided a space for the bandleaders to discuss with their members their plans for the carnival tour. In one of the meetings a dispute broke out: it was not an aggressive argument, but more of a difference of opinion. One of the parents of the girls performing in the band was sitting and looking at the routine. He eagerly jumped out of his seat and began shouting at the dance teacher:

Parent A: *“That is not how we would dance to that song on carnival Monday in Port of Spain. Look you will have to come better than that.”*

She asked him:

Dance Teacher: *“Why don’t you show us how it is done?”*

He replied

Parent A: *“Alright, alright, play the track again from the start. Let me show you how we do it in Trinidad.”*

As the music started to play he announced to the group:

Parent A: *“This is an lwer tune so you ain’t go move like this, like you planning your moves. Yuh have to free up with this track, like so.”*

He held his rag and waved it whilst gyrating his hips. When he had completed his demonstration the dance tutor tried to incorporate his ideas in her routine. But he was displeased and explained:

Parent A: *“These classes is just a bit of recreation for my family because this dancing is not what we do at home: we feel the music and move with it.”*

Band B bandleaders tried to explain to Parent A:

Band B Bandleader One: *“It is just a bit of fun and we getting them ready for the tour.”*

Parent A responded:

Parent A: *“Well do it the Trini’ way.”*

She replied laughingly:

Band B Bandleader One: "This is not Trinidad."
(transcribed from notes and memory)

Parent A observed that the freestyle dancing that he regarded as self-expression and "freeing up" differed from the instructional dance movement being taught. He tried to address the issues he had with the dancing but was reminded that the Friday meeting and dance class were an important activity. The meetings were a way for Band B bandleaders to prepare the band for the long carnival season, securing participation from carnival goers for the entire season, and it was also a way to attract new members. The dance classes might also partly reflect the kind of carnival the band wanted to create.

As Band B's bandleader stated in the section above (5.6.3), "we promote strong traditional themes and a Trinidad vibe in our carnival". This seems to contradict her assertion that "this is not Trinidad" (see p. 365). The first comment indicates a commitment to the maintenance of Trinidad's traditional values in the UK and the second indicates her acknowledgement that UK carnival occupies a different space. It also demonstrates a willingness to abandon traditional dance for a more instructional dance movement. These are two contradictory ideas and it is noteworthy how the band is able to use both ideas to remake carnival and at the same time promote ideas of tradition through their costume and (less so) through performance. While this appears to be contradictory, it also demonstrates how tradition evolves. As Westbrook suggests "the division between modern and traditional grew less clear" (Westbrook, 2009, p. 59).

Parent A's concerns highlights Band B's bandleaders' remaking of carnival. Their disagreement is about *how* to remake carnival since carnival is also changing in Trinidad: there is no such thing as a static tradition. Parent A's concerns also indicate that Band B's bandleaders found ways to

explain these conflicting views to their members. In the section (2.5.5) entitled *Caribbean Diasporas: Remaking Carnival* (see p. 114) I reflected on the syncretic (see p. 24, 54, 97, 115) features of diasporic carnival. The section highlighted that diasporic carnivals are “a multi-vocally constructed space” and they expand through “different imaginaries”, hence the “countercultural politics of carnival spaces” also “spills across the dynamics of the intergenerational contradictions of community” (Phillip, 2010, p. 83). Thus, Caribbean diasporic carnivals are a fusion of West Indian and European traditions and ideas: they are a combination of cultural art forms within the community. Moreover, Band B’s remaking of carnival is nothing new, as Lyndon Phillip’s examination of Toronto carnival has made clear: he has shown that carnivalists there are striving to remake carnival. Phillip notes the implications for the task of remaking, and suggests that Caribana purists’ “desire to recreate a pristine history without difference and contestation” is the issue that “troubles Caribana purists and against which black youth are reacting” (Phillip, 2007, p. 109). Band B’s bandleaders are remaking a carnival that fits their ideas, position, space and place, whilst merging it with elements of the Trinidad carnival that they have become accustomed to. This is then translated to members as the unique band identity which differs from the “Caribana purists” aspiration of remaking a “Trinidad-like Carnival” in Toronto.

Parent A’s concerns about movement also highlight the power struggles and politics involved in Band B’s remaking of carnival in a way that suits their band ideology and identity. Featherstone highlights the views of the “Race Today” journal and suggests that “the journal sought to assert itself as the festival’s historian and keeper of its values” (Featherstone, 2005, p. 228). Featherstone explains that “Darcus Howe, and the “Race Today Collective” wrote “articles and journals in the mid- and late 1970s” and “carefully develop[ed] ...carnival politics in different directions” (Ibid., p. 230). The Race Today Collective highlight the importance of a “disciplined organization that shapes a mas band”, and reads the power struggles within

the overall carnival management as part of a process to ‘mobilise the autonomous units’ to create a unified cultural force” (Ibid.).

Transformation is a part of carnival and during my fieldwork I noticed ‘autonomous units’ trying to define individual band identity, and did not identify an ‘overall carnival management’ that seeks to pull each group together. However, some of the carnivals I attended, such as Manchester, Nottingham and Leeds, promote a Caribbean or West Indian carnival, even though these carnivals are not wholly Trinidadian or West Indian and not entirely British.

Featherstone also reminds us of the many changes carnival underwent, for example “transformation of European carnival traditions to the circumstances of the colonial and postcolonial Caribbean” adding that “their further transformation on their return to Europe, are Black Atlantic processes of the assertion of political will” (Featherstone, 2005, p. 230). He explains that “the carnival landscapes of London in the 1970s were not those of ‘leisure’, and defines it as “the ‘changing same’ of resistance and cultural remaking” (Ibid.). Featherstone suggests that the carnivals of the 1970s “became metaphor and practice for an emergent black consciousness” (Ibid., p. 229). Today, “cultural remaking” continues: carnival, as a site for contestation, will continue remaking ideas as a result of differing views and positions.

Regarding the dance moves that Parent A disputed, it is worth considering what dance means to this individual, or what “freeing up” embodies. Gerard Aching (2013) writing about wining in Trinidad, explores how it “mediates the relationship between competing pleasures – those of the state and of the carnival reveller respectively” (p. 17). Aching proposes examining the relation between “carnival practices” and “modern social life” in order to articulate the “status of and quest for personal freedoms in public spaces” (p, 18). Parent A considered wining a part of carnival tradition,

associating the music or the “lwer tune” with a particular movement. According to Aching, “winin’ is a form of dancing that has traditionally been associated with the jamet or jamette — that is, the urban ‘underclass’” (Aching, 2013, p. 23). He suggests that “traces of this historical association with the jamet can be found in today’s frequent call by performers for revellers to go through the exaggerated motions of ‘misbehavin’, ‘getting’ on bad’, and ‘mashin’ up de place’” (Aching, 2013, p. 23). Yvonne Daniel’s (1994) examination of *Race, Gender, and Class Embodied in Cuban Dance*, an exploration of rumba and what it means in Cuban society, highlights how rumba was a “marginal cultural form” that was once practised by the “lower class black Cubans in the nineteenth century” and is now performed in “national and international theatres” (Ibid.). Traditionally wining, which was associated with the “jamette” - the “urban ‘underclass’”, and rumba, which was associated with the “lower class black Cubans” in the nineteenth century, are now appreciated and accepted within popular culture. Aching suggests that “the way in which wining has shifted from being identified with the marginalised jamette to becoming a popular form of dancing for mostly women” regardless of their “social and racial backgrounds” have been “unexplored” (Aching, 2013, p. 23).

As suggested by Daniels, dance “houses or embodies physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual information within culturally specific movement sequences” (p. 70). Daniels explains that “although all dances have varied movements, their movements, songs, and rhythms can be analyzed to demonstrate connections between dance and other arenas of social life” (Ibid.). For Parent A, wining perhaps “mediates the relationship between competing pleasures”, for example between band identity and the “contested space” he occupies in the UK (Alleyne, 2002, p. 72).

My investigation suggests that carnival is always being transformed by the people who celebrate it. In my experiences in the field, I have found that some carnivalists try to define what is traditional, particularly in their costume

production. Other carnivalists' concepts of tradition are more about having a point of reference for carnival or a borrowing of ideas fit for the purpose of developing their band identity. Thus carnivalists become decision makers, adopting the different elements of Trinidad's carnival that appeal to them and adapting it as part of their band identity. They are also finding ways to define who they are as an individual band, developing an identity that they consider is unique. Whilst they are developing their unique identity, they are silent about the popular cultures and themes they adapt to their brand of carnival while attempting to promote their band as traditional.

Stuart Hall (1992) has argued that "...in black popular culture ...there are no pure forms at all". He explains that "...these forms are the product of partial synchronization, of engagement across cultural boundaries, of the confluence of more than one cultural tradition, of the negations of dominant and subordinate positions, of the subterranean strategies of recoding and transcoding, of critical signification, of signifying" (p. 28). For Hall "these forms are impure, to some degree hybridized from a vernacular base" (Ibid.).

The growth of Caribbean popular culture, which purists seek to keep out of carnival, has found its way into carnival by the merging of soca and dancehall rhythms and performance. Dancehall has influenced "Trinidad musical culture" and this has "resulted in some cultural purists asserting what is considered to be "real" Trinidadian identity: a nationalistic adherence to the performance of calypso and steelband" (Hernandez-Ramdwar, 2008, p. 66). Merging musical styles illustrate endless possibilities and transformation; similarly, remaking carnival indicates the flexibility of the festival and that there seems to be room for it to continually transform.

The interconnection between carnival organising and participation illustrates the contesting views of tradition and the popular. For example, organisers and bandleaders try to find ways to maintain tradition whilst encouraging participation. As highlighted earlier, Band B's bandleaders

struggle between tradition and participation. Their experience indicates the complexity of carnival, because the bandleaders eventually had to offer the girls what they wanted, despite their strong views, in order to maintain participation and to recruit new members. Cohen highlights carnival's complexities and contradictions and observes that:

in concrete historical reality, carnival is always a much more complex phenomenon, characterized by contradictions between the serious and the frivolous, the expressive and the instrumental, the controlled and the uncontrolled, by themes of conflict as well as of consensus. (Cohen, 1993, p. 4)

Cohen adds that “although carnival is “essentially a cultural, artistic spectacle, saturated by music, dancing and drama, it is always political, intimately and dynamically related to the political order and to the struggle for power within it” (Ibid.).

5.7 CONTESTATIONS IN UK CARNIVAL: SUMMARY

My exploration has indicated that conflict within carnival helps to shape the way carnivalists in this study understand carnival. Conflict also influences the claims they make about carnival and the positions they take up within it. For example, Organiser SC expressed the view that carnival has a “stigma” and, as a result, he claims he has chosen not to be dependent on funding and to focus on ways to keep carnival and his organisation going.

During periods of misattunement (see Diagram 14) or when carnivalists feel disempowered by the cultural politics at play, they try to find ways to attune to carnival, which demonstrates carnival’s ability to be a source of empowerment. For example, Organiser SC occupies a negotiated position. As such, he has adopted his own view of the festival and has opposed carnival politics and views surrounding funding. He discontinued acknowledging and promoting carnival fetes and events that were exclusive to Trinidadians and adopted a Caribbean perspective, for example his ‘find your colours’ fete and events.

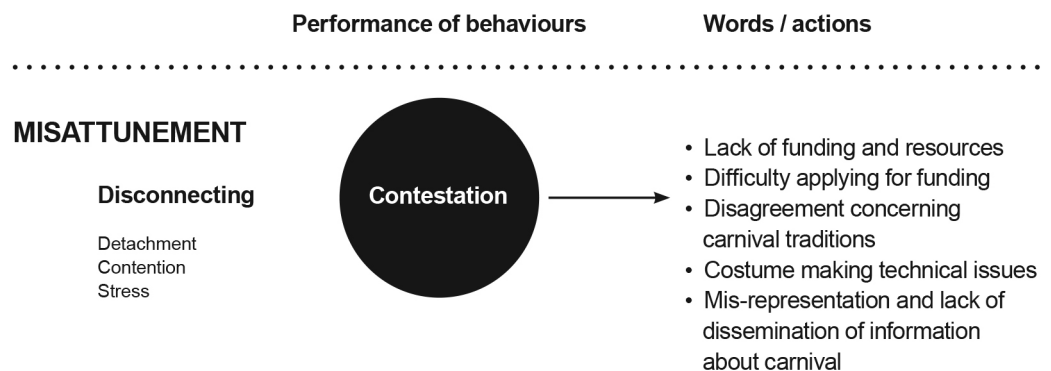


Diagram 15

Examples of Carnivalist Misattunement: “Performance of Behaviours” (Stern, 1998)

The evidence I have identified regarding conflicts and disputes within the lived experience of carnivalists shows that there some carnivalists struggle to keep carnival going and strive to maintain the appearance of a functioning organisation whilst turmoil brews internally and externally. Thus they use a “collection of masks” to cope with the cultural politics they endure (Khan, 2004, p. 23). For example, Band B was displeased about what she believes is a lack of respect shown by carnivalists towards the festival, because of shoddy costumes as a result of how they utilise their funding. Band B’s bandleader occupies a negotiated position and is opposed to how other carnivalists make their costumes, but she has adopted her own way of dealing with her circumstances by maintaining appearances while continuing the festival, in an attempt to show its positive aspects.

My study shows that UK bandleaders become the architects of the “forms of nostalgia and representations of the past that they engender”, even though the traditions that they are trying to remake cannot be “regained” (Green, 2007, pp. 64, 65). The examples mentioned in this chapter emphasise Band B bandleaders’ difficulties in trying to define exactly what is ‘tradition’, whilst opposing the ideas teenage girls bring to the carnival. Perhaps Green’s thoughts on the Trinidad carnival might be useful here. Green recognises the implications of what he calls “nostalgic imposition”, suggesting that this imposition “implicitly denigrate[s] and ignore[s] the ways in which the majority of Trinidadians currently celebrate the carnival” (Ibid., p. 64). In Band B, the majority of the band are teenage girls and, as highlighted in the study, they want the opportunity to share their ideas as part of the process of remaking carnival in the UK. Thus there is a top-down ordering or hierarchical organising which affects, for example, the teenage girls’ ability to articulate their experiences. But, as Green suggests, there is a “cultural gap between those who administer and manage the carnival and those who actively participate in it” (Ibid., p. 64). Thus ideas on how to remake or recreate carnival are complicated by carnivalists’ ideas of authenticity,

nostalgia and tradition, and as the bandleaders in this study try to remake carnival in order to maintain their ideas of tradition, they are possibly ignoring the majority. This also demonstrates how concepts of empowerment or disempowerment influence the remaking of the festival. As Phillip found in his analysis of black youth in Toronto carnival it can be said of the teenage girls in Band B, that theirs is not an “outright rejection of carnival pillars” but rather a reflection of the fact that “black youth construct their carnival performance through the interplay of several themes” (Phillip, 2007, p. 110). UK carnivalists, moving between Trinidad and the UK, are in some way part of the strategy of Trinidad’s culture brokers to “make the carnival a more attractive tourist event”, and thus they are agents of Trinidadian tourism. In the UK they become the architects of ideas geared towards authenticity in an effort to “articulate a past” that imparts a sense of Caribbean pride (as in the case of Organiser SC’s find your colours concept (Green, 2007, p. 64).

6 CONCLUSION

6.1 REFLECTIONS ON RESEARCH JOURNEY

In order to begin answering the research question, “what can the experiential reveal about the role of difference in carnival?” I will first reflect on my research journey. In this thesis I have focused on the significance of lived experience to debates about carnival, particularly the ways such experience has failed to figure in prevailing discourses. The research explored and analysed sensuous aspects of carnival in ways that are not highlighted in dominant ideologies, nor covered at this moment in time in scholarly debate. The connections and patterns I noticed in people’s behaviours and practices led me to examine how carnivalists remake the festival, leading me focus on carnival’s imposed ideas; how carnival appears; and how the idea of carnival is used, particularly how it is adapted, adopted and contested. My research has identified that it is important to examine the varying positions taken up (in the working through of ideology in lived experience), and the ways in which people attune to carnival: such an approach leads to new ways of examining and analysing carnival. I have also highlighted perspectives and theories that support the study of sensory dimensions of carnival.

Examining the varied positions people take up within carnival revealed to me ways in which people shape and are shaped by carnival. For example, it became apparent from empirical data gathered during my attendance at a mas’ camp that people’s positions could be said to fall into either the category of negotiated position or the category of dominant-hegemonic position, as defined in Stuart Hall’s model of mass communication (see pp. 93, 96, 213). However, while I could readily identify these positions, the

experiences, ideology, and the way carnival appeared to participants within the study suggests that prolonged participation-observation at another field site might reveal a number of more nuanced positions than are outlined in Hall's schema.

Throughout the research journey, particularly during the fieldwork, many carnivalists expressed their deep concerns about scholarly writing on carnival, suggesting that such writing rarely portrays them well and that it is "too academic." For example, as mentioned in chapter five, Organiser SC explained:

"carnival was a stigma and it is still a stigma now."

He added that:

"They don't observe what we do and how we do it."

Band A bandleader also indicated similar concerns, suggesting:

*"Carnival is not a scholarly festival, and if scholars want to write about carnival they should get to know it from us, we are the ones that make carnival."
(transcribed from notes and memory)*

By "scholarly" I take the bandleader's response to mean that academic knowledge often appears to have been produced from a place outside of, rather than inside, lived experience. In this study I tried to take these concerns onboard by attending to the sensuous aspect of lived experience, and to people's positions in relation to carnival ideologies; in this way I hoped to produce a piece of research that portrays carnivalists in a way that meets their criticisms of previous scholarly work while still meeting academic

requirements. I have also taken into consideration my own role in the research, being cognisant of the fact that “each person brings to bear his or her lived experience, specific understandings, and historical background” (Finlay, 2002, p. 534).

During the writing up stages of this research, I often wondered how the carnivalists with whom I have interacted with would feel if they read this thesis. What would they think about my childhood experiences in Trinidad? What would they think about how I perceived their UK carnival experience? How would they interpret the experiential dimension that I have examined throughout the research and how would carnival appear to them through my sensibility? Reflecting on this I have decided that in future research work it would be beneficial to share and discuss the research results with carnivalists (not just those who take part in the study, but also those outside of it), and to record their ideas, feelings, and emotions about what has been written. One carnivalist suggested to me that on completion of my thesis they would like to invite me to discuss my findings. I accepted his offer and hope to organise a workshop with him in the near future.

6.2 REFLECTIONS ON SITUATING SELF IN RESEARCH AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

In chapter four I wrote a personal narrative about my experience of attuning to mas' during childhood, as a means of linking my personal experiences and autobiography to the "cultural, social, and political" (Ellis, 2004, p. xix). It has been useful to examine my childhood and how I learned about Trinidad carnival and to reflect on my position as an enforced non-carnivalist. I can see that my experiences of UK carnival have been different to that of the carnivalists I interacted with in the study. I see differences in the way I was taught and the ideas that I absorbed at school, which were from a nationalist perspective. Even though my parents did not want me and my siblings to be involved in carnival (see p. 38) it was difficult for me to abandon the 'we ting' carnival ideology (see p. 207). For example, throughout this process of researching and writing about carnival my supervisors encouraged me to look at carnival in greater depth, in order to gain a better understanding of carnival, and to say something distinctive about it. At first I did not understand (a) what that depth was, and (b) how to attain it. This may have been because at the time I could not see past the 'we ting' ideology in which I had been raised. In hindsight the fact that I needed to be pushed into a more interrogatory exploration of carnival might have had to do with the fact that critical thinking was not encouraged in my education in Trinidad which, at the time, supported and endorsed a nationalist ideology.

As discussed in the literature review (see p. 93), Dr. Williams' brand of nationalism was said to be based on "homogeneity" and he regarded "heterogen[ity]" as "disunity" (Munasinghe, 2001, pp. 221, 222). In 1955 Dr. Williams set out his plans for state schools in Trinidad and Tobago, stating:

I see in the denominational school the breeding ground of disunity; I see in the state school the opportunity for cultivating a spirit of nationalism among West Indian people and eradicating the racial suspicions and antagonisms growing in our midst. I place the community above the sect or the race. (Dr. Eric Williams, Trinidad Guardian, 18 May 1955; taken from Campbell, 1997, p. 81)

In my study I came to agree with Green and Scher's (2007) argument that "many scholars are eager to demonstrate just how carnival is a form of resistance (and that's all) ...or hopelessly distorted by political manipulation and commercialism... or an assertion of identity that should be good for development" (p. 10). Their argument emphasises the biases of certain scholars in regard to the study of carnival, which might possibly take away from the strength of their arguments. By dealing with possible biases in this self-reflexive "relational" approach, considering the other and the "I" of the interaction" (see pp. 38, 39) I suggest that I was able to obtain a more objective perspective (Ellis, 2004, p. xix).

A study conducted by the University of the West Indies has identified the "carnival mentality having two dimensions: during carnival season and outside of carnival period" (Maharajh and Ali, 2009, the Internet Journal of Anesthesiology, Online). They suggest that "during the carnival season", it is a "time to free up" or a "time to break away and get on bad" (Ibid.). They explain that "outside of the carnival season" refers to the "non-stop party mentality" or is regarded as "mindlessness" (Ibid.).

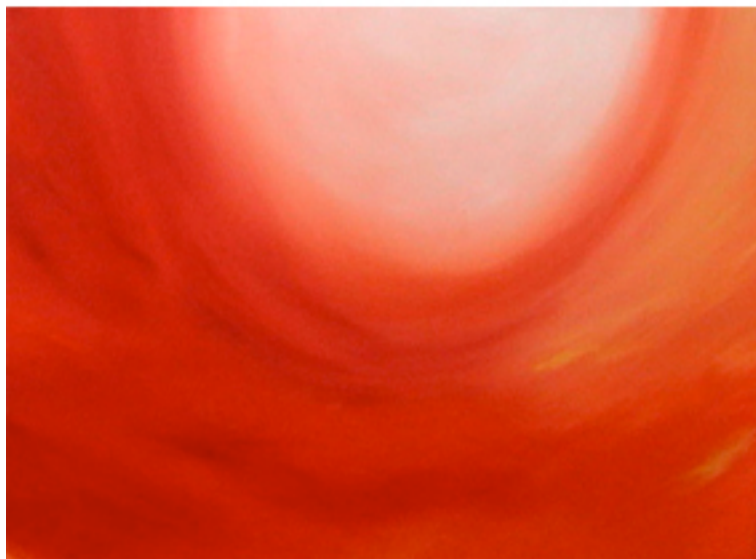
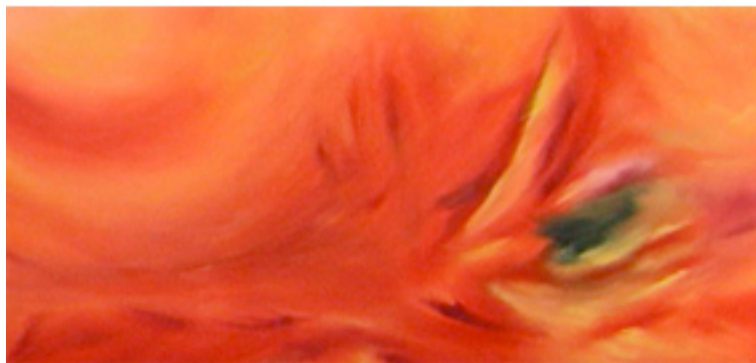
Trinidadian journalist Lennox Grant has written about the "real threat to Trini' Carnival", which he suggests is:

an unexamined 'Trini' jingoism which teaches endlessly that Carnival is the greatest show on earth, that pan is the only musical instrument invented in the 20th century- and that a moral debt of recognition and acclaim is owed by the world to both. (Grant, 1991, Trinidad and Tobago Sunday Express Newspapers)

Regarding comparisons between, and parallels in, Trinidad and the UK, how do ideas concerning “Trini jingoism” and the carnival mentality apply in the UK? As highlighted in the literature review (see p. 88) the construction of ideas about carnival in the Caribbean, and particularly in Trinidad, is one that is wielded by “political leaders, and culture brokers” who promote ideas that suit their needs (Green, 2007, p. 63). In the UK, although carnivalists are strongly connected to dominant ideas, wielded by these “political leaders”, the Arts Council of England does not support UK carnivalists in the same way that “political leaders” support the Trinidad carnival (Ibid.). Instead, in the UK carnivalists are a marginalised group, as explained in the literature review (see p. 137), and carnival is not the official state culture.

Aside from the “Trini jingoism” and the “carnival mentality”, carnival, offers inspiration to carnivalists and artists. For example, as highlighted in chapter four, in the section (4.6) entitled *Working Bodies* (see p. 236), I explored the fact that carnivalists transfer their embodied knowledge to other aspects of creativity. I discussed Trinidadian artist Marlon Griffith: how he embodied mas’ and later changed his position, to focus on “how mas could adapt to life outside a Caribbean context” (Laughlin, 2013, Caribbean Beat Magazine Online). I explained that mas’ seemed to be the driving force behind Griffith’s motivation to create artistic pieces that push the boundaries of conventional notions of “fine art” (Ibid.). The differences between being inspired by mas’ the “Trini jingoism” and the “carnival mentality” has to do with how carnival appears, how it is interpreted, and people’s positionality within it. I also mentioned in chapter four that my interest in carnival is

showcased in my interest in art (see p. 204). I am inspired by carnival and I can express myself through mark making, needle and wet felting (using wool textile fibre), and by painting on canvas. In this way I am still attuning to carnival, although I am engaging with it in a different way than a carnivalist or toutoulbé carnival reveller.



Photograph 45 – My carnival-inspired paintings

6.3 THESIS SUMMARY

In the introduction I suggested that my original contribution to knowledge lies in my examination of the experiential and of the senses and how these might cast some light on the concepts of difference and positionality. This is based on the fact that I have not found any existing research that directly explores the sensory dimension of people's experiential knowledge of carnival or the different positionalities that might arguably be attached to these sensory dimensions of experience. Scholarly discourses *have* explored difference in terms of experience and representation, and by examining cultural difference (for example how Trinidadians respond to the "scholar and masquerader" (Green and Scher, 2007, p. 10; De Freitas, 2007, p. 48)). Other discourses consider that "...the body is the primary instrument for incubating, articulating, and expressing all ideas as well as transporting all art, be it music, drama, literature, electronic messages, theatre, festival, or carnival..." (Irobi, 2007, pp. 900, 901). However, to my knowledge, how difference manifests itself has not been detailed before in published research. In Irobi's essay, he argues that the body is a site for cultural transformation. However, Irobi's approach differs from my own because he does not provide details of the individual experience or positions that arise. Neither does he examine the "partially masked" aspects of carnivalist behaviours, dress and the body, affective atmospheres, and people's impulses to dance, celebrate, express and share (Stern, 1998, p. 141). Nor does Irobi examine carnivalists' experiences of the Caribbean diasporic carnival in the UK, from pre- to post-carnival.

I should also highlight here that although I attended ten carnival events I also examined pre- and post-carnival: thus I did not only focus on the carnival day itself. By not focusing solely on the carnival day itself I examined how carnivalists are adopting and adapting to carnival, in order to understand how they are anticipating, preparing and sensing carnival. In this way I draw attention to carnival as a year-round process, one that is

happening all the time. The fact that carnival is a year-round process for carnivalists demonstrates that they are taking and making place (see p. 277).

Consequently by emphasising the sensory dimensions of the experiential, I consider that “diaspora identities” are, as Stuart Hall (1990) explains, “constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference” (p. 325). For example, as highlighted in chapter five (see p. 296), I noted how attunement and misattunement to carnival is a continuous process that happens through the senses, and that conflict helps to shape the way carnivalists understand carnival. The senses help us to see “partially masked” aspects of carnivalist behaviours that are less visible pre- and post-carnival (Stern, 1998, p. 141). Thus my emphasis on the sensory allowed me to become aware of the varied perspectives that people hold regarding carnival. Sometimes I observed first-hand how the ideology of certain carnivalists did not match their actions, and I observed moments where carnivalists had to find ways to attune to carnival in order to feel empowered – particularly in situations when they felt disempowered because of disputes about funding or parade routes, or because they were faced with deadlines for completing costumes as the carnival season was nearing. The thesis has also highlighted the construction of ideological perspectives that inform the creativity, aesthetics and counter-hegemonic responses associated with carnival. These can be exemplified in craft production (see p. 245) – a counter-hegemonic response to contestation in UK carnival (Green, 2007, p. 64).

Although a structural approach to carnival research – such as that followed by Abner Cohen (1993) - tells us about what is happening, who it is happening to, or why it is happening, it does not interpret and describe *what* the carnivalists are attuning to and *how* they are “creat[ing]” their “environment” (Shilling, 2005, p. 56). For example, at the mas’ camp I observed some of the complexities of carnivalists’ craft production and how they are attuning to the concept of “*quality*” work. As Irobi (2007) highlights,

“what makes carnival even more remarkable” is “that the body has a memory and can be a site of resistance through performance” which makes it “an eloquent example of transcendence expressed through spectacle, procession, colors, music, dance, and most important, the physical movement of the body” (Ibid., p. 900). Through the senses, carnivalists are “incubating, articulating, and expressing” (Ibid., pp. 900, 901) their feelings and emotions; they are transposing their tacit knowledge, practices and patterns - all of which are used to develop and remake carnival. In contrast to a structural approach to carnival my findings focus on the senses and bodily experience. Demonstrating, for example, how “tacit aesthetic knowledge” or “expressive and embodied knowledge” can be distributed; or, rather, how it spreads over into other areas of one’s life (Entwistle, 2009, p. 129).

Regarding the issue of identity being constructed through creativity in carnival, Carol Tulloch’s (1999) *There’s No Place Like Home: Home Dressmaking and Creativity in the Jamaican Community of the 1940s to the 1960s*, examines the negotiation of style and identity as part of their design process. Tulloch suggests that “the accepted values of British dress codes and fashions” was “a means to integrate” British dress codes with their own idiosyncratic inflections that advocated their cultural values, their “‘colouredness’” their “‘Jamaicanness’” (p. 122). She comments on the creativity involved in ‘freehand home dressmaking’ and suggests that this dressmaking facilitates “...the subliminal emotions and meanings in being a Jamaican woman in Britain and the assertion of her own aesthetic-self and by extension a collective identity” (Ibid.). Tulloch’s view can arguably be extended to the carnivalists in this study, who are part of the Caribbean diaspora and who feel deeply connected to the Caribbean. Many of them explained to me that they were trying to maintain carnival traditions based on the Trinidad carnival. Thus, when it comes to the creativity involved in costume-making, and its relationship to identity, carnival is not simply about Trinidad carnival traditions (as the respondents in this study see it) but also about the sensory and embodied experience. Consequently, carnivalists

have embodied an identity as a result of their continued interactions with Britain, the Caribbean and the other carnivals they attend. This which highlights that carnival is a globalised cultural form. I have also noted an example of one Trinidadian carnivalist (see pp. 61, 62) who felt she could bring something new to the Dame Lorraine costume: she wanted to assert her: “aesthetic-self” in a well known traditional costume (Ibid.). During my fieldwork a UK carnivalist explained that carnival gives him a chance to express himself and challenge his ideas, and it also enables him to bring something different to carnival. Thus, costume making allows the carnivalist to assert their own “aesthetic-self” (Ibid., p. 122). It also shows the syncretic character of carnival culture in the fact that the carnivalist is able to fuse and merge other cultures as well as to assert their own “aesthetic-self” (Ibid.).

Regarding diasporic carnivals and ideologies that support persistent ideas of unity, such as are “all o’ we is one” (Nurse, 2004, p. 247), I have raised the question: are we really all one? Some elements of the Trinidad-style carnival can be seen in the UK carnival but ideas of unity are not constant: sometimes giving way to diverse concepts: for example the way in which the purist contests what they consider to be new elements that do not fit in to their way of perceiving or advancing carnival. Green and Scher (2007) suggest that “the most enduring feature of the carnival, wherever it may be, is its persistent elusiveness, its unwillingness to be constrained by any effort to codify it once and for all” (p. 10). An additional feature might be carnival’s potential (through craft production and performance) to enhance community cohesion. However, as I have come to learn, the concepts of unity and freedom in carnival are ideas that people place on carnival: these ideas did not evolve on their own, and it is people who choose to either continue to advance them, or to transform them.

Returning to my initial impulse regarding conducting research into carnival, it is evident that my experience of carnival is a ‘telling case’, i.e. “it reflects in the events portrayed, features which may be constructed as a

manifestation of some general abstract theoretical principle” (Mitchel, 2006, p. 28). Taking my own experience into consideration enabled me to reflect on something more general: that carnival (whether working in hegemonic or counter-hegemonic ways), in its centredness on the body, provokes a complex mix of politics, cultural creativity and aesthetics. This analysis goes beyond the existing representations of carnival as being only political, or being concerned with the “assertion of identity”, or the varied and “numerous forms of reductionist analysis” (Green and Scher, 2007, p. 10).

Given my own position vis a vis carnival – I was outside it yet it was part of me, partly due to my lived sensory and embodied experience, which stayed with me from childhood - I found that others who appear more attuned to carnival actually have more complex relations to carnival than might be realised if they were studied only by attending to their verbal communication (interviews and discourse). The sensory attunement and misattunement in carnival that I have identified within the individual position brings out in a deeply analytical and critical way how the senses are involved in postionality. This is something that has not been noted by academics before.

During my fieldwork, I moved between different carnival phases, spaces, and events, mainly collecting data from people who were engaged in carnival at varying levels, exploring their positions using Hall’s (1992) ‘encoding/decoding’ model of communication. I am interested in future research that examines people who are not engaged in carnival, particularly people from different religious groups, to explore how such people feel about carnival. In chapter five (see p. 322) I mentioned that the Secretary General of the Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha Hindu organisation, Satnarayan Maharaj, has requested “an objective evaluation of government spending on carnival” (Maharaj, 2005, Trinidad and Tobago Guardian Newspapers Online). What other views about carnival might religious groups possess? Future research could consider how carnival affects Hindus, Muslims, and Pentecostal Christians in Trinidad and the UK (Green and Scher, 2007, p. 9).

In the introduction (see p. 40) I explained that my research is not about those for whom carnival is disallowed (i.e. I did not choose to reflect my own experience), but that I had chosen to study those who are engaged in carnival. I was not trying, as a result of my own ideological upbringing, to prove that carnival is not what it seems, nor to prove that carnival is not really free. This still stands. However, now that I have examined difference more generally as it relates to carnival, I would like to turn my attention to those who occupy a marginal position in relation to carnival. By focusing on people who are offended by carnival or for whom carnival is disallowed, it seems likely that more positions, ideologies and differences would come to light. For example, I mentioned (see p. 40) that Trinidadian soca artist Bunji Garlin came from a staunch Pentecostal background but he still managed to carve a career in carnival. How do his siblings feel about carnival? Have they continued along a religious path? Perhaps there might be varied views amongst family members.

6.4 FUTURE WORK

Future research might also focus on how dominant religious ideologies that are against carnival may have an effect on the positions that people take up against carnival or within it. An in-depth examination could be carried out focusing on how people might experience a conflict between their religious practices, nationalist cultural values and dominant ideology, and how these various elements are embodied in sensory ways.

This research has served as a springboard for future research focusing on the sensory dimension of the experiential. Participant observation would be the preferred methodological approach for such future work. Sense phenomenology could assist in providing an understanding of participants' everyday lives and how knowledge is being constructed. In light of the varying possibilities mentioned above, it would be valuable to focus on the Caribbean Diaspora and their descendants in the UK: particularly those

who occupy a marginal position— either offended by, or disallowed from participating in, carnival. A reflexive ethnographic approach could be utilised, taking into account that “knowledge cannot be separated from the knower” (Steedman, 1991). Thus I am aware that my presence in the field and my involvement throughout the process may affect the outcome of the research.

Combined with a reflexive approach I consider that an autobiographical account would assist in bringing to the fore my experiences of those who occupy a marginal position in relation to carnival, as well as my awareness of the experiences I encountered throughout the process of the research. My personal narrative would assist in providing a better understanding of culture, the dynamics of relationships with people in the study, and my emotions and feelings about how I am negotiating and re-negotiating my position concerning carnival.

6.5 WHAT CARNIVAL MEANS TO ME NOW

I now want to explore how my views of carnival have changed through the process of conducting this research. In this process I used my own subjectivity, embodiment and memory to find a way into other people’s experience, which involved having to be open to other ways of thinking, seeing and acting than those I have imbibed as a child. As a result, this study involved a transformative aspect, which – although it might not be the main theme of the research – is nevertheless present as an undercurrent that feeds what I have come to know about carnival. I feel that I have been shaped by my experiences and my ‘gaze’ informs my thinking, my ideas and how I communicate with the world – not ignoring the unfamiliar or the new. My gaze has also impacted on the way in which I write about carnival, including my personal experiences, and although my gaze will not make the sensory experiences presented in this thesis directly accessible to the reader, it serves as an opportunity for the reader to obtain a better sense of my experiences and the experiences of others.

Before my involvement in this study I considered carnival, whether the Trinidad carnival or the Trinidad-styled Caribbean diasporic carnival in the UK, in the same way – as an opportunity for large groups of revellers to misbehave on carnival days. At the same time throughout my life I have paid attention to the craft production aspect of carnival. This led me to focus not on particular aspects of carnival arts and crafts but rather on art and craft in more general terms. My love for art and craft was also nurtured by the fact that I lived in a space of making, since my father's workshop was adjoined to our living quarters. On reflection, by paying attention only to the craft production aspect of carnival I can see now how much I embodied my parents' feelings and concerns about carnival – the promiscuity and the carnival's 'wine and jam' affair. But during the research process I began to see the importance of the carnival network and its role in maintaining the festival: it is the wheel that helps to carry on the year-long process, and it also links the Trinidad carnival with the Caribbean diaspora and carnivals globally. Until now I had no access to the growing carnival network, which has also helped me to see the complexity of carnival, from the many ways in which people negotiate their position to the ways they impose their own ideas on carnival.

Throughout the research process I have negotiated and re-negotiated my position with both the Trinidad and the UK carnival, and although I feel that I may still have an in-between relationship with carnival, I consider UK carnival differently to how I view the Trinidad carnival. For example, I feel more comfortable getting involved with the UK carnival network (the dance classes and craft production, as well as joining in and dancing on carnival days). Even though some masqueraders and spectator/participants engage in 'dutty wine', this practice is not as predominant as it is in the Trinidad carnival. This difference in the way I view UK carnival is perhaps the result of my being away from Trinidad carnival, and because there are many UK carnivals, all of which are syncretic and are shaped by the involvement of the community. I also see carnival as an opportunity to get more involved with

the Caribbean diaspora, as well as a way of acknowledging their contribution in fighting against racism and discrimination. I now see carnival as a way of facing and dealing with those issues, whether it is within my personal life or otherwise – it provides an opportunity to work through difficult experiences. In the future I am looking forward to working with UK carnival bands and working on designing and crafting costumes. I would also like to work on 'ole mas' and traditional mas' costumes in the UK carnival.

With regards to my re-negotiated position with the Trinidad carnival, I remain intrigued by the craft production and performance of the king and queen costumes, ole mas' and traditional mas' character costumes, and I intend to also undertake some apprenticeships with Trinidad carnival bands. Although I am not currently closely affiliated with any particular religious group that demonises carnival, I remain torn concerning whether or not I should be involved in the Trinidad carnival, the intensity of my involvement and what aspects of the Trinidad carnival I should pay more attention to. In conclusion, my research is a comparative study of both Trinidad and UK carnival and I would certainly like to continue researching and writing about carnival.

With this in mind, on a personal level I would like to continue as a spectator of/participant in Trinidad carnival days. The Trinidad carnival days are very intense: large crowds, cameras everywhere recording the event, and in particular the scantily clad masqueraders, heavily intoxicated and 'duttu wining' – these are the very things my parents are opposed to and I would find it difficult to 'wine and jam' on carnival days in Trinidad as this would not only upset my family but I would feel uncomfortable knowing that they are opposed to it. However, I can get closer to Trinidad carnival culture by getting involved in aspects of the carnival which are less about 'duttu wining' – the craft aspect of the king and queen of the band competition, for example, which is more about the costume and the display of the costume on stage.

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9 APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: Main Informal Question

How do you feel about carnival?

APPENDIX B: Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Questions about Trinidad carnival

1. What do you know about the beginnings of Trinidad carnival?
2. How often do you travel to Trinidad for the purpose of attending the carnival?
- 3a. Do you think that the Trinidad carnival is closely linked to the UK carnival?
- 3b. If so, why?
4. Can you tell me about experiences you have had in Trinidad carnival?
5. Describe what your carnival day is like: for example, what do you do from the moment you arrive at the carnival till you go home?
- 6a. Do you attend pre-carnival events in Trinidad?
- 6b. How do you feel when you attend pre-carnival events in Trinidad?
- 6c. Can you tell me about experiences you have had at pre-carnival events in Trinidad?
- 7a. Do you attend the Trinidad jouvay?
- 7b. How do you feel when you attend the Trinidad jouvay?
- 7c. Can you tell me about experiences you have had at the Trinidad jouvay?
8. What are the similarities and/or differences between the pre-carnival events, carnival and jouvay in Trinidad?

Questions about UK carnival

1. Can you tell me when the UK carnival preparations begin?
2. Can you tell me the kinds of activities that launch the preparation or UK pre-carnival phase?
3. Can you tell me where costumes for UK carnival are designed and made?
4. Can you tell me about experiences you have had at UK carnivals?
5. How many UK carnivals do you attend?
- 6a. Do you attend pre-carnival events in the UK?
- 6b. How do you feel when you attend pre-carnival events in the UK?
- 6c. Can you tell me about experiences you have had at pre-carnival events in the UK?
- 7a. Do you attend jouvay in the UK?
- 7b. How do you feel when you attend jouvay in the UK?
- 7c. Can you tell me about experiences you have had at jouvay in the UK?
8. Do you think there are similarities and/or differences between pre-carnival events, carnival and jouvay in the UK?

Questions about the carnival atmosphere

1. How would you describe the UK carnival atmosphere?
2. How would you describe the Trinidad carnival atmosphere?
3. Do you think there are similarities and/or differences, depending on the carnival you attend?
4. How would you describe the atmosphere in the mas' camp during the pre-carnival phase?
5. How would you describe the atmosphere in the mas' camp during the post-carnival phase?

APPENDIX C: Consent Form

Printed on Two-part NCR glued pad

Participant Copy (White) and Researcher Copy (Pink)

inviso

Consent Form

Réa de Matas
Student Researcher

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Project Title
What can the
experiential reveal
about the role
of difference
in carnival?
(The research
explores how
people feel
about carnival).

Please take time to read the following information carefully.

Please Initial Box

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.

☐

I agree to take part in the above study.

☐

Please Tick

I agree to the interview.

☐

I agree to discourses being recorded (audio & handwritten notes).

☐

I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications.

☐

I agree to have a photograph taken of me and I grant the researcher the right to use, publish and display or permit the use, publication and display of negatives, slides, prints or other electronic images of me collectively, and use my photographs at their sole discretion in any publication, multimedia production, display, advertisement or Internet publication worldwide in connection with activities relating to the research carried out by the research entitled, *What Can the Experiential Reveal about the Role of Difference in Carnival?*

☐

I agree that my data gathered in this study may be stored (after it has been anonymised) in a specialist data centre and may be used for future research.

☐

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

APPENDIX D: Information Sheet

inviso

Information
Sheet

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Project Title
What can the experiential
reveal about the role
of difference in carnival?
(The research explores
how people feel about
carnival).

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

The purpose of the study

Fieldwork will be focused on identifying a range of different views and perspectives on carnival, investigating what the experiential can reveal about the role of difference in carnival on a tacit or embodied level. Data collection will commence in January 2012 and end in December 2012, after which I will begin the process of writing up the analysed data.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form, but you are still free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?

A face-to-face interview will be conducted, which should take about 20 minutes of your time (as I understand you are enjoying the carnival celebration). The study will also record/photograph (using still camera/audio recording/handwritten notes) activities at the mas' camp and, with your permission, record/photograph you during the interview and whilst you are at the mas' camp or playing mas' with your band.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Not only will you be helping me in collecting data for my research, but your contribution will also help me to understand and develop my research further.

Will what I say in this study be kept confidential?

All information collected about participants will be kept strictly confidential (subject to legal limitations) and confidentiality, privacy and anonymity will be ensured in the collection, storage and publication of research material. Data generated by the study must be retained in accordance with the university's policy on Data Protection. Data generated in the course of the research must be kept securely (and will be anonymised) in paper or electronic form until after the completion of a research project. The research results will be used in my PhD dissertation and will be published at a later date. Also, copies of the completed thesis will be kept at Manchester Metropolitan University Library if you would like to examine the completed work.

Who is organizing and funding the research?

I am funding/conducting this research as a student at Manchester Metropolitan University, Faculty of Art & Design, MIRIAD. The research has been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee, Manchester Metropolitan University.

10 GLOSSARY

Trinidad Carnival Terms

Ah is dialect for *I*.

Bam bam is a dialect term *buttocks*.

Calypso is music from Trinidad Tobago and it has a combination rhythm, the lyrics are usually composed based on current social or political debate or events. Some calypso singers compose songs that either highlight political conflict or they may even mock the government or Prime Minister of the country.

Chipping is an easy dance step, it is a part walking part dancing movement performed to music.

Cyah is dialect term for cannot (*can't*).

De is dialect term for *the*.

Dem is dialect term for *them*.

Fete can be a medium sized party or a public party that is huge and well organised and includes loud music, food and drink.

Gyal is a term that is used by both male and female to address a woman.

Inna is dialect term for the preposition *in* and determiner *A*.

'Jam it' refers to people energetically dancing to a soca beat.

Liming is a word used to describe a gathering of friends and/or family.

'Mash up de place' a figure of speech that refers to enjoying oneself to the maximum.

Mas' is a term used by Trinidadians to describe masquerade but the term can also be used to describe carnival.

Mas' camps are an integral part of carnival it is where mas' is made, sold, and bands are organized. It is also a place of learning and teaching and community participation.

Nuttin' is dialect term for *nothing*.

Pan is a musical instrument made from a steel oil drum and comes in a few different types, for example guitar pan, tenor pan and double tenor pan.

'Put yuh han on a bam bam' refers to putting one's hand on another's buttocks.

Toutoubé refers to carnivalists or those who engage in carnival love for the festival.

Wine and jam refers to a lively and sensuous movement to music that pays little attention to lyrical content some songs may even have vulgar or dirty lyrics.

Wine non-stop refers to dancing to the full length of a song or dancing all night till the end of a party or fete.

'We ting' refers to ownership of Trinidad's culture and is used to refer to

mas', soca, calypso, and carnival.

Wine or wining is a type of rhythmic dance moving the hips and waist in a kind of circular movement; it can also be slow and sensuous.

Additional Terms

High Art is a term used to describe contemporary arts that are predominantly white and receive more funding over ethnic events such as carnival (see p.p. 331, 332). Ann Bermingham (1997) suggests that the term "high art" was used in the eighteenth century in ways that linked culture to husbandry and cultivation indicating "a general process of intellectual, spiritual, and aesthetic development" (p. 4). She explains that the term was also used to indicate "a particular way of life of a people, a group, a period, or humanity in general" (Ibid.). In this thesis I quote Melanie Smith's references to debates in arts management and participation where she alludes to 'high art' in Britain as being held in high esteem and "dominated by predominantly white, middle-class, middle-aged audiences" (Smith, 2003, p. 139).

Tradition is a term used by carnivalists to suggest something they consider is past, thus using this idea of carnival tradition as a way of maintaining certain methods of crafting or remaking carnival (see p. 336).

Modern²⁹ is a term used by carnivalists to describe the differences they identify between what they consider modern or current carnival trends and traditional carnival trends of the past (see p. 336).

²⁹ *It is not the focus of this ethnographic study to illuminate the correlation between 'Modernism' and Non-Western art since the thesis is not concerned with 'Modernism' versus tradition.*