

**THE CARIBANA FESTIVAL:
CONTINUITY, CHANGE, CRISIS AND AN ALTERNATIVE MUSIC**

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partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

This thesis is based upon six months of fieldwork on the 1997 Caribana festival in Toronto, Ontario. It is divided into two general parts. The first part explores the development of the festival. It documents the role of the West Indian community in bringing carnival to Canada. It also provides an account of some of the difficulties of producing a West Indian based carnival in Canada. Moreover, it speaks about the goals, objectives, aims and dreams West Indians had for Caribana. The second part of the thesis is a general examination of the way in which some young people were seen to be contesting the vision of Caribana. In particular, the thesis looks at the role of some young people in contesting the character and nature of the festival. Thus, music becomes the central issue by which the 1997 parade was contested. In particular, the argument features the insertion of North American hip hop culture into the festival. Both parts come together to form a critique of how continuity and change may be working within Caribana, as hip hop culture clashes with traditional carnival culture.

Two ways of gathering data were used - archival searches and interviews. Newspaper sources provided much of the historical particulars explaining the origins of Caribana. Interviews were also worked with in support of the archival search and literature reviews. In addition, the other data gathering tool was completed by working from the official Caribana web site. From this site, numerous conversations were held, some of which resulted in more longterm sustained discussions. The researcher also became a brief participant in one of Caribana's masquerade bands.

The study generalizes about questions of identity and community which were derived from the controversy over the kind of music played during Caribana. It explores how representations of culture within Caribana were contested by specific subject positions within these representations. The study generalizes that hybrid expressions of culture were sanctioned, controlled and shut down in favour of more authentic expressions of culture.

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INTRODUCTION

I.1 INSPIRATION FOR RESEARCH AND THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In many ways I began working on this project years ago. As a young child I attended Caribana. Enjoying the beautiful bands, costumes and wonderful music, I kept coming back to the parade year after year. For me and my family, Caribana formed an important aspect of what I now call a "Caribbeanness". It is only as an adult that I look back upon my childhood with this in mind. As a child the beauty of the spectacle was one of my biggest draws. I revelled in the sheer delight of seeing hundreds of thousands of Black people line the downtown streets. I loved being on the street, smelling the foods and hearing the "ole talk". My childhood is filled with memories of how Caribana smelled, tasted and sounded¹.

My teenage years are occupied by another set of memories. I remember not caring much for Caribana. The parade had lost its appeal for me. I began to assert my independence from my family, attending the few parades I did go to with my friends. My friends were feeling as I did. Caribana did not relate to us. It did not hold us the way it once did. What held us now was rap music and its hip hop culture. We enjoyed the racial and militant consciousness that the rap of the early 1980's preached. We danced to the party music of the Fat Boys and the Sugar Hill Gang and adopted the Afrocentric philosophies of rap groups like Boogie Down Productions (BDP), X-Clan and Public Enemy (PE). In them and others we saw and heard something that we were experiencing. Caribana did not offer

¹Throughout this thesis labels such as Black, Caribbean and West Indian refer to people of Caribbean origin living in Canada.

this and as much as we cared to see, we thought it could never. Yet as much as we furthered our knowledge and interest in hip hop culture, we did not turn our backs on Caribana. We struggled with these opposing cultural practices, seemingly unable to resolve them. Our parents did not fully understand.

A number of developments in cultural and social theory have since helped me to reflect upon the changes in my desires and fantasies about Caribana and what I also now see as shifts in my subject positioning within the Caribbean community. First the question of identity allows me to think about how ways of being are never static but always in process. This helps me to think about the shift in my desires for Caribana as a young child and then as a teenager. Second, the question of "cultural flows" allows me to think about the shift as a creolizing process. This concept allows me to explore the hybrid production of identities, by emphasizing the sense of ambivalence that may occur. The third development deals with competing notions of cultural hybridity versus cultural purity. These developments help me to think about the unstableness of culture and cultural phenomenon.

As young Black children growing up in Canada, our identities were being shaped in the intersection of several cultural discourses. Stuart Hall notes that his identity "was formed in relation to a whole set of other narratives" (Hall 1987:1). Those experiences of the Caribbean and the various islands we were born on remained in me. However, migration at an early age shaped me in ways differently from my parents. As a leading cultural critic, Hall reminds us that "identity is not to be found in the past, but in the future to be

constructed" (1993:7). This displacement of identity he refers to, draws attention to the uneasiness of attempts to fix a homogeneous past from where identities are constructed. Rather, Hall supports a process through which identities are never stable but continually in flux, always "becoming". He writes, "old identities should not be taken literally, but rather used as different musics out of which a Caribbean sound might someday come" (Ibid:11). Without readily realizing it, my friends and I were experimenting with a process of making identity that employs differential "sites of memory" (Truiz 1996:79) and a "historical remembrance" that bell hooks, suggest is about employing difference and not simply nostalgia (hooks, 1994).

James Clifford (1992) has explored the concept of "cultural flows" in one way. His notion of "travelling theory" is a useful metaphor which theorizes how spatial and geographical boundaries are blurred under conditions of flux and movement. His use of "travel" explores the movement of people, personnel, ideas and meanings for their productiveness in constructing and disputing historicities. "Travelling theory" is an intervention into the critique of authentic cultures as it undermines the fixed notion of culture residing in exclusive locales. Further to the point, it dislodges stable conceptions of culture as geographically bounded to place and underscores a rethinking of culture as, "sites of displacement, interference and interaction" (101). Ulf Hannerz (1992) provides a supplement to "travelling theory". His work on the "global ecumene" is an attempt to address "cultural flows" as processes of globalization, which simultaneously enact an opening and closure of

national borders. Hannerz' work draws upon the agency of creolizing activity as producing cultural difference. Here creolization points to a process that shows the power, creativity strength and durability of Caribbean identities to wrestle with "old and new ethnicities" (Hall 1990). This "global ecumene" is marked by an "organization of diversity" (Hannerz 1992), highlighting the heterogeneity of systems of meaning and expression.

In Caribana there are two competing discourses of culture. The first one emphasizes culture that longs for purity, the "real" and the authentic. This discourse is a constant comment on what is the "real" carnival. It reinscribes the pristine "Caribbean". The second discourse offers a different reading. This one tells us about culture as relational, positional and situated. It emphasizes "hybridity", "creolization" and the making of culture rather than simply enacting culture. This second discourse of culture allows me to think about Caribana in terms of competing notions of cultural hybridity and cultural purity. One concept that helps me make sense of how hybridity is working in the Caribana festival is the notion of diaspora.

The Caribbean is a purely diasporized region. Its people are all from elsewhere. Origins are difficult to find, in a sense making their search unnecessary to struggle for, except as political memorization. Hall adds, "always these forms are impure, to some degree hybridized from a vernacular base" (Hall 1993:6). Dick Hebdige (1987) considers fluidity in another way. Writing about the fluidity and impurity of Caribbean musical forms in varying diasporic locations, he coins the phrase, "cut'n'mix", to refer to the "versioning" that

occurs as identities confront and are challenged by differing social, economic and political situations. Hebdige writes, "roots don't stay in one place, they change shape, they grow up . . . there is no such thing as a pure point of origin" (Hebdige 1987:11). What is argued for here is the slipperiness of identities as "cultural flows" put them under conditions of flux. This elusiveness of cultures and identities has received much theoretical consideration and the particular notion of "roots" and "routes" has been written about extensively by Paul Gilroy (1992; 1995), Hall (1993), Chambers (1996) and others (Yon (1998), on concept of elusive culture, forthcoming).

This formulation of diaspora allows me to think about how Caribana is an impure form, subject to the differences people bring to it. Gilroy (1996) furthers the notion of diaspora by arguing for political consciousness, which view dislocation for its productive possibilities rather than for its erasure as some positions would have it. He writes:

Contrasting forms emerge to create new possibilities and new pleasures where dispersed peoples recognize the effects of spatial dislocation as rendering the issue of origin problematic and embrace the possibility that they are no longer what they once were and cannot therefore rewind the tapes of their cultural history.

The concept of diaspora allows me to theorize the kinds of spaces opened up through hybridization, syncretization and creolization. It allows me to think about how contradictory, ironic and competing views shape the Caribana parade. Working with a particular notion of diaspora, movement and dislocation, Arjun Appadurai's formulation (1990) of "scape" signals the shifting world in which we live. His use of "ethnoscapes" is particularly useful

for highlighting the mobility of persons and groups. For example, "tourist, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers and other moving groups" (Ibid:297). Appadurai points to the disjunctures, difference and ruptures that become an axis, on which new cultural practices struggle along. My experience of this dislocation was felt in the particular way I attempted to ignore the parade around me in my teenage years. My ambivalence was experienced in terms of a "clash of cultures". A "clash" points to the problems inherent in attempts to fix subjects to specific spaces, locales and histories (See also Gupta and Ferguson 1992). The "clash of cultures" is a feature of Caribana parades. Different styles and ways of celebrating mingle side by side with each another. This tension troubles the notion of authentic cultural practices. During my experiences of Caribana as a teenager I experienced this "clash" in a direct way. For example, the rap music draws its musical form through an entanglement of Caribbean based and American Rhythm and Blues sounds (Hebdige, 1987; Gilroy 1987; Rose 1994).

Diaspora speaks to the ambivalence and tensions that occur in the making of culture. It points to the ways in which hybridity is enacted in personal narratives. For example my sense of the Caribbean is constructed differently from my parents. The notion of the Caribbean to which my parents subscribe is one that is seemingly bounded and fixed in time and space. This is an image of the authentic Caribbean viewed in its moments of purity. For them the geographical presence of the Caribbean provides the guarantee. As a result these two ways of remembering, one as hybridity and the other as purity, compete and displace

each other resulting in differential consciousness. Stuart Hall (1993) writes about the displacement and dislocation as incapable of producing or recovering the authentic Black culture. He writes, "it is to insist that in Black popular culture, strictly speaking, ethnographically speaking, there are no pure forms at all" (Hall, 1990:104).

One strength offered in the analytical concepts of this theoretical framework is the way they allow me to engage Caribana as an unfinished social product. I emphasized how these concepts help me to think about culture as process, through their refusal of definitions that essentialize culture only as content. The framework problematizes the reductive notion of culture as inheritance. It works with culture as sets of interrelated narratives thought through negotiation and enactment. The emphasis is, therefore, on the fluidity of cultural forms, rather than a discourse of fixed cultural attributes.

The performance of culture underscores the notion of culture as process. How meaning is made is crucial to an understanding of culture as dynamic and not fixed or static. Meaning shifts and is produced and reproduced in multiple forms. Meaning is never singular. It is plural with many ambiguous referents. It is always fragmented. So a moment of authenticity can also be a moment of hybridity. This is also to signal how meaning is a relational idea mediated in and through relations of power.

Studies of carnival and performance evoke questions of power. I am working with a notion of power that articulates through an interplay of a multiplicity of discourses. The flux being discussed here, points to the many webs of connections. For example, differences

between parents and youths are mediated through complex power relations. My use of power points to asymmetrical and unequal relations through which questions of ethnic identity, Caribbeanness, belonging and community are engaged. In this sense, power plays itself out at the individual and collective levels. For example, the power that is a result of state policies on multiculturalism, is a particular kind of disciplining power, often configured through notions of "dominant" and "periphery" cultures. Another reading of power highlights its complexities and asymmetrical relations as newly emerging cultural patterns struggle for expressive space. The various theoretical considerations developed here allows me to engage with how young people actively attempt to make Caribana their own.

This thesis analyzes notions of Caribbean identity within the larger context of global cultural flows. By "global flows" I refer to the spread and distribution of "local" cultural ideas, meanings, symbols, personnel and objects enacted and interpreted differently among various points within a "global system" (Hannerz, 1992). The focus is specifically on the role of youth in facilitating these "cultural flows". This focus entails an exploration of how youth bring together traditional musical forms like reggae, dancehall and calypso with newer forms such as hip hop, rap and r&b. By hip hop I refer to a borrowing of traditional style, dress and talk to comment on something new in musical form. Hip hop commonly trace's its "roots" to the massive Jamaican sound system culture. It draws upon the history of Kingston's traditional toasters. Their lyrics delivered critical and social commentary over

top a pulsating bass driven rhythm. My interest is in examining the forms of consciousness that emerge in the convergence of cultural practices of youth in Caribana. For example, the question of what happens when rap music meets reggae and when hip hop encounters calypso is useful for exploring the making of culture. Furthermore, what do these encounters mean for debates of authentic Black cultures? My emphasis on "cultural flows", changing consciousness and hybridized cultural production speaks to the fashioning of diasporic communities. It highlights how ruptures and continuities simultaneously occur in cultural overlaps (Gilroy, 1992; Hall, 1990).

The presence of rap music in Caribana celebrations is not new. However, its overwhelming dominance this past year, raised public concern over the future of the parade. A celebrated rapper, Sean Combs a.k.a. Puff Daddy or Puffy, was an overwhelming image showing to what degree the 1997 parade strayed from its traditional ways of celebrating. As one of the most talented, prolific and controversial rap artist, Bad Boy recording company CEO Puffy, became an unsettling image for segments of the community. However, the sense by which Puffy was embraced and simultaneously pushed aside as non-Caribbean shows the complex contradictions that shape community².

²Calypso works with basslines that employ the staccato and march of the drum sound. Thus, the rhythms of their beats are different. This has consequences for dictating the pace, march and activity of the carnival revellers. Crudely put this is to say that rap is slower, while calypso is faster. This difference is more explicit in the sound of soca music - calypso's more recent offspring. These technical aspects form one set of differences. The inability of rap music to produce or sustain a rhythm described as "infectious" is one thing seen to be contesting or opposing the traditional carnival music. The other important difference between rap music and calypso is the rhyme structure. In general, each works with different sequences in cadence,

I.2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

As a self-described Caribbeanist, the late anthropologist Frank Manning, worked diligently writing, describing and analyzing Toronto's Caribana festival. Dr Manning through his interest in Caribbean art attempted to stake a claim for Caribana as an important festival within the carnival diaspora. His work is viewed as a response to a lack in the literature concerning performative Caribbean arts in Canada. While other festivals, for example, London England's Nottinghill festival, receive considerable attention (Cohen 1980, 1982, 1993, Gutzmore 1978; Howe 1976; Austin 1978; Owusu 1986; La Rose 1990) and New York's Labour Day Festival (Kasinitz 1986, 1992; Berrett 1988; Wiggins 1987; White 1989; Hill and Abramson 1979; Laporte 1980), Caribana remains relatively silent in the literature. The Nottinghill carnival, since it began in the 1960's, has become a highly politicized and racialized event. Born into a social context of explicit racial discrimination, the festival on more than one occasion has become known for its violent clashes between police and carnival participants (Howe 1976). The most explicit demonstrations were the

timing, pitch and tones. Given that rap music is in part rooted in aspects of Jamaican sound system culture, its beat tends to favour heavy basslines. Although, each began as a form of social protest - commenting variously upon discrimination, exploitation and other injustices - calypso can be seen for the ways in which it has retained this origin. Part of this retention has to do with carnival itself. It is difficult to conceive of calypso as not having a deep attachment to carnival. Rap, on the other hand, does not have a comparable attachment, except as street politics. The different way that each views its history has consequences for the content of their subject matter. In addition to this, the wittiness, humour and mockery that make up a popular calypso does not figure heavily in rap music. Mockery has been employed differently in rap music. Thus, lyrical content is another way that rap and calypso are differentiated. Personal preferences figure prominently in how these differences are viewed.

"riots" occurring during the 1976 celebrations. In contrast, the New York carnival, despite systemic racism and the tensions of a growing civil rights movement, seemed to avoid incident with the police (See Scher 1991). As one of the more glamorous and well established overseas festivals, Caribana's virtual neglect in the literature is puzzling. Unfortunately, this great festival has been forced to occupy the marginal space of a footnote.

Two reasons seem to be helpful in understanding why Caribana is discussed marginally. The field of carnival studies is relatively small. There are few large scale studies. Working to address this situation, John Cowley, as one of this fields leading critics, published an annotated bibliography (1991). Drawn from his doctoral thesis on music and migration in England, Cowley has brought together a source book, which has become an important entry point for several carnival observers. His work has become useful in bringing together the few studies on diasporic festivals. When these sources are catalogued, Caribana's treatment compared with New York's is minimal and almost incomparable with Nottinghill's. Discussions of diasporic carnivals have lagged behind in the attention their parent carnivals have received. For example, the annotated bibliography, has only three entries in comparison with New York's seven and Nottinghill's over twenty (see Cowley 1991).

A second context to contemplate Caribana's relative absence in the literature can be drawn from the political context that overseas carnivals were born into. The three major metropolitan carnivals taking place in New York, London and Toronto each have their

unique social and political contexts to which scholars draw attention. Festivals originating in the 1960's, in New York and London, have their peculiar contexts. For example, the long history of racial genocide of America's slave past and journey toward civil liberties of the 1960's and the Black Power assertiveness of the 1970's, mark a heavily charged political context in which to analyze the formation and development of the festival (see Jackson 1988, Kasinitz 1992).

Two texts examine this context. The first one is an account written by William Wiggins jr., (1987) describing Black America's celebratory past in the context of the struggle towards liberation and emancipation. The other book, written by Joshua Berrett (1988), is an important discussion of the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. Both works point to a larger historical context in which other writers have found useful for talking about carnival in America. For example, Philip Kasinitz (1992) writing on the New York festival explores how the social context in the production and celebration of carnival implicates an historical reading. His work emphasizes various aspects of the historical context described by Berrett and Wiggins. Kasinitz explores how the, "parade asserts an ethnic identity built on a web of organizations . . . creating the possibility of reformulating ethnic identity" (Kasinitz 1992:340).

The case for the emergence of the Nottinghill carnival is similar, but born out of a more explicit political confrontation. Migration and racialized policies of a conservative government contributed to the ideological construction of Nottinghill as a racial and criminal

event. First, large scale migration of West Indian people occurred during the 1950 and 60's. Writing about one consequence migration had on London, Abner Cohen (1982) explores the relationship between housing and migration. Specifically he examines how rapidly increases in the population resulted in a shortage of housing (Cohen 1982:28). This had the effect of increasing competition between settled Londoners and their new arrivals. Cohen writes that during this time "open discrimination against letting accommodations to black immigrants" was practiced (1982:28). The result of these discriminatory practices such as, "advertisements in local papers and doors openly [bearing] the sign 'No Coloured'" (Ibid:28), contributed to the racial and social marginalization of Britain's Blacks.

Other writers have explored the connections between migration and its impact on state policies. Peter Jackson (1992) focuses on the impact that conservative government's positions have on the politics of Carnival. His explorations of the Nottinghill festival bring together themes from Caribbean history and Britain's colonial interest in the region. Jackson examines these themes for their relationships as having a bearing on contemporary racialized Britain. For example, he works with the Nottinghill riots of 1958 as an illustration of "ideological construction of race relations as a political phenomenon" (Jackson 1992:214). His work offers insightful analysis into how these riots had an effect on the tightening of the immigration policies in the 1960's (see Miles 1984). Similarly, Jackson examines how the 1976 riots had an important effect in, "shift[ing] representations of Black people in the British press" (Jackson 1992:214).

The American and British political and social contexts of the 1950 and 60's helped to shape the atmosphere in which their carnivals developed. Both countries experienced and practiced institutionalized racism in dealing with their "newcomers". In both cities, the racial climates were such that the carnivals were immediately marked as a distinctive "Other", outside of the boundaries of mainstream society. "Riots" and "burning cities" of the 1960 and 70's in England and the United States did not characterize the Canadian condition. Consequently Caribana's image may have been a pristine one, pushing critics to look elsewhere.

I suggest then that there was some appeal for researchers in examining the emergence of carnival within these particular historical circumstances. However, interest in Caribana has lagged behind. Four factors can help explain why Caribana has been neglected in the literature. First, there was very little interest among researchers in studying the migration of people of colour to Canada. Second, there have been far fewer studies of Caribbean migration to Canada in particular. Third, those who have studied patterns of Caribbean migration to Canada have mainly been from the fields of economics, law and political science. The sociological and anthropological works have been fewer. Fourth, although Caribana may not have begun in conflict, it has generated a lot of racism on the part of mainstream society. Despite, the "ethnic diversity" and "the celebration of tradition and heritage" that Caribana symbolized, its image was not pristine.

Part of my desire for undertaking this study is to provide an anthropological account

of Caribana, which addresses aspects of the above points. In this thesis I take up two challenges. The first is to provide a descriptive history of Caribana and its relationship to its imagined community. My second general aim is an exploration of Caribana as part of a carnival diaspora. With respect to the first, I am interested in how Caribana has grown and developed over the course of its thirty years. Here I think about the major developments in the festival. The second challenge requires me to think about how Caribana is being engaged with and by the Caribbean diaspora. To accomplish this I have narrowed my focus, not exclusively but primarily, to the kinds of cultural engagements made by young people. Specifically, this thesis gives rise to essentially three interrelated research questions as follows.

I.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

My first research question focused on the question of representation. Specifically, I asked **what are the representations of Caribana in mainstream and "ethnic" media and how are these representations negotiated and contested by the festival organizers?** This question allowed me to narrow my focus to the kinds of topics and subjects discussed in the media about Caribana. It also made it possible for me to do a comparative analysis on two levels. First, I compared the kinds of stories reported in the mainstream newspapers such as the Toronto Star and the Globe and Mail, with those in local papers such as Share, Pride and Caribbean Camera. From this comparison I got a sense of the differences between mainstream and community newspaper's coverage of the event. Secondly, I was able to

understand how Caribana organizers reacted to and against the various representations made in both sources.

My second research question is concerned with the issue of continuity and change in Caribana. I asked the following: **How is Caribana contested and how do individuals and groups assert their difference in the contests? What roles do youth play in the hybridization and creolization of carnival practices? What new forms of "consciousness" may be discerned from the cultural practices some young people bring to the celebration of Caribana?** My focus here was on the emergent cultural practices of youth cultures. Hip hop culture became important in helping me to understand how some young people were choosing to address the nature of continuity. For example, music was a main area that young people attempted to creolize the carnival, thus making it their own. In addressing this second research question, I spent many hours listening to hip hop radio programs and other talk radio discussing the Caribana parade. This proved to be extremely beneficial because the traditional music of Caribana, - steelpan and calypso -, became part of a general discussion on programs normally formatted to play rap music. In general, this question was intended for the ways it opened opportunities for the exploration of how various strains of youth cultures (hip hop, r&b, reggae, etc.) might come together with traditional kaiso, steelpan and calypso to produce continuity and change in Caribana.

My third question asked: **How are community and identity negotiated around Caribana?** With research question one in mind, this question focused on the kinds of

subject position participants take up in relation to the media representations made of Caribana. I was also interested in the positions argued for and against official discourses of Caribana presented by festival organizers. In relation to research question two, my concern in this question is with examining the various social networks and relationships built around Caribana. Questions one and two draw out the complementary and contradictory discourses on Caribana. These discourses get taken up in various ways by young people and others. Against the background of Caribana, many young people are challenging the kinds of cultural identities which Caribana affirms, through an assertion of personal identities which do not fit easily with Caribana's official position. The various complexities entailed in these processes became a dynamic opportunity in which to gauge this imagined community.

The focus of the thesis also opens opportunities for reflecting upon the contradictory and contested ways that a Caribbean community is imagined around Caribana. The 1997 parade is interesting because it brought into focus the contradictory representations both of Caribana and the community it claims to represent. My argument is that it is through this discourse of division that community and Caribana come to imagine itself. Discourses of divisions were involved in many ways. Specific examples highlighted the musical and masquerading format of carnival. Other talk of differences, relied on a critique of the knowledge of the "culture" of the carnival's participants. So for example, young people's knowledge of the Caribbean and the history of Caribana was challenged in terms of differences drawn from age. On the one hand, there was a nostalgic approach to performing

Caribana found in the ways many older generation Caribbean people remembered it. While on the other hand, young people tended to represent progressive notions of Caribana.

These kinds of divisions within community point to two complex positions within Caribana debates. As discussed in greater detail below, there are those who argue in favour of notions of an "authentic" and "real" carnival. These "purist" argue for the "roots" of Caribana as tied deeply to carnival traditions such as steelpan, kaiso, masquerade, pageant and calypso. The roots often spoken about are the kinds of connections drawn from the legacy of the Trinidadian carnival and to a lesser extent other smaller Eastern Caribbean carnivals. These roots, as expressed in the music, refer to the heavy dominance of Eastern Caribbean influences in the historical making of Carnival. Caribana purist, endeavour to capture the past and re-perform it as their version of carnival.

However, there are also those who subvert notions of authenticity, purity and the "real thing" by doing things differently. They approached a re-connection to the roots by another means, which resulted in another interpretation of celebration. Consequently, there was a tension produced, as the desires to essentialize and fix stable meanings for what Caribana "is" and "ought to be", encountered desires and practices of others (primarily youth but not exclusively) to make it something else. In this sense Caribana has become a contested event. The emerging cultural practices of young people challenge the "core idea" of what Caribana has worked thirty years to establish. This challenge was not supposed as a complete unsettling done by young people. When I talk about cultural practices by youths,

I refer to the ways that old and new ideas blend as part of something else. My thesis explores the production of this tension in the festival. It is also an exploration of how "community" and specifically "the Caribbean community" becomes a contested category.

This thesis also explores how discourses of the 1997 parade "crisis" rallied around the protection of an authentic history and culture of Caribana. Discourses essentializing and fixing stable meanings of the Caribbean were called upon in defense of Caribana's grand history. Arguments stemming from Caribana as an authentic and real carnival were challenged by those framing a sense of culture through hybridity, blending and mixture. The stories and narratives revealed in these discursive patterns are explored for their attempts to police the boundaries of community. They put those deemed as acting differently on the margins and outside this community.

This project is not an argument against Caribana and what it has achieved as an important institution in politicizing community. Nor is it a project that addresses what may be Caribana's most pressing issue. The financial position of Caribana is not addressed. However, financial concerns form an important context in helping to shape the performance of the 1997 parade. But I prefer to talk about another kind of Caribana debate, one which may be unpopular or viewed as provocation or unnecessary.

I.4 METHODOLOGY

I used three ways of collecting data. First I undertook an archival search for literature on Caribana. I read hundreds of newspaper accounts from local and mainstream sources.

This helped me in building an historical sketch. In addition, I spent time reading other sources, such as tourist brochures, advertisements, flyers and scholarly reports. I also watched commercials. The internet became a useful tool and source. On the net, I undertook a study of Caribana's official web page. I read and analyzed hundreds of email responses. From the net I initiated a chat group. Along with myself, two other people became very interested in carrying on conversation on a prolonged basis. My email communications with these individuals lasted throughout the summer of 1997 and into the fall months of September and October. From these conversations I learned that other similar groups were being formed, which I was, however, unable to access.

Secondly, a great deal of data was collected through interviews and discussions. I conducted interviews and held discussions with Caribana organizers and participants. Some of the key people included: various founding members, current staff and board members, past members, bandleaders, volunteers, participants, players and community members. My interviews became very important in exploring the early history of Caribana. I also spoke with business people who benefitted from the festival. My conversations landed me in a number of places. I spoke with people about Caribana as I was doing my personal banking. One bank teller at my local branch became particularly interested in my work. She would ask me, "Did you get the latest Share newspaper yet?".

Thirdly, the bulk of my research was done through participant observation in a number of different settings. On the strength of my membership with the CCC these settings

included: the CCC head office, their official Caribana store, various mas camps, general meetings, planning sessions, fund raising events, the calypso monarch competition. I spent many hours listening, recording and participating in discussions during the several general membership meetings held leading up to the parade. On the day of the parade, I spent the day playing mas with the bands, jumping up and celebrating. I also nearly exhausted myself walking the 3.5 kilometre parade route, speaking, laughing, dancing and just having a good time with the thousands of tourists and local faces I saw. Also, as part of the Caribana celebrations, I watched their official theatre production. I did this on two occasions. I also spent time videotaping the nightly Caribana segments on news shows such as City TV, Global and CTV.

In the days after the parade I followed up by watching the Caribana 1997 special on City TV, hosted by calypsonian slash meteorologist Harold Hosein and entertainment reporter Tracy Melchor. Since the close of the parade, I have continued to attend the general meetings. There have been two post-Caribana 1997 meetings. The last such meeting that I was part of was held on 6 December 1997. Since this time, to my knowledge and participation, there has not been any formal gathering of Caribana membership to discuss the 1997 event.

Parade Day was a particularly exciting moment. Here again the general excitement and anticipation for the event opened numerous informal opportunities to connect with the spectators. However, because of the kind of event Caribana is, I did not work with a tape

recorder. It would have been a hindrance and unproductive. Generally, excluding the one to one interviews, notes were written down. The majority of this day was spent drinking, eating and enjoying Caribbean cuisine.

One of the peculiarities of this research, is the certain amount of comfort and accessibility I that received. "Letters of consent" indicating the nature of the project were deemed unnecessary and in some cases "laughed-off" as a ploy to show professionalism. One woman told me, "you look trustworthy". When I did insist on a signed "letter of consent", it was pushed aside. This may point to my specific location within the broader Caribbean and Black community. For many of those I worked with I was identified as "one of them". Another woman I worked with asked me, "how I was going to share the information with our community?". During our conversation I learned that she had worked with other people - whites - and "wondered what their motives were". She conveyed a sense of distrust telling me she did not know what they were, "going to do with what they got". Whatever the reasons may be these two examples indicate that I was not viewed with the suspicion that white researchers were.

However at certain points during the course of the research I felt to be "outside" of the community, not always feeling the acceptance shown by these women. Some of the questions I asked of my co-workers about the nature of the cultural practices I was observing, seem to put me in opposition to the goals of the group. As one man told me, "these are the things you should be writing about". It was not until a subsequent conversation did he tell

me that, "I don't know about those things you so interested in". My sense of belonging was shaken. These kinds of moments of feeling "outside" demonstrate how discourses marking differences between and within cultures can be encountered in ambiguous and ambivalent ways (Yon, 1995).

This illustration also references a recognition of the differences within community. For example, differences of age form an important context against which diversity among and within generations is understood. Throughout this research, my co-workers used my age to form various kinds of cultural and social markers, for me. In many situations I became representative of the young black male segment of the community. Furthermore, age differences helped to distinguish among the kinds of information they thought I would be most interested in or "needed to know".

For example, when I was asking a woman as to why ticket sales figures for a Caribana sponsored event did not meet its projections she said, "well I don't know when you came here but in the West Indies, we didn't know anything about ticketmaster". Often times age became readily associated with different kinds of cultural knowledges. Ticketmaster then became the kind of cultural referent called upon to set me apart, thus drawing connections between age, place and culture. These kinds of sentiments, expressed in banal exchanges, sparked my interest in various notions of cultural authenticity. Working this example further, we can begin to see how this everyday exchange marks the boundaries of what Caribana's authentic culture may be and who may belong.

I.5 OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

In what follows, each chapter highlights some part of the theoretical issues raised in the introduction above. In Chapter one I introduce Caribana by providing a history of the festival from 1967 to 1980. I show how the recent West Indian immigrants came together to share their love of carnival. Drawing upon newspaper accounts, I try and locate Caribana as an important cultural institution, which aspired to becoming a "clearing house" for the West Indian community. This chapter also shows how the initial success of Caribana was determined by its emphasis as a "fun" event. It then problematizes "fun" as an issue implicated within the guise of multiculturalism, thus, increasing state control of the festival. The second part of chapter one, shows how a heavy-hand by the government partially disintegrated the "fun" and forced festival organizers to play a divisive political game . To make the argument an account of two rival factions is worked with to show how Caribana came under greater governmental discipline and control in the name of multiculturalism.

In chapters two and three the discussion of increased policing, shootings, financial disasters and infighting shows the ways in which Caribana was constituted as a "crisis" in popular thought. Chapter two explores one instance of the "crisis". It documents how the festival, specifically its parade component, was racialized and criminalized in the popular press during the 1980's. Newspaper stories speaking about Caribana as a problem event and something to be weary about are used to show how mainstream press coverage facilitated the perception of Caribana as a haven for criminal activity. The latter part of this chapter shows

how the West Indian and Black community attempted to counter this imbalanced representation of the parade by telling their constituents other stories about the love, joy and humanity of Caribana. Chapter three speaks about a related aspect of the "crisis". It shows how violence is no longer the single issue that dominates the press coverage. I work with newspaper accounts to document how discussion of Caribana's financial stability has taken over as the primary concern of the "crisis". This details how newspaper coverage during the 1990's have primarily been about Caribana's shaky financial position. Finances and not discussion of the violence, has taken over as one central way popular imagination identifies with the parade.

Chapter four explores a specific instance of the "crisis" that remained internal to the inner workings of the parade's structure. In this chapter, I explore how a crisis of identity was debated by Caribana participants, spectators and organizers. Drawing upon an incident that threatened the 1997 parade, I show how a "crisis of identity" emerged around the music that was played. Working primarily with the official Caribana internet chat line, I detail how rap music presented contradictions and frustrations as it relates to how Caribana is traditionally and normally celebrated. In this chapter, material is worked with to show how a "crisis of identity" says something about the different ways people choose to identify with Caribana.

Chapter five is a look at how one young person was reacting to the boycott of the 1997 parade by the established bandleaders. This chapter talks about the introduction of a

new bandleader into Caribana by drawing upon the experiences of a more seasoned one. The chapter is a comparison of two similar ways of structuring the production of a band. By comparing the experiences of each person, the discussion documents the ways in which the younger bandleader did things differently, placing greater emphasis on some traditions and not on others.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 The Early Years: From the Dancehall to the Firehall

Thirty years ago, in the late 1960's, Canadians witnessed the birth of a "new" nation. Nationalism was being played out across the cities and towns of this country. Canada was celebrating its one hundredth birthday. The biggest celebration was held in Montreal. It was called Expo 1967. Across the cities and towns of the country, communities were celebrating what Canada meant to them. There were festivities of all kinds, each celebrating a new Canada. The federal government was interested in having a year long party that would lead to the big show in Montreal. What was this new Canada to look like? How were communities choosing to represent it?

One group, who took the opportunity to help celebrate Canada's birthday, was the West Indian community. West Indian people had long been part of the Canadian population. They have been important contributors to the cultural landscape since the WWII period. Large pockets of West Indian immigrants had taken up residence in some major cities (Henry 1973; Winks 1971). They were to be found in the metropolises of Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Calgary, Edmonton and parts between. The largest settlement was located in the Toronto and southern Ontario region. This group of West Indians, along with those from another city, took on the opportunity of celebrating a new nationalism in 1966.

This was an important step for newly emerging West Indian community. The federal government of the day was publicly making it clear that it wanted the ethnic communities

to help celebrate the centennial. In other words, they were showing that the new Canada, was going to have a multicultural future. Symbolically, the government was interested in opening the boundaries that defined a Canadian sense of nationhood. The Toronto West Indian community seized this opportunity.

Caribana began under the leadership and direction of many people. However, one man - Charles Roach - has been credited with much of the initial success of the festival. Charles Roach is a West Indian immigrant from Trinidad, who came to this country forty-three years ago³. He arrived as a student in 1955, first attending the University of Saskatchewan. After completing his undergraduate studies, he enrolled in law school at the University of Toronto. He was called to the bar in 1963. It was during this time that Roach made tremendous strides in helping to push forward the West Indian community.⁴

Mr Roach is many things. He is a lawyer, social activist, musician, civil rights leader, educator, poet and politician. During his early days in Toronto he experimented with music, one of his loves. In the years before 1967, he was involved in running a nightclub called the "Little Trinidad club". It was an after hour club at 237 Yonge street, across from where the Eaton's Centre now resides in downtown Toronto. Originally from Port of Spain, Charles Roach had a strong interest in the music of his native country, where he was a musician. It was while running the club that Roach entertained the West Indian population

³Permission was granted to the researcher to use the real name. This name appears in many of Caribana's public records.

⁴Personal Interview 2 July 1997.

by bringing in some popular calypsonians. Performers such as the Mighty Sparrow, Lord Ryner, Kitchener and Lord Superior were regular visitors to the club.

In the clubs and basements of West Indians across the city, there were carnival parties held during the cold Canadian month of February. Typically February is when Trinidad holds its carnival. During this month, the warmth of the club and the sounds of calypso and steel drum music, reminded many of the carnivals they experienced back home. Besides the many private parties a successful social and business network of Caribbean clubs were cropping up in the city. These clubs spawned the growth of enterprising businesspeople. So well before the arrival of Caribana there was a vibrant social and entertainment scene that many West Indians frequented. Caribana arrived at a time when many of these clubs were operating. The social and entertainment scene provided a supportive infrastructure for the first Caribana (See Henry 1994 Ch.8:167-182 on leisure and social life).

Caribana was the result of several things coming together. The most important was the migration and gathering of West Indians in Montreal and Toronto. In 1966 a man by the name of Trevor Clark, now living in Barbados, was approached by another man - Mark Blevins. The federal government had assigned Mr Blevins the job of contacting the various communities to help celebrate the centennial of Canada's founding. Typically, Blevins would contact people viewed as community leaders. Based upon his legal work and the success of his club, Roach was immediately told the idea. He was interested in what the federal government was planning, because he had already been doing a similar kind of

activity in his club. So in 1966, Roach gathered several people to discuss the idea that had been put to him by Clark and Blevins.

On a cold evening in February of 1966, a group of West Indians came together in an old abandoned Firehall on Bathurst street to discuss what they were going to do with their opportunity. They wanted to do something for Canada, but also for the thousands of West Indians who were pouring into the city, since Canada opened its immigration policy in 1962. Some people present in the Fireball has gone on to become community leaders. One person present that night was Sam Cole who became the first elected Chair of Caribana. Eric Lindsay, currently a judge in the Ontario court system, was also there. Romaine Pitt, now a lawyer from Grenada, was also present that night. The important husband and wife team of Elaine and Alban Liverpool were also there to discuss plans that evening⁵.

They wanted to give to Canada as their birthday gift something that showcased, "what constituted the West Indies, their way of life, their joys [and] their struggles" (WIN July 1968:3). They came up with the idea of a carnival. Most of the Fireball members enjoyed fond memories of the carnivals back home. Many Eastern Caribbean countries they came from had some form of carnival. Other islands, such as Jamaica, celebrated Jonkunnu - a similar festival with African roots. They decided they would stage a carnival. They would attempt to bring Toronto, their own version of the West Indian carnival. The version they knew best was the world famous Trinidad carnival. This was to be their model.

⁵West Indian Observer, 1967:1

They talked for hours, well into the night, generating ideas of how they were going to transport a carnival never before seen in Canada to Toronto. They talked about the kinds of events they were going to have. Included among the traditional parade of the bands, their carnival was to have a Ball, boat cruises and an island picnic. In no time at all, word of the coming Caribana spread throughout the community. Soon thousands of volunteers rallied behind the idea in support of the West Indian community. There were meetings in church basements and West Indian establishments to further discuss the idea. These meetings were used to delegate work responsibilities. It was to be a difficult task, but the community support and strength for this first Caribana were the highest it ever would be. "There was a great sense of euphoria . . . you could feel it in the atmosphere and people were very excited about coming out to participate", Peter Marcilline remembers of this period (quoted in Foster 1995:30).

1.2 CARNIVAL COMES NORTH

AN EMERGING PHILOSOPHY: TOWARDS A MULTICULTURAL FUTURE

I think it would be fair to say that the founders of Caribana did not know how important their creation would be to Toronto and the country. Their goal was to display aspects of Caribbean culture. They wanted to show Canada that the West Indian population was appreciative of their new home. The original organizers worked diligently to bring to reality, a carnival modelled after the world renowned Trinidad and Tobago carnival. The first Caribana celebration was held the following year. It was a success. It was successful enough to register support to begin calls for an annual celebration from both mainstream and

community people. These calls for an annual celebration were based on the spectacle and fair of the nine-day affair. The celebration was billed and promoted as a viable and incredibly pleasurable party for the city of Toronto. The city was desperately trying to shed its image as a staunch Anglo-Saxon city, to one more receptive of its minority communities. What better and more emblematic public expression could there be than Caribana?

In the early years, Caribana was known as an enormous party. Within popular discourse its party was a symbol of multiculturalism and a prize of the new cultural mosaic. From its inception, Caribana organizers negotiated the festival's significance in terms of its contribution towards multiculturalism. But there was something else Caribana organizers wanted to represent. What was this?

A COLONIAL LEGACY

That something else had another focus. Its focus had historical roots in the larger cultural artform of carnival and masquerade play. Caribana was connected to this. Historically carnivals of African descent, such as those in Trinidad and Brazil, began as pre-Lenten festivities. The White French plantocracy would typically hold fancy Balls in which lavish costumes and gowns were worn. Slaves were not allowed into these Balls. Slaves would wear costumes mocking their slave owners, in various parodies and scenes.

From carnivals earliest moments, dating from 1834 in Trinidad, there has always been a deep emancipatory spirit that underscored the masquerading, partying and revelling. This aspect of carnival as liberation is at the heart of all carnival celebrations the world over. In

some ways the version of carnival played here is no exception. Some point to this as carnival's essential spirit (Carmichael 1961; Warner 1972; Bereton 1981).

Carnivals, or more broadly speaking ritualistic celebrations, have deep meanings underlying the heart of the celebration. What was that for Caribana? What was the deeper meaning, beyond a grand party? These were some questions that the founding members wrestled with in trying to negotiate Caribana's larger history in relation to its present context. Charles Roach points to an ambiguity found in carnival celebrations. He remembers that Caribana began with a tension. Some people saw Caribana solely as a party, while others preferred to emphasize Caribana's political potential.

One report described the initial event this way: "Caribana invaded Canada for the first time, bringing with it the joyous levity that is so symbolic of the West Indies" (WIN July 1968:4). This account also called it, "a striking panorama of colours and creativity that will be long remembered in this country" (Ibid). Caribana 1967 was a landmark. It gave the Black and West Indian population the public recognition that would have been difficult to achieve any other way. Under the guise of a newly found promise of a multicultural future, West Indians chose to assert themselves. Caribana, from its beginning, was a fun event. It was intended as a grand celebration with few overtly political goals. Politics came in having thousands of Black and West Indian people parading on the streets of Toronto. Charles Roach remembers 1967 as "really magical" and a "watermark kind of year". He says that for

him "it was the year the Black community, really made its presence in Toronto".⁶

The first Caribana was intended as a one time "gift". A small parade was held on Yonge street. There were seven masquerade bands that took part. The parade of the bands began at Varsity stadium and proceeded west along Bloor street. They then danced and jumped southbound along Yonge, until they reached the recently erected Toronto City Hall, where they danced and partied. Caribana was the first community celebration held at the new city hall. Its nine-day festival celebration on centre island brought in a record crowd of 80, 644. The ferry service was busier than in any other year. A local report said that "the government of Ontario was so pleased with the venture that they now includ[ed] it as an added tourist attraction in their tourist brochures" (WIN July 1968:4).

In true carnival fashion the planning for the second Caribana festival began well before the first one was over. Caribana 1967 was deemed a success, not only by the West Indians who put it on, but also by the wider Canadian public. The West Indians had delighted the city of Toronto with their spectacular show of colour, costuming, music, dance, art and food. So strong was the enjoyment that the then mayor of Toronto, William Dennison suggested, "that the affair should be an annual event" (WIN April 1968:4). This was despite some organizational pitfalls of last year's festival. Though Caribana 1967 had the support of all three levels of government - primarily federal - it stumbled along, suffering the difficult first steps of a fledgling production.

⁶Personal Interview 2 July 1997.

Caribana 1968 had a very optimistic outlook. The centennial committee led by Charles Roach and Alban Liverpool, had renamed itself as the Caribbean Cultural Committee for Cultural Advancement (1968). Caribana became institutionalised as a not for profit volunteer organization. The new committee, made up largely of community volunteers, consisted of a 15-member sitting board. For the second festival, there were additional goals, objectives and aims. One of their aims was to continue to provide a fun event that West Indians and non-West Indians could enjoy and share in. A big part of the fun included the promotion of West Indian culture and identity in Canada. The other major idea the committee introduced was the building of a West Indian cultural center in Toronto.

In 1968, The Chair of the Social Committee George Meikle, took the time to explain in a local West Indian newspapers some of Caribana's goals. In an article that appeared in the West Indian Observer, some aims of the group were listed. Besides outlining the organizational, constitutional and corporate features of the association the article also stated some cultural goals. Among the cultural endeavours were 1) to promote interest in Caribbean culture, 2) To acquire, maintain, operate and conduct a Caribbean-Canadian community center and to promote the best interests of the community generally; and 3) To give donations for charitable and educational purposes. Caribana was becoming institutionalized. The aims of the association were to become a cultural, economic and political force in the community serving the thousands of Caribbean-Canadians, who were making Toronto their new home.

The main objective for Caribana 1968 was to raise enough money to purchase land to build the community center. The goals of the center would be to serve the interest of the Caribbean people living in Toronto and throughout Ontario. The establishment of a Cultural centre, Meikle said, "was urgently felt because of the increasing number of West Indians coming to the city" (WIN April 1968:4). He continues saying, "many of whom felt unsettled and lost during the first years of their lives in the new environment" (WIN 1968:4). The idea for the center was supported by many ranks. It was received positively by association members and community people. "A centre", the West Indian Observer wrote, "would be the place where West Indians could get together for social programs and entertainment". For new immigrants, it could be a place, "where newcomers meet those familiar with the Canadian scene to obtain advice and assistance" (Ibid).

The committee also had visions for the center to be a place where children could come and relax "on a Saturday morning" and hear about their "West Indian heritage" (Ibid). It was thought that the center would offer children, through various learning sessions and programs, "a strong sense of identity with their own culture" (Ibid). Meikle and his committee regarded this as an important aspect for children, "while learning", as he said, "to live with the larger community" (Ibid). The committee recognized the difficulties that living in a White dominated society could have on the cultural retention of the young. Problems of discrimination, racism and a difficult immigration adjustment period were some challenges facing West Indian migrants. A community center would be "somewhere [to]

return to when they [the children] are hurt or encounter problems in the community" (WIN 1968).

The man who took on the responsibility of seeing these initiatives through, was the newly elected President of the association, Dr Alban Liverpool. He would be the guiding light behind many early successes of Caribana. Dr Liverpool had a medical practice in the College-Spadina street area of Toronto. His office had become more than a place where one could receive the proper care. It had become an informal social and information outlet. One local source spoke about his office as, "a sort of unofficial information service for many newly arrived West Indians in distress, about where to go for jobs, housing and other related problems of a strange society" (WIN April 1968:4). Often, one could find in his office people receiving information about possible job openings or getting advice on how to clear up an immigration problem. His office space became a place where West Indians could find out from newly arriving immigrants about conditions back home. For example, what the latest calypso song was or how a family friend was doing.

Dr Liverpool and his colleagues saw big things for Caribana 1968. One of their challenges were to run a successful festival that would raise the necessary funds. A series of new entertainment events was planned for Caribana 1968. It was hoped that the proceeds from these events would produce a substantial profit towards the building of the cultural centre. The committee set a target figure of between \$20, 000 and \$40,000. One way they attempted to meet this goal was to approach their respective island governments. Liverpool

and his group were seeking help from the Caribbean countries they had come from. The money received from the Caribbean nations would go towards helping new immigrants.

The agenda for Caribana 1968 included ferry boat cruises, picnicking and a Miss Caribana pageant. There were two ferry boat cruises scheduled for 31 July and 1 August 1968. These rides were along the Toronto shoreline. One local account spoke about the cruise setting as, "essentially West Indian, as Lake Ontario substitutes for the blue Caribbean Sea wafting the stimulating rhythm of the steel-band across her waters" (WIN July 1968:4). For three hours on both nights, the ferry magically took people on an imaginative trip back to the Caribbean. The boat's restaurant served the best in West Indian cuisine. Passengers could savour the taste of curry goat or enjoy a roti, while listening to the sounds of steel pan. For the West Indian these rides were a welcomed release for the "pent-up nostalgia" and longing for home.

The boat cruises were the warm up parties for the festival highlight. The parade of the bands was held Saturday 3 August 1968. Caribana 1968 had eight bands competing for the prize of band of the year. The eight bands began their jump up at Varsity stadium at eleven in the morning. They danced, jumped and shouted until they reached Nathan Philip's Square where they were judged. Some of the judges for Caribana 1968 included Mayor Dennison, Metro Chairperson Allen and government officials from Canada and the West Indies. The band of the year prize went to "Fantasy of the American Indians", led by bandleader Clive Brand.

During the week of picnic festivities on Olympic island there were two organized musical shows. Caribana 1968 made good on its promise to be bigger and better by bringing in three top bands from the West Indies. Island revellers were treated to the sounds of "The Antigua Hell Gates", from Trinidad the "BWIA Sun Jets" and from Jamaica the world famous "Blues Busters". These top performers underscored Caribana 1968's, "accent on entertainment and fun" and the committee's commitment to providing the best. The first show took place at one o'clock and the other one, - the more impressive of the two -, began at six in the evening.

Local reporter Al T. Daisy covered the event. Daisy reported that "the Blues Busters were by far the biggest crowd pleasers". Daisy continued stating, "with a professionalism that is second to none, the appeal of the Blues Busters lies in the fact they enjoy themselves on stage" (WIN August 1968:11). Not to be out done by the sounds of rock steady and ska the Sun Jets, "pound[ed] out metallic music . . . not always calypso as the Sun Jets took time out to give a display of what a true steel orchestra should sound like" (Ibid). "Across the way", Daisy tells us, "Antigua's Hell Gates with their high tuned pans and ringing tone . . . beat out their driving rhythm" (Ibid). These artists along with some local Torontonians such as calypsonian Andy Nichols from Guyana and limbo artist King Richardo who held the title of world's greatest limbo dancer made the island festivities of Caribana 1968 one of the best. Rounding out the performances was Peggy Jackson of Jamaica. Her interpretive dance movements and artistic sensuality were welcomed complements to the throbbing of

the steelpan and banging bass of the Buster's drum.

Caribana 1968 was pan-Caribbean in its musical focus. Although modelled around ideas drawn from the Trinidad carnival, organizers sought to reflect the composition of the Toronto West Indian community in the festival's programming. There was Black music that ranged from the traditional calypso to reggae to the sounds of American rhythm and blues. In coming years, the nature of this pan-Caribbean musical focus would be contested, as segments of the community protested the dominance of calypso music. Local promoters of reggae music have often cited that Caribana organizers have made it difficult for the inclusion of reggae artists in the festival. But the island festivities of Caribana 1968 were subject to another kind of criticism. This one had to do with the high price of tickets for the events. Many of those who took the ferries across to the island complained about the high prices and sometimes poor organization of the shows. The disappointments were directed towards the committee's commitment to build a community center. It was a strange kind of criticism; one that current committees continue to address.

One local editorial, *Caribana In Retrospect*, described the festival as a "bigger success than its predecessor", but suggested it was a "keen disappointment" (WIN August 1968:2). Caribana it said, "was not the cultural project that it was last year - it was a financial undertaking with its sole aim to make the dream of a West Indian House in Toronto a reality this year" (Ibid). Participants and spectators complained about the ticket prices. At last year's event, prices to get across on the island were set at \$1.50. However, because Caribana

was a centennial project, the Toronto Parks commission, after some suggestion by the federal government, set the gate prices at 50 cents. Caribana 1968 was not subject to a similar reduction. Its prices were set at \$2.00. The increased pricing was a result of a different financial arrangement the Caribana committee had with the Toronto Parks Commission. For Caribana 1968 the committee was charged an additional 15% of the gross income from the island activities. This left revellers, participants and spectators upset. The same editorial described people's frustration as "justifiable" and "malcontents" only increased as the island shows were "poorly organized" (Ibid). Although the committee had brought in big name bands from the Caribbean, the organization of shows was poor. At times bands played simultaneously. Other complaints talked about the long wait between shows. "When it [the show] came", the editorial wrote, "so long awaited that most were already disgusted with the boring wait" (Ibid). Most of the complaints were directed towards the Caribana committee. They were criticised for raising the prices of an event that was all but next to free last year. The challenges to be bigger and better each year would continue to plague future directions the celebration would take.

Some of those challenges would play themselves out in the coming years. At the general meetings of Caribana membership or in the local shops, beauty salons or barber shops, people were talking about the disappointments. The biggest one spoken about concerned the Caribana House. Questions were raised about whether Caribana should be used for financial or cultural ventures. People feared that the financial concerns would

compromise the "true" nature of carnival. Historically carnivals have not been profit ventures. Unlike the Trinidad carnival, which is supported by a national infrastructure, Caribana survived on the graciousness of its community contributions. Talk about the Caribana House has become a source of continual frustration for the committee and the community. Its difficulties would lead many to question the committee's aptness for managing the financial concerns of the association. Complaints were levied against the committee's commitment in celebrating culture. Some people near to the management of the festival were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the way the committee was structuring Caribana. There began to be calls to do things differently. Invariably these dissenters thought they could do things better than what was being presented. This would be the first major division within Caribana.

There have been several tensions over the years that have become persistent features of Caribana. In a paper, social geographer Peter Jackson (1992) notes that "Caribana has expanded from a local 'ethnic' festival into a major international event, supported by a year-round business organization" (1992:133). By 1969 the Caribbean Cultural Association - Caribana had incorporated itself as the Caribbean Cultural Committee (CCC). This new organization was charged with running the business of the festival, managing all its aspects. One area stressed by the CCC was, "the integrative functions of Caribana within Toronto's various Caribbean communities" (Ibid). These functions were contested by at least one segment of the community. By 1971, Caribana's role in the community was questioned. In

the local Contrast newspaper, The Black Student Union of the University of Toronto criticized the CCC for not doing enough. They wrote:

The organizers undermined any serious effort to articulate grievances of Black people in Toronto. The people who continued to expose Canadian racism in all forms of discrimination in housing, lack of jobs, racism in education and police harassment seemed like the lunatic fringe, when, every August, the petite Black bourgeoisie put on their show for white people (Contrast 1971:1).

Part of the frustration of the Black Student Union had to do with the CCC continuously not making good on their promise to build a community center. The students felt that the CCC could do better. They were concerned that the CCC did not have a political focus and too much emphasis was put on the "dance" and "not the struggle".

Caribana is a contested event. It produces ideological and political differences. Peter Jackson has written that the, "symbolic aspects of Carnival are not autonomous from, or independent of, their political and economic context, while at the same time they are not reducible to it" (Jackson 1988:213). The cultural is inseparable from the political. Culture is fundamentally political. This notion of the performance of cultural politics, has led scholars such as Jackson (1987; 1988; 1992), Cohen (1980; 1982; 1993) and others to speak about diasporic carnivals as contested events.

Thus, the grievances expressed by the Student Union, must be spoken about as occurring within a specific social context. Part of that context has been raised above. This is to say that official and popular conceptions of multiculturalism form an important social context in which Caribana was produced, performed and contested. Also important here

were some international events, such as those that happened in America. The Black power movement of the 1970's was felt throughout the Black diaspora. Thus, "it therefore makes considerable sense", as Jackson tells us, "to refer to [diasporic] carnivals in terms of the 'cultural politics' and the social construction of 'race' in general" (Jackson 1988:214).

1.3 CARIBANA: 1972-1980

Since 1967 several things have happened to Caribana. The community support for the original parade wavered. People were becoming frustrated with the way Caribana was handled by some. Therefore, the support of the organization was left almost entirely up to the small community of organizers, players and producers forming around Caribana. Also the expense of renting halls, warehouses, office space, equipment, booths, ferries, artist fees, tables, security and insurance, were also becoming more difficult to sustain. Caribana was becoming a financial burden.

By 1972, there was a dramatic change in the way Caribana was celebrated. Caribana, in the few years since it began had become increasingly politicized. Some of the organizational difficulties of the early years had led to the defection of some members. This period, which I am categorizing for analytical purposes, was characterized by the struggle to take control of the production of Caribana. This struggle was mainly internal, as organizational members became increasingly dissatisfied with the direction of Caribana. But as Jackson reminded us, in an above section, talk of division and difference is always implicated within a larger set of social circumstances.

During the 1970's the future of Caribana was in trouble. Financial difficulties had forced the committee to appeal to governments for help. However, governments were reluctant to offer assistance. Besides these fiscal concerns there was also another problem brewing. This one was taking place inside the organization. It had to do with the meaning of Caribana and how it was celebrated.

By 1972, questions of race and class had emerged within the debates of what Caribana is all about. These debates were fractured along lines of ethnicity and nationhood. Some members within the community were becoming dissatisfied with the strong sense of Trinidadian influences in the festival. The Trinidadians assumed the right to control the production of Caribana. They claimed ownership: "We're born into it. It's our blood".⁷ This put the non-Trinidadians in an uneasy position. As a result two rival organizations emerged. One was the Carnival Development Association (CDA) and the other was the Caribbean Cultural Committee (CCC). Each group was arguing for control of the festival.

Their split largely had to do with trying to express a West Indian carnival that spoke to the "Canadian experience". By this I refer to the different ways that 'Canadian' can be thought about. It is worth quoting at length Manning's discussion of this split. In it we want to note, how hybridity in the name - Caribana - is expressed:

The non-Trinidadians therefore insisted that the name Caribana was meant to indicate a distinctive type of festival in which Carnival items - chiefly street masquerading, calypso shows, and steel band music - were only one component. The festival as a whole was to have pan-Caribbean scope and significance, and an

⁷Field notes: comment made at a general meeting in June 1997.

overall emphasis on black racial identity. They sought to broaden Caribana as much as possible, introducing ferry cruises, fashion shows, picnics, art and craft exhibits, dramatic presentations, group singing and dance performances, merchandising displays, beauty contests, dance balls and various other social and entertainment events that had little or no direct connection with the Carnival genre (Manning 1983:189).

This was the "idea of carnival" that the CCC was producing. It was an attempt to articulate the Canadian experience, by grafting onto traditional notions of carnival other experiences. This created a tension. The CDA formed their own ideas of what Caribana should celebrate. Again a lengthy description offered by Manning is helpful in gauging the response by the Trinidadians, who were more closely associated with the "authentic" and "real" Carnival:

The Trinidadians formed the Carnival Development Association, which ran what it called Carnival Extravaganza. This included the masquerade parade, a contest for king and queen of the masquerade bands, the display of prizewinning costumes from the Trinidad Carnival, a children's Carnival, and a number of dances featuring calypso music played by steel or brass bands and highlighted by top name calypsonians from Trinidad. Events were promoted in the Trinidadian argot. Dances, for example, were announced as 'jump ups', and the public encouraged to 'jump', 'jam', 'wail', and 'wine'. Appropriating the Trinidad Carnival calendar, the night before the masquerade was termed 'jouvay', a patois term abbreviating jour overt (daybreak) and referring to the Trinidadian practice of revelling until the sun rises on the night before the first day of Carnival. Similarly, the concluding day of Caribana, like the concluding day of Carnival, was described as 'las lap' - an occasion of reckless, unbridled abandon (Manning 1983:189).

Manning raises the question of islandism and the insularity it produces. He notes that even under conditions of migration and travel Caribbean peoples retain a strong sense of connection with their island countries. This is despite the opportunities for connection that conditions of diaspora opens. While it is important to note that the split and division of the

1970's can be understood through a critique of islandism, I think Manning relies on it too strongly. His focus on the popularly held notions of islandism does not allow for an engagement with the complexities that make up the performance of carnival. It is not simply just the differences between Trinidadians and non-Trinidadians that are significant. It is also important to note the internal politics of these groups.

In addition, by borrowing from a discourse of islandism, Manning has reproduced stereotypes that produce the Caribbean and its diasporic communities. Furthermore, his work does little to contest these stereotypes. Rather it is a usual criticism of essentialising the differences that exist.

A notion of diaspora would be a useful critique of his work. In his paper, "Carnival and The West Indian Diaspora", Manning writes:

Jamaica lacks a carnival tradition and has stigmatized that genre by associating it with smaller islands, Jamaicans have had virtually nothing to do with Caribana (Manning 1983:188).

However, in this statement what we do not hear, is that from the beginning Jamaicans were actively involved in bringing carnival to Toronto. One founding member - Eric Lindsay a Jamaican - strongly influenced the leadership of early Caribana festivals. Clifton Joseph (1996) in a scathing article noted that Caribana was "pan-Caribbean" from its inception. Furthermore, Manning notes that the virtual neglect of Caribana by the Jamaicans, "is dramatized on Caribana weekend when the Jamaican-Canadian Association runs an alternative celebration" (1983:188). They celebrate their 1962 independence. Part of my difficulty with

the way Manning presents his talk about the divisions that exist within the Caribana community is the ease and certainty he imposes on the issue. For me, granted Manning was writing in the early 1980's, unreflectively noted that:

The non-involvement of the Jamaicans left the Caribbean Cultural Committee, organizers of Caribana, to the Trinidadians and those from the smaller eastern Caribbean islands. The Trinidadians, many of them masquerade band leaders, insisted that the festival should preserve the format of the Trinidad Carnival, and that they should have the upper hand in running it (Manning 1983:188).

What is lacking in Manning's presentation of the argument is the sense by which diaspora also emphasizes the blending, interconnections and mixing of cultures. Specifically, the way in which these processes have consequences for the way talk of division and splitting are read. A notion of diaspora that emphasizes hybrid experiences points to another way that differences can be thought of. So for example, the differences in the content of Caribana's programming, can be explored for the ways that it attempts to recognize and negotiate what it means to produce Caribana in Toronto. What is more, is that within these processes, another sense of the "authentic" and "real" emerge. Thus, the popularly held stereotypes of islandism can be dismantled as more nuanced ideas of difference are worked. So that the kinds of ethnic fixities are subject to the various cultural flows at play within diasporic communities.

Caribana was contested in other ways. Besides the differences the CDA and the CCC struggled for, there were other grievances. These concerns, however, pointed towards the structural arrangement of Caribana. There have been two ways that people debated

Caribana. The "cultural purist" and the "business minded". Ultimately, both positions come together ensuring the success of the general celebration. Peter Jackson (1992) has noted that the:

Carnival Development Association (CDA), . . . emphasis was on making Caribana into an economically successful event, and the Caribbean Cultural Committee (CCC), . . . vision of the scope of Caribana was more political (Jackson 1992:133).

Both groups were in need of power to see their differing projects through. However, it was ironic that both, in need of power, were attempting to take it away from one another when their products were similar. Their difference and inability to come together led to an ideological split (spoken about above). Although, the carnival extravaganza organized by the CDA and the Caribana Festival matched by the CCC, displayed similar shows, both groups continued to attack each another. So for example, the CDA was criticized by members of CCC for their inability to negotiate successfully with the police to provide sufficient time for the bands to parade (Jackson 1992).

In spite of the criticism both groups continued to organize their shows. There were competing celebrations taking place at the Ontario Harbourfront area. The CCC continued to organize the parade of the bands. Both attempted to put on a good public face. Each would try to deny that there ever was a split. Jackson writes that, "CDA officials accused the CCC of trying to 'manipulate the masses', arguing that the success of Caribana was more important than 'the internal politics of some private little club'" (Jackson 1992:133).

Despite attempts to keep the rift private, public outburst such as the one above were

typical of the way that the groups attempted to wrestle away control from each other. Their attempts to gain more hold of Caribana were heavily dictated by their financial capabilities. Each group could only do no more than their financial resources allowed. The financial pots of each had slipped worryingly into the red. So much so were the financial difficulties that for the first time Caribana appealed to the province in search of funding to help finance the festival. Patrick Shepperd, writing about this initial appeal notes that the, "situation deteriorated to the extent that in 1974 the chairman (sic), Mr Elmore Daisy, presented to the province a brief" (Shepperd 1984:137). In his letter, Elmore Daisy explained Caribana's financial condition and its organizational split. He wrote:

The Caribana festival is our major source of revenue. While we can justifiably claim that the past six Caribana events have been culturally successful, we have been able to realize only minimal amounts of net revenue. The 1970 Extravaganza experiment left us with a deficit of some \$16, 000 which we have reduced to some \$2, 500 total indebtedness. In brief then, net profit from each year's function was barely sufficient to enable the organization to keep functioning on a year-round basis. We therefore, request that you consider favourably this application for a grant of \$25, 000 in support of general activities and to finance in part our planned community activities on a continuing basis (as appearing in Shepperd 1984:138-9).

The province responded by denying the money. However, Daisy and his group were not to be completely shut out. Plans were already underway for the following celebration. To secure enough money, Daisy and the other board members "signed personal loan guarantees to obtain the needed funds" (Ibid:139). Two years later, in another application for funding, "the province awarded a rival group of Carnival band leaders, called the Carnival Development Association, \$20,000 to stage a Carnival parade scheduled for Caribana week"

(Ibid).

There has always been interest in Caribana from government. Although at times their interests have been minimal, overt displays such as this example, show how state power is also implicated in setting the terms of Caribana's celebration. Not only do groups like the CDA and CCC exert pressure on each another, they are also subject to the disciplining power of the state. In this example, the state is the provincial legislation of Ontario. The government's decision to grant one group money and not the other put the festival in jeopardy. Apparently the CDA earned formal approval from the province to put on the festival. Decision like this one effectively control the interest of both groups. Arjun Appadurai (1990) says something about the exercising of power in terms of cultural products becoming part of an ideology for projects such as multiculturalism. He writes that "nation-states do this by exercising taxonomic control over difference, by creating various kinds of . . . spectacle to domesticate difference". He continues indicating that "by seducing small groups with the fantasy of self-display on some sort of . . . cosmopolitan stage" (1990:13), nations more easily regulate difference.

CONCLUSION

It is possible to point towards at least two competing projects Caribana was implicated in. First, there was the quest for nation-building by the West Indian communities who developed Caribana. Their goals were for Caribana to become emblematic within the diverse Caribbean community. Along the way to these goals, "internal squabbling" and

"infighting" produced a discourse of divisions, deployed using rhetoric of race and class (Manning 1983). Second, we notice how the talk of difference was not ignored. The differences became part of the public spectacle of Caribana. This suggests that a discourse of difference must be understood in terms of its relationship to the larger project of difference that is multiculturalism. An example, such as the grant given to the CDA, may show how ethnicity is commodified and comes under the control of policies of multiculturalism.

From 1976-1981, the future of the organization was in jeopardy. Patrick Shepperd notes how the "essence and spirit of carnival" were gone and the "impact of colour" suffered (Shepperd 1984). Peter Jackson indicates, that by 1977 the question of island insularity had re-surfaced and despite claims for a "real West Indian carnival", it is noted that the "very foundation of the Caribana organization" was in question (Contrast 3 August 1978). Furthermore, Jackson tells us that still in 1978 there was 'seriously unresolved conflicts'. These kinds of tensions produced lackluster celebrations. Caribana was increasingly becoming a bothersome disappointment.

It was not until 1980 that the CDA and CCC ended their split. It finally became apparent that both groups were working towards similar goals. A united effort was far more productive in terms of addressing the pressures exerted by the government and increasingly the police. "The rift", writes Manning, "had seriously eroded the efforts of both groups and that neither the West Indian population nor the city of Toronto were willing to support two competing festivals (Manning 1983:193). Caribana had survived a rocky period in its

development, but at much expense. It suffered from poor shows, largely due to lack of money and threatened walkouts by masquerade makers and bandleaders. It was subject to the plague of islandism, as cries of "small island thing" and "small island men" were called upon to ridicule this big dance show. Caribana also learned from its difficulties. It became an institution whereby people debated Caribana news and issues affecting the lives of Caribbean peoples in Canada. Caribana became more than just an "once a year thing". Its politics stretched far beyond the performance of the bands on Saturday.

Caribbean people began to look towards Caribana as a sounding board in which to speak about the difficulties of racism and the harsh realities of living in Canada as Black and Caribbean people. In coming years this role for Caribana would be tested. There was a steady increase in the criminalization and racialization of Toronto's Black communities seen in the popular press. How would Caribana be implicated in the representational practices of the popular press?

In chapter two I deal with the next crucial period in Caribana's history. I examine the implications of a poor relationship between the Black community and the police for Caribana. I do this by addressing the ways in which Caribana comes up against the fractured relationship.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 1980-1986: BACKGROUND

By the 1980's another crisis was affecting Caribana and the wider Black and Caribbean community. During the 1980's there was a rapid intensification of activities between the police and the Black community. Several incidents involving members of the Black and West Indian community and police raised public awareness about the alleged discriminatory practices of the police. Throughout the community cries of racist police were heard. In 1978, metro police fatally shot a Caribbean man. One year later they shot another⁸. This increased the animosity between the community and police. Black people protested the killings, calling for justice and the resignation of the officers. The metropolitan police responded by creating the ethnic relations unit to deal with instances of alleged Black criminality.

The unit did very little in healing the gap between police and the Black community. Perhaps, Caribana could play the part in helping to bring the community and the police back in harmony. Despite, Caribana's tremendous contribution towards multiculturalism (however symbolic and empty this may be), the parade became subject to the same racism that was plaguing the wider community. The violence that occurred during the 1984 and 1985 celebrations were reminders for some of the dangers of Caribana.

Some factors help explain why relations between the Black community and the police

Personal Interview 2 July 1997; Gerard 1979.

were breaking down during the 1980's. One factor was immigration. Changes to the Immigration Act, implemented in 1978, made it easier for people of colour to enter Canada. The new "point system" opened greater opportunities for people previously discriminated against by the old system, which favoured Europeans over non-Europeans. The new system removed the racial biases that ordered Canadian immigration in previous years, by emphasizing skills over colour, race or place of origin. The point system worked with nine criteria to assess the general "acceptability" of applicants: age, occupational demand, vocational preparation, arranged employment, location, education, relatives in Canada, official-language competence and personal suitability. It was a non-discriminatory and neutral adjustment to Canadian immigration. However, despite the point system's appeal to neutrality, it was still possible to discriminate in the immigration process, given the rather ambiguous nature of some of its terms⁹.

One effect of the point system caused changes in demographic figures. The more open system contributed to rapid demographic shifts in the general population of particular Canadian cities. For example, in Montreal and Toronto higher levels of people of colour dramatically changed the composition from mono-racial to multi-racial. Frances Henry (1995) has shown that in 1961, 90 percent of Canada's immigrants came from European countries and that following changes to the Immigration Act this figure declined by 25 percent. Additional work by Henry shows that by 1986, 38 percent of Canadians had an

⁹see Henry (1995) for a discussion of how racism was manifested in the point system.

ancestor who was neither French nor English. Other figures demonstrate how Canadian cities were changing. For example in 1986, racial minorities comprised 6.3 percent or 1.6 million of Canada's population. In 1991, the numbers increased to 9.6 percent or 2.6 million of the general population (see Henry 1995).¹⁰

A consequence of increased immigration by people of colour in general and by Blacks in particular was that questions of ethnicity, culture and place of birth took on greater significance. Judgements based on skin colour, ethnicity and culture began to count as important ways to differentiate people. Racial difference set the boundaries between people. Moreover, these differences had tremendous affects for the way racial minorities were treated by mainstream society and by the police in particular. Poor and unfair treatment of racial minorities by police has been identified as one of the more persistent tensions and conflicts shaping the lives of immigrants of colour¹¹.

Another factor was the economic consequence. During the early to mid 80's a weak domestic economy contributed to the economic racism suffered by immigrants. Poor domestic markets, high unemployment and rising inflation generated sentiments to reduce the number of immigrants permitted into Canada. Immigrants, particularly those of colour,

¹⁰For a more comprehensive analysis of patterns of Caribbean immigration see Anderson (1993). See chapters four through seven for a discussion of socio-demographic characteristics and their implication for policy. These chapters also offer age, sex, occupational and destination profiles of Caribbean immigrants.

¹¹See Henry (1995) chapter four on "Racism and Policing. Also see Clare Lewis (1989) report "Race Relations and Policing Task Force.

became scapegoats for issues stemming from unemployment and underemployment. For example, immigrants were blamed for taking away jobs, occupying low-income housing, increasing crime rates and unfairly benefitting from welfare subsidies¹². These examples were part of the anti-immigrant discourse that was partially a result of an unstable economy experienced in the 1980's. One way that this negative discourse manifested itself was in discussions about reducing quotas. The economic factor is an important consideration here because it shows how hostility against immigrants increased in certain sectors. Some of these sectors included: employment and labour, housing and welfare, and crime and policing.¹³

Of these sectors, crime and policing, has been the subject of a number of government reports and commissions. Since, the early part of the decade, government reports have identified racism as a contributing factor in the shooting of Black and West Indian people for alleged crimes. Some of these reports include the *Report of The Advisor on Race Relations* (1992), *Racism Behind Bars the treatment of black and other racial minority prisoners in Ontario prisons* (1994) and the *Report of The Commission On systemic Racism*

¹²For example, see Roxana Ng (1988). Ng examined how the category of "immigrant women" was constructed by employment counsellors. Her work explores how the definition colluded with labour demands and state funding agencies.

¹³For a discussion of labour and immigration see Breton (1981) and Henry (1987) chapter on "Caribbean Immigration to Canada: Prejudice and Opportunity" from *Caribbean Exodus* B. Levine (ed). See also Shirley B. Seward (1987) on "The Relationship Between Immigration and The Canadian Economy" and Warren E. Kalbach (1987) on "Ethnicity and the labour Force: A Discussion Paper".

in the Ontario Criminal Justice System (1995). One theme the reports focus on is the idea that racism exist everywhere and that its presence influences the way in which police behave towards people of colour. While, these reports do not support that there is widespread racism among police officers, they do however, conclude that systemic racism does comprise the business of policing. Thus, policing is an activity that operates within the same set of biases and stereotypes that mainstream society hold with respect to racial minorities.

I propose here to take up a discussion of policing and the Caribana parade. Primarily I want to focus upon the relationship between metro police and the Caribana revellers. Often times, as the various incidents show, the revellers are perceived to be the festival organizers, the Caribbean Cultural Committee (CCC). The story that unfolds here is a history of the events as they have been relayed to the public through the print media. This story is based on newspaper accounts that appeared in the *Toronto Star* and the *Globe and Mail*. Specifically, I will be focussing on issues of violence that occurred during Caribana week or weekend. The discussion will be framed by the range of questions that arise from my research question one as outlined in chapter one. Specifically, I ask: How are participants at the festival spoken about in the papers. Here I am interested in exploring the issues that the newspapers cover. My second interest will be to examine how these representations have consequences for broader political, economic and cultural concerns for the CCC. The focus for this question highlights how negative discourses about Caribana jeopardize its economic success. I will also explore, what can be learned from the heavy police presence at the

Caribana parade. Finally, analysis, will take up how the representations of Caribana in popular imagination may help to reinforce domains of power and dominance over minority communities and how this affects our understanding of some popular conceptions of multiculturalism in Toronto.

2.2 IT WAS LIKE TWO EARTHQUAKES

Caribana has had only three isolated incidents of police clashes at the Saturday parade. This number of three is significant because it pales in comparison with one of Caribana's equivalents, London England's Nottinghill festival. Confrontations between London's Black and West Indian population and the police at carnival time have been well documented (Owusu 1986; Cohen 1980; Howe 1977; Jackson 1987; Gilroy 1987; Hall and Jefferson 1977 [for a broad discussion]). The violence occurring during Nottinghill carnivals in 1976 and '77, eclipses the infrequent incidences that are associated with Caribana. I say "associated" because the mainstream press has primarily been responsible for making this connection. Referring to events in London is not meant to minimize what has been taking place here in Toronto. Rather, it is my attempt to bring to the discussion another related context that I hope will show how actions of the state are implicated in the social construction of race and racism (see Gilroy 1987; Lawrence 1982; Jackson 1987). Here in Toronto, our socially constructed views of race have been mediated through various notions of multiculturalism. Yet this multiculturalism has contributed to the festival's repression through the 1980's. During this time, the Toronto media, has popularized the notion of a

criminal intent in Caribana.

In a conversation with Charles Roach, I asked him to talk about the relationship between the black community and the police. I asked him, "so what about the relationship of the black community and the police in those early years, through the 70's and 80's?". "Not bad relationships at all", he responded. He continues saying, "up until 1978, in all the years, in all the people could remember at least since '55, there hadn't been any shooting of any Black people at all." However, he does remember something he described to me as a general feeling in Toronto of the 1960's. Describing this feeling or atmosphere, he told me, "Toronto was somewhat of a graveyard in a way because there was not the openness that you see now". But the graveyard, Roach speaks about, he also remembers as an "illusion". Thinking back to his early days as a student, he recalls how his band used to play at the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. They could play there but could not patronize the establishment any other time. He says, "we used to go down to the club and we used to play down there". His band would play to the mostly white audiences, who in his words were, "enjoying drinks and all that kind of stuff". Still, Roach is reminded of the illusion that this presented to him and the band. He noted to me that "even in that time we [his band] couldn't even get a beer . . . or nothing at all, you know".

During 1979 and '80 Caribana came under the leadership of Raymond England. Fresh off the return of the CDA to the ranks of the CCC, the festival was moving in a brighter and stronger direction. The CCC regained control of the festival bringing again to

Toronto streets the splendour of the masquerade bands. In 1980 the festival lasted ten days and included performances by the legendary calypsonian The Mighty Sparrow. In a 1972 song, Sparrow had once described Caribana this way:

It's mas, Toronto gone wild
It's mas, Trinidadian style
Steel band play
Lord, the music sweet
All the white women
Goin' be 'pon the street.¹⁴

On all accounts' Caribana was back in full force. The city was embracing it. Just a few short years ago in 1979, the festival was noticeably reduced to only six days. It was described as a disappointment. This was changing for the 1980 celebrations. "Newspapers", Jackson tells us, "began to reach for superlatives again . . . indulg[ing] in extravagant alliteration" (Jackson 1992:134): "Caribana: crowds and clowns, Calypso, carousing, costumes, children, Carnival!" (Contrast 9 August 1979). There were other voices that were not as supportive. They spoke about the difficulties that Caribana generates within the community. One local paper spoke about "Caribana and community: not always together" (Contrast 1 August 1980). In this article, a woman was quoted as saying, "some Jamaicans go downtown to look on at the Caribana parade, but they do not get involved in the festival. That's a small island thing" (Ibid). Others criticized, Chair Raymond England for "staging a predominantly Trinidadian affair under a Caribbean guise" (Ibid). Other critics referred to the festival as a "ripoff", "useless" and "socially insignificant" (Ibid) . These concerns

¹⁴This appears in Manning 1983:192

pointed towards Caribana's significance in terms of the racial problems affecting the lives of Black and Caribbean people. Still, not all agreed with those expressions:

It is doubtful that Caribana will solve the racial issues that plague our city. But its certainly refreshing to see, even for a few hours, people of all colours and origins unite on at least one point - admiration for the artistic talents and skill displayed in the many faces of this annual event (Contrast 1 August 1980).

Before 1978, Toronto never really had a problem with the police shooting black people, although there were incidents that occurred in 1972. However, 1978 was the year overt police problems started in Toronto. In 1978 a Toronto police officer shot and killed Andrew Evans, popularly known as Buddy Evans. He was shot and killed in a place called the Flying Disco. About six officers were surrounding him and one of them shot and killed him. "And then the next year", Charles Roach tells me, "in 1979, they shot and killed Albert Johnson". In a matter of two years Toronto police had killed two black men. It has been suggested, by Warren Gerard that "Evan's shooting, and especially Johnson's, may have sparked the black outcry against the police, but more at issue, perhaps, is the day-by-day treatment blacks say they receive from the police" (Gerard 1979:26).

The details concerning the Johnson shooting were contested. There were two versions told to the public from radically different points of view. One was the police version. This was the official one. The other was the passionate story expressed by Johnson's then six year old daughter Colsie. Her story told of a man being hunted down and dragged into the street and shot. In a story written for Canada's national magazine Maclean's, journalist Warren Gerard says that "ugliness erupted one quiet Sunday afternoon on a small

street in mid-Toronto" (Gerrard 1979:26). Albert Johnson, a Jamaican immigrant, living in the Manchester street area - a working class area featuring predominantly Italian, Portuguese, Greek and West Indian people - was shot "at the hands of Toronto's tough police force" (Ibid). The police were responding to calls from neighbourhood members of a man "acting in 'an abusive and disorderly' manner" (Ibid). When the police attempted to arrest Johnson, perhaps just for questioning, Gerrard writes that, "he ran inside and eventually to an upstairs bedroom where he armed himself with a lawn edger" (Ibid). At this point, the stories by Colsie and the police officers differ. The extreme differences in their stories relate to the tremendous protest by the Black and West Indian community.

Police on the scene said that once Johnson came back down the stairs he was swinging, "what appeared to be an axe" (Ibid). This intensified the situation. Now the police were presented with not only a man who had just moments ago resisted arrest, but had now taken up a weapon, thus becoming a threat. What happened next determined the Black community's reaction. A warning shot was fired by Constable William Ingle, a young officer in his twenties. Apparently, this shot did little to impede either the progress of Mr Johnson or reduce the dangerous of the situation. The situation required officer Ingle to fire again. Johnson was now three to four feet away from Ingle, who this time delivered a fatal shot to the chest.

Colsie's version tells another story. It was about a scared man fearing for his life. Her story showed the power of the police to intrude upon a man in his own house. Her story

is eerily reminiscent of execution style killings. It is also the story told to the public by a frightened six year old who just watched her daddy die. Colsie was one of four Johnson children. She said, "they hit him and blood was coming down his head" (Ibid). She continues, now detailing the drama, "he went upstairs and the cops told him to come down". "They came up to get him," she said, "and told him to kneel down and when he kneeled down they shot him" (Ibid). This was a horrifying story. Many people were upset, in the least with what was perceived to be a demonstration of absolute power by the police.

There was a diverse public response to the killing of Johnson. It was not exclusive to the Black community, however, the strongest statements were made by Toronto Blacks. Leaders of the Black community felt that the incident was racially motivated. During the investigation into the case, feelings between the Black community and the police intensified. Over 2000 Black people marched, protesting day and night the actions of the police. They were demanding reforms. Stronger opinions, as one placard read, demanded to, "hang the pigs" (Ibid). There were responses from other places as well. Former consul-general for Jamaica, Oswald Murray, registered his complaints in a letter addressed to Metro Toronto Police Chief Harold Adamson. Murray wrote saying, "The Jamaican consulate-general is profoundly disturbed by what seems, from accounts we have received, to have been a callous and unnecessary killing"(Ibid).

During the investigation, it became known that Johnson was being sought by police for allegedly assaulting an officer. As it turned out, Johnson had his own complaint to lobby

against the police. He had gone before the Ontario Human Rights Commission claiming that "police had beaten him and called him 'nigger' and 'black bastard'" (Ibid). In a remarkable turn of events, Chief Adamson did what no other Toronto police force had ever done. Weakening from pressure put upon him by the Black community, Adamson asked the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) to take over the investigation of the case. It appeared that the pressure of the Black protest had Adamson thinking, "they're still at it".¹⁵

One year before the Johnson case, Buddy Evans 24 years old, was shot after "he hit [a] cop with his own billy club" (Ibid). This was another controversial case that had just barely quieted down before Johnson outcry erupted. Despite the anger and sorrow for the families of the victims, the black community had issue with the police over the day to day treatment they receive. These cases did nothing, but further the growing gap between the two. The anti-cop rhetoric was increasing. Black leaders suggested that the cops need to learn about cultural differences and to not live by stereotypes. Demonstrating how racism affects us all, Gerrard offered a superficial example of learning to live with others. He wrote, "even though cops have learned a lot about cultural differences: that for example, a group of Italians in a frenetic discussion on a street corner doesn't constitute a riot" (Gerrard 1979:26).

Still, what was called 'anti-cop rhetoric' did not confine itself to the Johnson case. Toronto's homosexual community was also weary of the power of the police. Toronto's gay community had been subject to discrimination. Bromley Armstrong, formerly of the Ontario

¹⁵Appears in Gerard 1979

Human Rights Commission said, "it is the attitude of the police towards minority people and the minority includes blacks, native Indians, south Asians, homosexuals, hippie types, the poor that live in Ontario Housing" (quoted in Gerrard 1979). There was one incident that occurred near the time of the Johnson shooting. It was a raid on a bath house that resulted in charges against twenty-three men. The police did a startling act. Gerrard reported that "a police officer called local school boards to give them the names of four teachers among those charged with being found in a common bawdy house" (Ibid).

Chief Adamson, coming under incredible amounts of pressure to explain the behaviour of his force, tried his best to diffuse the image of the police as 'anti-minority'. He had to address allegations of there being a police trade journal referring to homosexuals as "queers, fruits and weirdos" (Ibid). He also apologized publicly for statements made by an officer who said, "blacks think of little but their colour, and Jews of their Jewishness".¹⁶ There were demands, by the Ontario Human Rights commission and other official bodies, demanding to know how many homosexuals and Blacks were on the force. However, Adamson did not stand by idly while his force was attacked for discriminatory and racist practices. In response, he defended his force saying:

We'll have some members on the force who are 'anti' whatever they're dealing with, but that can only go on for so long. If we continue to get complaints about them, we either correct them or get rid of them. It's certainly not to our advantage to have people here who are 'anti' anybody. But on the other hand, we're not going to over-react and hang some policeman or charge him with murder (quoted in Gerrard 1979).

¹⁶Appears in Gerard 1979

These cases tell us about the power relations between minorities and police. In particular, 1979 was a formative year for the course Black institutions like Caribana would chart. The festival would be swept up in the implications of these shootings. One of those implications was a justification, by police, of the harsh treatment meted out against Blacks. Apparently, brutality was a proper option to deal with violent outburst. For Caribana, the shootings may not have had a direct implication because so much of the political game Caribana attempts to play are institutionalised in multiculturalism. Thus, its play, fun and revellery are minimal in addressing political concerns stemming from power inequalities and racist actions. Though its celebration is marked as fun, this is not to say that it is incapable of politically addressing these matters. However, these politics are determined by what is expected of the celebration. These expectations - whether more should be made of its potential to become a strong political voice, or whether it should remain as a party - has been a persistent debate. The obvious position, is one that gains strength from both. One may want to call it a playful politics. Thus, 1978 was a crucial year in the formation of a difficult relationship between the black community and the police. It would prove to be the start of what could be characterized in the least as a shaky relationship.

Mr Roach remembers that the shootings of Evans and Johnsons were:

like two earthquakes that . . . the one was a little tremble at first, but Albert Johnson was a real earthquake. And then that made a big difference in police relations, then on there was a little lull in it, in the early 80's. So there's no real problem, no real serious problem. But by '88, it started again and since '88 it hasn't stopped.

This year they have continued it."¹⁷

The imagery of the earthquake is a powerful metaphor. It makes reference to the consequences of the police's actions throughout the Black and Caribbean community. An earthquake leaves nothing but destruction in the wake of its path, leaving people with the rubble of their lives to be put together. Also, an earthquake leaves an endearing message imprinted upon the psyche. Rarely can one survive an earthquake and not be affected by its power psychologically, politically and most surely economically. The shooting of Evans and Johnson carried the symbolic psychological effects that sent a resounding message to the black community. These shootings were hard lessons in the politics of a city that thousands of West Indians were willing to make their adopted home. The difference that Mr Roach is getting at reminds us that the consecutive shootings indelibly left their mark on the black and Caribbean community. As he points out, since 1988 it appear as though police shootings of blacks have taken on an annual repetition.

Mr Roach's statements make clear that "there was a little lull in it, in the early 80's". The lull he mentions may be statistically supported. There were other police clashes. Some ended in violence. But they all attest to the fractured police and black community relations.

It would be unfair to begin a story about the violence at Caribana during the 1980's. It ignores the minimal quarrels, beefs and disturbances that occurred during the previous

¹⁷Personal Interview 2 July 1997.

decade. However, the lull can be filled with an account of the situations that occurred in the years 1984 to 1986. These years saw Caribana command front page attention in the major papers, for reasons other than, the size of the crowd, the weather, the costumes, music and food (Gallagher, 1995). These other headlines told a story of police clashes with young black males. It told a story of violence on the island picnic site. The story that caught the attention of most of mainstream society was the stabbing of an officer in 1985. This was the first serious incidence of violence in Caribana's then eighteen year history.

However, the connections I want to make between what Mr Roach remembers as "earthquakes" and the stabbing incidents are as follows: The lull was a building processes that saw the expanse between black and Caribbean peoples and police increasing. It was widening. Things were not getting better. The memories of 1978 and 1979 were still fresh in the minds of both groups. So it is not that the 1985 incident was simply a random occurrence, rather I see it as part of a larger and much older context, one that draws upon the lessons of 1978.

On the morning of August 6, 1984, Metropolitan Toronto woke up to read this headline on page A6 of the Toronto Star: "Caribana officials probe near-riot at waterfront". The article, written by Paul Bilodeau, concerns an incident, "in which about 50 metro police officers were called to clear about 2,000 Caribana revellers from a private parking lot on Queen's Quay east of Jarvis St. about 9:30 pm Saturday." The then staff sergeant David Haggart said, "about 100 youths began throwing bottles at two police officers when they

arrested a man after a fight broke out between two men, one white and one black" (Toronto Star 6 August 1984:A6). The article said, that "police also intervened to protect Star Photographer Zoran Millie, who was roughed up by a group of angry youths, while he was taking flash photographs" (ibid). Bilodeau makes at least the following issues significant for the comprehension of the situation: first, that it was a near riot and second that it was a Caribana related event involving revellers. A third issue describing that it was the work of angry youths. What is even more interesting about this article is the related piece printed directly to the left of it and below. In this smaller article we learn of the consequences the above three points have for society. The smaller piece is about a man who made a call to police because another man was threatening his life with a knife. There is an interesting connection with Caribana being made. The brief description is significant for the way in which Caribana is implicitly implicated in the details of the story.

The man, who was threatened, Simon Cotter, "made the call at 9 pm Saturday, but it wasn't until 12:45 am Sunday that two police arrived" (ibid). Why is this significant? The interesting thing is the time factor here and the way the Caribana parade event is named the problem in the delayed response time by the police. Again staff sergeant Dave Haggart, responding to the situation said, "because of the 'near-riot' Saturday night at Caribana, police may have had to re-schedule patrols" (ibid).

The facts about what took place between the police and the party goers are sketchy at best. However, describing the events as a riot immediately sends signals, which serve to

help characterize Caribana as a potential site for violence. A near-riot suggests that without the calming effect of the police, the racially motivated fight between the black and white youth, would have escalated into a full-blown riot. So we may ask ourselves, what is the problem of this kind of reporting?

The article is written from the point of view of the dominant society and specifically, from the point of view of the police. Also the article reinforces the presence of the police as "the most visible" so as to confirm their position of dominance. It also emphasizes the power of the rioting crowd noting that "the arresting officers were forced to retreat from the crowd" (ibid). Moreover, positions of power are clearly outlined. One is the legislated position of the police. The other is the more dangerous riotous power of the youths. It is this riotous power that caused the call for help by Mr Cotter to be pushed aside. One can only speculate about why this may be the case. Perhaps the criminal threat represented by young Caribana revellers is a far more immediate and dangerous situation than a single knife threatening incident.

Here is another incident, which is again an example of press coverage that borrows from popularly held stereotypes of Blacks. The most controversial and alarming incidence of violence occurred in 1985, when officer Quinton Johnson was stabbed, after he attempted to arrest a man for possession of marijuana. The incident took place on Olympic island, the site of Caribana's picnic celebrations. The Globe and Mail reported that "fights broke out between some of the close to 25,000 people on the islands and the 10 to 15 police officers

on patrol" (Globe and Mail 6 August 1985:A1). The article offers the following account of the scenario by a young man present on the island. He said: "There was this big Rasta(farian) dude. He was a dread who was getting pushed from behind by a cop. The dread said, 'Don't push or I'll take a out my knife'. He (the policeman) pushed again and the guy knifed him" (Ibid). Another person, eighteen, said he saw the knifing. "The rasta put his arms around the cop's neck and knifed him" (ibid). When asked if police arrested the man who did the stabbing, the man responded, "no man, he was black man, and way too fast for the police" (ibid).

This was the official detail of the incident released to the public. However, within the West Indian community there was disagreement with this account. Peter Deboran, who in 1985 was the producer of Carib Beat, "vigorously opposed the misrepresentation by the media of the events surrounding the end of the Caribana picnic" (Contrast 16 August 1985:4). In a contrasting story written to the editor of one leading West Indian newspaper, Deboran offers a much different account of what happened on the island.

Deboran was working as a video technician, involved with the backstage production of the island picnic events. In his letter he writes that he, "had ample opportunity to witness some of the actions of the police" (Ibid). Describing the scene to Contrast readers, Deboran wrote:

"at approximately 10 pm, a half an hour after the show had ended, during which time the backstage personnel were packing up props, costumes, clothes, equipment and other paraphernalia, I was shocked to see several teenagers run screaming past me, closely followed by policemen brandishing their batons at us" (Ibid).

The shock, Deboran spoke about, was the way the police walked towards backstage technicians and "brusquely ordered" them out "or else"(Ibid). The police or "metro's finest" as he sarcastically referred to them were shouting that they "didn't care" that Deboran and his group "were cleaning up" (Ibid). One officer started "tearing down the railings" (Ibid). Deboran described the fear, anger and injustice he and others felt as he tried to make sense of the situation:

It is impossible to describe the anger and humiliation that I and others felt at that moment. During the ensuing 45 minutes I was psychologically brutalized by the aggressive behaviour of 'metro's finest' (Ibid).

Still, there was more to the story. Deboran described the horror of the situation as people feared for their lives. Deboran tells us that he was, "witness to an officer pulling a gun on an unarmed man by the lake", and that he saw, "a middle aged woman so distraught by three policemen running at her with their clubs raised that in her panic to get away she tipped her baby carriage over, spilling her child out, screaming" (Ibid). Approximately 5000 thousand Caribana revellers were "herded into a small area by over 300 hundred policemen" (Ibid). "No wonder," Deboran noted, "children were lost, people hysterical, fainting or even injured as they ran helter-skelter from the police" (Ibid). People were running to get off the island. They were heading for the ferry boats to safely take them back to the mainland. But this was difficult because bodies were being jammed into a tight area. Deboran recalled that as, "[he] stepped over a small bridge separating Olympic Island from the docks leading to the Ferry, [he] paused to assess the amount of people jammed into the area" (Ibid). He did this, "to

measure the amount of time [he] would have to wait before going home" (Ibid). Deboran described what happened next:

Within seconds I was startled by a voice screaming 'get off the bridge,' I turned toward the sound and saw a Policeman crouching by the bridge wall across from me. His arm flashed up and suddenly I saw a bottle hurtling toward me. I barely managed to cover my face as glass splintered all around me. The Policeman then repeated the exact sentence this time adding 'or the next one will be a bullet' (Ibid).

Peter Deboran's account of the 1985 incident was referred to as an "Eyewitness report of Caribana" (Ibid). It scorned the media for its misrepresentation of the events. However, he also noted that the media were not allowed on the Island. Incidentally, any one not already on the island was not allowed to cross over. As a result of the barring of media personnel, Deboran wrote, "the media . . . had to rely on the end product of all this, a cowed group of people going home, and a few stretchers here and there with which to base their stories on" (Ibid). He also noted that members of the CCC should have remained back to see that clearance of Olympic island was properly handled. However, Deboran reminded readers that "the bulk of the problem lies with the police for their belligerent behaviour towards the concert goers" (Ibid). Deboran wrote to the editor of Contrast, describing himself, "as a Canadian . . . appalled and ashamed of the treatment given the Caribana celebrants" (Ibid). He said, "what [was] supposed to be an Island picnic was turned into a melee by the police" (Ibid).

Unfortunately for Deboran and the Contrast readers this story was not heard elsewhere. Perhaps because Deboran did not address the letter to the mainstream papers but

to a local West Indian one. Still, the significance lies in the differences between the accounts of the 1985 incident. On the one hand, the mainstream papers speak about a riotous mob posing a deadly threat to the lives of officers and others. This required the use of force to diminish the situation. On the other hand, the local papers offered another account. This one was about the force and power of the police acting against a defenceless crowd. The papers show how they differentially speak about the same community. So that it appears that the West Indian papers passionately speak to its readers about Caribana as a family event. While the mainstream papers, highlight a perceived criminal intent in Caribana that posed a threat to the otherwise stable order of things. To underscore this point, - of affecting the stable order of things -, it may be important to recall how the call for help by Simon Cotter was reshuffled due to a Caribana outbreak.

The media coverage of the situation invoked stereotypes of young black males in particular and of black people in general. For example, the figure of the Rasta as a big dude, created a menacing image in the mind of the readers. Popular misconceptions of Rastafarian people as criminals and dangerous persons were not new characterizations. Torontonians were made aware of their presence through the popular writings of local magazines. Writing in 1981, for Toronto Life magazine, journalist Maggie Siggins explored the racialized plight of the Rasta. Her article, "To This Cold Place: Reggae, Rastas, racism and dreams of an island in the sun", explored the difficult relationship between the police and the Rastafarian community. She wrote that:

The Rastafarians have become everyone's favourite bogeyman. The dreadlock spikes, often hidden under multicolored tams; the devotion to the 'miracle weed'; hint of sexual prowess; the affinity for the reggae beat (1981:34).

Also the ease with which the stabbing was described, reinforced the supposed criminal nature of Rastas and by extension black people. Also in support of this process of "Othering" was the invocation of the superior black athlete. Mainstream press cited that the black man was far too quick and speedy for the police officer to apprehend him. This was a stereotyped version of the athletic black male. Also, the articles indicated the average age of the crowd several times. This created an additional image of the offenders that was familiar in popular conception. It read as follows: Young, black, male, Rasta and a reveller. This was the description of the person that was responsible for the violence on the island.

Superintendent Frank Barbetta, who was responsible for organizing the police activity on the island, said that, "alcohol was to blame for the trouble" (Toronto Star 6 August 1985:A4). He continued saying, "I think we're going to have to reassess this kind of thing" (Ibid). He also said that "a small minority, went squirrely. When you put that many people on an island on a hot humid day and then open up a beer tent, you've got trouble" (ibid). Perhaps, the most telling statement that shows the animosity between the police and black community was given by an unnamed officer on crowd control. Addressing no one in particular, the officer said, "I hope this is the last annual Caribana. They're batting a thousand - two years in a row" (ibid). The reference to "batting a thousand" draws an analogy with baseball, specifically to a perfect batting average. The officer was referring to

the outbreak that occurred at the prior year's Caribana celebration (1984). Here again, we see another analogy made between the black and Caribbean population and athletics.

One problem with the way these incidences were reported was the way they suggested an inherent criminal element in Caribana. There are many spin off complications which followed from these two incidents. Power was the most important. If there was any doubt among Caribana organizers who the real power players were, these cases were a reminder that the police and city had the balance of it. The aftermath of 1985, called for many changes to the organization and structure of future Caribana festivals. City and police officials were calling for a complete ban of Caribana. Others on the city side of the issue were not as adamant for a complete closure. Their position was to revisit the conditions under which Caribana organizers could apply for and secure permits for the parade and the picnic site. The two picnic events were the source of much controversy, confusion and political tug of war. It was a war that eventually Caribana organizers would win. But at what cost to the integrity and respect of the CCC was this minor victory attained. A 1986 police report, recommended Caribana be switched to a mainland location (Toronto Star 20 January 1986:A6). This recommendation fell through and the CCC, despite police wrangling, continued to put on the island picnics. However, in response to consistent police pressure, the CCC, considered using young adults as security guards. These young people would be assistants to the regular parade and island patrollers. The CCC provided its own security force to work in conjunction with the police services. This recommendation and the

response by the CCC seemed to cool tempers temporarily. The point is that the CCC was reminded here of the bureaucratic and political power of the police and the city. They were dictating the terms of Caribana. Throughout the meetings, press releases and submitted reports that followed the 1985 incident, CCC members reminded the public that Caribana was being, "dumped on" and that "promoters of rock festivals or the Grey Cup celebrations are never blamed for the excesses of their fans" (ibid).

The incidents of 1984 and 1985, created an atmosphere of distress for future Caribana festivals. Organizers and police were steadily making preparations to avoid a repeat of the previous years occurrences in the 1986 parade. While festival organizers were preparing for an even bigger, brighter and better Caribana, something done each year; the police on the other hand were preparing for the potential threat of violence. In their minds, if '84 and '85 were any indication then they would be ready for any disturbances in 1986.

On Friday May 30, 1986 on page A6 the headline read as follows: "Beefed-up security set for this year's Caribana festival". The article reported that the 1986 parade "will have triple the number of police and security officials" (Toronto Star 30 May 1986:A6). And to show their cooperation with police, the CCC put a call out for volunteers, "aged 18 and over to help out with the parade route marshals" (Contrast 18 July 1986:9). The 1986 parade had a strong police presence. The policing of Caribana was far beyond scale than in previous years. What were the reasons behind such an increase in patrol? What other social, political and cultural significance can be discerned from this control of Caribana? In what way does

this reinscribe positions of power - political, social and economic strength?

In 1978, Professor Frances Henry published a comprehensive study on attitudes towards race in Toronto. Her study found - after interviewing 617 White Torontonians - that 51% were racist in some fashion, 16% were extremely racist and 35% inclined towards racism (Henry 1978). In spite of the numbers, what is more significant is the analysis of the attitudes. Writing in 1981, about Professor Henry's study, freelance writer Maggie Siggins noted that, "a majority were certain that not only is the black race genetically inferior to the white, but also that God decreed it should be this way" (Siggins 1981:66). A more recent study by Henry - The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto - suggests that Black and Caribbean people commonly learn to live with racism (1994). This newer study shows that Blacks learn to live with everyday bigotry and discrimination through a number of coping strategies and strategic insularity.

One significance I wish to highlight from the above illustrations and Professor Henry's work is the relationship between racism and power. When those in positions of power are deep-rooted racist, learning to live with racism is a different kind of problem. The racism is blurred. It is systemic and protected institutionally. Thus, it may become a regular feature of the representations of Black people. Annemarie Gallagher (1995) writes about the relationship between race and power in the representation of Caribana. She says that it is a strange yearning and loathing. She notes that:

On the one hand, Caribana is seen as 'joyful,' 'spell-binding' and 'dreamy'; on the other, it raises images of fear. This collocation of desire and dread, which recurs

regularly throughout the articles... constructs an ambivalent, opposing set of relationships... as another type of barrier... of representational confusion which makes it extremely difficult for white dominant culture to decode and understand what Caribana really is about (1995:403-4).

Relating to Gallagher's concern for 'representational confusion', Peter Jackson (1987)

offers a parallel comparison drawn from Nottinghill. He writes that the carnival riots of 1976, "presented an opportunity for the ideological construction of 'black youth' as an implicitly male, homogenous, and hostile group, leading to the subsequent 'criminalization' of black people in general" (1987:214).

2.3 ANOTHER STORY

Commonly what is remembered of the mid 1980's period of Caribana are renditions of the above stories. However, there was another story that was also prominent during this time. Although, with this one we notice that it was one told primarily to the West Indian community, or more properly, received by them. Unlike the stories of crime and violence told to the wider Toronto public, this one was shared by West Indians in many of their local newspapers. Instead of accounts of riots or of a stabbing, these local papers focussed on the human value that Caribana offers. They spoke about the spirituality that is a near essence in the celebration and about the reconstitution of cultural roots. Other writings, spoke about the multicultural virtues which are deeply tied to Caribana's past history. What is significant here are the different ways in that issues, concerns and sentiments were reported upon during this crucial period in the growth of the festival.

Charles Roach spoke about the intangibles that Caribana offers to the West Indian

community. Reflecting on the development of the festival, he had the following to say about the relationship and bond between the West Indian community and their creation. He said to me that:

Well it has brought a lot of happiness to a lot of people. Different reunions and so on [as] you walk down the street. And people see each other after a longtime and you see a lot of hugging and kissing and feeling good, you know. There's a powerful human value to that. Oh yeah there's a powerful human value to that, yeah powerful. It's not a question of making money.

What is highlighted here is how Caribana is a time during the year that West Indians throughout the city use to reconnect and reestablish with old friendships. It is a time of renewal. Moreover, it is the single time in the year in which the Black population is felt to be the majority. Filling the downtown streets, West Indians and Blacks becomes the majority faces in the crowd, seemingly overtaking a place that at other times denies mass gatherings.

Longtime publisher of the most recognized West Indian newspaper in Toronto and Canada, Arnold A. Auguste, offers an example of the "human value" at the heart of this celebration. Writing in 1985, he speaks differently about Caribana. Calling his article, "Toronto of the Caribbean", Auguste tells the West Indian community about what he looks forward to during Caribana. He writes:

I might see Jeffrey this year at Caribana. I might also see his brother, Frankie and Ansil, and a couple of his sisters. I don't know if any of them came to Toronto last year. I remember the first time I saw Jeffrey in Toronto. It was at Caribana. I was walking up University Avenue and just literally bumped into him. I couldn't believe it. I hadn't seen him for years. When I asked about his brothers and sisters, he just casually pointed, a short distance away, and said: "They are

somewhere over there." These people are nuts, I thought. Jeffrey was then living in New Jersey; Ansil was in New York and Frankie was in Ottawa. It was so good to see them. We grew up together in Trinidad (Share 1 August 1985:7).

Again, another example speaks of the thousands of family gatherings which take place each year Caribana rolls around. Family and friends who have been dispersed through their various patterns of immigration and travel out of the Caribbean region, meet again on Toronto streets. Sometimes, it is accidental like Auguste explains. During other times it may happen as twenty-three year old Janice tells us. During an interview I had with her she said that:

To see so many people together, enjoying themselves, and being nostalgic is extremely gratifying as is the inevitable and spontaneous reunions that take place on the side of the road. One of my friends told me of how Guyanese people always met at the same corner when the parade was on University. The sense of family, belonging and roots is what Caribana is all about and what I love about it.

Whether renewals are spontaneous or planned arrangements, Caribana has always had family support as a vital part of the celebration. From Auguste's example we learn something about how Caribana brings together people who are otherwise separated by thousands of miles. Janice extends this, speaking about the cultural roots that are a rallying point for feelings of belonging. Columnist Darryl Dean in 1985 spoke further about cultural roots. He said:

For me their presence [West Indians] fills the city with a kind of fresh excitement reminiscent of my native Trinidad. It's as if in some magical way I am back there catching up on things again. They are all over the place . . . as I ride the subway trains and the streetcars, I find myself tuning in to [sic] bits of conversation here and there that betray familiar accents from the South. One's ears perk up, as it were, when someone aboard the streetcar remarks about the 'big macco building' as he gawks at an office tower in the financial district. 'Big macco building'? you ask yourself. Suddenly you realize that you hadn't heard the word 'macco' (sometimes

used to describe something of enormous size) ever since you were last in Trinidad (Share 1 August 1985:7).

Dean was a Share contributor who in 1985 was the editor of Caribbean International Report and the Canada-Caribbean Monthly Business Letter. His work in these journals was interested in continuing the ties and links between West Indians in the diaspora. Although he was, "not given to carousing and feting", Dean recognized the "Caribana magic in macco city" (Ibid). Underscoring the familial, kinship and cultural roots spoken about in the previous examples, Dean offered another story to the West Indian community. In 1985 he wrote:

That there can be no mistaking: Caribana brings West Indians together as no other annual event in Canada. It's no surprise that Caribana draws, as if by some hypnotic beat, thousands of West Indians, not only from North and South, but from every other conceivable point on the compass (Share 1 August 1985:7).

A "hypnotic beat"? What is this beat that Dean and the other examples talk about? Is it more than the infectious rhythm of the steelpan urging participants and spectators to jump up? Charles Roach thinks so. He has been instrumental for the injection of a Black nationalist discourse into popular understandings of Caribana. His views for Pan-African nationalism have been received positively and negatively during different times of the festival's history. Related to the "hypnotic beat" Dean wrote about as forming the magic of Caribana, Roach spoke about an "underlying rhythm" that grounds its beat in historical understandings of the relationship between Black people and the western world. Spoken with the spirit of emancipation, Roach historicizes Dean's "hypnotic beat". During our interview he told me:

That underlying this entire thing is the rhythm. The African rhythm. It's more important than the things you see visually. Such as the costumes and so on. The African rhythms served as a sort of balm throughout the whole development of Black people throughout the western world. I personally don't believe we would have survived slavery without the rhythms to make it easy to work in the fields and so on. And it's the true spirituality of the thing. It's spiritual in the sense that you cannot identify what it is or put it down in words and so on. But it's something when we hear it and we feel and hear a rhythm it's something. We have African blood in our veins... we are from that area, we're attracted to it and we can move.

These kinds of nationalistic and sentimental politics have been expressed in many ways. They have been displayed in the costumes, in dance and song. Black nationalism has also become a central feature of the organization of the festival, in strong and weak forms. Expressing a common line on Black national economics, CCC chair Wilbur Wright had this to say about the 1986 festival and future celebrations. His words offer another discourse on Caribana, differing from popular conception of Caribana as a haven for criminal activity. "New ideas abound", Wright said, "for Caribana should become a self sufficient organization, and the economic support behind all cultural activity in the black community" (Contrast 1 August 1986:7). He also expressed a desire for Caribana to, "demonstrate a major leadership role in the community and [to show] its contribution to improve relationships among people of all backgrounds through co-operation and sharing" (Ibid).

The illustrations drawn on below highlight a moment in Caribana's history where talk of divisions and differences within the organization of Caribana are drawn into discussions of what seems to divide this imagined community. The examples also highlight how another realization of community becomes a rallying point around which a common marginality

suppresses internal politics in favour of addressing a larger political goal. Moreover, the illustrations highlight what Charles Roach once said to me: "That Caribana has become the most successful source of controversy the Black community has ever had".

2.4 CONTROL AND CONTAINMENT

Following the celebrations of 1984 to 1986, the social construction of Caribana as an event to be "desired" and "feared" (Gallaughier 1995), had become a feature of mainstream press reporting. For example, the 3 August 1986 edition of the Toronto Star, featured a story describing the 1986 event. The article takes up what Gallaughier describes above as the congealing of "images of desire" with those of fear. Star reporter, Rosie DiManno wrote that "It was the most fun you could have on the streets of Toronto without getting arrested"(Toronto Star 3 August 1986:A3). She describes how the "sun [was] so fierce it almost felt like the Caribbean" and how a "hip swaying Lily Munro, provincial citizenship and culture minister led the way" (Ibid). By now Torontonians expected these touristic descriptions of the events. The reading public had also come to expect some of the following as well that being the increased role of the police as key festival players. One woman, Gwynne Michaels from New Jersey, praised Metropolitan police for their "fine handling of the crowd":

"Toronto's policemen are not only fine, but courteous, as well. Our cops will never be as fine because they're too fat. But I wish they could be as polite" (Ibid).

However, in addition to positive police support, Torontonians familiarized themselves with the presumed danger in Caribana. The following headlines from the Toronto Star highlight

the social construction of criminal intent in Caribana: "Violence erupts at Caribana, 1 officer stabbed, dozens hurt" (Toronto Star 6 August 1985:A1), "Violence erupts at island finale of Caribana fest" and "Caribana party suddenly turned into 'scary nightmare'" (Ibid). These articles spoke about the need to "change Caribana or expect violence". And how, "fireworks exploded in the sky across the waters at Ontario Place, bottles, cans and sticks rained down on the policemen as they tried to carry Johnstone to safety, fighting their way to the shore with the bleeding officer in their arms" (Ibid).

As a result, the city of Toronto and the police attempted to do more than diffuse violent outbreaks, but to control the festival at an administrative level. Illustrating this point, we turn to another series of headlines, calling for the end of Caribana as the violence seemed to be uncontrollable. On 7 August 1985, the Toronto Star, reported the "End of Caribana feared as police probe launched" and the "Future of Caribana festival in doubt". These articles raised one possible cause for the troubles: "Long wait at docks blamed for violence at Caribana festival" (Toronto Star 7 August 1985:A4). Staff superintendent Frank Barbetta, who was conducting the inquiry into the violence, said that "a small group of 'toughs, rowdies and criminals' was responsible for the violence" (Ibid). Also former mayor Art Eggleton and former Metro Chair Dennis Flynn looked into "recommendations on how violence can be prevented at future celebrations" (Ibid).

Underscoring this example is the construction of the parade as a problem event that poses a threat to the otherwise proper conduct of a reasonable society. The illustrations

below show how the playful mockery of law and order within a carnival format also becomes something to be weary of. The police were also praised for the way they, "managed to maintain order at the top of the parade route" (Ibid). Their "good natured spirits" were also emphasized. This example illustrates the fun and sexiness of Caribana:

One policeman grinned sheepishly as a young woman dressed as a daisy danced around him. 'I think I've just been pollinated,' he announced to a round of cheers (Ibid).

However, as suggested by Gallagher, the article juxtaposes the fun and excitement with references to crime statistics, thus, returning the emphasis towards "images of fear". In a sentence which seems to be disconnected with the general focus of the article, Di Manno writes that: "Police reported no incidents or arrest connected with the parade" (Ibid). The textual isolation of this sentence highlights the significance of this fact. However, its isolation also emphasizes how important even the idea of 'no arrest' is for the popular conception of the parade. In addition to this, the sentence also conveys messages about the central role of the police at the parade.

It is not to be "pollinated" or otherwise danced with, rather it is to police the law and ensure that a repeat of previous years actions do not occur. In an article, carried by the Star a few days earlier on 1 August 1986, we get a sense of the seriousness of the police's role. What is significant in this illustration is a similar way in which their policing is spoken about in terms of a carnival discourse:

As Caribana '86 climaxes over the holiday long weekend with its traditional parade and island picnics, Metro police will be on the lookout for clowns among the

massive crowds. Not the circus variety but ,the couple of clowns that are always out to start trouble,' said Staff Superintendent Donald Banks. 'They're a real minority but we're aware that they're there' (Toronto Star 1 August 1986:D10).

OPPOSITION TO CARIBANA

The question of 'riots' and 'near riots' were widely debated following the most heavily policed parade in 1986. "The total number of officers including uniformed men, [was] up by about one-third, over last year" (Toronto Star 1 August 1986:D10). Opposition to Caribana came in the form of attempts to restructure the guidelines upon which Caribana's permits for the parade and island component of its celebration were granted. As Sergeant Ted Hilton of 52 Division said, "the permits that are issued for such events have to be 'toughened up' or problems will recur" (Ibid). Hilton also suggested that city politicians, "instead of just issuing permits, they [should] have a closer look at what's in the permits" (Ibid).

CONCLUSION

The incidences of 1984 to 1986 were a dramatic turning point in the form and politics of Caribana. In wake of what was characterized as a riotous couple of years, a new political awareness was expressed by those involved with the production of the festival. It was new in the sense that issues were now made explicit and openingly discussed in the local newspapers and the general meetings. For those involved with bringing mas on the streets of Toronto, they were anxious to return Caribana to its glory as a family event. These people were interested in distancing themselves from those who saw in Caribana an opportunity to

commit crimes. Other voices were upset with the way Caribana was being 'dumped on' in the press. They complained about the poor relations between the Black community and the police. There were passionate pleas written in the local papers speaking about the virtues of Caribana and the unfair actions taken against it by the police. Still, there were other voices whose focus was inward. For these people, the phrase "take care of your own house first" symbolized what the restructuring process should look like. Caribana, had entered into an era in which organizational goals and objectives were challenged by outside interest - metro police, the city and corporate sponsors. Sometimes these challenges were presented to the public in statements released to the press - mainly through local sources. Other challenges were not "leaked" and attempts were made to deal with them privately.

One of the concerns which define this part of Caribana's history is the way in which unity and division come together to emphasize the heterogeneity that exist in this imagined community around the "idea of Caribana". On the one hand, there is a unified sense of community when dealing with the racialization of the black community and black cultural expressions like Caribana. There is a common politics which is called upon to speak about issues of the criminalization of black youth and the racialization of Caribana. However, this sense of community politics is tested when it comes up against the differing ideas members have for the political, social and economic future of the festival.

In the next chapter, I talk about how Caribana attempted to remake itself in the 1990's by addressing its internal problems. I also talk about a shift in public perception away from

the violence of the 1980's towards the financial dismantling of the CCC.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 SKYDOME: A FINANCIAL CRISIS

In spite of a near death of the festival during the 1980's, the following decade began with a sense of renewal among the organizers. Anxious to shake the memories of officer Quinton Johnson off Caribana's back and regain the confidence of the public, CCC officials attempted to implement policies that would steer their ship in the right direction. "After twenty-three years, the Caribana festival," as one report said, "has become an institution and vital pillar in the multicultural make up of Canada" (Contrast 26 July 1990:15). CCC organizers were counting on this status to help propel their organization into a new decade. If it were not for Caribana's proven economic value to Canada's tourism industry and corporate sector, last decade's struggles would have shut the festival down entirely. Despite these few stumbling blocks, Caribana and its supportive community were looking forward to, "bigger and better" opportunities

With a new board in place and ready to execute a set of old and new ideas, Caribana's future looked bright. Joan Pierre was a visible and personable board member who took centre stage in carrying out the ideas¹⁸. As the festival's new executive officer, she was charged with administering the production of the festival. Her expertise in business, art and communication made her a good fit for Caribana's revised platform for the 1990's. One idea she set up was an old one. She brought back the popular and traditional "Talk Tent" into the

¹⁸Permission was granted to the researcher to use the real name here. This name appears in several of the public records from this period.

Caribana festival. Ricardo Paul Keens-Douglas explained the "Talk Tent" as an, "oral tradition . . . [which] shows off the depth and art of the oral performer" (Ibid). "Talk Tent" became one of the new features for the 1990 festival, which showcased the talents of storytellers, emcees and comics like, Tim Tim (Paul Keen-Douglas), John Agitation (Ramjattan Ramdeen), Sprangalang (Dennis Hall), Relator (Willard Harris), Tommy Joseph (Stephen Tommy Joseph) and from Jamaica Oliver at Large (Oliver Samuels).¹⁹ In an interview discussing the value of "Talk Tent", Ms Pierre said, "Talk Tent is nostalgic and emphasises the role of past and present calypsonians" (Contrast 26 July 1990:15).

However, Ms Pierre did not stop there, she had bigger ideas to help generate needed funds for the organization. She spearheaded an initiative to showcase a Caribana concert at the newly erected Skydome. There were artists from the Caribbean singing and playing reggae and calypso. There were also American rhythm and blues that featured the soulful sounds of female diva Regina Belle. And there was a rap portion intended to appeal to the youths. This portion of the concert featured Los Angeles based rapper and actor Ice-T alongside the up and coming Toronto based rapper Maestro Fresh Wes. The move to put the concert in the Skydome seemed to be appropriate, since Caribana was turning over a new leaf and Skydome was in its inaugural season.²⁰

¹⁹This lineup appears in Contrast July 26, 1990:15.

²⁰The official concert name was "Caribana Skydome Concert: a celebration of Black Music". It was sponsored by the Toronto Star, Power 94 WBLK and FM 102 CFNY. Besides the artists listed above, also scheduled to play was American rap sensation Kool Moe Dee featuring his smash hits, "Wild Wild West" and "I Go To Work". From Jamaica, Frankie Paul was to perform

The concert failed, "after poor advanced ticket sales," (Globe and Mail 6 August 1990:A6). The CCC was left holding not only their \$200, 000 debt but the losses from the Skydome venture that totalled \$209,000. The cancellation of the concert left the CCC desperately in debt. Ms Pierre was quoted in the newspaper as saying, "that's going to hurt us badly" (Ibid). She was right. The Globe and Mail confirmed her position reporting that, "Caribana may be deeper in debt" (Ibid). None of the Skydome concert organizers could have seen the disaster coming. In a decade that began with the memory of Quinton Johnson fading and the Toronto Star reporting that, "Caribana stages upbeat carnival" (5 August 1990:A3), Caribana was addressing its waning public image. However, the failure of the Skydome show was the setback that accelerated the public's perception of Caribana as a financially inept institution. Perhaps, more seriously CCC organizers began to feel the pressure, as they had to shift their focus from addressing their external image to examining their internal one. They had to answer questions about their financial standing to the city, the police and corporate interest; a trio that emerged as influential players in the management of the festival. Besides having to prove their financial security to this trio, the CCC also had

reggae music, especially his popular songs "Heartical Don" and "I Want To Rock With You". Charlie Roots featuring Tambu "No, No, We Eh Going Home" and David Rudder were to be there. Also on hand was a special appearance by the Caribana 1990 King and Queen, the Caribana 1990 junior King and Queen and Peter Minshall's award winning "Tantana" masquerade from the Trinidad 1990 carnival. All of this was to take place at the Skydome, which was marketed as the "World's Greatest Entertainment Centre".

to prove the same thing to its membership.²¹

No longer was Caribana receiving front page treatment for violence. Instead these spots were reserved to talk about the growing debt and organizational instability. Talk of the joint crisis had seemed to eclipse the public concern for, "the potential of violence". By this I do not mean to suggest that violence had or has ceased throughout the 1990s, but rather to suggest that the financial debate has dominated the press coverage throughout this decade whereas descriptions of the "angry black male" and of violence filled newspaper accounts of the 1980's.²²

²¹The CCC was subjected to a city audit of their books, which would in turn impact any future funding the organization was to receive from Metro council or the now inoperative Toronto Arts Council. See Price Waterhouse audit 1992 and the Alan Tonks report 1995 for further details. These audits became important in determining how the business and corporate sector would treat Caribana celebrations throughout the 1990's.

²²Violence erupted in 1992, as a nineteen year old man was shot in the back. Police reported that up to thirty shots were fired in a small park. One man was stabbed in the throat. The police ordered that CCC officials shut down the parade which was entering its twelfth hour of jump up. Leslie Forbes, an executive CCC board member, was quoted in the Globe and Mail as saying, "As far as I'm concerned, it wasn't anything that we should be alarmed about, those are the risk you take when you have a massive celebration like we have" (3 August 1992:A9). Metro Toronto Police Staff Superintendent John Getty supported Forbes in his distancing of Caribana from the violence. He said that, "it was unfortunate that they happened, but it certainly doesn't reflect on Caribana in any way [sic]" (Ibid). Then in 1996, a British nurse, 54 year old Cicely Malcolm, while on vacation was injured in the crossfire of the bullets intended for 23 year old Elrick Kevin Christian. This case led to a nation wide man-hunt for the shooter. Caribana Chair Henry Gomez expressed his, "sadness and sense of powerlessness" (Globe and Mail 6 August 1996:A7). The alleged shooter Tyrone Edwards was arrested in Grenada by local authorities one week later on 12 August 1997. For more details on both cases see the following newspaper accounts: (Globe and Mail 3 August 1992:A9), (Globe and Mail 4 August 1992:A9), (Toronto Star 4 August 1996:A16), (Globe and Mail 5 August 1996:A3), (Toronto Star 5 August 1996:A12), (Globe and Mail 6 August 1996:A7), (Globe and Mail 12 August 1996:A3) and (Toronto Star 12 August 1996:A4).

On a very hot day, 3 July 1997, I met with Joan Pierre at her studio office in the Spadina-King street section of downtown Toronto. We met to discuss her role with the festival, during the early part of this decade. One reason I wanted to speak with her was that much of the success and failure Caribana endured during the early 1990's had something to do with Ms Pierre's skill as a business person. I was also very anxious to speak with her because I thought she was the first female chair of the organization. However, this was a crucial mistake because Ms Pierre was never chair. During our talk she told me that this has been a frustrating misunderstanding about her role with the CCC. The public, which includes those closest to the production of Caribana, looked upon her as the chair. In her mind this was an unfair assessment because she viewed herself as a staff person working for the board. This misrepresentation of the organization of power within the CCC gradually led to an internal power struggle and her leaving the board.

Ms Pierre first got involved with Caribana in 1986. The CCC board had approached her with an idea of helping them produce the pageant component of the festival:

They first got me involved in one of the events they did at that time. It was the pageant. They use to have a pageant every year. And some one told them about me. I was in the Arts and Theatre and they asked me to come and just run the pageant for them. I had only six weeks. I told them no I couldn't do a lot with it and I'll try and improve and make what they have work. I got involved in this crazy six week project and we worked seven days a week to pull it off. It was really haphazardly done and we pulled it off with some semblance of a good presentation.

The Caribana board was impressed with Ms Pierre's work. They asked her if she would like to continue to do work for them in other areas of the festival besides the pageant:

Well they asked me after that to stay and get involved with the festival, after the six week stunt with them. They asked one, if I could stay on and start getting involved more with the festival. I said okay. My thing at that time was that I was changing careers. I worked with Bell Canada for twelve years. My background is coming out of Bell as a manager. I was involved in communications, I love working with people. And I always dabbled in the arts on a part time basis. I went to Ryerson [university] to do theatre and television. I just always dabbled in it, but it was a weekend fun thing for me. So all the theatre groups that hired me, was just to do stage management, production management. I love to put things together. I'm not an onstage person. I love behind the scenes, put it out there and watch it work. After doing the pageant thing. They asked me to stay on and I said okay. And I got involved in what is Caribana? I knew the parade. I played mas. I had gone to the island [Toronto island].

At the general meetings I attended, it seems as though the majority of people remembered Ms Pierre for her involvement with the Skydome venture and rarely with anything else. I got the sense that members looked upon the event as a major contributor to Caribana's current financial status, even though there have been other endeavours which have lost money. Ms Pierre and I talked about her experiences with the CCC, Skydome and the festival in 1990. She told me that, "in hindsight I could see we should not have done what they did with Skydome". However, at the time the board was frustrated with the status of the organization. They were unsatisfied with the way Caribana had to grovel to governments for money. Ms Pierre expressed this sense of frustration, which I also noticed during the general meetings. Speaking about the CCC, she told me that:

They were frustrated. They want a good ship. Everything was fine. Why all you not giving us more money? Why you all have us strap for dollars, giving us only \$12, 000 from Toronto Arts Council, \$60, 000 from the City and that kind of little money. And we know to do what we want to do well, that [money] really can't make it work.

The CCC, as suggested by Ms Pierre, was frustrated and fed-up with the lack of proper support from the government. She told me that "it was stressful", trying to deal with governments and other sponsors. However, it was not just this stress Ms Pierre and presumably others on the board were feeling. They also felt the pressure from their membership who was demanding that Caribana get its act in order and "run a better ship".

This was difficult to achieve. She explained to me that:

All of us been under paid. We only had two staff people, myself and one other person running the ship for nine months of the year. And we could only bring staff for three months to the festival. So it was stress.

The idea to stage a Skydome concert was formulated within very difficult and frustrating times. CCC officials, in particular Ms Pierre, were dealing with an unwilling government and corporate sector and with trying to reorganize "the ship". From my conversations with her, I gathered that Skydome was happening under extreme pressure from two sources. One was the pressure put upon the CCC by outside interest - trio of beneficiaries - who were in essence waiting for Caribana to prove itself before any additional funding would be released. The other pressure was internal. The membership wanted the CCC to "clean up its own house" and deliver on such outstanding promises as building a community center. Skydome seemed like something that could address both areas. Ms Pierre and I spoke at length about how the idea for Skydome came about:

So when this opportunity came up, where somebody, a Bajan was working in the Skydome and realized that the Sunday was free, he called us. He tracked us down and say would you guys like to put on something in Skydome. So of course I got the phone call, because I'm the executive

director. I'm there daily and I say well, I'll tell the board. So I took it to the board, the Skydome say x,y and z. It's available and why don't you all think about doing something, because two promoters in the city found out that the day was available and they were trying to do something. And we figure well, if there's anybody to do something big, Caribana should be the one. Why let a promoter come there and break up what we trying to go forward with. So the board sat on it, they get on it fast. The guys fax all the stuff, they talk they talk, and the board voted to do it. And it's out of frustration with the government at the time that they made that decision.

The CCC looked upon Caribana as the premier cultural event of each summer and they were not going to be side-stepped by an uncompromising government or ambitious promoters. They needed to move quickly if the idea was going to work. Ms Pierre worked feverishly, trying to put all the loose ends in place. She had the help of a woman based in Los Angeles who worked on the American ends of things. Together they secured the proper contracts from recording companies to book the acts. She "went bat out of hell", sending money to various recording companies in America. "It would have worked", she told me. "It's sad to look back", she continued, "but it would have worked". "It was done", she smiled, "ready to go", but then came an unexpected problem. She told me:

The problem with Skydome now, is that the Skydome people when the tickets didn't sell early enough, they got scared and they're the ones who say cancel. We had no choice. But if I knew what I know today, then in terms of if we should or should not have done it, I then would have said to the board don't risk it. Because if we make a mistake, the government going to come down on us like a ton of bricks. And things would go back rather than go forward. It was a decision made by the board, we were going to do it, it was ready to go.

Poor tickets sales were what caused the cancellation of the concert and not bad organization

by the CCC. Ms Pierre tried to explain to Skydome officials that poor ticket sales was not as serious a problem as first thought. Two different ways of explaining the poor sales emerged. The Skydome officials looked at the situation in terms of it being good or bad for business. They were unwilling to take the chance and hope the ticket sales were met on the day of the event? On the other hand, the CCC approached the situation culturally. They argued that their community rarely bought tickets in advance. Ms Pierre tried to help Skydome officials understand what the CCC had learned about its community, trying to convince the Skydome that their worries were not as great as it initially appeared. She explained the difference between the CCC's position and the Skydome's this way:

Skydome know the ticket sales was out 3, 000 on the Thursday before, where they expected 10,000. We keep saying, our community don't buy no ticket in advance. I saying that everyday to people. I say look, we get 12, 000 to 15, 000 people coming to the island every year on the Sunday. Not one ticket is purchased in advance period and I could guarantee the 12 or 15, 000 coming, without a doubt, they came. The King and Queen and junior carnival that we have, 5, 000 people attend, not one ticket is bought in advance. They come on the day of, they pay at the door and they walk in. I've spoken about that many times, about the history of the Caribbean people in terms of buying tickets to go to an event.

This knowledge has allowed the CCC to trust that its events were well attended. The Skydome officials felt that they could not rely on this wisdom. It was not concrete enough for them to revoke the cancellation. Ms Pierre told me about her experiences of the Caribbean in terms of tickets sales. She said:

We never had ticket outlets in the Caribbean, do you know what I mean. I don't know what age you came here, but we don't know anything about ticket outlets. I came here to find out about, Oh ticket outlets, what's that? Oh,

when you going to a show you go to a ticket outlet and you buy the ticket, a month ago, Oh really? You learn that here. But we never got that into our system to do it. So we still have the mentality, oh yeah I going, sure I see you Sunday, we got no ticket in hand. Is only time when we reached there we buy the ticket, when we reach the door. That's our norm. And if they had allowed that to happen, Skydome would have been fine. Because the kids were buying their clothes. They were dressing to kill to come, because the show was calypso, reggae, the big costumes from Trinidad, the live puppet we had, which was twenty feet tall in the air. All of that was happening in Skydome. Anybody would want to come inside of there. That Skydome whitefolks could never understand that about the Black community.

The failure of the Skydome concert was one major contributor that has since seen a steady increase of the debt throughout this decade. Questions about the decision were raised throughout the community. "Everybody just why did they do it", Ms Pierre explained, "why did they do it?" The membership started to doubt the skills of the board. There were calls for the removal of the board through a proper constitutional process. Ms Pierre remembers that the failed venture, "really put a damper on the festival". Since then, Caribana has struggled financially. At times there have been successes but most of the focuses have been on the debt and poor management. Ms Pierre explained for me how the 1990s has been a financial scramble for festival:

So we scrambled after that to survive through '91, but of course we carrying a debt. Ninety-one came and on the Sunday on the island, rain all day night before, wash our tails out. We look up at the sky and we say okay red ink. We knew we were in the hole \$91, 000. So we add to the already debt that you already have. And that's how the debt started growing. I mean there's nothing you could do with rainfall.

My conversation with Ms Pierre shows how the CCC attempted to turn the corner and solidify itself financially by staging a concert. In the end it failed. One consequence was

that it showed the instability of the festival despite its proven track-record as a marketable tourist venture. Another consequence was that CCC organizers were forced to confront the debt and the general financial instability as the festival's most pressing issue. They had to address the general sense that Caribana's financial problems were increasingly becoming a nuisance for membership and city councils. This has shifted their concerns towards greater perceptions of Caribana as a business institution and money-making machine. Perhaps, the most damaging influence was it confirmed public opinion that the festival was a fragile institution hard-pressed to make it on its own, unable to rely upon its constituents for consistent financial support and reliant upon government grants. Since, the Skydome event, Caribana organizers and its community have battled this perception. Newspaper coverage have become one primary battle ground that has witness the festival's financial instability become public knowledge.

3.2 NEWSPAPER COVERAGE

In 1991, the Globe and Mail reported that "Caribana sponsorship [was] unduly sparse" (6 March 1991:A7). The article gave details of a study commissioned by the CCC to study the festival's demographics. The study concluded that, "from our examination, it seems that Caribana might be one of the most under-sponsored and under-supported festivals in comparison to other events of international scope in the nation" (Globe and Mail 6 March 1991:A7). The study also found that of those who attended the 1990 parade: 53% were black, 31% were white and 15% were of other races. Moreover, about half of the audience

was under 30 and another 42% were between the ages of 30 and 49.²³ The following week on the 11th of March 1991, the same newspaper reported that in view of Decima's findings that, "Caribana hopes worst is over as new governing board elected" (Globe and Mail 11 March 1991:A7). The article gave details about Caribana's, "deficiencies in accounting records" and of "mismanagement of funds" that resulted in a \$357,000 deficit for 1990 and the dismantling of the last year's board.

Despite the negative press coverage, interim Chair Sam Lewis attempted to put a positive spin on the situation. He attempted to use the bad news as a rallying point for more community involvement from Caribana enthusiasts. He thought that the news could inject an air of optimism into a financially floundering festival. He said, "the financial controversy has helped revitalize community interest in Caribana." He continued, that "more than 200 people have paid a \$20 membership fee to join the committee. As members of the committee, these people had the right to vote for board members". "Last year," Lewis remarked, "only 45 ballots were cast" (Ibid). He also expressed a need for the CCC board of directors to extend their hand to the community and reach out more. He said, "we have to listen to the community and what they have to say and have them participate in what the festival is doing" (Ibid). Two months after Lewis and the rest of the CCC armed with a positive study and a renewed commitment for community involvement, newspapers reported that, "Caribana festival planners [were] in a dispute over CNE decision" (Globe and Mail 8

²³These statistics were published in the Globe and Mail 6 March 1991:A7. I was unable to find a copy of the report for my own viewing.

May 1991:A10).

The decision to remove the parade route from its longstanding home on University Avenue and have it going through the grounds of the Canadian National Exhibition caused considerable dissension between board members. The Globe and Mail reported that, "conflict has broken out again" and members were calling for the, "resignation of chairman Sam Lewis and executive director Joan Pierre" (Ibid). Three board members, including vice-chairman Mervyn Hassanali, entertainment committee chair Henry Gomez and secretary Courtney Betty decided to step down. The Globe and Mail reported that Mr Lewis, "was surprised by the resignations and has no intention of stepping down" (Ibid). What the article did not give details about were the roles' the police and the city played in pushing the decision to change the parade route. The article did not analyze this situation in terms of the way it allowed the police to more effectively contain and control the parade. Also it did not talk about how the city would reap possible tax benefits from the gate receipts at the CNE. It did not mention how the move impacted the mas players. For the first time they would be playing mas in a confined location. This goes against the tradition of a free-spirited liberated mass. Rather, the article suggested to the public that the CCC was an organization plagued by a growing debt and bitter infighting. The articles presented a picture of the board members as incapable of properly running a million-dollar business.

In 1992, a year in which the festival generated a handsome profit of \$100,000, the mainstream papers continued to focus their attention on the festival's financial woes. In spite

of the small profit, reports kept the focus on the debt and the possibilities of larger internal strife. The Globe and Mail reported that, "Caribana dances with eye on budget" as it, "scrambles to fill gap left by loss of sponsor" (4 June 1992:A17). The media was now accustomed to referring to festival administrators as "deficit-conscious organizers" (Globe and Mail 4 August 1992:A9). Even the minor shooting did not detract from their focus on the debt. For example, the Globe and Mail, used a rain-soaked Caribana as an opportunity to speak about how rain had a more immediate effect on the festival's future than a shooting may have: "rain was a worse threat than [the] shootings" (Ibid). "Scattered showers", the newspaper stated, "rather than scattered acts of violence may have dimmed the financial outlook for Toronto's heavily indebted Caribana festival" (Ibid). These articles suggested that public concern for violence during the Caribana parade was no longer the dominant issue. The primary issue was how fragile and volatile the organization had become so that even a simple rainfall could spell its end. These articles also suggested that Caribana's greatest threats to its future existence would not be random acts of violence but its own poor handling of its financial resources.

Novelist Cecil Foster tried to make sense of what mainstream newspapers were suggesting. In a 1995 column in the Globe and Mail called "Diversities", Foster talked about the unequal treatment Caribana has historically been given by the city. He wondered about the questionable support by the public sector. He wrote that, "Caribana's organizers have just gone through another strip-tease act before the government funders" (Globe and Mail 9 May

1995:A23). Foster was referring to a study of Caribana led by Metro Chairperson Alan Tonks, in which a joint committee made 56 recommendations on improving Caribana. Former Chair of the CCC, Lennox Farrell, referring to the study said: "We have just gone through an excruciating examination by the provincial funders and the only thing they didn't ask us to show them was our grandmothers' bloomers" (Ibid)²⁴. Both Foster and Farrell tried to account for Caribana's financial troubles in another context, other than relying on the mainstream presses' notion of poor business people. They cited racism as the definitive factor in the organization's financial troubles. "Farrell wonder[ed] why," Foster wrote, "a group like the Caribbean Cultural Committee has to grovel every year to get funding?" (Ibid). Not only did Farrell view this as humiliating and an insult to the people who bring to the city millions of dollars but he also felt it had something to do with a racial bias in terms of what is thought of as art. Foster reflected that:

Part of the reason might be what is construed as art and what is considered just base entertainment, so that Eurocentric culture such as ballet might be considered more worthy of funding than the Afrocentric and South Asian dances on display during Caribana (Ibid).

Foster supported his claim that Caribana was a "cash cow" "milked" by government and corporate interest without being given its respectful due. He compared the festival to the National Ballet of Canada. He wrote, "the National Ballet is funded at a much higher level than Caribana but the National Ballet would take 84 years to generate the amount of

²⁴Permission granted to the researcher to use the real name here. This name appears prominently in the public records from this period.

economic activity Caribana does in two weeks" (Ibid). The arguments of both men suggested that Caribana's financial troubles had less to do with inadequate business skills on the part of board members than it had to do with an art form that was being discriminated against by governments. They suggested that Caribana cannot reach its full potential because governments and corporate players do not perceive it as belonging to national culture the way ballet is thought to belong.

One benefit of Foster's article was that it attempted to shift the debate of Caribana's financial troubles away from the focus on problem individuals towards an understanding of how the organization is collectively affected by racist practices. Instead of speaking about resignations, infighting and name-calling among CCC board members, his article focused on how this divisiveness was fuelled externally. So while, most of the articles featured Caribana as an organization fraught with troublesome individuals, Foster's piece showed how governments and corporate interest were, "playing divide and conquer on Caribana" (Globe and Mail 31 July, 1995:A5). Lennox Farrell was an outspoken Caribana chair who understood this point well. His use of colourful metaphors and analogies always seemed to highlight the discrimination he and Foster thought Caribana was subject to. In 1993, Farrell asked: "Why is that the goose that lays the golden egg is considered the ugly duckling?" (Globe and Mail 2 August 1993:A7).

While Farrell was providing the Caribana community and a watchful media with thoughtful and clever metaphors, the mainstream papers were sticking to more conventional

ways of discussing the financial paradox. Staff reporter for the Toronto Star, Maureen Murray, in 1995 wrote that, "Caribana brings in millions but struggles on a shoe-string" (Toronto Star 9 July 1994:A1). She described how the festival was run out of a "sparse" Bathurst Street office, and how staff, "line up waiting to use a few old computers" (Ibid). She spoke about the irony of an organization that not only brings in millions of dollars but must beg governments for public funds. She wondered why Caribana was being mistreated financially and spiralling into greater debt. Although, her article attempted to give a favourable assessment of the financial crisis by raising the issue that Caribana was "perpetually underfunded" yet still managed to offer the city, "between \$200 million and \$300 million in tourist dollars", the article suggested for readers a more lasting image of the festival as a "spartan" office where, "a visitor can barely find a chair to sit on" (Ibid). She wrote about the irony that has been a feature of Caribana history, especially during the current financial crisis. She described that:

Volunteers sometimes dig into their own pockets to pay for office supplies and telephone bills. There have even been times when the few employees have had to depend on the sale of T-shirts to pay their wages. This is the day-to-day existence of the organization that every August brings an extravaganza to the streets of Toronto that pumps between \$200 million and \$300 million in tourist dollars into the local economy, packs hotels with many of the 400,000 mostly American visitors, and fills restaurants, stores and taxis (Ibid).

Murray's piece, in my opinion, was an attempt to counter representations of Caribana as a financial nightmare. It created sympathy for a festival that has been grossly neglected. She wrote about two issues. The first one told the public about an organization that was treated

unjustly by a trio of benefactors who in essence were leaving Caribana to rectify the debt on its own. This was in spite of the knowledge of how much money Caribana makes for their benefit. The second issue was an attempt to rouse sympathy for a situation that had never before received it in the mainstream press. Those descriptions of the "day-to-day" existence of staff person was the first attempt to portray Caribana as an event surviving on the hard-work and tenacity of its volunteers. This is in contrast to the image of CCC organizers and staffers as unaccomplished business people riddled by infighting. In my opinion, this was a dramatic shift, even if a minor one, in the way mainstream press was reporting the financial crisis in the first five years of this decade. However, the favour the article tried to arouse was overshadowed by the dominance of public perception of Caribana in a state of crisis.

Although, articles by Murray and Foster attempted to speak differently about Caribana's financial crisis, the overwhelming emphasis on poor business skills and problem individuals overshadowed discussion of anything else. However, to suggest that their articles failed in raising key issues would not entirely grasp the importance of their contribution to discussion of the situation. Besides their ideas of raising sentimental consciousness for an organization in need, their articles also argued against the common notion that Caribana's real value was economic. While not wanting to lose sight of the importance of Caribana's financial contribution, they also wanted to remind the public that Caribana has historically not been about making money. Their articles provided a counter-representation of Caribana as a "cash-cow" being milked by corporate and government interest. They suggested that in

all of the talk about the financial crisis, the idea of Caribana as a celebration of culture was compromised and reduced. Murray's article in 1996, "Caribana beyond the bailout" (Toronto Star 3 May 1996:A21), was another attempt to raise more concern that culture was being replaced by an overriding sense to make this thing work financially. Here is where we meet upon one of Caribana's grandest paradoxes. The festival was never intended as a financial supplement for the Caribbean community, but as a cultural tonic to relieve the desires for representations of back home. This idea of trying to recapture the carnivals of "back home" did not assume that financial stability was essential. The articles suggested two ways in which Caribana was being thought about. Each idea resulted in different ideas for what Caribana should be like in the future.

The first idea was the one suggested by the dominance of the coverage talking about the financial death. Its focus on "deficit-conscious" organizers and a "debt-plagued" festival saw Caribana purely in terms of it being an economic gold mine that was poorly run. Furthermore, this idea constituted Caribana as a "cash-cow" in need of restructuring. The second idea, as illustrated by Foster and Murray, suggested that Caribana was being overrun by a "business-minded" impetus that diminished the importance and value of culture. In other words, Caribana during the 1990s has been enduring the hardships of transforming an ethnic celebration into a multicultural commercial success.

An article written by Donovan Vincent of the Toronto Star illustrated how people were debating the transformation of a festival that began as an ethnic celebration but grew

into a multicultural event. He wrote that there was a "push on to turn Caribana into business" and that "two divergent camps [were] debating merits of change" (Toronto Star 6 April 1996:A6). Errol Clarke, executive officer for the 1996 celebration, was quoted as saying, "the organization is straddled between a very small business operation and a corporation" (Ibid). Clarke's statement suggested a link between multiculturalism and commercialism.

3.3 CRISIS WITHIN THE CRISIS

By 1996, despite the few attempts to return to Caribana a cultural focus, the idea of "Caribana in crisis" was firmly established in the public opinion. Newspapers continued to write about how a: "Task force proposes ways to boost Caribana" (Toronto Star 13 January 1996:A3) and how, "Caribana took \$1 million hit in '95" (Toronto Star 15 March 1996:A6). One article offered details of a "Caribana money mess", which, "leaves auditors in dark" (Toronto Star 23 March 1996:A1). Two others spoke about how, "metro to loan desperate Caribana parade \$100 000" (Toronto Star 11 April 1996:A3) and how, "Toronto will grant Caribana credit" (Toronto Star 1 May 1996:A7). However, the idea of Caribana in crisis took on another focus that came because of the financial problems. This one was a crisis brewing within the organizational ranks of the CCC. While attempts were made to keep this crisis private and allow it to remain an issue for the disagreeing parties to address, it also became a public affair. It further confirmed that Caribana was an organization in desperate trouble. Newspaper's attention of a crisis had shifted its focus away from a financial demise

towards providing details of the internal struggle for power between the CCC and the bandleaders or masquerade makers. It was their struggle that was capturing the public interest. Newspaper coverage of the events helped to define the 1996 festival as a political struggle.

Gay Abbate, contributor for the *Globe and Mail*, gave national coverage about "storm clouds gathering over Caribana parade" and how, "masquerade clubs [were] threaten[ing] boycott in dispute with organizers" (*Globe and Mail* 12 March 1996:A9). Abbate spoke about how the controversy over money was, "threatening to gut this year's parade" and that a boycott of, "the alliance of Caribana Stakeholders - made up of the Ontario Mas Producers Association, the Toronto Mas Makers Association, other independent mas producers and the Steel Band Alliance of Ontario - said that it might pull out of this year's event" (*Ibid*). The newspapers also gave details about, "Caribana performers trad[ing] insults" (*Toronto Star* 12 March 1996:A6) and how, "Caribana [was] in crisis as board voted out" (*Toronto Star* 19 March 1996:A3). There were, "emergency meeting[s] urged", as fears of "losing carnival" in Toronto intensified (*Toronto Star* 1 April 1996:A3). Readers of local news read about a "purge" within the CCC, as "3 staffers go" (*Toronto Star* 18 May 1996:A4), while followers of Caribana's national coverage read about a "reassessment" that "troubles may provoke" (*Globe and Mail* 3 April 1996:A2).

Clearly the financial disaster was contributing to the structural dismantling of the CCC. With the CCC finding it extremely difficult to secure funding from governments and

the private sector, it made the job of being a bandleader more difficult. The group of Caribana Stakeholders relied upon the CCC to secure for them the funding needed to source the production of their bands²⁵. However, getting enough money was difficult. Corporate sponsors were weary of giving money to an organization that was being financially roasted in popular opinion.

Infighting became another common theme in the perception of Caribana in crisis. Disagreements between CCC board members and the bandleaders began to appear in the mainstream press. What began as a private affair was turning into a public scandal. At the general meetings I attended, people were adamant that Caribana does not benefit from people airing "the dirty laundry" in the press. Members spoke about the necessity to keep the strife internal. Approaching the media with news was not the proper way or place to vent frustrations.

On 15 March 1996, the Toronto Star reported that besides the "\$1 million hit" the festival took in 1995, infighting was now a more serious threat to the future of the festival. It reported that there was a faction within the general management of the festival that was

²⁵Caribana Stakeholders were mainly made up of three groups of bandleaders. They were OMPA, TMMA and other independents. Their alliance was struck in accordance with the proposed boycott and as a show of strength and unity among bandleaders. They had two general political aims. One was to apply political pressure upon the CCC in accordance with the constitutional arrangements of the organization. Their goals in this area included: greater funding, more autonomy in terms of privately soliciting their bands and championing the benefits of a tactical boycott. The other aim was for three small groups to become a stronger more capable group in terms of the waging that was happening between the CCC and Toronto city council.

threatening to take over the entire production if concessions about the change in the parade were not met. The Star wrote that: "A group calling itself the Alliance of Caribana Stakeholders held a news conference on Monday to complain about the changes. But the event degenerated into a shouting match between factions" (Toronto Star 15 March 1996:A6). Peter Marcelline, whom the article referred to as, "look[ing] for life-saving infusion of cash", was against the attacks of the Stakeholders. He said, "we're taking a bold step because the most important issue is revenue and writing off that debt" (Ibid). The Stakeholders did not share Marcelline's opinion. "I think they have", Marcelline said, "their own hidden agenda. "It's about more than disrupting the festival, it's about trying to take over the festival" (Ibid). The article continues to describe a situation where there was plenty of bickering over who has more power to produce the festival. Louis Saldenah, a prominent bandleader and a Stakeholder "balked at the accusation". He said, "if we wanted to take over the parade we could" (Ibid). However, Saldenah then modified his response saying, "neither he nor the Ontario Mas Producers Association is interested in launching a Caribana coup" (Ibid).

Two days following this press conference the Toronto Star reported that a "revolt by bands complicates bid for solvency" (Toronto Star 17 March 1996:A14). In eloquent and dramatic fashion the Star described the internal squabbling using a similar set of metaphors, which were used to describe the financial crisis. The article, "Storm clouds hover over Caribana parade" began by stating:

Every few years Caribana revellers wake up to gray skies and rain on the day of the annual parade. Undaunted, they make their way to the site of the vibrant street party and begin to jump up. Sooner or later, apparently summoned by the sheer will of the people, the sun appears and once again Caribana triumphs. This year the bad weather has come early. Five months before the largest outdoor festival in North America is to kick off, a rift between the two main groups involved threatens to permanently rain on the parade (Ibid).

There were outburst of anger during the news conference. Members of the Stakeholders group protested saying, "we don't want to take over, we just want to be considered in the decision-making process" (Ibid). Other members accused the CCC of monopolizing power and of spreading "mis-information and dis-information" (Ibid). Bandleaders were concerned that the proposed move to stage the parade through the CNE compromised, "the integrity of Caribana" (Ibid). CCC officials contended that "money [was] also an issue" (Ibid). It dictated the manoeuvres the group as a whole could make. At a press conference the warring groups tried to reached a compromise. However the meeting "degenerated in to a vitriolic confrontation with members of the cultural committee" (Ibid). The incident was embarrassing. The CCC resembled a spectacle and sideshow in the presence of the people they were trying to earn support from. "Caribana was collapsing into quicksand", the Star reported (Ibid).

Throughout the Caribana community people were quick to react to the negative press Caribana had created for itself. "It was disgraceful behaviour", Cecil Foster said. "It played into the stereotype some of the wider community have of blacks and of Caribana: that we are disruptive and can't get it together" (Ibid). The head of the Jamaican Canadian

Association felt that the press conference was a bad idea. He said, "the issues dealt with at the meeting should have been discussed behind closed doors" (Ibid). Since then, it seems as though the CCC and the bandleaders have learned their lesson. They now are very sensitive, skeptical and reluctant to speak with the media. I learned, during the general meetings, that the membership felt the media was looking for ways to bring down the group.²⁶ Their response to what they perceived as a deliberate attempt by certain media to shame the group has been to become insular and guarded about what is discussed. However, not all Caribana community members regard the media in this fashion. Joan Pierre has made herself a charismatic and crafty media spokesperson. The press regarded her as media-friendly. This was a description she used for herself during our interview. Regarding the infighting, squabbling and "backchat", she told me:

I don't give people excuses to do what they would do without an excuse. All I think we have done in Caribana is give them the tools to use that normally they wouldn't even have to use to keep us down. But we have given them the tools.

CONCLUSION

²⁶In one particular meeting, held five weeks prior to the 1997 festival, tempers began to flare. Members began to accuse one another of withholding information, spreading rumours and assaulting the general character of Caribana. One longtime member rose to speak. He had remained quiet for the balance of the meeting. Immediately heads and eyes turned. He had the attention from all those present. As he scanned the room he said, "Mr Chair I think it would be prudent that all those who are with the media identify themselves and be asked to leave. I would also like to bring forth a motion to declare this and all future meetings closed to any member of the media". Although I was not working with the media several eyes turned towards where I was seated. Many people became suspicious of me taking down copious amounts of notes. Although, it was known that I was researching the history of the festival, the eyes still questioned my intentions. That day I learned about politics and the media.

This chapter has shown how newspaper coverage of the festival during this decade focused on developing the idea of Caribana in crisis. During the early part of the decade the financial crisis was the main theme. The example of the Skydome was used to show how this failed venture accelerated the representation of Caribana as a debt-ridden organization. In the latter part of the decade, the talk of the crisis has shifted towards the internal struggle. Both themes help to differentiate from the way newspapers reported upon Caribana during the 1980's. Whereas the major theme throughout the 80's was the violence between revellers and police, newspaper coverage during the current decade has focused on the "violence" Caribana has done to itself either through financial woes or internal strife.

However, it must be said that the financial crisis that Caribana now finds itself in has indeed been of its own making. Poor funding by the corporate sector only partially explains the financial mess the festival is in. Infighting and factionalism have long been features of Caribana. During the 1990's the factionalism has been intense. This intensity has resulted in a number of board members using the press as a means to the further their cause. The press may not entirely be at fault here. However, one reason why members seek out the press to make their viewpoint heard is because of the powerlessness and marginality Caribana is made to suffer. It is because of this loss that makes people use Caribana as their own power base and then run to the media.

In the next chapter I examine a particular development in the 1997 parade, which is linked to the themes discussed in this one. The notion of Caribana in crisis is explored for

the way it was impacted by the music played during the parade. However, before moving onto that discussion, a brief sketch of the situation will help to close this chapter and set up the following one.

Caribana 1997 was to be a glorious celebration of thirty years of Caribbean arts in Canada. During its two-week festival, from 18 July to 2 August 1997, there were to be many events celebrating the people, events and achievements of the community who helped make Caribana an international spectacle. However, what was well known to the public was that the grand celebration was going to be difficult to pull off. It was widely known, from a number of sources including the city of Toronto, the Provincial legislature and the CCC that Caribana was in serious financial trouble. The organization would be hard pressed to put on another spectacular show.

Yet, in spite of last minute sourcing of the festival from city grants, the familiar carnival phrase, "bigger and better" was sorely tested. Within the governing ranks of the CCC commonplace dissension had reached new heights of passion. One of festivals central elements, the bandleaders, threatened to boycott the parade if they were not paid their monies from the 1996 festival and provided with the necessary "seed-money" to fund the cost of producing a band for 1997. The bandleaders, institutionalized under the auspices of the Ontario Mas Producers Association (OMPA) and Toronto Mas Makers Association (TMMA), requested that if the CCC did not have the funds to give to the bandleaders then OMPA along with TMMA would propose a united boycott of Caribana.

The bandleaders idea was two fold. On the one hand, they were upset with the CCC for what they deemed as an "absolute usurpation" of power in general management of the festival. The bandleaders regarded themselves as the principle makers of Caribana. Their position was tantamount to saying, 'we are Caribana, we are ones who know how to put on the show'. They had repeatedly made it clear to the CCC that it was the beauty and lure of the costumes that bring people from across the world to line the streets to watch. People did not come to watch the CCC. Part of the intention for the boycott was to put added pressure on the CCC to come up with the necessary funding for bandleaders. Much of this struggle was tied up in the constitutional arrangements of Caribana. The constitution is poorly defined and has plagued Caribana from its birth²⁷.

The other desire for the boycott shows how it recognized Caribana's marginal status in relation to the mainstreams of politics, culture and economics. The emphasis here was on addressing the question of how can we as a marginalized community in Toronto unite our organizational differences in an attempt to put pressure on the city to see Caribana for what it is? The thinking to this end went something like this: Recent estimates (Price Waterhouse 1995; Tonks 1995) calculated Caribana's input into the local Toronto economy at two hundred fifty million dollars. Yet, as the CCC had been saying to deaf ears for years, the Black community sees very little of this money returned to the community. What is more,

²⁷At each general meeting the chair of the constitutional committee addressed the membership. This section of the meeting seemed to lose the attention of the members. I witnessed many people discussing other things. However, the CCC has worked diligently to revise its constitution. I was unable to look at final copies of the draft constitution.

is that the city offers very little in terms of funding. Small grants given by the Toronto Arts Council and Metropolitan Toronto, amount to less than ten percent of the money needed to produce the festival. The city of Toronto had been getting a free ride for thirty years and it was now time to "pay the piper", to say it in the way this view became popularized last summer. It was thought that a united boycott of the 1997 parade would force the hand of the city. The city would sorely miss the added revenue of \$250 million. This would clear room to instigate talks between the disparate groups to come up with ways to make better use of the money.

Needless to say, the city did not even as much bat an eye. Caribana was left to suffer, as some put it, "in the abyss of its own making". Others were not so easily dismissive. Individuals close to Caribana said that it was with racist intent that the city of Toronto, the business sector and the Metropolitan Police Services Board were trying to shut down Caribana. It was common to hear during the general meetings, that the Black community was being "disciplined like an unruly child" by the city and police for a "few brushes with violence" during parades in the last five years. The general meetings became a place where people came to discuss more than just Caribana issues. They came to talk about the sense of frustration caused by the marginalization of the Black communities across Toronto.

The CCC was caught in an administrative and constitutional bind. Demands put forward by the bandleaders were not met. This resulted in the bandleaders' boycott and an organizational split. Two things happened after official word was released that the

established twenty-nine bandleaders refused to participate. These things would change the character of the 1997 parade.

While the CCC was battling with the city and police over the release of a parade permit, they still had the task of administrating a festival. The CCC based their decision to forgo the pleas of the bandleaders and go ahead with the festival in terms of the constitution and their sponsors. It was their constitutional right to veto the proposal. They also had to display a show of strength to their few confirmed sponsors. Many of the sponsors were worried that the parade would be lacklustre as the bandleaders were no longer participating. The CCC had to come up with a response that would save the parade.

This is the second major development. The CCC had to quickly find alternative bandleaders who would be willing to bring a band to Caribana on short notice (there being less than seven weeks to the parade date). Despite the major set backs the organizers for the 1997 parade were relying on this "new breed" of bandleaders to go ahead with the show. Too deep were the CCC's commitments to its few sponsors, the community and its own history, to exact a complete cancellation of the parade. If they were to call off the festival it would suppress the economy of local Caribbean merchants. Some local Caribbean businesspeople relied on Caribana as a primary source of revenue. There could also be untold international consequences. Which is to say, that a Caribana without the established bandleaders threatens to jeopardize Caribana's stature as one of the best North American carnivals.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 LOOKING FOR THE FAMILIAR: PUFF DADDY AND THE FAMILY?

Caribana 1997 was constituted as a "crisis" largely because of the financial difficulties that virtually crippled it as I have already explained in chapter three. The festival's financial crisis became the overriding issue that dominated the popular press including the community newspapers. There was, however, another internal crisis that was less public. It has to do with the meaning of Caribana - what it has become and what it is becoming. Specifically this "crisis" has to do with the overwhelming presence of rap music in the traditional Saturday parade. Many saw this as diluting the "real" Caribana that has traditionally been about calypso and jump-up music. In various ways the presence of rap music is an example of how youth contest traditional meanings of Caribana. In this chapter I examine this contest and the lesser known "crisis of identity" that distinguished Caribana 1997. I draw upon my conversations with the youth with whom I associated as part of my fieldwork in the summer months leading up to the festival of 1997. Again I also draw in this chapter upon newspapers but my major source is the Caribana official website²⁸. Specifically, I work with an extended discussion that occurred on this website in the weeks before and after the parade.

²⁸See Li, Xia and Nancy B. Crane (1996) Electronic Styles: A Handbook for Citing Electronic Information 2nd edition. Medford, New Jersey: Information Today, Inc. In this second edition they present the rules regarding proper citation practices of internet chat lines and board room discussions. The researcher has made attempts to closely follow their recommended format. Additionally, unless otherwise stated all quotations in this chapter are borrowed from Caribana's official website.

I begin with an account from a local West Indian newspaper. Beginning with the title - "The Caribana Parade: Is It Dead?", senior editor Colin Rickards of Pride newspaper, had this to say to the community:

When veteran bandleader and mas' player Errol Achue warned the Caribbean Cultural Committee that holding the Caribana Parade without the boycotting bandleaders would make for changes he certainly knew whereof he spoke. For 29 years, the annual Caribana Parade was a joy to behold: A riot of colour, an explosion of creativity in costume design, a delight to the ear, with a festival of Calypso, Soca and steelband - and latterly, a bit of Reggae, too - a joyous, sweaty, exuberant family occasion. Last Saturday, as monster trucks ground along Lakeshore West - their flatbeds loaded with blasting, bass-heavy, almost unintelligible sounds and massive amplification - it was clear that the Caribana Parade, as fans knew and loved it, was a thing of the past. Gone was the West Indian verve and energy, the Caribbean zest for life. In its stead, North American Rap - some of it Gangsta - and Hip Hop, by the hour. Instead of the cut and thrust of Calypso, standing on the grass near the concession stands, I heard lyrics about "Niggas" and "bitches" and "hos". Hold it. There's something wrong with all this. The Caribana Parade is supposed to be a family occasion . . . The Committee will have to determine whether the public wants their old Caribana Parade back - or whether North America's largest street festival is going to now become a "Rap and Hip Hop convention down on Lakeshore" (Pride, 7 August 1997).

In this account the writer celebrates what he believes Caribana once was: "a riot of colour, an explosion of creativity", "a festival of calypso, soca and steelband" which, with a "bit or reggae too" made for "a joyous, sweaty, exuberant family occasion". But then he goes on to lament what it has become: North American rap, hip hop "by the hour" and the lyrics of "niggas, bitches and hos". Caribana, at least the one of 1997, in the view of Rickards was no longer an "exuberant family occasion".

I reproduce Rickards' account at length because in many ways it is a reflection of what I am calling Caribana's other crisis - its "crisis of identity". The account reflects the

internal contests and debates about what constitutes the "real" carnival. This sense of the "real" the argument continues is now giving way to a commodified North American mass popular culture. This distinction, between the real and the hybrid I will argue, overlooks how Caribana has always been about mixing and hybridity and also about irony and ambivalence.

4.2 RAP

Within a relatively short period of time lovers of rap music and the more recent fusion of rap and rhythm and blues music, has witnessed the rise of Puff Daddy to the upper echelon of superstar status. Known also as Sean Combs, Puff Daddy, has remade the rules on making a hit record. His ability to rework old 1970's and 80's smooth r&b dance hits with the hardcore beats of rap music, has helped him and his artists get chart topping status, under the management of his Bad Boy entertainment company. Although, his formula has been criticized by rap insiders and fans alike for being flaky and uncreative, he has nonetheless spawned a new generation of copycat producers. Their attempts to mimic the Puff Daddy formula has served to push his status further.

Puff Daddy was slated to be on hand for the 1997 parade. He along with other notable rappers and artists - 'Lil Kim, Genuwine and The Lox - was to be on hand as part of the parade of the bands. Puff Daddy and the family, as they were more commonly known as, were being pushed as an important part of the Crush float, sponsored by WBLK a Black American radio station.

I remember being down on the parade route around noon and much of the buzz was about when Puff Daddy was coming. Some over anxious youths began to speculate worryingly about if they had arrived late and had missed him. Others that I overheard talking were disappointed that his scheduled concert the previous night was cancelled. However, these disappointed people had been assured by concert organizers that Puff Daddy was in the country and would be appearing during the parade. As I listened as best I could filtering out the jump-up music, I thought to myself whether or not these young people found the small bits of calypso and soca disappointing. They clearly had their minds set on Puff Daddy and not, as it appeared to me, on aspects of the traditional Saturday parade, such as the few costumed bands that passed us by.

However, this small group of teenagers I hovered around, all of whom were young Black males, did not have to wait for the Crush float to hear or even see Puff Daddy. Other floats, whose primary focus was to play rap and other kinds of urban music delighted the crowd by playing Puff Daddy's music. These floats earned the loudest cheers when the deejay mixed in a Puff Daddy crafted song. It was during these times that the young people in the crowd began to jump emphatically, bobbing their heads and pumping their fists. The deejays played to their wishes. They would call out for the crowd to respond with a scream here and a chant of "ho" there. They would also ask the crowd the familiar rap and hip-hop question, "Is there anyone here from the west side?", or one of its variations and competing questions, "Are they any east side heads in the crowd?" How strange I thought, for the

deejays (there was only one in particular who did this) to be asking which side these young people were from, while the more traditional deejays were asking where the Trinis, Grenadians, Guyanese and Jamaicans out there were? I remember seeing, that when the traditional deejays would ask the crowd if they were Trinidadian or Dominican those who were would wave a flag and shout. This was not so when the rap deejay wanted to know which side the young people favoured. Instead of a flag, their response was an emphatic fist or two flat hands, palms open extended above the shoulder with an action that reminded me of someone trying to raise a heavy object above their head. The young people I associated with explained this action to me as "raising the roof", a manoeuvre that emerged out of the Florida rap scene within the last year and has since gained in popularity with rap followers throughout North America. Both actions symbolized their similarities and belonging to a hip hop culture. But what does the flag symbolize that the fist or "raising the roof" might not?

By the time the Puff Daddy Crush sponsored float bounced its way closer to the section of Lakeshore Avenue where I was enjoying Caribana, it was mid afternoon and the crowd had swelled threatening to burst the steel safety barriers. The excitement for Puff Daddy, who wore black baggy jeans and his trademark white T-back shirt and a diamond studded crucifix, all but drowned out a float of pan players who occupied the same section only minutes ago. To the satisfaction of the group of Black males I had been listening to he was here and their disappointment had been quenched. So enthusiastic were the young

people that during the middle of Puff Daddy's song "The Benjamins" (Benjamins being urban slang for money), he paused and beckoned to the crowd to stop pushing and to stay back.²⁹ More than once, Puffy asked the overzealous crowd to stay back and respect the barriers and the security officers. I later learned, that some youths were coming dangerously close to the moving wheels of the truck carrying the float. However, even the star status of Puffy - a twenty-six years old Howard University graduate - was hard-pressed to get some young people back. His frustration was quite visible and on one occasion he cursed as he told the crowd to stay back. This only seemed to heighten the crowd's exuberance for a closer and more intimate party session with Puffy.

In spite of a small level of danger, his performance reminded me in a certain way of some Caribana parades I watched as a teenager. I remember that during past parades, when spectators really enjoyed a performance, jumping the barricade was a typical response. A jump over the security railing was one way that young and old celebrated the parades of my youth. It was unclear to me whether a jumping-over the barricade for Puffy meant a similar kind of thing like I perceived it to be years ago. Furthermore, many spectators I talked with still regard jumping-up side by side with the band as part of the essential Carnival. They

²⁹The phrase, "It's all about the Benjamins", was popularized through this song's release. Benjamins is a hip-hop inspired euphemism for money. The "Benjamins" are symbolic of the Presidents who appear on American currency. The phrase is a reference for, "it's all about making money", which is a common theme throughout rap music and hip hop culture. For more see Christopher Smith (1995). He provides an interesting discussion of rap group Wu Tang Clan's acronym for making money CREAM. When spelled out it reads Cash Rules Everything Around Me. See also more general works by Rose (1994) and Gilroy (1987).

regarded it as an aspect lost in some of Caribana's more recent barricaded celebrations. Still, I do not think that these people would interpret a jump-over for Puff Daddy in the same way as one for the reigning carnival season road march song.

In the weeks that followed the parade, public reaction began to surface in the newspapers and on the official website. Caribana enthusiast began to express their disappointment. On the website, I had been following, there seemed to be a unanimous outpouring of feelings that what took place was not the "real" Caribana. It was a low-grade affair for a thirtieth anniversary. Many E-mail submissions spoke about the poor quality as it related to the boycott of the established mas players. However, other contributors were more creative, as they were coining new words and phrases to describe the "fiasco on Lakeshore" as one account put it. Throughout the website, I read about the parade as a "festival of rap music", as a "Rapabana" and as "Ameribana". Interestingly, I did not encounter one that attempted to speak about it as a "Canadianbana" or a similar derivative.

It was clear from my participation with the site that these words were not intended as positive, yet at least in some way there was something positive being said. The main culprit responsible for the demise or depreciation of Caribana 1997 may not have been the boycott. The mail this site received put the blame solely on those who brought rap music into the parade. The blame was not on the individuals. The issue was the choice of music and the way that rap music contributed little to the meaning of the "real" carnival.

For example, Chris and Denise, wrote to the web page from the Bronx, New York

to discuss their feelings on the parade:

It was a real shame to see such few trucks and floats and the majority that performed were rap acts. We are not crazy about rap we will admit but to see rap performers as a main attraction instead of Caribbean bands defeats the purpose of going to Caribana.

Chris and Denise, like Rickards at the beginning of this chapter, were willing to speak about the elements that make up Caribana. They were disappointed that there were "few trucks and floats" and that the "main attraction" was a rap act. For them these aspects of Caribana tell us more about what the festival is not supposed to be like. We also notice here how rap music was immediately put outside of what constituted Caribana, or to put it as they do, the music does not serve the "purpose" of Caribana. What is it that Caribana is supposed to do? What does having traditional music and not rap accomplish?

Justin from Brampton, Ontario, may answer some of these questions. He wrote to the web page shortly after Chris and Denise. For him the purpose of Caribana was framed around his sense of the nation and ideas for nationalism. This position and similar ones were well received and repeated in various ways by those who wrote in to the site. Justin said:

I go to Caribana to see my country represented, as most others do. Please, Please do not let hip-hop take over a great event like Caribana.

One reason, I speculate, why comments such as this one was favourable among the respondents, was because it captured the official views of the CCC. The CCC for many years now has continually told the Caribana community that its festival was an expression

of West Indian diversity. So in spite of the CCC's attempts to follow the Trinidadian carnival model, they nevertheless recognized and understood that the Toronto West Indian community was diverse and comprised of many nations. Comment such as Justin's, are in support of the CCC's position. This is perhaps why when Justin saw representations of a hip hop culture during the parade, he may have felt that the purpose of Caribana may have been lost. Or to say it in a way inspired by his comments - he did not "see [his] country represented". So what kinds of representations of West Indian culture was Justin seeking out at Caribana? He does not tell us, but to make clear that hip hop culture was not where he would choose to find them.

Chris and Denise shedded more light on not only the purpose of Caribana but also on things expected as part of the celebration. They argued further that Caribana was there to represent and evoke images and experiences of "home". They described Caribana's representational objective this way:

We are of Latin, West Indian descent and for us Caribana means Soca, Calypso, Reggae, Salsa, Meringue, Brazilian and African music. Caribana means a celebration of soulful and ethnic music and food from different West Indian, African and Latin backgrounds.

Justin was interested in the ways that Caribana can be expressive of Caribbean diversity. Chris and Denise extended his claims suggesting ways that music becomes a central element in understanding something about Caribbean nationalism. I draw a connection between music and nationalism to make a point about the indigenous music that is found in the Caribbean. For example, the way in which calypso and reggae music are connected to

Trinidad and Jamaica respectively, offers insight into how ideas for nationalism can be formed. Interestingly enough, they do not name rap music as part of their, "celebration of soulful and ethnic music". Their statements reflected a majority of respondents who felt that "soulful and ethnic music" was made up mostly of "reggae, salsa, meringue, Brazilian and African music", and not rap music. For them these musical genres more closely resembled the real and authentic carnival. While it suggested that the hybrid form of rap music made the parade impure.

Chris, Denise and Justin represented an important majority on the web page, who were struggling to come to terms with their disappointment. They felt as though the presence of a superstar producer and rapper had compromised their love of the real carnival. Their E-mail attempted to recapture something of the real carnival they had known. They were most upset because in past years Caribana had delivered a recognizable version of the real carnival. Their desires to hold onto an imaginary notion of the "real" carnival in the face of efforts of youth to make the festival their own, often reminded them of how good the parade was in 1995. That year seems to have stuck in the minds of many of Caribana's purist. They remember it for its spectacular display of elaborate costumes and the steel percussionist. However, most recalled it because it did not have the kind of overwhelming presence of rap as this year's did.

Robin from Scarborough, Ontario picked up on this unwanted change. He or She wrote to the web page saying:

Ok . . . none of this puff daddy nonsense. If yuh want hip hop and r&b there's enuff [sic] jams Caribana night to satisfy you. why . . . why . . . WHY would you want a parade with someone rapping on a truck?

Similar to Justin who pleaded, "please, please, please" no rap music, Robin begged, "why, why, why", the change towards rap music. Robin was quite clear that, "someone rapping on a truck", was not Caribana, rather it was "nonsense". Her question, which scolded the presence of rap was explored by Bill from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. His response was similar to Justin's. Bill said:

My wife and I come to Caribana to see the costumes and hear the music of the islands. If we want hip-hop we can get that at home. I realize these people invested their money to keep Caribana running, but if necessary, I'll go to the islands to get the *real thing* (my emphasis).

Bill's desire for the "real thing" was echoed by Robin who reminded the chat group that "the colours and mas bands are what make Caribana" and not this "puffy stuff". Furthermore, if the people running Caribana - the CCC - did not get it right, then he would be going back home for the real thing and not the watered down North American style celebration. However, there is a big risk that Bill was willing to take, because the real thing back home has changed as well. Bill was not interested in a Caribana that had more aspects of North American urban culture in it than the pure Caribbean culture he had known back home. He and Robin are against a Caribana, tainted by the spread of mass culture that, is empty of history they wanted. They were not interested in a Rapabana on the street. However, there is no guarantee for Bill that a trip back to the "islands to get the real thing" will produce a carnival in its purest state. Therefore, his desires may unfortunately have to encounter how

North American urban culture has spread into the real carnivals of back home. So the purity in song, dance, costume and music that he looks for may not be so pure after all.

However, while Justin, Chris and Denise, Robin and Bill represent a strong majority in Caribana who want Caribana to represent the authentic and real carnival, another majority discourse was argued for. This one talked about a common humanity that was an important part of Caribana's history. It suggested ways that the differences and divisions that rap music were constructed to represent may be overcome. This was an idealist discourse that for some became a valuable way to talk about the differences between notions of carnival purity and hip hop culture. It was an attempt to reduce the frustrations by constructing an imaginary oneness to which Black and Caribbean people belonged to. Laurence of Hampton, Virginia was one respondent who spoke about Caribana in this idealistic form:

A lot [sic] of people complained about it, but every time you can bear witness to a gathering of so many beautiful souls . . . it is a blessing.

Gloria from Buffalo, New York supported Laurence's idealism. She wrote to the chat group that she would:

Like to thank the city of Toronto for a wonderful time last weekend. As far as Caribana goes it was my first, and I don't know what all the controversy was about. Whether you're an American or a Canadian doesn't matter. How we choose to celebrate be it carnival, reggae, hip hop, Soca is not an issue, as long as we can all come together share, enjoy, converse and keep it on a positive tip we have done a good thing.

However, while Laurence and Gloria tried to appeal to commonalities in experiences, rarely was their position taken up. Frequently, these kinds of arguments were not engaged and the discussion moved back into talking about the problem of Caribana. This idealism, which

is comforting, encountered an unwillingness to discuss a "gathering of beautiful souls", as, "a blessing". This position was not good enough to speak about the clash between pure carnival and hip hop culture. I speculate that it did very little to say something about how the meaning of Caribana was contested.

4.3 CONTRADICTIONARY VIEWS

Not all young people were zealous supporters of hip hop culture during the parade. Among the young people, I witnessed along the parade route, there were signs of frustration over Puffy's presence. There was grumbling about the shortage of traditional carnival. These youth had to make sense of their desire for hip hop culture and carnival culture. For example, if they wanted to have a costume Caribana they had to play into notions of the pure carnival. On the other hand, the influence of hip hop culture did very little to work with the traditional themes of glittery costumes and calypso. Angel, from Ohio, spoke about how this tension influenced her celebration. She illustrated how the meaning of Caribana was contested through her ambivalent desires to see both aspects in the parade:

I have to say this was my worst Caribana experience yet. In years past it seemed to be a bit more organized and the crowd a bit more respectable. I can't say that the hip hop portion of the parade was not appropriate. I think it added a little flavour to the parade. But I agree that calypso, reggae, and the like should be the primary music focus.

Apparently Angel was willing to support a Caribana that was supportive of rap music. She told us that, "it was [her] worst Caribana experience", but she does not put the blame on rap music or hip hop culture. She praised the hip hop portion of the parade saying, "it added a little flavour". However, Angel was not confident that hip hop culture should be made part

of the official celebration of Caribana. Instead she provided a common ranking of musical styles that many Caribana supporters found useful. Most often the ranking placed, "calypso, reggae", as the, "primary music focus" and the rap portion of the parade as "not appropriate". Her personal preference for rap music was superseded in favour of more traditional sounds.

While, Angel expressed her ambivalence about wanting both hip hop and calypso within a carnival format, Dave from Beauport, Quebec spoke about his ambivalence differently. Dave was one traveller from Quebec who came to Caribana to see Puff Daddy, not only perform during the parade, but at the special concert. Dave told the chat group that, "we went to Caribana mainly for the CRUSH and returned disappointed because it lacked organization and The Bad Boy Family only did a very short presentation of about five songs". Many of the youths I watched that day seemed to want more from Puff Daddy. They were not satisfied with the few songs he blasted out while standing on top of the cab portion of the truck. Part of their disappointment was because they could not follow the Crush float as it made its way down Lakeshore Avenue. The presence of the barriers, a massive crowd and hot weather made it difficult to get to the end of the parade route. This was where the Bad Boy Family entertained the crowd with a very short set of songs near the grassy dispersal area. Dave and his friends suggested to the chat group that they were also there to see more than Puff Daddy: "[I] realize that Caribana is more than the Puff Daddy concert". What would have made Dave's Caribana experience a better one would have been

to provide things that were more recognizable as Caribbean. This would have belittled a focus around things that were part of a North American commercial culture. He expressed his idea to the chat group saying: "I can appreciate that positivity in the whole concept and the effort but maybe success would be more attainable with more focus on the Caribbean [sic]". Although Dave's main draw to the parade was one of urban culture's top commercial stars, he nonetheless suggested, that Puff Daddy was not essential for him to enjoy a Caribana parade. Furthermore, he suggested that bringing in a top star may not be the way for the CCC to achieve success. Here I think he was reminding the group about the financial difficulties. He suggested that they should not have a parade that appeals to mass culture but to things with "more focus on the Caribbean".

Unlike Dharma from Queens, New York who, "believe[d] that rap ha[d] nothing to do with Caribbean music", Dave's call for "more focus on the Caribbean" was inspired by an awareness of the way North American culture is attempting to re-center the world, at least in terms of the music we are discussing here. I place hip hop culture as an influential form among youths throughout the urban centres of the world. Speaking, obscurely about the 'flow' of musical styles and the spread of cultural expressions, Dave remarked to the chat group that:

Even though I am not from Caribbean origins and far from it (Caucasian), I believe that we all come from the same place and such a festival brings people together and educates people on their cultures and different cultures.

Dave's sense of ambivalence was framed around a double awareness for pure carnival and

a mass culture that was about mixing and hybridity. So, while Dave was drawn to the festival to see Puffy perform, he also complicated this desire by explaining how he identified with Caribana in terms of his race, ethnicity and culture. He said that he was "not from Caribbean origins and far from it", telling us he is "Caucasian". This may be a way of saying that he finds it difficult to be included in a parade organized exclusively around traditional themes. On the other hand, a parade that has elements of mass popular culture, did not require Dave to racialize his desire to be part of the Puff Daddy performance. He said, "such a festival brings people together and educates people on their culture and different cultures".

For Dave then, the inclusion of Puff Daddy made him feel part of the Caribana celebration, however it was a celebration that was dramatically different from previous ones.

The example of Dave suggested an interesting debate about the parameters or boundaries of Caribana, which may have an impact on future directions of the parade. One, were Caribana-goers willing to have a more mixed parade that included an influence like hip hop in its celebration, or were they in favour of a Caribana that followed its traditional methods of costumes, steel pan and jump-up? What was Caribana about anyway? What were its boundaries and how far were people willing to stretch them to include another Black expression? For the youths who made efforts to include rap music they banked their hopes on the idea that Caribana was inherently a hybrid format that has always been about mixing. Those on the other side of the debate actively sought to deny Caribana its history of hybridity and mixing by placing upon it a stricter interpretation of carnival than usual. They argued

that they were simply reminding the young people what it was to play a true carnival that said something about the history and culture of a People. They were against the rapping portion because it was no different from what took place in the nightclubs that the young people frequented. The older brand of Caribana enthusiast felt that rap music jeopardized the future of the parade and detracted from the West Indian identity of the parade. Caribana was more than a block party featuring rap, it had something to say about the history of colonialism, slavery and emancipation. This older generation felt that the youths were not getting this crucial message. They worried that the youths only saw Caribana as an opportunity to have an all-ages open air street bash. They feared that what the youths were doing neglected and corrupted the festival's history.

Wanting to hold onto "real" images meant that Caribana's mixed heritage needed to be controlled and monitored, by the people who felt they knew best about an authentic parade. During the research I had the chance to speak with Mary about the problems with the 1997 parade. Although I never met her, she and I talked at length several times via E-mail communications. Mary was one of several people who mailed me directly to talk about issues of Caribana's identity. What made her interesting was that she identified herself as a Caribbean person who loves rap and r&b music but does not want them included in the parade. During our first conversation she told me that the parade was, "a complete disaster" and that, "Caribana [was] supposed to highlight the Caribbean culture a multicultural and diverse culture". I asked her how she felt about the content of last Saturday's parade along

Lakeshore Avenue. She wrote back to me:

The only other positive spin is the content of Caribana. I am a die hard R&B fan; I go to clubs that play mainly reggae, hip hop and R&B (sometimes a little soca is played); I listen to mainly R&B\reggae on the radio stations (CHRY and WBLK). Therefore I have nothing against these forms of music. R&B is my 'first love'. That notwithstanding, they have no place in Caribana. CCC members need a trip back to the Caribbean to experience Carnival (if they have forgotten). Carnival is a time to jump up and wave, whine my waist, lift up my leg, get on wassy, etc. I only want to hear kaiso, pan, calypso, and soca (in its various forms).

Mary feared that if Caribana sacrificed these traditional aspects of carnival than as she said, "in the long run no one will benefit from the confusion that took place". She worried that Toronto was jeopardizing its place and role in the Carnival diaspora by putting on such a show. She said, "unless drastic changes are made within the organization and the content of the Carnival/parade . . . then Toronto will not support this Carnival". Besides worrying that Caribana may suffer a serious blow to its character on the world stage as a leader in costuming and calypso, she added that, "the Simcoe Day Long Weekend will be taken over by other interests that want that slot". Mary recognized that Caribana has been successful by not changing and continuing to do the things that brought it international stature. She reminded me that:

Carnival in Toronto survived for 30 years with a certain format. It would never have been successful for all these years if there was a problem with just those forms of Caribbean music. The floats and masquerader were like in the Caribbean [sic]. We don't need a latin truck, Brazilian whatever, Hawaiian something else. Stick to the format, it brought all those people over the years (and millions of dollars to Toronto), so why change it. This is about OUR culture and inviting the world to join us in our proud celebrations. If we are truly proud of our heritage and culture, and we want the world to enjoy and

appreciate that diverse richness that is inherently Caribbean, why do we want to dilute it or mix it up.

"Keeping it real", was Mary's message to me when I asked how she would have wanted things done differently. Despite her love of the urban music scene she was against any part of it that threatened to overwhelm a true parade. Mary explained to me how the benefits of "keeping it real" were not achieved by staging a parade around the figure of Puff Daddy. She told me:

To be proud of one's heritage is to display it as is; not to change it to what we think is acceptable to others. Others must respect and appreciate our culture/heritage on its own merits - and so should we!

During our first talk, Mary and I established that we were both interested in the music issue. She was more interested in preserving the "sweet and rich" heritage, as she called it, of the Caribbean, while I besides this was interested in pursuing if she felt rap and urban culture may have a place in future Caribana celebrations. I think Mary regarded my persistence on this issue to be strange, because why would a person interested in knowing about the history be so interested in rap music. The next time we talked, which was the following day, she said to me, "we obviously have very different ideas about what Caribana is or should be". She asked me, "why do you think rap/r&b/reggae have a place in Caribana?". "What part of these", she demanded, "are representations of Carnival?". "Yes", she continued, "they are forms of black music and represent the urban Black subculture, but can you say they are part of the Caribbean culture (especially r&b and rap)?" Mary was challenging my own understanding of Caribana. She was asking me what I thought Caribana

meant and how its meaning should be represented. To be honest I felt uneasy about this because none of my other associates, except Sharon (in the next chapter), challenged my own thoughts on the parade and festival.

Still, I was not discouraged but quite stimulated to press on with our conversations about Caribana's identity. I wanted to know more about the distinction Mary raised between our culture and this other mass culture. Mary was not satisfied with my analysis that the parade hinted at the "winds of change" and that there were very few things in place to attract a younger audience. She disagreed with the attempt by youths to appropriate a large portion of the parade for their pleasure. She was convinced that my interpretation of "winds of change" seriously undermined the magnitude and significance of Caribana. She did not support the "young urbanites" as she called them - a category which I think she was willing to fit herself into. Our second conversation began by her repeating a question I posed to her:

You asked the question, "does that mean those people who enjoy the music, by extension have no place in Caribana?". That depends. I enjoy those music, but I do not go to Caribana to hear them, I go elsewhere year-round. If people are going primarily and only to hear this music at Caribana, then I guess they shouldn't come, because Caribana is not the forum for this. If young people have been crying out for r&b/rap in the parade - they need to go to Taboo, Studio 69, Epiphany, Club 27, Club Paradise etc., more often. Let Puff Daddy and the like create a rap/r&b festival some other time in the summer for the "young urbanites" that cry out for the music. Let those who are interested bring Reggae Sunsplash to Toronto some other time in the summer.

Mary wanted to remind me of two points that she felt would help me understand why a person, who does not mind the label "young urbanite", embraces the music of hip hop culture

outside a strict Caribana format. She explained to me that she listened to rap and r&b all the time in her car and that traditional Caribbean music was quite marginal in terms of the mainstream appeal of rap. She regarded Caribana as an important time and opportunity for calypso and soca artists to showcase their talent. In this way Mary was against a hip hop based Caribana because it squeezed out those artists. These artists looked upon Caribana as one highlight of their carnival season. She said to me:

Firstly, the very young want to hear rap/r&b on the parade because nothing is done for all ages. Therefore for the underaged, it's free and admissible. Like I said before let Puffy and the crew do something to address this. Let's create something for them to have fun. Whether you like it or not, they attract more violence (that's not to say that Caribana hasn't done so in the past). But Caribana violence has been as a result of people not into carnival coming down looking to settle scores. Carnival is a family time - where young and old can let their hair down and "get on bad". Violence has no place with family fun. Let's have outdoor concerts or something (with security) for the young people to enjoy their other forms of Black music and "bounce with Puff Daddy". What I'm saying is that a forum for the young to enjoy the urban music needs to be develop, but not within Caribana [sic].

Mary used the familiar argument of family values versus the potential for violence as a way around the inclusion of rap in parade. Here she suggested another reason Caribana purist want to hang onto traditional notions of carnival. Tradition provided the safety that the hip hop influenced parades eroded. She suggested this while still able to acknowledge that Caribana has had incidences of violence. However, her analysis seemed to suggest that the problem of violence resided with the individual perpetrators and not with the structural content of the parade. In other words, she suggested a Caribana that authenticates its performance reduces the risk of violent incidents.

While, her first point was motivated by her thoughts about a minor squirmish in which some youths rushed to get on board the Crush float, her second was about Caribana as cultural identity. She argued that the "young urbanites" were overrun by a North American mass culture that impinged on the future of Caribana and blurred their sense of ethnic affiliation. She spoke about a pure Caribana as important for youths who confronted and negotiated the challenges of a hip hop based culture that has a predominantly American origin. She wrote that:

My second point is regarding culture/heritage as a focal point of identity. Let's be honest. Rap/r&b are American urban Black culture, not Caribbean culture. Yes they are all over the world but they bring American culture into a country; rap/r&b is not part of Japanese culture, yet it's there. The question for me, you and everyone else, is whether or not we want American culture to over-ride ours. It is part of the urban experience of the young, and by extension their subculture. Would you say that rap or r&b are parts of the Japanese, European or African culture? Caribbeans all over North America go to carnivals to celebrate and enjoy that Caribbean culture that is quite diverse by ethnic make up of the Caribbean. This is why so many people were disappointed with Caribana this year. They came for Carnival, didn't get it because of the disunity amongst the organisers, and received a slap in the face with the rap/r&b/reggae fest that took place! Hence, the comments of Rapabana, Ameribana and Puffbana. Many of us listen to the other forms of black music and enjoy it to the max, but we do not want to lose our culture or roots (remember a tree without roots???).

TORONTO SADNESS

The longest E-mail discussing the "crisis of 1997" was also one that most readily used a protectionist discourse. I first read this submission on August 5, 1997 and it could not have been soon enough. Shortly after it appeared, within three or four days, it was wiped off the chat room board. I wondered why it was erased because none of the other

submissions were edited in this manner. There were entries listed on the board from as far back as the beginning of the year. I suspected that its removal may have had something to do with part of the submission that had ran a scathing denouncement of the practices of the CCC. To leave such an unfavourable review of the CCC on the board would have been more problematic press the CCC was willing to do without. I was fortunate to read the removed material. I did not make a copy of it, thinking that it would remain. In any event I would not have reproduced it here. What follows then were the comments made by a person or group who cleverly identified themselves as Sadness.

Writing on 5 August 1997, Sadness from Toronto, Ontario spoke about the search for cultural purity within Caribana. For Sadness, rap music and the image of Puffy did not speak to the indigenous cultures he or she had come to expect from Caribana's performance.

Sadness said to the chat group sarcastically:

For all those who had a good time this year at Caribana - that's good. But if you enjoyed it that much I have one question to ask: What do you think Carnival is?

Continuing, Sadness explained what is not carnival:

If you enjoyed reggae and rap and r&b, then you don't know what carnival is; you don't know what Caribana is all about and is supposed to be. Never in my life have I experienced such rubbish under the guise of Carnival. I think some people need to 'take themselves back to their roots' to discover (or re-discover) what is Carnival.

In Sadness' opposition to rap music, he or she invoked a discourse of the insider and indigenous in protection of things carnival is supposed to be. Those things Sadness explained as: "just kaiso, calypso, Soca and pan". However, to rely upon a discourse of a

"native" person who knows about carnival also dictated who or more importantly what kind of person can be an "insider". This was problematic because it drew upon an additional authentic discourse to make its critique the primary one. This way of speaking about an essential difference in the end allowed Sadness to comfortably decide how Caribana should be performed.

Sadness also lamented that his or her's preferred music was pushed out of the parade by a form of music supported by its mass appeal among some youths. Sadness wrote:

Hip-hop, reggae and r&b is NOT carnival and they have no place in carnival. I can go to any club or put on the radio and hear those types of music. It's much harder to hear calypso/Soca on the radio. In the car I listen to WBLK [a black American radio stations popular amongst youth], but at Caribana I don't want to hear that kind of music. What the hell was Sean Puffy Combs doing along the parade?

Sadness spoke about the marginalization of calypso music in terms of its wider relationship with other forms of Black musical expression. Carnival was a special time that Sadness wanted reserved for calypso.

Lastly, Sadness explained how the search for musical purity is tied to ethnic and political consciousness. Though, Sadness' choice of illustration was comical, - making light of different dance styles -, the point that was suggested raised concern again around the idea of a pure carnival and a tainted commercial one. Sadness joked that:

The organisers made this smaller Caribana a disaster by having these people along the parade without our music playing. I wanted to 'lif up me leg an whine', not bouncing my neck to Notorious B.I.G. or the like.

"Invite the world," Sadness said, "to share and experience our culture, but don't showcase the

world in to Carnival and say this is carnival!". Speaking explicitly about a consciousness discerned from the music Sadness says, "The more you allow and attract certain types of floats, is the more you will attract those who follow those sounds in the first place". And as Sadness comments, "then you're attracting even more bad name for Caribana with the rif-raf and the violence".

Sadness ended the truncated addition to the chat group with a stern, yet sarcastic warning for both Caribana puritans and non-puritans. Sadness offered a loud warning that squarely positioned his or her thoughts on the side of those who interpreted Caribana from a rooted standpoint and scolded those who wished to exploit what has always been a mixed heritage and experience. Sadness wrote:

Of course, if we don't want Carnival in Toronto, we can keep on with this type of Caribana and lose the opportunity to teach and pass on our culture to the next generation. THINK ABOUT IT, CCC!!!

CONCLUSION

One lesson learned from the 1997 parade was that organizers, sponsors, spectators and participants were not interested in having a hip hop based parade because this format was meaningless in terms of the history of the Caribbean. This group attempted to sanction the effort's young people made in stretching the boundaries of Caribana's hybrid make up. Their energies were spent on controlling and policing the kind of involvement young people will have in the parade. Clearly a vast majority acknowledged that hip hop culture has become instrumental in the lives of some urban youths. However, they were not willing to allow the

identity of the parade nor the cultural heritage of the youth slip away as part of any attempt to bring rap music into the official celebration. This grouping of people, who tended to comprise the category of the purist, felt that any kind of parade that did not limit itself to the fundamental character of a costume oriented carnival was detrimental to the survival, longevity and character of the festival. They felt that a change towards rap music was inappropriate and could not ensure the future success of the parade without causing a serious blow to the nature and character of carnival itself. The suggestion was made that the overwhelming play of rap music diminished the quality of the colourful parade, while it also sent out the wrong message about Caribana to the carnival diaspora. In spite of there being a recognition by the purist that Caribana does little to draw the interest of young urban people, the purists were definitely not interested in a parade that would be reduced to a street jam. This change was absolutely not wished for because in a hip hop parade the emphasis shifted away from the efforts of costume makers towards the star, as in Puffy. A traditional carnival attempts to uphold the efforts of the costume makers which the purists suggested was best achieved within the guise of the real carnival.

"Carnival", as Philip Kasinitz (1992:12) noted, "refuses to speak with one voice: the mass participatory nature of the event both attracts and frustrates those who seek to make of it a political statement". This frustration was understood by the young people who sought to change the nature of the parade by appealing to the possibilities that are inherent in its mixed character. They were confronted by the purist who actively sought to control the

boundaries of that mixture. However, the frustration was further complicated, by those people who embraced both a commercial carnival and a pure one. This group of people attempted to make more liberal choices in how their Caribana celebration was enjoyed. Their arguments loosened the boundaries and made it possible for Caribana's restless form to mix it up with hip hop, reggae and other styles. However, even when people acknowledged that there could be other things that were capturing the interest of the youth, they still were interested in guarding the essential carnival.

In the next chapter, I introduce a bandleader who made her debut in the 1997 parade of the bands. I use her as an example to continue to talk about the themes of the real carnival, thus, extending the larger debate around crisis, change and continuity of Caribana.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 African Tribal Mas: A Story from Behind the Fabric

In this chapter I identify other ways young people were attempting to make Caribana 1997 their own. Much of the chapter focuses around my relationship with a younger bandleader, a woman whom I shall refer to as Sharon. This chapter speaks about her attempts to begin her career as a bandleader. I detail the frustrations, successes and achievements she experienced in her first attempt at bringing a large scale band to the parade. I also provide a contrast to Sharon's experiences by highlighting some experiences of a much more seasoned bandleader. Drawing upon, the 'know how' of Errol Achue, a veteran of many Caribanas, I will attempt to provide a contrast with some things Sharon attempted to do.

This chapter is linked to the themes discussed in the previous one. Specifically, I draw upon my relationship with Sharon to talk about issues of the "real" and "corrupted" carnival. I use our relationship to show how a younger generation of bandleaders was producing aspects of sameness and innovation in the kinds of things they wanted in the parade. A great deal of the chapter addresses the ways in which I saw both continuity and change in the performance of Sharon's band in terms of the various notions of the "real" carnival.

I first read about Sharon in the local West Indian newspaper, as I sat for a cup of coffee at the *Coffee Time* on Finch avenue west early one morning in June. Feeling

frustrated and indifferent over the slow progress of my research, I was looking for a bright spot that would re-energize my interests. As I looked through the list of band entries for the upcoming parade I was immediately struck by two general kinds of bands that were listed as 1997 participants in the “band of the year” competition. Upon first glance, I noticed that the bands seemed to be either focused on an obvious attempt to portray a multicultural vision or a direct link either to Africa and its diaspora's in the Caribbean, Hawaii or Latin America.

The first bands to catch my interest were a band bringing the cultural dress of the Hawaiian people and another bringing the cultural styles of Latin America. The two interested me because I felt they could bring my project back into focus with my emphasis on hybridity and creolization of the parade and the way this is celebrated in Toronto. However, the one that really got me excited and helped to rejuvenate my spirits was Sharon’s band called, “The African Tribal Mas”. It was because of the diversity of the bands and my personal interest in “Africa” as a subject that led me to pursue a meeting with Sharon and her band.

I was interested immediately in her band. I wanted to know how it was going to play Africa. I wanted to know what was the "tribal" and how was "Africa" going to be represented in a Caribbean based festival? Moreover, I was interested in knowing why she was one of only a few female bandleaders. As I sipped from my coffee, my mind began to problematize the title. Staring at the band’s title, I wondered if she meant by it some sort of spin on an Afrocentric philosophy. My other thoughts were on contacting her and trying to

set a meeting with her.

Later, that morning I tried to contact Sharon and not to my surprise I could not get her. It is not uncommon, rather expected that during this time of year bandleaders are extremely difficult people to contact. They are incredibly busy with their preparations. My phone calls went unanswered. There was not even an answering machine for a message. Still, what was even more interesting about "tribal mas" was that the masquerade camp was in the Dufferin Shopping Mall, located on Dufferin north of College Street. I decided to travel down hoping to meet her working away in her shop - but why a shopping mall?

Typically it has been the experience of Caribana bandleaders to house the construction and meeting of their bands in warehouses, garages or even in family basements. From all of the accounts I had read about some of Caribana's greatest bandleaders, such as Louis Saldenah, Rudy Rampersand and Julian Baptiste, they spoke about how enormous sums of money were spent on providing a warehouse to store, construct and guard their materials. A warehouse, usually rented at a price in the thousands of dollars was a necessary part of the bandleader's experience both here in Toronto and in Trinidad. To a lesser extent, the bandleader's house becomes another important place where key issues and concerns are discussed. In an interview I had with outspoken bandleader Errol Achue, who has won "band of the year" three times, he spoke to me about the mas camp. He told me:

Oh yeah, you rent a mas camp. Approximately about \$2000 a month. So once you have your mas camp acquired and you sign your contract and so. Then you start moving in your equipment. Like you have equipment stored in a warehouse, from the previous year. All your machines and all your

different things you need, for building costumes.

This description represents the general experience of Caribana bandleaders. In particular, longtime and successful bandleaders seem to have this experience. However, for a newcomer like Sharon this was not her experience. She did things in another way. First, by holding her camp in a mall, she was revealing her band to the public. Unlike the warehouses used by older bandleaders, her choice of location did not offer secrecy and seclusion. These are elements of the creative process of the festival's band competition. I mean that Sharon's band was quite accessible to the public, not secluded in a warehouse located in an industrial park. This is one difference I thought about as I travelled to meet her.

As I entered Dufferin Mall, I had no idea which way I should have been walking. I decided rather than walking without direction to ask someone for help. I stopped for help at the information centre asking where I could find the Caribana camp. As I waited, I could not help but think to myself where could Sharon be holding this camp. From all my personal experience and interviews about Caribana, not once had I heard about a camp in the mall. How was she paying the rent?, I wondered, and how was she able to work given the strict business hours of the mall? The typical bandleader works night and day, enduring many sleepless nights as shifts of people come into the camp to sew, stitch, paste and fasten together the costumes. How was she doing all of this in the mall? The women at the counter, told me she had heard about a Caribana store. She pointed down the hall, telling me to walk about three quarters of the way down.

I found the place. It impressed me. The store was decorated with various African inspired traditional garments. They were all beautiful bright colours. There was a table with three chairs. On the table were pictures of the costumes and stacks of flyers advertising the band. To my surprise the store, a rather small spot, was empty. Rustling paper to draw attention to myself, a woman's head peeked around the corner from the back exit. I introduced myself as someone interested in the band. She gave me one of the flyers explaining the band. It did not offer any great insights other than to state they were participating in the parade. I asked if she was the bandleader. "No", she replied, "my daughter who is not here at the moment is the leader, I am just running the store, she stepped out for lunch." Feeling the need to say something about myself I told her I was a student researching the Caribana parade. She seemed satisfied with this and the fact that I wanted to work with her daughter's band. Honestly, I was surprised with how easily she accepted my intentions. My experience in these kinds of meetings had been one where people were suspicious of what I was doing. She told me that Sharon would be back at twelve thirty and that I was welcome to wait for her. However, I told her that I would return but would like to have a number where she could be reached. She gave me three numbers, but told me the first two were not serviceable yet, as the Bell Canada technician had not been in to see them. They had just recently moved into the location. The other number was a home phone.

I walked around the mall until about one o'clock, passing time in the HMV music shop listening to rap and reggae discs. I did not see a woman whom I thought could be Ann's

daughter enter the mas camp shop. I left. When I got home I phoned the store. I did so twice between four thirty and six thirty. Ann answered both times. She told me her daughter had not returned. Feeling frustrated and thinking that this may prove to be a dead end pursuit I asked Ann if she could pass my home number onto her daughter and have her call me. I did not expect Sharon to call, as people rarely do in these kinds of situations. She did call and we spoke briefly. She expressed her interest in working with me. Sharon then went on to tell me how she was interested in the work I was doing and that we should get together for an interview. She told me how her mother had told her all about me and that we should get together on the twenty-fifth of July. She said she wanted to discuss some fresh ideas she wanted to bring to the parade.

I met Sharon on a very hot day on the northeast side of University Avenue and York Street. We agreed that we would meet for lunch at twelve forty five near St. Andrew's subway station. While Sharon is not pursuing her dream as a bandleader she works as a contract worker for the CIBC head offices in Toronto. Her office is in the CIBC building, which is a glass plated shiny skyscraper that was casting a comforting shadow on the street. I was overwhelmed by the rush of the corporate employees who were hurrying in and out of the revolving doors. So I decided to get out of the way and wait for her in a bus shelter. She found me.

We sat for a talk and a bite to eat at an outdoor barbecue patio. Sharon is a black woman, twenty-six years old. She is the mother of two young children. We began to talk

about each other, finding out that we share a similar set of experiences. This was important because in my interviews with Errol Achue, for example, the similarities that I shared with him were fewer. Being closer in age, we shared our experiences and interest in music, art and culture. I told her that my favourite music artist was Burning Spear, the international reggae superstar. I was not sure if she had heard of him, as she looked at me blankly. However, we talked about other music. Sharon told me how rap was something she grew up with. She also mentioned how as with most things one may out grow them. I told her how I get frustrated with the glorification of shootings, bitches and niggahs in some of rap's appeal. She agreed, saying also that lately the creativity in some rap has reached its limit. She said she liked rap when the Sugar Hill Gang, one of the genre's earliest successes, was doing their thing. This was a more innocent time in the genre known for its playful boasting and party atmosphere in the music. I agreed saying that rap was the music I grew up listening and dancing to. However, we also spoke about a mutual interest in jazz. We talked about Nancy Wilson, Sarah Vaughan and other great female singers. She told me she was especially fond of Billie Holliday, seeing in her a symbol of strength.

After lunch Sharon and I walked down in to the subway to avoid the heat and to find a comfortable place to talk. We sat behind a group of three women. They were talking loudly. Across from us was a man. He had his face buried in a muffin, coffee and the Toronto Star. I began by asking her to tell me how she got involved with Caribana and how she started. She spoke in a soft but commanding voice. She said that her reasons for getting

parents would take the family to Caribana. I remember one year in particular when all five of us piled into our brown vehicle, which was hot and sticky inside, and we made the trip down the highway towards downtown. I remember how excited I was the first time my parents said they were taking us to Caribana. I watched my first parade on the step of a grey building on University Avenue - I think it might have been a hospital. Although my parents had never really talked to us about Caribana, I was familiar with the carnivals back home in Grenada. My mother would tell us how as a young person she was frightened by the Jab Jabs during Old mas. The Jab Jabs are traditional carnival characters who blacken their skins with charcoal and heavy oils. They purposely try to rub the black sticky substance on bystanders' bodies as they try to escape their clutch. I myself was terrified of them when I began playing Old mas.

I wanted to know more about why she thought it was important that Caribana continue. Many people I had been speaking with throughout the summer seemed fed up and frustrated with Caribana and its lack of progress. These people spoke about the down falls of the CCC, specifically their inability to be a source of consistent money for the community. I was trying to lead her into more of a discussion about the cultural significance of the festival. I wanted her to speak about how she hoped to continue Caribana as part of her children's experience. In short, I wanted to know why she was interested in it so much. She told me it was:

Because it is something that is cultural. Something that I don't think we should lose, lose touch with. And it was a big part of my upbringing, in the

sense, that it was something I could touch base with, that this was my culture. It's something that happens once a year. I thought it would be pretty sad to see something like that die out. And for my kids to. I would like for there to be a Caribana for them to continue and be able to go.

5.2 BANDLEADER: CULTURAL ENTREPRENEUR

In this section I pause briefly to reintroduce one of Caribana's longstanding and more outspoken bandleaders, Errol Achue. The following is an excerpt from a conversation I had with him on July 9, 1997 at his home. I had contacted Mr Achue, in spite of my knowing that he would not be participating in this year's festival. As vice-president of OMPA and a staunch supporter of Caribana's boycott, he used this opportunity as a chance to speak about the relationship between the CCC and the bandleaders. However, my interests were concerned with learning more about bandleadership and not about the growing difference between bandleaders and the CCC. The significance of this excerpt is to help show what some responsibilities, goals and objectives are for the bandleader. Also, I want to highlight some emotional strains and hardships. I hope for the excerpt to illustrate two more things as well. One, is to learn something about the character of a bandleader. The second is to help set up a contrast between Sharon and Mr Achue, in terms of their experiences and generational differences.

researcher: What is the role of a bandleader?

respondent: Well a bandleader is an individual who I would say is a complete business man. Because he has to produce a band every year for the Caribana parade. And it involves a lot of planning, from I would say we start as soon as Caribana ends, the end of July. We start coming up with a theme for the following year, so we have to have a concept of what we would like

to play. And we come up with a theme and once we come up with the theme then we have to come up with various sections to depict the theme. Within my bands I normally have eight sections. Once you have come up with the theme and the sections, then you have to start thinking about how you're going to depict the sections to portray that theme. So we then start naming the sections based on your theme. Once you come up with the names of the sections, then you have to try to design the costumes to also portray that particular section. So once we start doing that, we come up with some preliminary drawings then we look at sourcing of materials, because there is no use design a stuff, when you can't get the materials to produce that costume. So that is the way the mechanics works. You come up with the theme, the section, then what kind of sections they going to be and then you try to look for materials to produce those to put together costumes. So once you have come up with the materials, then you actually have samples of what is going to happen, take place. And then you have to go to your designer, your guy who does the drawings, because everybody has somebody to do drawings for them.

researcher: So this is a full year's work?

respondent: Yes it is. And then by December, you have your float drawings ready. And then in the meantime, while all this is going on you have to start trying to find out who you're going to be playing for you on the road.

researcher: To get the calypsonian...?

Errol: Oh yeah, that's right right. So then you book your band. You have to book trucks, book generators, PA systems and once those things are booked you have to deposit to make sure that you know they are there for you on Caribana day. Then we start looking for a mas camp, that's where you have to make the costumes. And normally you would take it from around May, June, July, three months sometimes four months, depending on if you can get it and how much it cost.

Mr. Achue is very good at describing the financial commitment required to bring a band to Caribana. He brings knowledge of the task of bandleadership from his days of practicing carnival in Trinidad. I was struck by the keen business sensibilities needed to be a successful

bandleader. He is very good with quoting numbers and various reports. He has proven to be a very astute and capable businessperson.

Clearly, one objective is to be a very effective cultural entrepreneur. That is someone who can support their artistic vision with the proper financial and structural elements. From my conversations with Sharon I found that she achieved many of the things Mr Achue told me about. After speaking with both of them, I noticed that Sharon's descriptions were very different. She could not speak with the same clarity as Mr Achue did about the financial figures. When I asked Sharon to describe for me the steps she took in putting together her band this is what, she said:

Well we went to the meeting we found out about registration. We registered. We were given very little information on how to run a mas camp or what to do. I basically just did what I thought other people and what I saw other people do. So from there I went looking for a mas camp location and it ended up that I approached a major developer who owned a shopping centre.

The fact that Sharon attempted to situate her mas camp in a shopping mall is innovative and is a credit to her entrepreneurial knowledge. It may also suggest a difference between the camps Mr Achue describes and the one she experienced. By putting her camp in a place of business, Sharon was selling her product in a more effective way. Her product, which we will later learn to be wearable items fit neatly with the idea of a shopping mall. The camps Mr Achue describes work better for those masquerades which feature the larger more elaborate costumes. Also, Sharon's camp is in more of a position to achieve its aspirations as a business. This is ironic, given how skilled Mr Achue is at detailing the financing

necessary for a successful band. Moreover, the shopping mall represents a clear break with where Caribana mas camps have traditionally been found.

A simple point such as where a bandleader chooses to locate his or her camp may be significant in how we talk about Caribana as an authentic carnival. The shopping mall as a new place to support a camp may be one change this generation of bandleaders may be interested in pursuing. For Sharon, it worked well with the conceptual idea of her band and the kinds of costumes she was playing. However, for others this change away from the traditions of the warehouse, may be too much of a break from the authentic carnival. This change may be regarded as an attempt to move Caribana and particularly the selling of its costumes more closely in line with the buying and selling attitudes of North American capitalism. Furthermore, this may be one way that the festival may choose to financially adapt itself. Sharon's mall camp may more effectively meet the demands of the financial climate that Caribana finds itself in.

In my conversations with Sharon and others I noticed indifference when I raised the idea of a mall housing a mas camp. Perhaps, I was making too much of the shopping mall location. No one seemed to be interested in talking about it as something different and new. Yet at the same time many felt that it was strange that a camp would be staged in a mall. My experiences of the mas camp has been closer to the one Mr Achue spoke about. This was the one that held the idea of the "real" carnival. This was the one that had the feeling of making masquerade. I thought that it was strange that people did not recognize or chose not to speak

about the mall as unauthentic. I found that it simply did not matter where the camp was. The more important issue was the camps accessibility when the time came for participants to get their costume.

Here again we pick up on bits of my conversation with Mr Achue. In this next section he describes a sequence of events that lead up to the launching of the band. He also speaks about the inexperienced bandleaders, such as Sharon, who will be bringing a band to Caribana 1997.

researcher: You rent for . . . ?

respondent: Oh yeah, you rent a mas camp. Approximately about \$2000 a month. So once you have your mas camp acquired and you sign your contract and so, then you start moving in your equipment. Like you have equipment stored in a warehouse, from the previous year. All your machines and all your different things you need, for building costumes. And you start setting up the mas camp. Then you have start making what we call the prototype costumes, for your band launching. You usually pick a date when you launch where you going to launch your band. And you invite the public to come and see the costumes for the first time.

researcher: And that's where you get participants?

respondent: Well you get somebody may register that night, if they like the costumes and so and people may, maybe come to look and see what your costumes are. Because they will go to other band launchings to see what the other costumes look like. So you show them off and people would come and look. Well it's a form of raising some funds. To help produce the bands, because it takes a lot of money to produce a band. You know, it cost anywhere from \$30, 000 to \$80, 000 depending on the size of the band. The biggest thing or the biggest risk is from year to year you don't know how many masqueraders you going to get to play in your band. So you are taking a big shot in the dark, because before you even start making a costume you have to incur at least \$20, 000. You talking about the music, a band from Trinidad, plus the trucks, generators, PA systems.

researcher: And the bands have always come from Trinidad?

respondent: Well most of them. Well they are the ones who come from Trinidad and have the latest calypsos and soca music. They are the ones that draw the crowd. So the masqueraders know them. So it's a form of marketing for you if you have a good band playing for you.

researcher: The bands that are participating this year. They're not from OMPA or TMMA?

respondent: No. They are just people that Caribana has gone out there and beg to come and bring a band. So they don't have no experience. They don't know how much it cost. They don't know what is involved. So I guarantee it's going to be fiasco. But they chose to go.

I do not believe Mr Achue was aware of Sharon and her band. He was spending most of his energy fighting the internal struggle between the CCC and OMPA. Thus, he was not speaking directly about Sharon. However, some of his general remarks do offer a contrast in style and approach between him and Sharon. After Sharon secured a store for her band, the next step for her was to move into the production of the band. This is how she described these moves to me:

Tried to negotiate to get some space rented at the mall in exchange I provided some kind of entertainment within their facility. I sent out an ad to the International Academy of Merchandise and Design for people that I needed to design costumes. I had an idea of what I wanted. I knew I wanted my theme to be something about Africa. I have a personal interest in Africa, in my own history. In the culture, the clothing, the everything, the Art. So that's what I had wanted. I told them what my ideas were, they came back to me with some sketches. I approved them. I chose the fabrics and we went from there.

At this point Sharon was well under way with her idea. She and her band were in production. She had her band launching, to officially open her band to the public for viewing

and selection of the costumes. To her delight, her launching was attended by CCC Chair Henry Gomez and a few other CCC board members. Sharon picks up the details again, which sound similar to what Mr Achue explained:

It went from that stage to me actually opening the store, starting to take registration, people coming, choosing their costumes and what not. I got a lot of really mixed feedback. I expected that everybody would be as enthusiastic about this as I was. But I quickly found out that that wasn't the case. With all the turmoil and stuff happening with Caribana and the 23 bands or whatever, that were not going to be participating, there were a lot of people that felt that Caribana should be boycotted this year and they didn't know what was happening. They thought Caribana was bankrupt, they didn't know what was going to happen. So there were a lot of unknowns. And the incidents about the shootings and the violence, I had to break a lot of barriers there. So it was very difficult.

There are many similarities and differences between issues Sharon and Mr Achue speak about. Both speak about the difficulty of being a bandleader. One focuses more on the financial end of things, while Sharon probably unaware or unaccustomed to the financial rigours speaks more about the idea or vision of the band. Still, there are a few differences that can be highlighted for the way they suggest how a bandleader has an important stake in producing what Caribana audiences have come to expect as the real carnival. This role for bandleaders was not one that my informants spoke about readily. However, bandleaders are respected and regarded as the makers of Caribana. They are the ones who dream the ideas that remind us about the majesty and beauty of the Caribbean. Thus, they are the group that plays the most significant role in delivering the "real" or 'unreal' carnival. Sharon and Mr Achue seem to fall on either side of the issue. Sometimes Sharon plays to a stronger notion

of the "real" carnival, while for other issues she is more liberal. On the other hand, Mr Achue is a strong defender of the bandleader who depicts and performs the "real" carnival.

Music has long been a point of contention between what is perceived as the "real" carnival. In Caribana's case, music has been vital in recapturing that island feeling. It has been important in resurrecting that 'back home' feeling. To this end, Mr Achue values the contribution that an artist from Trinidad brings to his band. It gives his band the authenticity, which in another way is also a lure to draw participants and money into his band. He described the positive contribution a band from Trinidad offers this way:

They are the ones who come from Trinidad and have the latest calypsos and soca music. They are the ones that draw the crowd. So the masqueraders know them. So it's a form of marketing for you if you have a good band playing.

It is a form of marketing, which packages the most familiar idea of the carnival that Caribana has aspired to. However, this has not been the only idea. Music, in the way that Sharon approaches its contribution to the parade, is understood differently. The relationship between music and the carnival, which she worked into her band, was more inclusive. Her views on music sometimes put her against those positions that follow a "real" or strong interpretation of carnival.

Well it's up to the bands. If you're a bandleader and you have to choose your band or deejay, you're going to really dictate the kind of music your band is going to dance to. And I think if you want to bring a band and you want to have reggae music playing that's fine. If you want to have salsa music playing that's fine. If you want to have calypso that's okay to.

For some carnival enthusiasts, Sharon's sentiments are non-purists, or as someone who finds

music as a point in which to stray from the "real" carnival. Although, Mr Achue and Sharon are on opposite sides of this debate, in another way they say a similar thing. Both underscore the point that much responsibility is placed upon the shoulders of the bandleaders. For the most part they are in complete control of the direction and style of play for their band. Though the CCC administers the parade, the idea for bands is entirely not theirs, but the bandleaders'. The only stipulation, which CCC officials have implored bandleaders to adhere, is that there must be costumes depicted in sections. The CCC has not rejected anyone in its history for bringing a band that did not play calypso, which is also to say that they do not officially exercise a policy that favours purist or non-purist.

I had the occasion to speak further about the issue with a former board member of the CCC. Joan Pierre, a former executive officer with the festival in the early 1990's, communicated to me that it was upsetting when she heard that members of the Jamaican community falsely accused the CCC of being biased towards reggae in the festival. She challenged this accusation, saying to me during our interview, "to show me when and where, a Jamaican band was refused". Rather, she wishes to embrace West Indian diversity within the Caribana format. She said to me, "I have encouraged my Jamaican friends to do something around the Jonkonnu festival, bring a band with sections depicting Jonkunnu". However, she concludes sadly that "no one has taken her up on the offer".

Although, there has not been Jonkunnu masquerade in Caribana there has been a band that featured reggae. The popularity of the music through the 1970's culminated in one way

with a Jamaican reggae band in the 1984 version of Caribana. It was a mas playing a T-shirt theme. Although they were minimal in terms of their costumes, they brought the popularity of the Jamaican sound system to Caribana. Since their introductions to Caribana others have used reggae music, most effectively its dancehall version, to help portray a band. Sharon remembers how she felt when the first reggae band appeared during Caribana:

I remember one year being at Caribana and there being this big float and there was a Jamaican flag hanging and it was obvious that reggae music was playing, they had their own band. And that's fine, because I mean it is a part of West Indian music and culture. I wouldn't just like to segregate calypso music. And everybody has their preference.

The CCC, except for their costume requirement, does not have a strict policy on the kinds of bands. However, the CCC does make it quite clear that Caribana is modelled around the Trinidad carnival. This has been interpreted to mean that Caribana will feature masquerading, calypso and steel pans. While this position is known to organizers, bandleaders and participants, it does not discourage the musical diversity that Sharon finds useful in portraying her "Tribal Mas". Though, CCC administrators officially feature calypso as an essential ingredient in the "real" Caribana, they also do not make any promises that it will be played. Part of the reason has been that they never had any problems as most of the music has always been calypso. So the need to officially legislate a particular music was unnecessary. This loose administration of the music by the CCC is further support to Sharon's opinion that a bandleader brings the kind of music they want.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed how I saw both similarities and differences in the experience of being a bandleader. My conversations and interviews with Sharon and Mr Achue have provided insight into how bandleaders from different generations approached the craft. I spoke about how the bandleader is an instrumental figure in how participants and spectators enjoy the parade. It is through their abilities as cultural entrepreneurs in both the arts and business that images of the "real" carnival emerge. Mr Achue has shown us the importance of the Trinidadian based calypsonian. Their presence ensures the authenticity that he is familiar with and looking for in his band. This also offers a reassuring sign to prospective band members and spectators that they are getting the real thing. However, I have also attempted to show how the official position of the CCC does not require that bandleaders have a Trinidadian calypsonian or even calypso music. Their policy, while it outwardly appears to support those bandleaders who produce the "real", does not discourage the mixing of musical styles that Sharon discussed.

Unfortunately, spectators at the 1997 parade did not get the opportunity to see the kind of band Sharon was bringing. Sharon told me of the sad news that due to the financial difficulties that both she and the CCC were experiencing she had to withdraw her entry from the parade. During our phone conversation on July thirtieth, she expressed her disappointment, however, she did reassure me that she would try again next year. I supported Sharon in her disappointment. It was sad because a few days earlier she and her mas camp was featured on City TV news as part of their week long Caribana reports. She

had spent time with political analyst Colin Vaughn discussing, among other things, her band and the financial crisis. Sharon was beginning to use her position as a bandleader to bring added attention to the craft. This is another way, in which she has differentiated herself from past bandleaders. She did not limit herself to the television spots only, there were producers from radio stations calling her to do on-air interviews. The most familiar of these stations to contact her was the all news station AM 680. Her withdrawal was a sad end to what promised to be an exciting addition to the innovation and performance of Caribbean culture.

I conclude by returning to the idea that inspired me to write this chapter. Caribana 1997 missed the chance to see "African Tribal Mas". I end by reproducing a portion of our conversation in which Sharon speaks about her aspirations, dreams, goals, frustrations and desires for her band. She speaks about what she hoped "African Tribal Mas" could contribute to the parade. She also expressed how she wished people would receive her idea.

I began by asking about a mutual interest we had in the band. I said, "Sharon:

researcher: Let's go back to "Africa", you said you have a personal interest. How did you visualize bringing the influence to Caribana? To the culture, the clothes, the costumes, how did you see your personal vision taking place on the road?

respondent: It was important to me that people just not look at the Caribana and see people in costumes. There has to be a meaning behind the costumes and a meaning behind what you're doing. And I think my vision was, okay, we're West Indian people, we're Black people and looking to where we came from and trying to depict that in the best possible way. So basically, what I did was, all my fabrics were from West Africa, which is my heritage. I've traced my ancestry back to West Africa, so that was very significant to me that it was from there. And I worked with a lot of people from Ghana, Nigeria, Togo just to get a kind of idea, a feeling for what the dress was and

things like that. I thought that it was important that it be something beyond the costume, that if somebody said, "Oh, this is a nice fabric, where did it come from?", that there was a story from behind the fabric or some kind of meaning to it. And also it was important because I played mas as a young child and I always remember going home and by the time I get home, my costume would be all broken and just ready for the garbage. I wanted to provide something for the masqueraders that they could keep and remember, so that's why all the costumes, they're not glued together, they're all sewn and well done and it's something that, you know, they were going to the islands or something, they could wear it again.

Sharon and Mr Achue share similar concerns about the importance of Caribana as cultural heritage. They both value the cultural lessons that are learned through the art of making carnival costumes and the music. However, they differ in their approach to the mas camp. Mr Achue does not break with tradition. He prefers to keep the production of his bands within a warehouse. This location is most common among bandleaders with similar kinds of experience with carnival here and in the West Indies. Sharon, on the other hand, breaks tradition. The mall is a new location for a camp. Also, Mr Achue prefers that his bands stay with the traditional sounds of calypso and soca. For him these kinds of music help to guarantee the success of the band. Sharon is not as strict. Her comments about music suggest that while calypso is the most familiar musical form there still may be space for other types of music.

CONCLUSION

Thirty years of celebrating carnival in Toronto has been the most significant contribution West Indians have provided to the cultural landscape of this city and country. The West Indian immigrants who came to Toronto after the post World War II boom and especially during the high immigration period of the 1960's, brought with them a vast knowledge of art, history and culture. Carnival was one way that a small group of them, mostly students, nurses and general labourers chose to express and assert their ethnic identities. Thus, Caribana was born out of a need to address the longing for "home" that many newly arriving West Indians felt. The time spent discussing ideas in the fireball provided the groundwork for a celebration that has grown from a small-scale ethnic production to a world class international spectacle. The group of fireball discussants participated and watched as their ideas and dreams for Toronto carnival captured the interest of their community and the wider Canadian public as well. In this regard, multiculturalism has facilitated the way that the wider public has identified with and supported Caribana.

During the festivals early years, multicultural rhetoric became an important method used by newspaper media to make sense of the celebration. Newspaper coverage, of the initial years from 1967 to 70, worked with popularly held notions of multiculturalism. These were used to explain Caribana and the West Indians who participated in it. During this period, the dominant media representation of Caribana focused on aspects of "fun". Early newspaper writings spoke about how Caribana was another fun event provided by a

Canadian ethnic community in support of the centennial celebrations. These representations of Caribana's "fun" focused on the pomp, fair, pageantry and beauty of the elaborate costumes.

However, the materials in chapter one suggest another way to speak about "fun". This one ties the concept of "fun" as emerging from institutional affiliations with government. Chapter one supports the idea that Caribana was welcomed by all three levels of government. Specifically, the federal government was interested in Caribana's "fun" as one way to differentiate itself from the racial intolerance that was occurring in the United States. Furthermore, the evidence shows how "fun" was the order of the day capturing Canadians' interest during the centennial year of 1967. The chapter suggested how fun and celebration were embraced by ethnic communities throughout Canada. The point is that tolerance and celebration of diversity became the dominant issues, which would help to define this "new" sense of Canadianness. Providing, a fun event became one way that the federal government felt ethnic communities could help them in. "Fun" became one symbol of the new multicultural vision for Canada.

The CCC worked with "fun" as part of their promotional strategy for Caribana. The committee did their best to provide an "accent on entertainment and fun" in the events they organized. Thus, the vast majority of the representations of Caribana's early years were ones that chronicled "fun" and the wonderful spirit of the celebration. These types of representations remained intact until 1972. Then minor disagreements within the CCC

threatened to undo the "fun" that both West Indians and the government had supported in various ways. Newspapers only began to bring new analysis of Caribana following the CCC's brief institutional split that began in 1972.

During the 1970's the evidence supports that "fun" was no longer picked out as sole factor explaining Caribana. The research suggested that the differences among rival factions within the festival's general administration shifted the focus from discussion of "fun" towards that of "difference" and "division". Whereas before 1972, newspapers spoke about the unity among Caribana organizers, they now also added to this a discussion of the infighting, factionalism and disunity. The focus on the differences within Caribana's general management fills many reports during 1972 to 1980. These representations speak about how different interest came to exert greater control over how Caribana was celebrated. The documentation provided in the latter half of chapter one, introduced how the government increased its role in dictating how Caribana was played by giving money to one faction and not the other.

Thus, two ways of speaking about Caribana were prominent during the early years of the festival. The first detailed aspects about Caribana's fun, while the other discussed the conflicts and contentions, which also made up the flip-side of the fun. Anne Marie Gallagher (1995) put it best suggesting that media have worked with a strange yearning and loathing in their descriptions of Caribana. These conflicting representations were expressed in many ways during the next two periods of Caribana's development. The documentation

provided in chapters two and three show that newspaper representations of Caribana became more difficult to sustain an emphasis on fun. Rather, they more readily addressed its problems and catastrophes. This is to suggest that Caribana had slipped out of its position of defining what was good about multiculturalism. It now showed the negative side of it. The representations of the festival during the 1980's elaborate on how this process occurred in the print media. They document how the "fun" was not always joyous. The representations construct Caribana as an unruly celebration that requires greater forms of police control and management than it was previously receiving.

The material on this period shows how a few incidents of violence increasingly led to a racialization and criminalization of the festival in the print media. The evidence, particularly the events of 1984 to 86, showed how media paid overwhelming attention on the violence and little on anything else. Representations of "fun" were eclipsed by the construction of images of "angry youths", "menacing rastas", "riotous revellers" and a general sense of the dangerousness of Caribana. The negative had replaced the positive in the way mainstream press was disseminating information about Caribana. Violence became such a convincing way to talk about the festival that mainstream newspapers even reported on violence when none had occurred. The construction of the "angry Black male" as the aggressor influenced the way that police, government, business and the CCC administered Caribana. The fear of the construction of Caribana as a haven for crime resulted in a major change in how the festival was organized. It resulted in the CCC having to relinquish greater

amounts of its control over the production of their festival to the police and the city council of Toronto. Management of the festival became very much an unequal relationship as the police and the city directed some of the terms of Caribana's celebration. One example was the use of barriers. Another was to reexamine the terms upon which parade and liquor permits were granted.

However, further research on this period also shows that conflicting representations of the same events, made by the West Indian community, speaks differently about it. In their local papers, writers tried to counter these negative representations by speaking about the "humanity", "love" and "community" that is at the base of Caribana celebrations. The articles used to highlight this counter representations spoke differently about the incidences. They spoke from the viewpoint of a marginal community. Despite these sympathetic efforts, the sheer abundance of mainstream media's construction of crime overshadowed the West Indian community's attempts to divert these imbalances.

During the 1990's the imbalance has shifted further. The documentation in chapter three shows how newspaper representations have primarily been about the financial condition of the festival. Many articles written during the early part of the decade speak about Caribana's financial situation as the most influential factor determining the future of the festival. This evidence suggested that the main thrust of the mainstream coverage focused on developing the idea of Caribana in crisis. Newspapers discussed the difficulties that the CCC faced as they struggled to produce a show despite an expanding debt. Other

articles featured "crisis" as it related to a discussion of the internal strife that was rapidly becoming public knowledge. However, there is material from this chapter, which suggest that voices from the West Indian community were fighting back. They did so by reminding the public that discrimination and racism were important variables to also think about in terms of assessing Caribana's "crisis". These attempts were similar to ones put forward during the last decade about the festival's racialization. This is to say that they were ineffective as these counter arguments were simply ignored as unable to explain why Caribana was poorly managed.

This thesis has also explored the concept of "crisis" in ways related to those summarized above. Besides, documenting the problems of the financial crisis and how the festival was represented, the research also points towards a "crisis of identity" working inside these issues. This crisis talks about the way in which the West Indian community has negotiated the meaning of Caribana. This struggle over the meaning of Caribana has been internal. It has received very little mainstream media attention. During the 1997 parade celebration this crisis of identity took shape as a critique of music. The thesis has isolated rap music as a particular global music that some feel threatens to overshadow calypso as the true sound of carnival. Although, this projection of rap may be overstated, the question that remained for some to debate were in what ways does the mass appeal of rap, particularly among the youth, contribute to the traditions of carnival. And by extension does rap in West Indian derived carnivals provide the stability needed to ensure the longevity of carnival in

Toronto. In other words, does rap music and the hip hop culture to which it belongs provide the necessary base to continue the traditions of carnival that the founding members began in the fireball years ago.

What some Caribana enthusiast decided to focus upon was the inability of rap music to support the most respected of carnival's traditions, that being making costumes. The research suggested that if rap is given an uncontrolled space then the emphasis on making costumes is put into jeopardy. This could have serious consequences for the bandleaders who aspire to pass on the traditions of wire-bending, welding, designing and the general knowledge required to produce a band. Evidently, for most people rap music is a non-West Indian addition to the parade. It comes as a result of playing carnival in Toronto and not in Trinidad. The research also suggests that some feel Toronto carnival may always be incomplete as the most pure and real celebration is imagined to only take place in Trinidad. Many people were supportive of the idea that a return to Trinidad was necessary to remember what it is like to play a real carnival. This position required that culture be viewed as a set of attributes that are easily obtained and inherited. Consequently, these preconceived ways of identifying culturally and ethnically can be performed from generation to generation, despite the differences that occur as new experiences are encountered. Calypso music and not rap is expected to help facilitate the transition of ethnic markers, thus, helping to sustain continuity. It was suggested that rap music does not achieve this, as the difference it represents is too disruptive. Its difference, the critique contends, results in a performance

that is unrecognizable from what is expected. Furthermore, the difficulties of playing carnival in Toronto are viewed as part of the tensions and stresses brought on by processes of globalization and cultural flows. It is the inability to shut down these flows or seepages into the parade, which frustrates and contradicts pure notions of carnivals.

Those who felt they knew best what Caribana ought to be exerted their control over the meaning of Caribana. Rap was tampering with the deep essential meanings of Caribana and the history from which it emerges. Furthermore, many supported the idea that rap music draws Caribana too deeply into an ahistorical mass celebration that eventually may become disconnected with its West Indian roots. This meant that organizers, the state and particular segments of the community had to control the way in which rap was allowed to participate in the parade.

The CCC organizers took an interest in protecting the traditions of Caribana. One way they achieved this was by requiring registered bands to have costumed masqueraders. It is unlikely that a band featuring rap will have elaborate costumes jumping up behind a truck. The discussion also suggested that the state, here the municipal government, would be more comfortable with a celebration that featured representations of the authentic carnival. One reason is that tourism is deeply tied to the allure of seeing difference and watching the other. The spectacle of the other guarantees that Toronto's hotel rooms and restaurants will be filled during the festival. It is unlikely that the state will provide funding for a Caribana that allows rap music to take over the festival in the manner it did in 1997.

Also, desires to control the meaning of Caribana were expressed by other non-institutionalised persons. These arguments were hierarchically organized. They praised those who adhered to positive representations of Caribana such as calypso, masquerade and steelpan and chastised others who brought rap music into the parade. Those who embraced traditional notions of carnival were regarded as true West Indians who knew about carnival. While those interested in rap music were deemed as confused youth confronted by the challenges of socialization in Canada or having immigrated here at an early age. This experience, it was suggested, made the transition of cultural attributes more difficult.

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