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Calypso music : identity and social influence : the Trinidadian experience

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Chapter 3

Defining Identity

Identity: Theory, Categorizations, Construction and Maintenance

Identity categorizations, relationships between personal, social and collective identity, and the question of multiple identities have been central themes in social psychology. The question of identity relative to its construction, maintenance and its multiplicity, and relative to the interconnectedness between multiple identities will now be explored. This exploration will be initiated in order to get a broader understanding of the psycho-social aspects of identity, and their impact on individual and group dynamics. Once identity processes have been identified they can be then correlated to functions of music in society.

By incorporating arguments that are central to structural symbolic interactionist thought, I will attempt to show that identification with group practice and ideology encourages individuals and groups to subjectively engage in activity that influences social process, and allows them to construct and maintain positive social identities. In order to clarify these and other clinical concerns for the benefit of the reader, and answer two pertinent questions namely, ‘What is an identity?’ and ‘How is identity constructed and maintained?’ I refer to the following empirical theories and excerpts of psychological thought:

The identity theory (Stryker, 1980, 1987; Stryker & Burke, 2000) states that: “Identities are internalized role expectations” (p. 286) and that during interaction, “self-images develop in the context of meanings of roles and counter roles” (p. 287).

In other words, an identity is a set of meanings applied to the self in a social role or situation, defining what it means to be who one is in that role or situation (as understood from Burke and Tully, 1977; Stryker, 1980). Identities, as defined in the identity theory (Stryker 1980, 1987), are organized into a hierarchy of salience and commitment, reflecting the embeddedness of the individual in the social structure (ibid.). Burke (1991) and Swann (1990) have interjected that through interaction with others in counter roles, as individuals seek to verify self-meaning. It has been generally accepted that identities are verified when perceptions of the social environment match identity meanings and that feedback about the self is generally consistent with the identity. The inferred assumption that the behaviors we exhibit in order to maintain consistency between self-meaning and perception are a reflection

of our identity, is corroborated by role identity theory, the gist of which is: we project an imagined view of ourselves as we would like to be perceived by others during social interaction (McCall and Simmons, 1978, 1988).

The editors of *The Nature of Negro Self-Identity* have forwarded the following statement which is an elaboration upon the role theory forwarded by McCall and Simmons:

The individual both 'identifies' and evaluates himself. Thus he learns 'who he is' on dimensions such as appearance, group membership, achievement, and aspirations...In addition to this limited view of self, the individual also acquires a more general evaluative view of self which is usually called self-esteem or self-acceptance. (Proshansky and Newton, 1968, p. 178)

The social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978, 1981, 1982) goes a step further, suggesting that individuals adopt personal identities as unique persons as well as social identities which reflect membership in various groups to which they belong. It has also provided an understanding of processes relating to identity types by having codified the conflict between the individual and the group as personal identity and social identity. The theory suggests that personal identity involves the individual's feelings of difference to others, whereas social identity involves the individual's feelings of similarity to others (Tajfel 1972, p. 63).

Bernard Simon (2004) has suggested that identity results from interaction in the social world, and in turn guides interaction in the social world. He has summarized that,

As a more balanced framework for the analysis of the self-society reciprocity, identity theory (Stryker, 1980, 1987) builds on the introduction of role theory into symbolic interactionism and allows for the incorporation of both interactionally constructed and social structural aspects of the social person...identity theory proposes that people have multiple identities which result from participation in multiple sets of role relationships...The central proposition of identity theory that relates these key concepts to each other (Stryker, 1987, p. 89), asserts that, "commitment impacts identity, salience impacts role performance"... Identity as a promising...programme for the integration of structural interactionism and role theory offers a number of important insights. (p. 23-25)

As interpreted by Simon those insights are listed as follows:

- Identities are relational. They reflect people's differentiated positions vis-à-vis each other;
- Identities are socially constructed. They have socially shared meanings which are constantly (re)negotiated during social reaction;
- Identities are socially structured. They reflect the structured social contact of social reaction which is also the context of their construction;
- People typically have multiple identities. This multiplicity reflects the number of differentiated positions and roles available;

- Identities have social consequences. They are a source of motivation, shape social reaction, direct individual and collective behavior and can also impact on social structure. “Taken together,” Simon concluded, “the concept of identity serves to bridge social structure (society) and social person (self) (Simon, 2004, p. 23-25).

John Turner’s (1987) self-categorization theory, an extension to his social identity theory, states that,

Individuals categorize themselves as members of social categories, and then define, describe and evaluate themselves in terms of these categories. In the process of self-categorization, a set of cognitive representations of self is formed. Part of the cognitive representations reflects the perceived membership of individuals in groups. Since individuals belong to various groups, they possess multiple representations of self. (p. 77-100)

The concept of multiple identities had previously been questioned and criticized but in defense of multiplicity of identity I have cited Gloria Cumper, who has concluded that, “No person has a single identity” and [that] “the search in the terms in which it has been proposed [is] misconceived” (Cumper, 1971, p. 144-145).

Finally, because of empirical evidence, criticism of Mead’s (1934) suggestion that individuals possess multiple personalities that they switch on and off in order to fulfill the role expectation for any given social encounter, has been reversed. The insights of role theory as outlined above are referred to in support.

Nettleford (2003), in reference to cultural identity and pluralism in the Caribbean, has stated that “the cultural diversity becomes the framework for the different groups to hold on to their different ethnocentric or class positions,” and has referred to what he calls a “perverted” cultural diversity that seemingly,

Drives many Jamaicans [West Indians in general because of the demographic and historical parallel] to a range of responses and positions- some of them contradictory ...some people... opt for the very pluralism they question. For tactically it would give them a chance to develop a strong Afro-Jamaican [Afro-Trinidadian or Afro-Caribbean] tradition unhindered by having to bother with accommodations with other ethnic groups in the society. But other ethno cultural groups in the society would support the pluralist approach for the same reason-*viz*: in order to be left free to maintain their own position especially if they belong to minority groups...A realization of the implications of numerical [cultural, political and economic] dominance of the other group has however forced many people to a nationalist position insisting, as minority groups, that it is the *Jamaicanness* [*Trinidadianess* or *West Indianness*] of the Jamaican [Trinidadian or West Indian] that really matters rather than his being White (Euro), Black (Afro), Chinese or East Indian. (p. 5-6)

Relatedly, Simon (2004) has further reported that the Social Categorization Theory (SCT) has generated an impressive body of empirical research to test its central tenets. Turner’s (1987) social identity and self-categorization theories, for instance, successfully argue that

individuals are driven to develop an identity, and that as a result of this desire, their behavior influences group and intragroup actions. Groups also strive to establish and maintain unique group identity and engage in struggle with other groups in order to achieve this goal. Group identity is displayed in symbols such as flags, monograms, uniforms, slogans, and music.

In keeping with this position, Bar-Tal (1990) has stated that,

In addition to social categorization other cognitive representations such as goals, ideologies and beliefs are formed. Group goals and ideologies often function as group beliefs, which, for example, 'We are oppressed', and 'We shall overcome' define the boundaries of the group. Group beliefs are defined as convictions that group members are aware that they share, and consider as defining their 'groupness.' (p. 36)

Bar-Tal (1998) has additionally stated that "goals provide a basis for solidarity, and give direction for activity" (p. 99-100), and in his introduction to *Group Beliefs* (1990), he wrote that "shared beliefs have the distinctive potential to determine the boundaries of the group."

These posits have been recurrently emphasized in the field of social science by Lewin (1947), Lane (1962), March and Simon (1993 [1958]), and Sherif (1966) respectively. March and Simon have further stated that,

The greater the extent to which goals are perceived as shared among members of a group, the stronger the propensity of the individual to identify with the group and vice versa. (p. 66)

The identity theories presented in this chapter outline the cognitive-emotional processes by which the identity of groups and individuals is shaped. They share the underlying posit that individuals and groups have a desire to establish positive social identity. It is this cognitive-emotional process which shapes the social identities of individuals and the collective identity of groups (the we-ness), that creates a 'state' of readiness and commitment to unified action and also susceptibility to suggestion. This 'state' and its implications will be fully addressed later in the discussion and correlated to specific functions of calypso music in Trinidadian society.

Moscovici (1976) has proposed that the function of social influence is to maintain social control. Citing Hare's (1965, p. 23) shared belief that individuals can accomplish a concerted action or constitute a group only with the help of one form of social control or another, Moscovici has suggested that in order for such a movement to take place, every person must have the same values, norms, and judgment criteria; and that everyone accepts and refers to these (p. 17). This viewpoint is corroborated by the normative or group-centered kind of social influence which stipulates the necessity of convergence toward identical opinions and

is determined by the relations between individuals and has been outlined by Deutsch and Gerard (1955) and Thibaut and Strickland (1956).

Since, as Moscovici (1976) has shown, “such cohesion and attraction strengthens the degree of influence” and that group cohesion is usually “manipulated by creating a basis by which people are alike” (p. 17-18), it follows that race, ethnicity and social status would be considered strong indicators for triggering processes of social influence. The context of the term ‘social influence’ as used in the scope of this study is twofold and refers to:

- any change of opinion or behavior collectively exhibited by one group, and
- any behavior collectively engaged in by individual members of one group, that is a consequence of the actions of individuals or members of another group.

Taken in this context, it becomes clear that social influence and social control are reciprocal processes, as supported by the literature. The historical accounts reported in chapter 1 of this study as cited in Elder, Hill, Lamson and Rohlehr have clearly shown that the relationships and interactions negotiated between the white upper class ‘majority’ and the colored lower class ‘minority’ or Jamette sector in turn of the century Trinidadian society are identical to the relationships and interactions outlined in the models presented in the foregoing identity theories. New identities had been established in the psychosocial and cultural domains because of dislocation, separation, repression, confrontation (conflict), and feelings of belonging. The ‘majority’ group established and maintained its identity by the initiation of political, economic and social control via psychological and cultural repression.

The ‘minority’ group was forced into accepting the lowest status within society and that had fostered a devalued sense of self-esteem among them. However, as the ‘minority’ group began to assert the defining cultural attributes of their ‘lost’ identity (music, song and dance revitalized by local grassroots vernacular, performing style, innovation and other survival instincts), it catapulted them to a position of cultural dominance. This in turn reciprocally caused the withdrawal of members of the ‘majority’ group from the socio-cultural landscape which over time effected acculturation among all groups, i.e. the ‘majority’ group as well as the other ‘sub’ or ‘out-groups’.

The model for group and individual relations in culturally plural societies developed by Sommerland and Berry (1970), and Berry (1997, 1980), is based on the observation that, in such societies individuals and groups must confront two important issues,

- whether to maintain one’s ethnic distinctiveness in society, and

- whether inter-ethnic contact is wanted.

Berry's classification model, based on the 'yes' or 'no' answers generated from the above inquiry, has established the following four options: assimilation, integration, segregation-separation and de-culturation. It has been a conceptually and empirically useful as a framework for research on intragroup relations (Berry, 1997; Berry, Kalin and Taylor, 1977; Berry, Wintrob, Sindell & Mawhinney, 1982).

In Trinidadian society, attempts at the third option (segregation-separation) had been unsuccessful; instead, the first two options of the model, assimilation and integration had been realized. This afforded the socio-cultural identity of all groups to co-exist, be maintained, and become an integral part of the larger socio-cultural mosaic. This is evidenced by the fact that calypso music and participation in the carnival festivities have been embraced by all groups and have been elevated to national cultural iconic status. In other words, a decision-making process was involved which resulted in cultural and social change.

Blacking (1977) has referred to Katz (1970, p. 469) on the topic of intentionality in group expression. He wrote,

The importance of intentionality in group expression, is well illustrated by Ruth Katz's (1970) careful analysis of the singing of Aleppo Jews in Israel, where the younger generation developed mannerisms in their performance of traditional music: dedicated to the preservation of a minority tradition and resistance to acceptance of majority group culture, they exaggerated and embellished those elements of traditional culture by means which the majority [identified] the minority and the minority [came] to identify itself. (Cited by Blacking, 1977, p. 12)

Moscovici (1967, p. 20) has pointed to another aspect of reciprocal interaction, 'informational dependency,' one of two sub-categories of social dependency distinguished by Jones and Gerard (1967, p. 714). It determines the reliance of one person on another for information about the environment, its meaning, and the possibilities of action on it. According to Moscovici,

There is a tendency of individuals to seek objective correctness in their judgments about phenomena, to seek validation of their judgments, and to seek adaptation to the environment in this manner. Unable to achieve these goals independently they are compelled to appeal to other individuals for judgment and validation of their own judgments. Dependence on a mediator opens the way to influence. (p. 21)

Kelly and Thibaut (1978) have expanded on this idea as follows:

The degree of influence is contingent upon the type of relationship between the initiator and the recipient and so a tendency towards submission can result from the recipient's strong

positive attachment to and attraction for the initiator. Perceived expertness, credibility, admiration and trustworthiness become key factors in this type of relationship. (p. 743)

These virtues underpin what Hollander (1958) has labeled the “idiosyncrasy credit” in his hypothesis about each individual in a group. It represents the accumulation of favorable disposition on the part of others toward the individual. This is one of the factors that account for the centrality of the African griot and his later ‘counterparts’ in the Caribbean and Latin America: the shatwel in St. Lucia; the chantwel in Trinidad; the *salsero* in Puerto Rico and Cuba; and calypsonians throughout the islands of the Caribbean. As reiterated by Moscovici, (1967),

The greater his credit, the greater will be the confidence placed in him by his fellows, and the more favorable will be his position for deviating, for acting without taking majority opinion into account. Hollander has proved in several experiments that the individual with a large stock of credit of this sort, acquired either through his competence or by his adherence to group goals, can take the opportunity of acting in a non-conformist way, and still have influence. (p. 39-40)

The calypsonian/audience relationship is a fitting example of the “idiosyncrasy credit” association model by virtue of the entertainer’s intent to elucidate shortcomings and bring about public awareness among the general public. These aspects of the calypsonian’s craft have been heavily relied upon and have remained one of the defining characteristics of the idiom. Dependency theory relevant to communication, advanced by Ball-Rokeach and De Fleur (1976) uphold the following two core assumptions that:

One depends on media information to meet needs and achieve goals, and one is more dependent on media that satisfies needs, and that,

When social change and conflict are high and established institutions, beliefs and practices are challenged forcing reevaluation, dependency on media will increase.
(<https://www.utwente.nl/cw/theorieenoverzicht/Theoryclusters/MassMedia/DependencyTheory>)

Social stability becomes the source of dependency then, and needs may be shaped by culture or social conditions. The calypso and its affiliated institutions fulfilled the role of media in Trinidadian society during those days of class confrontation. The initiator/recipient models outlined on the preceding pages parallel the relationship between the calypsonian and his lower-class ‘minority’ audience. It does not however fully account for the calypsonian’s relationship with the upper-class repressive ‘majority’. Some peculiarity in the relationship between the two entities was crucial to the eventual iconic status that the calypsonian and his music have achieved. How could the out-group at the lowest rung of the social ladder influence the change of opinion of their elitist oppressors?

Jones (1956) has suggested that this sort of influence could be achieved through compliments and flattery and that as the initiator became more alluring the recipient would be more inclined to bestow favors upon him, rather than take them away. But this is not entirely plausible or convincing when applied to the plight of the calypsonian in Trinidad. The calypsonian's employment of flattery and praise of his repressor should not be mistaken for a sign of submission, for as history has revealed, the calypsonian has remained defiant and caustic in his criticism of the authorities and of the upper-classes in the face of the stringent measures leveled against him. On the contrary, it was the 'repressive machine' (government, church and the white upper-class plantocracy) that resorted to strategies of concession and was molded into convergence by accepting the art form as the legitimate expression and predilection of the masses.

Confiding in a more empirical and plausible explanation therefore proved more helpful to the goals of this study. Moscovici (1976) has cited studies by Schanck (1932) which showed the discrepancy that may arise in a community between public and private opinion. Schank stated that,

The activities of society...or of a group always result in the establishment of a norm and the consolidation of a majority response. Once such a norm and response have been elaborated, behaviors, opinions, the means of satisfying needs, and in fact all social acts are divided into four categories: what is permitted, and what is forbidden; what is included, and what is excluded...the existence of internal conflict, or discrepancy between degrees of adherence to norms and judgments, creates a predisposition towards, and potential for, change. (Cited by Moscovici, p. 68-70)

The following analysis of Shank's quotation was advanced by Moscovici. "Hence", he wrote,

The minority, which represents the repressed or rejected opinion or behavior, boldly reveals in public what has been the case in private; it always has a certain hold on the majority, and can induce it to modify its behavior or attitude, so that it becomes more tolerant towards what was previously excluded or forbidden. (1976, p. 68-70)

According to Moscovici (1976, p. 74) the analysis was meant to point out that contradiction between the real and the ideal in a society will create conditions in which those who are pushed to the periphery by the society will exert an attractive force. He also stated that,

Many categories of deviants and minorities represent groups that have been placed in an inferior position, excluded from the society's idea of normality, by various forms of discrimination- economic, social, racial...Such a conflict between principles and reality not only creates internal conflicts, but also a sense of guilt...there will still be some people who feel very strongly that...justifications are not adequate, and that the strain they feel can only be reduced by identifying with or adopting the way of life and viewpoint of these excluded groups...Of course, social guilt is not the only explanation of this of movement towards the

deviant. A sense of justice, political beliefs, philosophical positions, may be also involved...In addition, some experiments ...are beginning to show that a minority individual, while he may not necessarily be liked, may nevertheless be admired for his courage, sincerity, originality, and so on, and this will open up a whole range of initiatives to him when he tries to act on the majority. (p. 73-74)

Moscovici (ibid.) thereby establishes a case for the 'deviant' as being an effective change agent for social influence on the grounds that:

- the attraction of the deviant is confounded with the attraction of the forbidden which he symbolizes and that,
- social guilt ensues from the deprivation of rights that the social system and political or religious values grant to everyone else (p. 75-107).

In keeping with this position Clark and Maass (1990) pointed out that in-group minorities are more likely to be successful, as they are seen as part of the group and therefore their ideas are seen as more acceptable. The 'scenario' once again mirrors the plight of the Jamette sector that represented the extremity of Trinidadian society: the non-conformists to colonial ideals and behavior, the 'delineators' of mainstream national and cultural identity. Their engagement in cultural practices represented overt and covert, sometimes violent manifestations of symbolic defiance, while at the same time expressing cultural retention and transmission among Africans and Afro-Trinidadians. Those practices include the bamboula, calinda, tamboo bamboo, steel drum performance, the bongo and other 'forbidden' drum dances, 'syncretic' religious practice involving ancestral reverence, and the incorporation of French-Creole lyrics into the calypso genre and everyday speech. The pressure that the repressed minority exerted was strong and relentless.

As understood from the explanation given by Moscovici (1989), the term 'minority influence' is applied to the process whereby a minority group influences a majority group to accept the beliefs or behavior of that minority group. It usually involves conversion - a personal shift in private opinion. Conversion is different from compliance in that it involves internalization - both private and public acceptance of a new outlook or behavior. Moscovici has suggested that consistency is the key characteristic of successful minority influence and that minority influence is most likely to take place if the minority is consistent, flexible and appealing to the majority - characteristics that had been extant among the Jamette class.

Both Moscovici, using the conclusions from his 1969 colour perception task, and Nemeth and Wachtler (1974) successfully argued that minority influence is effective as it is consistent

over time and there is agreement among members of the minority. According to Moscovici (1986),

When consistency is lost, so too is credibility and when a member of the minority deserts and joins the majority this damages the consistency and unity of the minority resulting in the defection of more members. (p. 350)

This statement is reciprocally true and applicable to the damages caused by the inconsistency of the majority due to the defection of its members. Minorities have been known to change society's attitude which in turn has changed the personal opinion of the majority in that society. Van Avermaet (1996) has called this winning-over process the snowball effect.

Pérez et al. (1995) has called it social crypto-amnesia and attributes it to the innovation of the 'minority'. The following shared posit by Foote (1970 [1951]), and Burke (1991) is informed by Moscovici. It states that,

Once the layers of rigidity of the 'majority' or the various out-groups have been penetrated, and *identification*, accessed through the cultural manifestations of any one out-group in question become an integral part of the popular mainstream, then social influence occurs and identities are verified. Verification of identities occurs because perceptions of the environment match identity meanings of the participants. The sense of belonging or 'We-ness' fostered by such verification renders group members prone to unified action and susceptible to suggestion especially when the unifying mechanism is perceived as maintaining group uniformity or group identity. (Cited by Moscovici, 1986, p. 349)

The 'scenario' under discussion on the preceding page also illuminates corroborating argument when the behavior initiated by the 'repressive machine' in response to the repressed masses is analyzed. It must be remembered that at an earlier time street masquerading had been a tradition among the elitist French planter community, tradition which represented exclusion and repression of the lower-class masses. Additionally, members of the French-Creole plantocracy had been indulgent in, and had assimilated several aspects of African slave culture by association and by choice. Research by Maass et al. (1982) has indicated that the majority is more likely to take the viewpoint of the minority seriously, and align their viewpoint with that of the minority, when the majority identifies with the minority. The reader is also reminded that a schism had been extant within both the upper and middle class contingents of society. These foregoing conditions would have been decisively catalytic to the revival of latent interest and renewed participation in the Jamette festivities among members of those two groups who had previously been sympathetic to Afro-cultural expression. The conditions would have been catalytic also to acceptance and perhaps participation among non-sympathizers, especially when reinforcement was being provided by

members of their own in-group, who had already reversed their opinion and resumed participation.

An example of such behavior survives in the form of a newspaper editorial in the *Port of Spain Gazette*, dated Feb 10, 1883. It expresses the unexpected defense of drums by upper-class French creoles. It was voiced in response to the law that had been drafted to institute the banning of drums in 1883 and is partially referenced in Hill.

To Creoles, even of the higher classes, whose organs have been accustomed from their birth to this peculiar music, there is a cadence and rough harmony in their accompaniment of native songs which is far from disagreeable; and on the lower classes their effect is magical. We have only to look at a round of Belair and note the peculiar undulated motions of all present as they flow with their heads, their hands, [and] their whole bodies to the peculiar cadence of the music, to be convinced that, to their ears, there is more in the sound than the discordant noise which alone strikes the European. (Cited by Hill, 1976, p. 60)

General acceptance of the foregoing posits as being factual would establish that the calypso as a cultural manifestation in Trinidad has accomplished the following: it became an agent of social influence by penetrating the rigidity of both the majority group and the out-groups becoming a symbol of national identity; it enabled the verification of identities by matching perceptions of environment with identity meanings of individuals and of members of the various groups; and it became an equalizer, a unifying mechanism that has continued to foster and maintain group unity and group identity.

At this juncture several generally accepted theories in the field of psychology pertaining to identity will be revisited since they are arches of support that are applicable to the following positions taken by this study that:

- the calypso has been an agent of social control, and
- it has enabled the construction and maintenance of identity.

Tajfel's (1978, 1981 and 1982) social identity theory and Turner's (1987) self-categorization theory share a common posit. Tajfel's theory posits that individuals "form a social identity which reflects their membership in various groups to which they belong". Its extension, Turner's theory posits that in the process of self-categorization a set of cognitive representations of the self is formed, part of which reflects the perceived membership of individuals in groups and that since individuals belong to various groups, they possess multiple representations of the self.

Smith-Lovin (1988, p. 167-171), in support of Mead's suggestion in reference to multiple identities, has successfully argued that a range of social identities are used by people to

represent how they envision themselves in situations. She has additionally cited Stryker's work and his research with Richard Serpe (1982) in linking role patterns with the internalized meanings that roles had for individuals, as having provided the connection between social structure and meaning and action that drives structural symbolic interaction today.

Further citing work wherein identity meanings acted as a reference signal to control behavior she has reported that,

The central premise of the Affect Control Theory (ACT) (Heise, 1979; Heise and Smith-Lovin, 1988; MacKinnon, 1994) is that people act to maintain alignment of their identity meanings with the impressions created by local social interaction, either through actions or through reinterpretation of events. The 'internal' branches of structural symbolic interaction - affect control theory and identity control theory- assume that one identity becomes paramount above others in a given interaction and that actors operate to maintain that identity...the connectionist representation of identity processing is consistent with affect control theory's view of the relationship between individuals and the culture from which they derive identity meanings... Individual meanings are developed out of contact with society and individuals act as learners, carriers and innovators of cultural meanings...each individual represents a variety of self-concepts (identities) within a parallel social system and these associated meanings are shared with other individuals and represented symbolically by cultural artifacts (books, films, language use, music, food etc.) (Smith-Lovin, 1988, p. 174-176)

The literature has shown so far that social change involves some degree of intergroup interaction or confrontation. These are precisely the conditions that stimulate repressed groups to establish and maintain cultural identity, and in the process become identified by the 'mainstream' dominant group via that identity. This topic is briefly referred to in the citation by Blacking (1977) in relation to the plight of the Aleppo Jews. It parallels the socio-cultural ascendancy, and socio-political mobility of the Jamette sector of Trinidad. Music culture has been identified as being the main impetus in both conflicts. Chapter 4 will chronicle the functions of calypso music and assess the genre's role in response to repression in Trinidad.