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Calypso music : identity and social influence : the Trinidadian experience
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Chapter 5
Change and Analysis

The study has revealed so far that musical syncretism had begun in Trinidad quite early in the creation of an indigenous music form and had resulted in the propagation of calypso music. Although syncretism had continued to take place during the period between the 1950's and 1970's perception of innovation within the genre was not blatant. From the mid-1980's onward however, innovation began to affect the structure (pulse, sound, distribution of function among instrumentation, melodic and harmonic structure and so on) thereby producing a distinctively new strain, soca. This new strain and its derivatives have been providing symbols and meaning for contemporary generations of Trinidadians and by association, other global contingents. In the field of ethnomusicology music is perceived as both a product of culture and as a contributing factor to the propagation of culture. One or more of Seeger's statements have become theoretical foundation for that field of study. He has stated that,

> Music is a phenomenon prolonged by social growth-a culture…not only a product of culture but also a formative factor that contributes to the development of culture. (Seeger, 1933, p. 143, 148)

Notions of the nature of change and its relationship with culture are upheld across disciplines. Merriam (1964), commenting on change and culture has written that,

> Change is a constant in human experience…no culture escapes the dynamics of change over time. But culture is also stable, that is, no cultures change wholesale and overnight; the threads of continuity run through every culture, and this change must be considered against a background of stability. (p. 303)

The main idea that can be inferred from the preceding quote and the one below is that examination of any music genre over time will reveal change. Kroeber's statement below in reference to language and music is representative of the general anthropological view in past and present.

> Human speech [and…] music accumulate and develop from age to age…[and] inevitably alter…from generation to generation by fashion or custom…it is impossible for [them] to remain the same: in other words, [they are] a social thing. (Kroeber, 1917, p. 172)

Preliminary inquiry during field work associated with this study revealed that there were perceptions of both change and stability in calypso music among the Trinidadian public.

These perceptions had begun to surface with the emergence of soca music during the mid-eighties and had escalated to a point of indignation a decade later, once the new strain began to threaten the survival of older calypso strains. This ambivalence became the impetus for both an analysis of both strains, and a survey to determine

- whether change had occurred; (the main focus of the survey)
- which groups were experiencing perceptions of change;
- which groups were experiencing perceptions of stability;
- which groups were experiencing both perceptions simultaneously;
- which groups were oblivious to change to the genre;
- whether those perceptions were being felt before the emergence ob soca;
- whether they could articulate those perceptions;
- what emotions did the possibility of change evoke in them;
- who they thought was responsible for the changes that they perceived, and;
- what changes did occur. (the main focus of the musical analysis)

Upon listening to calypsos from a corpus dating from the turn of the twentieth century up to the present it became quite obvious that changes had occurred. Whether those changes have been superficial or structural are to be determined by further rigorous scrutiny and followed up by subsequent inquiry. Blacking (1977) has addressed musical change. Citing Nettl (1964, p. 232), he has said that,

> Musical change…is not caused by contact among people and cultures or the movement of populations; it is brought about by decisions made by individuals about music-making and music on the basis of their experiences of music and attitudes to it in different social contexts. (p. 12)

Katz (1970) has suggested that continuous change within the style and change of the style must be considered significant by the participants in the music. Her statement is of prime significance to this discussion since the perceptions of change about calypso music had been mainly reported by members of the older generation of Trinidadians. I began by launching random informal inquiries among two sectors of society at first; the older folk and members of the younger generation. I simultaneously launched a similar inquiry among the public and among practitioners within the music performance and production arena. I discovered that members of the older generation of Trinidadians have insisted on maintaining traditions and embracing sentiments that had established and continue to establish their construct of identity and indigenous culture, and therefore interpreted innovation of any kind, especially the

innovation of progeny, as change. It must be remembered that they had been the curators of calypso music and are currently participant in a 'dying' but still extant calypso culture, the ascendency of which is being challenged by the identifiable new and dominant music strain soca being propagated by the younger generations of Trinidadians. Resultantly ingrained traits of resilience and combativeness extant among them have resurfaced, in rebellion against the loss of their cultural norms to progeny and contemporary external influences.

The term 'dying' is used above since numbers among participants in calypso culture of old have dwindled, practitioners among them have become inactive, public interest and taste have shifted, and some of the functions that the calypso once served are no longer applicable to the contemporary society. Most people that comprise the contingent labeled "the younger generation" did not experience the hardships of slavery or the pressures of social, political and cultural repression that followed in its aftermath. Although they have enjoyed the freedoms that had been defended, fought for, and won by their forefathers, their cultural expression has been driven by a different impetus. Also, in the tradition of younger generations, they have been relentless in their pursuit of recognition, identity and change by way of cultural and stylistic innovation.

Elder (1985) has contemplated the context of the relationship between the calypso genre and mechanisms that facilitate identity construction and maintenance. Commenting on the function of the calypso and its ancestor the calinda in Trinidad he has written,

> It is amazing how the attitude (of the slaves) to slavery is projected through the kalinda, and when people say that the calypso which descended from the kalinda has lost its role or forgotten its social function, they are saying that that biting, satirical, protest, fight-back attitude projected in the kalinda has lost out in the modern calypso, that's what they are talking about.

Linkages between social function, content, and performance contexts have been explored by Rohlehr (2004); he has stated that,

> Of these elements, function is the one that has changed least over time. This is probably because function has always been multi-faceted. Calypso music today still performs most of the functions of its ancestor-musics: celebration, censure, praise, blame, social control, worship, moralizing, affirmation, confrontation, exhortation, warning, scandal-mongering, ridicule, the generation of laughter, verbal warfare, [and] satire. (p. 164)

The literature corroborates the viewpoint that calypso has not lost its role nor has it forgotten its social function. Analysis of post-colonial calypsos undertaken during this study has further revealed that although the genre has retained its function of protest it no longer finds impetus in rebellion. During a significantly sufficient period of deconstruction upward social mobility

has become more attainable by a larger cross section of the contemporary grassroot society, human rights have been restored, the yoke of repression has been broken, empowerment among out-groups and socially repressed groups has been enabled, and positive identities have been established and maintained. Resultantly, cultural and artistic expression has progressively reflected and continues to reflect a different collective social attitude than during the colonial period and the transitory period leading up to the post-colonial period. It can be said then that the zeitgeist and collective consciousness of Trinidadian society has changed.

During ethnological research associated with this study professional involvement in music performance and production prompted and afforded me an opportunity to launch inquiries among two sectors of society: the general public and practitioners within the music performance and production arena. I began noticing and documenting several aspects of change.

A Socio-Cultural Approach

Methodology

A survey was conducted among 180 participants by the implementation of the following steps:

Step 1: The participants were categorized under two headings, Random Participants (R) = N 80 and the Control Group (C) = N 80.

Step 2: Each group was sub-divided evenly as follows: Practitioners (P) =N 40 and Non-Practitioners (NP) = N 40 of 'Old Time' calypso and of 'Modern' calypso.

Step 3: Further sub-division assigned each group of participants to two sub-categories: Young Practitioners (YP) = N 20 and Young Non-Practitioners (YNP) = N 20, and Old Practitioners (OP) =N 20 and Old Non-Practitioners (ONP) = N 20.

The ages of the 'Young' participants ranged between twelve and thirty-five, and the 'Old' participants were forty-five years and older. Each of the resultant eight groups was comprised of an equal number of male and female participants. The illustration below is representative of the designation of participants.

Random Group = N 80

Practitioners   Non-Practitioners

RYP = N 20	RYNP = N 20
ROP = N 20	RONP = N 20

The Control Group = N 80

Practitioners	Non-Practitioners
CYP = N 20	CYNP =N 20
COP = N 20	CONP =N 20

Legend: R-Random, C-Control, Y-Young, O- Old, P-Practitioner, NP-Non-Practitioner

Fig. 46: Table showing the allocation of participants to groups. Generated by the author

Data Gathering Process

> The data generated by the survey was collected and plotted on graphs 1, 2 and 3, and
> is illustrated in figures 48, 49 and 50 respectively.

Step 4: All of the participants were asked the following question before they listened to the
> selected samples of recorded calypso music: "Has calypso music changed?"

Legend: R-Random, Y-Young, O-Old, N-Non, P-Practitioner
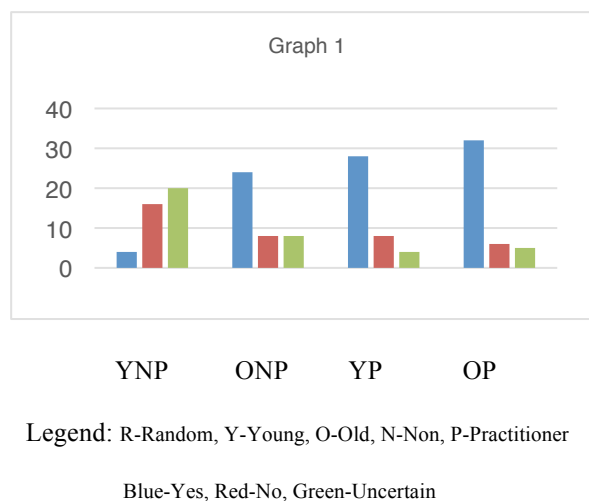
Blue-Yes, Red-No, Green-Uncertain

Fig. 47: Quantitative data from Step 4: Responses of all participants before listening session. Created by the author

Observation 1: The data collected revealed that 88 participants answered "Yes", 40 answered
> "No" and 32 were "Uncertain".

Observation 2: The distribution of "Yes," "No" and "Uncertain" answers were as follows:

	"Yes"	"No"	"Uncertain"
Old practitioners	32	6	2
Young practitioners	28	8	4
Old non-practitioners	24	8	8
Young non-practitioners	4	16	20

Step 5: The participants belonging to both groups listened to recorded examples of "Old Time" Calypso and of "Modern Calypso" after which they were asked the same question, "Has calypso music changed?"
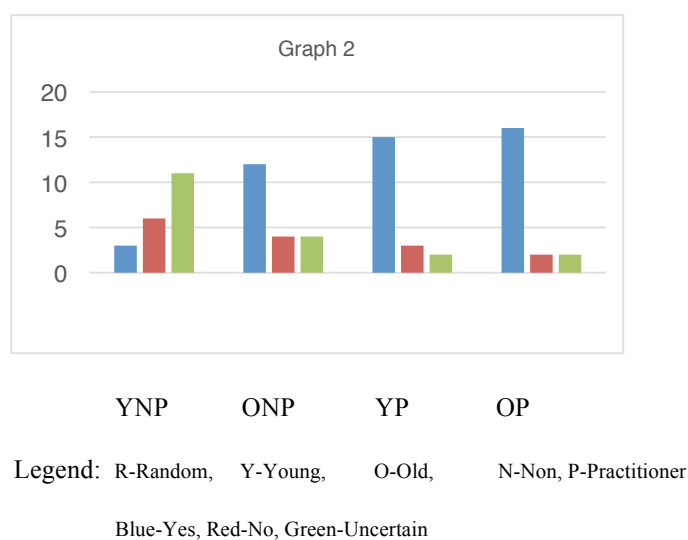

Fig. 48: Data from Step 5: Responses of Random Group after listening session. Created by the author.

Observation: The data collected reflecting the responses of members of the Random Group after the listening session revealed that that 46 participants answered "Yes", 15 answered "No" and 19 were "Uncertain".

Legend: R-Random, Y-Young, O-Old, N-Non, P-Practitioner
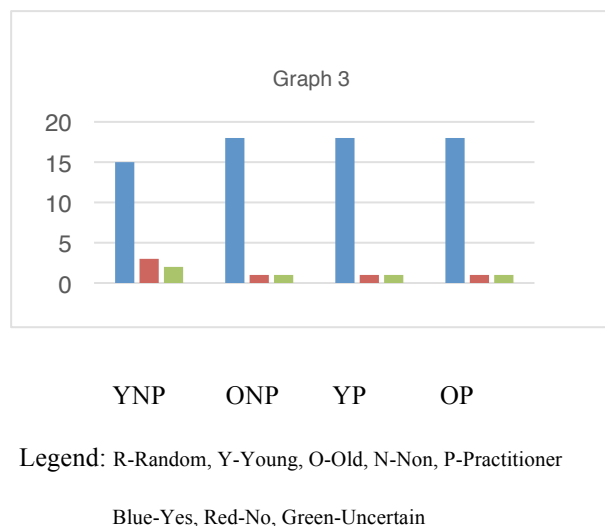
Blue-Yes, Red-No, Green-Uncertain

Fig. 49: Data from Step 5: Responses of the Control Group after the listening session. Created by the author.

Observation: The data collected reflecting the responses of members of the Control Group after the listening session revealed that 69 persons answered "Yes", 6 answered "No", and that only 5 persons were "Uncertain".

Interpretation of the data collected and plotted on the three graphs

a. Generally, more participants answered "Yes" than "No". This was consistent among the participants of all groups, in all instances, and among participants belonging to both age categories.

b. There were more "Yes" responses and fewer "No" and "Uncertain" responses among Practitioners and older participants as opposed to Non-Practitioners and younger participants.

c. There was an increase in "Yes" responses and a decline in "No" and "Uncertain" responses among participants of the Control Group after the listening session.

Analysis

The data collected overwhelmingly showed that there was a significant degree of consensus among Trinidadians that change had occurred in calypso music. Further probing during my field research led to the discovery that some practitioners had deliberately set out to bring about change. It also led to the following insight regarding why the perception of change was

stronger among practitioners and older members of the community. I discovered that members of the older generation perceived change due to the following reasons:

- They had two sources of reference from which comparisons could be made and resultantly were more capable of perceiving and reporting change as it was occurring.

- 'Old Time' calypso music was their cultural norm. It was part of the fabric that had established and maintained their identity; it was the expression of their cultural values; and it was a vital link with the past to which they still clung. Any deviation from the norm, especially pertaining to innovation of tradition was interpreted as change and was not easily accepted.

Members of the younger generation on the other hand did not readily perceive change because in most instances unfamiliarity with 'Old Time' calypso music resulted in the absence of a basis for comparison. They had not undergone a long enough period of latency during which a depository of material from foregone eras could be accumulated and used as reference. In addition, unless they were involved in the performance and/or production of music from the 'Old' school they did not readily pay attention to differences between the music from the two eras.

The findings naturally led to the conclusion that change was a perception or construct of a certain group of people made at a given time about a specific period. This concept is not new in that it shows a parallel with statements by Blacking (1977) that,

> Inventiveness therefore flowers in certain sections of societies according to the 'requirements' of the time, and whether or not music is affected at a particular period may depend upon its place in the sociology of the knowledge of the society. (p. 10)

Blacking (1977) has re-emphasized generalizations made by Willard Rhodes (1958, p. 48) about music with the goal of "locating the critical moments of cognitive change that constitute musical change" (p. 23). Although Blacking suggests criteria by which musical change may be qualified he does not provide a model of empirical methodology for making such a distinction, nor has any subsequent study of musical change unearthed guidelines that can be applied universally. Blacking has additionally suggested that since music is one of the essential foundations of human society all cases of musical change must always be considered in their social context. He has suggested also that,

> If the concept of musical change is to have any heuristic value it must denote significant changes that are peculiar to musical systems, and not simply the musical consequences of social, political, economic, or other changes…To qualify as musical change, the phenomenon described must constitute a change in the structure of the musical system, and not simply a change within the system. (Blacking, 1977, p. 2, 7)

Whether the changes that have been perceived have altered the structure of the musical system of the calypso genre or whether they have occurred within the system may well exceed the scope of this discussion. Features that have been perceived as change have become more noticeable as 'Old Time' calypso music is paralleled with post-World War II calypso leading up to, and especially after, the emergence of soca and its subsequent offshoots. Some of the following observations made during this study about calypso and soca music may well qualify as change once a universal model has been established:

- Soca strains are usually more suited to dance than intellect;

- The sonorous inflections and litany-like melodies and the lyrical schema that characterized the Oratorical calypso have been eroded by minimalism and syncretism;

- In some instances, the foregoing characteristics have been totally replaced as in the strain Groovy Soca, a strain created by infusion of North American pop music;

- Assimilation and deliberate usage of other regional music forms have been steadily increasing. Resultantly, syncretism of intrinsic and non-intrinsic rhythms, instruments, music forms, music practice and language of East Indian (Hindi), Haitian (zouk), Jamaican (dancehall), Dominican (merengue) and other music forms of Latin persuasion, that were previously excluded, have now become standard practice;

- Generally, tempos have been considerably and deliberately sped up;

- Soca has established a clearer division between dance music and art song than the division that had been established by the oratorical calypso and Road March lavways;

- Contemporary generations respond to 'Modern' strains of calypso music, generally labeled 'Soca' differently from the way in which their forefathers responded to 'Old Time' calypso;

- Often, soca texts do not generally express a philosophical or political point of view;

- In the more modern soca strains, rhythm has been given precedence over text;

- The AAB form (verse, chorus, and band chorus) is not as popular;

- Instrumental improvisation has been minimalized, sometimes eliminated;

- Sometimes, except for the bass, instrumental accompaniment has been reduced to percussion alone;

- Singing style has been altered;

- The melodic and harmonic range has been diminished. Sometimes only one or two chords outline the harmony;

- Emphasis has shifted from the verse to the chorus;

- Choruses have reverted to the one or two-line lavway and are more repetitive.

Except for the second observation all the observations have been incorporated in Bunji Garlin's *Bring It*. Some of the observations related to rhythmic, melodic and harmonic innovations will be discussed later in the context of change to the genre versus change within the genre. Observable differences that have appeared because of the input of younger generations and the ascendency of soca music as their predilection have been manifest in jargon, topicality, performing style, pulse, tempo, instrumentation, melodic and harmonic minimalism, the incorporation of new external cultural influences, re-assignment of rhythmic patterns among instruments, and the almost complete elimination of redress as a function. Some of these differences will be interwoven into the concluding discussion of the study to support arguments and posits that have been advanced in this and previous chapters.

One of the questions that has arisen however, of as equal significance to this study is, "What is the relationship between the changes in calypso music production, society, and identity?" Perhaps this question is better answered by employing a second method of inquiry.

A random selection of calypso recordings was reviewed and analyzed. The corpus included music from four stylistic periods beginning with the latter half of the nineteenth century to 1919, continuing with the early 1920's to the late 1940's, and 1950 to the mid-1970's, and ending with the period from the mid-1970's onward. A compilation of calypsos from the first half of the 1900's had been performed and recorded by some still active musicians of that era. The recordings were made in the 1980's and released on two long-playing records, *Kaiso 1* and *Kaiso 2*. A theatrical performance commemorating the lives of several "Old Time" calypsonians had been undertaken and an accompanying compact disc made. Both the stage production and CD bore the same name, "*Ah Wanna Fall*." The renditions were performed by several contemporary and 'Old School' calypsonians and musicians and featured compositions of their counterparts of yesteryear. The recordings were a deliberate attempt to capture the feel, spirit, sound and nuances of a bygone era. These recordings and numerous original recordings of music from the same era (the early to mid-1900's) that have been salvaged on CD and that were sometimes still available on long-playing records, were listened to comparatively. The following material was included among the original recordings listened to: *Roaring Lion Sacred 78's*, which exclusively featured performances rendered by The Roaring Lion from the 1920's onward; *The Golden Age of Calypso: Dances from the Caribbean Islands*, which featured 1930's performances by The Roaring Lion, The Growling Tiger, King Radio, The Caresser, Atilla The Hun, Houdini, The Harmony Kings, Keskidee Trio, and Codallo's Top Hatters; and *Calypso Breakaway 1927-1941*, which

features The Growler, Lord Executor, Lord Beginner, Lord Invader, Al Philip's Irene Syncopations, and all of the calypsonians featured on sample #2 above with the exception of The Harmony Kings.

Based on a sound and performance model change as well as stability was detected. Initial analysis indicated that the music contained on both sets of recordings was similar, sometimes identical in terms of vocal and instrumental performing style, sound, instrumentation, and melodic and harmonic texture. Thus, it was not very difficult to organize the music replicated into groupings in accordance with stylistic practice and eventually, era. The corpus of music was then organized in chronological order and a search was initiated for the slightest hint of change among both the original recordings and the replicated samples within genres and as well, between eras. Closer analysis revealed the following:

- The harmonic structure of the sans humanité genre, the minor and major mode lavways, and the two most popular harmonic progressions used in the oratorical form had remained unchanged;

- The oratorical calypso broke tradition with the calinda model abandoning the call-and-response format and employing eight instead of four lines to a stanza. This represented a change in the melodic structure;

- The new and diversified melodies that began to appear in calypsos around the early 1920's broke tradition with the stock ones that had been constantly regurgitated and refitted with new lyrics;

- More melodies tended to be written in major keys and therefore produced a brighter sound, a departure from the plaintive lament of their minor key forerunners;

- The continuity of some of the rhythmic characteristics that had established the calypso tradition also appeared to have been broken at first, but upon closer scrutiny, were perceived to have been redistributed among other instruments within the ensembles.

- The periods between 1920 and 1930, and between 1940 until shortly after Independence in 1962, seem to have been the most significant periods in terms of the impact of rhetorical calypso on Trinidadian society.

- From the mid-1980's onward, with the emergence of soca and its derivatives, there has been a very significant increase in instances of cross-pollination with other genres of music. This has affected melodic, rhythmic and harmonic style.

The implications realized were threefold; either change in Trinidadian society had taken place and music culture began to naturally and automatically reflect society's new moods and consciousness; or musical innovations had been deliberately made that suited the attitudes of a changing society and consequently new images that had begun to appear matched and molded new identity perceptions and roles within a changing post-colonial society.

This study proposes that the musical changes that have been perceived were caused by a combination of both sets of implications in keeping with Blacking's suggestions for determining change as outlined above.

As it has turned out, the texts of calypsos have gradually become subordinate to the music as certain functions (redress for example) became de-emphasized and others, celebration and dance for instance, became emphasized, as dictated by the new norm of the majority group within the 'new' society: progeny, the younger generation. The observation and complaint that "calypso music is dying out" and that "no one goes to the calypso tents anymore" are well founded; however, the observers and the plaintiffs are one and the same; the older generation of Trinidadians. The truth of the matter is that members of that contingent who had been the practitioners and audiences of yesteryear have been dying and contemporary practitioners and audiences have a different agenda. They are occupied with celebration and dance rather than protest and rebellion.

The impact of compositions intended for dancing has been continuous and has intensified during the last twenty-five years since the emergence of soca, a calypso strain derived from a deliberate process of innovation. This new strain with its hybrid derivatives dancehall soca, groovy soca, chutney, ragga soca and coalpot have mainly targeted the dance market, and are representative of change that has been introduced by a new generation of high-energy partygoers. At the undertaking of the writing of this dissertation one of the most popular and enduring examples of soca music that has toppled international markets had been The Mighty Arrow's mega hit *Hot Hot Hot*.

One of the main features of party soca music that has been retained in transmission is its ability to seduce audiences into choreographed submission to instruction. The performer has accomplished this by assuming a role similar to that of the chantwel or aerobics instructor, and by reiterating themes and slogans outlined by the song titles within the texts. Socas such as *Bump and Wine, Jump and Wave, Get Something and Wave, Follow the Leader, Wine on a Bomsie, and Jump Up and Get Orn Bad, and slogans such as* "Lift Yuh Leg Up", "Wave Yuh Rag" and "Moving to the Left, Moving to the Right" elicit the desired responses. This recent strain has ushered in or rather reintroduced a dance style involving collective crowd participation akin to line-dancing associated with country music of the south-western United States. I reiterate 'reintroduced' because such responses among calypso audiences, whether choreographed, solicited or spontaneous, had been socialized long ago in Trinidad. The eliciting of collective choreographed responses has been a feature of many calypsos and

folksong/dance games such as *Limbo* and *Brown Girl in the Ring,* in which 'We' (Trinidadians) had participated in our youth. Partial texts of the two songs just mentioned have been presented in order to demonstrate the feature under discussion.

Limbo

I want a woman to limbo like me,
Limbo, to limbo like me

                                         Traditional

Brown Girl in the Ring

Now show me your motion,
Tra la la la la

                                         Traditional

Examples of folksong/games from the Caribbean have been well documented in the 1962 field recordings of Alan Lomax, and in the books *Song Games from Trinidad and Tobago* and *Folk Song and Folk Life in Charlotteville* written by Elder. The collective response under discussion had been a main entertainment feature of sailor bands during street parading in earlier times, and was commonly engaged in by the general public during casual jump-up. Further elaboration on the embeddedness of such responses to calypso music among Trinidadian society is found in the following report by Cummings (2004).

> Barrack-yard dwellers would go out in their numbers and "jump" to their hearts content. For a few seasons the youths of the barrack-yards deserted their gateway status for a "jump-up" band led by a particular adult in the role of "teacher". He sang his instructions and the youths replied in song, "Yes teacher". The class was a popular innovation and success led the teacher to become more daring. His instructions became so bawdy and suggestive that the adults discouraged the youths from attending and chased the teacher off the streets. (p. 94)

Nowadays however the type of suggestion and bawdiness alluded to in the quote above have become the order of the day and the standards by which the popularity and economic success of compositions are measured. That this choreographed behavior in response to the calypso is now being elicited in response to soca traces a line of continuity and reemphasizes the capability of the genre to elicit choreographed behavior among audiences. It also shows patterns of socialized behavior peculiar to a specific group of people thereby annexing the discussion about identity. In order to expand upon these posits I offer my own testimony.

I can confirm from first-hand experience that collective response to music is not restricted to the dance floor or to the streets during carnivalesque activities. In the tradition of *The Electric*

Slide and *La Macarena*, selections such as *Follow the Leader* for instance have been successfully used by physical education teachers in North America to illicit group response during their class sessions. The best and most recent example of group response to soca music that I have seen at a non-carnival related event occurred during performances by Marshall Montano. He has consistently hypnotized international concert audiences sending them into two-hour dance frenzies due to his ability to transform the venue into a carnivalesque arena. I was present at his 2007 and 2008 performances at the Antillean Feest in Hoofdstraat, Belgium, where he has been a consecutive main attraction. His stature as a soca artiste and ambassador of the genre parallels and perhaps even surpasses that of the Mighty Sparrow's in the field of calypso music.

David Rudder is another performer who has captured international audiences as well. With his blend of soca and calypso he has continuously managed to engage his audiences in dance while at the same time jogging their intellect. He has found unique ways of integrating symbols that provide meaning for old and as well as new generations of Trinidadians. As reported by Lorraine Leu, Rudder sees dancing as "a way in which people listen to music." She has reported about the skillful and popular singer/songwriter.

> Rudder has managed to get the Trinidad public dancing to songs which tackle issues ranging from political corruption ("*Madness*" and "*Panama*") to advocating solidarity between Caribbean and Latin peoples ("*Bahia Girl*", "*Caribbean Party*" and "*Rally Round the West Indies*"). Rudder does not see dancing to music and thinking about music as incompatible. (Leu, 2000, p. 47)

Rudder's viewpoint is in keeping with Simon Frith's argument that dance represents an important way of listening to music and is both a physical and a mental exercise. In my opinion Rudder has been able to boast these accomplishments for the following reasons:

- His persona, the quality of his performances and accompanying music have always been super intense and his idiosyncrasy credit is high.

- The texts of his calypsos echo his sentiments as well as the individual and collective feelings and opinions of his audiences and, according to Burke (1966), the symbolic act becomes greatest "when the artist's and the reader's [listener's] patterns of experience closely coincide" (p. 152-156).

- The images projected by and during his performances of the texts are very vivid and they match the individual and collective identity perceptions of his audiences.

The following statement by Birgit Abels (2011) might offer further insight as to why Rudder's performances of calypsos outlining political issues are capable of eliciting dance responses among audiences. He has stated that "music makes sense on both the sensual-

sensory and the intellectual-cognitive level. In between these levels we localize our reference points and identifications."

As inferred from Clynes (1982), a decision to perform music can lead people to share emotion through the link of their common participation in sequences of movement because of the basic biological and psychic unity of the species. "The emotional gestures…have precise representations in the brain" (p. 52) and so the collective feelings and thought generated becomes the basis for cultural communication thereby enabling a merger of cognitive and affective parameters through music performance (including dance and ritual).

As has been stated previously and has been an underlying posit across related disciplines, the cognitive-emotional process that shapes the social identities of individuals and the collective identity of groups creates a 'state' of readiness and commitment to unified action and susceptibility to suggestion. Rudder's performance of *One More Officer* at a fête initiated the extension of the cut-off time that had been allotted to the event. The audience began to chant the slogan, continued to dance, and would not leave the facility until coaxed by Rudder himself. The police were rendered powerless and may have even enjoyed the breach too, since as Trinidadians their identity perceptions were also in alignment with the images presented by the spectacle.