

EVERY YEAR YOU REMAKE YOURSELF: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF LEARNING-  
TEACHING PRACTICES IN TRINIDAD CARNIVAL MAS' CAMPS

by

JANICE B FOURNILLIER

(Under the Direction of Kathleen P deMarrais)

ABSTRACT

This ethnographic study was an exploration of learning-teaching practices in 4 of the 200 mas' camps in Trinidad, and among selected members of the mas' making community during Carnival 2005. The researcher, a native Trinidadian and former educator in the formal education system used mas' making practices of the Pre-Lenten Carnival festival as the unit of analysis. The study extended over an 18 moth period, four of which were spent immersed in the mas' making activities, participated in the mas' making activities of 3 of the 4 camps, observed the members of the community, took 456 still photographs, and did 30 hours of semi-formal interviews. The data were supplemented with field notes from the observation and informal conversations with members of the Carnival mas' making community. Active participation in the community afforded the researcher the opportunity to gain legitimacy within the group and become an accepted member of the community. The researcher adopted an anthropological perspective and used sociocultural theories of learning, her personal theories, and ethnography to conceptualize the research design. Postcolonial theory acted as her ethical discourse as she participated in the mas' making activities and engaged with members of various mas' camps.

Spradley's (1979, 1980) domain and componential analysis and Goodneough's (1971) propriospect were the major heuristic devices she used in her transformation of the data.

The contexts in which the mas' making activities were taking place, the characteristics of the members of the community, and the high stakes outcomes associated with mas' making were the fuel for the learning and teaching practices. Members of the community were not always aware of the many learning and teaching practices that the researcher observed while doing field work. However, those who did attributed their levels of competence to the social interactions in mas' camps, intuitiveness, their willingness to experiment and play with materials, their belief that it was a gift from a supreme being, and the realization that there was a culture pool from which they could draw, and to which they could contribute their knowledge and skills. The fun and flexibility associated with learning, the commitment and willingness of the members, and the kinds of social and non threatening interactions that the spaces provided, allowed for limitless possibilities on the part of the learners who moved between the identities as novices and experts as they participated in the mas' making activities and remade themselves every year.

**INDEX WORDS:** Anthropology, Carnival, community of practice, culture pool, ethnography, domain analysis, learning-teaching, legitimate peripheral participation, mas' camp, mas' making, non-school-context, photography, postcolonial theory, practices, propriospect, reflexivity, social constructionism, sociocultural theory, Trinidad and Tobago.

EVERY YEAR YOU REMAKE YOURSELF: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF LEARNING-  
TEACHING PRACTICES IN TRINIDAD CARNIVAL MAS' CAMPS

by

JANICE B FOURNILLIER

B.A., The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago, 1979

M.A. Ed., The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago, 2000

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2005

© 2005

Janice B. Fournillier

All Rights Reserved



EVERY YEAR YOU REMAKE YOURSELF: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF LEARNING-  
TEACHING PRACTICES IN TRINIDAD CARNIVAL MAS' CAMPS

by

JANICE B FOURNILLIER

Major Professor: Kathleen deMarrais

Committee: Jude Preissle  
Kathy Roulston  
Richard Siegesmund

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso  
Dean of the Graduate School  
The University of Georgia  
December 2005

## DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to those who have gone before: my great grand mother, Mena, who told me my first stories by lamp light in Grand Couva, Trinidad; my great uncles who were stick fighters in Trinidad Carnival; my grandmother Chinee, Lillian Bailey who taught me how to play mas' and not 'fraid powder; my mother, Daphne Noel, who gave birth to me; my mother, Millicent Foncette, who "brought me up" and taught me the power of the word; my father, Lloyd Noel and my brother Lloyd Junior. The spirit of those who have gone before was with me through it all.

This dissertation is dedicated to my family members who have been with have been able to see my dream come true: My sisters, Phyllis, Celia, and Ann Marie; my brothers, Clyde Griffith, Roland, Richard, Clyde, who love me unconditionally and are always proud of me; my four most precious and wonderful children, Orson, Jason, Jandelle, and Jevon and their father, who may have suffered because of my choice to pursue further education; my children's spouses; their unborn children who will one day read what their grandmother wrote; all the mas' making men and women in Trinidad and Tobago who dare to make this art and craft their life work and who continue to be life long learners and public educators without recognition. To all of you whom the Great One has allowed me to know, I say, "This one is for you!"

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

“For God so loved the world that He gave his only begotten son that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life” (John, 3:16). I want to begin by acknowledging that this God gave me the strength to do something that was lurking in me all my life. In so doing, I will have everlasting life because long after I have gone the word will live on. I thank Him for all the angels and saints who have walked this journey with me in Trinidad and in the USA.

I thank my chair, Dr. Kathleen deMarrais, for acknowledging my request to change programs and come to the University of Georgia, following up on it, and seeing me through until I became a good writer. I can never forget Dr. Jude Preissle, editor par excellence and the person who gave me eyes to see my errors. The day she came to class wearing a make shift Carnival costume will remain etched in my memory. She knew then that my academic life work would be in Carnival. I acknowledge Dr. Kathy Roulston friend and committee member, for her excellent lessons in data analysis and methodology, her editorial comments, and her warmth and kindness. I will always carry with me Dr. Richard Siegesmund’s insightful comments and support throughout the process.

I could not make it through without the support of my many friends on campus who know themselves and whose names are too many to list without forgetting someone. However, I want to acknowledge my Trinidadian friend and academic peer Cheryl Mclean who sat up with me long nights and worked with me to the end reading, copying, editing, and keeping me from dropping down. I know God sent her to see me through to the end. I want to thank Earl Anthony

Lumsden my uncle, friend, and supporter; Gloria Severin who stood in my corner throughout the fight; Godfrey Steele, my dear friend who was always confident that I could do it; and Dennis Conrad who paved the way for me to come to the U.S.A. They encouraged me to throw the left and right hook and never allowed me to throw in the towel.

I thank June George who gave me my first job as a research assistant and asked me to design my first pre and post test for an evaluation project, and has been an unofficial mentor throughout the process. She made sure I had an apartment when I went home to do field work and provided me with a car when I returned to do member check. I will always remember her thoughtfulness when I came to the U.S.A in 2000 and really had nothing. The librarian and documentalist in Trinidad and Tobago who responded to my requests for references at a moment notice, Lynda Quamina-Aiyejina, is a gem. Theodore Lewis, a friend from teacher training college days called ever so often to encourage and let me know I was doing good work. Dr Jamie Lewis, who ensured I had food on the table, supported my dissertation work at home, and has been a friend through it all. To Kakali, Alexa, Ms Betty, Kate, Adlee, Demetrius, Crickett, Kathy, Galen, Susie, Patrice, Dr. Branch and all of my friends who know themselves and will not mind if I did not mention their names, I say a sincere thank you.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	v
LIST OF TABLES .....	xi
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xii
 CHAPTER	
1 THE LAUNCHING .....	1
Researcher’s reflection .....	1
Setting the scene: Trinidad and Tobago .....	5
“Official” educational spaces .....	8
How I came to the study .....	11
Graduate student in the U.S.A. ....	16
Organization of the dissertation .....	19
2 CONTEXTS: SOCIOHISTORICAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND CULTURAL .....	21
Trinidad Carnival: Sociohistorical context.....	21
Carnival researchers .....	27
Children mas’ makers and mas’ players.....	28
No Carnival without controversy .....	34
Trinidad’s dual system of education .....	34
Calypso music, steelband, and mas’ .....	43
Carnival and teaching-learning practices .....	56

3	CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK .....	59
	Personal theories.....	60
	Postcolonial theorizing .....	63
	Issues of language and representation .....	65
	Sociocultural approaches to learning .....	71
4	DOING ETHNOGRAPHY AT HOME: A CULTURAL EXPERIENCE.....	76
	Ethnography as a culture of enquiry: A procedure to guide the research .....	77
	Ethnography a cultural experience .....	79
	Propriospect and culture: A possible heuristic device.....	79
	Epistemological framing .....	81
	Networking strategy .....	82
	Preparations for doing field work.....	84
	Re-entering the field to do home work and ethnography .....	88
	Gaining access to the art factory .....	94
	Participation observation and field notes .....	105
	Interviewing members of the community .....	111
	Interview: Process and product .....	113
	Ethics and issues of responsibility.....	117
	The process of transforming the data .....	120
	Management of the data resources .....	121
	Use of photography .....	126
	Summary .....	126

5	MAKING IT HAPPEN: PERSONS, PLACES, PROCESSES, AND PRACTICES	128
	Kinds of spaces: “High spaces and low spaces”	128
	A house-home is a place for making mas’	131
	Continuing to look for spaces	133
	A molding factory is a space for making mas’	137
	The art factory is a space for making mas’	142
	Learning to make mas’: Practices and procedures	151
	Mas’ camp: The perfect school	153
	Making it happen: Stages of the process	158
	Ways to learn to make mas’	164
	Summary	165
6	WHY DO MAS’ MAKERS HAVE TO MAKE IT HAPPEN	167
	Kendall De Peaza: Ethnographic profile	170
	Rosalind Gabriel: Ethnographic profile	174
	Geraldo Vieira: Ethnographic profile	180
7	ASH WEDNESDAY: WHAT MAKE MAS’ MAKING HAPPEN	190
	The researcher’s reflection	190
	Learning to do research and make mas’	194
	Learning to make mas’: A high stakes activity	196
	Methodological insights	201
	Combination of art forms: Photography and Carnival mas’ art	203
	Implications for practice	203
	Areas for further practice	205

Summation .....	207
REFERENCES .....	209
APPENDICES .....	230
A GLOSSARY OF TERMS .....	230
B FESTIVALS .....	234
C POSTCARD .....	235
D TIME LINE.....	236
E DATA INVENTORY .....	237
F OBSERVATION GUIDE.....	239
G CONSENT FORM.....	240
H COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS WORK SHEET.....	242
I DATA ANALYSIS WORK SHEET .....	243
J KENDALL’S DATA ANALYSIS WORK SHEET.....	244
K ROSALIND’S DATA ANALYSIS WORK SHEET .....	246
L VIEIRA’S DATA ANALYSIS WORK SHEET .....	247



## LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1: Trinidad and Tobago population survey data .....	7
Table 2: Demographic structure, Trinidad and Tobago: 1783-1831 .....	7
Table 3: Trinidad and Tobago's educational system .....	42
Table 4: 2005 Carnival presentations .....	48
Table 5: Judging criteria .....	49
Table 6: Initial coding patterns .....	123
Table 7: Domain analyses .....	125
Table 8: Domain analysis work sheet .....	130
Table 9: Work areas in Vieira's mas' camp.....	139
Table 10: Domain analysis work sheet: Stages in the mas' making process.....	159
Table 11: Domain analysis work sheet: Ways to learn to make mas' .....	164
Table 12: Instructional methods: Ways to learn to make mas' .....	165
Table 13: Domain analysis work sheet: Characteristics mas' makers attribute to themselves....	168
Table 14: Domain analysis work sheet: Reasons for making mas' .....	169

## LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1: Map of Caribbean.....	5
Figure 2: Map of Port of Spain .....	12
Figure 3: Children’s Carnival mas’ .....	30
Figure 4: Steelband Panorama Competition .....	46
Figure 5 A return to innocence: Section of MacFarlane’s band The Washing.....	50
Figure 6: La Belle Espoire: The Washing Carnival 2005.....	51
Figure 7: Prince of Deliverance Carnival 2005 .....	51
Figure 8 Tribes Carnival King 2005 .....	52
Figure 9: Traditional Carnival mas’ .....	54
Figure 10: Conceptual framework .....	59
Figure 11: Phases of the research.....	61
Figure 12: Networking.....	83
Figure 13: Map of Trinidad and Tobago.....	85
Figure 14: Carnival and Christmas at the home of Kendall and Mona .....	92
Figure 15: Kendall’s granddaughter at the Queen’s Park Savannah .....	93
Figure 16: Kendall and Mona: Wire benders and mas’ makers.....	93
Figure 17: MacFarlane’s mas’ camp 2005.....	94
Figure 18: Brian MacFarlane: Band leader-designer.....	95
Figure 19: Women at work: Decorators in the mas’ camp. ....	97

Figure 20: Geraldo Vieira: Craftsman, mas' maker.....	99
Figure 21: Frank making bonnets at Lionel Jagessar's mas' camp .....	101
Figure 22: Lionel Jagessar: Band leader, mas' Maker.....	101
Figure 23: Rose Jagessar: Carnival 2005.....	102
Figure 24: Rosalind Gabriel Carnival mas' camp.....	103
Figure 25: Senor Gomez demonstrates wire bending .....	115
Figure 26: The banner .....	134
Figure 27: Storage room .....	135
Figure 28: Keith Carrington.....	137
Figure 29: Vieira Mas' camp in the plastic molding factory .....	138
Figure 30: A room at the back of the factory.....	138
Figure 31 A factory space is a kind of mas' camp.....	139
Figure 32 Scenes from Vieira's mas' camp.....	140
Figure 33: Scenes from Vieira's mas' camp II .....	141
Figure 34: Floor plan: The art factory.....	143
Figure 35: Preparing to make it happen: Scenes from MacFarlane's mas' camp .....	145
Figure 36: Making it happen: MacFarlane's mas' makers .....	146
Figure 37 Scenes from Jagessar's mas' camp.....	147
Figure 38: Scenes from Jagessar's mas' camp .....	148
Figure 39: Community of mas' makers .....	157
Figure 40: Senor Gomez': Sketches for his children's band .....	160
Figure 41: Kendall's wire bending .....	170
Figure 42: Junior Carnival queen 2005.....	174

Figure 43: Ceejay and Elijah.....	177
Figure 44 The Mas' Maker and his son: Geraldo .....	180
Figure 45: The king's costume: Construction crew .....	185
Figure 46: Rohit—Mathematics wizard and mas' Maker.....	187
Figure 47 Learning to make mas': A high stakes activity .....	198

## CHAPTER 1

### THE LAUNCHING<sup>1</sup>

#### *Researcher's reflection<sup>2</sup>*

*"What are you studying?" was one of the questions my fellow graduate students frequently asked during the dissertation process. I often smiled and replied, "Learning to make mas'<sup>3</sup> in Trinidad Carnival. I am particularly interested in practices of mas' makers. I am viewing practice as one of the components of learning that Wenger (1998) identified in his social theory of learning.*

***Fellow graduate student:*** *[Nods her head and smiles]*

***Janice:*** *"Wenger defines practice as, "A way of talking about the shared historical and social resources, frameworks, and perspectives that can sustain mutual engagement in action" (p. 5). I am assuming that individuals are "engaging in and contributing to the practices of their mas' making communities" (Wenger, 1998, p.7). If this is so, then these communities, through the collective activities of their members, are "refining their practice and ensuring new generations of members" (Wenger 1998, p. 7).*

---

<sup>1</sup> The band launching is one of the major Carnival events. This is the occasion when the public gets its first glimpse of the planned presentation for the current year. In this chapter, I am launching the research study by presenting glimpses of the planned project.

<sup>2</sup> *Reflexivity* is one of the strategies that I use throughout the study to provide the reader with insights into the connections between the producer, the process, and the product, *Every year you remake yourself*.

<sup>3</sup> Shortened form of the word masquerade.

*Mas'*, *steelband*, *calypso*, and *soca music*, are the trinity of activities associated with Carnival. These local words are explained in the Glossary of terms, Appendix A.

**Fellow graduate student:** *“That is interesting. I never thought one would look at a festival that involves music, dancing, and street performance, as a space in which to view learning.*

**Janice:** *“Men, women, and sometimes school children, designers, mas’ makers, craftsmen, and craftswomen spend long hours annually learning to make mas’ in various mas’ camps throughout the country. They produce the costumes that 65 % of the population adorn (McCree, 1999) during the mas’ competitions<sup>4</sup> prior to Carnival days, and on the actual days of the parade—Carnival Monday and Tuesday. These are the two days that precede the Christian Festival, Ash Wednesday.”*

My graduate student friend looks at me with surprise. I continue.

**Janice:** *“If we accept social participation as a process of learning and of knowing, then the mas’ making practices can be understood and explored as learning. I cannot imagine a more appropriate place to explore learning than in this context in which many of the country’s men, women, and sometimes children work to produce costumes for one of our largest annual events. These men and women play an important role in the production of the Carnival festival, and the media give little attention to their practices. The focus is often on the final product, the persons who display the costumes, and the social, economic, and historical value of the festival.”*

This dialogue is a reconstruction of interactions I had with peers who found it interesting and sometimes strange that I chose to explore learning in a popular cultural context and not a traditional school setting. My peers’ ideas are consistent with the belief that the kinds of learning of value to us as learners and teachers are the ones that take place in the traditional school contexts. As educators we continue to look to what does not work instead of like the

anthropologist to what works (Wolcott, 1991). My argument is that the continued involvement of so many voluntary and paid workers must mean that something is working in the community of mas' makers.

I agree with Wenger (1998) whose conceptual framework for thinking about learning guided this research project. He argued,

A new conceptual framework for thinking about learning is thus of value not only to theorists but to all of us—teachers, students, parents, youths, spouses, health practitioners, patients, managers, workers, policymakers, citizens—who in one way or another must take steps to foster learning (our own or that of others) in our relationships, our communities, and our organizations. (p. 11)

During my ongoing review of the literature, I discovered that it was possible to explore learning using a different perspective. There were spaces other than the school context to which researchers (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Millroy, 1990; Rogoff & Lave, 1984) were looking in their explorations of learning and teaching practices. I decided that the study was important to (1) local and international educators who are interested in learning and teaching practices in out-of-school contexts, (2) aestheticians who value the practices of artists, (3) postcolonial theorists who are interested in methodological challenges of researching at home, and (4) sociocultural learning theorists who view learning as much more than an individual psychological process.

The purpose of this study is to explore the practices involved in making mas' from the perspective of selected members of the community of mas' makers. As an educator, I am particularly interested in the implications of this study for educational systems like the one in this local setting that continues to pay little attention to the kinds of learning that take place in

---

<sup>4</sup> There are kings, queens, and individual section leaders of the children and adult bands that enter mas' competitions. They are judged under various categories: craftsmanship, creativity, visual impact, and relation to

nonschool contexts, and specifically in popular cultural activities like mas' making. What can educators learn from and with members of this community of practice<sup>5</sup>?

I adopted a sociocultural perspective on learning, drawing on the work of Wenger (1998) who theorizes that learning is practice—doing things; learning is belonging—being part of a community; learning is becoming—developing identity; and learning is experiencing—making meaning. Against this background I set out to answer the following research question:

How do members of the community of mas' makers in Trinidad Carnival learn to make mas'?

The following sub questions guided my description, analysis, and interpretation (Wolcott, 1994) of the data resources:

1. What are the kinds of settings in which making mas' takes place?
2. How are the settings organized?
3. What are the kinds of practices involved in making mas'?
4. What meanings do the members of the community make of their practices?

In the following section of Chapter 1, I set the scene for the study by briefly describing Trinidad and Tobago, the home of Caribbean Carnival, and the location of the study. Finally, I review the personal and academic experiences that drew me to the study.

---

theme, portability, and presentation. The bands are judged on Carnival Monday and Tuesday on the streets.  
<sup>5</sup> (Wenger, 1998) I am adapting the concept to relate to the members of the mas' making community.





Figure 1: Map of the Caribbean

### *Setting the scene: Trinidad and Tobago*

Trinidad and Tobago—the most southerly of the Caribbean islands<sup>6</sup> an oil producing nation, and the home of a diverse population of 1.3 million—is about the size of Delaware in the United States. Historians (Brereton, 1981, De Verteuil, 1984, Liverpool, 2001) hold Trinidad and Tobago’s former Spanish, French, and British colonial history accountable for the country’s diverse traditions. This diversity, which resulted from its colonial heritage, is evident in the range of festivals that the various ethnic and religious groups<sup>7</sup> celebrate annually. These festivals<sup>8</sup> include: *Phagwa*, *Hosay*, *Divali*, *Eid-ul-Fitur*, *Corpus Christi*, *Easter*, *Tobago Heritage Festival*, and *Carnival*.

<sup>6</sup> See Figure 1, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> See Table 1, p. 7.

Carnival, one of Trinidad and Tobago's major cultural traditions, reflects the mixture and diversity of the people of the country and its historical development. Riggio (2004) claimed,

The history of Trinidad Carnival is essentially the history of the peoples of Trinidad—embedded in the stories of conquest, enslavement, resistance, and indentureship, and in commercial, cultural, and ethnic exchange among the many who were forcibly brought to the place or settled there after Columbus first named the island Trinidad in 1498:

Spanish, French, English, Africans, (East) Indians, Irish, Germans, Corsicans, Chinese, Syrians, Portuguese, Canadians, Lebanese, and probably more. (p. 39)

This twin island Republic of Trinidad and Tobago<sup>9</sup> was the home of slaves who came from the continent of African and French Caribbean islands, the original settlers—Amerindians--, the free Colored persons who were the offspring of sexual unions between Blacks and Whites, indentured laborers from India and China; and the various White masters and owners of the plantations. Although the demographic surveys<sup>10</sup> Government Statistical Office (2003) show the percentages in terms of ethnic groups, these data do not represent the range of groups and categories that make up the population. In spite of the changes in the composition of the population between 1793 and 1998 as the demographic profiles show and the miscegenation, which made it even more difficult to categorize individuals, the diversity remains constant.

---

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix B

<sup>9</sup> Conventional long form of the name of the country. Short form is Trinidad and Tobago (T &T)

<sup>10</sup> See Tables 1 & 2 p. 7

Table 1: Trinidad and Tobago population survey data<sup>11</sup>

Ethnic Groups	% of the population	% of the population
	(1990)	(2000)
East Indian Descent	40.3	40.0
African Descent	39.6	37.5
White	0.6	0.6
Chinese	0.4	0.3
Mixed	18.4	20.5
Other	0.2	0.3
Unspecified	0.4	0.8

Table 2: Demographic structure, Trinidad and Tobago: 1783-1831<sup>12</sup>

Year	Total	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Chinese	Slaves
1783	2763	126	295	2 032	-	310
1797	17 712	2 151	4 474	1 078	-	10 009
1800	22 850	2 359	4 408	1 071	-	15 012
1805	30 076	2 434	5 801	1 733	-	20108
1810	31 143	2 487	6 269	1 659	-	20 728
1815	38 348	3 219	9 563	1 147	-	24 329
1820	41 348	3 707	13 965	910	29	22 738
1828	42 262	3 310	14 980	727	12	23 230
1831	41 675	3 319	16 285	762	7	21 302

<sup>11</sup> Republic of Trinidad and Tobago (2003)

<sup>12</sup> Source: West Indian Census, 1941, p. ix. From (Braithwaite 1975 p. 87)

Nettleford (2001) in his description of a Caribbean person commented,  
An apt description of the typical Caribbean person, then, is that he/she is part-African, part-European, part-Asian, part-Native American but totally Caribbean. To perceive this is to understand the creative diversity which is at once cause and occasion, result and defining point of the Caribbean cultural life. (p. 1)

I examine the cultural mixture of the population in greater depth in Chapter 2 of the study in my description of the socio-historical-cultural contexts.

This colonial heritage informed all of the societal institutions and in particular the educational institutions, which continue to contribute to the hierarchical ordering of knowledge. What is learned in schools, or settings that are part of the organized educational institutions, is considered more useful and valuable than the knowledge (s) gained from popular cultural activities like Carnival. The educational system is an important context within this study that looks at learning in a space other than the formal school setting because the mas' camps are one of the primary spaces organized to facilitate individual and group learning of cultures. Culture as it relates to the study refers to the concepts, beliefs, and principles of action and organization that one learns within the context of the mas' camp sites in Trinidad (Goodenough, 1976).

#### *“Official” educational spaces*

The educational system plays an important role in the social and economic development of the nation. It informs the activities of all the other institutions in the society. Therefore, there can be no discussion of learning without reference to and an understanding of the system. In spite of the problems associated with definitions, I chose to use Archer's (1981) definition of a state educational system as “ A nationwide and differentiated collection of institutions devoted to formal education, whose overall control and supervision is at least partly governmental and

whose component parts and processes are related to one another” (p. 260). I use this definition with the caveat that it privileges education in the official spaces over the education that takes place in the home, in the office, and in places like mas’ camps, the site of the research study. It is the privileging that I challenge in choosing to focus on the unofficial spaces. But this definition summarizes the general format of the educational system whose structure, methods of selection, and placement at the secondary level, researchers (Campbell, 1997; Harris-Martin, 2002; Jules & Kutnick, 1990; Lochan, 2003; Mohammed, 2002; Mustapha, 2002) claim contribute to the ongoing problems of the educational system.

The inherited postcolonial educational system developed quantitatively and qualitatively since the emancipation of the slaves in 1834 and the provision of education for children other than those of children of the free. This growth and development has not always met the needs of the diverse population and at times seem to cater to an elite group. The Trinidad and Tobago government (2002) recognizing the challenges which the educational system faces put forward as its mission, “To lead the modernization and renewal of the system of education in Trinidad and Tobago” (p. 7). A critical success factor linked to this objective is, “A curriculum that is relevant to the diversified needs and interests of students, preparing them for life and to meet the demands of the business sector” (p. 48). The government plans to build magnet schools to “hone particular strengths and talents in students” (p. 55) but does not take into consideration spaces already there that can assist in meeting the needs of those students. My argument is that learning can and does take place in spaces other than the educational system. There is a need to explore and understand what is taking place in people’s own backyard to assess its capacity and potential for informing the educational processes.

Ms. Mommy<sup>13</sup>, a student in the formal educational space who did her Cambridge Advanced<sup>14</sup> level work on mas' making and worked at a mas' camp, in her description of her learning experience said,

*I learned so much that made me able to start my own business doing events and hand crafted special items that used every available resource from nature, because Callaloo Company taught me that objects are not what they seem and if you dream big there will always be a way to achieve your vision if you look at things with a view to what they can be or can do rather than what they seem to be.*

I am not naively suggesting that everyone's experience in the mas' camp will be similar. The issue is that there has been no attention paid to the possibility of the space as one in which educators can explore learning as practice. What accounts for the high failure rates and the low level of accepted literacy skills among so many of the school age population in Trinidad and Tobago? Are the methods or the ways in which we view learning-teaching working for the population that we as Trinidadians serve in our educational settings? Should we continue to adopt the testing methods that place our students into groups that identify them as winners or losers? Or is the diploma disease<sup>15</sup> (Dore, 1976) the major contributor to the problems in the educational system?

There are more questions than answers. I am not attempting to analyze the educational system in Trinidad and Tobago or provide solutions for its problems. Instead, using an anthropological perspective, I am exploring the practices within one of Trinidad's communities that are able to draw to its fold students from all of the social and economic groups and assist in

---

<sup>13</sup> Pseudonym

<sup>14</sup> The final exam at the secondary level is called A short for advanced level. It is an exam linked to the Cambridge Examination system in England.

their development of skills as mas' makers. One of the members of the community described the world of the mas' camp she worked with as,

*The variety of people Minshall's work pulled together involved students, photographers, painters, sculptors, teachers, Ph.D students, vacationers, yachties, inventors, high-school drop outs, wire benders, welders, carpenters, joiners, masons, tailors, seamstresses, gay, straight, lesbian, bi-sexual, single, married, divorced, craftsmen and women of every ilk from age 13-70, from Venezuela to France and beyond. That warehouse was a buzzing microcosm of the world of art...and I do mean the world!* (Ms. Mommy, email communication, March 22<sup>nd</sup> 2004).

I take the position that these practices seem to work and we can and ought to showcase and include them in our knowledge base on learning.

#### *How I came to this study*

The impetus to explore this topic and find possible answers to the questions came from my interests in learning-teaching, my love of mas' as a native Trinidadian, and my desire to examine the sociocultural theories of learning within a localized context. Bentz and Shapiro (1998) advised,

Research is always carried out by an individual with a life and a life world...a personality, a social context, and various personal and practical challenges and conflicts, all of which affect the research, from the choice of topic, through the method used to the reporting of the project's outcome. (p. 4)

---

<sup>15</sup> Dore (1976) compares the mad rush to gain diplomas and be certified with little regard to the quality of education to a disease that has caught on in the developing countries.

Although I am not the subject or object of this study, how and why I arrived at this research project is an integral part of the research process. This reflection is in keeping with my commitment to reflexivity as an important strategy in the research process. Ruby (1980) said,

To be reflexive is not only to be self-conscious, but to be sufficiently self-conscious to know what aspects of self it is necessary to reveal to an audience so that they are able to understand the process employed, as well as the resultant product, and to know that the revelation itself is purposive, intentional, and not merely narcissistic or accidentally revealing. (p. 156)

I was born in the historic suburban district of Belmont, which is situated on the outskirts of Port of Spain, the capital city, and the centre of most of the Carnival activities.



Figure 2: Map of Port of Spain showing Queens' Park Savannah<sup>16</sup> and Belmont

<sup>16</sup> A large part of the city area, 81 hectares, is occupied by the Savannah, which has been called the world's biggest roundabout. It is the setting where all the major carnival events take place. A stage is built in between the Grand Stand and the North stand the two large seating areas for those who are not part of the bands and who play the role of spect-actors. The competition judges also occupy the seating area.



Belmont<sup>17</sup>, formerly called Freetown in memory of the slaves' original home in Sierra Leone, was the home of the ex-slaves who in the post-emancipation era (1834) took over Carnival from the White members of the population, and made it into something the Blacks in the community called Carnival. The festival then moved from being an upper and middle class celebration to a lower class one and the upper and middle class participants returned to their inner sanctuaries to celebrate and plan how to stop this type of Carnival celebration. This takeover, some scholars (Pearse, 1956,1988; Hill, 1972; Brereton, 1981; De Verteuil, 1984; van Koningsbruggen, 1997; Liverpool, 1998, 2001) claimed gave rise to the hostility and negative attitudes to the festival associated with the lower class groups in the society of which I was a member as a young girl growing up in Belmont.

My family was classified as lower class. My seven siblings shared a small two bedroom house with my mother and my father who was the sole bread winner. I lived in a somewhat larger house not very far away, with adopted parents whose only son migrated to Canada when I was five years old. I only realized I was poor when at age 11 I passed an entrance examination and began attending a state-assisted secondary girls' school. I did not go on vacations out of the country and my father only drove me to school on the first day when the *grip* in which I carried all the new books for the school year was much too heavy. After the first day, I walked to school and from school twice a day because I went home for lunch. I did not buy things to eat in the cafeteria, my mother made snacks that I took with me to school. Mother, which is how I called my adopted mother, ensured that I spoke Standard English and insisted that education was the key to success. "*Hold your head up high*", mother insisted, and "*Be proud of who you are*".

The only member of my family that I saw playing mas' was my maternal grandmother who lived in the downstairs apartment of my adopted mother's house. She made the Carnival

---

<sup>17</sup> See Figure 2, p. 12

festival an integral aspect of my out of school education and development. I therefore could not resist being part of a festival that renowned Caribbean scholar, Antonio Benitez-Rojo (1996), a Caribbean literary scholar asserted, “best expresses the strategies that the people of the Caribbean have for speaking at once of themselves and their relation with the world, with history, with nature and with God” (p.2). I grew up in the 1960s removing and putting on sequins on my grandmother’s cape which was an important part of the costume she seemed to always wear. In the secrecy of her small one room house, Chinee [as my grandmother was affectionately called, because of her heritage] gave my siblings and me small sips of that good Trinidad rum “for the worms”, and taught us how to dance the dragon mas’. My siblings and I paraded in our own bedroom stage, the headpieces and parts of the costumes she wore on Carnival Mondays and Tuesdays.

After years of standing on the side and looking on at other masqueraders, I finally played a fancy sailor mas’ in 1966. It was my emancipation moment. I had been preparing for it for years as a “spect-actor.” Boal (1985) theorized that in festivals like Trinidad Carnival, which he would describe as street theatre, no one is a spectator. I can still remember the rush of excitement I felt as I got dressed to go out into the streets. I was playing fancy sailor mas’ in one of the traditional mas’ bands that depicted the sailors who came off the ships that passed through the capital, Port of Spain, and misbehaved on the streets. My mas’ costume consisted of a pair of colored bell-bottomed pants and a t-shirt bearing the name of the band “Sailors Ashore.” A white sailor cap protected my head from the rays of sun, and the comfortable white tennis shoes and socks allowed for the long hours of parade and dancing through the streets. I felt like Charles Bennet, who in a personal communication with Hill (1972) said, “When the moment comes for me to take up that mask, and I take the mask and put it on, I become a different being entirely”

(Bennet quoted Hill, 1972, p. 89). Although I did not play a devil mas' like the one Bennet described, I was excited to be in a costume and on the streets playing mas' for the first time. Like Edwidge Danticat (2002), who in 2001 celebrated Masquerade for the first time in Haiti, her country of birth, I had allowed myself to put on and take off my masks. I can hear the voice of Lawrence Dunbar (1895) mockingly reminding me, "Oh the masks we wear"! I believe that at Carnival I exchange one mask for another but I am always wearing a mask.

Having graduated from my secondary school with the British General Certificate Examination<sup>18</sup> (GCE) passes, I began teaching in a private secondary school until I entered teachers' training college and prepared to become an elementary school teacher. My adopted parents with the help of my father constructed and built their a home in a more prestigious area in Cascade, St. Ann's on land they inherited from their parents. I became an aspiring lower middle class participant of what sociologist Braithwaite (1960, 1975) described as a socially stratified society. I lived in a more prestigious area and worked as a teacher in the government school system.

It is this educator mask and my status as schoolteacher that allowed me to experience the challenges of Trinidad's educational system. As an elementary and secondary school teacher for 28 years, I was unable to separate learning and teaching practices from Carnival. I made brown paper bag head-pieces with my first year infants, performed on stage as a carnival character in a Language Arts school teachers' dramatic production, and encouraged my students to do transactional readings (Rosenblatt, 1994) of texts that used Carnival as their themes. The texts included Lovelace's (1998) *The Dragon Can't Dance*, The Mighty Sparrow's (Slinger Francisco, 1963) calypso, *Dan is the Man in the Van*. These activities were my way of making the festival an integral part of the learning-teaching process. However, parents and students'

concern for passing the exit examinations<sup>19</sup> made these activities peripheral and not an integral aspect of the academic work.

As the years went by, I realized that playing dirty mas' was a liberating thing. The freedom of covering your body with wet mud and colored paint and not being recognized is a feeling that words cannot describe. At the same time, how can I forget the horror on the faces of my students at the state assisted girls' secondary school<sup>20</sup> in the 1990s, when they heard that I played ole' mas<sup>21</sup>, dressed in old clothes with my body painted in mud, on Carnival Monday in Burokeets<sup>22</sup>. The students' response was not surprising. Although a wider range of persons participate in J'ouvert and Monday mas' celebrations, the wearing of dirty mas' was still associated with the lower classes. The diversity of the country that I described earlier in this chapter, allows for a range of attitudes to the festival that some scholars and politicians insist is the national culture. But, Carnival is in my bones and involvement in the cultural activities is all part of the creation of my many selves. Little wonder then, that this festival surfaced when I moved away from my native land and I began post graduate study in the United States of America educational system.

#### *Graduate student in the U.S.A.*

As a graduate student, I began rethinking the educational system that nurtured my experiences as a child and an adult. My exposure to new and different ways of thinking about learning made me begin to imagine the possibilities inherent in the Carnival festival of my native land. My major involvements were with discourse on postcolonial theories (Ashcroft, 2002;

---

<sup>18</sup> Exit exam taken at the end of five years of secondary schooling.

<sup>19</sup> I explain these exams in chapter 2.

<sup>20</sup> One type of school in the educational system which I describe fully in chapter 2.

<sup>21</sup> Mas' played on J'ouvert morning and Carnival Monday when there is less emphasis on looking pretty.

Bhaba, 1990a, 1990b, 1995; Césaire, 2000; Childs, 1997; James, 1963, 1980; Fanon, 1967, 1968; Harding, 1998; Nettleford, 1993; Spivak, 1988, 1990, 1999, 2000), analysis of popular culture and festivals (Bakhtin, 1968; Burke, 1997; Lent, 1990; Manning, 1983; Mason, 1998; Turner, 1983), and sociocultural theories of learning and teaching (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Rogoff, 1984; Wertsch, 1991). These readings brought me to a different perspective on learning and teaching and the realization that there were spaces in the community, “free spaces” (Evans & Boyte, 1992; Fine et al 2000), that were providing researchers with valuable understandings of learning and teaching practices.

John Stuart Mill’s (1963) philosophical statement on international trade was now applicable to my situation as scholar whose learning and teaching experiences were in a British postcolonial educational system<sup>23</sup>. He argued,

It is hardly possible to overrate the value, in the present low state of human improvement, of placing human beings in contact with persons dissimilar to themselves, and with modes of thought and action unlike those with which they are familiar. Such communication has always been, and is peculiar in the present age, one of the primary sources of progress. (p. 597)

This was true for me now, as it was for John Stuart Mill’s time. The statement would be even more applicable if, like Berlin (1990), I were to substitute knowledge for the word progress in the preceding statement, based on the arguable assumption that all new knowledge does not concurrently represent progress.

---

<sup>22</sup> ! Burokeets is an ole’ mas’ band known for resistance presentations like *Back to Africa* and *The Glory that was Greece*. Bodies are either painted in blue or black or covered in mud.

<sup>23</sup> I describe the Trinidad and Tobago educational system in chapter 2.

Instead of focusing on teaching, my focus was more on the learners and not just their individual psychological functioning, but the learning outcomes that resulted from their social interactions. Wenger's (1990) study on the group of workers at an insurance company, Porter's (1997) work on the Bauer County Fair celebrations, and Levinson, Foley and Holland's (1996) collection of studies took education out of a narrow framework and used ethnographic methods as the major strategies. I became very curious about the learning and teaching that takes place in the *mas' camps* in Trinidad Carnival, which Pat Bishop, a Trinidadian artist, historian, and musicologist (personal conversation, November 2003), compared to the Medieval Guilds. This group of men and women worked on their craft and went through various stages: apprentice, journeyman, and master. The journeyman worked from sun up to sundown producing his piece of work that would satisfy the master. I knew that the workers involved in mas' costume production were working from sun up to sun down. But were they trying to satisfy the masters? And, who were the masters, if any?

My 28 years of experiences as a teacher in Trinidad and Tobago, my interests in learning-teaching practices in out-of-school contexts, and my new knowledge gained from the sociocultural theories of learning, spurred me to explore the practices in the mas' camp from the perspective of the community of mas' makers. The history of Trinidad Carnival and the contributions the festival made to the development of national identity fill the texts on Trinidad Carnival. There is limited empirical work done on the practices of mas' makers. Although there is need for research into the possible role that Trinidad Carnival can play in the formal educational system, my focus was on mas' making: the practices of the men and women who produce the costumes for the bands that parade the streets. My ethnographic study was an examination of the practices involved in mas' making from the perspectives of the mas' makers in Trinidad.

### *Organization of the dissertation*

The band launching in Trinidad Carnival is the major event that gives the population an opportunity a glimpse of the planned Carnival presentation. This introductory chapter served as the launching for my dissertation on mas' making practices. It served first, to position the various identities that I, as the primary research instrument bring to the study; second, it provided the international audience (s) a brief glimpse of Trinidad's history and its link to Carnival, and third, it provided a background to the problem and introduced the research questions.

Chapter 2 describes the sociohistorical and educational contexts for this study and provides the reader with a holistic perspective of the wider setting. In Chapter 3 the focus is on the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that inform the research methodology. In Chapter 4, I give a detailed account of the ethnographic methodology and the methods of data analysis I used in the process of collecting data resources. In chapters 5 and 6 I present the results of the analysis of the data sources and I provide answers to the research question:

#### **How do members of the community of mas' makers learn to make mas'?**

The chapters are divided into sections that represent the various sub questions:

How do mas' camps operate?

What are the kinds of practices involved in learning to make mas'?

What are the selected members' perceptions of the practices?

In these chapters the images from the field work notes and the transcribed voices of the members of the community provide visual and oral explanations of the who, what, how, where, and why of mas' making practices in Trinidadian mas' camps.

In Chapter 7 the summation brings the dissertation to a temporary close as I link the research to the theories, discuss the implications, and begin the brainstorming process in preparation for the next launching.



## CHAPTER 2

### CONTEXTS: SOCIO-HISTORICAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND CULTURAL

In this chapter, I focus on the various sociohistorical contexts that weave the ethnography. I chose to adopt Cole's (2000) notion of context as, "that which weaves together" and not just that which surrounds. Cole drew on the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which referred to context as "the connected whole that gives coherence to its parts" (p. 135). I argue that the lack of, or potential for imagined possibilities are closely linked to the social, historical, political, and economic development of the country, the educational system, and the attitudes to the acclaimed national festival, Carnival. These contexts are critical to exploring the growth, development, and mas' making practices of the participants. In so doing, I hope to achieve a holistic perspective, which according to Fetterman (1998) "is one of the hallmarks of ethnography" (p. 19). I provide an historical overview of the growth and development of Trinidad Carnival and the educational system of Trinidad and Tobago.

#### *Trinidad Carnival: Sociohistorical context*

The twin island republic state is called Trinidad and Tobago. However, my research work focused on Trinidad, which is the larger of the two islands, and the space in which most of the Carnival activities take place. Trinidad Carnival began as an elite celebration in which the Whites and free persons of color either paraded the streets mimicking the slave population or went from house to house partying. Prior to 1838, Pearse (1988) said, "Carnival was kept up

with much spirit by the upper classes” (p.16). Although Carnival was celebrated before 1838, I focus on the postemancipation period because this was the time when the former slaves in the society were free to participate. Before this time, the slaves who came from the African continent and brought with them their own traditions celebrated privately.

Historians (Brereton, 1981; De Verteuil, 1984; Hill, 1972; Liverpool, 2001; Yelvington, 1993) have documented fully the issues of race, class, and color divisions in the society and the social and historical aspects of the festival. Of importance to my study are the narratives of the attitudes toward the festival born in the early pre-1865 period when the colonial nobility—Whites, and persons of color—were the ones who were free to celebrate. My argument is that many of these attitudes remain with us and account for the lack of respect paid to the artists.

The festival was no longer the domain of the upper class after the historic emancipation of the slaves in 1838, the postemancipation era. The former slaves took over the Carnival that the European—French and Spanish—colonialists brought with them to the islands in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Errol Hill (1972), in his description of the postemancipation Carnival said, “Suddenly a new class of over 22,000 free men was created, allied to the free coloureds by racial ancestry, [yet] separated from them by the stigma of recent serfdom” (p. 9). The former slaves took to the streets and made the carnival their own. The former masters were unhappy and constantly criticized the behavior of the Blacks and threatened to pass laws that would inhibit the involvement of the black lower class members of the society in the celebrations. This takeover led to continued hostility and negative attitudes to the festival.

During the period 1847-1857, Pearse (1956, 1988) found that Carnival became regarded as disreputable. He said, “The use of Carnival as a means of ridicule and derision of the pretentious emerges, and demand grows amongst the dominant town group for its abolition” (p.

27). The slaves were no longer forced to celebrate behind closed doors. The elite balls had given way to the carnival of the underclass that the colonialists described as the indecent behavior of the masses. In 1838, the editor of the Port of Spain Gazette (the newspaper of the day and the major source of material on 19<sup>th</sup> century Trinidad Carnival) commented on a letter to the editor from “Scotchman” who was indignant over the “desecration of the Sabbath.” This document is said to be the first official public response to the former slaves' behavior. The Editor said,

We will not dwell on all the disgusting and indecent scenes that were enacted in our Streets – we will not say how many we saw in a state so nearly approaching nudity, as to outrage our decency and shock modesty – we will not particularly describe the African custom of carrying stuffed figure of a woman on a pole, that was followed by hundreds of Negroes yelling out a savage Guinea song (we regret to say nine tenths of these people were Creoles) – we will not describe the ferocious fight between the ‘Damas’ and ‘Waterloos’ that resulted from this murmuring – but we will say at once that the custom of keeping Carnival, by allowing the lower order of the society to run about the Streets in wretched masquerade, belongs to other days and ought to be abolished in our own. (Quoted in Cowley, 1996, p. 30-31)

The attitude expressed in this editorial comment prevailed for many years. Even though the upper and middle class members of the society returned to the streets and took control of the masquerade bands in the 1940s, there was still an outcry at the lascivious behavior of many of the participants. Carnival continues to demonstrate that it cannot be owned or contained.

### *Trinidad's 21<sup>st</sup> Century Caribbean Carnival Festival*

Trinidad Carnival<sup>24</sup> is unique to the Caribbean. Carnival is a festival that people in many parts of the world celebrate in different forms (Harris, 2003) and an activity that Bakhtin (1968) popularized with his theory of the carnivalesque. Trinidad Carnival is not just a two-day celebration. It is a season that goes through a specific cycle, which begins with one carnival and ends with the next. Carnival Monday and Tuesday, the two days preceding the Christian Lenten Ash Wednesday, are the two days officially assigned for the street parade. These days are the culmination of months of festivity, planning, and preparation.

This festival has a form that is unique. Hill (1972) one of the earliest academic chroniclers of the festival argued,

It may resemble in many ways the Carnivals of other countries, but its ancestry is different: in Trinidad the Carnival underwent a complete metamorphosis, a rebirth, resulting from the peculiar historical and social pressures of the early nineteenth century. The effect of this metamorphosis was to make Trinidad Carnival essentially a local product in form, content, and inner significance. (p. 5)

Burke (1997) supported this argument and contended,

This New World carnival is much more than a European import. Like so many items of European culture, it has been transformed in the course of its sojourn in the Americas, transposed or 'translated' in some sense of being adapted to the local conditions. (p. 151)

McCree (1999) in his survey research report, supported the argument that the festival has national character. He found that "the majority level of involvement in Carnival (mas'), across all race/ethnic groups indicate that this festival does assume a national character" (p. 135). In

---

<sup>24</sup> Both islands celebrate Carnival but there are differences in the historical development of the islands. The focus of this study is on Trinidad Carnival where many of the activities take place.

spite of the controversy surrounding what is a nation state, Trinidadians accept Carnival as the national festival, and politicians in the 1950s and 1960s used it to bring the diverse population together to create the imagined nation (Anderson, 1983).

In the 1950s and 1960s the new local governments, made up of nationals, as distinct from those who were categorized as colonials, did not hesitate to link carnival to the project of postcolonial nation building. Eric Williams, the leader of an anticolonial political party and author of the famed text *Capitalism and Slavery* (1945, 1994), courted the steel band movement and cultivated close ties with them as he featured them prominently in his political campaigns. The steel band movement from the 1950s received political patronage and is regarded as the “quintessence of Trinidadian culture” (Ho, 2000). In 1957, the Peoples National Movement (PNM), one year after having been in office as the government, extended control over Carnival and placed it under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Education and Culture (De Freitas, 1994). It is Carnival, and its viability as a popular cultural festival, that the politicians used to create a sense of peoplehood (Street, 1997). It was possible to do this because of the depth of commitment the people have to Trinidad Carnival.

### *Carnival time*

The lives of many persons revolve around the festival that Mason (1998) described as the soul of the people. Mason in his ethnographic study of the festival said, “In other countries carnival is a diversion from the troubles of life; in Trinidad it is as if life is a diversion from carnival” (p. 16). Carnival is a time for fun and enjoyment. It is a time for role reversal and according to the Trinidadian, “*To play yourself.*” This means that you can let go of all the restraints that either you put on yourself or society demands of you. It is a time to dance to the beat of the *calypso* music. It is a time when thousands of returning Trinidadians “come back

home to take home back” (Martin, 2000; Smart et al., 2000). It is a time that seasonal workers look forward to because they can earn more by selling their wares. To the mas’ makers—designers, decorators, wire benders, carpenters, seamstresses, tailors—it is a time for long hours of hard work, abandonment of time, and sleepless nights and days. It is a time when the mas’ makers in numerous *mas’ camps* in every nook and cranny throughout the country work and learn from and with each other as they produce and reproduce the designs and final products for the various sections of the bands, individual section leaders, and kings and queens<sup>25</sup>.

Carnival is a time when the country’s economy gets an added boost. Girvan (2002) claimed that Trinidad Carnival attracted as many as 40000 tourists and generated close to US\$15 million annually. Trinidad Carnival “has spawned some 50 overseas Carnivals in other parts of the Caribbean and in the metropolitan centers where the Caribbean Diaspora has a presence” (Girvan, 2002, para. 6). In so doing, Trinidad Carnival has become the largest transnational celebration of popular culture (Ho & Nurse, 2005). Manning (1990) supported this view and observed, “While Third World countries are well known as importers of metropolitan popular culture, the reverse process—the export of cultural products and performances from the Third World—has evoked less discussion” (p. 20). Scholars like Ho and Nurse (2005) are seeing the potential not only for economic gain but also for showcasing the creativity and artistry of the citizens of Trinidad and Tobago.

Persons with academic interest in Carnival (Aching, 2002; Alleyne-Dettmers, 1993; De Freitas, 1994;. Scher, 1997, 2002; 2003) arrive on the shores to collect information and gain understandings while they too *play themselves*. I have fond memories of a fellow graduate student from the United States who shared my research interest and just happened to arrive at the

---

<sup>25</sup> A band is divided into sections or themes. Sometimes, depending on the size of the band, there is a lead person in the section who wears a more elaborate costume and plays mas’ at the front of the section. The two major lead

same settings whenever I did. We worked alongside each other as we observed the mas' making activities, played mas', and attended events, and finally she assisted me with the debriefing interview. We were both becoming members of the community of mas' makers and entering into the practices that seemed to grab hold of us before we got hold of them.

### *Carnival researchers*

Trinidad Carnival's wide appeal and the high level of involvement and participation of large numbers of the population have made it a phenomenon of interest to scholars in many disciplines. Many of the researchers (Alleyne-Dettmers, 1993; De Freitas, 1994; Franco & Emory University. Dept. of Art History, 2001; Greene, 1998; Hill, 1972; Scher, 2003; van Koningsbruggen, 1997) took historical, anthropological, or sociological perspectives with the nation state of Trinidad and Tobago as their unit of primary analysis. I adopted an anthropological perspective and drew from the work of historians and sociologists to contextualize the study. My unit of analysis was the practices of the mas' makers and their perceptions of them. As an educator, I was particularly interested in my peers' views and reviews of the Carnival activities.

Researchers in the field of education (Harvey, 1983; Lewis, 1989; Liverpool, 1990) have examined the Carnival festival and its relevance and importance to the educational system. Liverpool (1990)—the 2005 Calypso monarch (winner of the calypso singing competition), teacher, and historical scholar, suggested,

Most of the cultural traits, our attitudes, our unique behaviour and penchant for fete are all contained in carnival; as such we should use a festival as an appropriate and relevant material towards the development of educated citizens of our country. (p. 82)

---

characters in the band are the king and queen.

Lewis (1989), on the other hand, concluded,

Carnival as indigenous as it is to Trinidad and Tobago society has shortcomings that stand in the way of progress. The tremendous appeal, which it makes to the creativity of all citizens, is sometimes hidden because of some negative aspect of its practice. (p. 45)

Educators in London where there is a large immigrant population experimented with the inclusion of Carnival arts into the curriculum. Burgess-Macey (2001), a London educator, found that there was an “empowering effect” when teachers introduced the art form in the schools. The involvement of the children in the actual parade seems to be taken as sufficient to keep the art form alive and breathing.

#### *Children mas’ makers and mas’ players*

Long were the days when according to the Mighty Sparrow in his calypso entitled *Outcast*,

If you sister talk to a steel band man,  
She family want to break she hand,  
Put she out, lick out all the teeth in she mouth cast  
You outcast.....

Beginning 1964 in the post Independence era, Carnival and the activities associated with the festival—mas’ making, calypso singing, and steel band music—found their way into the classrooms and school settings in Trinidad and Tobago. The government of the newly independent nation state (PNM) introduced Carnival into the schools in a deliberate attempt to nationalize the curriculum, and to develop knowledge and pride in an important aspect of the national culture (Burgess-Macey, 2002).



The presence of children on the streets on the Friday and Saturday before the official street parade and in the various pre-Carnival competitions is evidence of the increasing involvement of children in Carnival celebrations<sup>26</sup>. Rosalind Gabriel, one of the leading Children's Carnival mas' band leaders in Trinidad whose began her band in 1988 with a group of eight children now has eleven sections with about 25 children in each section. There are now numerous private non-school mas' bands that are attracting large numbers of players. These bands participate in the pre-Carnival competitions that take place between January and Carnival Saturday. The Trinidad Carnival's governing body, the National Carnival Commission (NCC), via the Carnival Regional Committee has been making efforts to keep alive the involvement of schools in Carnival mas' art, calypso, and steel band music. There are children's Carnival parades, and steel band, soca and calypso competitions in and out of schools.

However, the activities associated with the festival are not often considered as being educational. A secondary schoolteacher remarked that those in authority in education were merely paying lip service to the art form as a valuable educational tool (Malcolm transcribed interview, 2005). Teachers in the schools find it difficult to acquire funds to make the activities valuable and worthwhile. And those who dared take on the challenge worked more than over time to make it happen.

---

<sup>26</sup> See Figure 3 on pp. 30-31

Figure 3: Children's Carnival Mas'



Children participate in the competitions at various sites in the pre-Carnival celebrations. The costumes range in sizes, colors, styles and cost.



Carnival children's parades in traditional and Mardi Gras style costumes.



(1) *Stick fighters*, (2) *mokojumbies*, (3) steelband players and (4) *dragon mas'* are important aspects of Carnival. Children are involved in these aspects of the art form at Carnival time. Young children in the picture directly above spend their evenings at a training ground in Cocorite rehearsing for the big day.





A retired training college lecturer, former principal of a secondary school and long-time researcher for Mac Williams' Carnival band<sup>73</sup>, reminisced on the days when the bazaar<sup>74</sup> raised funds for his school's Carnival band and all the teachers were involved. The intention was to have the students and teachers involved in the production of the costumes but this plan did not seem to work in many schools. Rosalind Gabriel, in one of our meetings remarked that she was almost 80% sure that most of the school carnival bands' costumes are contracted out.

John Cupid, the research officer in the NCC has spearheaded numerous workshops in schools and communities throughout the country with the goal of ensuring that the traditional art of mas' making is transferred to the young people. Hall (2004), a Trinidadian playwright and movie maker commenting on the Carnival Friday Children's parade said,

Such an effort of education empowers these children. It gives them a sense of purpose, teaches them valuable lessons from their own history, and helps to preserve and transmit vital cultural traditions, even at the risk of encasing these renegade traditions within the marble vaults of pure mimesis—traditions memorized but not always experienced. (p. 164)

In spite of a proposal I made to the CEO of the National Carnival Commission to visit the workshops, it seemed humanly impossible to observe all of them in the various parts of the country. I left this for another study. However, during my field experience I was fortunate to meet with one of the tutors, a traditional fireman mas' character, who was proud to share a thank you card that the students gave to him at the end of his Carnival workshop session.<sup>75</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> One of the leading bands in the 1970s responsible for bringing local themes into Carnival bands presentations. In 1971 he won with the presentation Wonders of Bucco Reef

<sup>74</sup> Fund raising activity in which there were games, music and dancing and the involvement of parents and students in stalls that sold a range of items.

<sup>75</sup> See Appendix C

*No Carnival without controversy*

The freedom and license that still reigns in 21<sup>st</sup> century Trinidad Carnival, the media attention given to the nudity and what has been called vulgarity, in no small way, contribute to the continuing antipathy of moralists and evangelical religious groups toward Carnival. Greene (1999), in his study of Trinidad Carnival, pointed to the uproar created among some members of the religious community when Peter Minshall and Callaloo Company designed the Carnival band *Hallelujah* (1995). A Body of Concerned Pastors, in their letter to the Prime Minister reprinted in the Trinidad Express on November 18, 1994, complained,

For someone to take this emblem... (Hallelujah) and drag it in the wanton vulgarity, drunkenness, wining, cussing and all – the debauchery of illicit sex, unwanted babies, abortions, AIDS, etc., to us constitutes the worst type of mockery, ridicule, contempt and desecration of our religion.

On the other hand, Green quoted a Roman Catholic priest, Fr. Clyde Harvey, as praising Minshall for his efforts at praising God and His creation through Carnival. Green quoted Harvey's comments in the Trinidad Express as saying that the band "rather than take away from God's glory [would] be a kaleidoscope witness to the creative power the Almighty shared with us all" (Harvey quoted in Green, 1999, p. 206). This response from the Catholic priest did not come as a surprise, because in the postemancipation period Cowley (1996) also found that the French-speaking Roman Catholics, who it was believed brought the celebration to the islands, "defended the festival when threatened by others in hierarchy" (p. 32). The country and the festival have undergone many changes since that era. The movement from colonialism to independent nationhood and republicanism played a major role in the development of the festival.

In spite of the contribution that the festival has been found to make to the national economy (Girvan, 2002; Nurse, 1999), the development of a national identity, and the involvement of schools in the parade and sometimes making of the mas', the attention paid to its role in the educational process is minimal. This problem is not unique to Trinidad and Tobago. LeCompte, Preissle, and Tesch, (1993) remarked that social scientists in Western Europe, the United States, and Third World countries tended to focus their attention on formal settings and urban populations. Exceptions were found in the work of Lave (1988), Milroy (1990), and Wenger (1990), some of whom have even looked to non-Western settings. Nevertheless, the educational system is one of the contexts that I argue gives rise to the values we place or do not place on knowledge that comes out of settings like the mas' camps. This historical overview gives a brief insight into the educational system that exists in Trinidad and Tobago.

#### *Trinidad's dual system of education*

Trinidad, a former British colony, can thank the imperial government, the report of the chief inspector for schools in Ireland, Patrick Keenan (1869), and the major Christian religious groups, Anglicans and Catholics, for its present educational system. In the pre-1869 era, only the children of the landowners attended schools that Christian groups managed and in which private teachers taught. In the postemancipation era the imperial government believed it was responsible for providing education for the former slaves. The Christian groups saw education as a means to evangelize the former slaves and to increase the numbers of their flocks. In 1846, eight years after the emancipation, there were fifty-four primary schools, "most of them run by different denominations" (Brereton, 1981). According to Brereton, (1981), "These schools were found to be poorly supervised, the quality of education was extremely low, and most of the children from the labouring class were not attending any school at all" (p. 123). This situation resulted in the

Education Ordinance of 1851 that set up a system of government-run schools in each ward or district in the country. These schools were to be free and secular, and the religious groups were allowed to come into the school and teach religious instruction once a week. This system of religious instruction still exists in the new sector schools I describe later. The parents had the right to withdraw their children if they wished. Church schools did not receive aid, and Catholics viewed the ward schools as “godless and a danger to Catholic youth” (Brereton, 1981) and refused to send their children to them.

The system did not work. There were difficulties of attendance, language problems, inadequate buildings, and poorly trained and motivated teachers. Patrick Keenan, the chief inspector of school in Ireland, was appointed by the then Governor, Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon “to make a diligent and full enquiry into the state of public education whether secular or religious” (Keenan Report, 1869, p. 1). The outcome of this investigation was the famous Keenan Report (1869), which played a major role in the further development of Trinidad’s education system. Keenan said in the report,

Seventeen years had passed away since the emancipation of the 20,657 slaves on the island. Many of them still survived; and many others who had been slaves in the neighbouring colonies became free settlers in Trinidad. To such people, society was only a chaos. In it, they could recognise neither design, nor purpose, nor symmetry. For its duties their habits ill suited them; for its responsibilities, their intuition was defective. Nevertheless, they formed considerable proportion of the people and it became the duty of the state to mould them into good citizens. (Keenan Report, 1869, p. 9-10)

Keenan proposed the curriculum be changed to reflect the needs of the society, especially the content of the texts, but at the same time that it should be structured to allow for the church

schools to be given financial support. The underlying principle was that the inhabitants needed to be molded into good citizens. Cudjoe (2003) described the proposal that resulted from Keenan's Report as being designed "to give Africans and Indians the intellectual tools that would allow them to make sense of their world, to give it coherence and order, and to bring them out of their heathenistic darkness" (p. 183). To become civilized was therefore to adopt the English standards and values unquestioningly. This traditional functionalist view of society informed the discourse on education that saw it as a means of transmitting attitudes, values, skills, and norms from one generation to another (Dreeben, 1968; Durkheim, 1969; Merton, 1967; Parsons, 1951, 1959). The valued skills were those of the dominant groups in society: the colonists.

One major recommendation that came out of the Keenan Report was that the church schools should receive aid from the state. These state-aided schools were to replace the secular ward schools, when they were found to be working satisfactorily. Cudjoe (2003) in his critique of the report claimed that the Keenan Report (1869) was not as innocent as it seemed and in fact, "it constituted an important insertion into the ideological framework of the society" (p. 182). According to Cudjoe (2003) this report's "interrelatedness with other texts and its positioning within the discursive practices of the society makes Keenan's Report an important formative cultural document of the society" (p. 182). The report, according to Cudjoe (2003), reinforced the tradition of transforming the barbaric and heathenistic Africans into good English boys and girls.

Some of the Black and Colored students who made it to the top of the school ladder in the mid-twentieth century went on to become the educated middle class elites in Trinidad society. These Trinidadian scholars like Eric Williams (the first Prime Minister, an historian and postcolonial scholar), Rudranath Capildeo (physicist and political leader), and C.L.R. James



(writer, philosopher, and postcolonial scholar) played a major role in political decolonization. The country moved from a system of self-government to political independence and republican status in 1974. A more progressive education system was required to meet the needs of the newly formed nation.

*Plus ça change, Plus c'est la même chose.*

The phrase, *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*<sup>76</sup>, is a most appropriate description of the growth and development of Trinidad and Tobago's educational system. The new Black and middle class educated elites in the society became the political leaders in 1956 and led the country into independence from Great Britain. These men and a few women were now in charge of reforming the British system of education. Eric Williams (1994) and C.L.R. James (1938, 1963, 1980) are two of the West Indian scholars whom Blaut (1992) cited as leading scholars who "began to advance the thesis that slave-based industry and the slave trade were crucial in causal forces in British and French industrialization" (p. 203). Williams, an Oxford-trained historian and a product of the colonial education in Trinidad and Tobago, and James, his mentor and a self-proclaimed Marxist, would together set in motion plans to reform Trinidad society. Eric Williams (1993) became known for his saying that "Two races have been freed but a society has not been formed" (p.275). Education was a tool to be used in the decolonization process.

The then government of the independent Trinidad and Tobago in the 1960s<sup>77</sup>, influenced by the human capital economic theoretical perspective (Becker, 1993), set out to expand the education system and make it more equitable. The argument was simply "that investments in education, either formal or informal, increase an individual's level of productivity and therefore their earnings potential" (Chalmers, 2002, p. 2). World Bank and International Monetary

---

<sup>76</sup> The more things change, the more they remain the same.

<sup>77</sup> The People's National Movement (PNM)

Funding (IMF) lending policies reflected the belief that education was a productive investment in human capital. Psacharopoulos (1985) suggested that this theory influenced governments, planners, international agencies, and educators throughout the world. Jules and Kutnick (1990) confirmed that this policy influenced the growth of the education system in developing countries. Jules and Kutnick commented,

In the 1960s and 1970s, many developing countries based their hope for economic growth returns on the level of their investment of the national income in education. This investment usually resulted in the quantitative expansion of their education system. (p. 218)

The 1970s saw the introduction of new and technologically well-equipped secondary schools funded by the World Bank and IMF and modeled on the British system of junior secondary and senior secondary schools. These schools were classified as the new sector schools. These schools would soon replace the private secondary schools and stand alongside the older, more traditional secondary schools (state and state assisted) that were highly respected and regarded as exemplary institutions of learning. The numbers of students who entered primary and secondary education increased, but the problems in the education remained the same. The quantitative development of the education system may have opened the doors of secondary schooling for larger numbers, but led to what scholars in the 1990s were calling a stratified system.

I pause here to explain briefly how sociologists to whom I referred in the introduction were describing the society, because one of the discourses became the buzz term in the education system in the 1980s. The three major theories framing the discourse of sociologists whose studies focused on the social structure of Caribbean societies were social stratification, pluralism, and plantation economy. The social stratification school of thought (Braithwaite, 1954, 1960,

1975; Smith, 1956) took a structural-functionalist approach. Yelvington (1993) said that these Caribbean theorists held the view that “despite obvious cultural and ethnic diversity, the society was held together by a consensus of norms and values” (p. 15). The plural society theory was used as a counter to structural functionalism. These theorists claimed that there was no consensus and each cultural group maintained its own social institutions, distinct and separate from the others (M.G. Smith, 1965, 1991; La Guerre, 1975, 1988, 1991). Finally, there were the plantation theorists for whom the social and economic relations shaped and were shaped by the social relations of the pre-emancipation era (Best, 1968; Rubin, 1960; Mintz, 1959; Girvan, 1975; Williams, 1960). Rubin’s (1957) *We Wished To Be Looked Upon* is one of the first studies on the aspirations of youth in a developing society. In this study Rubin (1957), in keeping with her theoretical frame, described Trinidad as a plantation society. In spite of the range of theories used to explain the society’s structure, it is the structural functionalist discourse that filtered into the texts on the education system in the 1980s and 1990s. Although I do not share this view, it is important to note how it informed the thinking of the scholars who were studying the education system and whose findings would inform government policy on education.

#### *A stratified system of education*

Trinidad and Tobago’s expanded educational system became established along stratified lines. Alongside the public and religious system, there was now a stratified system that was creating even greater barriers to the attainment of equality of opportunity that it was designed to do. Scholars such as Mustapha (2000), Sandy (1989), and The Center for Ethnic Study (1994) described the educational system as stratified, and blamed it for most of the problems in education. The Center for Ethnic Study (1994) in their findings of their study of the educational system said,

The stratification exists in the people's perceptions as evidenced by the choice levels ascribed to schools by type. Seven-year traditional schools were at the top of the hierarchy and p.m. shift schools of the Junior and Secondary schools at the bottom. There continues to be the stigma attached to the students who are allocated to the new sector schools as not being as "bright" as the students in the other schools. (p. 436)

In this stratified system, 80% of the students were allocated to the secondary school of their choice based on their scores in the exit exam taken at the end of the elementary fifth to seven years of schooling (formerly known as the Common Entrance Exam [CEE] now called Secondary Entrance Assessment [SEA]. The religious (church) boards chose the other 20% from a list of eligible students and based on the terms and conditions of the *Concordat* (Government, 1960). According to this legal document, the *Concordat*, in return for financial assistance to the schools, the state had the right to allocate 80% of the school population to the state-assisted secondary schools. According to the terms of the legal agreement, the churches could provide school places for their benefactors' children and grandchildren.

To attend one of these traditional state schools and state-assisted schools that were in existence prior to 1962 was to have achieved the highest educational award. Parents believed that their children were assured success at the end of the five years of secondary school and could possibly go on to the sixth form level where they would be prepared for university, if they attended these schools that had earned the title of "prestige" schools. The less privileged students, who were not able to access private lessons, who did not have the cultural capital that books provided, and who did not have access to other learning resources, were at a disadvantage and frequently did not perform as well in the exit examinations (CEE or SEA). These students were considered failures even before they started. My experience as a teacher in the new sector

schools and the state-assisted schools that my four children and<sup>78</sup> I attended made me aware of the great disparity that existed in the educational system.

The commitment to increased access based on the Education for All resolution that governments had signed in 1990 in Jomtien, Thailand, did not assure an improvement in the education system or the increased participation of the less privileged members of the community. Jules and Panneflex (2000) found that although there was universal physical access for all, many were not participating. For example in Trinidad and Tobago, the findings showed that approximately 40% of the 5 to 11/12 year old age group were not attending school. Trinidad and Tobago and other Caribbean countries were unable to include and bring back these students into the mainstream.

This state of affairs and the demographic data that showed only 45.2 % or less than half of the population as being able to read and write (Lucie-Smith, 2003) led nationals like Cudjoe (2003) to describe the system as failing African children. The Chamber of Commerce, the leaders in the business sector, made the following comments in the Trinidad Express Newspaper:

The current education system does not serve the majority of the nation's children. Our children enter primary school and the only concern is their SEA passes. Should they be successful and gain entrance into a good secondary school, the pressure is on to get CXC passes. The current education system suits the academically inclined that have the support systems to help with homework or pay for extra lessons. (Chamber of Commerce, quoted in Cudjoe, 2003)

---

<sup>78</sup> See Table 3, p. 42

Table 3

## Trinidad and Tobago's Educational System

State	State Assisted	Private Religious	Private non Religious	Exit Exams
Primary (Elementary level)	Primary (Elementary level)	Primary	Primary	Secondary Entrance Assessment (SEA)
Special schools				
Five year traditional secondary	Five year secondary	Five year secondary	Five year secondary	Caribbean Examination Council Secondary Education Certificate
Seven year traditional secondary	Seven year Secondary			Caribbean Examination Council Secondary Education Certificate
				General Certificate of Education Advanced 'A' level
				Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Examination (CAPE)
New Sector three year junior secondary				
New Sector senior secondary (2 year)				Caribbean Examination Council Secondary Education Certificate NEC (vocational exam)
New Sector five year composite				Caribbean Examination Council Secondary Education Certificate
New Sector senior comprehensive (2 year or 4 year)				Caribbean Examination Council Secondary Education Certificate
New Sector senior secondary comprehensive (7 year)				Caribbean Examination Council Secondary Education Certificate General Certificate of Education Advanced 'A' level Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Examination (CAPE)
Higher Education for 19+ age group		Higher Education for 19+ age group	Higher Education for 19+ age group	

The demographic data that Lucie-Smith (2003) quoted were the findings based on a study that used survey methods and statistical analysis of the data. Moreover, the survey took a skills-based approach to literacy. These surveys did not take into consideration the contextual view that individuals may vary in how, where, and when they use literacy (Szwed, 1984). Researchers who have studied literacy in everyday practices have highlighted the multiple uses of literacy and the

extent to which the practices vary according to context (Heath, 1983; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988).

Although I agree that there are problems in the education system, I am wary of coming to this conclusion based solely on the survey results. The education system is badly in need of different and more innovative approaches to learning-teaching practices. I am not suggesting that a change in practices alone will remedy the major problems, but we can begin by valuing the kinds of practices that are born out of communities like those in which mas' makers work. It is impossible to explore the mas' making activities of the members of the community without framing the wider Carnival celebration context. In this section of the paper, I describe the trinity of activities: *calypso* music, steel band, and *mas'* in Trinidad Carnival.

#### *Calypso music, steelband, and mas'*

Carnival is in the air. The activities swing into full gear on the day following 25<sup>th</sup> December, officially known as Boxing Day. The Christmas carols, *parang*, and *parang soca* music (local Christmas music that has come out of a Spanish tradition) now take a back seat to Carnival music known as *calypso*, *soca*, and *chutney*. Each year the citizens anxiously await the new lyrical and musical compositions and the sweet sound of the music on the airways and in the steelband yards puts the nation on alert. Earl Lovelace (1998), in his novel, *Dragon can't dance*, used the political and theatrical devices of Carnival and *calypso* to examine the inner lives of the inhabitants of Calvary Hill. Lovelace (1998) vividly described the impact of the music:

The music insists that you dance; if it tells the troubles of a brother, the music says dance. Dance to the hurt! Dance! If you catching hell, dance, and the government don't care, dance! You woman take your money and run away with another man, dance! Dance! Dance! Dance! It is in dancing that you ward off evil. Dancing is a chant that cuts off the

power from the devil. Dance! Dance! Dance! Carnival brings this dancing to every crevice in the hill. (p. 14)

The composers, who are sometimes *calypso* singers, write the *calypso* and *soca* music and the lyrics for the year's songs. The *calypso* singers, or *calypsonians*, sing nightly in the *calypso* tents, at the various fêtes, a party with loud music, food and drinks, and lots of people, and on the music trucks on the two days of the street parades. Their lyrical compositions vary from political and social commentaries that deal with current local and international issues, to humor and biting satire, to music that encourages the participants to jump, wail (move your bodies and enjoy yourselves), and enjoy the celebration. While the calypsonians sing this infectious *calypso/soca* music, known as the national music of Trinidad and Tobago, the steel bands beat out the sounds on the steel drums, the national instrument.

The steelband is a rhythmical instrument made from the oil drums that the *pan tuners* fire and hammer until they produce a tuned instrument. Steelband players use these instruments to provide the music for large numbers of participants who dance in the streets on Carnival days and for those who prefer the steel band to brass band music. This local orchestra has various sections: the tenors, the double tenors, the bases, the double bases, the six bases, the guitar pans, and the rhythm section that consists of drums, cowbells, and an iron that keeps the tempo of the band going. Steel band yards, which are scattered throughout the island, are often large pieces of open land on which there are covered and uncovered spaces. When the pans are not in use they are stored in the covered spaces. Rehearsals take place in the uncovered spaces. Some pan yards now sport bleachers, and the yard has taken on the architectural design of a theatre with spaces for the audience and the performers.



The players who make their way to the pan yards every evening prior to the festival are male and female, young and not so young, brown, black, and white, Afro-Trinidadian, East Indian, Chinese, Syrian, and French Creole. Their diversity affirms the claim that carnival is a national festival because of the involvement of a wide cross-section of the society (McCree, 1999). Seasoned players who have been playing with particular bands for years are certain to be on the stage the nights of the competition. The newcomers are vying for a chance to make the Big Yard, the name given to the competition site in the Queens Park Savannah.

The Queen's Park Savannah, located in the middle of Port of Spain, is considered the largest roundabout in the world. This circular grass field, occupying 81 hectares of space, was originally the designated space for horseracing, football, and cricket. Trinidadians use this open space to fly kites and to view the annual Independence Day parades. Workers are employed annually to build a large stage where the competitions take place and stands to the sides of the stage for the spectators. Several thousands of people invade the arena to hear the steel bands play and to see the masqueraders in the various bands who come to the savannah to compete for the title of Band of the Year at the Steel Band Finals competition.

The finals of Panorama, the title of the competition, held in February or March serves as the culmination of the eight to ten weeks of long hours of rehearsals in the steel band yards. Men and women learn and teach each other the *calypso* or *soca* music that the expert musicians arrange. These men and women, with little or sometimes no schooling in music, learn a piece of *soca* and *calypso* music or a traditional classical piece, and perform for large numbers of enthusiastic supporters and listeners nightly.



Figure 4: Steelband Panorama Competition

The successful innovations and enterprises that have come out of these yards have led scholars like Best and Lochan (2003) to suggest that we need to look to the pan yard, “a metaphor for all areas of community involvement, driven by community resources, community entrepreneurs and authentic community leaders” (p. 13) as a model for educational reform. Artists who are involved in the steelband and Carnival activities criticize this model of educational reform for not understanding what it takes to become a steelband player or a Carnival artist. It is interesting to note that many Carnival mas’ makers gained their early experiences working with bands that came out of the steelband yards in the early 1950s and 1960s (Kendall De Peaza, Narsenio Gomez, Keith Carrington, Geraldo Vieira, interview data, 2005).

#### *Trinidad Carnival Mas’*

To talk about Trinidad Carnival is to talk about mas’ and the carnival bands that parade the streets. A carnival band (distinct from a music band) is a group of *mas’* players

(masqueraders) from a few dozen to several thousands. Bands are often under the direction of one person called the bandleader, a group or committee like Peter Minshall and Callaloo Company or Lionel Jagessar and Associates, who design the costumes and oversee the production and the final performance on the official carnival days. Each *mas'* band has its unique character but there are some similarities in forming a band. Alleyne-Dettmers (1993) described the process:

The band is spawned with a concept (an idea to be played, portrayed or enacted) that is translated into designs in terms of balance, texture and the relationship of these to color, movement and rhythm. This in turn regresses back to theme, in that it begins to look for the means of articulating those designs until the entire mosaic – the concept, the design, the *mas'* player and music – harmoniously crystallizes on stage before a massive audience. (p. 188)

The ideas are sometimes fleshed out in the form of drawings that are then placed on display at the band launchings. One band leader remarked that, in the interest of time, his band, Legends, and some other bands did away with drawings and instead focused on actual prototypes for the viewing public. Masqueraders make a down payment, usually a percentage of the final cost of the costumes, and await the final product that they collect a few days before Carnival Monday and Tuesday.

Trinidadian *mas'* designers use themes to create the ideas for the costumes. The judges of the National Carnival Bands Association (NCBA) researched and arrived at these themes that are consistent with the various categories<sup>79</sup>. They are (1) Conventional—Ancient, Modern, and African History; (2) Creative and Creative Topical, (3) Original, (4) Fantasy, and (5) Traditional.

---

<sup>79</sup> See Table 4, p. 48

Table 4: 2005 Carnival presentations

		<b>Band Leaders</b>	<b>Designers</b>	<b>Presentation and themes</b>	<b>Category of mas' presentation</b>	<b>Size of band</b>
Names of Bands	Trini Revelers	Dave Cameron and Gillette	Geraldo Vieira Jr.	Conquest of the Indies	Modern History	Large
	Bois Canot	Ruth Mendez	Ruth Mendez	River Lime	Creative Topical	Junior Carnival (Small)
	Rosalind Gabriel	Rosalind Gabriel	Chris Santos and Gregory Median	"A Pinch of Minsh"	Creative Topical	Junior Carnival (large)
	Brian MacFarlane	Brian MacFarlane	Brian MacFarlane	The washing by fire by water	Original	Medium
	Lionel Jagessar and Associates	Lionel Jagessar	Lionel Jagessar	Los Indios	Fantasy	Large
	Patrick Roberts	Patrick Roberts	Patrick Roberts	Bush Bush	Creative Topical	Junior Carnival (Mini)
	Masquerade	Earl Patterson	Chris Santos and Gregory Medina	The Lion Kingdom	Creative Fantasy	Large
	Gerald Kelly's Children's Carnival	Gerald Kelly	Lisa Mollineau	De Bridal Party	Creative Topical	Junior Carnival (small)
	Mas Factory	Albert Bailey	Alendra Bailey	The coming of the Nubians	Historical	Small
	B.O.S.S.	Churchill George	Frank Nelson	Yuletide	Traditional	Small

In spite of the recent emphasis on the body and less on the costumes, the judging criteria<sup>80</sup> point to the importance of the skills and craftsmanship of the mas' work. In my observation, I found that there was generally more attention paid to the details of the craft in the making of the larger king, queen, and individual section leaders' costumes.

Table 5:

Judging criteria

<b>Costume Design</b>	<b>Skills (Carving and molding)</b>	<b>Skills (Aluminum and metal)</b>	<b>Skills (Fiberglass and cane)</b>
Creativity of design (30 pts.)	Craftsmanship (60 pts.)	Craftsmanship (50 pts.)	Craftsmanship (50 pts.)
Balance of form and color (30 pts.)	Design (40 pts.)	Design (30 pts.)	Design (30 pts.)
Relation to the theme (30 pts.)		Portability (20 pts.)	Portability (20 pts.)
Portability (10 pts.)			
Total: 100 points	Total: 100 points	Total: 100 points	Total: 100 points

The production of the costumes is the next stage<sup>81</sup> in the process of the making of a mas' band. The mas' makers take the designs and work their magic to create the costumes. These various mas' makers (wire benders, seamstresses, decorators) gather daily in the mas' camp, the mas' headquarters of the bands, to produce costumes for all the potential masqueraders. Some of the mas' makers are seasoned workers who are paid sums of money for the jobs. In conversation

<sup>80</sup> See Table 5, p. 49

<sup>81</sup> I deal in more detail with the various stages in Chapter 4

with one mas' maker, he jokingly said, *"I make more money these days than I was making before. I wouldn't tell you how much. But I do it for the love."* He made sure I had the tape on as he emphasized that, in spite of the need for money, he did it for the love. Other volunteers, who enjoy the social life in the camp and learn to make mas' in the process, are sometimes given a costume for their participation in the mas' making activities.



Figure 5: A return to innocence: Section of MacFarlane's band The Washing

These men and women build the costumes that vary in cost depending on the type of design, the status of the band, and the role the masquerader plays in the band. The costumes in Figure 4 were priced at \$1,895 for the females and \$2,150 for men.

The costume for the queen and king of MacFarlane's band<sup>82</sup> cost \$58000 and \$30000. respectively.

---

<sup>82</sup> See Figure 6 and 7



Figure 6: La Belle Espoire from The Washing 2005  
83



84

Figure: 7 Prince of Deliverance: The Washing 2005

<sup>83</sup> Field Notes 2005 photograph

<sup>84</sup> Figures 7 and 8: Photograph courtesy Fred Dubray





Figure 8: *Tribes* Carnival King 2005

I categorize as *new age* bands that traditional mas' makers refer to as beach parties because of the emphasis on bathing suits and bodies, also place emphasis on the king and queen costumes. *Tribes*<sup>85</sup>, a first timer in the Carnival field and one of the bands that might fall under the category new age boasts of the success of the king of the band. There is the tension between what mas' is and what is a street party.

The wire benders and molders make mas' for the new age bands but are still critical of the kinds of presentations that in some way compromise the original spirit and the attention to detail and art in the designs. The bikini and bathing suits and feathers bands have become very popular with the young middle class women and men in the society. The bands that cater for this group have now introduced all inclusive sections in which food, drinks, and toilet facilities are part of the package. Some traditional mas' makers are critical of this style of mas' which they see as taking away from the art, design, and awe that go with traditional designs. Other mas' makers see it as catering to the needs of the mas' makers.

---

<sup>85</sup> A new Carnival band for 2005 whose Carnival king in Figure 8 was adjudged the best designed and produced king costume.



Traditional mas'<sup>86</sup> refers to the kinds of mas' that was initially played in Trinidad at in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when Carnival was first celebrated in the island. The characters in Figure 9 are representative of some aspects of traditional mas'. Bandleaders who adhere to these traditions and incorporate them in their designs can be classified as the more traditional type mas' bands. The element of performance was generally built into the presentations. The Pierrot Grenade, the Midnight Robbers and the Indians are well known for their erudite speeches. The sailor mas', the bats, and the dragon characters were famous for their dance movements. Stick fighting accompanied by singers was a traditional Carnival activity that took place at street corners. The *tamboo bamboo* was the first musical instrument used to accompany the Carnival bands. The blue devil character struck fear into the hearts of children and adults as he paraded the street with his painted body and blew fire from his mouth and seemed to have blood dripping from his tongue. This character made the children so fearful that they would give him money so that he would leave them alone.

---

<sup>86</sup> See Figure 9 on p. 54.

## TRADITIONAL MAS' CHARACTERS



Stick Fighters



*Tamboo-bamboo music*



The mid-night robber head piece



Moko Jumbie Characters



Blue devil characters eating fire



Pierrot Grenade

Figure 9: Traditional Carnival mas'

Carnival mas' art, although valued by the politicians and the tourist board as an exotic feature of the country, and one that can bring economic gains to the country, has not been similarly valued in educational circles. Elliot Eisner (2002) in making his claim for the importance of various art forms in education, said,

There are human accomplishments in every culture on this earth that represent the quintessential attainments of the human imagination, works of such stunning accomplishment that they alter the ways in that those who see or hear or read them look upon the world. (p. xiii)

Altbach (1995) cautioned that colonial and possible neocolonial educational policies were generally elitist. Although the situations were not the same in every colonial country, Altbach (1994) argued that "Most colonial powers, when they concentrated on education at all, stressed humanistic studies, fluency in the language of the metropolitan country, and the skills necessary for secondary positions in the bureaucracy" (p. 453). Little wonder therefore, that this festival has only been generally given lip service in the schools and has not played a more important role in the educational system.

### *Carnival as popular culture*

One possible reason for its neglect in schools, is that Carnival is considered popular culture. The festival falls into the category of low culture (Lent, 1990) as distinct from high culture. Dolby (2003) attributed this attitude toward popular culture to the kind of views behind Mathew Arnold's (1869) definition of culture as "the best that has been thought and said in the world" (p. viii). Dolby remarked,

This definition combined with Arnold's pronounced beliefs that British aristocracy and middle class were not only superior but also further along the evolutionary path, led to a

valorization of so-called high culture as opposed to the culture of the common or working class. (p. 260)

The increased resistances from cultural theorists to the distinction between high and low culture (Levine, 1988) and the academic scholars' decision to come down from the ivory towers and study popular cultural activities have contributed to a change in attitude. Nettleford (1993) identified the Caribbean art forms as instruments of survival and "strategies that are crucial in a situation of pervasive dependency, where all influences are dictated by the overlord" (p. 98). Nettleford, unlike moralists, pointed to the value in the creative acts of Caribbean people like *jonkonnu*<sup>87</sup> masquerades in Jamaica and Trinidad carnival. Nettleford (1993) commented,

Such seemingly harmless merrymaking activities offer appropriate vehicles for the oppressed to comment freely, often in the form of wicked wit and ribald punning, on a society that gives them short shrift socially, politically and economically. Such activities involve energies that are released through otherwise forbidden behaviour, especially in what may appear to be uninhibited and suggestive movements. (p. 99)

The skeptic in me might still be tempted to say that Nettleford (1993) is providing a justification for the behaviors that moralists will never condone. On the other hand, there are a few educators (Burgess-Macey, 2001, 2002; Creque-Harris, 1994; Lewis, 1989; Liverpool, 2000) who place great value on the Trinidad Carnival as a teaching tool, and the PNM were encouraging the incorporation of carnival in the curriculum.

#### *Carnival and teaching-learning practices: (Im)-Possibilities*

Lewis (1989) one of the country's few educators to make carnival the focus of her Diploma in Education study found that the shortcomings associated with the festival prevent Carnival from playing an integral role in the education sector. One shortcoming associated with

the festival is the high incidence of what moralists in our community refer to as promiscuity and sexually explicit behavior. The negativities associated with the festival, immorality and lasciviousness, prevents, according to Lewis (1989), the acceptance of the festival as a contributor to the education sector.

Additionally, misunderstandings of the cultural festival led to negative identities associated with Trinidadians. The Trinidadian was said to have a “Carnival mentality.” This meant that there is little attention to work and more to play and having a good time. Liverpool (1990), in his response to the assertion that Trinidadians have a Carnival mentality, argued,

Many learned people speak of us as having a carnival mentality. In that way, they seek to degrade our people, for they seek to say that to possess such a mentality is to live for today, to play mas’, to have a good time, and then to beg on Ash Wednesday. In other words, it is to live aimlessly. People who brand Trinidadians thus, do not understand what carnival is. They do not see beyond the tinsel, paint and feathers. They are yet to notice the creativity of mas’ makers, the imagination of bandleaders and masqueraders. (p. 10)

Harvey (1983) in a major conference on Carnival and its social and economic impact suggested that, “The question is not so much does Carnival have a role to play in education, but what role does Carnival play in education?” Harvey (1983) in her reflections on the topic, Carnival as an instrument of education, examined the informal and formal ways in that Carnival can be a part of the education process. Harvey (1983) admitted, “We don’t want to hear it said that we have a carnival mentality” (p. 235). However, Harvey continued, “What is it about that mentality that we are rejecting? Can we by reflecting on carnival give our students that opportunity to also reflect and to better understand our ‘mentality’, our cultural identity?” (p.

---

<sup>87</sup> See Glossary of terms Appendix A

235). Harvey (1983) was suggesting at that time that there were inherent possibilities in this festival that educators needed to be mindful of and do something about. The study I propose is one attempt to locate some of the possibilities inherent in the festival. I had to first un-learn and re-think some of the ideas I had about learning and teaching and the spaces in which these activities take place before I could begin to design a research project like this one.

International scholar, Creque-Harris (1994), made a plea for an exploration of the dance forms of the Caribbean as they are manifested through Trinidad Carnival. Creque-Harris (1994) argued,

The multi-ethnic ethos of the Caribbean provides insight into the pedagogical challenge of managing diversity in the classroom. Moreover, Carnival celebrations, that unite ethnic and socioeconomic groups, can be modeled to achieve cultural understanding in a contemporary classroom setting. (p. 31)

The historic growth and development of the festival, the biased views held toward some of the activities by moralizers, and the role that education is viewed as playing in society seem to be restraining these efforts. However, I am making a case for a more in-depth look at the practices in the mas' making community.

I have set the scene for the study. Having established that the contexts within which I weave this ethnography are socially, culturally, and historically specific, I now turn to a critical analysis of the tools that I used to explore the mas' making practices of selected members of the community of practice. In the following chapter, I describe the nature of the tools and the challenges they posed to a researcher who grew up and studied in a postcolonial society.

## CHAPTER 3

### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Hansen, (1979) in prefacing her ideas on sociocultural perspectives on human learning, remarked, “Learning and that which is learned cannot be understood apart from the sociocultural contexts” (p. v). In Chapter 2 of my study, I added historical and educational to the sociocultural contexts.

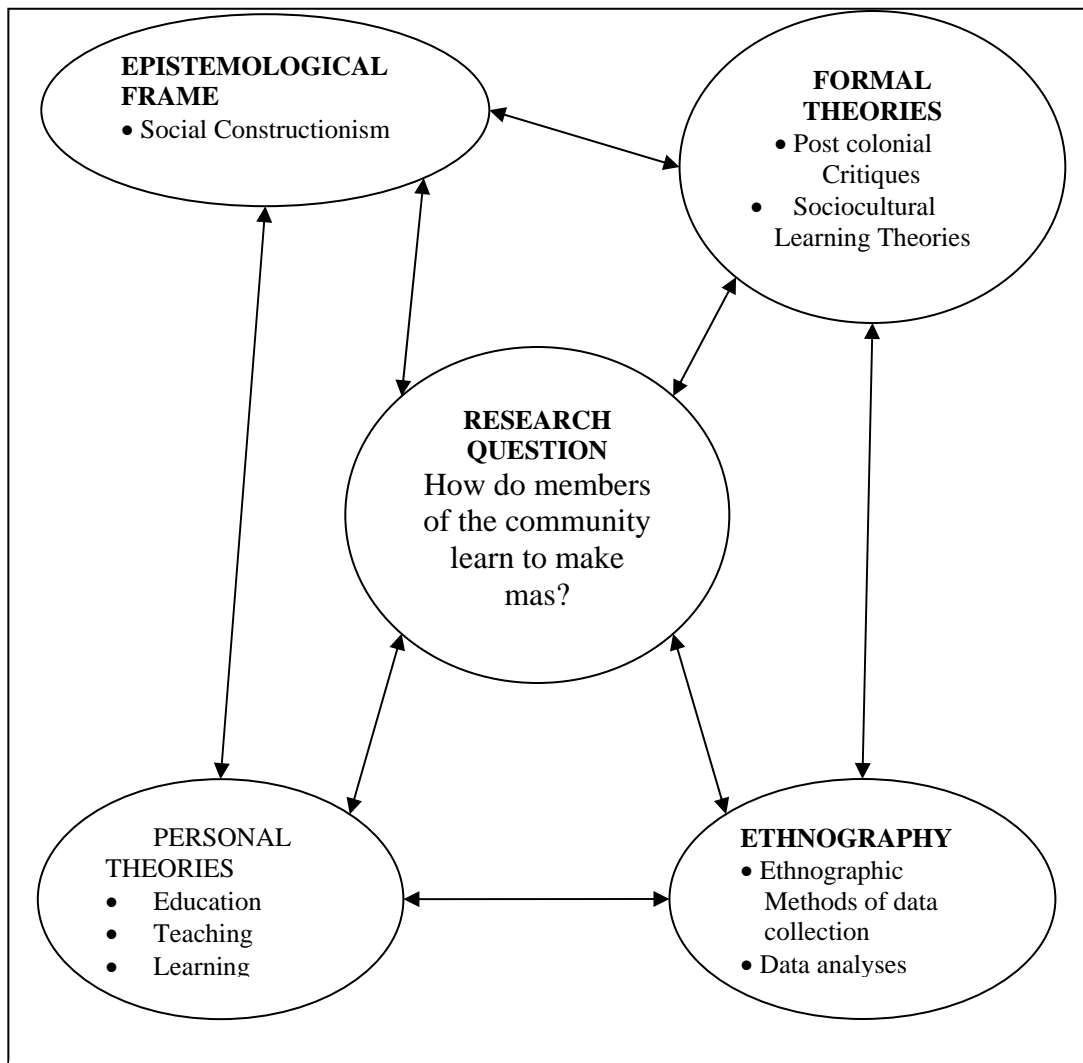


Figure 10: Conceptual Framework

These contexts, I argued, are integral to an understanding of mas' making practices integral to Trinidad's Carnival. In Chapter 3, I turn to a discussion of the concepts and theories in Figure 10. which provided the etic knowledge that guided, contained, and limited the design and implementation of the research project. These theories, concepts, and methods, which came out of sociology, psychology, history, and anthropology, assisted me in thinking through the various phases<sup>88</sup> of my research project, *You remake yourself every year*. I add to these a description of my theories. Spradley and McCurdy (1972) in their exploration of the issue of ethnographic semantics made it clear that it would be naïve to think that a scholar's prejudice only operated during analysis and interpretation. Instead Spradley and McCurdy (1972) commented,

Between the events of social behavior (what people are actually saying and doing) and the investigator's descriptive account there is an important variable: *the investigator himself*... Complete objectivity may be a characteristic of some omniscient observer but not of a human being. In any research, selective observation and selective interpretation always work to transform the "actual events" into the "facts" that are used in a descriptive account. (p. 13)

Although I do not call it distortion, I believe the personal theories and worldview of the researcher inform the assumptions and meanings she makes of the process.

### *Personal theories*

Le Compte and Preissle (1993) provided me with some partial relief from my anxieties about what are theories and how they influence the work of a researcher. They said,

The informal explanations we use to guide our daily life as well as hunches we have about why things work as they do are tacit or lay theories. They derive from our own

---

<sup>88</sup> See Figure 11 on p. 62.



cultural background, academic training, life experiences, and individual personality traits.

(p. 121)

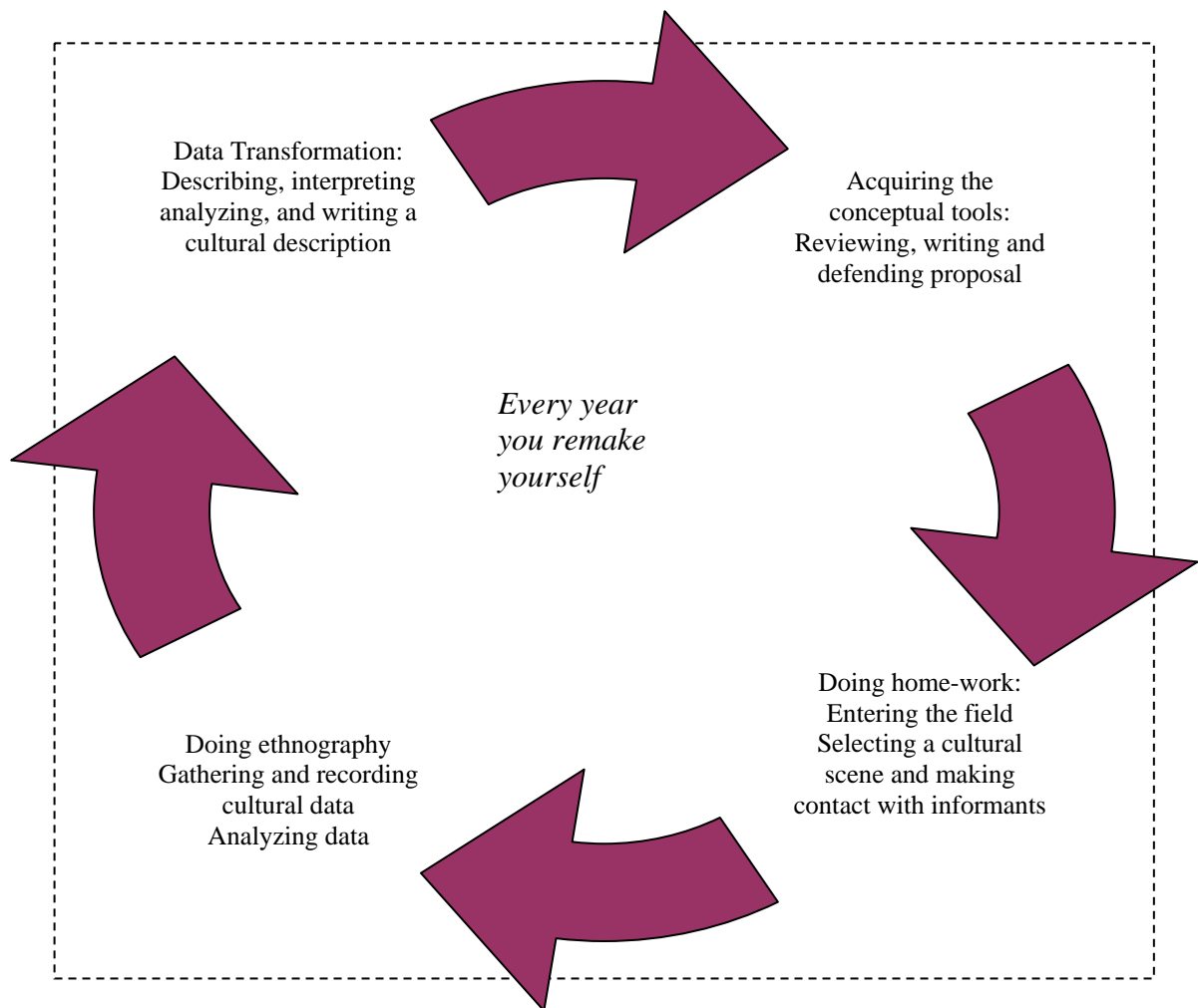


Figure 11: Phases of my research project.

\*Adapted from James Spradley & David McCurdy (1972). *The cultural experience:*

*Ethnography in complex society* Chicago Science Research Associates

I take the stance that I too have developed my personal theories about what is education and who is an educator. These theories have played an important role in my decision to do an ethnography of mas' making practices.

My student teacher days were filled with Doctrines of the Great Educators (Rusk, 1965) from which I read about Kant, Rousseau, Locke, Friable, and Pestalozzi and experienced

learning in spaces other than the classroom. Daphne Cuffy was a lecturer in the philosophy of education course, dean of women students, and leader of the Mausica Teachers' Folk choir<sup>89</sup> where I studied. She provided elementary education teacher trainees with opportunities to do oral history interviews and write reports on persons she called "public educators"<sup>90</sup>. These activities taught me to respect and view Trinidadian "public educators" as philosophers. The research activities took my peers and me to the families and friends of women like Audrey Jeffers, a social worker, who started the first school feeding program in 1920 and opened day care centers for the children of working mothers in the 1940s. We interviewed and learned about men like Carlton Comma, who in 1944 began adult education via the methods of lectures, film shows, concerts, and public forums in the public library. These experiences played an important role in framing my theory that learning is not limited to what takes place in the school setting, comes out of social participation, our individual interactions with various discourses, and can happen even when we are unaware. The people who facilitate learning can come from every sphere of society and are not limited to those who stand in front of institutionally accepted learning spaces. We are all learners and the boundaries between learning and teaching are blurred summarize my personal theory.

My personal theory made it easy for me to make mas' making practices the focus of the ethnography. Hansen (1979) claimed that one of the conceptual or cultural obstacles that researchers in the field of education face is "the tendency to equate education with academic schooling or to view education which occurs in the academic contexts as central to inquiry" (p. 244). This attitude, according to Hansen (1979), ultimately leads to the qualitative and

---

<sup>89</sup> Mausica Teachers Training College 1968-1970

<sup>90</sup> This is Daphne Cuffy's lay concept of the persons.

categorical distinctions assumed between different modes and processes and privileges one over the other, whether it is formal or informal, school or nonschool, and primitive or civilized.

My choice of mas' camps as a social situation and mas' making as practices came out of (1) my adoption of the social theory of learning as social practice and (2) my belief that knowledge comes from a text, our interactions with persons similar to and different from us, and our intuitions as spiritual beings. This choice was not meant to privilege one setting over the other, but was based on my interests in mas' making as an art, my belief that education does not only take place in formal school settings, and my desire to examine, explore, and describe practices of mas' makers in Trinidad Carnival.

### *Postcolonial theorizing*

My concern and anxieties about becoming yet another colonizer with an exotic gaze led me to spend some time reviewing the literature on postcolonial theoretical discourses and ethnography. How were scholars using a frame critiqued for its lack of methodology? I was interested how scholars (e.g. Chaudhry, 1997; Irlam, 1999; Kumar, 2002; Smith, 1999; Visweswaran, 1994; Wolcott, 1999) were theorizing methodological issues related on the use of anthropological perspectives, ethnographic methods, and the politics of representation. Narayan (1993) advised,

Whether we are disempowered or empowered by prevailing power relations, we must take responsibility for how our personal locations feed not just on our fieldwork interactions, but also our scholarly texts. When personal personas efface studied and experienced selves, this makes for misleading scholarship even as it does violence to the range of hybrid personal and professional identities that we negotiate in our daily lives. (p. 681)

I became aware of the need for constant critique of my use of ethnography as a methodological frame because of its previous association with the colonial experience of “othering” the participants and informants. My major professor brought to my attention the association and connotation of the word informants that Spradley (1979, 1980) used to refer to his participants. I immediately became more self-conscious of my use of the term and began to think of the members of the community as key actors<sup>91</sup> (Fetterman, 1989) in this ethnographic presentation.

Wolcott’s (1999) work on ethnography as a way of seeing that assured me that “During this long, slow but apparently inevitable process of ‘coming home’, ethnography lost its single most defining feature as the study of *others*, or at least of others who differed dramatically from the ethnographer” (p. 25). However, he was quick to remind me that “old habits die hard” (p. 25) and pointed to an instance in which he found himself guilty of making the village he was studying “a tad more remote than it was” (p. 26). I must admit that in spite of the assurances the concern of othering the members of the community remained with me.

Irlam (1999) was another postcolonial theorist who assisted me in dealing with the internal struggles I was having with the methodology that I was adopting for the study. Irlam (1999) suggested that postcolonial theory “cannot ever become a properly-formed epistemology, but rather becomes instead an ethical discourse” (p. 14). I did not situate my research inside postcolonial theories. I was in alliance and dialogue with these theories because of the methodological questions they raised and the opportunity they afforded for adherence to the principle of constant critique.

One way in which Kumar (2002) suggested that indigenous scholars working in her own society could deal with the issue of “othering” was by “presenting (and first understanding)

---

<sup>91</sup> Fetterman (1989) suggested the use of actor instead of the anthropological term informant because of its association with work conducted in colonial settings, specifically African nations formerly within the British Empire

ourselves as more than trained scholars, to people who are more than just our informants” (abstract, 2002). She found that, in her experiences of the master-servant relationship during the course of her fieldwork, ethnography was greatly enriched by more deliberate interactions with her informants. Kumar hypothesized,

By juxtaposing the two subject positions of mistress and servant, moving between one and the other to highlight how each is largely constructed by the interaction, we illuminate the question of margin and centre, silence and voice, and can ponder on how to do anthropology better. (p. 1)

Kumar argued that educators like me, who were in the field to do research for a degree or publication, could contribute something to the education of “her less-than perfectly educated informants” (2000, p. 1). Although I agree in some instances that this might be possible, I still view it as “othering” the key actors whose education and knowledge might be from a different source and who might in some respects be more the master than the servant. Senor Gomez (Interview, 2004) remarked that the experience of talking about his work helped him to remember things he thought he had forgotten and that it was a good thing. I remember too well my key informant, Larry, commenting on my being the cleaner in the camp when he arrived one morning and found me cleaning the sewing machine that the seamstress used to adjust the costumes. It was not simply a case of educating those who were less informed, but instead learning from and with them and modeling ourselves as teachers, learners, and open to serving as well as being served.

#### *Issues of language and representation.*

Postcolonial theorists claimed that one of the major features of colonial oppression was the persistent hierarchy of knowledge in the forms of texts, the language used, and whose voices

claimed authority. I was studying a situation that seemed to have been neglected because mas' knowledge did not have the same status as school knowledge in the classroom. My goal, therefore, was to represent the ways of seeing, thinking, and feeling and the modes of expressions of the mas' makers as valid and valuable.

Leon Damas (1972), Aime Césaire (1995, 2000), and Leopold Senghor (1948, 1991) developed Negritude, the theory of black writing. These Francophone writers from the Caribbean and Africa conceived of their work as a response to the colonial situation. They were not just rejecting the political, social, and moral domination of the West but affirming the black personality. Leon Damas (1972) lamented his lost past:

Give my black dolls back to me  
So I can play with them  
the simple games of instincts  
instincts that endure in the darkness of  
their laws with my courage recovered and my audacity  
I become myself once more  
myself again  
out of what used to be  
once upon a time  
once without complexity (p. 19).

Césaire (1995) denounced Europe's logic and reason in his poem *Return to my native land* in which he stated:

Words?  
Ah yes, words!

Reason, I appoint you wind of the evening.

Mouth of authority, be the whip's corolla

Beauty, I name you petition of stone

But ah! my hoarse contraband laughter

And my saltpetre treasure!

Because we hate you, you and

your reason, we claim kinship with

dementia praecox with flaming madness

with tenacious cannibalism (p. 55)

Cudjoe (1980), a Caribbean literary scholar in his study *Resistance and Caribbean Literature* praised, Césaire's work:

Césaire struck at the very heart of Western civilization, at its ontological presumptions, at its syllogistic reasoning, at its moral and ethical values – all instruments which Europe had arrogated to herself the right to enslave a people whom she preferred to call “prelogical.”(p.133)

Language was also an important issue for political theorists like Fanon (1966 and 1967). Fanon (1967) in his psychological work *Black Skin White Masks* remarked, “A man who has language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language...Mastery of language affords remarkable power” (p. 18).

Fanon (1967) argued that the situation he described led to an inferiority complex “created by the death or burial of its local cultural originality” (p. 18). This inferiority complex resulted in what Gandhi (1938) and Fanon (1967) recognized as slaves' continuing gaze on the master and desire

to be like the master. Gandhi (1998) cited this attitude as one of the factors that condemned them to a “derivative existence.”

These writers, without pointing to distinct solutions, raised consciousness about the challenges the colonized faced, once they were free to make their own decisions. However, many writers were following in the tradition of Césaire (1995, 2000) and Damas (1962), though not necessarily using the same literary models, highlighting issues and implying the possibility or impossibility of finding ways out of the dilemma the nations faced.

One such writer was Nobel Prize winner, Derek Walcott (1970), who in much of his work pointed to issues and themes with which many of the writers of the era were dealing: economic deprivation and destitution, rootlessness, displacement, dispossession, slavery and colonialism, and militancy and rebellion. Walcott (1970) in *Ti Jean and His Brothers*, explored most of these themes. It is Ti Jean, the youngest of the three brothers, who uses common sense and draws on the wisdom and local knowledge of those gone before, who was able to outwit the Devil/White Planter/Slave master. However, once he has won the battle, the Devil reminds him that “the features will change but the fight is still on” (p. 164). Like Memmi (1965), Walcott emphasized the inevitability of a continued relationship between the colonizer and the colonized and the importance of finding ways to deal with and recognize it. The continuing cry was for emancipation from mental slavery. There is still the question of the continued influence of the colonizers because their language was the tool being used in the process. Audre Lorde’s (1981) words, “The master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house,” have become synonymous with the situation in which the colonized, who were now the intellectuals writing back, found themselves.



Said's (1978) *Orientalism* set the stage for discourse analysis theory and provided another mode of critique. Said (1978) claimed texts, in all the various forms, created not only knowledge but also the very reality they appeared to describe. Said (1978) also pointed to the importance of the historical context of the texts and asks the questions: Who writes? For whom is writing being done? Spivak (1990), another major postcolonial theorist, critiques postcolonial studies' use of voices in the representation of texts and asks the unanswerable question of whether the subaltern can speak. How can the writing that is being done to privilege the voice of the oppressed really do so without committing the same crime that it is fighting against? This continued to be one of the tensions I experienced even as I wrote the ethnographic report.

The role of postcolonial intellectuals, whom Smith (2002) categorized broadly as those ones who "move across boundaries of indigenous, and metropolitan, institution and community, politics and scholarship" (p.71), is fraught with problems of being taken seriously. Spivak (1990) said,

For me the question Who should speak? is less crucial than, Who will listen? I will speak for myself as a Third World person is an important position for political mobilization today. But the real demand is that, when I speak from that position, I should be listened to seriously; not with that kind of benevolent imperialism. (pp. 59-60)

I add to this dialogue the questions of whose theories are being used, and in which disciplines are the theories located, as I grapple with theoretical framing and representation.

My continuing review of the literature made me aware that the issue of epistemological framing was important to not only the fiction writers and literary scholars but also writers with an interest in research methodology (Harding, 1998; Harrison, 1991; Minh-ha 1989; Smith, 1999). Harding (1998) took an even bolder step of referring to science as "the beliefs and

practices of non-European cultures” (p. 9). Harding (1998) pointed to the importance of postcolonial science and technologies studies in opening up “a gap between the dominant epistemologies and philosophies of science of the modern West and the ones needed to account for the history of knowledge production in Europe and elsewhere revealed by the postcolonial histories” (p. 38). The natives were writing back and opening up spaces for dialogue and reclaiming the totalizing discourse of history that was written from the perspectives of the colonial masters. At the same time, the issues of methodologies, methods of research, the theories that inform them, the questions they generate, and the writing styles they enact are very real for researchers like me, in and from a postcolonial region.

Smith (1999) in *Decolonizing Methodology* dealt in great detail with these problems that indigenous academic writers face with issues of interpretation in particular. She said, “Who is doing the writing is important in the politics of the Third World and African America, and indeed for indigenous peoples; it is even more important in the politics of how these worlds are being represented ‘back to’ the West” (p. 37). The decolonization of methodology Smith (1999) suggested resonated with me although I questioned the concept of indigenous. Smith, having admitted the need for a decolonization of methodology, described it thus:

Decolonization, however, has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather it is about centring our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes. (p.39)

This brief discourse on postcolonial theories shows as the necessity for the continuing reflexivity so necessary in the research process that adopted an ethnographic research tradition and was guided by theories in and out of the Euro-American context. Postcolonial theory became

the discourse that reminded me of the possibility of my “othering” the key actors and forced me to find ethically responsible ways of dealing with the members of the community and the research process. The discussion that follows is intended to open up a dialogue on the sociocultural theories of learning and the possibilities they afforded for an exploration of how mas’ making works.

### *Sociocultural approaches to learning*

My life span and educational experiences have allowed me to experience first hand the shift within learning theories from behaviorism (Pavlov, 1960; Skinner, 1974) to cognitivism (Piaget, 1970; Anderson, 2005; Vygotsky, 1978) and sociocultural theories of learning (Brown, Collins, & Dugid, 1989; Lave, 1997, 1998; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Rogoff, 1990). The behaviorist and cognitivist paradigms, Kirshner and Whitson (1997) claimed, limited “the opportunity to explore learning and knowledge as processes that occur in a local, subjective, and socially constructed world”(p. vii). As a result the sociocultural school of thought takes as its central problem, “the processes whereby cultures reproduce themselves across generational boundaries” (Kirshner & Whitson, 1997, p. 5). Sociocultural theories of learning therefore seemed a most appropriate choice, given my interest in the practices within a national cultural activity that receives mixed reviews. “How can we, the people of Trinidad and Tobago, ensure that the art form, and the practices associated with it continue across generational boundaries”?

Sociocultural theorists conceptualize learning as distributed (Cole & Engestrom, 1993), interactive (Chang-Wells & Wells, 1993), contextual (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996), and the result of learners’ participation in a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Rogoff, 1984; Wertsch, 1991). These theorists built on the work of Bakhtin (1981) and Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1978), who developed the concept of the zone of proximal

development (ZPD). Vygotsky (1978) defined ZPD as, “The distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers” (p. 86). These multiple ways of viewing learning I judged would allow for various ways of thinking through the data and exploring the members’ perceptions of the practices involved in learning to make mas’.

Viewing learning as distributed, contextual, interactive, and the result of participation allowed for an emergent research design. I was not limited to looking only at how the members of the community were interacting with each other. I could also look at the contexts that framed the activities, the various opportunities for learning, and the result of the kinds of participation between and among members of the community. Additionally, these various ways of viewing learning allowed for the postponement of final judgment on what might be significant to explore in-depth. Spindler (1997) argued that this postponement is a reasonable criterion for good ethnography of education. He remarked, “Hypotheses emerge in situ as the study continues in the setting selected for observation. Judgment on what may be significant to study in-depth is deferred until the orienting phase of the field study has been completed” (p. 73). I was therefore able to be flexible when faced with dilemmas in the field.

Another assumption of sociocultural approaches to learning is that knowledge is coconstructed and the result of collaboration and transformation. John-Steiner and Mahn (1996) in their review of the theories commented, “A focus of sociocultural research is the study of the way that the coconstruction of knowledge is internalized, appropriated, transmitted, or transformed in formal and informal learning settings” (p. 200). This theoretical frame seemed

appropriate for my study of individuals and their activities within a setting that could be classified as informal.

Of importance to my study was Wenger's (1990) ethnographic study of a claim processing center in a large insurance company that built on and opened up the discourse on learning as socially situated and the result of coparticipation. Wenger (1990) argued,

Knowledge does not exist by itself in the form of information, but is part of the practice of specific sociocultural communities, called here "communities of practice." Learning then is a matter of gaining a form of membership in these communities: this is achieved by participation, which is called here "legitimate peripheral participation." Learning thus is tantamount to becoming a certain kind of person. (p. xv)

Thus, although mas' making practices was the unit of analysis, I was free to look at the personality development of the individual in practice.

Another concept important to my work and that Wenger used in the preceding quote is *community of practice*. It is a term associated with Lave and Wenger (1991), but which was coined by Jean Lave, Wenger's coresearcher and mentor. Instead of providing a definite definition of the concept in the abstract, Wenger (1990) gave the reader a proceduralized method for determining if the concept can be applied to a situation. Wenger (1990) then took the term apart using the claim processors he observed as the illustration of what makes for a community of practice. This statement clarified how the originators conceptualized the term. Wenger remarked,

The critical point that makes them a community of practice is that they share a way of "going about *doing* some things" and that they share it because they have come in *contact* with each other, either directly or indirectly, through physical copresence or through

some other way. In other words, they share a practice: this includes activities they all engage in, specific ways of communicating about these activities they share, and as a result some perspectives and interests (in both senses) they have in common. This concrete aspect of sharing a practice is crucial in making the concept of community of practice analytically robust: because it is defined by this shared practice, which takes place in this lived world. (pp. 145-146)

Lave (1996) in her ethnography went a step further and looked at not just learning practices but also teaching, which she claimed was learning in practice. Lave (1996) also admitted that she could not have come to her understanding of the theoretical implications of learning as social practice outside of her ethnographic research on Via and Goal tailors' apprenticeship in Liberia.

Finally, the Vygotskian notion of the unity and interdependence of the internal and external process in learning is an important assumption that grounds sociocultural theories on learning. Penuel and Wertsch (1995) described their views on the issues of internal and external process in learning:

The sociocultural processes on the one hand and the individual functioning on the other [exist] in a dynamic, irreducible tension rather than a static notion of social determination. A sociocultural approach considers these poles of sociocultural processes and individual functioning as interacting moments in human action, rather than static processes that exist in isolation from one another. (p.84)

This approach has a close approximation to Wolcott's (1997) anthropological perspective of education as becoming rather than as a static entity. Indeed, Wolcott (1997) pointed to the increased attention that anthropologists in education have given to learning and to the important role that Lave's (1977, 1980) work played in offering another perspective from which to view

learning. The work of these two major scholars who dealt with learning in situ, adopted sociocultural theoretical approaches to learning, and used ethnographic methods of data collection, informed the research design decisions that I discuss in the next chapter.

Postcolonial theorists continue to struggle with the issues of language, theories, methodologies, and representations. At the same time, they have found ways of using the methodologies like ethnography that used to be associated with colonialism and may still carry with it hints of oppression and power struggle. I do not believe these issues are unique to postcolonial theorists. The theorists critiqued and used ethnography as a research methodology and found ways to deal with the ethics and politics of representation. They have framed their work using sociocultural theories of learning and employed ethnography as a research methodology. In the following chapter, I discuss my understanding of ethnography and my use of it in exploring how members of the community learn to make mas'. I include in the discussion illustrations of my use of the methods to transform the data sources that I collected during the field experience November 2004-March 2005 in Trinidad<sup>92</sup>.

---

<sup>92</sup> See the time line in Appendix D

## CHAPTER 4

### DOING ETHNOGRAPHY AT HOME: A CULTURAL EXPERIENCE

I positioned myself as a native returning home (Munir, 1997), to do field work. In my proposal I said that I would use an anthropological perspective to explore the practices in one mas' camp. I now had to "look like an anthropologist without really being one" (Wolcott, 1980). Doing field work Spradley & McCurdy (1972) summarized, meant "gathering and recording cultural data" (p. 3). I hoped to find data that I could use to describe, interpret, and analyze the process of learning to make mas' in Trinidad Carnival.

I needed a methodology that (1) was known for its diversity, (2) was adaptable, (3) had proven to be useful in a wide range of disciplines including education, and (4) allowed me to do mindful inquiry (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998). I use Schwandt's (1997) definition of methodology as, "The theory of how inquiry should proceed. It involves analysis of the principles and procedures in a particular field of inquiry (that, in turn, governs the use of particular methods)" (p. 93). I view methods as particular research techniques or ways to gather evidence about a phenomenon (deMarrais, 2004). At the same time, I agree that ethnographic methods are not in any way innocent (Van Maanen, 1998) and, as such, demand a reflexive process (Davies, 1999). This process operated in all phases of my research project and was one way of ensuring some measure of internal validity<sup>93</sup>. I did not opt for total reflexivity which Davies (1999) claimed, "requires full and uncompromising self-reference" (p. 7). Instead, I acknowledge my presence in the

---

<sup>93</sup> Validity is used as metaphor for the process of assessing the extent to which the observations and measures used to collect data are authentic representations of some reality (Reliability in qualitative research, deMarrais' class notes)



research process and accept that my exploration of how members of the community learn to make mas' is also about my relationship with them. I needed to be critically attuned to how the methods I chose to adopt affecting members' explanations were impacting their explanations of the mas' making practices and their views of themselves. I continue the narrative by explaining (1) the rationale for selecting ethnography, (2) the techniques used to generate and transform the data, and (3) how I dealt with issues of my responsibility to the members of the community.

*Ethnography as culture of inquiry: A procedure to guide the research*

Ethnography is a culture of inquiry (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998) that has its roots in anthropology. My review of the literature in Chapter 3 showed that scholars in numerous disciplines developed, used, and critiqued the methodology. Scholars in the field of education in particular continue to use ethnography and, more frequently, ethnographic methods in their study of educational practices. LeCompte and Preissle (1992) in their discussion on the evolution of educational ethnography said,

Educational ethnography is neither an independent discipline nor, as yet, a well-defined field of investigation. It is, however, an approach to studying problems and processes in education; substantively, it represents an emergent interdisciplinary fusion because it has been practiced by researchers from different traditions. No consensus among these traditions has been reached, however, about what should be the proper scope and method for ethnographic studies in education; the various methodological influences on the field come from areas as varied as educational anthropology, educational psychology, educational sociology, evaluation research, and literary criticism. (p. 9)

LeCompte and Preissle's (1992) in-depth discussion of the range of disciplines and areas of cross-cultural study within education that used the methodology, gave credence to its usefulness as a tool for my research project.

More importantly, Lave (1996), whose sociocultural theories of learning helps this study, advised that there were methodological implications to viewing learning as practice. She suggested ethnographic research as a good way to come to understand learning. Understanding learning for Lave (1996) entailed looking at specifics of changing participation in changing practices, the learners' changing conditions, and ways of participating. Additionally, She suggested the need for "inclusive focus on the participants" that methods associated with ethnography afforded.

Ethnography's adaptability and inclusiveness were also characteristics that made it acceptable for my research design. Atkinson (2000) claimed it allowed for multiple theoretical perspectives and epistemological frames. LeCompte and Preissle (1992) described how ethnography has grown and evolved over the years. They also argued that the influences from critical studies, postmodernism, and poststructuralism have led to not only varied ways of doing ethnography but also a critique of the traditional approaches. Wolcott (1999) emphasized that ethnography has moved away in many instances from a methodology that focuses on the other, to a methodology that is used at home (Wolcott, 1999). I am not suggesting that there are no longer any problems associated with the methodology, but I found in it some of the characteristics that met my needs for the research project. It was adaptable, interdisciplinary, and allowed for a range of theoretical and philosophical perspectives and methods of data collection strategies.

### *Ethnography: A cultural experience*

Although ethnography shares characteristics with other fieldwork traditions, its emphasis on culture is unique. Spradley (1972) described the ethnographic process as a cultural experience. Doing ethnography for an anthropologist meant more than collecting data using selected ethnographic techniques of data collection—participant observation, field notes, still photography, ethnographic interviews, and data analysis. It meant ensuring that the study was “embedded in and ultimately concerned with cultural description” (Wolcott 1980, p. 58). Wolcott emphasized that ethnography was not simply a method of using ethnographic techniques, but of “understanding human behavior from the cultural perspective” (p. 58). Preissle and Grant (2004) supported this view when they described ethnography as “a specialized form of fieldwork, in which culture is a central concept, where deep engagement over time with a culture is expected, and where a central goal is the presentation of an insider’s view of that culture” (p. 165). That brought me to the troubled question of what is culture and what a cultural perspective entailed.

### *Propriospect and culture: A possible heuristic device*

Goodenough (1973) affirmed, “The term ‘culture’ has acquired several different meanings in the last hundred years” (p. 17). Goodenough (1973) in his exploration of the relationship among language, culture, and society makes the distinction between the term culture, which he used to refer to what is learned, and the material manifestations of culture—cultural artifacts. Goodenough (1973) looked at culture as a product of human learning that involved things like standards, forms, propositions, beliefs, values, rules and public values, recipes, routines and customs, systems of customs, and meaning and function. In his attempt to confront the problem of the relation of culture to society, he makes distinctions and connections

between the individual and the group. These distinctions and connections helped to “guide my attention fruitfully<sup>94</sup>”.

Goodenough (1973) coined the term *propriospect* that he referred to as an individual’s private culture (p. 36). Propriospect is “an individual’s private, subjective view of the world and of its contents—his or her “personal outlook” (p. 36). I faced the challenge of assessing its use as a possible heuristic tool mindful of Wolcott’s (1991) claim that “it cannot be operationalized” (p. 264). Yet, Wolcott (1991) commends the concept as one that “calls attention and gives name to the idea that the repositories for the elements of lived cultural systems are the minds of individuals competent in those systems” (p. 264). Goodenough (1973) theorized that “People learn as individuals. Therefore if culture is learned, its locus must be in individuals rather than in groups” (p. 20). Although I agree the locus is in the individual, I believe that learning also comes out of the sharing that takes place between the individuals and among members of the group. Culture is learned and shared. Learning therefore is an individual and a shared experience and comes out of participation within the group. Goodenough (1976) also linked culture with anthropological practice and placed some emphasis on the role of the ethnographer in the process. He said,

In anthropological practice, the culture of any society is made up of concepts, beliefs, and principles of action and organization that an ethnographer has found could be attributed successfully to the members of that society in the context of his dealings with them. (p. 5)

I share Wolcott’s (1980) view that the concepts, beliefs, and practices are not on the ground or solely in the “minds of the informants.” I believe they come out of constructions and reconstructions during participation in the mas’ making activities, interactions with the members of the community, the ethnographer’s observations and field notes, transcriptions of interviews,

---

<sup>94</sup> Definition of heuristic found in Wikipedia Free Encyclopedia <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heuristic>

and analyses of the spoken words of the members of the community and the field notes. This view is in keeping with the epistemological stance I adopt in my research project.

### *Epistemological framing*

Although the methodological tradition allowed for an emergent design, this did not suggest that anything goes. I made “complex decisions grounded in assumptions about the nature of reality, the creation of knowledge and meanings, and the relationship between objectivity and subjectivity” (Preissle & Grant, 2004, p. 167). Constructionism, is the epistemology that best explains my understanding of and how I am viewing the world of the research project. Crotty (1998) defined constructionism as,

The view that all knowledge and therefore meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context. (p. 42)

Some of the features that Burr (1995) listed as identifying a social constructionist position resonated with my personal world views and seemed to fit with my conceptualization of the research project. Burr (1995) outlined the four broad social constructionist tenets as,

1. a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge
2. historical and cultural specificity
3. knowledge is sustained by social processes
4. Language and social action go together (pp. 2-5)

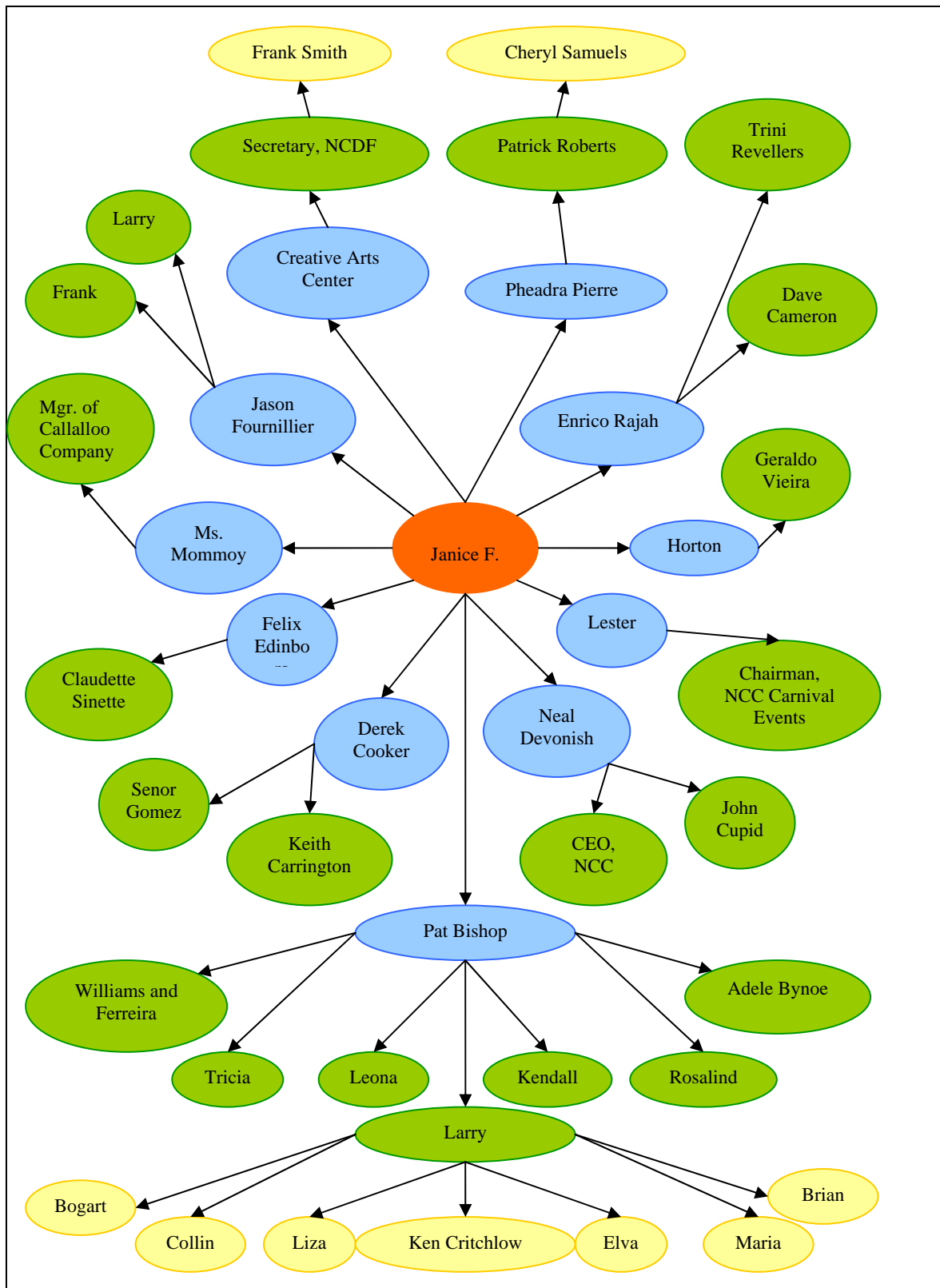
This epistemological frame resonated with me because it forced me to be critical of (1) my assumptions of how the world and in this case, the world of the community of mas’ makers, appears to be and (2) my influence of the development and outcomes of the project. The social constructionist philosophical stance assisted my desire to be ethically responsible and reflexive

throughout the process and enhanced my critical attitude toward the methods I used in the research project.

### *Networking strategy*

I did not set out to use network selection as my method for choosing the social units of study (Spradley, 1980). However, the experiences I had on a visit to a mas' camp when I was thinking through the project made me realize that the most appropriate method of selection was networking (LeCompte & Preissle, 1992). When I arrived in the field and things started to take their course, I seemed to have little choice but to accept networking as the strategy for gaining access, choosing the social situations, and accepting some persons as key actors (Fetterman, 1989) for my research project.

In Figure 12, I represent the network of persons with whom I connected, worked, and learned from during the research process. I am at the center of the network represented by the color red. The persons with whom I connected directly at the start of the process are in level one represented by the color blue. The people to whom level 1 members of the community introduced me are in level 2—color green. The level 2 members then connected me to members of the community in the yellow areas of the figure. The figure represents the networking process and how it snowballed. At the same time, it gives the reader an idea of the range of persons with whom I communicated throughout the process.



Legend: ● Level 1 ● Level 2 ● Level 3 ● Level 4

Figure 12 Networking. These are the various persons with whom I interacted and who assisted me in the process of exploring the learning and teaching practices.

### *Preparations for doing fieldwork*

During my visit<sup>95</sup> to Trinidad in November 2003, I made initial contacts with persons who eventually became key actors, friends, and co-workers. My visit contact was Pat Bishop, who in February 2004 was elected head of the Carnival Institute of Trinidad and Tobago. The Trinidad Express Editorial in commented on the reestablishment of the Institute,

The move, which we plead should be unfettered by political agendas, comes at what must be a last chance at appointing integrity to our cultural inheritance, giving the children of the late 20th century a chance to appreciate Carnival from a position of scholarship, even if the kinetic background of bacchanalia remains in the street-level demonstration I accessed during the planning stages of the research project. (Trinidad Express Newspapers, May 19<sup>th</sup> 2004)

I could not think of a more suitable person with whom to start the process. I remembered that Pat Bishop, artist, musical director and arranger of choral and steel band music, once visited the convent school at my request to talk to the students about Carnival mas' art. Having acquired the telephone number from a former coworker and teacher, I immediately called Pat at her home and requested a meeting to chat about my proposed research project. "When can you come?" Pat inquired on the telephone. I quickly replied, "Now," and was on my way driving along the East-West Corridor<sup>96</sup> of the country from Arima to Woodbrook, Port of Spain.

---

<sup>95</sup> See timeline in Appendix D

<sup>96</sup> See Figure 13. The area of the country between Port of Spain and Arima is referred to as the East-West Corridor.



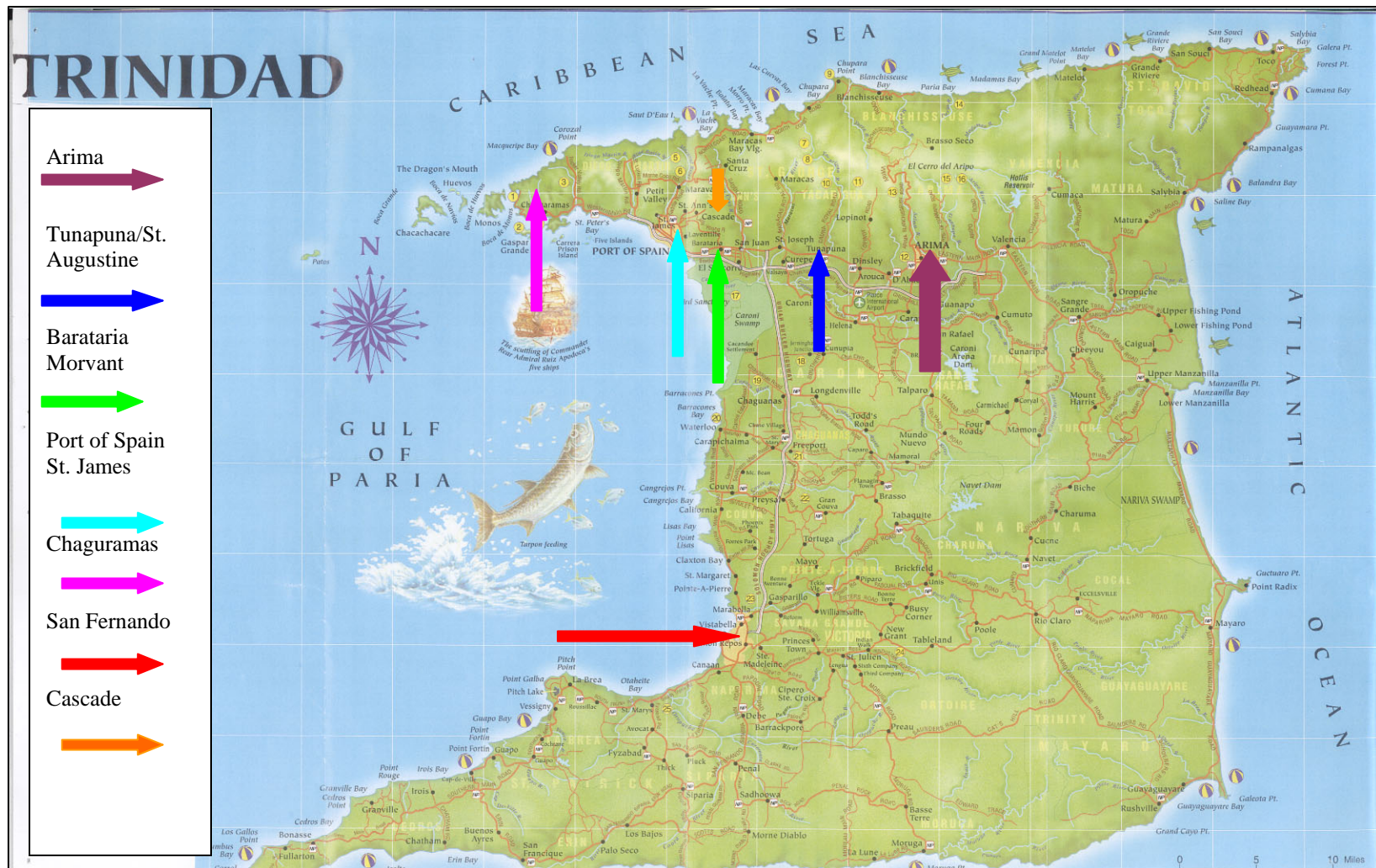


Figure 13: Map of Trinidad and Tobago and sites referred to in the dissertation

I nervously entered the house and rehearsed in my mind what I was going to ask her. Pat invited me into the bedroom because she did not feel well that day. “Is only my mind working,” she said, “every thing else want to shut down.” I sat in an arm chair beside her bed and the conversation began. This would be the first of my three meetings with Pat over the course of the research project. I began by reminding Pat that she had been my lecturer in Caribbean History during my undergraduate days, and we briefly reminisced about those times. I explained to her the ideas I had in mind, and we talked about the history of Carnival mas’ and its growth and development. Pat assured me, “Is a good idea,” in her normal matter-of-fact tone of voice. Her telephone book soon came out, and she began providing me with the names and telephone numbers of a list of persons whom she thought would be good, based on their knowledge of, and involvement in, Carnival mas’ art. These names included a mixture of male and female mas’ makers like Rosalind Gabriel, known for her work in Children’s Carnival, Williams and Pena, secondary schoolteachers, Larry Richardson, and Kendall De Peaza.

The clock was ticking away, and I was a bit nervous because I needed to be on my way to visit what I initially planned to be the social setting for the research project. I shared with Pat that I was about to visit the manager of the mas’ camp and was running a bit late. When Pat realized that I did not personally know the camp manager, she picked up the telephone and spoke to the secretary. “Tell Todd, Janice Fournillier is with me and might be a bit late for her appointment” (Journal entry, November, 2003). Relieved that Pat had alerted the mas’ camp of my possible late arrival, I quickly drove along the Western Main Road of Port of Spain and parked outside the big, old military bunker that houses the mas’ camp. The manager whom Ms. Mommy introduced to me via email, had not yet arrived. He telephoned earlier, according to the secretary,

to say he would be a bit late. I sat in the steaming warehouse office in Chaguramas and scoped the scene while I waited.

“I like your shoes,” were the first words with which the manager of the Callaloo Company mas’ camp greeted me as he entered the office. It was the ice breaker. I reminded him that he needed to return something Pat had loaned him. I was acting on Pat’s advice. We then chatted about the research project and the possibility of my spending some time in the camp. He agreed to my spending four months in the mas’ camp and to writing a letter to the university on the company’s letter head specifying that I was given permission to use the camp as my research site. I breathed a sigh of relief. I had conquered one of my worst fears—the unavailability of the site.

After leaving the mas’ camp in Chaguramas, I drove along the Western Main Road. onto the Eastern Main Road. that took me along the East-West corridor of the northern region of the country to the St. Augustine campus of the University of the West Indies. I was in search of informants whom Pat had recommended. Luck was on my side. Lawrence Richardson (Larry), a part-time lecturer in Carnival Studies, was in the small library room preparing for his class. He immediately invited me to attend his Saturday session where I could get an idea of how he taught the class and chat with him on my planned project. I took advantage of the opportunity and was there in the studio on Saturday morning. I did not realize that there I would meet Kendall, a wire bender and another of the persons whom Pat referenced in our chat.

When I left the field in November 2003 to return to the university in the United States, the selection process had begun. I was armed with the contact telephone numbers and addresses of four key actors who were familiar with mas’ making practices, and who had agreed to be part of the research project.

The period November 2003—October 2004 was spent writing the proposal. Having completed and defended the proposal in October 2004, I contracted with my committee to do an ethnographic study of the learning-teaching practices of a group of men and women involved in Trinidad Carnival mas' making process.

*Re-entering the field to do home-work and ethnography*

I do not think I ever left the field, “the social world of the study” (Preissle & Grant, 2004). The field was always with me because of my participation in various aspects of the festival, my thinking through of the research topic, the various readings, and the initial contacts I made in November 2003. But it was in November 2004, just as it was about time to don winter clothing, that I left one home for another, to formally observe “human interaction in context” (Preissle & Grant, 2004) to discover and explore the practices of mas' makers in the mas' camp.

I left my home at the university campus armed with my prospectus, a digital camera, a digital recorder, paper, pencils, my lap top, and tropical clothing that the airline never delivered. I was about to reenter the field site, my native land, to begin the next phase of the dissertation process—collection of data resources and beginning analysis. At the back of my mind was the advice from my committee members to expect the unexpected, go with the flow, and “keep in touch.” I felt a twinge of nervous unease and excitement about reentering the field. I was returning to a space that for half a century was the only place I called home.

I did not enter the field *tabula rasa* because I wrote my proposal based on my readings, reflections on the topic, and discussions with the members of my committee. Practice, identity, community, and meaning were the components of the social theory of learning that I adopted. I was working with the concept of social participation as a process of learning. The process of

*legitimate peripheral participation* Lave and Wenger (1991) proposed as a central defining characteristic of this view of learning. Lave and Wenger (1991) explained that the concept,

*Legitimate peripheral participation* provides a way to speak about the relations between newcomers and old-timers, and about activities, identities, artifacts, and communities of knowledge and practice. It concerns the process by which newcomers become part of a community of practice. A person's intentions to learn are engaged and the meaning of learning is configured through the process of becoming a full participant in a sociocultural practice. This social process includes, indeed it subsumes, the learning of knowledgeable skills. (p. 29)

I envisioned this as another of the heuristics that could guide my attention during these fieldwork and data analyses phases of the research process. Spindler suggested that this etic knowledge had to be laid aside temporarily "to allow the emic point of view of the 'native' to be recorded and understood" (Spindler, 2000. p. 40). I argue that it was difficult to put this knowledge aside, but I tried and seemed forced to do so when I encountered some of the challenges of fieldwork. I made the final decision about the choice of fieldwork sites based on the dilemma that I encountered on reentering the field, the network of contacts that were available to me, the advice of members of the community, and my ability to access the places.

*Jude's Rules for Research* came back to haunt me as I began the selection process. Jude cautions, "If you've anticipated all the ways something in your research can go wrong and if you've circumvented all these ways, some unexpected way of going wrong will occur" (Preissle, 1996). What could be worse than discovering, when I reentered the field, that the site I had selected was no longer available? As I sat in the hangar that served as a mas' camp for Callaloo Company and a work space to many mas' makers, the words that came out of the mouth of my

gatekeeper stung my ears like a *jack spaniard*<sup>51</sup>. He quietly said, “We will not be producing a band this year, but I can direct you to other bands and persons with whom you can work and collect data” (Jotted notes, November 23, 2004). I had feared that something like this might happen but to actually hear the words come out of his mouth was all it took to send me in a tail spin. I left the building and the two large Doberman dogs and drove slowly along the Western Main Road, Port of Spain, and back to my sister’s home in Trincity. I was shell shocked. “What was I going to do now? To whom will I turn?” These were some of the thoughts that invaded my mind. I sat at my computer and wrote a reflective letter and sent it off to my committee members and my friend, Director of Student Services. I felt devastated, but tried to remain calm.

A committee member’s response to my field note letter comforted me. She wrote, “I think you will have to go with your instincts on sites/settings—in the end your research may develop in ways that you can’t anticipate” (Roulston, 2004). I could not let despair get the better of me and so I began to consider alternatives.

I pulled out my blue notebook in which I had stored the contact numbers, jotted notes from my first visit and recorded names of persons with whom I chatted during my November 2003 visit to the site. My first call was to a parent of one of my former students who had promised to put me in contact with one of the leading mas’ makers, Geraldo Vieira, who was known for introducing pyrotechnics into Carnival. I remembered from my readings that Ramnauth (2001) described Vieira as being responsible for some of the more technically unusual costumes seen in the King of Carnival competition over the last few years. Mr. Horton had assured me that the man “was like his brother,” and if I needed an introduction he would be willing to provide. I waited while Mr. Horton made contact with the mas’ maker.

---

<sup>51</sup> See Glossary of terms Appendix A

As I awaited a response from Mr. Horton, I let my fingers do the walking, as the Trinidad and Tobago Telephone Company had advertised, and I got in touch with Kendall and Larry whom I had met in November 2003. Kendall vaguely remembered me, but agreed to a meeting at his home in Morvant, a small outlying village on the outskirts of the city of Port of Spain. I drove along the East-West Corridor, and at the Lady Young Road, turned right and followed the directions that Kendall gave me on the telephone. I got there without much difficulty. However, the media reports of the high rate of crime in the area made me a bit hesitant and uneasy. I wore a pair of jeans and no jewelry. I took a note book and my camera with me in a small bag pack. I packed the mobile telephone just in case I got lost and needed help. Kendall later assured me that the violence and crime were not in this section of the area and allayed my fears.

Inside and outside of the house bore signs of the craftsman. There were bits of wire on the floor, and pieces of the mas' art work hung from the ceiling adorning the outside and inside of the house. It was the Christmas season in Trinidad, and decorations were in place amidst the cleaning and preparation for the big day December 25<sup>th</sup>. Kendall apologized for the state of the house. This scene was a familiar one. It is customary to turn things around, do heavy house cleaning and refurnishing at Christmas time. The Christmas decorations on the stair leading to the bedrooms and kitchen were their creations. They were made from the same wire that Kendall used in his mas' making. He was happy to show me how he used the wire for things other than mas' making. He gave me permission to take pictures of the artifacts.





Figure 14: Carnival and Christmas at the home of Kendall and Mona

I spent two and a half hours on the morning of November 30<sup>th</sup> 2004 chatting with Kendall. I used this first meeting to reconnect and to brief him on the research project. He shared with me his plans for Carnival 2005 and the kinds of mas' making and teaching activities he was involved in over the past year. My understanding of how a mas' camp operates began during my initial visit with Kendall. Although Kendall worked with Minshall and Callaloo Company, his home also served as his mas' camp. Kendall recounted how he had made numerous pieces of costumes for *Jungle Fever*<sup>52</sup> at his home and reminisced on the number of young men in the community whom he brought to learn the skills and work with him in the production process. Here was one way, one kind of space I found myself thinking, in which mas' making works. I did not know before I arrived at the house that Kendall worked at home. In addition to the follow up interview I met Kendall and his family at Carnival events and was able to see their handiwork in the form of the grand daughter's 2005 Carnival costume.

---

<sup>52</sup> Minshall mas' 1981 Trinidad Carnival





Figure 15: Kendall's granddaughter at the Queen's Park Savannah

Kendall shared with me some unfinished products and photographs of previous costumes he had made over the years. He smiled as he described his involvement in the creation of the various costumes for his granddaughter. At the end of this first meeting, Kendall agreed to an audio recorded semiformal interview and we set a date for December 12<sup>th</sup> 2004 at his mas' camp home



Figure 16: Kendall and Mona: Wire benders and mas' makers

As we ended the chat, Kendall suggested possible spaces that I could observe and informed me that Larry, through whom I initially contacted Kendall, was working with a mas' camp in the Woodbrook, Port of Spain. With this knowledge in hand, I set out to find Larry and the mas' camp.

### *Gaining access to the Art Factory*

Anyone who knows Larry will say, as Kendall said during our conversation, “He is the most difficult man to find.” After two weeks of phone calls, I finally caught up with Larry and met with him at his work place on the campus where he taught the Carnival Studies class. He agreed to meet me at the mas' camp site in Woodbrook, Port of Spain.

Larry never arrived at the first planned meeting, but I located the mas' camp. This mas' camp, which became my next home during the Carnival season, was on Ariapita Avenue next to the well-known *cowheel* soup shop (a one-door shop that sells a local soup made from the heel of the cow).



Figure 17: MacFarlane's mas' camp 2005

I was one block away from the Lapeyrouse Cemetery. At this cemetery we placed the remains of my father, grandmother, and some uncles and aunts. I could not miss the camp. To the front of the building was a large drawing of one of the costumes and the eye of conscience, (a design of one of the costumes for the 2005 mas' production) loomed large and seemed to glare at me as I approached the building. The white walls of the room were covered with black and white drawings of the costumes with prices ranging from \$1,065 to \$2,190.



Figure 18: Brian McFarlane band leader-designer shows the costume to a prospective mas' player in the office of the mas' camp<sup>53</sup>

I can still see Newton, Dale, or Tamara<sup>54</sup> sitting at the computer behind the counter where Brian and Dale are standing. They await persons who come to the camp to register to play in the band. The calypso music in this section of the camp was loud enough to be heard, but soft enough to allow for conversation between the office personnel and prospective mas' players

---

<sup>53</sup> Photos: Anthony Harris (Trinidad Guardian online, February 3<sup>rd</sup>.2005)

who, like Dale Enoch in the picture, visit the mas' camp to view the prototypes<sup>55</sup> and designs and make decisions about which sections of the band they would like to play mas' with on Carnival Monday and Tuesday.

I returned to the camp in search of the elusive Larry. Newton, at the front desk, remembered me from the previous visit. He was certain I was there to register for the band. I inquired about Larry, and he seemed a bit puzzled. He was not sure who Larry was. I realized later on that he was new to the job and was not familiar with the persons who worked in the back. The door leading out of the office opened, and Larry appeared. Was I relieved! Larry became my key actor, coresearcher, tutor, and friend. He helped me enter the gate of the *MacFarlane's mas' camp*. He immediately introduced me to the production manager, whom he had spoken to before about the possibility of my coming to the camp. The production manager agreed to allow me to visit and spend time in the camp where he said, "Extra hands are always needed."

From December 2004 to February 2005, this mas' camp became one of the spaces in which I spent time, participated in the mas' making process, observed the members of the community, took photographs, chatted with those who worked, participated in mas' making, played mas' with the band, and identified key actors for follow-up ethnographic interviews.

---

<sup>54</sup> Office staff at MacFarlane's mas' camp in charge of registration and personal assistant to Brian.

<sup>55</sup> A prototype is a sample of the costume.



Figure 19: Women at work: Decorators in the mas' camp  
*Grace, Bubbles, and Janice at work in the mas' camp.*

Meanwhile, Mr. Horton established contact with Geraldo Vieira and made arrangements for me to meet with him at his mas' camp in Barataria, a small suburban town on the outskirts of Port of Spain and northeast of Morvant. I walked up the drive-way of the building and pushed the gate. I soon discovered that I needed to press the buzzer to announce my arrival. I heard a click that meant that the gate could now be opened. I pushed the gate and let myself in. I then entered a glass sliding door that opened onto a small air-conditioned room. I was surprised at the level of security. I introduced myself to the young man in his twenties and an older woman who were seated in the office. I told them that I had come to meet with Mr. Vieira. I was told that he was expecting me, but had just stepped out for a moment.

The two persons continued to chat about an event in the newspaper. I soon picked up that the young man was Geraldo Vieira Junior. He was excited about his success as the designer of

the costume for the Best Village Queen<sup>56</sup> competition. Gerry was proud of his accomplishment and soon began to describe his experiences of working in Best Village and in Carnival. He showed me his portfolio of work and the costumes he had designed over the years. I would soon discover that he was also a mas' player and had been designing and making costumes along with his father for years. This was the father and son team who worked out of the space at the back of the office. It did not take us long to establish a rapport and so we chatted about his secondary school experiences and his growth and development as an artist.

Geraldo Vieira Senior returned, and our research relation began. The master craftsman agreed to become my teacher and to allow me to be part of all the activities in the mas' camp. I returned to the camp on numerous occasions, to observe Geraldo, his son, and the workers building the king and queen costumes for Trini Revellers, one of the popular large mas' bands that had won the national Carnival competition in 2004. I participated in the decorating of the costumes, engaged in informal conversations with members of the community in the mas' camp, and held two semiformal interviews with Gerald Vieira Senior who gave me written and oral consent to use the data.

It was difficult to decide if I chose the camp or they chose me because I felt accepted and a member of the community on my first visit. It was even more gratifying when, on my final visit before leaving for the United States, the office manager, Pat, gave me two items of clothing as a farewell gift.

As early as this first visit in December 2004, Geraldo Vieira invited me to view the entire mas' camp, gave me a tour of the building, and talked about the activities and tasks performed in the mas' camp and their plans for the king and queen costume for 2005.

---

<sup>56</sup> Best Village is a local arts and culture festival in which the various villages throughout the country showcase aspects of arts and culture: Drama, music. There is also a Best Village Queen show. Gerry designed the costume for



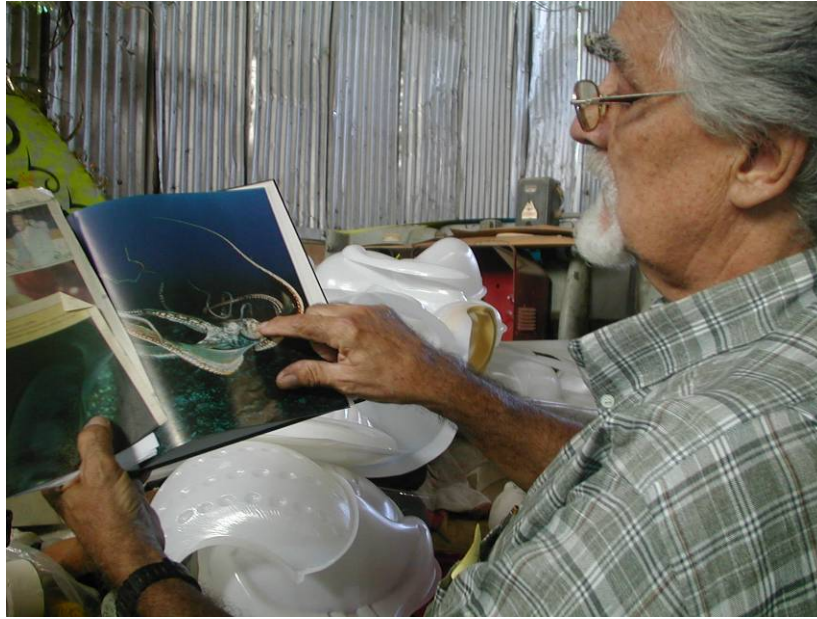


Figure: 20: Geraldo Vieira: Craftsman, mas' maker  
*Geraldo Vieira at work explaining the king costume for Carnival 2005*

The backdoor of the air conditioned office opened onto a room filled with large machines used to create plastic molds. This was a factory building that also served as a mas' camp for the production of kings and queens costumes and molds for other bands.

The large 5000 square feet of space that housed the molding machines, was also the storehouse for the costumes made over the years and the new ones being constructed. This site was different from the first one in which I had been accepted, and the arrangements seemed different. I felt a level of openness and acceptance and remembered from my reading that Vieira was said to have been the man to introduce *pyrotechnics* into Carnival (Ramnauth, 2001), and this therefore made me decide to also spend time in this camp and with the persons at work here.

Gaining access to the third mas' camp in which I spent time was quite simple. Everyone in my family knew I was doing research on Carnival and no longer had access to the planned site. Jason, my son, heard from one of his clients that there was an excellent mas' maker in the

---

the Best Village Queen of Barataria, his home town.

southern region of the country, San Fernando, who would welcome me to the camp. His client provided him with the address and contact numbers. The research officers at the Carnival Institute who worked with Pat Bishop and with whom I had met and discussed what I was doing had also recommended this mas' camp and provided me with a list of names and numbers of persons whom they believed would yield valuable information.

Having contacted the organizers of this mas' camp site via telephone, I drove down from St. Augustine to San Fernando to meet with them and to share my ideas for the research project. The owner of the band, Lionel Jagessar, was busy at work on a costume when I arrived at around nine a.m. that morning to chat with him about the possibility of using the camp as one of my research sites and interviewing him and members of the camp. Calypso music was blaring in the background, and three other men were working on some headpieces when I arrived. I was welcomed, and Lionel told me, "Make yourself at home, you know how it is here." I sat on one of the stools and looked on while he ironed the feathers. The space was much smaller and more intimate than either of the other two camps and bore signs of age. Many bonnets, Indian style headpieces<sup>57</sup>, hung from the galvanized ceiling of the shed. These bonnets were being made for a large mas' band in Port of Spain, Tribes. I was given the opportunity to try on one of the headpieces, and the men commented on how good I looked wearing the headpiece. "Take a picture".

I spent the day in the camp chatting with Lionel who began telling me his life history as a mas' maker. I listened patiently and attentively. In the middle of the story telling he asked, "You taping this?" I explained that I would like to spend some time observing and participating before I did the more formal interviews and I would need written or oral consent to do the taping. He was surprised since "Oh, I used to people coming and asking me questions and taping so I



thought you was taping” (Field notes, 2005). I also learned very early that in a mas’ camp “lunch time is when you get time for lunch.” At around 1:00 p.m. Lionel invited me to come to their “castle” with him. The house was within walking distance from the camp. I sat and chatted with Rose, his wife, who shared their accomplishments as band leaders and king and queen of their band over the past 25 years and her work in events planning and decorating.



Figure 21: Frank making bonnets at Lionel Jagessar's mas' camp

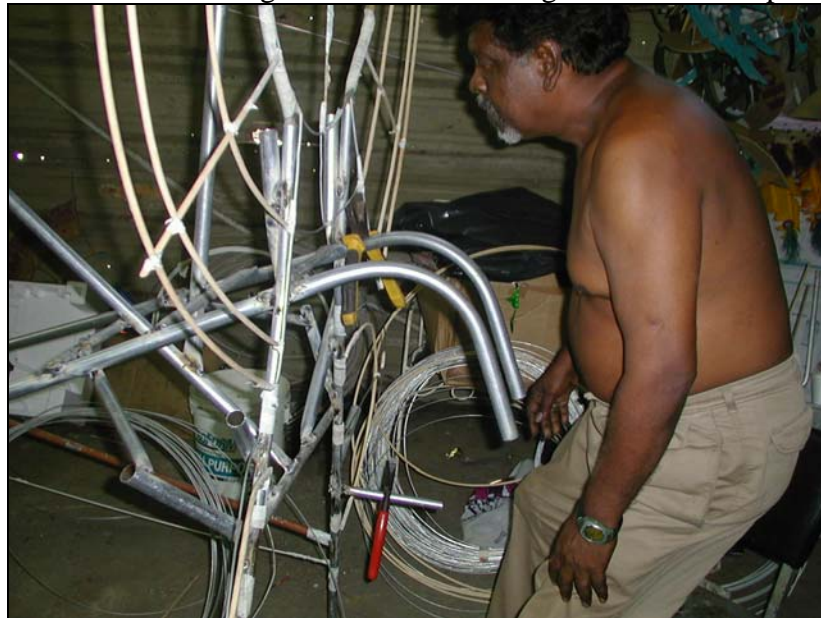


Figure 22: Lionel Jagessar: Band leader, mas' maker

---

<sup>57</sup> See Figure 21



Figure 23: Rose Jagessar: Carnival 2005  
*Rose Jagessar at Carnival Queen Competition 2005 (Field Notes, 2005)*

By the first second week of December 2004, I had access to three different social settings from which I could observe and participate in the mas' making process. I was still concerned that I was not able to connect with female mas' makers who were leaders in the field and decided to pay a visit to Rosalind Gabriel's mas' camp in Woodbrook. I contacted her via Adele Bynoe, a teacher at the St. Mary's Children's home in Tacarigua who did the choreography for Rosalind's band and could get me access to the camp.

After interviewing Adele, she quickly set things in motion for me to meet with Rosalind. This was another of the camps in the Woodbrook area not far from MacFarlane's. I entered the large iron gate and made my way to the back of the building. I was directed to what looked like a living room to meet Rosalind Gabriel. I found myself in the presence of a familiar looking face. We smiled at each other and made introductions. I immediately asked, "Are you Rosalind Hadeed from Holy Name?" We both laughed out loudly and could not believe that we were

meeting each other for the first time since we left secondary school. It was a meeting of old school mates. Access was easier than I had imagined. Rosalind immediately began sharing with me her experiences as a mas' maker, showed me around the three bedroom house, the backyard where the real work takes place, and the pantry and rooms that served as store room areas. She invited me to view the work, take photographs of what was being done, and agreed to chat with me anytime. I then realized that my two nephews were also playing in the band and was amazed that Rosalind could immediately identify them by name.



Figure 24: Rosalind Gabriel's mas' camp: Her daughter showing me the costumes

These four spaces proved to be different in kinds of mas' making activities. They provided me with opportunities to experience mas' making through participant observation and formal and informal chats with members of the community. I now needed to make the decision about who and what I would choose to observe and who I would select for more in-depth conversations about the mas' making practices.

### *Process of selecting key actors*

As an official guest of the Chairman of the National Carnival Commission, I was able to attend most of the Carnival functions that previewed Carnival. Through this association, I came in contact with many more members of the mas' making community. Everyone knew someone who "would be good for your project." Riggio (1998), in doing her ethnographic study of Trinidad Carnival, claimed that she received help from a large number of persons without their wanting to control the process. Above all, she claimed, "It is no exaggeration to say that almost everyone in Trinidad is an expert on Carnival" (p. 21). I deliberately used the concept of selection, which LeCompte and Preissle (1992) claimed is "a more general process of focusing and choosing what to study" (p. 57) and more appropriate to doing ethnography. My initial selection units were based on the persons who were involved in the various kinds of mas' making practices, who were willing to be part of the study, and who were accessible.

My participation in the activities and informal conversations with personnel at the Carnival Institute taught me that there were different types of camps, mas' creations, and mas' makers. One member interpreted them as the *Canboulay* and the *Mardi Gras*<sup>58</sup>. Although I interviewed a range of mas' makers from different kinds of mas' camps and mas' making traditions, I found myself drawn more to what community members like Patrick, a mas' maker, designer and producer of Children's Carnival mas', were calling Canboulay type mas'. This mas' does not place as much emphasis on bikinis and beads and feathers. I am certain that learning takes place in those kinds of mas' camps. However, on reflection, it would seem that my network was less connected to the *Mardi Gras* type mas' bands where it is believed that the only activity that takes place is the gluing of beads and feathers.

### *Participant observation and field Notes*

My purpose in observing the mas' camps was to explore how members learn to make mas' and to identify and develop a rapport with members of the community who would be willing to teach me what they know about the process. As part of my proposal, I created a guide<sup>59</sup> using the following dimensions: (1) the physical space, (2) the persons involved, (3) the kinds of activities observed, (4) the physical things that were present, (5) sequencing of events, (6) the things they were trying to accomplish, and (7) emotions felt and expressed (Spradley, 1980. p. 78).

The degree and form of participation and observations in the various mas' camps influenced how much of the preceding list I was able to physically record in writing. The dimensions were always at the forefront of my mind but there was no paper or pencil or note card on which I was writing the observations. The community was more accepting of photographs than note taking. Having intuited this from the encouragement I received to take photographs, my digital camera became my major field note tool. The other tools were my digital recorder and my memory in which I recorded details of the social situation in the car on my way home from a setting. I then transcribed and expanded on these notes when I got home. If I were to be as unobtrusive as possible, then taking written notes in the mas' camps was not an option. I traveled with a yellow note pad in my car and made hurried jottings on my return to the car.

On my way home from a visit to the mas' camp in San Fernando, I taped the observations on my digital recorder and later that evening typed them into my Franklyn Covey Plan Plus for Windows program. I used the program to schedule appointments and to make notes. I used my

---

<sup>58</sup> See Glossary of terms in Appendix A

<sup>59</sup> See Appendix F

brief notes and expanded them as field notes. These notes became part of the data set that I stored on *Atlas-ti* data analysis computer software.

**Expanded field notes, Monday 22<sup>nd</sup> January 2005**

*I arrived at the mas' camp in San Fernando at 10:30 am. The father is seated on the chair putting the frame of the king's head piece together ...his first words were " I thought of you recently." He is busy at work since the competition is due to take place in three days' time. Now is crunch time. The son Larry is at work at the other side of the room. Frank is at work on the south of Lionel. There were three other men in the camp. One is making a head piece for Harts' costume and the other is cutting out patterns. One man is standing next to Lionel and passing materials and instruments to him as he works on completing the frame. Large pieces of the king and queen costume adorn the camp. Rose comes in and out and gives instructions to the workers and attends to the needs of the men in terms of providing them with cigarettes and food. I am also provided with lunch and given a task to perform. I begin work on one of the wings for the king's costume. ....my phone rang at around six p.m. It was Pat from Vieira's camp asking if I could come and give them a hand. I made the decision to leave the camp in San Fernando and head out to Barataria. I promised the Jagessar's I would come back the following morning to work with the band and then take Rose to Port of Spain.*

The four mas' camps were in different physical locations—north, east, and south Trinidad. They were all involved in producing costumes for Carnival 2005. In one mas' camp, the Art Factory, the focus was on making the costumes for sections of the band and the king and queen costume. It was a mas' camp where most parts of the costume with the exception of the body suit, were being produced in the camp. It was a medium sized band and the band leader's

first production. Many of the workers, I soon discovered, were from the Callaloo Company and had gained most of their experience there. Instead of beads and feathers they used local materials to create parts of the costumes like the head pieces and the decorations for the body suits. The parts of the costume that came in the form of material were being sewn by the seamstress at a different location.

Rosalind's family type band was producing costumes for Children's mas' and involved members who have been with the band for many years and young women who played with the band as children and returned to assist with the production.

In San Fernando the mas' camp was producing headpieces for bands in Port of Spain, making their king and queen of the band costume and those for individual members of the 2005 production Los Indios.

In the east, Vieira was doing molding for a host of bands, and making the costume for a sailor mas'. All the mas' work was being done on site. I realize now that I spent more time observing the mas' camps in the north and the east because of accessibility. It took me between twenty five minutes and forty five minutes to drive from St. Augustine where I lived to Barataria or Woodbrook while it took a little more than an hour to get to San Fernando.

I continued to visit and observe at three of the four mas' camps because (1) they offered a view of a variety of ways in which mas' making works, (2) the situations offered easy access and I was free to observe and participate in most activities, (3) I was able to remain unobtrusive by assuming the role of a volunteer worker, (4) I had the support of members of the community—the administration and the workers, and (5) I was able to see certain practices repeatedly done in the different situations (Spradley, 1980). Although I selected the camps based on those criteria listed, they offered different degrees and forms of participant observation.



### *Degrees and forms of participation*

I operated in a manner that suited the individual camps. In the Art Factory, MacFarlane's camp, the first day I entered the camp, I was introduced to the four persons sitting on wooden stools at the work tables. Larry provided me with a stool and gave brief instructions on what I should do. He must have seen the look of surprise on my face, and he quietly told me that that was how it worked here. You are thrown in at the deep end. The impression I got was that, if you want to learn how to make mas', then you have to get your hands dirty. I was in a state of shock and scared that I would make a mistake. I was put to do papier mâché. I sat next to Jahwan, a young man in his early twenties, observed him, and tried to follow what he was doing. I did not talk much except to ask if I was going ok. He tried to assure me that there was no need to be afraid—just paste the paper on and make sure the ends meet neatly. I was using a mixture in a tin can and a paint brush and strips of paper and putting it onto a plastic mold. It seemed like I was taking an hour to do what Jahwan was doing in fifteen minutes. It was my first learning experience. I stuck it out for the rest of the afternoon and evening. I would classify my degree of participation in the mas' making activities of this camp as high. I would not say complete because I was free to come and leave and could take a break and take pictures and chat with members without feeling stressed or obliged to keep working. I reflected on this experience when I got home that evening and wondered if I could survive the season. I was exhausted and I only did one day's work.

I was an official volunteer worker and given tasks to do like any other worker during the Carnival season. I was put to work with other persons at times and on one occasion was given a specific task. I sometimes thought that members of the community forgot that I was only a volunteer. I remember the occasion when someone gave me the task of cleaning a machine as



though it was a normal request to make of a worker. I must admit that I was not very happy but did the task nonetheless. It seemed to me as though I was being taken for granted because I was there regularly and performing tasks like any other worker. I made a mental picture of what seemed to be a power play. Was this a part of becoming a member of the community?

I moved between insider and outsider, participant and observer. I sometimes acted as full participant without observing like an insider, and at other times I was able to act as a full observer and an outsider. I arrived at the Queen's Park Savannah where the kings and queens of the various bands were assembling for the preliminary judging of the costumes as an outsider to this camp. The other members of the Art Factory group with whom I had been working for the past four weeks were all dressed in T-Shirts displaying the band's name. I was not a part of this group that evening. I stood at a distance and watched the group construct the costume and put the pieces together. Liza, the other graduate student researcher, and I realized at that moment that although we worked at the camp almost every day, we were still outsiders. We were able to be detached observers at this point. As we moved from costume to costume, and watched the constructions, we debriefed on our experiences thus far and made comparisons. We were surprised given our differences in ethnicity and citizenship that we had similar feelings and experiences. She was thinking that as a Trinidadian I would be much more of an insider and was surprised to discover that I felt like an outsider in the social settings. We were both visiting the same mas' camps and so it was easy to share on the experiences. On Carnival days when I adorned the band's costumes and watched the band on stage, I was a full participant. I knew what went wrong with my costume and who could make the adjustments. I was an insider to the process and to who could adjust it easily. I too was learning the process and becoming a member of the community.

At the Vieira mas' camp, my participation was moderate. But I was given access to most of the plans for the costumes and invited to be part of the processes. I was made an insider. Liza and I were provided with passes to enter the competition site with the group. We were a part of the team assembling the queen's costume on the days of the competition. I chose to be an observer on the days of the semifinals and finals of the kings and queens competitions so that I could observe the mas' making activities of many more bands and use a wide angle lens to view the social situations. When I visited the mas' camp, I was encouraged to take pictures and the processes were explained to me. Geraldo explained how he made the molds. I looked on as Gerry prepared the concrete, and they filled the frames and prepared the mold.

As the costume developed, Geraldo Senior, my teacher, explained the processes, and I took pictures of the various stages. I was given free access to all the activities. I shared in the grief of the camp when the Octopus, the king's costume, did not make it past the semifinals of the competition. I knew what the costume for the final night was going to be like and the plans we had for its final presentation. Geraldo was sad, as he said to me, "*They buff<sup>60</sup> me. They said I should ah know better. We should ah open up the octopus so they could see the jewels or light it up or something.*" It put a damper on the camp. But the members of the camp rose up and continued making the queen costume. I saw them mold and decorate the individual fruits and assisted in putting on thousands of pieces of decoration on the queen's costume. I was able to fully experience the work involved in making a king and queen costume. This observation experience made it much easier for me to do a taped informal interview at the end of the season. It was an opportunity to delve deeper and to gain a more in-depth understanding of his pyrotechnics for which he has become famous in mas' making.

---

<sup>60</sup> See Glossary of terms Appendix A

In the third mas' camp in San Fernando, where I spent about 24 hours observing the camp, I was less of a participant and more of an observer. I assisted in the decorating process, but observed and took photographs of the work in progress more than participated. I was not able to participate as fully or spend more than three full days in the camp because of the distance from where I was staying and my involvement in the other two camps. I thought it was important to observe this camp because of the difference between the kind of mas' they were making and the warmth and hospitality they extended. I felt guilty about not being able to visit more regularly, but could not stretch myself any more.

From these observations, I was able to collect data on the physical spaces in which the participants worked, the social and organizational structure of the spaces, and the kinds of practices that took place. Participant observations in the three social settings provided me a wider lens with which to explore mas' making practices than a single site visit would have permitted. My participation in the mas' making activities and the relationships I developed in the social situations made the scheduling of the ethnographic interviews simple. My one extended visit to Rosalind's mas' camp and our subsequent interview provided me with sufficient data to allow me to realize as I reviewed the material that her experiences contributed to my understanding of mas' making from the perspective of a female member of the mas' making community.

### *Interviewing the members of the community*

Spradley (1979) comments that an ethnographic interview is "a series of friendly conversations into which the researcher slowly introduces new elements to assist informants to respond as informants" (p. 58). The objective is "to discover the cultural meanings people have learned" (p. 123) My interviews were not as rigidly structured as Spradley's (1979, 1980). In most cases the taped interview was a follow up to my interaction with the person in the field. In

other cases the interview took more life history quality, as the member shared in detail how he or she came to mas' or mas; came to him or her. I found Heyl's (2001) guidelines useful for considering the quality of the interview. It did not limit the interaction between the member and myself. I needed to be able to explore the practices and understand the mas' makers' perspectives, but I was concerned that I did not dominate and overpower the interaction. I tried to construct the interview session to allow for some of features that Heyl (2001) suggested:

1. Listen well and respectfully, developing ethical engagement with the participant at all stages of the project;
2. Acquire a self awareness of our role in the co-construction of meaning during the interview process;
3. Be cognizant of ways in which both the ongoing relationship and the broader social context affect the participants, the interview process, and the project outcomes; and
4. Recognize the dialogue is discovery and only partial knowledge will ever be attained. (p. 370)

These guidelines were helpful for considering the coconstruction of the interview process. I was the one asking the questions and leading the conversation. Because of my objective I tried to steer the conversation in the direction I needed, but I tried to listen respectfully when it did not go that way. Often I was forced to let go and allow the members to share things and issues about which they felt deeply. On these occasions the members were unknowingly demonstrating who had the power. I was the student and they were the teachers. My objective was to learn from them about mas' making and the meanings they were making of their individual practices.

### *The interview: Process and product*

I began the more formal interviews by providing the member with an overview of the project. I did not read from a script, but instead chose to ad lib the goal of the project and my interest in mas' making practices. I then asked for consent to use the data, which in most cases was given orally and taped along with the interview. If it was an informal interview, I would generally talk about my project by responding to their questions about what I was doing in the U.S.A. and why I came to the mas' camp. Sometimes, the interview took time to begin because the member wanted to share some deep hurt or feeling about their experience over the Carnival season. I did not tape these sections of the interview, but listened respectfully until I found a time to ask a question that would begin the more formal part of the interview. Much of what we talked about could not be used in the research because of the confidentiality of the sharing. I would begin by saying, "*So tell me how you learn to do this thing? I am really interested in finding out how you learn to make mas'?*" That would be the cue for the person to begin telling their stories about how mas' making worked for them. Senor Gomez immediately began telling me his story before I could even get the tape going, and then he suddenly realized this and said to me,

**Senor Gomez:** *You see over the years well let me give you a synopsis about how I started. You ready?*

**Janice:** *Yes, yes, yes (turns on the tape recorder).*

**Senor Gomez:** *I started as a fellow um, into mas' camps. But you know at that time you had to run away, you had to run away from home to get into a mas camp and to see anything. And in those days the carnival wasn't how it is now, and then we had a band on 114 Queen Street.....and my first mas' I play in Tokyo was in those days they used to call it... a sailor mas'. With the ship. You know it wasn't as fancy as it is today. It just*

*would be you long nose, you know, but that come after they make the long nose sailor from the merino. They use to put cotton and use to have the nose all about...you cut out your eyes and a mouth and you put a little rouge. And then you use to skin it on your head and so on. And you have your little basket with fruits and thing and then you have your chip up paper and you can't play mas' without powder. ....All of this is what you call the input that what you use to get from the Mariner, American sailor coming from the ship*

**Janice:** *So you kind of mimicking them?*

**Senor Gomez:** *You mimicking them yes. And then after you go along, you re-design a mariner into a fancy sailor.*

**Janice:** *So you start off as a mariner?*

**Senor Gomez:** *Of course that is the foundation.....*

*But anyhow coming back to my input into carnival*

I was patient and in between his story steered the conversation to the practices involved in mas' making. As I probed, Senor Gomez brought out some material and began to give me my first lesson.

**Janice:** *You know I was interested in when you were talking about using the thumb and showing them how to make a shape.....*

**Senor Gomez:** *You catch me at a good time....they say early bird.....I will demonstrate this a little bit [He goes to the kitchen and comes back with wire]*

**Janice:** *What size wire is this?*

**Senor:** *This is gauge ...you buy a roll and you decide how much you want sometimes it might cost a hundred dollars...the thinner the gauge the bigger the wire.....*



Figure 25: Senor Gomez demonstrates wire bending<sup>61</sup>

The grand tour (Spradley, 1979) questions were the ones I generally used in the interviews but I tailored them to suit the individual and his or her role in the mas' making community. When I interviewed Brian, designer and band leader of "The Washing by fire by water," one of the grand tour questions was this:

**Janice:** *Let's start with the brain child; tell me how the idea came to you.*

**Brian:** *The idea came about because.....And I and Andre we are going to buy fish and I say it again and again I said and the biblical use of by fire by water and so we joined the words so people will have to decipher it as well I think.*

Brian gives me a detailed explanation of the process and then I follow up with the question:

**Janice:** *Now you have to bring it into being. What happens after that?*

The purpose of the interviews was to (1) gather the member's perspective on the practices of learning to make mas', (2) seek clarification on some things I did not understand while I was

---

<sup>61</sup> Picture from field notes data. This picture was taken while Senor Gomez was demonstrating to me how he teaches his students to do wire bending "the thumb, the thumb, is the controlling piece, the main thing".

observing and participating, and (3) discover the meanings they were making of the practices. Because I worked for two months observing in these mas' camp, there were many incidents and activities I could bring to the dialogue. Some of the issues, for reasons of confidentiality, I cannot share. But they gave me a better insight into the organizational structure of the mas' camp and some of the tensions I was feeling and did not always understand. I did not perceive the tensions and conflict as negative. Wenger (1998) made it clear although the term "community" is usually a very positive one, that does not isolate it from tensions and conflict. Wenger made a point that I kept before me as I observed and interviewed:

In real life, mutual relations among participants are complex mixtures of power and dependence, pleasure and pain, expertise and helplessness, success and failure, amassment and deprivation, alliance and competition, ease and struggle, authority and collegiality, resistance and compliance, anger and tenderness, attraction and repugnance, fun and boredom, trust and suspicion, friendship and hatred. Communities of practice have all. (p. 77)

I collected 30 hours 19 minutes and 12 seconds of audiotaped interviews using a digital recorder that noted time, date, and length of session<sup>62</sup>. I transcribed those that I found most relevant after listening to all the taped interviews. The recorder was linked to its own transcribing machine that showed the details of the interview. The audio transcribing machine allowed for book marking of sections. I could return to sections of the interview and listen more closely to ensure I was transcribing exactly what was said. The Trinidadian accent and the informality of the interview made it difficult to obtain assistance with the transcriptions.

When I began analyzing the field notes, the transcribed interviews and the photographs, I returned to the field in July 2005 and requested consent to use the photos. I mailed some hard



copies of the original consent<sup>63</sup> forms to members whom I could not meet during my two-week stay. They, in turn, returned the signed consent forms via post mail to me. This action was an indication of their commitment to the research project, and I was even more determined to do them justice by describing and presenting a report that reflected the cultural knowledge of the members of the community.

*Ethics and issues of responsibility*<sup>64</sup>

The decision to honor the wishes of the selected members' request to use their names in the text was also part of the ethical engagement with the participant. I returned the transcribed interview to participants whom I could contact. I read the narrative I wrote using the memos and data from the transcribed interview to Kendall and Mona. Tears flooded his eyes as he listened to the reading. He then said, "*That is really me. You get it right.*"

I became even more aware of the value the material held for them. I was even more committed to doing the ethnography in as ethically responsible a manner as possible. I used the guidelines offered to me by my commitment to the American Anthropological Association *Principles of Professional Responsibility* (1998) and the American Educational Research Association's (1992) code. My concern was always for the effect of the decisions I took on the members of the community. These concerns informed my response to those who selected me or whom I selected to interview. I had little control over the observation in spaces that were public, but I could make decisions about the interviews. In framing the ethnography, I avoided using any data that might in my judgment put the participant at risk or implicate him or her. In so doing, I was safe-guarding the rights, interests, and sensitivities of members. I always ensured that I

---

<sup>62</sup> See Appendix E

<sup>63</sup> See Appendix G

<sup>64</sup> Although I refer to this issue at this point in the text, it was an ongoing concern throughout the research process.

shared as simply as possible the goals of the research. This allowed them to decide if they wanted to participate and tell them what I was expecting. I still feel somewhat guilty when I do not include all of the findings because most participants seemed to feel that this automatically put them in this "book" I was writing. This was their interpretation of what I was doing as a researcher in the field. Members' expectations of the right to privacy and to have their identities remain confidential was respected. There was not a problem because the community is so small and you cannot talk about a mas' camp and or describe it without every one knowing exactly which one it is. As such it was important that members agreed to have their names used in the study. Finally the consent process was ongoing to allow the members the choice of continuity or leaving the study. After I physically left the field, I continued to verify information via email.

One of the data tables I framed, I sent to Rosalind for confirmation about the issue of customs in her mas' camp.

**Date:** Sat, 1 Oct 2005 06:56:59 -0400  
**From:** "Rosalind Gabriel" <rgabriel@tsstt.net.tt>  
**Subject:** Re: From Janice Noel-Fournillier  
**To:** "JANICE B. FOURNILLIER" <jfournil@uga.edu>  
Hi Janice,

I have thought of you right through the year, and wondered what happened with the missing funds from your bank account. Carnival has stretched right through this year, as Tan Tan and Saga Boy has made numerous guest appearances at almost every major function and VIP visit to Trinidad. "Mas! Mas! ah know yuh name" is based on our Traditional Characters, King Sailor, Bats, Dame Lorraine etc. but they will be produced like Tan Tan & Saga Boy (like puppets). It's my way of doing something old in a new way. The band launching is today. I have taken a quick look at the table you sent, and it looks quite impressive, but I notice that "Mas Camp Customs" only has "nice atmosphere". These things come to mind"

1. eating together like a family
2. sharing problems (home problems & mas camp conflicts or personality conflicts)
3. trust (I often have to leave and trust the employees to close up and keep the keys till the following day.) Also to keep on working when I am not around.
4. Encouraging the employees to speak up if they have an idea that can simplify the work or make it better in some way (this builds their

confidence) which makes them feel special.

Just a few thoughts, but will look at it again early next week after I get over this band launching today.

Great hearing from you.

Lot of love/Rosalind

----- Original Message -----

From: "JANICE B. FOURNILLIER" <jfournil@uga.edu>

To: <rgabriel@tsstt.net.tt>

Sent: Friday, September 30, 2005 11:06 AM

Subject: From Janice Noel-Fournillier

Hi Rosalind

I hope you are doing fine and plans are coming along nicely

for Carnival 2006 MAS MAS AH KNOW YUH NAME! It will surely be an inspiration to see how many names people know and remember.....Keep up the good work...I am sending you a data table file which I have made based on the interview we had....I would like you to let me know if there are any other things you would like included in the

file and if it is ok to go ahead with it as is....I am due to submit the final paper on 11th

October...If I don't hear from you I will give you a call to alert you about the email.

I am using this data along with an ethnographic profile which I will also send to you....in it I am talking about the mas making practices and the meanings you make of them....Attached is a rough draft of the table

Thank you again

Janice

This email response is an example of the kind of interaction I had with the members of the community and the trust that I built up with them. Bogart and Kendall mailed their signed consent forms from England and Trinidad respectively. They demonstrated their commitment to the research project and I in turn felt responsible to do justice to the data that I collected from and with them.

My friends and committee members who followed the research process would consider this report lacking in credibility if I left out of it how much I cried when I left the field armed with my data resources to return to my home at the university. I may have cried because I had such a wonderful experience or because of uncertainty about the mounds of data with which I was returning home. It was a heart-breaking moment that I did not expect. It was then I realized that I had in some way become a part of the community with which I spent four months working and learning to make mas'.

### *The process of transforming the data*

The process of data transformation began while I was in the field. Transformation refers to the systematic procedure of searching the data, organizing them, breaking them up into manageable units, synthesizing and searching for patterns, and discovering details that are important for answering the question: How do members of the community learn to make mas'? In attempting to answer this question I broke my material up into smaller parts. They were these:

1. What are the kinds of settings in which mas' work takes place?
2. How are the settings organized?
3. What are the kinds of practices at work in making mas'?
4. What meanings do members of the community make of the practices?

While I was in the field, I began transforming the jottings into expanded notes and reviewing the photographs and getting a feel for the events, the activities, and the persons involved. I used the debriefing process and shared on a regularly with Dr. June George, a professor and friend at the University of the West Indies, the kinds of things I was finding and the tensions I often felt. Because of my association with her in the field of research and her interest in qualitative research methodologies, we engaged in in-depth conversations on my research process.

My choice of the different kinds of camps to observe was a first step in the analysis process. I had already begun to categorize the social settings, the mas' camp sites, and the key actors in making the choices about which ones I would observe, chat with, and interview in more depth. I intuitively seemed to know when someone was not a good fit for what I was trying to learn about. The decisions I made about the still shots I took also reflected a level of analysis. I chose persons at work doing things with which I was totally unfamiliar. I took shots of scenes in

the camp that I wanted to remember when I was writing. My focus was always on what was happening in the scene that I would like to recall when writing the ethnography. Or, I would ask myself, how would this shot best provide the reader with some cultural knowledge of what was happening in the setting?

### *Management of the data resources.*

More in-depth analyses of the data began when I left the field and returned home I began by doing a debriefing interview with a professor on campus who had an interest in my work. This interview allowed me to create some distance from my experience and take a critical look at what my objectives were and what I did and did not achieve. I then moved on to making an inventory of the data sources and creating a data base to allow for control of the mounds of data. I used a computer software program designed for qualitative data analysis. I created a folder into which I placed

1. 56 pages of field notes – combination of journal entries and expanded field notes
2. 36 wave files of audio recorded interviews, informal conversations, and field notes
3. 456 still photographs

I listened to all of the audio recorded interviews and field notes and made decisions about the order in which I was going to transcribe. I transcribed 14 completely, and I paid to have one transcribed. The transcribing company comments were very interesting. They said, “

*This transcript was produced from a poorly recorded audio file with heavy accents. At client's request, it was transcribed using on a 'best-efforts-only' basis. As a result, there are more "<inaudibles>" and " \_\_\_\_\_" than would normally occur with a well recorded file”.*

I retranscribed the entire tape because that was one that provided me with what I considered to be valuable data. I realized the issue was not that it was inaudible, but that my familiarity with the accent and the data made it much easier for me to understand and transcribe. In other audio-recorded interviews, I transcribed relevant parts that dealt with the meanings they were making of the practices. I added these transcribed interviews to the Atlas-ti data base. During the transcription, I listened closely to the narratives as a way of remembering what was in the data. I shared the data stories with another Trinidadian student as a way of debriefing and getting her feedback on how she interpreted the stories.

I performed four different types of breaking up and synthesizing of the data: content analysis and coding to break up into minute parts and get close to the data, domain analysis, followed by componential analysis, and a content analysis of selected cases using the concept of *propriospect* (Goodenough, 1973).

I began by grouping the documents according to family:

1. Persons associated with designing and production of children's mas
2. Field experience notes and photographs
3. Teachers in the formal sector involved in mas' making
4. People who make it happen
5. Designers at large

There were some overlaps in the categories, but the groupings allowed me to begin to make meaning of the various documents and to identify the members. I followed with some open coding of the documents and the photographs. What words, behaviors, events, and patterns and images were standing out? It is during this process that I was able to identify the cover

terms and the included terms and to begin to identify included terms. I allowed the research questions to inform my search.

Table 6

Initial coding patterns

Key concepts	No. of times	Key concepts	No of times	Key images	No. of times
Learning activities	156	Collaboration	12	Settings	164
Method of making mas	67	Fun	15	Events	49
Minshall	104	Identity	26	Activities	76
Process	42	Memory	16	Persons	76
				Methods	138

I attached memos to the codes as I searched the data. A memo I attached to the codes that dealt with the learning process was this:

**MEMO** *Another learning process—06/03/05 8:55 p.m. (Primary document #8) Type-Commentary.*

*This seemed to be the most mentioned process...learning by observing others doing the task. So we learn through doing what others give us to do and the directions they give.*

*We learn through discovery and playing around with things like the wire. We learn through observation—seeing others do it and then by doing it ourselves. Senor Gomez is given a task by his mentor. He goes home and does it and then comes back with it.*

*Kendall and his wife learn from each other. Morn learns through working with Kendall. So collaboration has a lot to do with the learning process. Look at Ken Critchlow's comments....*

**MEMO:** *Apprentice/expert—05/16/05 2:46 am. (Primary document # 21)*

*Both the apprentice and the expert are learners hence the dynamic relationship. Balance and fluidity can be a code.*

I played with the data by combining the memos to create Kendall's ethnographic profile that I read to him when I returned to the field in July 2005. The memos were the beginning of my analysis, and I returned to them as I wrote the ethnography.

To take a different look at the data and get closer to members' identification of the settings, the activities, and the practices, I used Spradley's (1979, 1980) domain and componential analysis<sup>65</sup>. The goal of domain analysis as Spradley (1980) stated is two-fold. "First you are trying to identify cultural categories; second you want to gain an over- view of the cultural scene you are studying" (p. 96-97). This method of analysis allowed me to draw out from the data cultural meanings that sometimes remained tacit and had to be inferred from what the members said and did during the interviews or observations. I used the domain analysis worksheets to create visuals that represented the relationship among categories of data. I began to link visual images to the categories. For example, I could look at the different kinds of camps and made comparison between the spaces and the kinds of mas' making activities that were taking place in them.

I experimented with componential analysis, which Spradley (1979) suggested "enables you to take all the contrasts you have discovered, organize them in a systematic fashion, identify missing contrasts, and represent the components of meaning for any contrast set" (p. 172). I used it instead to make contrast between the various activities of the selected members of the community and to enable me to identify the overlap in the various practices and the similarities and differences among members of the group.

---

<sup>65</sup> See Appendix H for example of the componential analysis worksheet



Table 7:  
Domain analyses

Domains	Semantic Relation	Structural Question
Categories of persons involved in making mas'?. Strict inclusion	X is a kind of Y	Who are the persons involved in the mas' making processes?
Spaces in which mas making take place Location for action	X is a place for doing Y	Where do the mas' making activities take place?
Characteristics of mas' makers Attribution	X is a characteristic of Y	What are the characteristics mas' makers attribute to themselves?
Stages in the mas' making process. Sequence	X is a step or stage in Y	What are the different tasks/activities involved in mas' making?
Rationale	X is a reason for doing Y	Why do the various persons participate in the mas' making process?
Means-end	X is a way to do Y	How does one learn to make mas'?

Finally, I played with Goodenough's (1973) concept of propriospect. I took a group of members and looked at the individual skills, attitudes, and understandings that they brought to the community and how these overlapped and combined to create the community of practice. This way of thinking helped me consider the various ways in which an individual is able to operate in the group at different levels. For example, a member may be a government officer during the day and a volunteer decorator in the evening. However, he brings to the camp some cultural knowledge from this other space and combines it with the specific knowledge that he gets from the members who are more expert at making mas'. His organizational or management knowledge works to create more efficiency in the production of the costumes. In that sense he is an expert but at the same time his limited competency in the art of decorating makes him a learner. The individual propriospects therefore contribute to the cultural pool that is an integral aspect of the community. Henstrand (1993) found that "propospect provided a way to analyze

the operating of culture of individuals without being overly evaluative” (p. 95). I admit that doing it this way took me away from my personal biases against some members whom I felt were overly analytical during the interviews. Instead I looked at what they were bringing to the pool to analyze the meanings they were making of the practices.

### *Use of photography*

Photography was a valuable resource in the field. I was not able to write field notes as much as I thought I could. The camera therefore served as a much better memory. Ball and Smith (1992) advised that “it permits more selective and focused observations—unlike, for example the audio tape recorder” (p. 6). The digital camera’s ability to record date and time was also very helpful and helped to jog my memory when I reflected on the scene. One of my teachers in the camp, Bogart, made it his duty to ensure I got shots of the various stages before the items were moved. He would inquire whether I had brought my camera and then take me around to the various artifacts or scenes and explain the process while I took the photos. I accepted my role as student and therefore accepted the guidance. I grouped the 503 photos according to methods, settings, events, persons, and activities. I then used the photos to evidence the assertions I made throughout the text.

### *Summary*

In this chapter I provided an in-depth explanation of the various aspects of the conceptual framework that guided the ethnography of mas’ making practices. I intentionally combined the tacit and formal theories with methodology, yet another theory, because I viewed them as linked to each other and connected to the entire process. My view of knowledge as partial and socially constructed necessitated providing my audience with the paradigms that I used and adapted to

construct the research. Collins (1983) asserted, “A paradigm is consistent with the rules of seeing and rules of measuring and thinking that give it its physical objects and scientific laws. What may be true in one, may be false in another” (p. 90). At the same time, I dealt with the issue of reflexivity as an ongoing process and the need for assessing the quality of evidence based on the multiple methods of collection and data analyses. Le Compte (2000) advised, “Researchers must make both tacit and formal theories clear and then delineate their role in data collection. Having done that, then analysis can begin” (p. 147). Chapters 3 and 4 provided the theoretical and methodological frames for the study, a rationale for and explanation of the methods of data collection and analysis. In Chapters 5 and 6, I will present the findings of the study and answers to the research question:

How do members of the mas’ making community learn to make mas’.

1. What are the kinds of settings in which mas’ making takes place?
2. How are the settings organized?
3. What are the kinds of practices involved in mas’ making?
4. What meanings do the members of the community make of their practices?

## CHAPTER 5

### MAKING IT HAPPEN: PERSONS, PLACES, PROCESSES, AND PRACTICES

In Chapter 1, I indicated that the purpose of the study was to explore the practices involved in making mas' from the perspective of selected members of the mas' making community. The major question was: How do members of the mas' making community learn to make mas'? In Chapters, 5 I answer this question through descriptions, analyses, and interpretations of (1) the spaces in which mas' making takes place, (2) the various persons involved in mas' making activities, and (3) the ways in which learning-teaching takes place. Interspersed between these descriptions, analyses, and interpretations are reflections on my experiences as a novice mas' maker , a learner, and a researcher doing field work and exploring the practices involved in learning to make mas' in Trinidadian Carnival mas' camps.

*Kinds of spaces: "High spaces and low spaces"<sup>66</sup>*

No one can really say how many mas' camps there are in Trinidad and Tobago. However, a rough estimate can be made from the number of bands that register for the various Carnival competitions throughout the country. This approximation will not accurately represent the numbers of bands since a large band of over two thousand masqueraders might have as many as twelve mas' camps representing the band and some small bands in country districts might not register for the competitions. It is from among these innumerable mas' camps that I chose the four camps and the many mas' makers with whom I interacted during the data collection process.

---

<sup>66</sup> Member of the community description of the mas' camp spaces.

Carnival mas' parade ended but fieldwork continued. Ken, one of the Carnival mas' competitions judges, a lecturer at the Creative and Festival Arts Center, and a visual artist, was I judged a good source of cultural knowledge. His varying cultural competences made for an interesting proporspect and an excellent addition to the cultural pool. Looking at the data from this angle allowed me in the analysis to accept his evaluation of the various types of mas' camps as coming out of his individual cultural knowledge (s).

***Ken:** The mas' camps that are made public, and I have nothing against them, that is the Woodbrook mas' camps, those are the ones that are emphasized. But there are other mas' camps that you should see. ....students who are entering into the practice they must see that. It is ok...the ordinary person don't necessarily have to see that ...but if you really learning about it you have to know that it is not only the high places but also the low places and very often in the low places you find ideas that have been born and that you are responsible, well let's say, to give it... to breathe some life into it, to harness and make it flourish.*


My interview with Ken came after the observation phase of my data collection. I realized that, unconsciously or not, I had chosen different kinds of camps. I had not thought about putting them into categories of high and low spaces. However, they were distinctly situated. I took a closer look at the still images I had of the spaces in which I spent time observing. Although from a sociological perspective they could be placed into categories of high and low, I preferred to stay close to the physical spaces, the organization of those spaces, and how they allowed for learning to make mas'.

Initially, it was difficult for me to engage in categories Ken identified because of the range of persons from different socioeconomic backgrounds that people the mas' camp. I thought

I understood what Ken meant by high and low spaces and did not follow up on it. In hindsight, I should have challenged the concept. Nevertheless, they continued to haunt me as I combed the data for the kinds of places for making mas'. No one else referred to the spaces as high and low. I searched the data for cultural terms used to describe places for making mas' and came up with the list of included terms in Table 8.

Table 8: Domain analysis worksheet:

Places for making mas',<sup>67</sup>

		1. Semantic Relationship: Location for action 2. Form: X (is a place for ) Y 3. Example: A factory is a place for making mas' work	
Included Terms		Semantic Relationship	Cover Term
House	military bunker		making mas'.
Home	<i>pan yard</i> <sup>68</sup>		
Gas station	Classroom in a school		
Shed	Office		
Tent	Factory		

**Structural Question: What are the spaces in which members of the community make mas'?**

Table 8 shows the terms associated with spaces for making mas'. These places vary in terms of the physical space, the numbers of workers, and the kinds of activities that take place at the site. I found that the variation in the space depended on the finances available to the band leader, the size of the band, and the kinds of mas' costumes that they produced<sup>69</sup>. Was this good

<sup>67</sup> Adapted from James P. Spradley *The Ethnographic Interview* (N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1980).

<sup>68</sup> See Glossary of terms in Appendix A

<sup>69</sup> King and Queen costumes, individual section leaders, and individuals in the sections.

enough criteria for categorizing them as high and low spaces? The spaces I selected to represent in this ethnography demonstrate a range of locations of mas' camps, their physical spaces, organizational structures, and the people involved in making mas'.

*A house-home<sup>70</sup> is a place for making mas'*

Patrick a mas' maker, artist, designer, teacher, and children's mas band leader makes his mas' camp in a building he calls the Trinity Foundation. I was not able to visit the foundation but did two interviews with him on making practices. In one of our semi-formal audio recorded interview. Patrick tells a story about a house that served as a mas' camp to Errol Payne<sup>71</sup>.

***Patrick:** One year I got my tail cut. I remember reaching home late from church and it was carnival Sunday. On the trip I would see them making a costume on Prince Street next to where Rhyners'<sup>72</sup> is. They were making a costume for Errol Payne Jewelled Peacock and this costume was finished. And I say, "I not leaving until I see that peacock come out of that door way." And what was a major problem, for them was a small thing. They took a pig foot, and it was a wooden house, and they took off the wooden front of the house, drop it in the road, and bring the peacock outside. Come back out the house and they went to the savannah.*

Documentary records from the National Carnival Commission showed that Errol Payne won the King of Carnival competition in 1967. This incident would then have occurred at a time in Trinidad when you could leave your doors opened and return to find every thing untouched. Things have changed since that time, and the increase in crime and burglaries made it necessary for many persons to construct wrought iron burglar proofing.

---

<sup>70</sup> I am making the distinction between a home where someone lives and a building that is a house, a space that may have been a home but is now used as a mas' camp. Families do not reside here.

<sup>71</sup> A well known king of Carnival (now deceased) who won the competition on numerous occasions.

<sup>72</sup> Rhyners' is a famous record shop that specializes in calypso music and videos of Carnival.

The story told from Patrick's perspective establishes the value that the mas' maker and mas' player placed on the mas'. The mas' was more important than the house. It is this commitment to the mas' and that I found among most of the persons involved in making mas', and which I judge contributes to the ongoing desire to learn to make mas'. Every year, I was told, "you learn something new." And seeming to validate the story, Larry, in one of our chats retold the story to make the point that there is a spontaneity in mas' making.

**Larry:** *The old story, I think it was Errol Payne and his costume. He finish the whole costume and then realize they made it inside the house and they couldn't get it outside. And they had to break down the walls. And so I think it is the spontaneity.*

Larry was not present on the scene, but used it to make yet another point about a characteristic associated with mas' making, spontaneity. In these narratives, I could begin to identify the attitudes to mas' making and the characteristics that the members of the community valued. Through stories the mas' makers were teaching about the values, the attitudes, and the customs associated with mas' making.

Patrick did not make the distinction between a house and a home. But it seemed to me that the house Patrick refers to in the story may have also been someone's home. Patrick recounted his memories of mas' making in the *pan yard* and his own home in Laventille, Port of Spain.

**Patrick:** *I would go up to the pan yard, nightly visits with my sisters, two older sisters, and they would go to listen to the music. I would go too then I thought for the music and hearing the same thing over and over because they would add on to the tune... What I fell in love with was the guys making the mas'. We would go in the early evening seven, eight and you would see what I thought was then serious progress in the making of the mas'.*



*And that was what I fell in love with. Additionally, I have a brother between those two sisters, they brought out a section.....they made home by us. And I would try my best to stay up as late as possible. Of course that did not work. So every morning when I got up I would investigate what they did the night before. That was in 1968. And I remember because we have a little store room they wrote on the wooden partition the year and the mas'.*

I began to see a young man who grows up in an environment that values mas', and although he *did not know he would become a mas' maker*, the activities and events he witnesses begin to make their mark. I was beginning to see a relation between proximity to the spaces in which mas' making was taking place and interest in the art. The unlimited number of mas' camps throughout the country in *high and low spaces* suggests that there are widespread opportunities to experience mas' making.

#### *Continuing to look for spaces*

My decision to focus on a limited number of mas' camps came out of consideration for the difficulties involved in locating camps that were not easily accessible, the time constraints because it was a *short season*<sup>73</sup>, and the large number of mas' camps. I have used my experiences with persons involved in various kinds of mas' camp to explore the learning and teaching practices at work in mas' making. I felt it was important to explore the learning and teaching experiences of the more experienced and the younger mas' makers. This interest took me to George Street, Port of Spain, the home of Narsenio Gomez one of the pioneering wire benders in the country whom Ken Critchlow described as “phenomenal.”

---

<sup>73</sup> When Carnival is celebrated early in February like it was in 2005, the season is considered short.

I left my apartment building in St. Augustine<sup>74</sup> at around six thirty to avoid the rush hour traffic and made my way along the East West Corridor to Port of Spain. Narsenio, better known as Senor Gomez, lives in the heart of the city, in the planning housing on George Street. I was a bit scared to venture into this area because of the newspaper reports, and the increase in the number of vagrants that roam the city area. I parked my rental car on the street and was on my way to find the apartment building. I approached the two women who were standing on the pavement chatting and asked for directions to Senor Gomez. They gave me precise directions. I climbed the stairs and when I got to the top floor the banner on the outside of the burglar proofed apartment was confirmation I was in the right place.

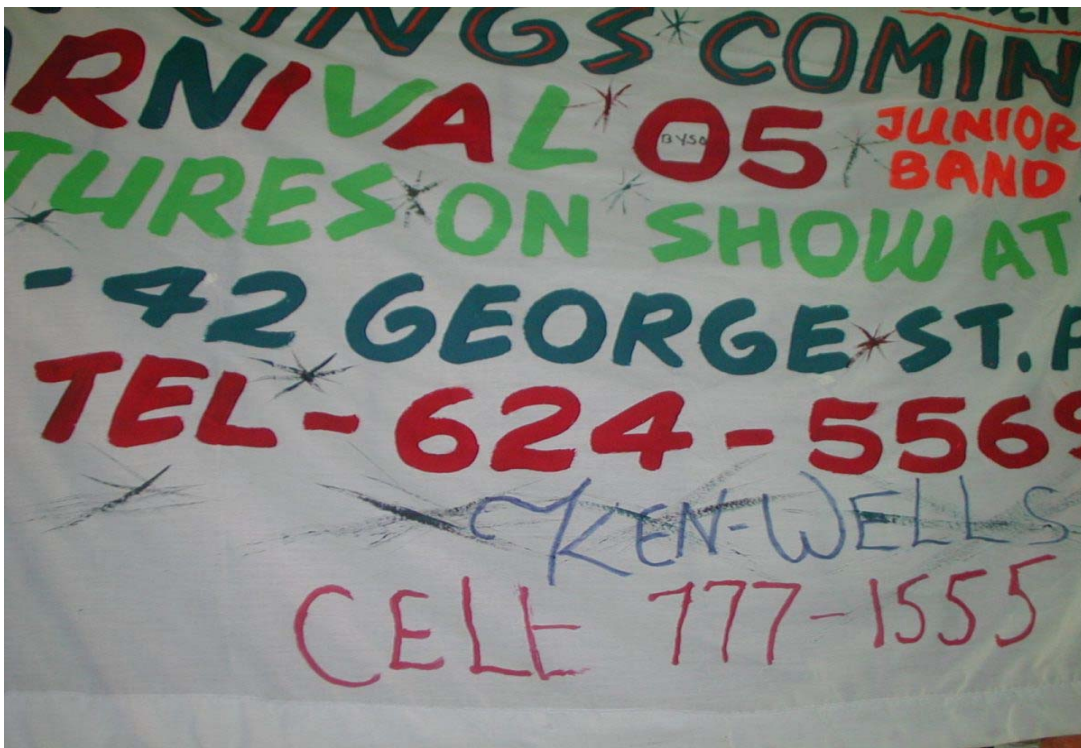


Figure 26: The banner

<sup>74</sup> See Map of Trinidad in Chapter 3 Figure 13, p. 87.



Figure 27 The storage room

Senor Gomez, claims that at 73, “*I feel like I am 16.*” He was born around the George Street area in Port of Spain and stayed there all his life. He is a skilled wire bender who started making mas’ as young fellow under the tutelage of a cabinet maker. He has been making traditional sailor mas’ costumes for steelbands and pretty mas’ for big band leaders like the late, great Harold Saldenah<sup>75</sup> since he was about 14 years old, He has had assignments in Barbados, St. Lucia, and Connecticut, where he taught people how to bend wire and make costumes. Senor Gomez is part of a pre Carnival program of the National Regional Carnival Committee that is attempting to teach children the art of mas’ making. Senor goes out to schools and works part time teaching students. His home is his base where he produces costumes for himself and his wife and the school band with which he works. The photographs below are evidence of how he uses the space in his home to store the work in progress and to keep his wire bending craft alive. What we see in Senor’s home is similar to a steel band yard mas’ camp. There will be a banner

and costumes in various stages. The mas' bands that come out of steel band yards are not as large and as popular as years ago when Senor Gomez was a young man. These traditional characters are fast dying. The work that Senor is doing in schools is an attempt by the governing body to revive the traditional forms of mas' making.

Mas' making in homes is not confined to the Port of Spain area. There are mas' makers in other parts of the country like Tunapuna, which is a town east of Port of Spain. Production takes place in Keith Carrington's two-bedroom home in Gerbra Gardens, Macoya, Tunapuna. In place of a car in the garage area at the front of the concrete flat house, there is a work bench on which Keith was making the decorative parts of the costume. These individual pieces of decorations are made throughout the year and stored in boxes.. The displays of the completed suits hung from nails in various parts of the house.

Keith Carrington runs a one-man operation. He came into the mas' making business as an eight year old and apprenticed under his father who was also a mas' maker. Keith's artistic skills benefited from his mother's association with the ruling political party, the People's National Movement (PNM). His mother was able to secure a place for him with the British Council who in the 1960s were involved in training young men and women in various arts. He boasts of his accomplishments as a designer of sections in large sailor bands like All Stars and his work with Jason Griffith and Max Awon<sup>76</sup>, band leaders in the 1970s and 1980s.

Keith, a retired fire officer, continues to make mas' and teaches international students sent to him by the Malick Folk Performers<sup>77</sup>. Although he has no formal training in teaching and

---

<sup>75</sup> Harold Saldenah, 1925-1985 was one of the top designers and band leaders in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. He was the pioneer of section mas which soon became a tradition. His depictions won Band of the Year title six times. (See [http://www.meppublishers.com/online/caribbean-beat/current\\_issue/article.php?id=cb65-1-42](http://www.meppublishers.com/online/caribbean-beat/current_issue/article.php?id=cb65-1-42))

<sup>76</sup> Band leaders in Port of Spain who made a name for themselves through their productions.

<sup>77</sup> A cultural arts group who keeps the folk traditions alive by reenacting scenes from Carnival of long ago and performing traditional folk dances and songs.

did not “*have a certificate in English Language*”, he uses the knowledge he gained from making mas’ over the years to teach students who come to him from abroad.



Figure 28: Keith Carrington: Band leader, director, designer, and mas’ maker

*A molding factory is a space for making mas’:*

Geraldo Vieira, “the White Rab” as he became known as a young man, and his son Geraldo Junior make their mas’ work in his factory building. The plastic molding factory located in Barataria, a small outlying town east of Port of Spain, is a business place and a mas’ camp. This large warehouse factory building is tall enough and wide enough to accommodate the huge king and queen costumes that Geraldo Vieira and his son Geraldo Junior design and produce.





Figure 29: Vieira Mas' camp in the plastic molding factory in Barataria



Figure 30: A room at the back of the factory



Figure 31: A factory space is a kind of a mas' camp

Table 9  
Work areas in Vieira's mas' camp

Working spaces	Length	Width	Height
Queen Costume	40 feet	30 feet	20 feet
King Costume	30 feet	34 feet	30 feet
Painting	20 feet	20 feet	16 feet
Work area Vacuum form machine(Factory)	70 feet	18 feet	18 feet
Work area Vacuum foam machine (warehouse)	15 feet	30 feet	15 feet

The space is well lit and offers the workers involved in the engineering and decorating processes sufficient space. Costumes from previous years and plastic molds find storage space in the warehouse area of the factory. The highly technical mas' work that Vieira has become



famous for requires the space that the warehouse affords. There is enough room to allow the king and queen costume makers to occupy different sections of the building.

Mas' making activities and practices in Vieira Carnival mas' camp



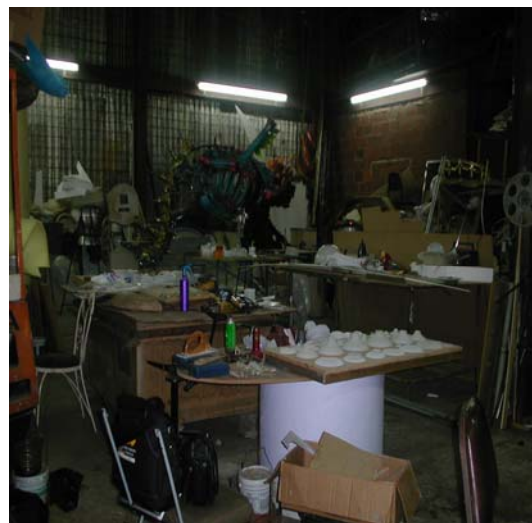
Father and daughter collaborating discussing



Painted tentacles set out to dry



Geraldo preparing the frame for the king's costume



The work setting

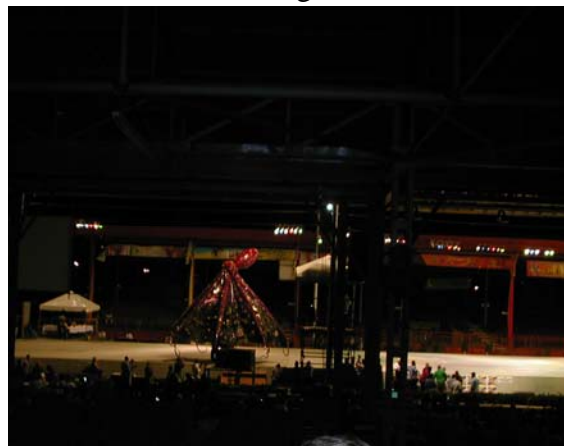


Figure 32: Scenes from Vieira's Mas' Camp. The Secret of the Abyss on stage.



Men and women at work in the mas' camp preparing, designing, decorating pieces of the queen's



costume. The costume designers make adjustments while the costume is still in its initial stages



of production. Making the queen's head piece and decorating the skirt.  
Figure 33: Scenes from Vieira's Mas' Camp II: Making the queen's costume

*The Art Factory is a space for making mas'*

Brian called the space The Art Factory and makes the distinction between the mas' camp space and his family business in interior decorating. This wooden building is a house that has been transformed to accommodate mas' making work, distribution, limited storage and registration business. The building is situated in the Wood brook area that Ken refers to as "*the spaces that are emphasized*" or the high spaces. There is easy access to the building because it is on a *western main road*<sup>78</sup> and regular taxi and maxi taxis ply this route daily.

The large picture of one of the costumes captures the attention of passers by and the large sign in the window of the front office lets you know when it is open for business. The hours of operation were between 10 am and whenever it closed. The white painted interior and exterior of the building, and the paved yards gave the building a sanitized look. The space<sup>79</sup> in which the actual mas' making activities was took place was a small section of the entire building. In the work area there were wooden tables and stools, two large fans, a sink, and over head florescent lamps.

Large lists of the tasks to be completed were displayed on the walls and sketches of the various sections of the band on the table alongside the sink. Large boxes of empty beer bottles were ever present. And as the Carnival days drew closer, two sewing machines were added to the diminishing work space and mas' activities began moving at a pace.

---

<sup>78</sup> The street that runs along Woodbrook and St. James in Port of Spain.

<sup>79</sup> See Figure 34 on p. 144

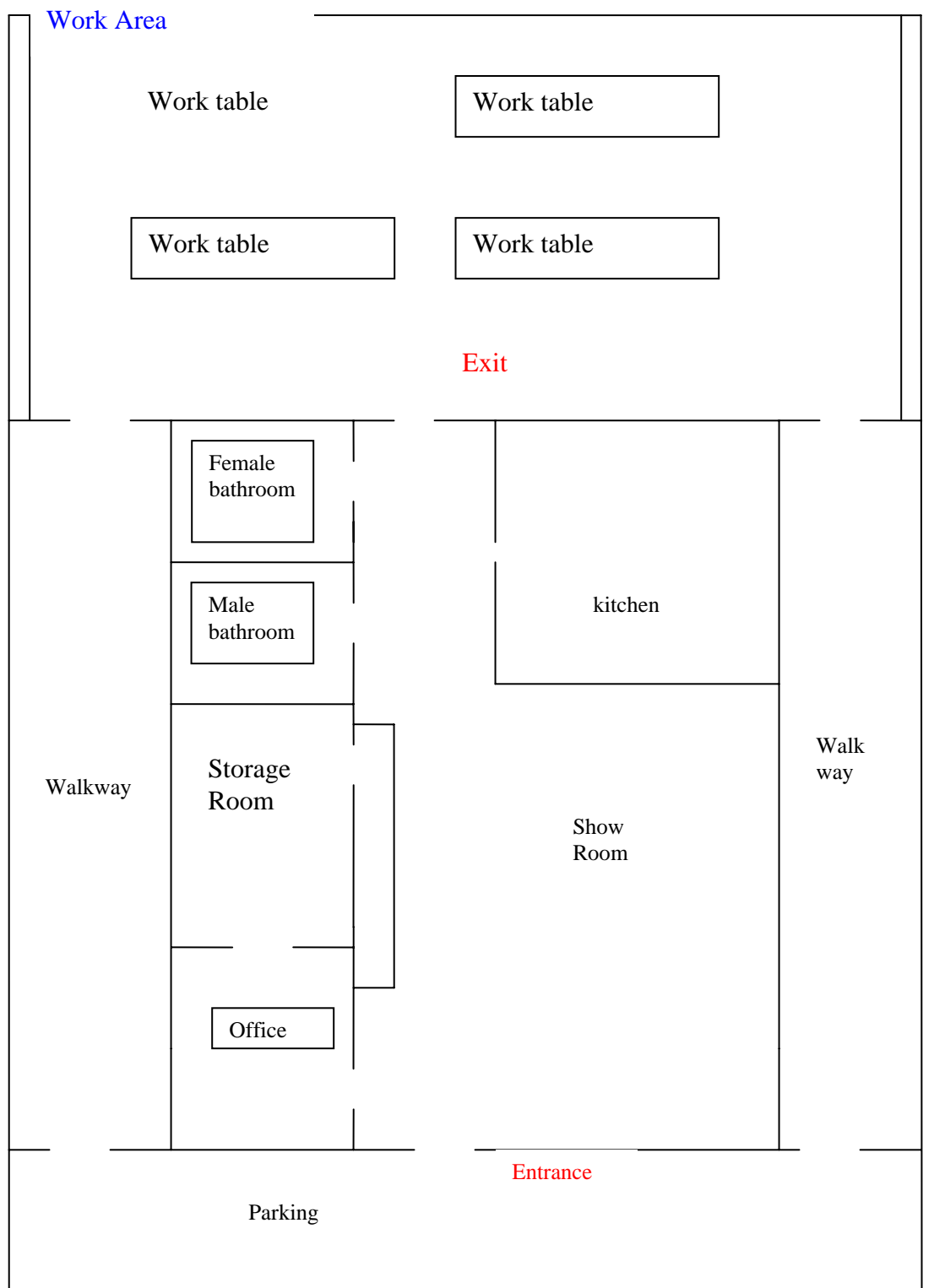


Figure 34: Floor plan: The art factory

The males who were working on the metal frames and later on the fiber glass structures for the king and queen costumes, occupied the table on the western end of the work area, and the other tables served as work spaces for decorators.

As the day of the competition and the parades drew near, the garage spaces on both sides of the building became work spaces. The king costume workers occupied the right garage space on the right of the building and car park, and the initial construction of the queen costume was done on the pavement in front of the building. The storage areas spilled over to Brian's company office two streets down from the mas' camp. Material for production was stored in the cupboards in the kitchen where there was a small stove. The refrigerator in the corridor between the kitchen and the bathrooms stored drinks and leftover food.

The pictures in the collage that follows this narrative is an impressionistic tale of the kinds of activities that go into making it happen in the Art Factory-MacFarlane's 2005 Carnival mas' camp. The focus of the camera is the making and preparation of the king and queen costume and the final showing on stage when "We make it happen." The magic of the moment comes when the mas' player ascends the stage and the workers like me see a piece of themselves in the work they did on stage. The hours of hard work and the sleepless nights are soon forgotten. The collaboration and experimentation continue in the Queen's Park savannah space where members of the community assemble the costume produced in the mas' camp and await the judging of the competition. This is the test and proof of their success as mas' makers.



Scenes from mas' making activities in the MacFarlane's mas' camp



Figure 36: Design and construction phases of mas' making in the camp

The costume is in the construction process and the king rehearses on stilts in the drive way



the mas camp goes to the savannah and mas' makers assemble and put finishing touches.



The king and queen on stage making it happen for the mas' makers,



Figure 37: Making it happen:



Scenes from activities in Jagessar's mas' camp in San Fernando Trinidad



Measuring materials



Cutting out patterns



Decorating wings of the costumes



Making bonnets



Lionel is constructing the metal frame for the costume

Figure 37: Preparing to make it happen: Jagessar's mas camp production

Constructing frame for the king's costume



Body of the king's costume: Keeper of the Threshold    Trophies on display at the home nearby



Working off the wall in the camp

Carnival king at work in the camp

Figure 38: Scenes from Jagessar's mas' camp



The Carnival mas' camps have come a long way from their early days in the barrack yard culture of the poorer class in Trinidad. In the mid-nineteenth century Carnivals, groups of masqueraders rehearsed and prepared for Carnival days in these open yards. The chantuelles, or lead singers who are now the *calypsonians*, came together in the yards to practice their songs. The *stick-fighters* engaged in stick-fighting. And, traditional mas' characters like the *Minstrel*, *Pierrot Grenade*, *Midnight robber*, and *Wild Indian* rehearsed their speech acts and songs.

The efforts to keep these traditions alive are now taking the form of teaching workshops in selected schools throughout the country. The classroom and community centers are now the mas' camps in which the children and teachers store and restore the costumes with the assistance of men and women mas' makers who are paid a stipend to do the workshops. The final products of these workshops parade on the streets of Port of Spain on Carnival Friday. My efforts to visit the workshops failed but I need to acknowledge that although the making of these mas' characters are not as widespread, the National Carnival Commission and Regional Carnival Committee are attempting to keep the traditional mas' making practices alive.

Mas' camps are spaces in houses with and without the technology of computers; back yards; rooms in homes, offices, classrooms and community centers; *pan yards*, factories, sheds outside of buildings; and virtual camps online for the purpose of registration and ordering of costumes. Mas' men and women come together in these various spaces to make mas'. These common spaces allow for the mutual engagement so necessary for learning to make mas'. I have not dealt with the more formal spaces like the Creative and Festival Arts Center, where there is an attempt to blur the boundaries between formal and informal spaces. I have left out the Regional Carnival Commission's workshops in the community centers and schools and the pan yards. I focused on the spaces in and around the edges as Ken described them.

**Ken:** *Our art both performing and practical art making have all grown up in the informal sector. Whether you are making a pan, you making mas', you making paintings in a studio, you making a dress, everybody is etching a space out of the whole. You are at the edges of town, or you under your house...in those edges you begging lodging by somebody or you are working in some dilapidated space. All right you know we really on the edges. And in those edges we have formulated some practices which help us to do what we do.*

My early visits to the smaller camps influenced my decision to use the bigger camps as observation sites. I needed to get a more holistic picture of the cultural setting in which mas' making works. Senor Gomez' home, Kendall's home, MacFarlane's business place-house that I have just described, Lionel Jagessar's shed<sup>80</sup>, and Vieira's factory space<sup>81</sup> are 'borrowed spaces' in which men and women make mas'. Over the season I began to realize that these were more than spaces to make mas'. They were the homes for some of the men and women. They provided an arena and space for the men and women to come together to make mas'. They are places in which you learn about life as your hands move and your mouth tells your life stories. They are the spaces where men and women gathered almost ceremoniously annually to spend long nights and days making mas'. It did not seem to matter to the participants whether they were high or low spaces. They were places to make mas' and do what they enjoyed and were committed to doing.

---

<sup>80</sup> See picture stories in pp. 141-143.

<sup>81</sup> See picture stories pp. 148-149

### *Learning to make mas': Practices and procedures*

No two human beings ever experience the world in the same way.  
No one gets it all; no one needs it all (Wolcott, 1991)

I begin this section that describes the practices and procedures with the above quotation to reiterate the point that the descriptions, interpretations, and analyses have come out of my experiences as a participant in the field and a researcher with an interest in learning and teaching practices. I did not get it all but what I got informed the process and the product I created. My field notes and journal diary are evidence of the practices and procedures I was observing and my involvement in the community as a novice and a researcher.

***Friday 14<sup>th</sup> January, 2005***

#### ***Field Notes and Journal Diary***

*I arranged to chat with Maria the evening before.....I noted that over the times I have been at the camp that she plays a vital role in the organization of the mas' making activities. She works with Michael with the book keeping activities and seems to be the direct supervisor of the workers. Armed with my Breakfast Shed lunch, I headed out for the camp. The Breakfast Shed is a kitchen that specializes in Creole Cuisine or home cooked meals. My meal consisted of steamed fish, ground provision, Callaloo and salad. I knew it was going to be a long day and so was trying to be prepared. Most persons left and went to the places near by for lunch.*

*When I arrived at the camp Michael, Liza, and Maria were the only three persons present. The body frame was completed and laid to rest on the top table. Maria and I spoke of the last evening's event and I was relieved to note that Fareed the king of the band was well and things went well.*

*I immediately plunged into the work activities and began adding foam to the wire frames that were being used to fill in the head-pieces for Section 1. Maria demonstrated how it was to be done and I immediately began to wrap the foam and thin strips of white fabric around the wire frames. Soon Collin arrived with his girl friend whom he asked me to chat with about mas' making. No sooner had she arrived, Maria was on her way to buy supplies from Samaroo's in Port of Spain. I was left to continue completing the task. By this time Christopher who has been given the name Kumar had also arrived and was working alongside Liza and I in completing the task. I took the opportunity to chat with him and to learn something about his involvement with the mas' camp.*

*I was introduced to Christopher alias Kumar who was given that name because although he is of East Indian descent, it was interesting to the other workers that he did not know what was kumar (an Indian delicacy). Kumar is small framed about five feet tall with*

*short close cut black hair and of a dark complexion. He is often the butt of the jokes re his sexuality. However, on Monday night I noted that he showed them that he had other skills in terms of his ability to extend his limbs in ways that he doubted the other members of the camp could. He extended his leg in a Sumatra position out and over his head while his other leg remained fixed on the ground. The group was amazed. According to Larry, "Kumar has seen an anaconda eat a rhinoceros". My interest in Kumar's as a new worker led me to ask him some questions informally about his work in the camp. The following is a summary of the conversation I had with Kumar*

*Kumar lives in Belmont and attended Junior and Senior Secondary schools and did A levels at the Polytechnic Institute. He is interested in Egyptian archaeology and museums. He is not sure what he will do in the future. He worked in many different places and it was while he was in his last job at a printery that his aunt who was offered the opportunity to work in the mas' camp suggested that he do it. He was not sure he would want to work in a mas' camp but came in early November at the start of the mas' making process and has found that he enjoys it. I remember my first day in the camp hearing Collin talking to Kumar and asking him if he understood how it worked. I realized then that he was the apprentice and Collin the expert. Kumar confirmed that he looked to four persons in a certain order to understand and learn from them. These persons were: Michael, Larry, Bogart, and Collin in that order. Michael because he is the lead person in the mas' making production and Collin because he is the most critical and if Collin tells him it is good then he knows he is doing well. He feels that he is learning slowly but surely the process and he likes it because there is always something new to learn. He is anxious to learn what Collin who is involved in making the king's costume is doing. While we worked on sticking on the additional frames on the headpieces, he said to me that at first he worried about getting things in a certain way but realized that there was not always that need....He showed me how I could use the glue stick without pulling the trigger. He said to me that he discovered through trial and error that this method worked quicker and easier. He listens to persons and then decides who he should talk to. I made the decision to follow up with a more formal interview.*

*When I finally decided to have my lunch, which I shared with two other members of the camp, I could not believe that I had come so far that the members could eat directly from my plate and be open enough to ask me for some of the food. My working in the camp has allowed me to get to know the members in a more personal way. Maria shared the story of her life and her past experiences as a wife and mother.*

*Collin, Orloff, Michael and Larry are busy at work making adjustments to the fiber glass frame for the king's costume. Collin is drawing and enlarging the design using a small drawing and a picture. I noted that there was not that openness that I experience in Vieira's mas camp. Although it is known that I am doing research, there is no sharing of information with me like at Vieira's camp. I am not sure how to break through. There is the same kind of hierarchy that I felt at Callaloo Company. Yes, Collin informed me that Michael relates directly to Brian who comes and calls him into the office and Michael relates to Collin who shares with Orloff, a White German male who comes to Trinidad every year and they work together.*

*Bogart, the organizer, is counting and putting things together.....Maria comes in and advises the group on what is to be done.....there is a kind of tension that exists when*

*Maria gives instructions to the group. She was a bit upset when the two women left for lunch soon after they arrived.*

I began to realize that making mas' is more than assembling in a space and producing costumes. There are organizational structures, and practices that facilitate making mas'. I was discovering the chain of command, the unwritten rules, standards, and practices at work in the mas' camp. A space that on the surface appeared informal and casual was indeed very complex and like every community was filled with tensions and conflict. To see it as otherwise I realized was to be unrealistic.

A mas' camp appears to be a casual place because of the social interactions, lots of chat, drinking, smoking, and loud calypso and reggae music at times. There is within this social framework, a structure that allows for cooperative learning and mutual engagement in tasks as I described in my field work notes. My interview with Maria<sup>82</sup>, the assistant production manager confirmed the chain of command and the kinds of practices in which she was involved.

*Mas' camp: The perfect school*

Patrick, the director of a mas' making enterprise, compared the mas' camp to a perfect school where "*no voice is more powerful than any other voice.*" He was describing how his godson, an eight year old helped him with a problem that he was struggling to solve. I was interested in what made it a perfect school.

**Janice:** *What makes it the perfect school? How is it different from the normal school?*

**Patrick:** *In the normal school the teacher is always perceived to be the one passing out the information and the student perceived as the one receiving the information and the teacher.*

---

<sup>82</sup> See pp. 154-156

*Everyone is a teacher and every one is a student. In a mas' camp we don't work like that. We work around a table, we work on a bench, we work on a step, you work where you comfortable. You might have one driving the team, the person... but his voice is not the only voice. I am in charge of the production of the adult mas' but the person who is doing the production of the band is one of my students at Trinity College and he tells me what he wants. So here I am his teacher from school and he tells me what he wants. I am his boss yes, but he runs things. And a number of the guys working there are students of mine.*

It was interesting to notice that another young woman who began her mas' making this year voiced similar feelings about her interaction at the Art Factory, MacFarlane's mas' camp. Maria, who described herself as an apprentice, came in to the mas' camp encouraged by a friend and soon assumed the role of assistant to the production manager and found management hearing her voice as she assumed her leadership role. In a short space of time Maria found herself learning by doing and becoming an integral part of the community.

**Maria:** *When I came the band was already launched, they had just completed a production where a few of the sections were in the production presentation it was real nice but I wasn't a part of that. So when I came every thing was already set up I just fell into a groove and went with the flow. But like a very strong salmon I just pick up pace and bounce around from table to table.*

**Janice:** *So you would say you came in with little or no experience?*

**Maria:** *Absolutely none.*

**Janice:** *You were like an apprentice for want of a better word [I hesitated, kind of apologetic and Maria sensed it]*

**Maria:** *Apprentice is very correct. I will take apprentice. I will still say I am an apprentice. Especially from Brian now that Brian is around much more. You know and it is strange because he is a kind of guy you could talk to and you never imagine your boss as somebody you could talk to. You boss' boss and somebody you could talk to.*

**Janice:** *When you say boss' boss what do you mean?*

**Maria:** *Well, Michael hired me and Brian hired Michael. Brian is the designer band leader.*

**Maria:** *My favorite thing is to do it in the morning I would pass by the store, place the order and the things I can carry I will bring them. And the things I can't carry I would have to make arrangements for transportation. Like when you order ten sheets of foams you can't carry that. But you would always carry two dozen magna tacks that is glue and you know according to some fabrics like a few yards of lycra that kind of thing you could do that, that is easy. So it works that there....like these head pieces I ordered them in the morning and in the evening and I pick them up this evening. And Michael says, "Did you order?" and I say, I picked them up. Yes I order them this morning when I coming to work and I pick them up this evening...so it was all that.*

**Janice:** *What other skills?*

**Maria:** *I have to do pay slips, salaries, I have to keep accounts of what jobs are done, because the mas' is in different sections. When they are done if they are not done properly I have to send them back to the floor and let the gang do them over. I have to keep track of how much money is spent every month and every week. There is some accounting in there.*

**Janice:** *Any of those skills you had before?*

***Maria:** Yes. I have done office work before. As a matter of fact I did business studies in school as a student and, [that is theon number five. Where you getting theon's number five girl?] (Maria notices the nail polish I am wearing and breaks off the conversation to find out about it)....um and it is always nice you always feel being in an office is the real thing so it is always nice when you know and you can be in an office and um learn how to answer the phone properly how to have a professional conversation on the phone. If I don't know, hell I just pretend, and that is the truth.*

Maria quickly became a member involved in the various practices in and out of the mas' camp and became one of the persons involved in the hectic schedule of preparing the costumes for the 2005 production. She may have been peripheral the knowledge she has about making mas' but she was a full participant in the management area and gaining some ideas about how she should play her role. There was no one source of knowledge but diverse kinds of knowledge (s) at work in the mas' camp.



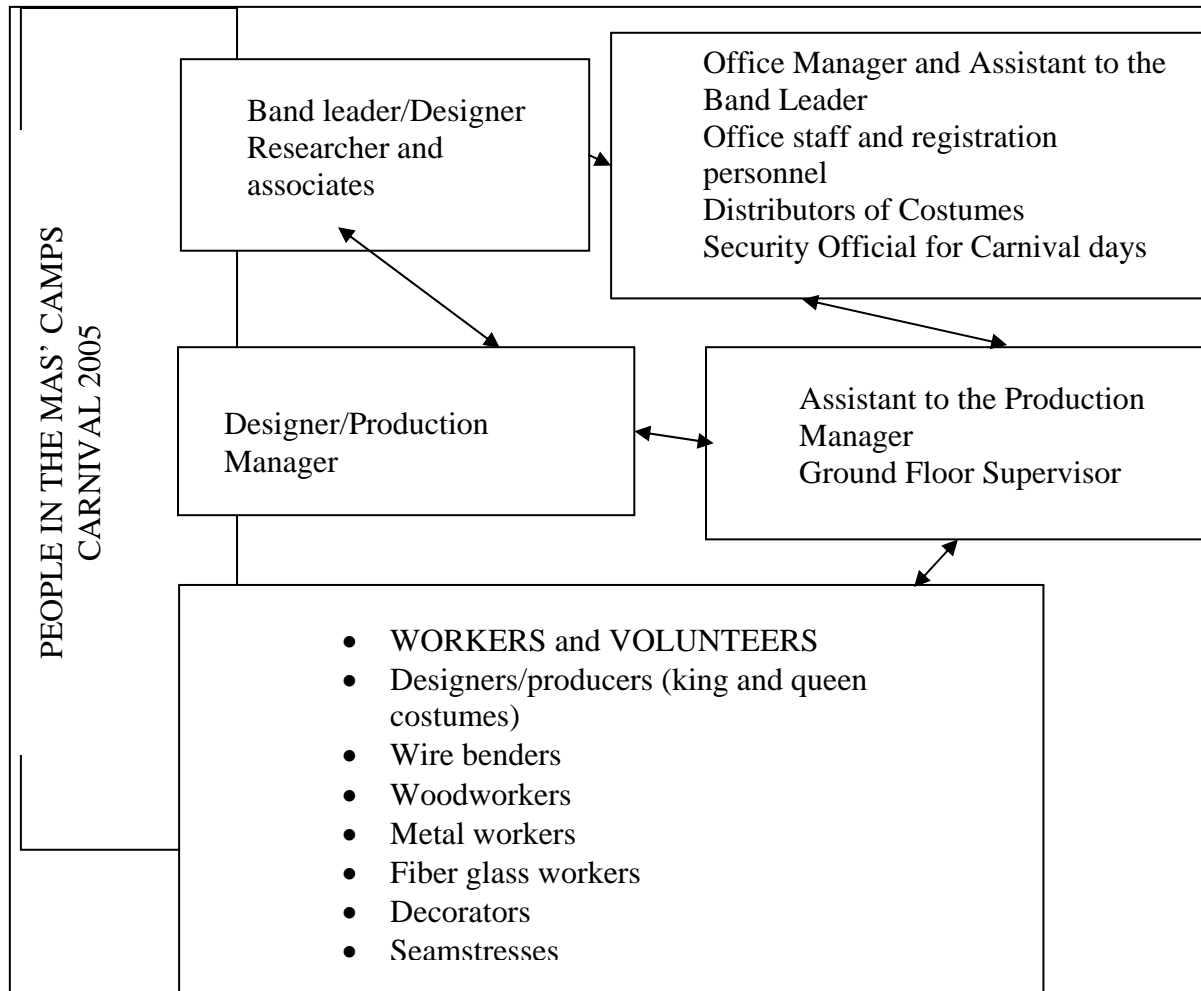


Figure 39: Community of Mas' Makers

\*Adapted from James P. Spradley & David W. McCurdy's (1972) *The Cultural Experience* San Jose, CA: Science Research Associates, Inc.

Maria, Patrick, and those persons to whom they refer are examples of the many groups involved in making mas'. Figure 39 provides an outline of the various persons involved in the process of making mas' work. This range and variety of persons allow for the kinds of participation necessary for making mas' on a large scale. One-man operations can cater only for very small numbers. The larger the size of the band, the greater the need there is for organizational structures and a range of competencies and skills. Individuals identified in Figure 39 participate in one or all of the stages of the mas' making process. The level and extent of

participation depend on the type of mas' camp and the experiences the individual brings to the group. Throughout the process<sup>83</sup> there is room for growth and development as the individual moves between his or her statuses as apprentice or novice and expert. The individuals draw from what Goodenough (1973) calls the *culture pool*, as they learn, grow, and share with the group their cultural knowledge and the competencies that they bring with them. A culture pool “consists of all the ideas, beliefs, values, recipes, and traditions that are known to one or more members of the society—in other words, everything in everyone of its members’ propriospects” (Goodenough, 1973, p. 42).

#### *Making it happen: Stages in the process*

An integral part of mas' making is deciding on what mas' the band will be playing. Like any creative process, there needs to be a time for coming up with the ideas, themes, and plans for the presentation and performance. These ideas are what give form to the design or model of the mas' costume. The process begins with individual members or a group combining their inspirations with their individual experiences, interests, knowledge of materials, and what can be done with the ideas to create the final product. This practice often takes place immediately following the end of one year's celebration.

The theme or idea originates with an individual or group of persons. The designers in this study refer to the persons who come up with the idea, sketch the drawing, lift them off the paper, decide on the materials to be used, and create the prototype or model for the production teams. I am not limiting the title designer to the person who creates the paper and pencil sketch. Instead, I am suggesting that all the persons who are involved in coming up with and creating the mas' are in some way part of the design team. I did not limit a designer to the paper and pencil person

---

<sup>83</sup> See Table 10, p. 159

because the process does not end with them. Although the activities do not present themselves as neatly as they appear on the page, I have linked the stages with the practices for the purpose of clarity and description.

Table 10: Domain analysis worksheet: Stages in the mas' making process

1. Semantic Relationship: Sequence 2. Form: X (is a step or stage in ) Y 3. Example: Mass production is a stage in making mas' work.		
Included Terms	Semantic Relationship	Cover Term
<div> <div>Coming up with a theme</div> <div>Drawing sketches</div> <div>Making prototypes</div> <div>Assembling costumes for pre-carnival competitions</div> </div>	<div> <div>Informing section leaders</div> <div>Displaying sketches and band launching</div> <div>Mass production of costumes for sections</div> <div>Parading costumes on Carnival Monday and Tuesday</div> </div> <div> </div>	<div>mas' making</div>
<b>Structural Question: What are the stages in the mas' making process?</b>		

Design revolves around the committee or individual leader's ideas, values, standards for mas' making and the needs of the mas' players who are the clientele for whom they are creating the design. In short, I would adopt Goodenough's (1973) terminology and call it cultural competencies. The ideas can come from any source, and the practices associated with getting the idea are just as varied. It might entail reading text, using ideas that crop up in the course of every day events, or sometimes spiritually intuited. The ideas are then reproduced on paper by either the bandleader-designer-artist or a group of artists that the band hires. The sketches can be rough or very detailed depending on the style of the artists or their artistic competence. In one instance,

the band leader made the decision to go directly to the model or prototype to eliminate the conflict between what the mas' player sees on paper and the final product. The mas' makers draw on their experiences to make changes and to create situations that are more pleasing to the mas' players.

Senor Gomez, a wire bender and mas' maker for over 60 years, does a bit of the drawing himself or enlists the assistance of his son to do the drawing. Senor Gomez explained,

*I does tell my son who does my painting, "Forget all the extra thing with the brush. Give them what they supposed to get in their costume." Because if you take a brush to let the picture look, they will say, "but you miss out this part."*

Senor Gomez' ideas come from inspiration. He describes his process:

*I does get up any hour of the night and something come to me. Like a composer you have to sleep with your pen and your guitar. And these things does just come and it come so easy with a flow that sometimes you and all say, "Ah, but wait but ah finish".*



Figure 40: Senor Gomez: Sketches for his children's mas' band

Brian MacFarlane, band leader and designer, described his knowledge as coming from “experience, observation, and a fascination with culture” (Trinidad Express, February 2005).

Javeed reported,

*It is around two or three in the morning that Brian MacFarlane gets his inspiration.*

*That’s when ideas take form and the blurry edges around his vision get definition. Then it becomes a mad scramble for pen and paper to get the ideas down before they disappear*  
(p. 1).

Brian explained his process:

*My sketches are very wild, I always draw furiously to try to capture the images. It’s in my head. I feel like all the ideas are here in the universe and it is all about reaching, connecting, and pulling the ideas. If you open yourself to it, it comes to you. I just draw when it comes to me. In my mind I know what it is and how it should be.* (Trinidad Express, pp. 1-2)

Brian, who left school at age 15 many years ago, was in 2005 producing his first mas’ band “*The Washing by fire by water*” and with the assistance of a production and assistant production managers organized his own mas’ camp. After working and observing in the mas’ camp for four months, I was able to finally sit down and chat with Brian at his interior decorating business office two streets down from the mas’ camp. In response to my interview prompt: “*Let’s start with the brain child, the idea, how did it come to you?*” Brian explained that the increase in crime in the country prompted him to organize a peace rally and a concert that he hoped people would attend to sign a petition saying that they want peace. There were many artists who gave of their time and came out to perform. The project failed because of lack of attendance. Brian took this failed effort and turned it into an idea for Carnival mas’ creation. Brian then invited other artists

to add their creative designs to the production. He gave them guidelines, and they did the designs. On his way to the fish market one morning Brian came up with the title for the band, The Washing by fire by water, and from there on stuck close to Khalil Gibran 'The Prophet,' translating the imagery and creating the 11 sections of the band.

***Brian:** From the time I came up with the name, I knew that I wanted to use all aspects of the human form. The mind, and then it also had to be the space that we encounter, the space that we live in. So we started off with the purifying of where we live, the earth. And the human aspects, and then we get to the point where we should be cleansed. We should acknowledge the cleansing. And now all those other elements like the anointing. We had only nine then the offering. Let us now go out into the world and offer the peace the olive branch. Um. And then the closing which is peace be with you.*

All of the bands do not follow a similar model. The larger-sized bands who cater to over 2000 members and about 25 sections presented themselves as having an intricately structured process. Enrico Rajah, a schoolteacher, mas' player, and sixth form dean at one of the country's leading secondary boys' school is the research officer and Public Relations Officer of one of the leading masquerade bands in Trinidad. On the day of the interview, March 2<sup>nd</sup> 2005, the members of the committee that lead this band were in the process of finalizing the theme for Carnival 2006. One of the band leaders and the research officer, Enrico explained to me how the band operates and how they come up with the ideas. Their process seems to be a more logical and structured one, seeming to leave nothing to chance. This band was representative of the business model that has crept into the Carnival mas' production and that some members of the community blame for the decline in the mas' making standards. I found that ironic because on the one hand individuals claim that there are no standards or rules, and on the other they critique

the new age bands for lack of standards. One of the band producers, Dave Cameron, in describing the band organizational structure said,

*The team we have presently is the same team from 1999. And what we have done in our structure is that we have brought in people with specialties into areas that we need in order to enhance the management of the band.* (transcribed interview, 2005)

Enrico is the one given the lead to “look for a theme that he thinks will do the band justice for the following year” (Dave, transcribed interview, 2005). Enrico described how he read two volumes of books compiled by Richard Burton about the life of the Arabian peoples around 1400 and then met with the designer and came up with the themes for the 2004 band.

*Every night I would lie in bed and read one chapter, one chapter, one chapter. At the end of reading these 2 volumes, we began to formulate in June and July what the costume should be like. I gave him some themes of what the section should look like and Gerry sat down here with me that night and looked at 20 themes that we should cover for this one band.*

The two band leaders then met with Enrico and discussed the theme and began to develop the concept which they soon share with the section leaders. Bands that cater for larger numbers over 2000, like this band, have one mas’ camp headquarters and numerous small mas’ camps, which the committee oversees to ensure quality. Their production process is located in numerous small spaces throughout the country but mainly in the Port of Spain/Woodbrook area. These individual section leaders are interviewed before they are chosen and are accountable to the leadership of the band for the production of the costumes that fit in with the overall theme decided on by the committee members.

### *Ways to learn to make mas'*

I began by using Spradley's domain analysis to search the data for ways in which the individual members were describing how they learn or learned to make mas'. I used these findings to construct the domain analysis worksheet in Table 11. I then did another count of the 36 individual interviews to find out how the members varied in how they said they learned to make mas'. The results are graphically represented in Table 12. This approach was in keeping with my view that the individual's as well as the group's beliefs are important to an understanding of the community.

Table 11: Domain analysis worksheet: Ways to learn to make mas' I

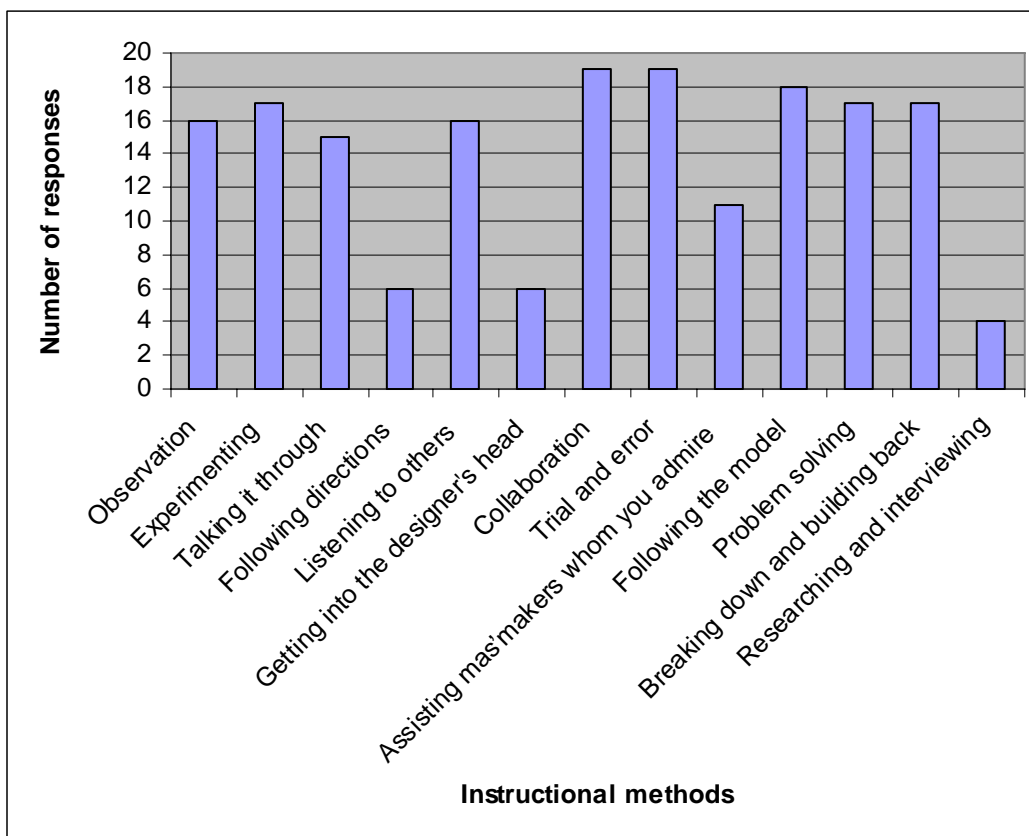
1. Semantic Relationship: Means-End 2. Form: X (is a way to do ) Y 3. Example: Trial and error is a way to learn to make mas'		
Included Terms		Semantic Relationship
<div> <div> <div>Trial and error</div> <div>Assisting mas' makers whom you admire</div> <div>Following the model</div> <div>Playing with materials</div> <div>Problem solving</div> <div>Breaking down and building back</div> <div>Researching and interviewing</div> </div> <div> <div>Observation</div> <div>Experimentation</div> <div>Talking it through</div> <div>Following directions</div> <div>Listening to others</div> <div>Getting into the designer's head</div> <div>Collaboration</div> </div> </div>		<div> <div>is a way to learn to</div> <div>→</div> <div>make mas'</div> </div>
<b>Structural Question: How does one learn to make mas'?</b>		

Collaboration and trial and error were the two ways of learning to make mas' that applied to most members of the group. Members were consistent in their beliefs that activities like



observation, experimentation, talking it through, following the model, problem solving, and breaking down and building back are some of the practices that facilitate their learning to make mas'.

Table 12: Instructional methods: Ways to learn to make mas'



### Summary

In Chapter 1 of the study I said that the demographic data did not adequately describe the mixture and the range of persons in the Trinidadian society. The same statement could be made about the learning and teaching practices involved in making mas'. I have found that the spaces in which mas' making takes place, the persons involved in the mas' making activities, the kinds of knowledge (s) gained from the activities, and the practices used to learn and teach mas'

making are varied and diverse. The range in the kinds of activities needed to make mas' allows for limitless opportunities for learning about mas' making and about one's self as a learner. The varied nature of the knowledge (s) that persons bring and use in the mas' making process and the interactive nature of the situation also contribute to the variety of learning-teaching practices. The learner can be a novice and an expert within the learning-teaching environment. This fluidity, interactivity, limitless opportunities for learning-teaching, variety and diversity of knowledge (s) within organizational structures and spaces that vary in status make learning-teaching in the mas' camp happen.

## CHAPTER 6

### WHY DO MAS' MAKERS HAVE TO MAKE IT HAPPEN

The purpose of my research project was to explore how members of the community learn to make mas'. I viewed this from the perspective of learning as practice or social participation in a community. In this chapter I focus on the meanings three members of the mas' making community make of their practices. The emphasis is on why these members believe they have to make it happen and the accounts they give for their levels of commitment to making it happen annually. I provide ethnographic profiles of how they came to mas' making, their values, beliefs, standards, and the kinds of mas' making practices in which they are involved. Their individual narratives and photographic images assist me in presenting them as people who live and breathe mas' making.

I selected three members from the community for these data stories in the form of ethnographic profiles, which move between the general and the specific. The criteria I used to make the selection of the members from among the network of persons I interacted with were (1) their levels of expertise, (2) the kinds of skills and knowledge they brought to the *cultural pool*, and (3) the kinds of mas' making in which they were involved.

The questions I asked of the data set to explore the members' perceptions of learning-teaching practices associated with making mas' work were

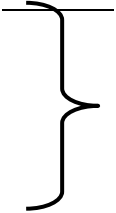
1. How do the members' view themselves as mas' makers?

2. What are the members' perspectives on the learning-teaching practices that support their ability to make mas'?
3. How are these perspectives linked to values, standards for making mas', beliefs on what is mas', and the customs of the mas' camp?

The domain analysis tables below represent (1) the characteristics members attributed to themselves and (2) their reasons for making mas' in Trinidad Carnival. I present these terms as indicators of how they were viewing themselves and the impact these might have on the kinds of learning and teaching practices they valued.

Table 13: Domain analysis worksheet: Characteristics mas' maker attribute to themselves

1. Semantic Relationship: Attribution
2. Form: X (is a characteristic of ) Y
3. Example: Perfectionism is characteristic of a mas' maker.

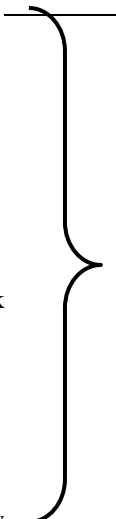
Included Terms		Semantic Relationship	Cover Term
perfectionism	humility		mas' makers
Inquisitiveness	giftedness		
commitment	willingness to learn		
Intuitiveness	systematic	is characteristic of →	
Logic	Neatness		
Quickness	Patience		
Visionariness	Insightfulness		

**Structural Question: What are the characteristics the mas' makers attribute to themselves?**

The members chose positive characteristics to describe themselves as mas' makers. The interview situation was not set up in such a way to warrant the members making negative comments on themselves and none of the questions pointed to the challenges they faced as learners. In that sense, it is understandable that they pointed to attributes that supported their learning and teaching practices.

Table 14:  
Domain analysis work sheet: Reasons for making mas'

1. Semantic Relationship: Relations
2. Form: X (is a reason for doing)) Y
3. Example: A need to earn a living is a reason for making mas'.

Included Terms		Semantic Relationship	Cover Term
Patriotism	Serendipity	 is a reason for	making mas'.
Making profit	a need to earn a living		
A recreational space	Opportunity to learn how it works		
Satisfaction in seeing the final product	place to get some food and something to drink		
Way of making participants and viewers happy	Opportunity to show case their talents		
Making use of a gift from the Creator	Member of a family involved in the activity		
<b>Structural Question: Why do selected members participate in making mas'?</b>			

The reasons for learning to make mas' vary from economic to spiritual. Although one participant claimed that, intuitively, every Trinidadian knows how to make mas', there is still the

need to learn some skills and to gain the experience of working with others. The learning however appears to be lifelong as the craft evolves and members are creating new and varied ways of making mas'. In the following ethnographic profiles of three members of the mas' making community, I present the meanings they make of the mas' making practices that inform their individual activities.

*Kendall De Peaza: Ethnographic profile*



A wire frame of an insect which Kendall created using chicken mesh wire.

A covered and decorated wire frame head piece.

Figure 41: Kendall's' Wire bending

**Kendall:** *I always say that life is a learning process. I have retired now and they say when you retire is when you relax, well I now start to learn....De Peeza how you looking so young, you looking like how you was looking all the time. Yes. Because I now start to learn, I young now.*

Kendall as a young boy watched closely as his uncle and grand father made mas' costumes for Starlift Steel orchestra in the backyard of his home. Kendall used ends of wire and their tools to make little men and bicycles. His grandmother at whose breast he was nurtured and

whom he loved dearly would say to him, “*What you doing there always with a set of wire all over the place?*” That did not deter him and he continued to develop his wire bending skill in the quiet of her home. Kendall was teaching himself the art of wire bending using observation and his intuitive knowledge. “*I watch people do work and I add to what they do*” was Kendall’s way of describing how he developed his skill as a wire bender.

Kendall’s secondary school teacher played an important role in launching him into wire bending. Forty odd years ago, Kendall’s teacher, who was also a dancer, inquired whether any one could assist in making the costumes for his company. Kendall can still remember what the costume looked like: “*It was red velvet, I remember it good. So we did the roses red and white, and we bent the petals a little rough because I am learning*”. Kendall had never done it before but he thought, “*I could do that.*” Kendall could not recall the student’s name, but he remembers him saying to the teacher. “*Sir, sir, Peeza say he could do it*”. When his teacher asked him whether he could do it his response was “*I never did it before.*” The teacher replied, “*You said you could make it, you feel you could make it. I will supply you with material and cloth.*” This “*brave and inquisitive*” [Kendall’s description of himself] young man began his work as a wire bender building costumes for the late Cyril St. Louis’ dance company.

Reading is one of the individual practices that Kendall believes accounts for his growth as a learner. He claims,

*I did a lot of reading. I would buy books and I would read and read all forms of creative ideas where you would do carpentry, mason. I would read any book it have. I would buy books on upholstery. I have learnt years ago and I have that is a process. I have learnt coming up the road to read and understand. I went into computer by reading.....*

Kendall credits his involvement with members of the community for the development of his learning and teaching practices. Kendall met Peter Minshall, one of Trinidad Carnival mas' art designers, while he was making mas' with Stephen Lee Heung. He soon began working with the Peter Minshall and Callaloo Company and his mas' making practices developed. Minshall and Kendall began learning and teaching each other. Kendall loves Minshall's "*concepts and ideas.*"

**Janice:** *What did you like about it?*

**Kendall:** *That it is different to the original aspects of mas' and there was more art to the mas'.*

Kendall loves the revolutionary ideas associated with mas' and the final product that they are able to create. In the interview, Kendall tells the story of Minshall, the designer, calling him on the phone and giving him an idea for a costume. Kendall created it out of wire without even seeing the design on paper. When he got to the designer with the product, it was close to what had been drawn on paper.

At the same time, his understanding of self and the notion that "*we need to get into each other's head and learn from and with each other*" fascinated him. Kendall reminisces on the time Minshall said to him, "*Peaza I get into your head and you have to learn to get into my head and understand.*" Minshall, Kendall claimed, taught him that they were both learners and teachers. This process of understanding the designer's perspective is a very important strategy for Kendall as a learner and a teacher of mas' making.

In response to my request for an explanation of how he interacts with persons who come to the mas' camp with less experience in the mas' camp Kendall stated:

*What happens is that they start by for example, I have the forms to make and they don't have the technique of making the form. I say well, 6" x 9" and I want this cut square. It is a simple thing everybody could do. And eventually while I working I will give them a*



*hands-on. Like see if you could bend this thing in a C for me ...in a semi-circle for me. And they do it. I say ok. You give me six semi-circles, you give me five flats and you give me...long ones. Ready to put together. Tighten the wire. I may have to come back and adjust but what is happening in that is a learning process. I am not only being assisted but I am teaching also and they are learning.*

As a teacher of mas' making in a more formal context at the university, Kendall sees himself as the instrument to "open the valve" and a learner. He assists in the release of creativity within the persons with whom he interacts, and he learns from them. At the same time, he has the joy of giving to someone else the knowledge he has.

**Kendall:** *It is just to give the person my experience, what I know I give it on to somebody else. I will show them how to do it and how not to do it and coach them along the way. It is a nice thing teaching somebody to do something that you are capable of doing. It feels good when you teach somebody.*

Kendall's desire for perfection and a finished concept of mas' as he smiling says, "No half-picked duck<sup>84</sup>," is his inspiration to continue playing with the wire and experimenting with its form and the use of color. He wants to bring it to perfection. Meanwhile, he involves himself in problem solving and responds to the requests of members of the community who need his expertise on bending the wire. While we were chatting, the telephone rings and Kendall leaves to answer the call. When he returns, he remarks that every one thinks he can do everything.

*Occasionally when they get into any tight spots they would ring me and ask Peaza, I have a lil problem tell me how you go about getting this...and simply because they use the wire at the wrong angle.....*

---

<sup>84</sup> See Glossary in Appendix A

Peaza, the wire bender, the philosopher, the psychologist, is one of those members of the community who continues to participate in the mas' making practices as his craft work evolves. Learning to make mas' is not an end in itself but a means to an end. According to Peaza, *"I am doing the master's work."*

*Rosalind Gabriel: Ethnographic profile*

Children's Carnival mas' has become synonymous with the name Rosalind Gabriel. Rosalind is strong in her commitment to making mas' that makes the wearer proud to wear it and creates an impression on those who are looking on.



Figure 42: Junior Carnival Queen 2005 from Rosalind Gabriel's Children's band

This commitment has been her driving force for the past 28 years. Her mantra, "We must teach our children how to play as well as how to work," (Pidduck, 2004) keeps her alive and working hard at making mas' annually.

**Rosalind:** *My first impression of Carnival was when I was five, six years old. My father used to take us down to Port of Spain. He had a store on Frederick Street. And I used to be terrified of the devils. The robbers, I remember running off the street into the store and*

*hiding under the counter. Because in those days they were really playing mas'. And I think from those early days those impressions stayed in my head of what Carnival is supposed to be.*

**Janice:** *How did you become a mas' maker?*

Rosalind, at age 18, began as a decorator helping Wayne Berkeley, one of the top name designers in Carnival, and a friend of her husband. Rosalind remembers her early years as a decorator in the mas' camp.

*Mostly in those years we were **helping** with decorations. Anything he had to decorate. I remember working on the big costumes and it satisfied me. I found a niche for my creativity. I like to work with my hands and I remember not being able to wait for Norman [her husband] to come from work for us to go to the mas' camp. Because it really drew me being in the mas' camp. The whole atmosphere ...it was always a nice atmosphere to work in and nice things to do.*

Rosalind learned from an early age the importance of neatness and has herself become a perfectionist and teaches those who work with her the same skills.

**Rosalind:** *I remember him being very angry if somebody didn't do something properly. And um, one thing I have to say I learnt from him and that is neatness. A costume have to look good inside and out. And even if it was underneath the costume. If you are making a costume with a skirt, he always used to say, "remember we will be on top the stage and people will be looking up." So we used to decorate the skirt underneath as well. Which is something I do up to this day because I don't want anybody looking up and seeing a rough finish under. So I have this thing I got from Wayne that everything has to be perfect. It has to be looking good inside and properly surged and thing.*

Rosalind began her own production work, making costumes for her son Andrew and working with well-known designers like Peter Minshall, whose work she values highly.

***Rosalind:** After the influence of Wayne Berkeley, I started seeing Minshall coming out and really being, I can't explain the feeling in me, that I have to be part of this. I must be part of this. And I remember the first year he made those costumes I remember saying to myself, "I must get him to design a costume for my son. Which happened in the late 80s. Peter designed a costume Super Nova for Andrew and he helped me along the way. And the costume was spectacular. ...and I never stopped being influenced by him.*

Rosalind learned by doing and interacting with the wire benders and designers in Trinidad. In the early period 1977-1988, she worked with almost every prolific designer and wire bender, including *Stephen Lee Heung, Stephen Sheppard & Stacy Wells partnership, Wayne Berkeley, Cito Velasquez, Joanna Humphrey, and John Humphrey*. She finally launched her own band in 1989 and continues to collaborate with designers and mas' makers in the community to produce a children's band and a Monday family band for children and their parents.

Rosalind provided me with an example of how she collaborates with her designers and teaches them how to create costumes that "will sell" and that are suitable for children in the various age groups. In response to my prompt, "*So in fact the designer learns something from you in terms of what will work on a child that age.*" Rosalind explained,

*I can give you an example when Roger Meyers came to work with me....he came from an adult platform. ....I started producing local themes and he gave me the first set of sketches. I said, "Roger we need more clothes." He said, "What do you mean?" I said, "These costumes are too naked, I don't put children in naked costumes." He said, "That is what I do with adults." I said, "But now you have to learn something new. So let us*

*start putting clothes.” So he did some more sketches that were a little more covered. I said, “Don’t give me stomachs out. I don’t want children with stomachs out, their legs must be covered. So think big.”*

*He told me that up to now it was a different experience for him because he then started really using design techniques that he didn’t use in adults.*

Rosalind’s example demonstrates the interactive nature of the learning process. The designer comes to her with his techniques and skills as a designer-artist to produce drawings in this instance for her children’s Carnival band. Rosalind uses her experiences and knowledge of what works for children, her values and standards about what is mas’ to teach the artist-designer about producing sketches for her band.



Figure 43: Ceejay and Elijah: Mas’ players in Rosalind’s 2005 band

Making mas’ is a continuing learning experience in which Rosalind “tries out and experiments” with materials until she gets what she wants. Rosalind describes her learning experience:

*Well if I give you an example. Last year in the band “Nah Leaving” we wanted to make sorrel because in her calypso Denise Plummer mentioned sorrel and mauby as her favorite things to drink. And we had a sorrel section. And I wanted it to look exactly like a sorrel. So for about a month between October and November of the year preceding I was trying out how to make a sorrel. Not only me but any body who came to the mas’ camp had a hand in it. It went through a whole process of about a month until we made sorrel exactly like what you would pick off the tree, color and everything. And I kept saying to myself, “But this is madness, we can’t make a thousand sorrel we will never finish.” Somehow once you get the first one, and you have the pattern the rest is just magic.*

Learning to do sometimes takes place long before the actual production of the band costumes and it involves anybody who comes in the mas’ camp. It is a trial-and-error process which provides the learner with a great deal of satisfaction and meets the needs of the producer-designer-band leader.

Learning and teaching is not only about making the mas’ but what the participants in the band, the children, and their parents can learn from the experience. Every year must also be a learning experience for the children who play in the band. The themes that Rosalind chooses are themes with the intention of teaching the children about some aspect of the country’s culture.

**Rosalind:** *The theme we choose each year must have a learning experience for them. The year we did panorama, I celebrated the steel band and the children got a history of each steelband. We actually gave them a history. The children have to get a learning experience. This year they learned about Peter Minshall, and my main thing is that the children learn from the production.*

The producer-mas' maker does not have to have learned all the skills necessary to produce the band. Rosalind searches throughout the country to find persons from whom she can learn and who can provide her with the skills she needs to produce the band. Learning therefore is a collaborative process in which the producer combines her experience, knowledge, and skills with those of other members of the community. The advent of new techniques sends her in search of persons with the skills.

***Rosalind:*** *I remember when I heard about this wielder, I had no idea who he was or where he was. And it took me two to three years to find out he was located in Belmont. It was a hush hush thing. Nobody knew where to find him. So I dug and dug until I found him and he has been working with me ever since. ....So mostly you hear about these things and you seek them out...you go looking.....So it is a search until you find the right person for the right job.*

One of the major practices in making mas' is lifting the sketches off the paper and using her knowledge to convey what she wants to the other persons like the molder, wire bender and seamstress, so that they can know what she wants. Rosalind described the practice:

*I lift them off the paper. And somehow know when I look at it what fabrics and how to construct the back pack. Before we go to the wire bender or the molder we have to know what we want. So is either we sketch out what it would like. So there is a lot of work to do to lift that costume. We have to make patterns, templates, we have to talk to the dress maker.*

Rosalind might be the expert in her mas' camp and in the production field, but she has to rely on the molder and the wire bender's expertise and learn from them what is possible. The wire bender, molder, or seamstress have their own skills and expertise, but need the ideas from

Rosalind to learn how to produce the design she needs. There is that dynamic flow between learner and teacher.

Mas' making is a calling that encourages Rosalind to keep on producing and learning from and with the designers, the craftsmen, and her workers to produce a band that can bring joy to both the audience and the participants.

*Geraldo Vieira: Ethnographic profile*

**Geraldo Senior:** *I trust you, Janice, I know you will be going to different places and seeing different types of mas' making. But what you see here, you will not see anywhere else. Some things are confidential, but I will share them with you because I know the kind of work you are doing. OK?* [looking straight at me as always]



Figure 44: The mas' makers: Gerald Senior and Junior

Geraldo is the lead member of this family team that works out of the molding factory building space I described in Chapter 4. The father daughter, son, friends, and family members work together to create the mas' costumes for Carnival. Their focus is on creating costumes of the kings and queens of particular bands and molds for numerous bands throughout the country



that have replaced wire and foam with plastic molds. Individual mas' players also use their assistance in the production of a costume.

Vieira mas' camp, as I refer to it, created and produced the queen costume *Hispaniola* and the king costume *The secrets of the Abyss* for the masquerade band *Trini Revellers*. I observed the different stages in the creation of the costumes and participated in the decorating of the queen costume. "You can even go to the savannah with us, Janice," Pat, Geraldo's sister in-law and the person who ensured there was always something to eat and drink, assured me. "We will get passes for you." The two semiformal interviews were therefore the culmination of a relationship that developed over the Carnival season.

*Geraldo Vieira: Becoming a mas' maker*

At age 15 Geraldo became an apprentice pattern maker. Sixty-one years later he brings to the community of mas' makers his wide range of skills and expertise, and he has added a new dimension, *pyrotechnics*, which he introduced to Carnival mas'. The mas' player becomes a performer on stage with switches and gadgets that allow for mechanical movement and manipulation of various parts of the costume. What is Geraldo's view of himself as a mas' maker?

In recounting his early years Geraldo explained to me that his first trade and the engineering skills he developed allowed him to make mas' in the way he does.

**Geraldo:** *Pattern making is a woodwork trade, one of the nearest trade to engineering—making a pattern of an engine to be able to cast the engine in cast iron or steel, machine it in the machine shop, and produce it in do the fitting and everything and make up an engine. So my trade was one of few. It is dying now because there is no pattern shop in Trinidad and Tobago or maybe in the West Indies as far as I know. But it allows me to do*

*anything possible* Because to be a good pattern maker you must be able to produce anything—a phone, the ring on your hand, the watch on your hand, the ear ring on your ears, the pump that you have in your house, the lock that you opening and closing

He is a wire bender, a molder, a designer, a craftsman, a decorator, a sculptor, a woodworker, and a welder. Over the years Geraldo had developed numerous skills that made him “different” and an invaluable contributor to the cultural pool.

**Geraldo:** *The thing with me I different. I would know if the machine man going wrong, if Dash going wrong, I would know; if the welder going wrong I would know. If the decorator going wrong I will know, if the seamstress going wrong and I will know if the painter going wrong because all these things I do. All these things is my trade. So I am different to all, and that’s why all come to me.*

Working and learning in Vieira’s mas’ camp means that I was exposed to many activities and practices taking place under one roof. Although the focus is one or two large costumes, the range of skills needed to produce the costume provides a more holistic learning experience.

Geraldo shared that his limited formal schooling, his exciting boyhood days as the “White Rab,” and his inability to continue post-elementary-school education because of his father’s death affected the content of his formal learning.

**Geraldo:** *I am the simplest of persons. I will use words I can’t spell the words, so I buy a dictionary. Because I want to know how to spell the words to write I going to the dictionary, because I wasn’t taught. To that level, but because I am on that level a little further; I have to manage and do it. That’s why I have fear in writing and even going to give big lectures. But when I’m lecturing I’m telling them I’m not a lecturer.*

Geraldo credits a supreme being for his creativity because unlike other artists in the community he did not go anywhere to learn this mas' making.

**Geraldo:** *I thank the Lord everyday for the creativity that he instills into me, because I don't know where I could go to learn this. I didn't leave my country to study art like some of the artist here. And I compete with them and I make costumes that they could never make. And the people see it. Those same people that study art come to me to be able to sculpt and do molding and for them. So everyone come to me. I don't really go to anybody.*

I wondered aloud where then did his ideas for the bands come from?

**Geraldo:** *What I really do Janice is, think of costume that I have never seen in order to come up with the design. And of course you have to choose the subject of what you doing or what you playing...and it must coordinate with the band, so we must know what the band playing. So when you seeing something every year and you go to interfere with it then you have to be extravagant to be able to come and conquer the opinion of the judges. So I try to get around the designs that is within my vision, in other words within my country. And don't go too much on the outside. If we want to create history of carnival, we should all do it on our own. It is our culture so it is our subject and it is our topic for someone to write on.*

*I love to create I like to be authentic and realistic and that is why I choose any thing from nothing; or something from nothing. In other words I will say I want to play a Cray fish; now a Cray fish is a fish; what I would do I would ask friends my brother someone who goes to the river and see or where. I want a Cray fish and I want a crystallize one, the one that you look like you seeing through the bones and everything. And they will get one*

*for me and what I will do I will take it and put it in an aquarium and watch it, feed it, I mind it like you mind fish and study it and watch the behavior and the habits*

Geraldo's research methods adopt the interactive form of observations and studying the subject that he uses for his design. He combines his engineering ability and his belief in the source of creation to justify his choice of design structure. His passion for engineering allows him to view it as the right way and to continue to play with the structure as he creates his designs. On my visit home in July, he anxiously awaited my arrival to share with me the prototype of his 2006 costume and its engineering structure.

**Geraldo:** *You doing design you have to go the right way; the right way is the only way; it is the engineering way. So your structure must conform with your design so it don't get distorted. In other words if you making the Cray fish you must not see the structure as something else that holds the Cray fish. You must see the structure part of the Cray fish; and if the Lord he create everything on this earth and you follow the Lord in his creation and you building a human being the best structure to hold the human being is the structure of the human/ It is the spine, it is the exact structure and nothing more and if the Lord create the tree that carries a trunk, that carries roots, that holds in the foundation to bear this big tree towering 20 feet up in the air that house branches, good a trunk and branches coming off of it with stems and leaves and fruits, towering 25, 30 feet wide; what is more perfect than that. So these are the things you must follow so you have to telescopic your rods, to be able to do it; and if you look at man all they follow, is anything that the Lord create they follow; to create a car to create a plane is a bird. A car is a very simple thing because you can make the form it has four wheels and it could move....That is how my structure is made. My structure is made following a vehicle...with*

*two wheels properly aligned and properly racked to move forward and backward to balance and counter balance*

I was always concerned about what seemed to be a difference in the teams that worked on the different costumes and thought I would ask for an explanation. I noted that although men worked on both costumes, there was an absence of women working on the king's costume.



Figure 45: The king's costume: Construction crew

**Janice:** *So you have all these people together and then you have Gabriella and to me that's a like a little community family and friends [yes it is it is] learning and teaching because, you know, just explain to me how it works.*

**Geraldo:** *Well, how it works is like this. You look for people that you know that is capable of doing certain jobs that will relate to the question. Certain jobs, with certain people, don't relate to the costumes. But a man like Herbert Dash, will relate to my costume, not Inez own, because Inez own don't take mechanism, you see, the queen is not a detailed and a costume to transform or open or with technical pieces on to*

*it like the tentacle was a technical thing. So the only person there who could really assist me on that part of the job was Dash, in correcting the down fall in it and the down fall was it lean forward it lean downward with weight and we had to use jumper cables. So, Dash is the one capable of doing that. The only other person, it's me, but I have so many things to do. I have molds to do, I have the carvings to do, I have to teach or show, the assembling to do. So that is how we have different type people.*

Rohit, one of the main workers in the mas' camp, has been with the community since the age of 14. His expertise in mathematics has made him the trusted expert in that area as Geraldo hands the responsibility over to him. There is that sharing and coordination between the two persons as the costume is being constructed and when it is assembled at the competition site.

**Geraldo:** *I tell him, calculate the four distances for me. I want two-thirds, one-third, and one-sixth, he will work it out and he will tell me "okay, this piece is so much, that piece is so much, that piece is so much". And he will come to me and say, "I will allow six inches for going in and that will be from the first to the second to last or the first to last, which you wanted. You want the tops going in or you want the bottom going in?" I say, "All right, I want bottom going in". So he say, "okay it will be from the last to the second to last because the top will be the exact length because it is going in". So we know what he doing, so we have coordination there and he know and I know. Dash won't know that because Dash come to meet it already assemble, everything in order. When Dash come in, Dash would say, "Geraldo, what you want me to help you to do?" I say, "Okay. I want a pulley made, here is a piece of brass, there is the lathe, there is the tools." Bang, bang, bang and nothing more.*



Figure 46: Rohit-Mathematics wizard and mas' maker

Geraldo the teacher has standards and rules that he enforces in the interest of perfection and quality of the final product. His student has to learn to follow directions and to give directions to other students and ensure they are followed. There are no two ways about it. Knowledge is transferred and comes directly from his source of experience and years of work in mas' making. Fun has to be mixed with standards.

*Geraldo...has to be in this for fun.. because I want certain standards and you must adhere to those standards...You did not produce to standards, you have to redo it. Take it out, do it over. Whether is in construction, whether is in decoration, whether is in painting, whether is in molding, whatever. We don't have problem in molding because we mold. We don't have problems in decorating, because we teach people to decorate who never decorate, and who we teach to decorate, then we have no problem with them. We just say go ahead Janice, you could do so and so teach Jean, Tom and Harry tell them Remember instill this in them, contact cement must be double contact, allow to dry*

*for five, ten minutes and then adhere to each other and squeeze tightly. Please don't put it on wet or single contact and you come back and you see them single contacted. You say but Tom, I just spoke to you. It must be double contact. How many is single contact? He say, "But Janice, I come up with the idea that single contact faster and it sticking down quicker and less work." Yes, but this is not what I asked you to do and that way will come off. Much going to come off, bound to come off, but when you double contact it, it don't come off.*

Mas' making for Geraldo requires standards, the willingness to be creative and open to divine inspiration, and a commitment to innovations and mechanically technical productions. His lack of formal schooling did not prevent him from getting knowledge from books and becoming the best mas' maker in his field. His apprenticeship-style learning has spilled over into his interactions with other learners whom he schools using his own style of teaching. He gives directions, he shows, he allows workers to use their skills and strengths. Mas' making is fun, but there is that need for winning the competition that often drives and motivates this expert learner and teacher who considers his mas' camp the place where you can learn to be the best.

**Geraldo:** *Well, they could go to another place or they will always come back and help me. Or if they go to somewhere else and they see somewhere else way backdated and back, they can't work there because you can't work on the top and then you go to the worst. If you improve, you will then continue, but it's hard to improve when you start from the top. You understand me?*

I used Goodenough's concept of *prospriospect* in analyzing the data. I searched the data resources and divided them into categories<sup>85</sup> based on the individual's various "standards for perceiving, evaluating, believing, and doing" (Goodenough, 1973). I did a close reading of all



the data and the images and pulled out the standards these three individual expert mas' makers, Kendall, Rosalind, and Geraldo, applied to mas' making. I shared with Kendall, as I already stated, the narrative I was constructing. I submitted the details of the table to Rosalind and chatted again with Geraldo in July 2005. The tales therefore are a coconstruction of the perceptions of these three mas' makers on learning to make mas' work. They represent the individual proporspects of the mas' makers who bring with them their personal values, standards, customs, beliefs, and practices to the community of mas' makers.

---

<sup>85</sup> See Appendices: J, K, and L for more details on the individual mas' makers.

## CHAPTER 7

### ASH WEDNESDAY<sup>86</sup>: WHAT MADE MAS' MAKING HAPPEN

In this chapter I reflect on the research process and present a summary of the findings as they relate to the following question and subquestions that evolved over the 18 month<sup>87</sup> period of the study.

**How do members of the community of mas' makers in Trinidad Carnival learn to make mas'?**

How does a mas' camp operate?

What are the kinds of practices involved in becoming a mas' maker?

What are the participants' perspectives on the mas' making practices?

I discuss the findings in light of sociocultural theories of learning, my personal theories, ethnography as methodology, and postcolonial discourse that provided the conceptual framework and guide for the study. I add to this discussion the methodological insights, implications of the study for practice, areas for further research, and the researcher's reflections. The intention is to raise questions and open debate rather than imply closure.

#### *The researcher's reflections*

In keeping with my commitment to reflexivity as an important aspect of the research process, I turn to a reflection on the processes and the product. Davies (1999) in the concluding chapter of her discourse on reflexive ethnography stated,

---

<sup>86</sup> Ash Wednesday is the day following Carnival Monday and Tuesday. After the euphoria has died down and mas' players have exchanged their mas' costumes for the ones they wear all year round, the band leaders-designers sit and reflect on the production and begin planning for the next year.

<sup>87</sup> See Time line Appendix D

Such fundamental reflexivity must be acknowledged and employed at all stages of the research process. Thus, a critical self-consciousness must be developed and incorporated from the initial stage of selecting the research topics through the interactions with others in the field to the final analytical and compositional processes. Such critical self-awareness is not simply about the individual ethnographer's social identities and personal perspectives; it also needs to encompass disciplinary perspectives and broader cultural background. At the same time, this critical reflexivity is not an end in itself—the research is not about the ethnographer; rather it is a means—in fact, the only means—of coming to know, however imperfectly, other aspects of social reality. (p. 213)

When I launched this ethnographic study of teaching-learning practices in Trinidadian Carnival mas' camps in 2003<sup>88</sup>, I had no idea where it would go, whom I would meet, what I would learn, and the effect it could or would have on the key actors and me as the researcher. I knew from the literature review<sup>89</sup> that Carnival, the popular cultural festival, had evolved into one that sociologists, historians, economists, performance theorists, politicians, and the tourist industry were valuing highly. At the same time, Trinidadians were often referred to as having a *Carnival mentality*. Taking one's time to perform work duties, having a good time while working, ensuring that partying was an important aspect of life, and paying little attention to economic issues during the Carnival season were all considered part of the Carnival mentality. Sherwayne Winchester (2005) in his calypso *Dead or Alive*, which won the title of *Road March*, made it clear that when the Carnival spirit takes over the people nothing else matters. Sherwayne claimed that the festival nourishes the spirit and people have to be a part of it regardless of the consequences. Sherwayne Winchester (2005) becomes the voice of the people as he sings,

---

<sup>88</sup> See Timeline, Appendix D

<sup>89</sup> See Time line: Appendix D

*Tell the boss man Carnival, ain't no way I working  
 Boss man threatening to fire me for sure  
 If I only leave work early once more  
 But what you better understand  
 Is that is time to take out your rag, take out your flag, and then jump up in a band.  
 Don't even try telling me to forget the season  
 Clear the way, the road is calling  
 If I not there I'll end in prison  
 Landlord rent is due:  
 That money spending on my costume  
 Don't call me now—after Carnival I will call you  
 How I flying home I ain't know for sure  
 But I guarantee I'll be there once more  
 Masqueraders when you reach town  
 I want you to take out your rag, take out your flag and then jump and carry on.  
 Come what may there is just no stopping when we feel Carnival calling  
 Free your mind, your soul, the whole, let music take control*

These powerful lyrics summarize the depth of feeling that there is for the festival. This ritual of power and rebellion (Liverpool, 2001) that came out of the country's colonial heritage became one of the contexts for my exploration of learning-teaching practices associated with making the costumes for the Carnival celebration.

The other context was the educational system. As a participant in the hierarchically stratified educational system as a student, and then as a teacher for 28 years at all levels of the system, I knew the difficulties we as educators were having in keeping large numbers of students motivated, the high failure rate in the exit exams, and the marginal success of the new plans, policies, and curriculum innovations. On the other hand, the mas' camps in which large numbers of citizens of every creed, race, and class worked, were attracting people who seemed to be highly motivated to perform their tasks, were remaking themselves, becoming valued citizens of the world, and taking pride in what they were learning to do each year. Trinidadians have taken for granted this Carnival festival that I argued could be a source of knowledge on learning and teaching practices. Shklovsky (1917/1965) explains, "After we see an object several times, we

begin to recognize it. The object is in front of us and we know about it, but we do not see it—hence we cannot say anything significant about it” (p. 13). The idea of viewing Carnival and in particular mas’ making as contributing to an understanding of learning and teaching practices was an imagined possibility that came out of: my realization that Carnival was a taken for granted activity in educational circles, my transactions with sociocultural theories of learning, postcolonial discourse, my personal theories on learning, and my adoption of constructionism as one of the many approaches to the study of human beings. My intention was not to provide solutions to the problems in education but to take another look at events and activities associated with mas’ making and in so doing make the familiar strange as I became a learner. I agreed with Kana’iaupuni (2005) whose research on Hawaii, a postcolonial nation, called for work that focuses on “strengths, rather than deficits and from a native Hawaiian world view” (p. 32), that there was a need for this kind of research. This type of research necessitated what postcolonial theorists were calling “an epistemological shift in the way events are interpreted and described” (Tikly, 1999, p. 605).

In November 2004, I reentered the field to do my home-work dressed in my anthropologist costume and carrying my bag of tools and lenses described in Chapter 3 of the study. I was committed to exploring the learning-practices that make mas’ making happen and to understanding what I argued was an important aspect of Carnival mas’ art. As I reflect on the process and the outcomes I realize that Trinidad Carnival mas’ camps, learning-teaching practices, and doing research will and can never be the same because of the community of mas’ makers with whom I worked and learned. The wire bender, the decorator, the designer, the band leaders, the Pierrot Grenade, the assistant production manager, the Jack-of-all-trades, the seamstress, the mas’ players, the personnel at the Carnival Institute, and the workers in the camp

became my teachers and co-learners. Spradley (1979) did warn me that doing ethnography was a learning experience.

*Learning to do research and to make mas'*

In the epilogue of his text *Communities of Practice*, Wenger (1998) added to his list of principles on the social perspective on learning the suggestion that, “*Learning cannot be designed*<sup>90</sup>: it can only be designed *for*—that is, facilitated or frustrated” (p. 229). This suggestion summarizes the findings as they relate to my exploration of the learning-teaching practices associated with the making of Carnival costumes and my experience as a graduate student researcher using ethnography as a research methodology. The design of the study, like learning in the mas' camp, was emergent and at the same time structured enough to allow for the accumulation of experiences, continuities, discontinuities, and my exploration of the learning-teaching practices. At the same time, the ambivalence associated with the process was sometimes a source of deep anxiety, and frustration. This ambivalence however, produced the dilemma that allowed for the development of problem solving strategies, which facilitated the research process.

As a mas' maker I found that learning came out of problem solving and dealing with dilemmas faced during the construction process. When there was a problem, the prototype, the paper designer, or the production manager did not always provide the solution. The members of the group were often called on to come up with answers and ways to solve it. Individual members of the community of mas' makers would then make use of the knowledge (s) they gained from other communities of practice or from past experiences to solve the problem. The solution could come, as Patrick described, from even the youngest member of the community who at that point becomes the teacher. Sometimes members turned to the elders in the

community for solutions to the problems. The elders would then become what I termed the traditional teacher whom students and teachers themselves often view as the source of knowledge. At other times through collaboration and group discussion the problem was solved.

I soon learned that I could not be a fly on the wall or a total observer. I needed to become a member of the community and a co-constructor of knowledge. Gaining access, making decisions about where, who, and what to observe assisted my process of becoming a member of the community of mas' makers. The experience challenged the whole issue of my nativeness and at the same time allowed me to gain a new understanding of what it takes to do ethnography and not just collect data using ethnographic methods. It was hard and disciplined work; I needed to be always open and willing to go with the flow and trust that things would work out. To learn to make mas' I had to be committed to spending long hours on my feet, become deeply involved, and engaged in the entire process. Learning was indeed a social process in which I made mas' with the members of the community, became a member of the community, experienced physical exhaustion, joy, sadness, and the satisfaction of having contributed to making it happen.

Learning was facilitated and frustrated throughout the process but I became aware of the importance of community and the strength of combining the various knowledge (s) of members of the group. My identity as a graduate student researcher was less important as I became a volunteer worker in the mas' camp and developed relationships that allowed me to experience what it means to make mas' and to negotiate meanings with the mas' makers. I was forced to give up control and to allow myself to be taught by persons whose knowledge about mas' making was invaluable to my research project. When my research design seemed to fail, I turned to my dissertation committee members, my friends in the community of qualitative researchers, my peers and the literature as I worked through the dilemmas and frustration, came up with ways

---

<sup>90</sup> Author's italics.

of dealing with the issues of gaining access, selecting sites and key actors, transforming the data, and creating the ethnography of teaching-learning practices in Trinidadian Carnival mas' camps.

*Learning to make mas': A high stakes activity*

I found mas' making to be a complex activity that took place in a variety of borrowed spaces and involved a range of persons participating in familiar and unfamiliar activities as they engaged in the process of mas' making. My experiences in the mas' camps, my interactions with the key actors in the interview process, and the subsequent transformation of the data, made me realize that I was unaware of the kinds of collaborations, social interactions, experiments, co-construction of knowledge, disciplined, and committed work that facilitate mas' making. Amidst the fun-filled atmosphere, calypso, soca, and chutney soca music, *ole talk*, lots of laughter, and sometimes smoking and drinking, there were the range of practices that I have described and represented in the chapters 5 and 6 of the study. These practices borrowed from the formal school context included problem solving, observations, experimenting, direct transmission of knowledge, collaboration, trial and error, listening to others, and talking it through. These activities were not planned in advance and resulted from what was needed to make mas' making happen. This led to a more co-participatory approach to learning, and in the process more of acquisition and less of a transmission of knowledge.

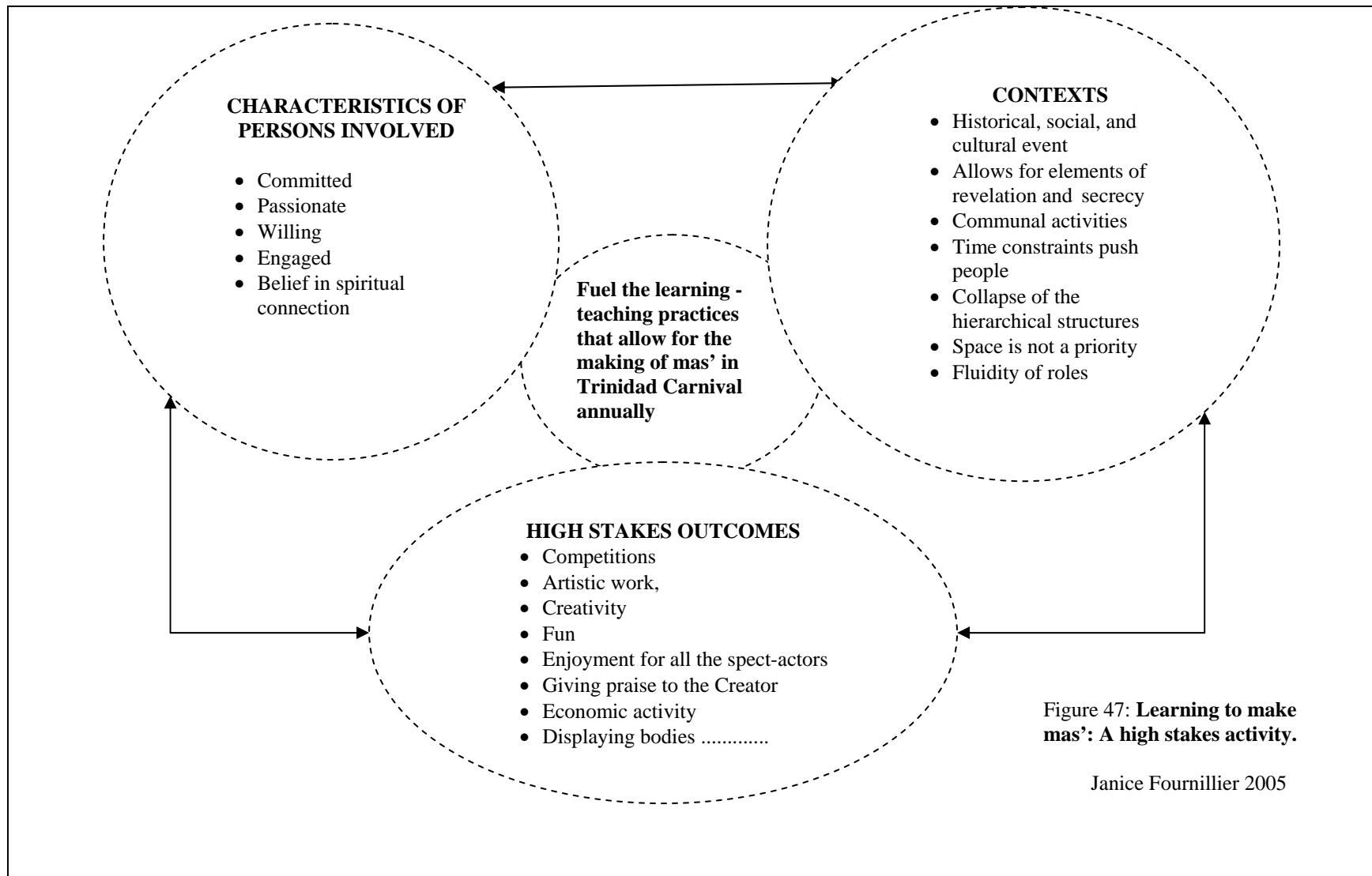
An important feature of mas' making was the wide variety of activities in which individuals could become involved as mas' makers, the opportunities for learning, developing, moving in and out of the peripheries, and a sense of agency. Maria was able to "come in off the street," bringing with her cultural competency in business education. Although she was not an expert mas' maker she was given a leadership role. A novice in the area of mas' making, she learned from the production manager and more experienced members of the camp. Her daily



purchase of materials gave her recognition in the field, and she began to be identified as a member of the community. Her knowledge and business skills gained from the traditional classroom helped her to achieve the status of full participant in the area of management of the ground staff. Meanwhile she remained a novice and learned from the elders by observing, following directions, and assisting them. Rosalind came from her home as a young woman with an interest in decorating and learned by observing and working with the experts. Rosalind took these experiences and combined them with her deep commitment to creating mas' for her children and her love of the art form and developed into one of the more well known children's band leaders. Lave (1997) in making the comparison between learning in the conventional classrooms and learning in practice like in the mas' camp pointed to the weakness of explicit and intense knowledge transmission. However, Lave (1997) stated,

Learners who understand what they are learning in terms that increasingly approach the breadth and depth of understanding a master practitioner, are likely to understand themselves as active agents in the appropriation of knowledge, and hence may act as active agents on their own behalf. (p. 34)

This sense of agency which came out of the contexts, the characteristics of the people involved, and the high stakes attributed to the activities, contributed to the members' motivation to do, be, become, and experience mas' making that was ever present among members of the community of mas' makers. However, in contrast to Lave and Wenger's (1991) theory of legitimate peripheral participation, mastery of knowledge and skill does not only deal with ways in which "newcomers move toward full participation" (p. 29) but also how the masters and novices move back and forward along the peripheries. There were the fluidity of roles and the flattening of hierarchies that made each member of the community an important part of the group.



The size of the space, the kind of mas', and the finances that were available influenced the accessibility the mas' maker had to a range of mas' making practices. At the Vieira's camp in which Geraldo Senior was not only an expert in various practices, but also a magnet who drew to his camp a wide range of persons, the mas' maker and the novice learner were at a distinct advantage. The novice mas' maker could observe, be part of the experimental work, get guidance and direction from the experts, and develop his or her own practices through hands-on activities. At the same time, because, according to Vieira, it was a fun activity and not a business or money-making thing, there was always a need for volunteers, and the learner felt welcomed. There were never too many hands. Mas' makers who were forced into operating solitary businesses also needed assistance and were always willing to share and work with persons willing to learn. The willingness to learn seemed to be an important characteristic the members attributed to themselves or judged was a characteristic of a mas' maker.

The mas' makers perceived these practices as allowing them to use their natural talents, provide enjoyment for others, earn a living, and keep the culture alive. In addition, they were able to gain personal satisfaction and recognition for these talents. Although some of the mas' makers were experts in their field, they moved in and out of their roles as teachers, learners, experts, and novices. Kendall, Senor Gomez, Patrick, and Rosalind are examples of mas' makers who evolved from novice to expert, but still remain novices in some areas. Patrick explained in his interview that his students can be his bosses. They tell him what they wanted or needed to make the mas'. Senor Gomez, and Kendall, expert wire benders, found themselves learners in the presence of a designer whose work they were producing. When they were making the wire frames, they were the expert teachers, and the designer became the learner. It was this fluidity in

the roles and statuses of the individuals that made for collaborative and productive learning and teaching situations.

Mas' makers perceived of mas' making as an activity in which people have to be flexible, creative, innovative, physically strong to withstand the pressures of late nights and long days, continually striving for perfection and in tune with their spirituality. The mas' makers were able to transform the small spaces into large scale production units for thousands of costumes or one massive king or queen costume. Such was the level of resourcefulness. In institutionalized educational settings, we take for granted the spaces within which we place our students. The straight backed desks and the hard chairs can not be compared to the stools and the work bench and the steps on which mas' makers located themselves to make mas'. The structured unstructured space reframed the traditional hierarchical design that is easily recognized in a formal education setting. This physical arrangement of the sometimes limited, or even the unlimited space, allowed for ease of movement, observation, modeling, collaboration, and problem solving during mas' making. These were some of the practices that members of the community identified as important in learning to make mas.

There was the feeling among some members of the community that the mas' camp spaces themselves might, like the educational system, be hierarchically located. This is possible given the stratified nature of the postcolonial society in which Carnival is located. This disparity in the mas' camps resulted in smaller and less affluent bands having to resort to developing their practices and making mas' in spaces that were not as structurally and physically convenient as the other well financed spaces. At the same time, it is in these spaces the practices are born and given life. Mas' makers came from every possible social and economic background to provide the skills and practices for the more recognized bands in the community. In 2005 Carnival in

particular, there were large bands in what Ken referred to as ‘high spaces’, which employed the services of mas’ makers in not-so-high spaces, to construct parts of their costumes. The innovativeness of members of the community who live on the edges and have been able to ‘borrow a space’ and make it into a mas’ camp is probably responsible for keeping the mas’ making culture alive.

Mas’ making was about the ability of the mas’ makers to make the links between the design, the costume, the mas’ player, and construction and reconstruction of the prototypes. When there was a common space in which various skilled crafts persons came together, the possibilities for creation and production and learning were unlimited.

Mas’ camps are not primarily learning systems or designed for learning to take place. However, when individuals come together in the mas’ camp the mutual engagement around the activities result incidentally, directly and indirectly in learning. There is an even greater likelihood of learning taking place when there is prolonged social interaction, coparticipation, and repetition of activities. I found this to be characteristic of the mas’ camps where members’ individual propiorspects came together to form a culture pool from which they could draw and contribute as they sought answers to on-going problems. The quantity and the quality of assistance that individuals received or contributed to the pool were relative. However, most people because of their level of commitment to the task of producing the costumes and the joy and satisfaction they received from the mas’ players use of the costumes, have made the activity one to which they are willing to make a contribution.

### *Methodological Insights*

This research provides researchers interested in ethical issues surrounding the use of qualitative research methodologies with some insights. Although there are ethical principles,

standards, guidelines, and procedures governing how the study ought to proceed, there are always the unplanned and the unforeseen incidents that are characteristic of ethnographic research studies. Researchers often view ethical issues as they relate to the harm the process can cause to the participant and make plans for dealing with them if and when they arise. This study challenges researchers who use qualitative research methodologies and qualitative methods of data collection to look at ethical issues from a different angle. The advantages gained from a social networking selection process created in the end a dilemma of deciding who should be left out of the study. Leaving out any one of the actors, I judged would be doing a disservice to those people who were part of the process and openly requested that their names be mentioned. In the end my moral obligation to those who invested their time and energy in the project won out, and I created a figure<sup>132</sup> that allowed me to represent most of the key actors in the study although I could not use all of the narratives and or experiences shared. This situation points to the strengths and possible weakness of research in which native researchers use a network selection strategy that gives them access but at the same time leaves them feeling obligated and with a sense of responsibility to those with whom they learn and work. The situation calls for flexibility that Sieber (1992) stated, “is needed to fit the research plans with the needs of the community” (p. 42).

*Combination of art forms: Photography and Carnival mas’ art*

Photography became a part of the discourse on teaching-learning practices associated with Carnival mas’ art in Trinidad. Photography was an appropriate choice because it is an art form that not only allows for visual representation but also speaks for itself. The photographs that I took during field work sessions and others that local photographer, Fred shared with me, were a rich source of field notes. I went into the field hoping to be able to observe and write

---

<sup>132</sup> See Figure 12

using the usual tools paper, pencil and computer tools. The situation as I described it in detail in Chapter 4, demanded that I find alternative ways of writing field notes.. By moving away from the strict notion of field notes as written text, I was able to meet the needs of the community to have me operate as a full participant and at the same time use a means of data collection that allowed for my return to the scene and site during the data transformation process. The photographs served as a means of confirming or disconfirming the issues and ideas that I was representing in the analysis and findings. The representation provided the readers with a means of vicariously experiencing mas' making within the specific context and making their own assessment of the situation.

#### *Implications for practice*

Given that most of the research on learning communities and learning in practice features people in the Western world or from the African continent, this research adds to the pool of work done in another kind of nonschool context and another region of the world. This research provides a starting point for researchers and educators in school and nonschool contexts who view critical pedagogy as valid and valuable tool and dare to risk allowing the members of their learning communities to do, be, become, and experience as they learn in practice and remake themselves in the process. Alexander (2004) in her Presidential address to the American Psychological Association Division 15 reminded her audience that one size does not fit all and made a plea for research that takes into account the changing demographics of the global society and in particular the United States. Alexander (2004) stated,

Although we present outcomes as global and generalizable, their true multicultural, international character remains suspect. Even when cross-cultural studies are reported, U.S. data appear to become the baseline against which all other cultures or nationalities

are compared. Consequently, models of learning and development in which sociocultural differences hold no sway should be replaced with models that build on the social and cultural diversity that exists now and in the future. (p. 153)

This study is one example of work that provides a model of learning-teaching practices within a country other than the U.S. This ethnographic study provides insights into a specific context in a postcolonial society. However, the in-depth and detailed descriptions of the contexts, the key actors and their activities were meant to provide the readers with an opportunity to translate the findings to their individual contexts. The readers are being asked to make an assessment of the needs of their particular situations and question how they could use the high stakes outcomes, the characteristics of their key actors, and their particular contexts to allow for the growth, development, and sustenance of the kinds of passion, commitment, willingness, and desire to be a part of a learning community that were found in the Carnival mas' camps.

Carnival as popular culture is not just a national cultural activity but one to which individual members of many and varied communities bring their individual proporspect and in so doing, contribute to making the festival what it continues to become for the nation and the wider communities. The policy makers and stakeholders now have an example of the kinds of other kinds of activities that take place in a mas' camp and the kinds of values that the people involved attach to the work they do.

In addition, the study pointed to the important role that spirituality played in some of the key actors' perception of how they learned and came to know about mas' making. This spirituality, which is an important part of the key actors' philosophy, is closely associated with the learning practices and the development of knowledge. The religious discourse of the individuals became one means of explaining how they come to know and learn the art of mas'



making. This discourse is directly linked with the traditional methods that they use in practice and must be included in any theoretical frame that attempts to explain how learning to make mas' happens. The members of the community were using the religious lenses that AfroCaribbean philosopher (Henry, 2000) stated were associated with the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries when Africans were forcefully brought to the region to work as slaves in the plantation economies. Henry (2000) claimed, "These were the primary lenses through which the consciousness of a racialized and colonized existence were articulated" (p. 5). Here were mas' makers in the 21<sup>st</sup> century claiming that the spiritual was an important part of their coming to know.

This study was located in a specific social, historical, and cultural context. However, the findings show that the teaching-learning practices were in many ways similar to those with which many local and international educators are familiar. What makes the study significant are the dialogic relationships between the contexts, the people involved in the activities, the high stakes outcomes and the learning-teaching practices. These individual factors all fuel each other and make mas' making the highly successful activity it becomes annually. The study is not intended to be generalizable, but instead to allow the readers to translate the findings to their own space and to begin to interrogate the teaching-learning practices of their particular context. What are the high stakes in the particular contexts? What kinds of characteristics do the people within the context possess that can fuel learning-practices and lead to meaningful and valued outcomes?

#### *Areas for further study*

Although researchers with an interest in sociocultural theories of learning and "free spaces" have explored learning as practice in non-school context, popular cultural spaces like Carnival mas' camps have not been the focus of this type of study. Caribbean Carnival based on

the Trinidad design have blossomed in many states in the U.S., in Europe, and the Caribbean islands. There are also Carnival type parades like Philadelphia's New Years Day Mummers Parade in which people spend time creating the costumes and preparing for the big parade. How does learning to make these costumes take place and what kinds of practices are involved in creating the costumes? Further research could be done on similar yet different types of popular cultural festivals and the kinds of learning in practice that take place.

This study was the first of its kind that looked at the mas' camp as a space for exploring learning-teaching practices. The limitations of time and finance did not allow for a longer stay in the field or the observations of more than 4 of 200 mas' camps in the country. The mas' making that takes place in the more *Mardi Gras* type mas' camps is another source of knowledge on learning-teaching practices involved in mas' making. Research in these types of mas' camps will allow for a more comparative type study and a greater understanding of the perceptions of these mas' makers. Traditional type mas' makers tend to perceive their costuming as being more artistic and creative and are often critical of the beads and feathers type costumes. A more balanced view of mas' making traditions can be had from exploring the kinds of practices in the *Mardi Gras* type mas' camps and the perspectives of the members who work within this community. Initial findings have shown that members of the community who make traditional mas' costumes are involved in designing and creating pieces of costumes for the *Mardi Gras* type mas' bands. There were references to the changing nature of mas' making and the increasing presence of the more business type model mas' camps. Further work can focus on the similarities and differences between the family and the business type models.

The concerns for the loss of traditional Canboulay type mas' have given rise to the practices of using the traditional mas' makers in the formal school system as teachers. As part of

my research agenda, I would like to explore how the kinds of training the mas' makers receive inform the ways in which they engage with the students, the kinds of participation that take place within these settings, and the outcomes of this kind of practice.

There continues to be a need to understand adult learning not only in the work place and the continuing education facilities but in the everyday lives and activities of persons like the mas' men, women who are often sidelined, the children who are involved in keeping the art form alive.

### *Summation*

To establish his own identity  
Caliban after three centuries must  
Himself pioneer into regions Caesar never knew.  
(James, 1980)

As a native Trinidadian, new scholar, and researcher I returned home to do pioneering work with borrowed tools, collected and analyzed data, and represented them in the form of ethnography. These remarks bring to a temporary close the case I made for exploring contexts that are not normally associated with teaching-learning practices. I borrowed the methodology and theories from anthropology, sociology, sociocultural theories of learning, postcolonial theoretical discourses, and social constructionism. Amidst the challenges and dilemmas I faced during the process, I learned how to appropriate the knowledge and make it my own. Carnival, a festival that was once the domain of the colonial masters, has been appropriated by members of the community and used as a tool to demonstrate their artistry, commitment, passion, love for and pride in country. I saw men and women who were able to appropriate the knowledge (s) they gained from being members of various communities of learners, and from being part of a festival that was once owned by the colonial masters. The mas' makers in the community were able to take a festival that come out of the colonial era and by appropriation made it into something that

Trinidadians call “*we ting*”<sup>133</sup>. Trinidad and Tobago’s educational system is still in need of this kind of appropriation of knowledge. This study is one small step in the advancement of knowledge and understanding of how Trinidadians in nonschool contexts learn and teach each with large measures of success. Members of the formal educational learning community can learn some lessons from the work of these men and women. However, as James (1980) a Trinidadian, postcolonial literary scholar, and philosopher, alluded in the epigraph with which I began this summation that like Caliban educators, like me, must be willing to pioneer into regions Caesar never knew.

---

<sup>133</sup> Belonging to us or our own

## REFERENCES

- Aching, G. (2002). *Masking and power: Carnival and popular culture in the Caribbean*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Alleyne, M. C. (1988). *Roots of Jamaican culture*. London: Pluto Press.
- Alleyne-Dettmers, P. T. (1993). *Jump! Jump and play mas!* Unpublished manuscript, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Altbach, P. G. (1995). Education and neo-colonialism. In B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, & H. Tiffin (Eds.), *The post-colonial studies reader*, (pp. 452-456). New York: Routledge.
- American Anthropological Association. "Code of ethics of the American Anthropological Association." <http://www.aaanet.org/committees/ethics/ethicscode.pdf>: American Anthropological Association, 1998.
- American Educational Research Association. "Ethical standards." Washington, DC: American Educational Association, 1992.
- Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Archer, M. (1981). Fields of specialization: Educational systems. *International Social Science Journal*, 33(2), 261-285.
- Arnold, M. (1869). *Culture and anarchy: An essay in political and social criticism*. London: Smith Elder & co.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (2002). *The empire writes back: Theory and practice in post-colonial literatures* (2nd ed.). London; New York: Routledge.
- Bakhtin, M. M., & Iswolsky, H. (1968). *Rabelais and his world*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.

- Ball, M. S., & Smith, G. W. H. (1992). *Analyzing visual data*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Becker, G. S. (1993). *Human capital: A theoretical and empirical analysis, with special reference to education*. (3rd. ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago.
- Benitez-Rojo, A. (1996). *The repeating island: The Caribbean and the postmodern perspective* (J. Maraniss, Trans.). Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Bennet, T. (1979). *Formalism and Marxism*. London: Methuen.
- Berlin, I. (Ed.). (1990). *The crooked timber of humanity: Chapters in the history of ideas*. London: John Murray (Publishers) Ltd.
- Best, L. (1968). Outline of a model of pure plantation economy. *Social and Economic Studies*, 17 (3), 59-73.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1990a). Introduction: Narrating the nation. In H. K. Bhabha *Nation and narration*, (pp. 1-7). London: Routledge.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1990b). DisemmiNation: time, narrative and the margins of the modern nation. In H. K. Bhabha *Nation and narration*, (pp. 291-322). London: Routledge.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1995). Signs taken for wonders. In B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, & H. Tiffin (Eds.) *The postcolonial studies reader*, (pp. 29-35). London: Routledge.
- Blaut, J.M. (1993). *The colonizer's model of the world: Geographical diffusionism and Eurocentric history*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Boal, A. (1985). *Theatre of the oppressed*. (Charles, A & M. L. McBride, Trans.). New York: Theatre Communication Group.
- Braithwaite, L. (1975). *Social stratification in Trinidad*. Kingston: University of the West Indies (1<sup>st</sup>. edition 1953).

- Braithwaite, L. (1960). Social stratification and cultural pluralism. In V. Rubin (Ed.) *Social and cultural pluralism in the Caribbean*. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, Vol. 83, Art. 5, 816-831.
- Brereton, B. (1981). *A history of modern Trinidad: 1783-1962*. Port of Spain, Trinidad: Heinemann Educational Boo Ltd.
- Brown, J. S., Collins, A., Dugid, P. (1989). Situated cognition and the culture of learning. *Educational Researcher*, 18(1), 32-42.
- Burgess-Macey, C. (2001). Carnival as inclusive education: Exploring arts in the curriculum. *Forum*, 43(1), 23-30.
- Burgess-Macey, C. (2002, February, 2002). *Dialogue across the diaspora - exchanging experiences of schools carnival in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad and London, England*. Paper presented at the Ethnography in Education, Pennsylvania.
- Burke, P. (1997). *Varieties of cultural history*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Burr, V. (1995). *An introduction to social constructionism*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Campbell, C. C. (1997). *Endless education: Main currents in the education system of modern Trinidad and Tobago, 1939-1986*. Barbados: Press University of the West Indies.
- Césaire, A. (1995). Notebook of a return to my native land = Cahier d'un retour au pays natal. Newcastle upon Tyne, England: Bloodaxe Books.
- Césaire, A., & Kelly, R. D. G. (2000). *Discourse on colonialism*. (Joan. Pinkham, Trans.). New York: Monthly Review Press.

- Chang-Wells, G.L. M., & Wells, G. (1993). Dynamics of discourse: Literacy and the construction of knowledge. In E. A. Forman, N. Minick, & C. A. Stone (Eds.), *Contexts for learning: Sociocultural dynamics of children's development*. (pp. 58-90). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chalmers, B. (2002). *Human capital theory and returns on investment in education*. BMA-567. Downloaded on 05/05/04 from [http://www.brentchalmers.com/Papers/Human\\_Capital\\_Theory.doc](http://www.brentchalmers.com/Papers/Human_Capital_Theory.doc)
- Chaudhry, L. N. (1997). Researching "my people", researching myself: Fragments of a reflexive tale,. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 10(4), 441-453.
- Childs, P., & Williams, P. (1997). *An introduction to post-colonial theory*. London; New York: Prentice Hall/Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Cowley, J. (1996). *Carnival, canboulay and calypso: Traditions in the making*. Cambridge England; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Cole, M., & Engestrom, Y. (1993). A cultural-historical approach to distributed cognition. In g. Salomon (Ed.), *Distributed cognitions: Psychological and educational considerations* (pp. 1-46). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cole, M. (1996). *Cultural psychology: A once and future discipline*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Collins, K. M. (1983). An empirical relativist programme in sociology of scientific knowledge. In Karin. D. Knorr-Certina & Michael Mulkey (Eds.), *Science Observed: Perspectives on the social study of science*. (pp. 85-113).
- Creque-Harris, L (1994). Expanding the classroom boundaries. *Journal of Physical Education Recreation & Dance*, 65 (5), 31-37.



- Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research*. Thousand Oaks: CA: Sage.
- Crowley, D. (1988). Trinidad carnival: A republication of the Caribbean quarterly Trinidad Carnival issue, volume 4, numbers 3 & 4 of 1956. In A. Pearse (Ed.), *Trinidad Carnival*. Port of Spain, Trinidad: Paria Pub. Co.
- Cudjoe, S.R. (1980). *Resistance and Caribbean literature*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Cudjoe, S. R. (2003). *Beyond boundaries: The intellectual tradition of Trinidad and Tobago in the nineteenth century*. Wellesley, Mass.Amherst, MA: Calaloux Publications; Distributed by the University of Massachusetts Press.
- Cudjoe, S. R. (2003). *Learning and education in Trinidad and Tobago*, downloaded on 08/19/2004 from <http://www.trinicenter.com/Cudjoe/2003/1311.htm>
- Damas, L. G. (1962). *Pigments*. Paris: Présence africaine.
- Damas, L. G. (1972). Poems from Pigments. *Black World*, XXI (3), pp. 19-20.
- Danticat, E. (2002). *After the dance: A walk through Carnival in Jacmel, Haiti* (1st ed.). New York: Crown Journeys.
- deMarrais, K. (2001). Qualitative research: : Learning through experience. Unpublished manuscript.
- De Verteuil, A. (1984). *The years of revolt: Trinidad 1881-1888*. Newtown, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, W.I.: Paria Pub. Co.
- Dewey, J. (1934). *Art as experience*. New York: Minton, Blach & Company.
- Dolby, N. (2003). Popular culture and democratic practice. *Harvard Educational Review*, 73(3), 258-284.
- Dreeben, R. (1968) *On what is learned in schools*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

- Dunbar, P., Lawrence. (1895). *Majors and Minors*. Toledo: Ohio: Hadley & Hadley Printers and Binders.
- Durkheim. E. (1893, 1964). *The Division of Labor in Society*. Tr. George Simpson. New York: Free Press.
- Eisner, E. W. (2002). *The arts and the creation of mind*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Evans, S., & Boyte, H. (1992). *Free Spaces*. Chicago: George Allen and Unwin.
- Fanon, F. (1966). *The wretched of the earth* (1st evergreen ed.). New York: Grove Press.
- Fanon, F. (1967). *Black skin, white masks*. New York: Grove Press.
- Fetterman, D. (1998). *Ethnography step by step*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Fine, M., Weis, L., Craig, C., & Roberts, R. (2000). Educating beyond the borders of schooling. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 31(2), 131-151.
- Gandhi, M. K. (1938). *Hind Swaraj*. (Reprint). Ahmedabad: Navjivan Publishing House.
- Gandhi, L. (1998). *Postcolonial theory: A critical introduction*. New York: Columbia Press.
- Girvan, N. (1975). Aspects of the political economy of race in the Caribbean and in the Americas. *Working Paper No. 7*. Mona: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.
- Goldman, V. (1996). Peter Minshall - mas' man: In Trinidad, this designer's costumes and staging have elevated Carnival for years. *Metropolis*, 16(1).
- Goodenough, W. H. (1973). *Culture, language, and society*. Reading, Mass.,: Addison-Wesley.
- Goodenough, W. (1976). Multiculturalism as the normal human experience. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 7(4), 4-7.
- Government, Trinidad and Tobago. (2002) Strategic plan, 2002-2006. Ministry of Education.

- Government, Trinidad and Tobago. (1960). Concordat: Assurances for the preservation and character of denominational schools. Port of Spain: Author.
- Government, Trinidad and Tobago (2003). Pocket Digest. CSO: Ministry of Planning and Development.
- Greene, G. (1999). Blasphemy, sacrilege, and moral degradation in the Trinidad Carnival: The Hallelujah controversy. In J.Pulis (Ed.), *Religion, diaspora, and cultural identity: A reader in the Anglophone Caribbean*. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Publishers.
- Hall, T. (2004). The jouvay popular theatre process: From the street to the stage. In. M. C. Riggio (Ed.) , *Culture in action: The Trinidad Experience*
- Hansen, J. F. (1979). *Sociocultural perspectives on human learning : an introduction to educational anthropology*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Harding, S. G., & NetLibrary Inc. (1998). *Is science multicultural? Postcolonialisms, feminisms, and epistemologies*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Harris, M. (2003). *Carnival and other Christian festivals: Folk theology and folk performance* (1st ed.). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Harris-Martin, J. (2002). Social behavior in Junior Secondary schools: The basis for deviance potential: A qualitative review. In N. Mustapha, & R.A. Brunton (Eds.), *Issues in education in Trinidad and Tobago* (pp.187-206). St. Augustine: School of Continuing Studies The University of the West Indies.
- Harrison, F. V., Association of Black Anthropologists., & American Anthropological Association. (1991). *Decolonizing anthropology : moving further toward an anthropology for liberation*. Washington, D.C.: Association of Black Anthropologists : American Anthropological Association.

- Heath, S. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Henry, P. (2000). *Caliban's reason: Introducing Afro-Caribbean philosophy*. New York: Routledge.
- Henstrand, J., L. (1993). Theory as research guide. In J. F. David, & Geoffrey, E. Mills (Ed.), *Theory and concepts in qualitative research* (pp. 83-102). New York: Columbia University.
- Heyl, B. S. (2001). Ethnographic interviewing. In P. Atkinson, Coffey, A., (Ed.), *Handbook of ethnography*. CA: Sage.
- Ho, C. G.T. (2000). Popular culture and the aestheticization of politics: Hegemonic struggle and postcolonial nationalism in the Trinidad carnival. *Transforming Anthropology*, 9 (1), 3-26.
- Ho, C. G. T., & Nurse, K. (2005). *Globalisation, diaspora and Caribbean popular culture*. Kingston ; Miami: Ian Randle.
- hooks, B. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom*. New York: Routledge.
- Huyssen, A. (1986). *After the great divide*. Bloomington: Indiana UP.  
York: Routledge.
- Irlam, S. (1999). The community of others: Postcolonial theory and the Caribbean (pp. 21).
- James, C.L.R. (1938). *A history of Negro revolt*. London: Fact. Rev.ed. (1969), *A history of Pan-African revolt*. Washington, DC: Drum and Spear Press.
- James, C. L. R. (1963). *Beyond a boundary*. London: Hutchinson.

- James, C.L.R. (1970). The Atlantic slave trade and slavery: Some interpretation of their significance in the development of the United States and the Western World. In J.A. Williams & C. F. Harris (Eds.), *Amistad* (pp. 119-164). New York: Vintage.
- James, C. L. R. (1980). *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. London: Allison & Busby.
- John-Steiner, V., & Mahn, H. (1996). Sociocultural approaches to learning and development: A Vygotskian framework. *Educational Psychologist*, 31 (3/4), 191-206.
- Jules, V., & Kutnick, P. (1990). Determinants of academic success within classrooms in Trinidad and Tobago: Some personal and systemic variables. *Educational Studies*, 16(3), 217-235.
- Jules, V., & Panneflex, Aignald. (2000). *Education for all: The Caribbean assessment 2000: Subregional synthesis and annexes*. Jamaica: UNESCO.
- Juneja, R. (1988). The Trinidad carnival: Ritual, performance, spectacle and symbol. *Journal of Popular Culture*, 21(4), 87-99.
- Keenan, P. (1869). *Report about the state of education in Trinidad*. Dublin: HMSO
- Kirshner, D., & Whitson, J. A. (1997). Situated cognition : Social, semiotic, and psychological perspectives. Mahwah, N.J.: L. Erlbaum.
- Kumar, N. (2002). *The scholar and her servants: Thoughts on Postcolonialism and education*. : University of Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- LaCapra, D. (1983). *Rethinking intellectual history: Texts, contexts, Language*. Ithaca: Cornell University.
- La Guerre, J. G. (1975). Afro-Indian Relations in Trinidad: An assessment. *Social and Economic Studies*, 25 (3), 291-306.

- La Guerre, J. G. (1988). Race relations in Trinidad and Tobago. In S. Ryan (Ed.), *Trinidad and Tobago: The independence experience 1962-1967* (pp.193-206). St. Augustine: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.
- La Guerre, J. G. (1991). Leadership in a plural society: The case of Indians in Trinidad and Tobago. In S. Ryan (Ed.), *Social and occupational stratification in contemporary Trinidad and Tobago* (pp. 83-112). St. Augustine: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.
- Lave, J. (1997). The culture of acquisition and the practice of understanding. In D. Kirshner, & J. A. Watson (Ed.), *Situated cognition: Social, semiotic, and psychological perspectives* (pp. 17-35). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Lave, J. (1996). Teaching, as learning, in practice. *Mind, Culture, and Activity*, 3 (3), 149-164.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge England; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- LeCompte, M. D., Preissle, J., & Tesch, R. (1993). *Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research*. (2nd ed.). San Diego: Academic Press.
- LeCompte, M. D. (2000). Analyzing qualitative data. *Theory into Practice*, 39 (3), 146-154.
- Levine, L. (1988). *Highbrow/lowbrow: The emergence of cultural hierarchy in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Levinson, B. A., Foley, D. E., & Holland, D.C. (Eds.). (1996). *The cultural production of the educated person: Critical ethnographies of schooling and local practice*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Lent, J. A. (1990). *Caribbean popular culture*. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press.

- Lewis, C. (1989). *Carnival in education: Is de 'mas in we?* Unpublished dissertation, Diploma in Education, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine.
- Lincoln, Y. S. (November, 2002). *On the nature of qualitative evidence*. Paper presented at the Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE), California.
- Liverpool, H. U. (1990). *Culture and Education - Carnival in Trinidad and Tobago and its implications for secondary schools*. London: Karia Press.
- Liverpool, H. U. (1998). Origins of rituals and customs in the Trinidad Carnival., *TDR: The Drama Review*, 42 (3), 24-37.
- Liverpool, H. U. (2001). *Rituals of power and rebellion: The carnival tradition in Trinidad and Tobago, 1763-1962*. Chicago, IL, Trinidad and Tobago: Research Associates School Times; Frontline Distribution.
- Lochan, S. Best, L. (2003, October 6). Case for a new breed of teachers. *Trinidad Express*, p. 13.
- Lorde, A. (1979). The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. In C. Moraga & G. Anzaldua (Eds.), *This bridge called my back: Writings by radical women of color* (pp. 98-101). Latham, New York: Kitchen Table Press.
- Lovelace, E. (1984). *The wine of astonishment* (1st American ed.). New York: Vintage Books.
- Lovelace, E. (1998). *The dragon can't dance: A novel* (1st U.S. ed.). New York: Persea Books.
- Lucie Smith, P. (2003, September 14). "What is our literacy rate?" *Trinidad Guardian*.
- McCree, R. D. (1999). Ethnicity and involvement in cultural festivals in Trinidad and Tobago. In R. R. Premdas (Ed.), *Identity, ethnicity and culture in the Caribbean*. (pp. 115-142). St. Augustine: Trinidad: School of Continuing Studies.

- Manning, F. E. (1983). *The Celebration of society: Perspectives on contemporary cultural performance*. Bowling Green, Ohio. London, Canada: Bowling Green University Popular Press; Congress of Social & Humanistic Studies University of Western Ontario.
- Marley, B. (1980). Redemption Song. In *Uprising*.
- Mason, P. (1998). *Bacchanal: The carnival culture of Trinidad*. London Philadelphia, PA: Latin America Bureau; Temple University Press.
- McCarthy, C., & Dimitriadis, G. (2004). Postcolonial literature and the curricular imagination: Wilson Harris and the pedagogical implications of the carnivalesque. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 36 (2), 201-213.
- Memi, A. (1965). *The colonizer and the colonized*. (Expanded ed.). (H. Greenfield, Trans.). Boston: Beacon Press.
- Mendible, M. (1999). High/low culture: Postmodernism and the politics of carnival. *Journal of American Culture*, 22 (2), 71-76.
- Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education* (2nd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Merriam, S. B. (2002). *Qualitative research in practice: Examples for discussion and analysis* (1st ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Merrifield, J., Bingham, M, Hemphill, D., & deMarrais, K. (1997). *Life at the margins: Literacy, language and technology in everyday life*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Merton, Robert K. (1968). *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: Free Press.



- Mill, S. J. (1963). *Collected works of John Stuart Mill*. In (Vol. III, pp. 454-1166). Toronto: University of Toronto Press. (M. James, Trans. 2nd. ed.). Durham: Duke University Press.
- Millroy, W. L. (1990). *An ethnographic study of the mathematical ideas of a group of carpenters*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell Ithaca, NY.
- Minh-ha, T. (1989). *Woman, native, other: Writing postcoloniality and feminism*. Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Mintz, S. W. (1959). The plantation society as a socio-cultural type. In *Plantation systems of the New World*, Social Science Monographs (7). Washington D.C.: Pan American Union, 42-49.
- Mohammed, J. (2002). Aspirations of 'at-risk' students and schooling: An ethnographic study in Trinidad's schools. In N. Mustapha, & R.A. Brunton. (Eds.), *Issues in education in Trinidad and Tobago* (pp. 43-61). St. Augustine: School of Continuing Studies The University of the West Indies.
- Munir, S., & Jackson, D. (1997). Social support, need for women, and anxiety among women graduate students. *Psychological Reports*(80), 383-386.
- Mustapha, N. (2002). Education and stratification in Trinidad and Tobago. In N. Mustapha and R. A. Brunton (Eds.), *Issues in education in Trinidad and Tobago* (pp.142-162). St. Augustine: School of Continuing Studies The University of the West Indies.
- Mustapha, N., & Brunton, R. (Eds.). (2002). *Issues in education in Trinidad and Tobago*. St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: School of Continuing Studies, The University of the West Indies.

- Narayan, K. (1993). How native is a "native" anthropologist? *American Anthropologist*, 95(3), 671-686.
- Nettleford, R. M. (1993). *Inward stretch, outward reach: A voice from the Caribbean*. London: Macmillan.
- Ngugi wa, Thongo. (1986). *Decolonising the mind: The politics of language in African literature*. London, Portsmouth, N.H.: J. Currey; Heinemann.
- Nurse, K. (1999). Globalization and Trinidad Carnival: Diaspora, hybridity and identity in global culture. *Cultural Studies*, 13(4), 661-690.
- Parsons, T. (1951). *The Social System*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Parsons, T. (1971). *The System of Modern Societies*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Pavlov, I. P. (1960). Conditioned reflexes; an investigation of the physiological activity of the cerebral cortex. New York,: Dover Publications.
- Pearse, A. (1971). Carnival in nineteenth century Trinidad. In M. Horowitz (Ed.), *Peoples and cultures of the Caribbean* (pp. 528-552). New York: Natural History Press.
- Pearse, A. (1988). Carnival in nineteenth century Trinidad. In *Trinidad Carnival: A republication of the Caribbean quarterly issue, volume 4 numbers 3 and 4 of 1956* (pp. 4-41). Port of Spain, Trinidad: Paria Pub. Co.
- Penuel, W. R., & Wertsch, J. V. (1995). Vygotsky and identity formation: A sociocultural approach. *Educational Psychologist*, 30 (2), 83-92.
- Porter, M. K. (1997). The Bauer county fair: Community celebration as context to youth experiences of learning and belonging. In G.D. Spindler (Ed.), *Education and cultural process: Anthropological approaches* (3<sup>rd</sup>. ed.), (pp. 179-214). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.

- Piaget, J. (1959). *The language and thought of the child* (3. rev. and enl. ed.). London, New York,: Routledge & Kegan Paul; Humanities Press.
- Pidduck, A. (2004). Rosalind Gabriel. *Newsday*. Downloaded on 07/12/2005 from [http://www.sputnick.com/angela/rosalind\\_gabriel.htm](http://www.sputnick.com/angela/rosalind_gabriel.htm)
- Preissle, J. (1996). *Jude's Rules* (p. 3): University of Georgia.
- Preissle, J. Grant, L. (2004). Fieldwork traditions: Ethnography and participant observation. In K. deMarrais, & Lapan, S.D. (Ed.), *Foundations for research: Methods of inquiry in education and the social sciences*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Publishers.
- Psacharapoulos, G., & Woodhall, M. (1985). *Education for development: An analysis of investment choices*. New York: Published for The World Bank [by] Oxford University Press.
- Riggio, M.C. (1998). Resistance and identity: Carnival in Trinidad and Tobago. *TDR-The Drama Review*, 42 (3), 7-23.
- Rogoff, B., & Lave, J. (1984). *Everyday cognition: Its development in social context*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Rosenblatt, L. M. (1994). *The reader, the text, the poem: The transactional theory of the literary work* (Paperbacked.). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Rowe, W., & Schelling, V. (1991). *Memory and modernity: Popular culture in Latin America*. London: Verso.
- Rubin, V. (1960). Cultural perspectives in Caribbean research. In V. Rubin (Ed.), *Caribbean Studies: A symposium*, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), Seattle: University of Washington Press, (pp. 110-122).
- Rubin, V., & Zavalloni, M. (1969). *We wish to be looked upon: A study of the aspirations of youth in a developing society*. New York: Teachers College Press.

- Ruby, J. (1980). Exposing yourself: Reflexivity, anthropology, and film (1) *Semiotica*, 30(1/2), 153-179.
- Rusk, R. R. (1965). *The doctrines of the great educators* (Rev. and enl. 3d ed.). Melbourne, New York,: Macmillan; St. Martin's Press.
- Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism* (1st ed.). New York: Pantheon Books.
- Said, E. W. (1994). *Culture and imperialism* (1st Vintage Books ed.). New York: Vintage Books.
- Sandy, M. (1988). *School environment, teacher efficacy and performance in secondary education in Trinidad and Tobago*. Unpublished Ph.D, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.
- Schechner, R., & Riggio, M.C. (1998). Peter Minshall: A voice to add to the song of the universe. *TDR-The Drama Review*, 42(3), 170-193.
- Scher, P. W. (2002). Copyright Heritage: Preservation, carnival and the state in Trinidad. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 75 (3), 453-484. George Washington Institute for Ethnographic Research.
- Scher, P. W. (2003). *Carnival and the formation of a Caribbean transnation*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Scheurich, J. J. (2002). *Anti-racist scholarship: An advocacy*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Sebeok, T. A., Eco, U., Ivanov, V. V., & Rector, M. (1984). *Carnival!* Berlin; New York: Mouton Publishers.
- Selmon, S. (1994). The scramble for post-colonialism. In C.Tiffin and A. Lawson (Ed.), *De-Scribing empire: Postcolonialism and textuality*.

- Senghor, L.S. (1948). *Chants d'Ombres, suivis des Hosties, noires : Poèmes*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Senghor, L. S. (1991). *The collected poetry*. (Melvin Dixon, Trans.). Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- Shklovsky, V. (1965). Art a technique (L. T. Lemon, & M. J. Reis Trans.). In L. T. Lemon, & M. J. Reis (Ed.), *Russian formalist criticism* (pp. 3-24). Lincoln: : University of Nebraska Press.
- Sieber, J. E. (1992). *Planning ethically responsible research: A guide for students and internal review boards*. CA: Sage.
- Skinner, B. F. (1974). *About behaviorism* (1st ed.). New York,: Knopf; distributed by Random House.
- Smith, M. G. (1965). *The plural society in the British West Indies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Smith, M. G. (1991). Pluralism and social stratification. In S. Ryan (Ed.), *Social and occupational stratification in Trinidad and Tobago* (pp. 3-35). St. Augustine: Institute of Social and economic research, University of the West Indies.
- Smith, R. T. (1956). *The negro family in British Guiana*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London New York Dunedin New York: Zed Books; University of Otago Press; distributed in the USA exclusively by St Martin's Press.
- Spindler, G. D. (1997). *Education and cultural process: Anthropological approaches* (3rd ed.). Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press.

- Spindler, G. D., & Hammond, L. (2000). The use of anthropological methods in educational research: Two Perspectives. *Harvard Educational Review*, 70(1), 39-48.
- Spivak, G. (1988). Subaltern studies: Deconstructing historiography. In R. Guha, & G. Spivak (Eds.), *Selected subaltern studies* (pp. 3-32). New York; London: Oxford University Press.
- Spivak, G. (1990). Questions of multiculturalism. In S. Harasayam (Ed.), *The postcolonial critic: Interviews, strategies, dialogues* (pp. 59-60). New York: Routledge.
- Spivak, G. (1999). *A critique of postcolonial reason: Toward a history of the vanishing present*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Spivak, G. (2000). Poststructuralism, marginalism, postcoloniality and value. In D. Brydon (Ed.), *Postcolonialism: Cultural concepts in literary and cultural studies* (pp. 57-84). London; New York: Routledge.
- Spradley, J. P. (1979). *The ethnographic interview*. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.
- Spradley, J. P. (1980). *Participant observation*. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.
- Spradley, J. P., & McCurdy, D. W. (1972). *The cultural experience: Ethnography in complex society*. Chicago: Science Research Associates.
- Street, J. (1997). *Politics and popular culture*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Szwed, J. F. (1984). The ethnography of literacy. In B. Rogoff & J. Lave (Ed.), *Everyday cognition: Its development in social context*. (pp. 13-15). Cambridge: MA: Harvard University Press.
- Taylor, D., & Dorsey-Gaines, C. (1988). *Growing up literate: Learning from inner-city families*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

- The Center for Ethnic Studies. (1994). *A study of the secondary school population in Trinidad and Tobago: Placement patterns and practices. A research report*. St Augustine: ISER.
- Tikly, L. (1999). Postcolonialism and comparative education. *International Review of Education*, 45(5/6), 603-621.
- Trinh, T. M.-H. (1989). *Woman, native, other: Writing postcoloniality and feminism*.  
Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Trinidad and Tobago, Ministry of Education. (November, 2002). *Strategic Plan, 2002-2006*.
- University of the West Indies (Mona Jamaica). Institute of Social and Economic Research.  
Social and economic studies (pp. v). Mona, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research.
- van Koningsbruggen, P. (1997). *Trinidad Carnival: A quest for national identity*. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Education Ltd.
- Van Maanen, J. (1988). *Tales of the field*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Davies, C. A. (1999). *Reflexive ethnography : a guide to researching selves and others*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Walcott, D. (1970). *Dream on Monkey Mountain, and other plays*. New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux.
- Weis, L (1996). Foreword. In B. A. Levinson, E. Foley, & D. C. Holland. (Eds.). *The cultural production of the educated person: Critical ethnographies of schooling and local practices*. (pp. ix-xiv). Albany: State University of New York Press.

- Weis, L. Fine, M. (2001). Extraordinary conversations in public schools. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education (QSE)* (Vol. 14): Taylor & Francis Ltd.
- Wenger, E. (1990). *Toward a theory of cultural transparency: Elements of a social discourse of the visible and invisible.*, University of California, Irvine.
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press.
- Wertsch, J. V. (1991). *Voices of the mind: A sociocultural approach to mediated action*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Williams, E. E. (1960). Race Relations in the Caribbean. In V. Rubin (Ed.), *Caribbean Studies: A symposium*, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), Seattle: University of Washington Press, 54-60.
- Williams, E. E. (1964). *History of the people of Trinidad and Tobago*. New York: Praeger.
- Williams, E. E. (1994). *Capitalism & slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Williams, E. E., & Cudjoe, S. R. (1993). *Eric E. Williams speaks: Essays on colonialism and independence*. Wellesley, Mass. Amherst: Calaloux Publications; Distributed by the University of Massachusetts Press.
- Wolcott, H. F. (1980). Wolcott, Harry: How to look like an anthropologist without being one. *Practicing Anthropology*, 3(2), 6-7, 56-69.
- Wolcott, H. F. (1990). *Writing up qualitative research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Wolcott, H. F. (1991). Propriospic and the acquisition of culture. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 22(3), 251-273.
- Wolcott, H. F. (1994). *Transforming qualitative data: Description, analysis, and interpretation*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Wolcott, H. F. (1995). *The art of fieldwork*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.



Wolcott, H., F. (1997). The anthropology of learning. In G. D. Spindler (Ed.), *Education and cultural process: Anthropological approaches* (pp. 310-338). Prospect Heights: Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc.

Yelvington, K. (1993). Introduction: Trinidad ethnicity. In K. Yelvington (Ed.), *Trinidad ethnicity* (1-32). Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press.

## APPENIDIX A:

### GLOSSARY OF TERMS

**Buff:** To buff someone is synonymous with insulting them and telling them they did something very wrong and need to make amends for their wrong doing.

**Calypso** (also called Kaiso): This is the name given to the official music that is associated with Trinidad Carnival. The singers are called calypsonians who used to be typically male but now include male and female singers. There is a more upbeat form of the calypso (in terms of the rhythm), which is called *soca*. The emphasis in this particular type of song is sometimes more on the rhythm than the lyrics but this is not the case with all soca music.

**Canboulay:** Cannes Brulees (French translation) means burning cane, was the name of the celebration which commemorated the putting out of the cane fires during slavery. After slavery it was one of the deep rooted festivals of the Black people and was marked by ribald dancing and lighted flambeaus carried in the street. The masqueraders wore face masks and could not be identified.

**Chutney Soca:** Calypso type East Indian calypso filled with the Indian rhythms of tassa drums.

**Cowheel Soup:** A soup dish made from the heel of the cow and ground provisions and flour dumplings.

**Crix biscuits:** This is a simple short crust biscuit made in Trinidad and Tobago and known as the vital supplies. It is a cheap source of food that Trinidadians are known to always have in their house.

**Cut tail:** Whipping that you receive from your parents

**Fête:** A party in which there is music and dancing and lots of food and drink. This party can be in a home or in a public place and one can pay in advance or at the door.

**Half-picked duck:** One of the most difficult things about duck meat is the cleaning of the feathers. If the duck is not well cleaned it is called half-picked. The meat is not as edible as if the duck was fully cleaned and there were no small feathers left on the skin. The lack of perfection is related to something being like a half-picked duck.

**Grip:** A hard plastic case with a metal handle

**Hush hush:** This refers to things done in secret. People who know do not reveal the source or share the knowledge.

**Jack Spaniard:** An insect somewhat like a wasp that gives a sharp sting when it bites you.

**Jonkonnu:** A Jamaican festival somewhat similar to traditional Trinidad Carnival in which masked and costumed characters paraded the streets at Christmas time. The core participants are: the cow head, the horsehead, the devil, the different categories of warriors and Indians, as well as a character known as Pitchy-Patchy.

**J'Ouvert:** This is the official start of the parade that begins early Monday morning.

**Pretty mas':** The costumes are traditionally colorful and covered with sequins and feathers and worn on Carnival Monday and Tuesday.

**Mardi Gras:** This is the kind of carnival in which masqueraders wore lots of beads and feathers somewhat like a New Orleans Carnival

**Mas':** Shortened form of the word masquerade is also another word for Carnival in Trinidad and Tobago.

**Mas' camp:** The official site of the mas' bands where the costumes are displayed and where some of the construction takes place.

**Mas' band:** This is the group of players associated with a particular band leader and designers. The members of the band pay for their individual costumes, which they wear on the two days.

The cost of the costumes varies depending on the band and the section in which one plays. The band is divided into sections with section leaders and some bands have a King and Queen who lead the band on stage and take part in the competitions that precede the two-day event.

**Maxi-taxi:** A mini-van with a 12 passenger capacity.

**Ole Mas’:** This is the name given to the traditional masquerade form that focuses on wit and satire and uses the stage to make political and social commentary. This is the mas’ that can be seen on J’Ouvert morning.

**Ole talk:** Light hearted bantering and includes gossip and chatting about the latest news.

**Pyrotechnics:** The use of mechanical and engineering devices on the costume to allow for movement and transformation on stage.

**Pan yard:** The space in which the steelbands practice and store their instruments.

**Soca:** A faster and more upbeat type of calypso music than the traditional calypso music where the emphasis is on the lyrics of the song.

**Stick fighting** A carnival activity in which men armed with bois (sticks) fight each other in a ring. There is music and singing from the crowd spur on the fighting in the ring.

**Tamboo-bamboo:** A percussion instrument made from bamboo.

**T and T:** A shortened form of the name of the country -Trinidad and Tobago.

**Trini:** Shortened form of the word Trinidadian – a citizen of Trinidad and Tobago.

**To play mas’** is to put on a costume and parade on the streets and on the competition stage. It is also a metaphorical description of any activity in which there is some sort of subversion or inversion of the usual activity. It is similar to putting on a masque, which is where the term may have originated. Many masqueraders (participants in the band) wear costumes but do not always disguise their faces by wearing masks.

**Trinidadian:** Name of a citizen of Trinidad and Tobago.

**Tobagonian:** Name of a citizen of Trinidad and Tobago who was born in Tobago specifically. It is not unusual for a Tobagonian to call him/herself a Trini.

**Steel band:** This is a local group of players who make music using an instrument that was invented in Trinidad and Tobago. A steel drum is fired and shaped and notes are pounded out on the different sized drums to create an instrument that is hit with a stick that is covered with rubber and out of which comes a musical sound.

**Wine:** (A verb and a noun) Wine is an activity and an action. The action is what is done and the activity is what one does. The person moves the body with emphasis on the waist and pelvic regions in a most seductive and sexual motion that is often circular. That activity is call wining and the action is a wine

## APPENDIX B:

### FESTIVALS

**Hosay** is an Islamic festival observed by Shi'a Muslims throughout the world – and the celebration was brought to Trinidad as early as 1845. Although referred to as a festival, Hosay really isn't – at least, not in the strictest sense of the word. In many Islamic countries, this tradition takes a more solemn religious tone as it is considered a time of mourning for the martyred. Generally, Hosay runs for four days either in April, May or June in accordance with the Islamic lunar calendar.

The observance of **Phagwa** or Holi as we also call it, was introduced to Trinidad by the indentured East Indian labourers around 1845. This is a spring festival corresponding to the springtime months of March and April. It is primarily a Hindu festival, but as with all observances in our multi-ethnic, multi-religious country, the wider community always gets involved – even if it is to just watch and admire.

East Indians also brought the Hindu festival of Divali, which we affectionately call the Festival of Lights, to our shores before the turn of the 20th Century. This is the largest Hindu festival in our islands, taking place in the month of Karthik – October-November on the Hindu calendar. This national holiday is celebrated on what is said to be the darkest night of the year.

**Corpus Christi** is a long-standing tradition in our islands, going back to our pre-British occupation by the Catholic Spaniards. Though mainly observed by Roman Catholics, it is a designated public holiday. This special Feast Day is celebrated on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, in commemoration of the institution of the Holy Eucharist. The impressive processions that take place (the biggest is in front of the Cathedral on Independence Square in Port of Spain) give you just a glimpse into the sacredness and significance of the occasion.

#### **Easter**

While Easter is recognized as a religious holiday worldwide, it is traditionally marked in Trinidad and Tobago with two public holidays – Good Friday and Easter Monday. The faithful attend church services, visit relatives and share large family meals. Our Good Friday menu is legendary – it doesn't matter if you are Christian – most of us must have a Hot Cross Bun either before or at the end of our meal! But nothing compares to the mealtime offering on Easter Sunday – the day Christ was resurrected. The menu is elaborate – usually baked ham or roast chicken with all the trimmings. Be sure to leave room because you will want to go back for seconds! Fortunately, Easter Monday is also a holiday so you can rest up, go to the beach, or just stay home and savour the leftovers!

APPENDIX C  
POST CARD

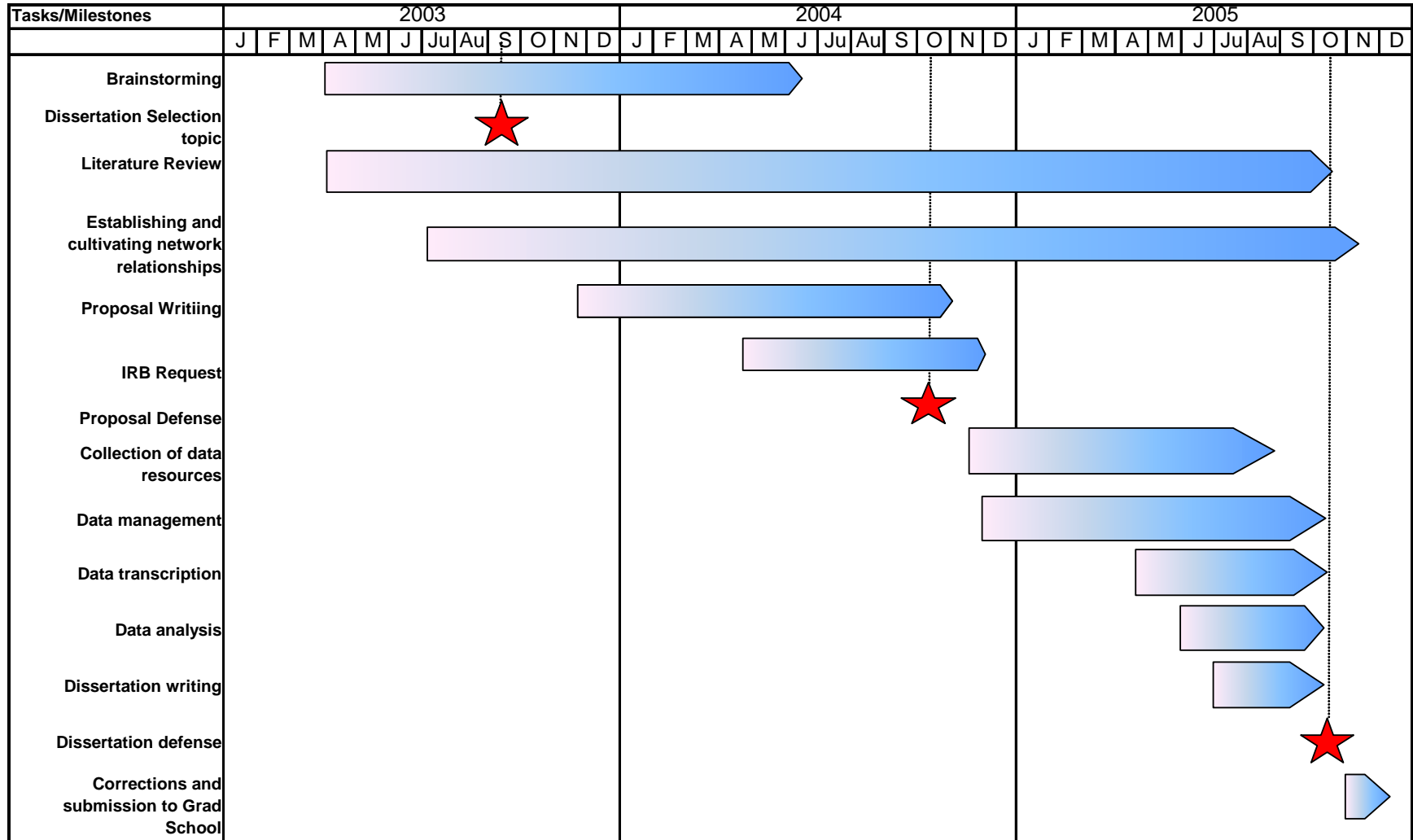
To: Mr. Daniel (The fireman),

From: The students and staff  
of  
Aranguez Junior Secondary  
School

with deepest gratitude  
and continued blessings



# APPENDIX D: TIMELINE





APPENDIX E

DATA INVENTORY

Participants	Interview time	No. of pages	Place	Date	Comments
Kendall De Peaza	0:48:00	23	Morvant at his home	12/11/2004	wire bender tutor at the University of the West Indies
	1:15:42				
Williams and Ferreira	1:23:35	16	Success/Laventille Composite School	1/20/2005	designer; band leader School Band
Sheldon Clemendore	1:23:32	10	Pizza Hut Curepe	2/28/2005	Former student of Success Laventille and now works on contract and has his own business
Patrick Roberts	1:30:06	28	University of the West Indies	2/18/2005	Graphic artist, mas' designer, painter, children's mas' band leader
Pat Bishop	0:30:45	4	At her home	01/18/05 and 2/25/2005	Director of the Carnival Institute of Trinidad and Tobago
Teacher at Mucurapo Primary School	0:29:00	0	School House in Wood Brook	2/28/2005	One of the staff members involved in traditional mas' making at the school
Maria La Coa	0:32:34	11	Mc Farlane's mas' camp	01/26/05	worker at the mas' camp
Malcolm Pena	0:59:25	7	Success/Laventille Composite School	1/19/2005	Art teacher School mas' band designer
Liza and Janice	1:59:26		Chinese Restaurant	2/24/2005	American student researcher
Lennox Toussaint	0:40:17	6	Office of NCC	3/2/2005	Chairman of the Carnival Regional Committee
Larry Richardson	0:28:03	8	Car	01.21.05	Tutor at UWI Creative and Festival Arts
Ken Critchlow	1:00:21	17	Office UWI	2/22/2005	Lecturer at UWI Creative and Festival Arts
Lionel and Rose Jagessar	1:18:57	16	At home Gransaul Street San Fernando	2/21/2005	Band Leaders; designers, mas' makers and players

Participants	Interview time	No. of pages	Place	Date	Comments
Geraldo Vieira	02:15:20	42	At home in Barataria	2/23/2005 and 03/01/2005	Designer, mas' maker, mas' player
Frank Smith	1:46:06	0	Cunupia	12/17/2004	Designer, mas' maker, mas' player, and tutor
Felix Edinboro	1:06:16	23	At the Catholic Information Studio	1/12/2005	Pierrot Grenade: Traditional mas' player, former principal of a secondary school, and dramatist
Claudette Cynette	0:31:33	10	St Martin's Secondary School	01/23/05	Student of Felix Edinboro
Bogart	1:32:44	25	La Horquetta Arima	07/03/2005	Craftsman/designer/production manager
Elva	0:33:30	13	At home Mt Dor	2/23/2005	worker at the mas' camp
Cheryl Samuel	0:53:50	0	At School Lady Hochoy Home	2/23/2005	Mas maker
Brian McFarlane	0:44:00	15	At Office	2/28/2005	designer; band leader
Keith Carrington	1:09:32		Macoya Gardens	12/16/2004	designer; band leader, director, mas' maker
Collin	0:54:27	17		12/17/2004	worker at the mas' camp
Leona Fabien and Tricia Ward	0:49:51	0	Carnival Institute	12/20/2004	Personnel at the Carnival Institute
Rosalind Gabriel	0:52:32	11	At Home Alexandra Street St. Clair POS	3/4/2005	designer; band leader
David and Enrico	0:56:09	23	St Mary's College POS	3/1/2005	designer; band leader
Adele Bynoe	1:53:36	26	St Mary's Children's Home	1/18/2005	Teacher, artist, and mas' maker
Senor Gomez	1:57:46	26	Home, George St. POS	12/20/2004	wire bender, mas' maker, and tutor
Total # of hours	30:09:12				
Field Notes	125 days	56			
Documents	newspaper articles, carnival magazines, Carnival Institute Workshop articles, 2 Recent texts on Trinidad Carnival				
<b>Photographs</b>	<b>503</b>				

## APPENDIX F:

### OBSERVATION GUIDE

Focus of observation	Possible questions to guide the observation
Physical Setting	<p>How does the physical setting contribute to learning and teaching practices?</p> <p>How is the physical setting organized/arranged?</p> <p>Does it remain the same and when and why are changes made?</p> <p>How do the members of the group allocate and use space?</p> <p>Who makes the decisions about the use of space?</p>
Members of the community	<p>How do the different members of the community operate?</p> <p>What are their various roles?</p> <p>Who decides on what their roles will be?</p> <p>What are the attitudes of the members of the community to each other and to the person who is the leader?</p> <p>Are there rules for interaction – unspoken – unwritten?</p> <p>Is there an explicit or implicit curriculum and who designs the curriculum? Is there a hidden curriculum?</p>
The activities and events	<p>What kinds of activities and engagements are persons involved in?</p> <p>What are people in the different groups doing and saying to each other?</p> <p>How are they speaking to each other – levels of formality or informality?</p> <p>How do people organize themselves for interaction and engagement?</p>
<i>Time frame for activities</i>	<p>What are the times of operation?</p> <p>How does learning seem to take place?</p> <p>What time do the activities begin?</p> <p>Is there a time frame for different activities?</p> <p>How long do the different activities last?</p> <p>Is there a definable sequence to activities?</p>

Adapted from LeCompte & Preissle, (1992); and Merriam (1998)

## APPENNDIX G:

### CONSENT FORM

I, \_\_\_\_\_ agree to participate in the research study titled “Carnival mas’ art and the learning/teaching process,” conducted by Janice Fournillier, 100 Rogers Rd. M301 Athens, GA 30605, 706 3896514, email [jfournil@uga.edu](mailto:jfournil@uga.edu) under the direction of Dr. Kathleen DeMarrais, Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Georgia (706 542 6446). I understand that I do not have to take part if I do not want to. I can stop taking part without giving reason, and without penalty. I can ask to have all of the information about me returned to me, remove from the research records, or destroyed.

The reason for this study is explore learning and teaching as it takes place in a mas’ camp in Trinidad and Tobago. If I volunteer for this study I will be asked to do the following things.

1. Allow the researcher to observe and record via audio and videotape the mas’ making activities in which I participate.
2. Participate in individual and focus group interviews, which will be transcribed by the researcher.
  - The data will be kept by the researcher and will be shared with her advisor and committee members who are supervising the dissertation process.
  - There is no direct benefit to me for participating in the project. However, I may request any publications from the study, and this may help me understand how I learn and or teach.
  - No risk is expected from my participating in the study.
  - No information about me, or provided by me during the research will be shared with others without my written permission, except if it is necessary to protect my welfare or if it is required by law. I will be assigned a pseudonym (if so requested) and this pseudonym will be used on all data I submit for analysis.
  - The investigator will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project (Janice Fournillier 389 6514; 642 7972)
  - I give my permission for the researcher to use the audio recordings.
  - Circle one: YES/ NO.
  - I give permission for the researcher to use video recordings.
  - Circle one: YES/ NO.

I understand that I am agreeing by my signature on this form to take part in this research project and understand that I will receive a signed copy of this consent for my records.

Janice Fournillier                      Signature.....                      Date.....

100 Rogers Rd. M301

Department of Educational Psychology

University of Georgia

Athens, GA 30602

Email: [jfournil@uga.edu](mailto:jfournil@uga.edu)

Ph: 706.3896514; 868 6427972

-----	.....	.....
Name of participant	Signature	Date

**Please sign both copies and return one to the researcher**

For questions or problems about your rights please call or write: Chris A. Joseph, Ph D. Human Subjects Office; The University of Georgia, Athens Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone 706-5423199; E-Mail Address: IRB@uga.edu CT

## APPENDIX H

### COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

Table 6: DIMENSIONS OF CONTRAST								
<b>MAJOR ROLES OF MEMBERS</b>	<i>Conceptualizes the idea for the mas' band/individual costumes</i>	<i>Produces the prototype and or designs</i>	<i>Implements the idea/concepts of the design team</i>	<i>Is involved in day to day production of costumes</i>	<i>Manages the production of costumes</i>	<i>Works with ground floor members to ensure quality production</i>	<i>Has control of the production process</i>	<i>Works on the road to ensure quality service to members</i>
Band leader (s)								
Committee Members	Yes	Yes/No	Yes/No	No	No	No	No	No
Designer/ team	yes	Yes	No	Yes/no	Yes	Yes	yes	Yes
Production Manager	Yes/No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Researcher	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Prototype Maker	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Decorator	Yes/No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Wire bender	Yes/No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Molder	Yes/Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Seamstress/tailor	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Metal worker	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	yes	no	no
Engineer	Yes/No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Volunteer worker	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
Family Member	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Office manager	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Jack of all trades	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

## APPENDIX I: DATA ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

### Individual Propriospect and Cultural Pool:

<i>Cultural Pool: Resources, knowledge, and skills of individual Members</i>													
NAMES	Mas makers propriospect	Individual version of the mas' making culture	Designing	Wire bending	Fiber glassing	Papier mache	Decorating	Wood working	Metal working	Carving	Seamstress	Engineer	Individual Views on mas' making
Kendall	p <sub>1</sub> =	(A <sub>1</sub> :	a <sub>1</sub>	b <sub>1</sub>	c <sub>1</sub>	d <sub>1</sub>	e <sub>1</sub>	f <sub>1</sub>	g <sub>1</sub>	h <sub>1</sub>	i <sub>1</sub>	j <sub>1</sub> )	+x <sub>1</sub>
Geraldo	p <sub>2</sub> =	(A <sub>2</sub> :	a <sub>2</sub>	b <sub>2</sub>	c <sub>2</sub>		e <sub>2</sub>	f <sub>2</sub>	g <sub>2</sub>	h <sub>2</sub>	i <sub>2</sub>	j <sub>2</sub> )	+x <sub>2</sub>
Lionel	p <sub>3</sub> =	(A <sub>3</sub> :	a <sub>3</sub>	b <sub>3</sub>	c <sub>3</sub>	d <sub>3</sub>	e <sub>3</sub>	f <sub>3</sub>	g <sub>3</sub>	h <sub>3</sub>	i <sub>3</sub>	j <sub>3</sub> )	+x <sub>3</sub>
Roslyn	p <sub>4</sub> =	(A <sub>4</sub> :	a <sub>4</sub>	b <sub>4</sub>		d <sub>4</sub>	e <sub>4</sub>			h <sub>4</sub>	i <sub>4</sub>	j <sub>4</sub> )	+x <sub>4</sub>
Senor	p <sub>5</sub> =	(A <sub>5</sub> :	a <sub>5</sub>	b <sub>5</sub>	c <sub>5</sub>	d <sub>5</sub>	e <sub>5</sub>	f <sub>5</sub>	g <sub>5</sub>	h <sub>5</sub>		j <sub>5</sub> )	+x <sub>5</sub>
Patrick	p <sub>6</sub> =	(A <sub>6</sub> :	a <sub>6</sub>	b <sub>6</sub>	c <sub>6</sub>	d <sub>6</sub>	e <sub>6</sub>	f <sub>6</sub>	g <sub>6</sub>	h <sub>6</sub>	i <sub>6</sub>	j <sub>6</sub> )	+x <sub>6</sub>
Elva	p <sub>7</sub> =	(A <sub>7</sub> :		b <sub>7</sub>	c <sub>7</sub>	d <sub>7</sub>	e <sub>7</sub>	f <sub>7</sub>	g <sub>7</sub>	h <sub>7</sub>	i	j <sub>7</sub> )	+x <sub>7</sub>
Bogart	p <sub>8</sub> =	(A <sub>8</sub> :	a <sub>8</sub>	b <sub>8</sub>	c <sub>8</sub>	d <sub>8</sub>	e <sub>8</sub>	f <sub>8</sub>	g <sub>8</sub>	h <sub>8</sub>	i <sub>8</sub>	j <sub>8</sub> )	+x <sub>8</sub>
Sheldon	p <sub>9</sub> =	(A <sub>9</sub> :	a <sub>9</sub>	b <sub>9</sub>	c <sub>9</sub>	d <sub>9</sub>	e <sub>9</sub>	f <sub>9</sub>	g <sub>9</sub>	h <sub>9</sub>	i <sub>9</sub>	j <sub>9</sub> )	+x <sub>9</sub>
David	p <sub>10</sub> =	(A <sub>10</sub> :	a <sub>10</sub>	b <sub>10</sub>		d <sub>10</sub>	e <sub>10</sub>	f <sub>10</sub>		h <sub>10</sub>	i <sub>10</sub>	j <sub>10</sub> )	+x <sub>10</sub>
Maria	p <sub>11</sub> =	(A <sub>11</sub> :					e <sub>11</sub>				i <sub>11</sub>	j <sub>11</sub> )	+x <sub>11</sub>

Adapted from Goodenough (1973).

Individual propriospects are made up of some or all of the above: skills, views, standards, and the kinds of competencies they bring from areas other than the mas' camp community. Together these individual propriospects make up the cultural pool from which they can draw and to which they contribute.

## APPENDIX J: KENDALL'S DATA ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

<b>Standards for making mas' work</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Not just beads and feathers or skimpy thing</li> <li>▪ Artistic form</li> <li>▪ Mas' as a finished product...give people something they can admire and appreciate</li> <li>▪ Ideas and concepts</li> <li>▪ More art to mas'</li> <li>▪ Gerald Kelly's concept</li> <li>▪ No half picked duck</li> <li>▪ Get on the ground when you ready the space needs to be ready don't just rush into it</li> <li>▪ Family community</li> <li>▪ Portray yourself into the form</li> <li>▪ Cleaning up the edges getting the work more professional and putting more into it</li> </ul>
<b>Values</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Individuality</li> <li>▪ Individual mas' players' space. Love and camaraderie and sharing</li> <li>▪ Inquiry</li> <li>▪ Reading to learn</li> <li>▪ Bravery</li> <li>▪ Understanding self and the meaning one makes</li> <li>▪ Understanding the balance</li> <li>▪ Life is a learning process</li> <li>▪ Individual learning-teaching relationships</li> <li>▪ When you close the door from going out nothing will come in</li> </ul>
<b>Beliefs--cultural social religious cultural (what is mas')</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Mas' making a gift</li> <li>▪ Spiritual</li> <li>▪ Carnival art is not only about carnival it can be used for other purposes. Utilitarian</li> <li>▪ The art form does a lot for people that they are not aware of. It brings out range. It puts the thing on the outside so you can deal with it</li> <li>▪ In mas you are the costume</li> <li>▪ Carnival Tuesday belong to me and this is mine....and I have to enjoy myself</li> <li>▪ You are giving off a certain amount of energy</li> <li>▪ We are not all equal</li> <li>▪ Mas maker as instrument</li> <li>▪ What we say registers if you make a promise then you have to keep it</li> <li>▪ God is the master He can do anything not me</li> <li>▪ Need to cleanse yourself from the negative energy</li> <li>▪ If you don't like what you are doing then don't do it</li> <li>▪ Now I am working for the father</li> <li>▪ Give thanks for the pair of hands</li> <li>▪ Need to get into ourselves</li> </ul>
<b>Practices-</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Playing</li> <li>▪ Experimental work</li> <li>▪ Kendall teaches at the University and defines himself as a teacher when he works in the mas' camp</li> <li>▪ One method of learning he advocates is getting into the person's head...Minshall taught him this strategy as a way of understanding what Using the wire structure as a form</li> <li>▪ Hands on practice for the learners</li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Collaboration and helping each other working with the designer to achieve the goal</li> <li>▪ Problem solving (help others)</li> <li>▪ Seeing other people do papier mâche watching his uncle bend wire and add on to what they do fine tuning</li> <li>▪ Trial and error</li> <li>▪ Opening the valve</li> </ul>
<b>Mas' camp customs, rules and standards</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Nobody debars you from going out (callaloo)</li> <li>▪ Cooperative spirit each one teach one</li> <li>▪</li> </ul>
<b>Skills and areas of expertise</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Wire bending</li> <li>▪ Sewing</li> <li>▪ Designing</li> <li>▪ Using fiber glass on wire</li> <li>▪ Papier mache</li> <li>▪ Metal work</li> <li>▪ Aluminum</li> <li>▪ Upholstery</li> </ul>

## APPENDIX K: ROSALIND'S DATA ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

<b>Standards for making mas' work</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ You suppose to play mas' and you suppose to impress the spectators</li> <li>▪ Give you goose bumps</li> <li>▪ Perfectionism</li> <li>▪ Creativity</li> <li>▪ Every thing has to be the best</li> <li>▪ Neatness</li> <li>▪ Understanding the band leader</li> <li>▪ Consistency in work group</li> <li>▪ Adapting to change in materials and techniques</li> <li>▪ Costume should make the wearer proud to wear it.</li> <li>▪ No abstract</li> <li>▪ Rich well designed well thought out</li> </ul>
<b>Values</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Finding niche for creativity</li> <li>▪ Standards of other older mas' makers</li> <li>▪ Continuing learning experiences</li> <li>▪ Culture of the country</li> <li>▪ Learning new techniques</li> <li>▪ Justice and fair play</li> </ul>
<b>Beliefs--cultural social religious cultural (what is mas')</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Something to glorify god. Lord let everybody who lays eyes on this band get joy.</li> <li>▪ Creating a thing of joy for participants and viewers</li> <li>▪ Learning experience for children</li> <li>▪ You are supposed to be covered</li> <li>▪ We are the most creative people in the world</li> <li>▪ Mas' making is a calling</li> </ul>
<b>Practices</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Hands-on experiences</li> <li>▪ Collaboration</li> <li>▪ Designer learns from the band leader</li> <li>▪ Lifting the design off the paper</li> <li>▪ Interact with wire bender and molder</li> <li>▪ Sketching</li> <li>▪ Make pattern templates</li> <li>▪ Interact with the dress maker</li> <li>▪ Hearing about somebody doing something. Keeping your ears to the ground</li> <li>▪ Experimenting/trying out things</li> <li>▪ Getting the first one then the rest is magic</li> </ul>
<b>Mas' camp customs, rules and standards</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Nice atmosphere</li> <li>▪ Eating together</li> <li>▪ Sharing problems</li> <li>▪ Trusting to leave members in charge of the camp</li> <li>▪ Encouragement to share ideas on the improvement of the band</li> </ul>
<b>Skills and areas of expertise</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Decorator /Designer</li> <li>▪ Producer</li> <li>▪ Artist</li> </ul>

## APPENDIX L: VIEIRA'S DATA ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

<b>Standards for making mas' work</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The opinion of the judges....have to come up with extravagant ideas to conquer the judges</li> <li>▪ No copying from outside</li> <li>▪ Must not be too abstract</li> <li>▪ Engineering way is the right way</li> <li>▪ Skillful and accurate measurement</li> <li>▪ Efficiency</li> <li>▪ You have to be in it for fun</li> <li>▪ Want certain standard and if they are not there it has to be redone take it out do it over</li> <li>▪ Costume must represent the country</li> </ul>
<b>Values</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Winning the competition</li> <li>▪ Authenticity and realism</li> <li>▪ Creativity</li> <li>▪ Honesty and helping others along the right path</li> <li>▪</li> <li>▪ Family mother and children and loved ones</li> <li>▪ Women</li> <li>▪ Humility</li> <li>▪ Inquisitiveness</li> <li>▪ A full day's work for a full day's pay</li> <li>▪</li> </ul>
<b>Beliefs--cultural social religious cultural (what is mas')</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Mas' is our culture it is our topic it is our subject to write on</li> <li>▪ Knowledge comes from research and observations</li> <li>▪ You have to be highly creative in order to do things</li> <li>▪ Creativity comes from God</li> <li>▪ In born characteristic</li> <li>▪ Forced into serious and manhood by the Lord</li> <li>▪ Each person has skills</li> <li>▪ We are all equal</li> <li>▪ Spirituality</li> <li>▪ Carnival is work for pleasure it is not a business</li> <li>▪ Fantastic ideas come through the creator</li> <li>▪ Foresight comes from the creator</li> <li>▪ Did not learn it</li> </ul>
<b>Practices</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Choosing the subject coming up with the idea</li> <li>▪ Read, observe behaviors, do research ,</li> <li>▪ Observation as a way of gaining experience</li> <li>▪ Working in an engineering shop</li> <li>▪ Molding</li> <li>▪ Carving and sculpting</li> <li>▪ Teaching and showing</li> <li>▪ Assembling</li> <li>▪ Working with other members of the team to produce the costume</li> <li>▪ Assigning duties to different persons</li> <li>▪ Sharing and giving advice on techniques new process of sticking</li> <li>▪ Crash course for new people give them a prototype and monitor the work they pay for the assistance received</li> </ul> <p>Give precise directions to new people and get others to follow and teach</p>
<b>Mas' camp customs, rules and standards</b>	<p>Co-ordinate the king costume design with the band</p> <p>Fitting into the band</p>

	Find people that are capable of correcting the down fall Loss of control when sections are given out
<b>Skills and areas of expertise</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Molding</li> <li>▪ Wire bending</li> <li>▪ Engineering</li> <li>▪ Decorating</li> <li>▪ Designer</li> <li>▪ Craftsman</li> <li>▪ Self taught in art</li> <li>▪ Pattern making</li> <li>▪ Sculpting</li> <li>▪ Wood working</li> <li>▪ Welding</li> </ul>