THE CARIBANA PARADE: STORMING AND ISSUES OF POWER AND CONTROL

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Abstract

Toronto Carnival/Caribana has become an important part of Toronto's and Canada's identity. The parade is the highlight of the festival; but for more than twenty years it has been a site of contestation. It is affected by storming, an act of transgression in which mostly young male individuals breach fences along the route to participate for free, and to integrate themselves into the official parade. Their interaction with the scantily clad female masqueraders produce tensions and unwanted conflicts in the space. This study assesses the dynamics of storming and its impact on various positionalities in and outside the parade. The study draws on ethnographic interviews with "stormers" and female masqueraders, in addition to participant observation, informal conversations and archival research to complete this analysis. Through the lens of Carnival and performance theory, it interrogates issues of spatialization, power relations, cultural commodification, and other factors that make the parade a site of contestation in an era of post-multiculturalism. Findings suggest that despite its acculturation to suit the social and other needs of its host city, the Toronto Carnival/Caribana parade's evolution has given rise to the storming phenomenon; and though storming is seen by some as a transgressive form of participation by a few high-profiled individuals, it finds support, directly and indirectly, by a wide cross section of attendees at the parade.

Dedication

To the founders and pioneers of the Caribana Festival, a group of predominantly Black people from the Caribbean, who never dreamed that an event that was meant to be a one off, would become an internationally recognized Canadian icon; and last for more than fifty years. This is also dedicated to the thousands of calypsonians, pannists, mas band leaders, mas creators, musicians, masqueraders, administrators and volunteers who made Canada home, and have kept Caribana alive through its many ups and downs.

Acknowledgements

I have traveled a considerable distance in life's journey; but in many ways I am still the young boy who sat astride the spine of a gable-ended roof, looked out, dreamed, then ventured to find what lay beyond the horizon. Now, it is important for me to acknowledge several people who helped me to travel this far. First, my biological parents, May Skerrett and O'Brien Gomez, who valued education and encouraged their children to succeed; and my many "mothers" (especially Mom King) and elders in the village that raised me. Next, Samuel Blyden Forde, the Princes Town Methodist School "headmaster" who, very early, recognized and encouraged my intellectual curiosity. You were there at a crucial time in my development. After so many years, I still feel the impact of your mentorship and love of learning. Thank you.

To Jeff Henry who has been a mentor and friend, and to Vera Cudjoe and Amah Harris for their pioneering work in theatre in Toronto, and for giving me the first breaks I needed to hone my skills as an entertainer in Canada. To Neil Andersen, my former English department head at Cedarbrae Collegiate Institute, who introduced me to Media Studies, Media Literacy and the McLuhan salons, where a whole new world opened to me. You changed my life in ways that I never imagined; and for that I am eternally grateful. To Dr. David Nostbakhen and Dr. Seamus Ross, thanks for your time and encouragement as you helped me to take the steps necessary to return to academia.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Overview of the Study

The Caribana parade, the preferred term for the celebration of Caribbean culture that takes place every summer in the city, remains the highlight of Toronto Carnival/Caribana. It has achieved international popularity; and has become a signature summer event of Toronto/Ontario/Canada, which, for more than fifty years, has hosted the parade on its downtown streets. At its inception to a city economically and culturally under the dominant white social culture, this parade was alien and inimical to its forms of cultural expression. In this setting, its first Chairman, Dr. Liverpool gave the invitation that "it'll be wide open to anybody who feels in the mood" (Gerein 22) However, this is no longer an open one. Instead, fences have been erected to "demarcate, limit and control" (wa Thiong'o 11) groups of participants, in an attempt to give the City of Toronto, organizers and the police hegemonic control over the space in which the parade is performed (Lefebvre 14); and to effect further the transformation of the parade from a multicultural ritual into a commodity (Appadurai 295). Or, to put it differently, to make the parade a practice of the dominant culture "eating the other" (Taucar 91). This practice of spatialization has both supporters and detractors. It has given rise to what is known as a "storming" response, a kind of "party-crashing" by non-official participants, which provokes conflicts in the space. A definition of "storming" as the word will be used in this thesis can be said to be a manifestation of the desire of some carnival participants, usually members of an outgroup, to "play" in the parade space, but subject to their own rules of participation rather than those of the ingroup. Storming has both affective and effective elements. The affective is immediate and personal and

rewards the participant in at least three ways: it gives the stormer a sense of accomplishment at defeating security measures (the fence) and getting into the prohibited parade space; it gives the participant joy indulging in the carnal pleasures of a stolen wine; and it empowers the participant who has literally and symbolically defeated the City and organizers in their attempt to have hegemonic control over the parade space.

At the same time, over the years, Caribana has become a Toronto icon and an important part of Toronto's and Canada's identity. Among other things, it is tightly interwoven into the city's economy through the tourist industry and its ancillaries. On the surface, the parade seems like a summer bacchanalia, with no indication of the role that Canadian politics, globalization and a post-colonial Caribbean have played in its ontology. In recent years the festival has become a contested space, in which both the city and the festival organizers have challenged who owns it and who ought to oversee its use (*Culture Trip* 1).

Aims of The Study

This study aims to assess whether the Caribana parade acts as a transgressive or normative beacon in Toronto and in Canada, making meaning of various modes of participation, especially storming by Caribbean immigrant, Caribbean-Canadian or other community members. The study draws on ethnographic interviews with "stormers" and female masqueraders, in addition to participant observation, informal conversations and archival research to complete this analysis, which also draws on a critical assessment of multiculturalism policies in Canada, and the ontology and teleology of the Caribana parade, as a means by which to interrogate the social meaning of these activities.

Multiculturalism and Caribana

Multiculturalism as Canadian government policy was most significant in the creation of Caribana, and therefore it can be said that the festival and parade were perhaps a mirror of the way in which multiculturalism policies in Canada have evolved over time, something that will be discussed in detail in this thesis as well. The thesis will also discuss spatiality and liminality, in that the study will show that while moving Caribana to different physical spaces in Toronto addressed the problem of crowding, it also brought a significant change in the production, containment and policing of the parade, and, consequently, a changed experience of performers in the space.

CANEWA – Caribana's Precursor

The Caribana festival, linked to Canada's Centennial celebration, was introduced to Toronto from August 5 to 12, 1967 on two of its main streets downtown, and on Olympic Island, one of the Toronto islands. It was conceived in its essence as a means by which to bring the diaspora of the Caribbean together in Canada's largest city; and was founded through the work of Toronto's Black Caribbean community. Its forerunner was the Calypso Carnival, created by the Canadian Negro Women's Association (CANEWA), headed by Canada born Kay Livingstone. Calypso Carnival began in 1956; and operated as a fundraiser for service projects that included the creation of university scholarships for Black students (*Collections Canada* 1). The aim was, in part, to address the education of Black youth and build their awareness of Black culture at the time, in order for members and the community to "…become aware of, to appreciate and further the merits of the Canadian negro" (Hill 14). As its successor, Caribana has run every year since 1967, until this year when like all other large-scale events, it was cancelled due to

the pandemic. To some degree, it can be argued that the festival continues to be aligned with the culturally defined space in which the Caribbean diaspora operates, whether it is controlled by city or civil society actors.

Canewa's Primary Activities 57

Calypso Carnival

Millions of Canadians are familiar with Caribana, the popular celebration of Caribbean culture that takes place every summer in Toronto. However, few people know that Caribana, which began in 1967, grew out of an earlier festival called the Calypso Carnival.

Verda Cook, a former CANEWA president, served on Caribana's first board of directors in 1967. "The Calypso Carnival was a forerunner to Caribana," she said. "The idea definitely inspired Caribana."

CANEWA initiated the Calypso Carnival as a fundraising tool for its scholarship program and other activities. The first carnival took place in 1956 at the Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Association building Bloor and Spadina. "So many people came that we had to turn some back," Cook said. The carnival featured a floor show, booths, Caribbean foods prepared ahead of time by CANEWA members, and a dance.

Velma Adamson, who chaired the Carnival twice, said so much work was involved in managing the event that she didn't have time to sit back and enjoy it. "It was hard work," she said. "The first year I chaired it, we netted over a thousand dollars. At that time, it was a lot of money."

For the 1957 carnival, held at the Ukrainian National Federation Hall on College Street, Margaret Midgehall Anderson converted green window blinds into palm tree fronds, and cajoled her friends into lending plants to give the carnival a tropical atmosphere. "I remember lugging my landlady's rubber plant to the hall," said Anderson, who at the time lived nearby on Brunswick Avenue.

The carnival eventually attracted up to 4,000 people. It was held in later years at places such as the Columbus Hall on Sherbourne Street and the Palace Pier on Lakeshore Road.

The carnival attracted artists such as the dancer Leonard Gibson and the singer Salome Bey. "There were not that many Black functioning organizations. We had an excellent reputation. We paid our bills, so people were never stuck if they dealt with us," said Alcenya Crowley, who chaired the first carnival. "We often got credit too, when we needed it. We would call the *Globe and Mail*, and reporters and photographers would come out. The *Star* and the *Telegram* gave us excellent coverage."

In 1961, when Velma Adamson chaired the carnival, it made a profit of $3,250. That year, Velma presented a $1,000 cheque from CANEWA to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to help build a dormitory for student teachers in Ghana.

The carnival was held annually until 1964. Three years later, Caribana was launched.

Figure 1: CANEWA, courtesy the Liverpool family. Photo: Henry Gomez

Post-colonial Caribbean Influence

During the post-colonial period of the 1960s in the Caribbean, several former British colonies emerged as independent states or nations. One of the outcomes was that these newly independent nations, such as Trinidad and Tobago in 1962, and Jamaica also in 1962, were able, at least theoretically, to devise and direct their own foreign and cultural policies. Whereas in the past their nationals emigrated mainly to Britain, from whence their colonialist governance had originally come, they now began moving more to Canada and the USA. The post-colonial period also saw an upsurge in pride and the

blossoming of artistic expression in the Caribbean. In Trinidad and Tobago for instance, this expression included the Carnival Arts such as calypso, masquerade and steelpan, the last of which is a musical instrument indigenous to Trinidad and Tobago. It is made primarily from the fifty-five-gallon oil drum and is the only acoustic musical instrument invented in the 20th century. Literature and theatre were also included, as well as dances such as the Limbo, which requires the performer to lean backwards and bend as low as possible as he or she goes under a bar[1] suspended on two poles or held by assistants, usually performed to African drumming or up-tempo calypso music.
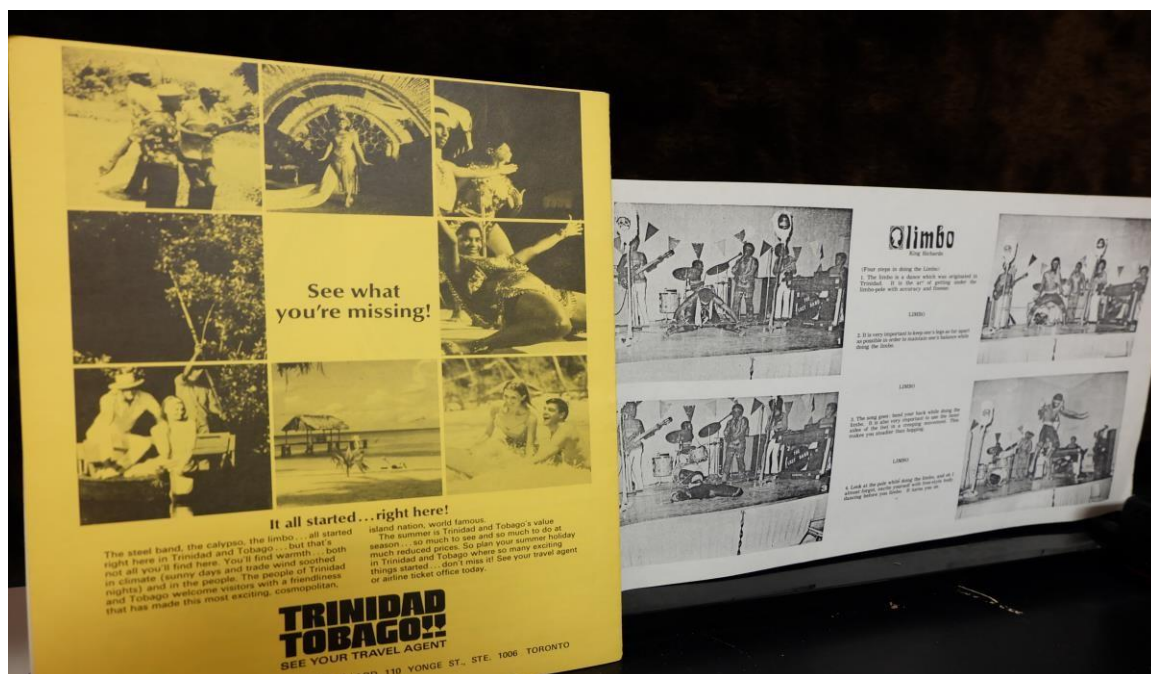
Figure 2: Limbo dancing as Exotica. Photo: Henry Gomez

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[1] Sometimes this bar is set ablaze, which makes the dance more challenging; as the dancer must go under and emerge on the other side without being burnt.

Figure 3: Esso Steelband on Olympic Island, 1967. Toronto Star

Prior to independence, Trinidad and Tobago had sent a steelpan contingent to the Festival of Britain in 1951. Thousands of primarily White Britons heard and saw the instrument played for the first time and marveled at the musical sounds emanating from the modified and repurposed oil drums. In 1967, however, Trinidad and Tobago, now an independent nation, sent a much larger and varied contingent of calypso, steelpan and limbo performers to Montreal to participate in Expo 67 (otherwise known as the Grand Fete), Canada's cultural showcase to the world and the harbinger of a change in its immigration policy. Although Toronto had caught the centennial fever and was about to introduce Caribana the same year, the city was still culturally overshadowed by Montreal, which, with Expo 67 (The Grand Fete) had exposed visitors first-hand to a variety of

Figure 4: Expo 67 Commemorative Stamp. Courtesy: A. Sheppard. Photo: Henry Gomez

Figure 5: Canadian Centennial Flag. Courtesy Arlayne Sheppard. Photo: Henry Gomez

music, dance and other forms of artistic expression from around the world. This overshadowing

was about to change; and Multiculturalism and a post-colonial Caribbean were to play a

significant role in the process.

Effects of Multiculturalism and Post-colonialism

Multiculturalism also meant that looking outward, Canada refocused its

immigration practices and began to embrace immigrants with rituals and practices that

were different from the European norm. Some of these immigrants came from the

Caribbean. They had for Caribana, at its start, a positive vision that included a means by

which to bridge the interests and cultural norms of a majority northern European Toronto

population with those of people recently arrived from the Caribbean (*Collections Canada*

1). Caribana was created as a replication of similar festivals in the Caribbean, and

Trinidad and Tobago in particular, but its aim was to materialize a collective vision of

Caribbean culture in which many different regional groups were invited to share their

practices. From its instigation, what this meant was that the festival would aim to:

> … represent the cultures of the ten main Caribbean islands in addition to Bermuda
> and Guyana, with performances by steel bands and a parade – much of the music
> associated with the event showcased the soca, steelpan and calypso. Other events
> would include dancing, films, stage acts, drama, kids' and adults' carnivals and
> nightclub events along with other things like ferry cruises, fashion shows, fruit
> and vegetable markets showcasing Caribbean produce and a waterskiing festival.
> (*Culture Trip* 1).

The festival was marked by parades at the beginning and the end of the celebrations in

order to bring people together. It was a phenomenon that even in its first year was marked

by the attendance of over 32,000 people from the Toronto area (*Culture Trip* 1).

Toronto - Parades and West Indian Culture, Pre-Caribana

Prior to 1967, Toronto was known for the Canadian National Exhibition (CNE or the Ex), the CHIN Picnic, the Labour Day Parade, the Saint Patrick's Day Parade and the Santa Claus Parade. The Shriners also entertained with their annual visits to the city. There was no Caribbean summer festival; and for many Torontonians, summer meant deserting the city and "escaping" to cottage country. The absence of a summer festival or parade, however, does not suggest the absence of Caribbean or Trinidadian forms of cultural expressions in Toronto at the time. Specifically, it does not mean the absence of steelpan and calypso music. The small number of domestics and university students who migrated prior to 1967 included musicians and entrepreneurs, who formed calypso performing groups and operated after hours clubs where they performed. They also performed at clubs owned and operated by Whites. These venues included the West Indian Federal (WIF) Club on Brunswick Avenue, near College Street, the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) Hall at 355 College Street, the Calypso Club at 267 Yonge Street, the Caribbean Club or The Carib at 314 Yonge Street (also at 51 Dundas Street West), Little Trinidad Club at 237-237 ½ Yonge Street and The Port of Spain at 47 LaPlante Avenue. Mainstream venues like Le Coq D'or, the Bermuda Tavern, and the Brass Rail also featured calypso and/or steelpan music in their shows or reviews (Eldridge 29). And CANEWA had been presenting Calypso Carnival as a precursor.

Growth and Municipal Involvement

Once established, the festival grew in popularity and became more widely known internationally. Through the branding vision and persistence of Olaogun Adeyinka

(formerly Le Roi Cox) it acquired a logo in 1996.[2] The number of costumed participants

in the parade and the number of spectators increased. City of Toronto politicians and

administrators also funded studies and compiled data on its economic impact, showing

that by 2013 the festival had been able to add $438 million to the annual economy of the

city according to one study by Ipsos Reid (Higgins 1). The City of Toronto also included

Figure 6: Original Caribana Logo. Photo: Henry Gomez

the festival in its arts funding programming as early as the 1980s, thus becoming a

stakeholder; and one may argue that this marked the beginning of the municipality's

direct involvement and increased control of the festival and parade.

Relocation and Issues of Control

Given the growth in attendance, there was an effective argument to be made

logistically and in terms of safety and crowd control when the City wanted to move the

parade from University Avenue to the grounds of the CNE and Lakeshore Boulevard

West in 1991 (Higgins 1). Among other things, the costumes had become too elaborate

and the crowds too large to be accommodated on University Avenue. But the prevailing

rationale city officials gave to the Caribbean Cultural Committee (CCC), the creators and

managers of the festival at the time (1990), was that the parade would operate profitably

by generating revenue from patrons who would pay to sit in bleachers erected on the

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[2] The logo has changed several times from 2009 to 2019, in keeping with sponsorship of the festival. Peeks was the most recent corporate sponsor – 2017 to 2018. Now the festival is known officially as Toronto Caribbean Carnival.

CNE grounds. These bleachers will have been in place for the Molson Indy; and left

installed to accommodate parade spectators. This researcher, being a Caribbean Cultural

Committee (CCC) board member in 1990, remembers at least one board meeting that a

city councillor, himself a former masquerader, attended informally, and reluctantly

supported the relocation of the parade.

Despite strong opposition by traditionalists who saw the socio-political

significance of it being in the downtown core, and felt that the carnival parade belonged

on the streets and should not be put in a "pen" (the CNE grounds), the City prevailed,

performed its power and it was moved to the new venue. As Knia Singh, a past Chair of

the Caribana Arts Group[3], described his reaction to the relocation in 1991,

> When the festival moved from University Avenue down to Lakeshore in 1991, I
> lost interest. There were no fences on University Avenue. You could jump in and
> out of the bands. The second they brought it down to Lakeshore it was now
> detached, and stripped away from the city, it didn't feel like it was a part of the
> city anymore, it felt more like something that you go to, then your secluded, then
> the fences come up. We're supposed to be connecting with each other, not
> separating from each other with fences. Every year you have people cutting
> through fences, climbing over fences, and you have people getting hurt in their
> attempts to become a part of the festival. (Higgins 1)

Here, it is important to note that with the attendant costs for the use of the CNE

grounds and other services, it did not meet economic expectations; and as of this writing

29 years later, this researcher does not know whether the move was economically

beneficial to the organizers or diaspora. Still, the parade now makes even greater use of

the grounds and facilities; and, while people still call it Caribana, the festival is officially

called the Toronto Carnival, operating under large scale named commercial sponsors. The

two most recent have been Peeks (Peeks Toronto Caribbean Carnival Toronto) and

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[3] In 2007, the Caribbean Cultural Committee (CCC) legally changed its name Caribana Arts Group (CAG)

Scotiabank (Scotiabank Caribana and Scotiabank Toronto Caribbean Carnival). This is an event that is still evolving; and will be for the foreseeable future, especially in the wake of current public space restrictions due to the global pandemic.

Carnival Comparisons

There are similarities between Caribana and other parades in the Caribbean diaspora around the world. However, there are distinct differences between the carnival portrayed in Trinidad and Tobago[4], and the carnival portrayed on the streets of Toronto. For example, in Trinidad and Tobago, carnival is heavily sponsored by government and corporate entities, and embraced by practically the entire nation. Despite its commodification today, however, Mila Cozart Riggio notes that, "The festival manifests … a festive world of community, when community is allied with artistic expression manifest in public celebration." (2005: 20). She is clear about its community orientation. The festival still involves two or more full days of festivities when people 'play mas'[5] individually, or collectively in bands in parks, in buildings and on the streets. They emerge from various neighbourhoods, have various assembly and dispersal points and have more liberal use of the streets to perform, parade or proceed. The same holds true in terms of assembly and parade of bands for the Bank Holiday carnival in Notting Hill, England, which is also modeled after the Trinidad and Tobago carnival. By contrast, the

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[4] Trinidad and Tobago, sometimes called T&T or TnT, is a twin island republic which operates as one political entity under one government.
[5] Mas is an abbreviated form for masquerade, and costumed participants portraying the same theme, or the same characters together are called a mas band.

carnival community in Toronto is found mainly in calypso tents,[6] pan yards[7] and mas

camps.[8] On the day, all the masquerade bands, their sound trucks and support vehicles are

corralled in the now permanently fenced CNE grounds and adjacent areas.

However, in comparison to Trinidad and Tobago, although the carnival in Toronto

receives arts funding and other grants from the City of Toronto, the Province of Ontario

and the Federal Government, the carnival parade is very heavily restricted: it is not

embraced by the entire City; instead of lasting two days, it performs as a "chronotope,"

(Bakhtin 1984), or "time space compression" (Harvey, 1989: 201-3; Massey, 1991: 49),

officially lasting only eight hours, or sometimes less on the day; and it is now confined to

a section of the city where it can cause the least disruption. By contrast, Toronto's Pride

Parade, which has many carnival elements, is more privileged: it has the liberty of streets

in downtown Toronto for two days; and includes a section of Yonge Street, Toronto's

main north, south artery in its route. It may be useful to do a comparative study of these

two festivals and parades in the future.

Focus of Study

Through the lens of space, carnival and performance theory, and foregrounding

storming as an unwanted form of participation, this thesis interrogates issues of

spatialization, power relations, cultural commodification, and other factors that make the

parade a site of contestation in the context of Toronto post 1991, in an era of post-

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[6] This term is used for any building or hall in which calypsonians perform a series of shows during the carnival season. It is a hold over from 1921, when the first calypso tent opened in Port of Spain under the leadership of Railway Douglas. Originally, it literally meant a tent made from bamboo and materials to keep out the rain.
[7] Venues that house the steel pans and provide space for practice sessions and performances.
[8] Venues where costumes are made for the masqueraders.

multiculturalism[9]. This thesis will explore the ways in which the Caribana festival has become emblematic of the way the city has engaged in cultural discourse around the Caribbean diaspora, as a community that is simultaneously part of the city and separate from it through the lived experiences of the stormers. These lived experiences can be framed against Canada's shift away from its older policies of bilingualism and biculturalism which were based on the French-English divide, towards policies of the Multiculturalism Act, which opened Canadian immigration to people who were not from Europe. At the same time, although the enormous changes brought about by the Act shifted Canada's population from a Eurocentric white majority to a highly multicultural and diverse citizenship, this shift brought about a new level of socialized racialization, privilege, marginalization, othering and discrimination that continue to affect Caribana and this community.

In addition, the thesis will look at several factors that directly and indirectly prepared the way for; or impacted on the ontology and teleology of the parade. Three of these factors are Canadian Federal Government politics, globalization and cultural flows (Appardurai 295) and a post-colonial Caribbean in the 1960s. These form the intersection or "crossroads" where the festival and parade were born as a phenomenon intended to be a one-off event of celebration. Instead, it has lasted more than half a century. The study's analysis of the findings is divided into three main parts: the first part focuses on the ontology and teleology of the Toronto Carnival, still popularly known as Caribana, and frames the parade historically. The second part examines the parade's development; and

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[9] Post-multiculturalism is used here to mean the absence of Multiculturalism in public and media discourses. The researcher acknowledges that Multiculturalism is still firmly embedded in Canadian federal government law and policy; and that it still holds sway in academia.

the third part examines the parade as a site of contestation due to spatialization, as mentioned above. It focuses on "stormers" as carnival participants, whose voices have been absent from the ongoing carnival discourses.

Research Questions

This study is guided by three questions.

1. Why has 'storming', the practice of one demographic group, persisted as an unwelcome form of participation in the Toronto Carnival/Caribana parade for more than twenty years?

2. How is it reflective of various dynamics in the increasing containment of the parade space?

3. Why is there ambivalence about it among participants and the wider community?

Rationale for the Study

As it is within the framework of Interdisciplinary Studies, this thesis embraces three disciplines: (1) Ethnography, (2) Environmental Studies (Performance) and (3) Communication and Culture. It is a qualitative, ethnographic study that contextualizes the parade historically, politically and culturally; and interrogates participation in the parade through 'storming,' namely the practice of defeating security measures and gaining unauthorized entry to the parade space, as an unwelcome practice, that creates tension among organizers and participants. Through its research questions, the thesis examines issues of power relations, spatialization, policing, objectification, commodification and the efficacy of barricades as sub-themes of the study. Initial assessment of these themes has suggested that, as a form of participation, storming is much more complicated than

someone jumping over or cutting through a fence; that "stormers" are ambivalent about their actions; and that storming's high visibility may be masking underlying issues caused by various positionalities at play in the space. This study differs from other studies on Caribana by focusing on the "stormers" and the act of "storming" specific to the parade itself, as opposed to focusing on the meaning of the parade within a broader sociopolitical, economic, gendered, geographical or other context of urban concern.

Role of The Author's Lived Experience

My own lived experience of Carnival and the Performing Arts has played a very important role in my life, beginning with my childhood and early adult years in Princes Town,[10] Trinidad,[11] and continuing after my arrival in Toronto, Canada in August 1969. During my lengthy involvement in Caribana, I functioned as a board member, Vicechair and Chair of its governing body. From 2012 to 2014, I also managed the team that produced *Flags and Colours,* the Caribana children's carnival in the Jane and Finch community. My involvement in the performing arts also includes considerable experience as an actor in various media, as a composer and recording artiste, as a Canadian calypso monarch and as an award-winning calypso singer and emcee, under my sobriquet, King Cosmos. I have also performed as a pannist[12] and masquerader in T&T and Canada. This is the lens through which I view the parade and the lived experience that affect my view of my research. My connection to the storming taking place by Caribbean immigrant or Caribbean-Canadian community members allows me a unique insight to these concepts, which only add value to the thesis.

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[10] A very small town in south Trinidad.
[11] Now the island republic called Trinidad and Tobago.
[12] One who plays the steel pan, individually or as a member of a group.

Over the years, I have had periods of passive interest, but my experiences in the land of my birth and my adopted home, separated physically and climatically, but linked culturally by carnival culture, have inspired my research into the Caribana parade as the highlight of the Toronto Carnival/Caribana Festival. As a preface to the essential research in these pages, I must also reflect on the carnivals of my childhood, teenage and early adult life, which have had a lasting impact on my consciousness.

In this thesis I also refer, ever so briefly but wholly necessarily, to other carnivals and parades like Caribana such as carnivals in Brooklyn, New York (Labor Day), Miami and other American cities, carnivals in London, Leeds and other UK cities and carnivals in other Canadian cities such as Montreal and Edmonton, as well. I also refer briefly to Toronto's Pride parade. These other events provide significant context to the social values and ideas that permeate Toronto's connection to Caribana and the people it is likely or unlikely to represent.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Concepts of Space and Carnival

In his theories on 'space' and 'spatialization', Henri Lefebvre offers a means by which to situate ideas within a range of social, cultural or ideological contexts and realities. Together with carnival and performance theory, they form the foundation of the theoretical framework of this thesis, as every individual's experiences are bound by spatial realities. He writes, "… social space 'incorporates' social action, the action of subjects, both individual and collective who are born and who die, who suffer and who act." (33). Lefebvre views space as a "product", which embraces "a multitude of intersections" (ibid) and in the hands of the state, becomes a "means of control, and hence of domination, of power." (26) These ideas have direct bearing on Caribana, since spatialization and cultural diversity may have different meanings to people of colour from the Caribbean diaspora, as opposed to those who grew up in Toronto as part of a dominant, non-ethnic majority. To this end, existing Canadian multicultural institutions and systems may function to keep minority groups oppressed (Murray 2). They also determine what space/s these groups may occupy, and what activities they may perform in them.

The theory drawn from Lefebvre's teleology of space that guides this thesis, therefore, is that Canada is managing its ethno-cultural diversity through an ongoing underlining of the value of Black performances, delivering Black bodies as objects of consumption (Henry 217; Taucar 98). This, theoretically, affects how and why storming takes place, and the role that it has in the ontological and teleological meaning of

Caribana for the Canadian multicultural public, as it is defined by both policy and practice. Caribana maintains its popularity and has helped to bring Toronto to the world's attention; and bring the world to Toronto as a major cultural destination. It has gone beyond being an annual ritual that brought aspects of Caribbean culture to the City, to become an economic engine that helps to fill the coffers of both Toronto and the province of Ontario. This means that all participants, instead of being able to act spontaneously in the parade space, theoretically, are required to play roles specified for them in a "script" (Taucar 2016: 5) written by the organizers and city officials. However, Lefebvre suggests that this "script" is symbolic of the "violence of power," (23) which gives rise to a "violence of subversion." (ibid). Is this then a dialectic that has been playing out between the stormers and the authorities in the parade for more than twenty years?

My thesis also finds support in, and explores the interstices between Bakhtin's European view of carnival, and Afro-Caribbean theories as espoused by Liverpool, Hill and Hall.

Literature Review – Scholarly Research on Caribana Compared to Notting Hill and Brooklyn Carnivals

In his thesis titled, *The Caribana Festival: Continuity, Change, Crisis and an Alternative Music* (1998), Lyndon Phillip writes that the late Caribbeanist and anthropologist Frank Manning made "diligent" efforts to respond to the dearth in scholarly literature about the performative Caribbean arts in Canada. He observes that Dr. Manning's was an attempt to position Caribana as "an important festival within the carnival diaspora" (10), alongside the Notting Hill festival in London, England and the Labour Day Festival in New York. By comparison, he shows that the scholarly attention

given to the former by "Cohen 1980, 1982, 1993, Gutzmore 1978; Howe 1976; Austin 1978; Owusu 1986: La Rose 1990" (ibid), and to the latter, by "Kasinitz 1986, 1992; Berrett 1988; Wiggins 1987; White1989; Hill and Abramson 1979; Laporte 1980" (ibid), exceeded that given to Caribana. Eighteen years later, in her dissertation titled, *"Acting Out(side) the Canadian Multicultural "Script" in Toronto's Ethno-cultural Festivals* Jacqueline Taucar (2016), notes that scholars and writers like Jackson (1992); Gallaugher 1995; Foster (1995); Phillip 1998; NourbeSe Philip 1999; Espinet 1999; Walcott 2001; Premdas 2004 and Hernandez–Ramdwar 2006 (6) paid considerable attention to Caribana in their research on Black marginalization, violence, immigration, a search for identity and the performance of Blackness. Later, we shall see that NourbeSe Philip focuses on the performative nature of the festival, as opposed to any of the other topics. Her work is also useful in helping to guide my thesis, as I create new knowledge and help to fill the void that Phillip has written about.

The literature also reveals that Canadians in power, namely individuals in governance roles, and those who have policies on their side, may act against those without power, such as Caribbean community members and leaders, so that they do not change the status quo of this power dynamic. They retain their own hegemonic status, or, have so much control that they are not willing to adjust their own ways of doing things. This tends to be true universally, because these underlying structural issues are very much not seen by those who are in power. Going back to Lefebvre, we observe that their hegemony "is exercised over society as a whole, culture and knowledge included, … intellectuals and experts. … over both institutions and ideas." (10). As alluded to earlier, this control extends to the spaces in which culture is performed.

Canada, Multiculturalism and Caribana

As early as 1896, Canada's social sphere, was emerging as a part of a "new" continent that depended on immigration for its socioeconomic realization; and here we see early efforts at 'othering' by those in power. The then Canadian Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton, in a speech made in Toronto, described the kind of immigrant that his government was imagining at the time: an Eastern European farmer whom he described as "a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children, is good quality" (Solberg 153). His vision of Eastern European farmers was one that he wanted to differentiate deeply from the English and Scottish majority in Toronto. Sifton wanted to engage these immigrants, while simultaneously letting them know their place and 'space' in the power structure.

More than one hundred years after Sifton, the Canadian focus on building shifts from mainly rural and agrarian to urban. There is also a shift from the French- English dualism to multiculturalism. It is an age of globalization; but the local state remains the site where the state and civil society converge as people carry on with their lives, cultures, and political practices, and the site where local government efficiently carries out state functions. However, Keil establishes that the nation state is no longer autonomous in conducting its central functions; it has been replaced by "…(globalized) market power and supra-national governance institutions" (617) and has become an instrument for managing people as well as the economy. Taking this idea further, out of all of the major cities in Canada, Toronto is one of the largest urban regions that grew to accommodate new arrivals, as it is one of the "…thirty urban centres which are connected

in a network that spans the globe as the skeleton of the globalized economy" (ibid).
Therefore, as local governance manages the tensions between the state and civil society,
it demarcates the space/s where multiculturalism is performed in keeping with federal
policy.

Home/Not Home

The literature shows that in a pre-multicultural urban Toronto, the lived
experiences of the Caribbean diaspora included acts of overt racism and other forms of
discrimination. As noted by author and researcher Althea Prince in her autobiographical
essay on living as a woman of colour in Toronto in the 1960s, she was beset by several
strange experiences that revealed to her that her presence made people uncomfortable.
After being unable to rent an apartment due to the overt racism of a landlady, for
example, "it finally penetrated my conscious that I was being told that my skin colour
made me an undesirable person" (Prince 29). She reveals that this came as a sudden
realization, since she was not exposed to this overt and unacknowledged type of racism in
the Caribbean, where the experience was less obvious and all-encompassing as it was in
Canada. Unlike Sifton's Eastern European, colour and ethnicity made Prince a member
of the "Othered" group in Toronto's urban environment at the time.

Writing in a post 1960s context, poet and narrative prose author Dionne Brand,
herself a Trinidadian Canadian, demonstrates that the way diasporas work in Canada is
emblematic of both feeling at exile and feeling at home at all times, and it requires of
immigrants "ways of constructing the world — that is, of putting it together each
morning, what it should look like piece by piece — and I don't feel that I share this"

(Brand 141). She suggests that within the lived experience of immigrants in a multicultural community in Canada, this becomes a process that is constantly having to be addressed by each person, rather than something that can be defined. One is always in a process of navigating one's way through the multicultural and diasporic 'space'. It suggests that in Canada, people of Caribbean descent are always engaged in the negotiation of a politic of belonging steeped in governmentality, as noted by Walcott (127). As Brand explains, a movement away from the island upon which one was born "does not cut the body off from the "where" of its inhabitants; but connects bodies to other bodies: attachment takes place through movement, through being moved by the proximity of others" (11). Brand suggests that, in being in Canada, Caribbean peoples exist outside the Caribbean diaspora, but still are a part of it, which is linked to her perception of issues of personal and national identity, including multiculturalism. She claims that the Caribbean body becomes a performative, relational body, namely, the body as it continues to work to position itself in social space. This is linked to the tensions, suggests Walcott, connected to the way in which the Canadian state works to define and constrict culture in its own terms, even though it is a living and changing set of norms and values informed by global as well as local experiences and perspectives (128).

Educational researcher, Annette Henry adds to these perspectives. She tells us that both historically and currently, Black women's experiences borne out of a Caribbean identity are often "rendered invisible or subordinate. The specificity of their popular and differential knowledges are lost when subsumed under another rubric (such as that of women, visible minorities, women of colour, or Blacks)" (217). To this end, in her

narrative works on Caribbean diaspora-born women in Canada, M. NourbeSe Philip

shows how the female body becomes a global location for colonialism, and how the

connection between ethnic identity and issues related to gender are endemic to

discussions of performative Caribbeanness (12).

Even though many in the Toronto Caribbean, Black, or other related

ethnicitydriven communities use Caribana as a marker for their identities, it has been

noted in the literature that these are constructed and performed for both members and

non-members of those imagined communities, to the extent that "Caribana has proven to

be a very problematic space on which to perform these various contending identities"

(Trotman 178). This suggests that there is a difficulty both within the sphericles of

Caribbean culture and without, and that the parade is a contested space in which it

becomes a matter of defining and redefining one's own sense of self.

Caribana as Exotica For Consumption

Looking at these points of view in reference to Caribana, therefore, there is a need

to come to terms with how the festival projects the Caribbean diaspora and culture.

Taucar provides an apt description of how the performative nature of the festival shifts

the way in which Caribbean bodies are consumed and used in the relational space. She

draws on bell hooks' theories as she suggests that there are deep and intersectional issues

at play in this social and cultural setting, many of which go wholly unseen. Her emphasis

is mainly on food, which serves as an apt metaphor for the exotic bodies that are

"consumed" at Caribana and other carnivals.

> 'Exotic goods materialize the 'imaginary Other' and create a desire for
> consumption. Goods that structure subjectivity suited to its consumption and in
> doing so create an endless desire for it. As such, consumption of exotic fare …

such as spicy jerk chicken or Jamaican Patties … are fetishisations of 'Otherness' where culinary tourists see their consumption imbued with social capital and imbricated with discourses of cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism, occluding conditions of oppression, exploitation, and exclusion involved in its production. Recalling hooks's argument, indulging in an 'Other's' cuisine can spice up bland 'white' culture and can be read as culinary colonialism. hooks claims that the over-riding fear is that cultural, ethnic, and racial differences will be continually commodified and offered up as new dishes to enhance the white palate – that the Other will be eaten, consumed, and forgotten. (Taucar 91)

Figure 7: Exotic foods at Caribana. Photo: Henry Gomez

This is the crux of the performative nature of Caribana, or, to borrow a term from Richard Schechner, this "Festival of the Other" (Riggio 2004: 4) In it, a celebration of cultural diversity and multiculturalism gives way to a process in which the heritage of a group of nations can be consumed in easy bites. Nonetheless, Black culture and the heritages of the Caribbean and its slave plantation roots are different from many others, and therefore the nature of blackness, as coined by Fanon, needs to be considered in

discussing Caribana. The local and colonial constructs of the Caribbean have contributed

their own social, political and cultural sphericles that interact with those of Canada.

Caribana becomes problematic from this point of view because, as Philip's

narrative tales reveal through their critical examination of the lived experiences of

,.,,..,,women (Taucar 9), there is a challenge linked to the way in which colonialist

practices shape how women become vulnerable. For example, Caribana's performances

utilize, as a means of both marketing and engaging in this culture, Caribbean women's

bodies. Philip suggests that being female, Black and far from one's sociocultural or

physical home, renders Caribbean women without protection. Yet, Caribana "relies on

stereotypical assumptions regarding Caribbean culture, climate and people as exotic and

colourful while images depict women, mostly, in a culturally specific dance, the wine, as

sexual and erotic without providing further contextualization" (Taucar 212). As much as

this reductionist depiction of the black woman's body is used to commodify the festival

and parade, is as much as the wine has become the metonymy for physical engagements

that paradoxically, entice mainly male stormers to invade the space. When taken to the

extreme, mainly female masqueraders perform this dance in ways reminiscent of sexual

positions shown in Kama Sutra. The dance is common to each mas band in the parade. Its

performance becomes mini shows within the larger spectacle; at times it seems orgiastic;

and it helps to slow the procession. Given women's eagerness to participate and their

agency over their bodies, one may reasonably conclude that their desire to express

themselves overrides any concerns they may have about the historical or cultural context

of the "wine". For some, it is a rite of passage and an open expression of their feminine

power. Nevertheless, NourbeSe does provide a framework for "wining" that

demonstrates not only its socio-cultural, but also its historical and political significance as a dance of pleasure and resistance closely linked to fertility rites and to carnival itself.

Figure 8: Male Stormers/Fence Jumpers at Caribana. Photo: Henry Gomez

In her seminal and all-encompassing work, *African Roots and Continuities: Race, Space and the Poetics of Moving (1999)*, she introduces us to fictional characters, Totoben, Mr. Emmanuel Sandiford Jacobs, Boysie, Bluesman, Gloria and Maisie, all under the influence of carnival. They are "wining." On University Avenue!!! During the Caribana "parade." Through their names and biographical information, she tells us that, "back home" they belong to different class, economic, racial and moral backgrounds. Importantly, she informs us about Caribana, "wining" and carnival's transgressive power through the participants' transformations.

She speaks in the first person and positions herself more as an observer than a participant in the parade. Upon seeing Maisie, she comments, "– look, is Maisie that!

Figure 9: Extreme winin. Photo: Henry Gomez (Video 2015, 8797)

… look at what she doing, wining she all, every and what-you-may-call-it round and round that bottle, and is like she seeing heaven -" (206). She implies the degree of transgression by commenting: "is like these people losing all shame (if they ever had any) right here on University Avenue." (ibid) Caribana has transformed Maisie and the other characters to the extent that NourbeSe concludes: "Is like marse[13] gone to their head and is mad they gone mad to marse in your marse and rum sweet woman sweet man sweet and life sweeter still today and is sweat and jostle and push and…" (ibid). After Caribana, NourbeSe takes us across time and space with timeless "Totoben" and "Maisie" to root carnival in its African and European origins. She demonstrates performatively and

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[13] Marse is an abbreviation of masquerade. Mas is also used in the same context to refer to carnival participants wearing facial or other forms of disguise.

historically, how Trinidad carnival was impacted by, and, in turn, impacted historical
Caribbean and global events.

Changes and Their Impact on The Parade

There have been many changes in Toronto's urban landscape since Caribana's
inception – roads, residential and commercial buildings and parks have been remodeled
or newly built. Summer festival sites have also been changed; and there has been
substantial growth in its resident population. The City of Toronto facilitated these
changes by enacting bylaws and developing policies that also affected the routes and
staging of the parade. Simultaneously, the provincial government and the City, in tandem
with the parade organizers, promoted and marketed the parade more as a party than an
event with a deeper cultural meaning. The age and gender of masqueraders also shifted as
more younger females, but fewer males began masquerading. The costumes also became
skimpier, foregrounding the female body; and the parade became a spectacle of color,
movement and sound to be neatly packaged to be sold to the highest bidder (sponsor), or
for consumption along the route.

One of the most significant changes that took place over the twenty-eight-year
period, 1991–2019, that significantly impacted the parade was a reconfiguration of the
CNE grounds. The use of fences became more pervasive (both within and surrounding
the grounds); ticket booths and restricted entry points were installed where there were
none previously (for example, at the Princess Gates, the north entrance at the TTC and
Go Transit stops and the Dufferin Gates) and, parade goers, after disembarking from the

TTC and Go Train at the north entrance, were 'cattled'[14] in chutes to ensure they paid

before they entered the grounds. After paying the entry fee, some participants were

disappointed to learn that they were still denied access to the parade route. I argue that the

curtailment of freedom and the imposition of entry fees exacerbated feelings of

alienation, which intensified resentment among some participants. The proportionate

increase in storming reached a climax in 2019, which, as we shall see, was regarded as

the worst it has ever been. The chaos and disruption that it created was anathema to the

City of Toronto's and the organizer's efforts to present the parade as a neatly packaged

commercial product.

Economic Impact and Identity

It is difficult to say precisely what economic impact Caribana has had on these

changes; however, according to the Ipsos Reid Economic Impact Study in 2010, it had

contributed in excess of $396 million to the provincial GDP with 1.2 million attendees,[15]

with the Federal Government being the largest beneficiary. It also showed that

"spectators and participants are drawn not only from Canada but also from the Caribbean,

Europe, and the United States" (Trotman 177). Most were Black, or of Caribbean

background, suggesting Caribana to be emblematic of an imagined Caribbean identity

(Trotman 178). As the literature explains, in the context of multiculturalism, "our identity

is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and

so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or

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[14] I use the term suggest the degree of control imposed by the organizers and the corresponding loss of
freedom experienced by parade goers.
[15] Some have maintained that this is an inflated figure; but the estimate of one million attendees is generally
used.

society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves" (Taylor 25). In this case, there is a shared imagined community of Caribbean immigrants, a "pan-Caribbean ethnic identity" (Riggio 2004, 281) who can perform their identity for the Toronto public. It shows Toronto, Canada, and indeed the world that there is a value to be had in the Caribbean diaspora.

In creating Caribana, the Caribbean community displayed the imagined community process that Benedict Anderson speaks about in real terms (Anderson 5), but at its heart this performance may mask the divisiveness of class, race, and ideology in Toronto: all of the irreconcilable challenges that lie at the centre of the lived experiences of Caribbean community members in the city. The literature reveals what the lived experience of this set of irreconcilable challenges felt like for people from the Caribbean at the time that Caribana originated.

Less than ten years after the Multiculturalism Act was actually put into place, Toronto became a city marked by division that may be reflective of this kind of negative lived experience: whereas by 1996 "immigrants constituted some 17.4 per cent of Canada's population the figure for the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area was a startling 42 per cent" (Gertler 120). This diversity has been underlined by a shift towards an increased polarization between people of colour and others in the Greater Toronto Area in particular, in more recent years (Galabuzi 15). In some areas of the city, at present, visible minorities constitute more than 70 per cent of the population, of which Jamaicans constitute the biggest portion of those who are immigrants from the Caribbean (City of Toronto 18).

Nonetheless, what needs to be recognized is that the start of this festival is deeply aligned with the rise of multiculturalism in Canada, which marks its development.

Multiculturalism's Beginning and Intended Effects

Canada's official policy on the matter was created (in 1971 by Pierre Trudeau but not codified into law until 1988) as a vision of a shared form of culture (Galarneau and Morisette 4). It was designed in order to create equity among people of different ethnic, cultural, and social backgrounds in order to give credence to their originating cultural norms and values, but also to align a shared identity of values for all Canadians under the aim of mutual acceptance. Its normative values, in this way, created a legitimating function around shared and overlapping cultural practices, and was a way of differentiating from the alternative American "melting pot" which subsumed all of the attendant cultures under a single vision of what it meant to be a citizen of the country (Galarneau and Morisette 5). The "salad bowl" became the culinary metaphor for the Canadian multicultural mosaic.

Multiculturalism can be said to have been born much earlier than this vision however, and it is important to unpack its roots before applying it to the current challenge of understanding the role of Caribana and its related identities connected to the industrialization of culture. As part and parcel of all the global economic trends, Canada has become the land of immigrants. Before the 1950s, early settlers came from Europe and were mostly agricultural (British, Scottish, Irish, French, and American). During the 1950s, majority of the new arrivals were sponsored by relatives and thus added to similar ethnic groups with the exception of Asians. In 1962, just as Trinidad and Tobago was becoming its own nation, new immigration regulations were introduced largely removing

racial discrimination from Canada's immigration policy. This was passed through the Parliament by the conservative government of John Diefenbaker; and opened the door to global immigrants which laid the way for deregulating labour. Toronto became a mosaic of recognizable neighbourhoods or "ethnoscapes" (Appadurai 296), and a locus for immigrants from various Caribbean countries. These immigrants, and the way in which they were situated within multiculturalism policy, were crucial to Caribana's creation and maintenance because of the permissions needed to hold the festival, the way that the festival was co-opted by non-Caribbean Canadians, and the way that it is now funded.

Globalism's Early Impact on Caribana

The worldwide movement of people, capital and cultural practices known as "globalization" and "cultural flows" (Appadurai 296) also had an impact on Caribana's ontology. Economically, globalization usually meant the flow of capital from the developed "First World" (the North) to the underdeveloped or developing "Third World" (the South). However, simultaneously, globalization also meant increased international mobility. As people traveled, they took their labour, cultural practices and rituals with them. During the 1960s and 1970s, this was usually from the South to the North, where they formed diasporas in various cities. This south to north flow also contributed to the birth of Caribana; and must be assessed in the context of the social values that were associated with the festival.

Diversity Within Toronto's Black and Caribbean Diaspora

As a product of this cultural flow, the Caribbean community itself is, however, diverse, with the diaspora spread out among the entirety of the city's core and its periphery (Trotman 180). Although there are pockets of Caribbean stores and services,

these are in several different places in the city, occupying not a single space such as in the case of Chinatown in the Spadina and Dundas area or Little Italy on the northwest end of downtown. Diasporas, at their roots, are often aligned within geographic areas because there are deep cultural ties drawing these peoples together, and there is a need for specific ethnicity-driven products and services. Where a diasporic or cultural group is significant in number and owns the real estate it occupies, it benefits directly from its cultural and economic activities. The gay colonization of, and identification with the section of Toronto's downtown core bounded by Parliament, Bloor, Yonge, and Gerrard Streets exemplifies this point. As noted in the literature, however, even for the Jamaican population, there are community services that range as far between as the northeast, northwest, south east, Eglington centre, and far east of the Toronto city core (Trotman 181). What this may mean is that the need for diasporic support within the Caribbean community may not be as profound or concentrated as that for other ethnic groups; it may mean that there is a great deal of mobility within this community; it may also mean that there is an underlying divisiveness in this community between historically geopolitically diverse groups; or many other possibilities. Nonetheless, what it may also mean is that there is a need to examine more deeply the deleterious financial and other effects of the lack of ownership and control of the physical space where the festival and parade are held.

On a larger scale, it must be noted that oppression helps to maintain the unique features of the colonized world (Fanon 13) and this is more evident than ever in a country with a policy standard that is based on "a fantasy of a 'rainbow' of children interacting in the city's classrooms" in Toronto (Levine-Rasky 202). In other words, there is a need to

come to terms with the ways in which the issue of institutional racism and oppression is unable to come to the surface in a policy environment that can, in some circles, resort to self-approbation rather than true discourse on the issue of what it means to be Black/Caribbean/people of colour in Canada. Being of Caribbean descent is a geographical fact; but being 'the other,' is a reality which has been constructed through the development of power dynamics among people and communities in Canada over many hundreds of years. In this way, the performative nature of Caribana can become deeply problematic, as it increases the chance of the industrialization of culture while at the same time creates binaries of cultural distance and difference which situate the Caribbean diaspora as representative of a subordinate status in Canadian society.

Social Context and The Discourse of Caribana

Despite its problematic nature as an authentic mechanism for celebrating Caribbean culture, Caribana continues to be used as a means for the expression of Caribbean pride, unity, and identity from the point of view of the Caribbean diaspora itself (Trotman 181). It is a challenge that may be linked to the fact that so many individuals who have come to this country have specifically sought out Canada to escape more challenging situations at home (Gooden 415; A. Henry 216; Taucar 99; Trotman 181); as the Caribbean itself is steeped in problematic colonial narratives that stem from its legacy of slavery throughout its islands (Brand 11). So, Canada, for whatever it is worth, may be seen by many members of the diaspora to be a repository for their hopes. Multiculturalism provides an impetus for them to relocate to Canada over, for example, the United States with its more stringent laws and cultural dynamics that privilege those with a European heritage. Multiculturalism allowed for a freedom of thought and

ideology, as well as access to a perceived new level of equity in social, political, and economic terms, for those who felt the need for greater emancipation from that in the Caribbean. Caribana, therefore, was meant to honour the transition that so many families chose to make when Canada's doors were opened under Trudeau's directives. It was the pan-Caribbean "gift" to Canada.

What all of the research and exploration of theory suggest, however, is that there is a disconnect between the way in which the festival is supposed to offer a coming together of Caribbean values and ideals, and the way in which it plays out in the community on a practical level. It was born out of a perceived need to "connect, form alliances, and unify within the Canadian nation-state" (Gooden 418), and, in doing so, form bridges both within and without the diaspora as it was. What this process did not anticipate, however, was that those who were responsible for its creation and continued running in the city would, in the very near future, become subject to a need for government funding, which made Caribana an object of the state (Gooden 419).

Figure 10: Flags, Caribbean identity within the Canadian diaspora. Photo: Henry Gomez

Also, it did not anticipate the commodification of the parade with the emergence of mas

band leaders as private operators engaged in internecine warfare with the originators for

dominance and control.

As an anomaly, essentially, Caribana was and has since been a money maker for

Canada as it propped up a range of travel and essential service businesses in Toronto

(such as hotels, gas stations, and restaurants). Despite this, "none of this money was

filtered back into the organization or into the Black community in any significant

manner. At times, the government has granted funds only to one faction, thereby

undermining the workings of the different groups by pitting them against each other

through the donation of money" (Gooden 419). What this suggests is that there has been

a deep divide between the benefit that the performance of Caribana provides for both the

economy of Toronto, Ontario and Canada and the beautiful picture of multiculturalism that it represents, and the way in which Black cultural resources are utilized to achieve this goal.

Legacies of Colonialism and the Production of Power

The idea of post-colonialism is related to how we all, in the present day, are affected by the legacy of colonialism. Discourse on this topic serves to deconstruct the meanings and the values associated with acts of nationalism and the production of power in society, and especially with respect to racial and ethnic inequalities (Jakubowski 15). Even the gaze of Black people has typically been controlled by whites, who sought to use their power in a variety of ways to sustain the oppression of other groups (hooks 97). As noted by Singh, a former director of Caribana, there is a lack of discourse on "[the festival's] systemic racism, why aren't the three levels of government funding it properly? But it's also the lack of unity within our community. Once the community is divided and the three levels see that they are not dealing with a formidable force, then they are able to skirt the issue" (Higgins 1). Despite the fact that the open discrimination against individuals on the basis of skin colour may be illegal in Canada, there remain efforts by established forces in Canadian society to continue to control people of colour, which is evident in funding policies and formulae that affect Caribana.

The goal of post-colonialism is thereby to offer up multiple understandings of events in our history and in our present, through the support of multiple voices instead of one voice, because colonialism and nationalism are inextricably linked. This is something that is made real at the community level as control over resources for festivals becomes a contested space (Clarke and Jepson 7). When issues of race and racialization are at play,

especially when it comes down to the history of racial and ethnic inequalities in the

Caribbean diaspora, this situation brings in a larger social context (Jakubowski 15). This

is because colonialism becomes fertile ground for nationalist ideas because it gives

people who normally would not share ideals a particularly important shared experience of

what might be termed foreign domination, replicating in one place and time what

originally happened in another (Brereton 32). The idea of colonialism is especially

redolent when there is a difference in racial characteristics between two different nations.

Fanon's work refers to the fact that the essence of racialization, in estimation, comes first

because the context in which he, as a Black man, lived forced him to consider race and

what it means to others prior to any other considerations (22). All of this means that

nationalism becomes an ideology that creates both empirical and normative claims on a

space, whether policies such as multiculturalism exist. These claims affect both identity

and definition. They make Caribana a symbol that helps to identify

Toronto/Ontario/Canada globally, and no longer definable as a Black or Caribbean

"thing." Is it then, a Canadian thing, with roots in the Caribbean?

Power imbalances are still evident within the context of post-colonialism, for all

the reasons shared above. What happened within a colonialist past in Trinidad and

Tobago is replicated in Toronto to some degree through patterns that repeat repeatedly.

These patterns, nonetheless, have a definitive impact on the social structure of any given

community or nation over the long term. Sociological assessments demonstrate that it is

important to alleviate the governance of geopolitical, economic and social imperatives so

that there is a balance between what is known from social context and research efforts

and what may have been eliminated from the historical space through discourse. I note

that while Canada has not been a colonial power in the tradition of France and Britain, its model and practices of governance are derived from Europe. Therefore, the discourse of what is identified as progress, which is a customary accessory to colonial efforts, carries particular relationships to processes related to the agency of Black Canadians.

Alienation, Storming and Ownership of Contested Spaces

It can be argued that Caribana represents a place of perceived spatial injustices and the notion of contested spaces. It is a place wherein the needs, perceptions, and body subjects of different individuals and communities are likely to come into contention (Stafford and Volz 4). Taking into account Merleau-Ponty's work, this means that with a development of an understanding of the body as a lived experience, we may "come to recognize and understand the everyday, taken-for-granted connections with our world, our perception, our consciousness of the world and, critically, the world's influence and impact on our embodied, or disembodied, felt experiences with the spatiality of the world" (Stafford and Volz 4). Places are centres of what he calls felt value. In places, "biological needs, such as those for food, water, rest, and procreation, are satisfied. Humans share with other animals, certain behavioural patterns, but … people also respond to space and place in complicated ways that are inconceivable" (Tuan 4). This suggests that places are as much symbolic as they are physical forms and environments. There is no objective truth in a place such as a parade route or festival location, just as there is no objective truth in our day to day lives. Every single person sees the world around them differently and therefore will define a space in reflection of their phenomenological point of view. It is within these spaces that storming takes place

because of the contested nature of belonging to the festival, which attained greater

significance after 1991.
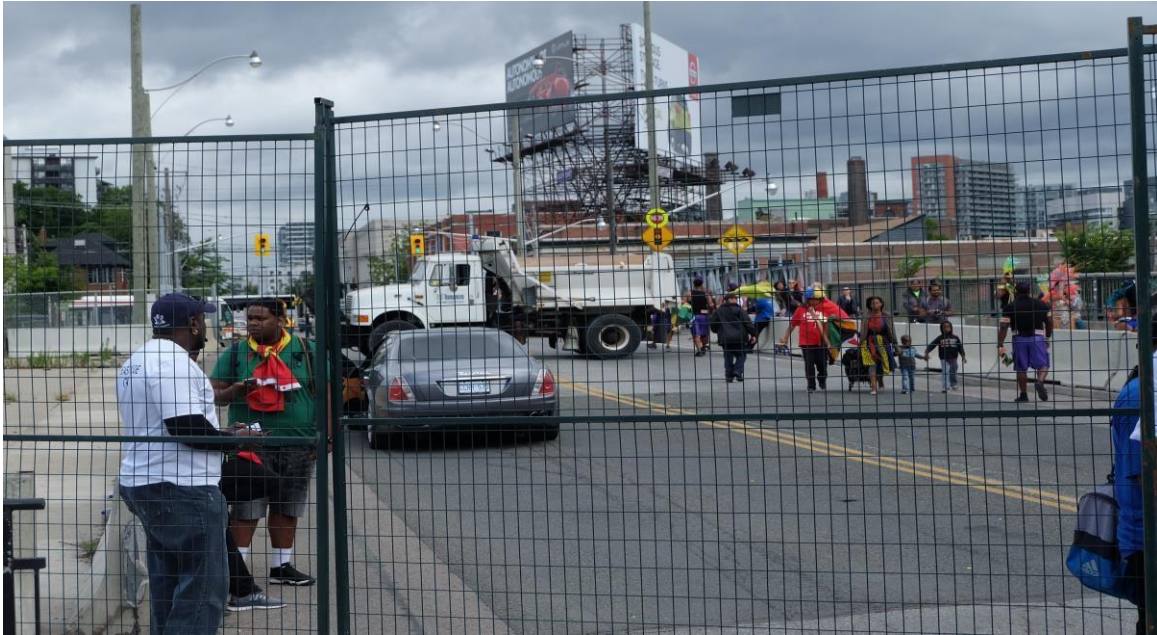
Figure 11: The Fence. Photo: Henry Gomez

Figure 12: Security at the fence. Photo: Henry Gomez
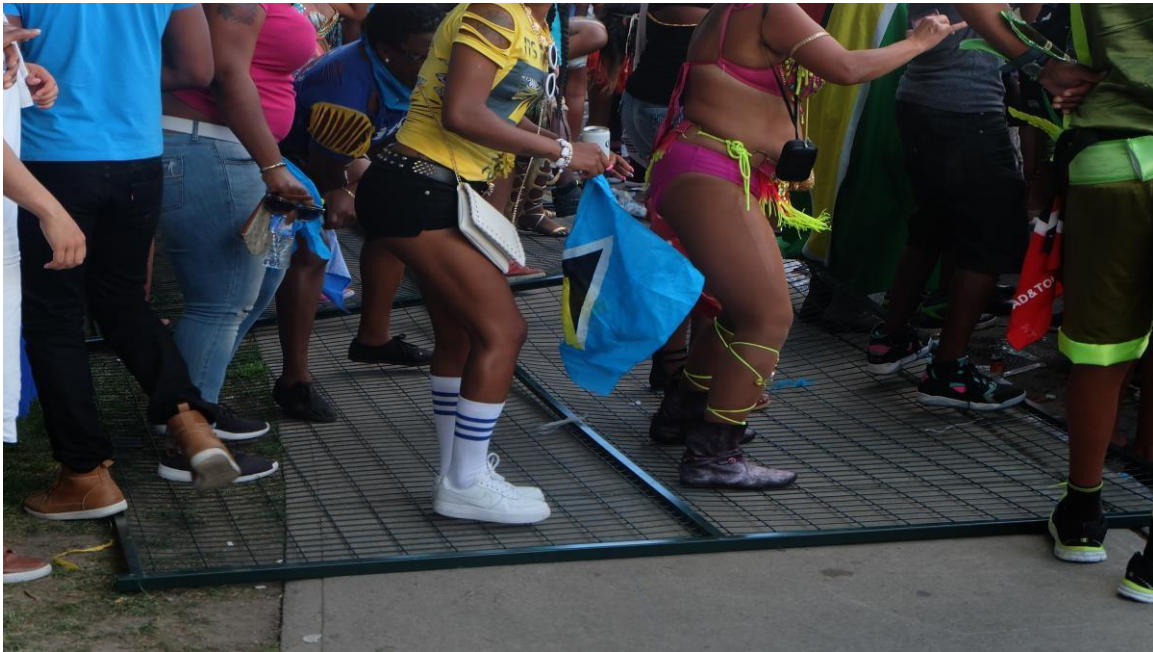
Figure 13: Opportunist Stormers at Caribana. Photo: Henry Gomez

Power in Action – Redefining and Repositioning Caribana

As reported to urban cultural writer and critic, Dalton Higgins, this researcher, while attending a Caribana launch at Nathan Phillips Square, remembers Toronto city councillor Joe Mihevc, liaison for the city to the festival saying that "Caribana is not a Black thing, that Caribana belongs to everybody." (Higgins 1). Was this a warning sign that the Black and Caribbean community was being divorced from the ownership of the festival which, arguably, does better economically and multiculturally than any other outdoor festival, including the Calgary Stampede, in Canada? If Caribana belongs to "everybody", then where and how does it continue to fit into the multicultural mosaic, or the mythological Canadian "salad bowl?" What this suggests is that looking at Caribana in the broader context of street festivals and through the lens of multiculturalism, these are issues in social and political geography, namely the locating, routing and policing of the parade (Jackson 143). These contested spaces are linked to issues of power relations

and the ability of the state to exert control over the festival through its financial

arrangements with the city (Jackson 145). Not only that, but this researcher argues that

Mihevc's statement may be seen as an example of the paradoxical nature of Caribana and

carnival: while he positively implies its unifying force, he simultaneously, and ironically,

as spokesperson for the City of Toronto, demonstrates a power imbalance that robs the

Black and Caribbean diaspora of a significant aspect of their identity. The net effect of

his comment, whether intended, may be a removal of their "cultural and ethnic

distinction." This may bear a causal relationship to feelings of alienation.

Figure 14: In the bleachers. Photo: Henry Gomez

The Caribana festival and parade, from its inception, actively built out from the

Caribbean community, but the growth of the festival and the difficulties its organizers

experienced in trying to attain the goals they set out were deeply problematic (Phillip 78).

Its main theme however was one of community and identity, partly reflected in how

various groups or participants saw the parade through musical lens, and what the

incorporation of certain types of music meant to individuals who were conceptualizing

the space. Even so, at the present time, this cultural collectivism and meaning making has

changed for the very people for whom the festival was meant to celebrate. One may even

argue that after half a century, that generation has mainly passed on. Relevant to this

theme of community and identity though, and harkening back to councilor Mihevc's

comment quoted previously, Dr. Jay de Soca Prince, Canada's number one soca dee jay,

himself the son of T&T immigrants intimately involved in carnival culture, seems to

sense that divorcement. He says somewhat seriously that, "I don't think that the

community feels a sense of ownership over the festival. Most people see Toronto

Carnival simply as a time of year to go to a party or three [sic] with a parade in the

middle. Most people do not have an understanding of the work and process of even just

making mas[16], which is just one facet of the festival. There is a small number of people

(comparatively speaking) who are now fed up of the last few years and have formed

associations to represent the best interest of the masqueraders themselves" (Higgins 1).

What this suggests is that Caribana is not only a site that comprises a search for

identity (Hernandez-Ramdwar 18), but also one that has bred growing dissatisfaction

among participants over the years. Soca[17] (Liverpool 2003: 201) or soca music (Riggio

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[16] Making mas has several meanings in Trinidad and Tobago parlance. Here, it literally means the processes involved in making the costumes for the parade.
[17] Soca belongs to the family of calypso music. It was created by calypsonian Ras Shorty I(Garfield Blackman) around 1974 as a way of combining the "So" of soul music with the "Ca" of calypso. It has evolved to have a much faster tempo; and is the kind of music dee jays and party goers prefer at carnival fetes

2004: 242), as a spin off from calypso, becomes a means by which to assess and understand the tension among identities of Caribana party goers as they bounce up at fetes in the Toronto diaspora.

Performance of Blackness, Cooptation and Loss

However, in keeping with the parade, NourbeSe Philips suggests that the performance of Blackness as a historical, political and cultural act on the streets of Toronto during Caribana continues to be contested (*A Genealogy of Resistance* 15). And Merleau-Ponty posits that the idea of a space is not one that we can direct at will, but one that responds to our human needs, desires, actions, emotional affects, and challenges (89). It is created and recreated repeatedly; and includes different sets of identities. At the same time, what has been made clear about Caribana is the fact that, after 1991, the space shifted from being more defined by Caribbean culture and Blackness as a historical, political and cultural act to one that was co-opted by corporate and government power dynamics that shifted the identity of Caribbean peoples to participants in, rather than leaders and definers of the space (Jakubowski 15). This suggests a sense of separation and loss.

Knia Singh, who was the Vicechair of the Caribana Arts Group from 2009 to 2012, explains that this is the case because "the community is what made Caribana powerful and effective and something that we all enjoyed. But now since the FMC's involvement and Scotiabank's sponsorship, it has sterilized the community involvement and has made it a corporate event. And it is now the antithesis of what Caribana and carnival is supposed to be. We've turned something that connected the community and involved the broader community into this political game of the have and have nots"

(Higgins 1), in which Caribbean peoples represent the latter, and have lost their self-definition. This loss of self-definition may also be linked to a perceived loss of ownership and control over the festival and parade. Also, if the members of a group perceive themselves as "have nots" – justifiably or not – they would be more inclined to see themselves as not belonging, and thus, more inclined to wreck the party. Is storming symptomatic of this feeling of loss? If so, what this creates space for, theoretically, and may be a cause of, is storming, as an unwelcome form of participation in the Toronto Carnival/Caribana parade, now practised in a way that it was not in the past. To interrogate these ideas, we have to look at what Turner called liminality and communitas (96).

A World Elsewhere - The Parade as Paradoxical Space

Communitas, a Latin word, indicates "society as an unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated *comitatus*, community, or even communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders," that is separate from laws and political structures (Turner 96). For example, the Caribana parade, as a "rite of passage" especially for young females, is the world apart or "world elsewhere" from normative society. In it the masqueraders live by the rules, even temporarily, of this anti-structure in which the ritual elders are the band leaders. In this world, liminality is experienced by the female who is playing mas for the first time and does not know how she will be impacted by storming, or how she will emerge from the experience. She stands on the threshold before the parade begins, not yet fully belonging to the "ritual anti-structure," (Turner 96) Communitas may call attention to the way in which social structures and norms can be arbitrary and hard to understand for those who

pass into them. Turner (101) and Van Gennep (16) both suggest that the need for a rite of

passage that transcends the limits of a community can result in power relations that are

difficult to assess and understand. The participation by stormers, which has become more

obvious to Caribana participants and observers, impacts on this "rite of passage" and

presents a potential risk for the mas.

Milla Cozart Riggio's observes that, "Carnival is not always benign in claiming

its space and affirming its values. Indeed, without the threat of danger and a whiff of

potential violence, carnival loses its potency." (2004: 21) Caribana's hybridity does not

exempt it from this observation. Louis Saldenah, an award-winning bandleader, who has

17 Band of the Year titles from Caribana since 1977, says that, at present,

> "we have problems with the parade not being controlled … People have to
> remember that it is a carnival parade. It's not a free for all. It's like the Christmas
> parade or Macy's parade, people want to sit back and enjoy the costumes going by
> and sit back and have fun. There's a lot of spectators coming into the bands now
> and it's really getting out of control now. 80-85 percent of my band are women,
> and the average age is between 20 and 35, and a lot of these women are
> complaining that they are getting groped, grabbed" (Higgins 1).

Here, he rightly expresses concern for the comfort and safety of the majority female

masqueraders in his band; and may be seen to represent other bandleaders who have the

same concern. However, in his parade imaginary he mistakenly or wishfully likens it to

the "Christmas parade or Macy's parade" and expects all participants to adopt the same

mode of participation as if attending one of those parades. One has to wonder whether his

comparison is apt though, since those are truly parades that happen in the colder months

and move at a certain pace in space that is produced in different cultural and economic

contexts from Caribana. However, his positionality as one with commercial interests in

the parade gives him a degree of ownership and influence; and puts him within its

structure or communitas as an elder. He does not mention that paradoxically, on occasion, some masqueraders help spectators (stormers) over the fences and welcome them into the bands, or that very often spectators are entertained by the stormers and cheer when they get over or through the fences. Could they be showing how they too feel about being excluded through spatialization? So, we may conclude, reasonably, that storming is much more complicated than someone jumping over or cutting through a fence. We may also conclude that storming's high visibility may be masking underlying issues caused by various positionalities at play in the space, especially when it comes to ownership or control of Caribbean culture, what plays out on the edges of the communitas, and power dynamics when it comes to belonging to the Caribbean community.

Summary and Literature Review

This literature review has revealed that relative to other diasporic carnivals like Notting Hill and New York (Brooklyn), based on the Trinidad and Tobago model, Caribana lags in terms of research and academic study. A reason put forward for this is that it had a different beginning – it was not born out of the kind of racial tension and violence that was part of the history and social make up of London and New York. Therefore, it did not command the same attention as its two contemporaries. The literature also shows the way in which the Caribana festival in Toronto has come to be emblematic of how the City has engaged in cultural discourse around the Caribbean diaspora, as a community that is both simultaneously part of the city and separate from it. In this way, Canada's reliance on its policies linked to multiculturalism can be seen to be deeply problematic due to the way in which they simultaneously welcome and objectify

cultural and ethnic communities. These policies have not simply created equity as they were meant to do. They have also acted to isolate and profit from groups who are vulnerable to racialization and discrimination, as well as sub-groups operating in diverse sphericles that lack the endemic power to engage in praxis to shift the status quo towards new and intrinsically self-interested definitions of their values.

When we assume that Canadian social policies are grounded in equity and justice; and fail to engage in active discourse on an ongoing basis, as the Caribana festival reveals, there may be a lack of authentic social justice in our midst. Canada, as a nation, believes that we are coming to terms with any discrepancies that can be seen between stated social and political values and what happens on the streets of Toronto, but what this achieves is the masking of ongoing inequities and positional power struggles between different social and economic groups. What was originally imagined and later designed to ensure that everyone in the country has access to the same rights and freedoms is essentially a matter of whitewashing all the multiple layers of challenges that continue to plague us collectively. As a whole, therefore, there is a role for Toronto to create a means by which to lead new discourses, and insight into how these issues are managed, both within a local and global context; but the reality is that we, as a community and as a nation, are far from discovering a possible set of solutions that will address all of what we have discovered about the impact of objectifying the Caribbean diaspora, among other ethnic and cultural groups in Canada. However, ironically, diverse positionalities within the diaspora might well mitigate against finding any sought-after solutions.

Conclusion

Through this process, people of colour, and specifically Black people from the Caribbean, the ease of travel and advances in communication technology notwithstanding, have been not only cut off from political power, but also have been subject to separation from access to their traditional cultural resources and associated economic resources. Utilizing a definition of post-colonialism that takes into account modern power dynamics, it is clear that colonialist beliefs and practices continue today despite the advent of new forms of discourse and the passing of control over resources to different communities and groups. Despite recent changes in beliefs, the balance of power that favours white, male leadership still results from cultural, political, economic and geographic marginalization during colonialist efforts. More research and inquiry are needed to address these issues both over the short and the long term.

Although storming has become a form of participation that impacts the parade significantly, the literature clearly indicates that there is a void where this subject is concerned. By filling this void, this study aims to provide new knowledge that adds to discourses on a subject that is of substantial cultural interest locally, nationally and internationally, and to engage in a critical assessment of the place, authenticity, and community ownership that is linked to lived experiences of Caribana in Toronto at the present time.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Overview of Chapter – Process, Methods and Participants of the Study

This chapter will look at the process, which includes the research questions, design, data collection and analysis, the research sample, the ethical considerations and protocols used in this ethnographic study. The methodology includes interviews conducted with nine human subjects, personal observation, as well as an assessment of public perceptions of the festival in the literature, as it explores issues of power and control. It assesses whether the Caribana parade acts as a transgressive or normative beacon in Toronto and in Canada, making meaning of various modes of participation, especially storming by Caribbean immigrant or Caribbean-Canadian community members. This chapter will also outline the need for this work as indicated by the research literature at the present time; and assess the methodology as it is used to complete these tasks and isolate new findings from this process.

Research Questions

As noted above, this study is guided by three questions.

1. Why has 'storming', the practice of one demographic group (mainly mid-teen to mid-thirties males), persisted as an unwelcome form of participation in the Toronto Carnival/Caribana parade for more than twenty years?

2. How is it reflective of various dynamics in the increasing containment of the parade space?

3. Why is there ambivalence about it among participants and the wider community?

Research Design And Reason For Ethnographic Study

An ethnographic qualitative study using verbal interviews is a research tradition that is based on an in-depth assessment of the stories of individuals in which the experiences of the person or persons in question are investigated for their meaning value (Creswell and Poth 98). As a whole, qualitative research designs require "time to reflectively engage with the data to interpret the story and to construct a faithful, ethical representation" (Warren and Karner 216). This approach requires, especially when dealing with issues that are related to endemic power differentials such as those in this study, a recognition that participants' journeys have been conceptualized by a colonialist and racist past and present (Clandinin 87). This is why it is important that this type of research takes place in "a multistep and multilayered process occurring in a particular time and place… with applied or theoretical interests, and subject to the readers' assessment of its validity" (Warren and Karner 245), where the qualitative research design is subject to a reflexive approach that recognizes the bias implicit in the author's interpretation of the collected data.

For these reasons, ethnography was chosen as the primary means by which to achieve these goals. The ethnographic method involves the researcher becoming a direct participant in a particular activity undertaken by the population or group of interest (Harvey 390). In some cases, the researcher may attempt to obscure his or her true role, so as to observe the community in covert fashion, and in other cases, the researcher is forthright about his or her own role and goals; and participation is overt in nature. This was the approach taken in this study. The goal of the ethnographic method is to provide the researcher with a look inside how a specific group participates in a specific activity

(Harvey 391).

Strengths And Weaknesses of The Methodology

Like other interview styles, there are some significant strengths and weaknesses associated with ethnography as a methodology for qualitative research. One of the benefits associated with the ethnographic method includes its potential to generate a very large volume of highly detailed qualitative data (Paterson 2). In addition, the ethnographic method allows the researcher to witness directly and observe the phenomenon that is being studied. At the same time, through this approach, the researcher can gain access to inside information that might not have otherwise been possible without his or her membership in the group or participation in an activity (Paterson 5). Through the analysis of ethnographic data, the researcher can advance a detailed description of findings as they are reported by participants. This can aid in the understanding of a specific problem or other issue, not just for the researcher, but also for others able to access the work.

Despite these strengths, the ethnographic method also has some important disadvantages as a research methodology. The nature of ethnographic observation means that the researcher requires considerable amounts of time to work with the population that is under study (Paterson 11). It should also be noted that even when the researcher actually witnesses important events first hand, ethnographers are not always able to translate easily what they have experienced into written findings; and ethnographers may also tend to witness an anecdotal incident and then elevate it to the standard or norm with respect to a particular issue (Paterson 12). This can lead to faulty assumptions and a lack of understanding with respect to the issue or topic being studied. Ethnographic

researchers also need to develop a strong understanding of their own biases in order to prevent them from influencing their analysis of findings, because without doing so, this can problematize the process of analysis and make it harder for researchers to have confidence in their findings. In this case, therefore, I have chosen to reveal intimate details about my own personal history and interest in this matter so that these biases and possible faulty assumptions can be addressed reflexively. Next is the population.

Study Population and Sample Participants

The population of the study were Toronto residents who had been participants in the Caribana festival in some capacity as stormers or masqueraders. In order to collect an ethnographic sample from this population, I intended using flyers on campus, personal contacts, social media and brief appeals in community media, if necessary, to invite subjects from all ethnic backgrounds to participate in the study. However, I obtained all the participants through personal contacts and by using the "snowball" sampling method, as recommended by my supervisors.

All the sample participants, except one, were within a late-teens to mid-twenties age demographic group. The one outside this bloc, who provided a more longitudinal perspective on the festival and parade was in his late 40s. Given that all the crosssectional participants were university students, one may argue that the sample was limited. However, one may also argue that they are truly representational, since it is mainly people in their age bracket group who are masqueraders. Although they were/are all students at York University and resided in Canada at the time of the interviews, they or their parents are from the Caribbean (Trinidad, Barbados, Jamaica, Guyana), England, Ghana, Germany and Ethiopia via Tennessee (USA), and Turkey and Kurdistan via New

York. Eight out of nine of the sample population included those who were members of a Caribbean or Black diaspora group. Four of the participants were females; but only one stormed. The other three female participants were masqueraders who also made an important contribution to the study. All the male participants in the study self-identified as stormers. One also became a dee jay; and another also played mas, subsequently. Following is some background information on each participant.

Participants' Background

Participant #1, originally from the Caribbean (Barbados), participated in the parade as a child with his parents, as a "stormer" with his friends, and as a DJ providing music for the masqueraders. He is currently an administrator at a university in Toronto, a husband and the father of two sons. He is the single sample participant who was outside the targeted age demographic; but as someone in his late 40s he provided multiple perspectives as an older participant, which showed the evolution of storming as the parade was moved from University Avenue to its current location on Lakeshore Boulevard West. He was introduced to calypso and soca music by his parents at home.

Participant #2 was born and grew up in Ghana, West Africa. He is a dancer and university student. He has been in Toronto for four years; and was introduced to Caribbean culture when he met students of Caribbean background during Frosh week at university in 2016. In Ghana, musically, all he knew about the Caribbean were Bob Marley, Reggae and Dancehall music and Jamaica. He was introduced to Caribana in 2018. He has stormed and played mas.

Participant #3 is of Trinidadian and St. Lucian parentage and lived with his grandmother in Toronto, as a child. He lived in the vicinity of Lakeshore Boulevard

West; and was introduced to the parade by his grandmother and father, who were vendors. He was used to calypso and soca music being played at home. As a teenager, he began attending the parade with his friends.

Participant #4 has a Jamaican father and a Ghanaian mother. She has six siblings. She was used to hearing reggae and dancehall music at home. Later, she was introduced to soca when she became friends with other Caribbean peers. Technically, she did not storm; but entered the parade space without a costume. She played mas for the first time in 2019.

Participant #5 is from Turkey; but grew up in her early years in Long Island, New York. She has a Kurdish mother and a Turkish father who moved to Toronto when she was 15. She was introduced to carnival culture in Toronto by her sister's boyfriend, who is of Trinidadian background; and has helped to build costumes at a mas camp. She had watched the parade several times before she participated, but she played mas for the first time in 2019.

Participant #6 was born in Toronto of a Jamaican British mother and a Jamaican father. She has a brother and sister. She listened to mainly reggae and dancehall music at home as a child. At the age of 5, she was introduced to soca music by her aunt; and fell in love with it. Now, she plays the music regularly when she does household chores. She was introduced to carnival by her Trini aunt, who has played mas in several Caribbean countries.

Participant #7 has a mother, originally from Trinidad and Tobago, and a father from Guyana. She was born in Canada; and has no siblings. She began listening to soca music in Grade 10; and liked it more than other genres of music. Her father was a DJ.

Her mother played mas for several years. She was encouraged to play by her mother as well. Since her family lived near to the parade route on Lakeshore Boulevard West, she was able to watch the parade many times as a child. Technically, she is not a stormer; but she has entered the parade space without a costume.

Participant #8 was born in Canada, of Ghanaian parents. He moved to Ghana when he was fifteen or sixteen, then returned to Canada to attend university. He heard about Caribana through his Jamaican friends at university. He had heard some dancehall prior; but was introduced to soca and calypso at parties thrown by Caribbean students at university. Storming was his first experience of the parade.

Participant #9 was born in Ethiopia. He lived in Germany for three years, then returned to Ethiopia for five. He also lived in Nashville, Tennessee before moving to Toronto in 2017. He was introduced to soca, calypso and dancehall when he began making new friends in Toronto. Had his first experience of the parade in 2018. These are the nine participants from whom data were collected.

Data Collection Process

To collect the data I conducted a series of structured and unstructured interviews in person with the participants at several venues at York University in Toronto. This was most convenient for the participants. I interviewed the males individually; and used structured interviews in the process. I used an unstructured interview to collect data from the females, as a group. This was in keeping with their request to be interviewed together. It did not hamper the integrity of the study; since the focus was on the individual male stories, while their contribution was mainly as female masqueraders. The one female stormer among them was able to tell her story effectively; and added to the original scope

of the study. Each interview lasted approximately one hour. Prior to each interview, I

contacted the participant by text and or phone and explained the study and why I wanted

their participation. Upon agreement, we set an appointment for the interview.

During the interviews, I used a series of eight open and closed questions from a

prepared list to elicit information from the males. I asked the females to take turns

relating their experience as masqueraders, and as a stormer. Since all the interviews were

verbal, I used an electronic device to record the data. I also used participant observation,

informal conversations and archival research as part of the overall process.

Data Coding and Analysis

All information from the interview data was transcribed and coded using a

standard coding process. In this process, keywords and themes from the data were

collected and collated, allowing for topics related to the research questions to emerge.

The researcher then based findings on the commonalities and differences found in the

data. Next, one must consider the scope and reliability of the research.

Limitations and Reliability of The Study

In research terms, internal validity is proven, generally, through evidence of a

causal relationship between the variables introduced in each research process. In this

study, there was a significant heterogeneity present in participants' life experiences,

which is acceptable for an ethnographic study (Harvey 398). Causality is almost

impossible to prove even with the use of quantitative and experimental research

models, but it is worth recognizing.

External validity cannot be shown through the fact that these findings cannot be

realistically extrapolated to other people or environments and replicated because of the

ethnographic process that is based on lived experience. Due to the qualitative nature of these research efforts, there was a very small sample size, and therefore there is limited generalisability and replication possibility. In addition, because interview data for this study were collected in limited occasions and within a specific social context, extrapolation is even more constrained.

Even so, the reliability of the findings is likely to be high because of the triangulation of the data with other public sources of data and the literature, which suggests that there are likely to be valuable findings within this study despite the lack of validity. In any research, it is also important to consider the ethics of the study.

Ethical Considerations

On the day of the interviews, I provided each participant with the Human Consent Form, the Interview Protocol Form and the list of eight questions. After they read the documents and assured me that they were comfortable with the questions and the process, each signed as required. I reminded them that they were free to not answer any question, or to stop the interview at any time, for any reason, without fear of negative repercussions. In every case, they were eager to participate; and saw the forms as a mere formality.

Personal photos and video clips taken as a participant observer in several parades were also used in the study. In keeping with cautions about the difficulties of transcription and translation, my own familiarity with the Caribana parade culture helped to mitigate the chances of any misunderstandings or misinterpretations when I transcribed the collected audio data. This extra level of triangulation meant that participants could rely on the accurate interpretation of their words. This also helped limit the challenges

posed by the literature on ethnographic research with respect to the possibility of bias and inaccuracies. Having examined each element that make up the methodology, we will now proceed to the next chapter that reports on the findings, which provide deeper insight into the study.

Chapter Four: Findings and Discussion

Overview

      This chapter will present the findings interpreted through the data analysis of this study. The themes are found in Appendix A, which has been codified into three overarching parts. Each part describes an aspect of the study's central aim to interrogate issues of power relations, spatialization, cultural commodification, policing and objectification, factors that make the parade a site of contestation. The first part of the chapter focuses on the ontology and teleology of the Toronto Carnival, still popularly known as Caribana, and frames the parade historically within its cultural context. The second part examines the parade's development. The third part examines the parade as a site of contestation due to spatialization as mentioned above. It focuses on stormers as carnival participants, whose voices have been absent from the ongoing carnival discourses.

      The chapter will also provide an analysis of the data collected from participants during the interviews for my study; and examine characteristics of the parade. My participant observation will also be factored into the analysis. In addition, the chapter will consider the time period, the demographics, the geography or physical environment and various factors that affected participation in the parade in the two different locations included in this study. All the themes, as well as the individual participant findings, will be drawn together at the end of the chapter in order to answer the three research questions. Conclusions will be drawn and ideas for engaging in utilizing this information in the future will be discussed. We begin with symbolism, ontology and teleology in Caribana.

Symbolism, Ontology and Teleology of Caribana

As stated earlier in my study, 1967 was Canada's centenary year. Torontonians of West Indian (now Caribbean) background, included professionals but consisted mainly of domestics and university students. Though a small number as an ethnic group, to celebrate the centennial, they decided to put on a one-week festival that would outdo any other in the city. The group chose the carnival concept because of its universality among Caribbean people, based it on the Trinidad and Tobago model and held it on the Simcoe Day weekend – early August. The group's Executive Chairman, Samuel A. Cole, sought permission from the Metropolitan Parks and Recreation Committee for the use of Olympic Island to stage a week of West Indian trade and cultural achievements from August 5 to 12, 1967, and in language typical of "the Other" seeking to be accepted by the dominant culture, he stated in part, that "the purpose of this show is to celebrate Canada's Centenary, and will take the form of a West Indian salute to the people of Metropolitan Toronto" (City of Toronto 572).

The language used at its instigation was symbolic, and clearly shows that Cole and his group saw themselves as outsiders or "others", not as "the people of Metropolitan Toronto," the "dominant group". They received permission and co-operation from the Parks Committee, but with the caveat, "so long as no direct costs were incurred to Metro" (City of Toronto 572). With permission given, musical instruments, musicians and other performers, costumes and other items were transported from Montreal and the Caribbean to Toronto, and the Toronto Carnival (not its original name), a West Indian cultural phenomenon, was born. It was distinguished by its exotic food, music, costumes, theatre and dance, and highlighted by a "parade" which assembled at Varsity Stadium, made its

way east along Bloor Street West, then south on Yonge Street. After a reception at City

Hall with Mayor William Dennison, participants proceeded to the ferry docks for the trip

to Olympic Island.

Figure 15: Caribana Founders. Photo: Courtesy Liverpool family.

Economic impact and cultural change

Although not commodified at its inception, but presented by its originators as a

"gift to Toronto", as a new form of cultural expression, Caribana had an immediate

economic impact on the city: in its first year, it increased the one-day ferry use to 35,000

rides, and demonstrated that it would be an economic boon for Toronto. And although he

was unaware of the implications of his statement at the time, and the conflicts to come,

the event chairman, Dr. J. Alban Liverpool gave an open invitation when he said, "As a

carnival style parade, it'll be wide open to anybody who feels in the mood" (*Gerein 22).*

Those who understood and were willing to free themselves from the visual linearity of

the spectator, knew it was an invitation to let "all the five and country senses join in a concert of interweaving rhythms" (Carpenter 19). Costume or no costume, all were welcome to participate freely in the spectacle. A new parade paradigm was set in place for Toronto.

Caribana added to Toronto's cultural discourses and began to influence a change in the city's social behaviour. In the ensuing years, the festival grew; a variety of events were held on Olympic Island and on the mainland; but the parade has had the greatest participation and continues to attract the most attention. Economically though, the festival began as an anomaly and has continued as such: it generates significant economic activity for the private and public sectors – mainly the tourism and ancillary industries and government revenue through various taxes - but not for the organizers, who have not been able to achieve the economic goals and realize the cultural and artistic dreams they articulated in their articles of incorporation. For example, to establish a cultural centre to serve the needs of people of Caribbean background. Ironically too, it was the City, as represented by Mayor William Dennison and the Parks Commissioner, Tommy Thompson who kept the festival alive by asking for a repeat in 1968. Despite economic problems and the City's unwillingness to meet the shortfalls of 1967, the organizers not only obliged in 1968; but staged it repeatedly until 2005, after which it was handed over to what was known as the Festival Management Committee (FMC). By this time, both the City of Toronto and the Province of Ontario had developed a strong economic interest in Caribana through annual arts and cultural grants. Some have argued that they gave with one hand and took back with the other.

Figure 16: First Caribana Parade, Bloor Street 1967. Toronto Star

Figure 17: First Caribana Parade, Yonge Street 1967. Globe and Mail

Figure 18: Mayor William Dennison meets the first Caribana queen. Toronto Star
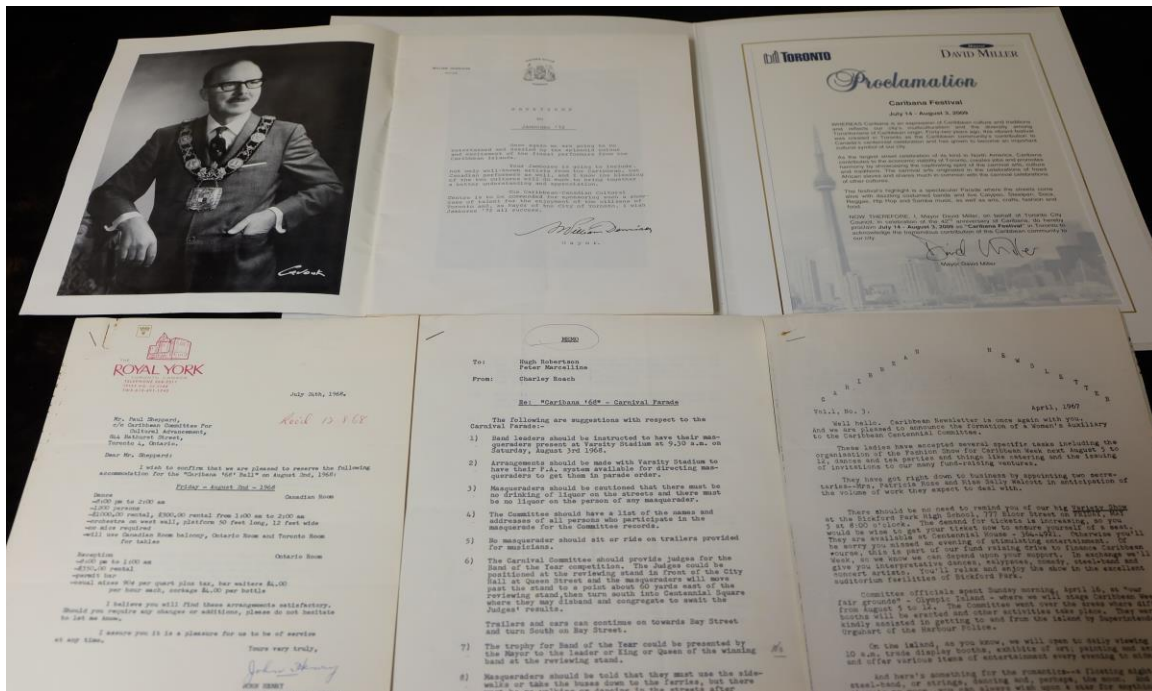

Figure 19: Mayor Dennison proclaims Caribana Week, 1968. Courtesy Arlayne Sheppard

Thus, we see that from its inception Caribana began to have a positive impact on the economic and cultural life of Toronto. However, there were marked differences between it and the carnival it was modeled after.

Comparing Caribana and Trinidad and Tobago Carnival

Caribana has become a Canadian icon but it must be noted that there is a significant difference between carnivals in Trinidad and Tobago and in Toronto that lies in the type of mas that is presented in these two places and spaces. As a child, and through to my early adult years, I remember seeing a wide variety of masquerade types, which may not be as prevalent today; but most of them still exist in Trinidad and Tobago. However, as I shall explain later, some types were not portrayed in Caribana at its inception. And, blurred as my memory may be, it holds the moving images that are one of the keys to my inspiration for this study. These are examples of the "grotesque," the opposite of pretty or fancy and naked mas, and include culturally significant masquerades such as Jab Jab,[18] Moko Jumbie,[19] Bat, Stick Fighter (batonnier), Wild Indian, Red Indian, Burrokeete,[19] Soumarie,[20] Dame Lorraine,[21] white faced Minstrels,[23] the Midnight Robber,[22] Devil and Jab Molassie (Riggio 15; Henry 39). These traditional characters,

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[18] Originally from the French "Diable", meaning devil. [19] Stilt Walkers.

[19] A type of masquerade in which the person gets inside a frame resembling a donkey, usually made of bamboo and decorated with fine fabrics. The masquerader moves in such a way as if the donkey is dancing accompanied by players on percussive instruments.

[20] This masquerade, which comes from an Indian tradition and mythology, has a frame designed to look like a horse. The masquerader dances forwards and backwards in a choreographed manner. He has an has an entourage that includes a groom who acts as if he is grooming the horse's mane.

[21] A form of cross dressing in which men, even with beards, dress as women with exaggerated breasts and bottoms Usually heavily made up and carrying a handbag. [23] A reversal of the black faced minstrels of North America.

[22] A character, all in black, with a long cape and well armed with a pistol or two. He wore a huge hat with a wide, fringed brim. His costume was usually decorated with symbols of death and the dark side. He made hyperbolic speeches about his exploits and prowess, usually for money.

which were sometimes kept within families and handed down through generations, or

sometimes served as community foci, also conveyed information about the history of

Trinidad and Tobago. They were and are also important for the variety, substance,

aesthetics and symbolism they bring to the carnival. The following quote from Jeff Henry

in Under The Mas: Resistance and Rebellion in The Trinidad Masquerade, helps to

illustrate their significance:

> The traditional characters are cultural historical markers for Trinidad and Tobago
> and if history defines a people these characters should not be allowed to drift and
> die. This cultural artifact must be maintained as I believe that history is tied to
> identity and self-esteem and when these are lost there is a tendency to attach
> oneself to the cultural forms and expressions of other societies. We are a fortunate
> people as we have this phenomenal extravaganza of dance, music, chants, drama,
> speech and diverse costume designs unfolding on our streets every year.
> Unfortunately, we are negating this significance and allowing it to disintegrate
> because we do not value its worth.[23] (Henry 2008: xiv)

Recently, Cajuca Mas Arts Producers has presented some of these masquerade types at

carnival events and in parks in various parts of Toronto during the summer. They have

portrayed Midnight Robber, Baby Doll, Dame Lorraine, Devil and Pierrot Grenade at the

King and Queen competitions, at carnival launches, at Metropolitan Toronto Police

Headquarters and at the CNE in 2019. However, in keeping with my observations, these

masquerade types are still not included as a stand-alone band[24] in the parade. Following

we will see what some of these characters looked like.

Meeting Some Carnival "Grotesques"

Henry describes some of these characters, explains what made them unique and

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[23] The Midnight Robber, Moko Jumbie, Dame Lorraine, Baby Doll Pierrot Grenade and Jab Jab are now
seen in carnival events in Toronto.
[24] On occasion, versions of Jab Jab or the Devil have been featured in some mas bands.

how they added certain elements to the carnival. Take for instance the Devil/Dragon.[25] He traces its introduction to the carnival to the early twentieth century. Through his description we learn of this character and its contribution to masquerade. He notes that it was first portrayed as an individual in the late nineteenth century, then evolved into an entire band of characters of the underworld, first seen on the streets in 1906 (126). Each character played a specific role. Henry not only describes the characters in detail, but very importantly, he also shows their depth and importance by linking them to mythical, historical and symbolic traditions that are part of our collective set of referents. Through myth and Biblical narratives most of us became familiar with Devil/Dragon as "the most famous Dragon, Lucifer … locked in a fierce battle with St. George the Archangel after he is cast out of heaven." (123). By distinguishing between the Eastern Dragon as a symbol of goodness, and the Western Dragon as a symbol of evil, he helps us to understand these characters and our reaction to them at carnival time. Historically, we knew of Christopher Columbus' "discovery" of Trinidad in 1498 and his naming of the 'Boca del Dragon' (Dragon's Mouth) in the northern part of the Gulf of Paria and 'Boca del Sierpe' (Serpent's Mouth) (ibid) in the south. But what did we know of its connection to the carnival culture of the island?

In Caribbean literature and calypso, we see the Devil in Earl Lovelace's novel, *The Dragon Can't Dance,* in lyrics from Wilmoth Houdini's calypso, *The Devil Behind Me,* 1930s, David Rudder's *The Hammer* "well the Dragon don't walk the Trail no more" (125) and Shadow's (Winston Bailey's) 1994 hit, *Pay De Devil* (*Pac Pac*). As Henry takes the literary references further, we get a reminder of Dante's *Inferno* and Milton's

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[25] I will use Devil and Dragon interchangeably from this point on.

Paradise Lost (Book 1 1667) with their images of hell as the Devil's or Satan's domain, with its purgatory or suffering seen through the imagination of these two writers (ibid). In a nation steeped in Roman Catholicism such as Trinidad and Tobago, we see how easy it was for the Devil and his band to resonate with carnival goers and sometimes frighten both children and adults. To date, this researcher has found no evidence to suggest that such a masquerade has been welcomed and portrayed fully on the streets of Toronto. Staying with Henry, we also learn details about each character's dress, movements, role and the impact such a band had on the streets on carnival day. Imagine a band of Imps and the impact they would have had "dressed in red from head to toe" (ibid). They are roguish; and possess athletic and balletic skills. They had wings that were attached to the shoulder blades. They wore "snug tops with long close-fitting sleeves down to the wrist" and moved in a "quick, frenetic and nervous" manner (ibid).

Among them, there was a hierarchy that included the Key Imp, whose prop was a massive key that symbolically opened the gates of hell "for the Underworld to enter earth" (ibid). He also locked or unlocked the cage that carried the King Beast, so he could roam at certain times and frighten spectators. There was also the Imp who carried the scale as a symbol of justice to "scale and weigh" people's sins so they may be placed in the appropriate section of hell upon meeting Satan. There is also the Imp who carried the axe "to dismember and destroy" who cleared the way for the band to pass (ibid). The Imp with the scythe is also part of the band. With his skull mask and black hood, he is the Grim Reaper. He is there to remind spectators of famine and plague. But more importantly, he is there for the purpose of harvesting evil souls destined for hell.

Included in this diabolical, otherworldly entourage is the Imp Messenger with an oversized envelope that contains the name of one who recently died. Or, is about to die, since superstitious beliefs were part of the tradition? Bookman/Beelzebub is there to receive the envelope, as spectators wonder whose name is in it. Finally, there is the King Imp, the manager of the band. A sharp contrast, he is glamourized. His costume includes two tiny horns or a small crown on his head. He is the Stage Manager, and most likely the Producer of this carnival street theatre and keeps the band in order. So, we see that collectively, these characters had all the elements of drama: narratives, roles, costumes, stylized movements, props and orations – rehearsed and improvised – that made for staged performances (Henry 208).

This suggests that their participation in carnival served a purpose that is diametrically opposite to the "pretty mas" portrayals we see today in Toronto. Importantly, Tony Hall reminds us that Errol Hill, in his *Trinidad Carnival: Mandate for a National Theatre,* saw these as characters to be included as archetypes in an indigenous theatre "grounded in the rhythms of carnival and all the varied elements of theatre found there" (Riggio 2004: 163). Moreover, Hall underscores the contemporary importance of these "traditional" characters when he speaks of his own experience and knowledge gained through working with famed mas band leader and designer, Peter Minshall. He says:

> Working with Peter Minshall, I was able to observe him adapt and transform traditional mas characters through his own meticulous designs – the basic Bat, the Midnight Robber, the Borokit, Moko Jumbie. I witnessed how he incorporated history (particularly the social and design history of the mas) into the present reality of performance without the hampering clogs of nostalgia. From this I learned that traditions are most meaningful when they transform and evolve with the culture that produces them. Therefore, the value of traditional, culture-bearing, mas characters, who embody the history of emancipation and the struggle both for

independence and self-definition: characters like the Midnight Robber with his rapid-fire grandiloquent speeches of revenge and imposing hat and gait; the Baby Doll with her instant social action theatre which insists, right there on the street of carnival day, in shaming renegade fathers into child support; the Badly Behaved Sailors satirizing the gay abandon of the Yankee sailor in drunken choreography along the street; all these and more I am now driven to look at more closely. (Riggio 2004: 163-164).

Hall also incorporated aspects of T&T carnival, especially calypso, into his own *jouvay popular theatre process* (JPTP). But I digress. For a deeper and better understanding of this, one may read Hall's work by the same name. Now that we have been introduced to the grotesques of a Trinidad and Tobago, and sometimes Caribbean carnival, let us look at the reason for their exclusion from the Caribana parade.

Effect of Self Censorship on The Caribana Parade

At this point, it will be useful to reflect on several informal conversations I had with the late Charles (Charlie) Roach, one of the founders of the Caribana festival. This was at a time when I had not even dreamed that I would make the parade my subject of study. Charlie was born in Trinidad. He migrated to Canada in 1955 and became a lawyer in 1963. With one of the highest profiles among West Indians in Toronto, he had many accomplishments and wore many hats during his lengthy career. In addition to being a lawyer, he was a musician (He began playing music in his native Trinidad), a civil rights leader involved in immigration and other matters not only in Canada, but also in continental Africa, a social activist, an artist, a poet and politician. He was also an entrepreneur, who operated the "Little Trinidad Club", a West Indian after-hours establishment located at 237-2371/2 Yonge Street. He was a contemporary of Jeff Henry, and being from Port of Spain, the capital city of Trinidad, he would have been familiar

with the various masquerade characters that included the different Imps mentioned earlier.

Mr. Roach and I had known each other for many years, and from 2006 to 2009, he was the Chair and I was the Vice Chair of the Board of Directors of the Caribana Arts Group (CAG), the group that was the successor to the Caribbean Cultural Committee, the organization that founded the Caribana Festival. As one of the founders and one intimately involved in the planning and presenting of the first Caribana festival and parade, he was a valuable font of information. During one of our many conversations about the origin of Caribana he recalled that the planning committee for the parade deliberately chose to exclude depictions of the grotesque – Bat, Devil, Dame Lorraine etc. Even though it would have given a better indication of the full spectrum of characters in a Trinidad and Tobago and some West Indian carnivals, the committee felt that if they had included the grotesque, it would have reflected negatively on West Indians. Their desire to create a positive impression on Torontonians resulted in self-censorship that suggests a kind of "double consciousness" (Du Bois 78; Fanon 6), not uncommon to "othered" Black people living in a "dominant" European society. Rhetorically, if this was the case for West Indians as a newly independent and diasporic people in 1967, why is it still so today?

In practical terms, the inclusion of a traditional mas band, or, one similar, like Blue Devils or Jab Molasie, means that we would see and experience examples of the "grotesque" during carnival in Toronto. Rhetorically again, what is carnival without the Bakhtinian carnivalesque, or Caribbean grotesque? Also, such a band, because of its "dirtiness," would have a self-policing element which would surely deter stormers.

Importantly too, the inclusion of such a band would educate spectators on the scope of

characterization in the Trinidad and Tobago carnival on which Toronto's is modeled.

This type of masquerade, though not identical, exists prominently in Grenada. In a hybrid

form it has found its way into carnivals in New York (Jouvay), Montreal, Leeds and

London. In Trinidad, the Devil/Dragon tradition is firmly entrenched in Paramin, a

village in north Trinidad, and is embodied in the group known as the Paramin Blue

Devils (Riggio 67). We have begun to see examples of these masquerades on the

peripheries; but the organizers have not begun to embrace them into the Toronto parade.

In practical terms, these symbols bear a legacy that is culturally constrained to the

Caribbean diaspora.

Figure 20: Blue Devils, Trinidad carnival. Photo: Henry Gomez

Figure 21: Jab Jab, New York Jouvay. Photo: Henry Gomez

Jab Jab, New York Jouvay. Photo: Henry Gomez

Figure 22: Midnight Robber, Trinidad carnival. Photo: Henry Gomez

Figure 23: Bookman, Trinidad carnival. Photo: Henry Gomez

Figure 24: Dame Lorraine, Trinidad carnival. Photo: Henry Gomez

Figure 25: Jab Jab, Toronto carnival. Photo: Henry Gomez

Figure 26: Mud/Dutty mas, Trinidad carnival. Photo: Henry Gomez

The Road Space and Caribana's Essence

"The road make to walk on carnival day" is a line from the lyrics of *The Road* (1963), a

calypso by Lord Kitchener, more popularly known as Kitch. It supports the observation

that "Carnival … revels in the potential danger and threatened violence of massing in

public places or at sensitive social margins" (36). The calypso chronicles a period when

steel bands clashed violently in Trinidad during carnival. In it the calypsonian warns

steelband men not to attempt any violent break up of his band on carnival day. The hook

in this calypso goes as follows:

> The road make to walk on carnival day
> Constable ah doh want to talk; but I have to say
> Any steelband man only venture to break this band
> Is ah long funeral from the general hospital.

Figure 27: Researcher as Midnight Robber. Photo: Anonymous

Figure 28: Jab Jab, Montreal. Photo Henry Gomez

Figure 29: Moko Jumbies, Trinidad carnival. Photo: Henry Gomez

In the context of urban Toronto four years later, and in a spirit of expectancy and exuberance, the admonition has no resonance with Caribana. Fast forward fifty-two years though and we may apply the warning to stormers in the parade. However, I see a double meaning and major socio-political significance in Dr. Liverpool's invitation: he literally invites spectators to have fun, and symbolically to take possession of the streets. Literally, it said that as West Indians we are here in the heart of the city. We are an 'invisible' diasporic minority during the rest of the year; but we are very visible on this day, having fun. And symbolically, it hints at the nature and ontology of the parade. It was a carnival "gift" to the City of Toronto in celebration of Canada's centennial, but not based on a European model that supposedly turned society upside down (Bakhtin 87). There was no changing places with the political, corporate or social elite who ran the city. They did not even participate in the phenomenon. However, though not born of "rituals of power and rebellion" (Liverpool, 2001) as was the Trinidad and Tobago carnival it was modeled after, characteristically, Caribana demonstrated its essence: "the inherent capacity to appropriate spaces and transgress boundaries in order to manifest and celebrate aspects of human community." (Riggio 2004: 15)

Growth and Development of The Caribana Parade

It can be said that the development of Caribana was a rhizome or hybrid that came as cultural flows with West Indians moving to Toronto and forming a Black and Caribbean diaspora. As a parade that was more of a procession, with its public indulgences in food, drink, music and sexual display – all elements of carnival – it set a new paradigm for a city used to the linear format of a Saint Patrick's Day, Santa Claus, or

Labour Day parade. In these, spectators watched from the sidelines as paraders or performers put on the show.

By contrast, the Caribana parade during this period was in keeping with Bakhtinian theory that "carnival does not know footlights" (Bakhtin 1984: 197). The lines between spectators and masqueraders were blurred. It was fluid. It allowed participants to switch and assume different roles quite easily. A spectator became a masquerader for a while, and vice versa. Masqueraders could leave the band and engage with a group of family or friends, then rejoin the band later. Discreetly, masqueraders and non-masquerading friends shared alcoholic beverages disguised in brown paper bags or other containers. These were not characteristics of Toronto's traditional parades. The relocation that took place in 1991, when the Caribbean Cultural Committee (CCC), the organization that created it, still owned and managed the festival and parade, changed the point of assembly, the route and the end point of the parade accordingly; and is therefore important to this narrative. Over the years, the parade has gone south on Yonge Street, south on Bay Street, south on University Avenue, north on University Avenue, and west on Lakeshore Boulevard West. It has also terminated at the ferry docks, on Wellington Street West, at Queen's Quay, in Sunnyside and at the CNE. All along, it kept becoming more popular and at its peak, attracting approximately one million[26] participants at its current location.

Despite its hybridity, rhizomic status and confinement to a specific area of the city with much reduced hours of revelry, the parade environment maintained some distinct characteristics of the carnivals of Trinidad and Tobago, other Caribbean islands, Latin

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[26] Attendance figures for the parade vary depending on their source.

America and even New Orleans: there was costuming, dancing, music, singing, eating, drinking,[27] and relative freedom of movement and assembly on the street. All took place under the watchful, but somewhat relaxed eye of the police as agents of the state. In many instances, musicians and other performers were brought to the city from the Caribbean specifically to perform for Caribana. In some cases, the masqueraders and their costumes were also imported for this Toronto phenomenon. The first location that will be discussed is University Avenue in the mid-1980s to 1990.

On University Avenue – The People and "play"

The masqueraders and spectators were mainly people of the African diaspora, born in the Caribbean. Most will have seen or experienced carnival first-hand in the island of their birth. Through masquerade, calypso and the language of carnival, they will have heard expressions like "play mas," "play yuhself," "play your mas" (Riggio 89), "I come out to play" and "run mas." In each case "play" means putting on a disguise, pretending, and adapting to the mood of carnival as it came to be known in Trinidad and Tobago or other parts of the Caribbean. And in writing about "play," Johan Huizinga theorizes that "fun" is its "essence" and that it comes naturally. He states that, "nature … gave us play, with its tension, its mirth, and its fun." (Huizinga 28). In writing about the transformational power of masking, which is essential to carnival, he says, "The disguised or masked individual "plays" another part, another being. He *is* another being" (ibid). Play, masking and fun are elements of the Caribana parade, as they are for all carnivals of this type; and the mask worn may be a costume or another aspect of one's

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[27] Although against the rules, some participants discreetly consumed alcohol on the street. This researcher and a friend were caught by the police and made to empty our beer in a planter.

personality that one puts on to assume a role different from everyday life. Together with

steelpan and calypso music, these three components helped to make the parade a space

where play and fun often became transgressive. Transgression here included "tiefin ah

wine," a sexually suggestive practice in which the male rotates his pelvis on the female's

bottom without her consent, which would be considered as sexual harassment or assault

in normative social behaviour. However, the parade space was, and is, not everyday life.

Those in attendance knew, or learned, that normalcy was suspended and that they were

playing under rules that made the space a "temporary autonomous zone (TAZ) (Bey 65).

By choice they had a degree of autonomy and agency that allowed for spontaneous

interaction as part of the parade's "tension, its mirth and its fun" (Huizinga 80).

Mood, Accessibility, "Fun" and Freedom

> During this period many non-costumed participants heard an echo and readily accepted the Liverpool invitation. As noted by one male participant:
> Right. So, you know, when we would, go down with our, with our friends, there would be a group of us and we would meet up at Saint Clair West subway station, and take the train down and get off at Saint Patrick,[28] and then, figure out from there where we were going. We kinda walked up and down the route, and, you know, look, look for other people that, that we knew; and, and in between, you know, University was a little different. It wasn't like on Lakeshore where things were barricaded off.

In capturing the mood of the parade and mode of participation, he adds, "Every,

everybody's just partying and having fun; there's no attitude; it didn't matter if you were

in a costume or not. That started to happen later."

Here it is important to note that the participant states that, "University was a little

different. It wasn't like on Lakeshore where things were barricaded off." We can interpret

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[28] Saint Patrick is the Dundas Street West subway stop on the Yonge- University line.

this to mean that access to the parade route was less restricted in the former location than in the latter. Note too that getting off at "Saint Patrick" meant that he and his friends could emerge from the subway and have immediate access to the parade. He also recalls what participation was like for him and his friends on University Avenue. "Right. So, the accessibility was very different; and … you know, … ah band would come down; and you would kinda, you would jump in behind that band. You jump up for a bit. Follow it for a bit. Jump out. Walk back up University. Another band would come. You would jump in behind that. Jump up for a bit; and, and so on and so forth." And indicative of the autonomy, spontaneity and fun in that location the participant says,

> Ahm, one of the best memories that I have of Caribana on University is getting caught in that tunnel[29]. At the bottom of the route. That was one of the highlights You know. The last band that you were gonna jump up with, you, you would insure, in the tunnel! So, the acoustics would be different. The noise would be different. The excitement would be diff, would be a different energy. And, that's kinda how we would end our day.

It is important to note too that the participant speaking here is the one who, years earlier, was introduced to the Caribana parade as a child with his parents and family. During that time in his life, his family "picked a spot" where they could see and pretty much remained there for the day. As a teenager, he was with his like-minded peers. As non-costumed participants, their "play" and "fun" at this point consist of having a "jump up" in or behind as many bands as possible. They also enjoy an ease of movement that allows them to move up and down the parade route among the masqueraders. So far, there is no mention of security or barricades to impede their access. Neither is there any

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[29] He means the tunnel at the bottom of University Avenue, under the railway tracks, near the end of the parade route. The partly enclosed space made the music sound much louder and increased the enjoyment for the participants.

mention of "storming" as an issue. They embodied the lyrics, "*The road make to walk on carnival day.*"

Over the eighteen to twenty-three years since its introduction to Toronto, the festival had achieved international recognition. More White Canadians remained in the city to take in the spectacle, and pop culture now referred to the holiday as Caribana instead of the Simcoe Day weekend. People also attended the parade as entire families with children ranging from babies in arms or strollers to preteens; and extending to grandparents. For some, this was their introduction to Caribana. A participant remembers this very well and recalls that:

> My parents are from Barbados. And they came here in the, the 60s. And, you know. There is myself and my sister. I have an older sister. So, my introduction to the Caribana parade was through my parents. They used to take us down to the parade when we were kids. And ahm, so that's how I was initially exposed to, to Caribana. Ahm, you know what was interesting for me is as a child, Caribana was always this big event. And you knew it was coming up in the summer; and, you know, your relatives were coming in from New York. And, you know; friends and family had to meet.

By this time, the parade seemed to have adopted University Avenue as its permanent route. One may argue that this street was, and still is, the site of Toronto's and Ontario's socio-political, economic, judicial and cultural power. It extends from Bloor on the north to Front Street on the south; and is lined with the buildings that house and project this power. The Royal Ontario Museum,[30] McLaughlin Planetarium,[31] University of Toronto buildings, Ontario Legislative Building, Queen's Park, Mount Sinai and Queen Elizabeth Hospitals, United States Consulate, Osgoode Hall, and Ontario Superior Court are all located on this artery in the heart of downtown Toronto. The exclusive (at

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[30] A subway stop on the University line is named after this building.
[31] The planetarium was closed in 1995.

the time) Royal York Hotel and Union Station are also nearby.

Accommodation and Appropriation

Here I note the synchronicity in the date and nature of the parade with University Avenue as its site. First, the parade is usually held on the first Saturday in August. This is known officially as the Simcoe Day weekend, named and established as a holiday in honour of John Graves Simcoe, the first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, credited with having slavery abolished here. Second, the Caribana parade with its steelpan, calypso, masquerade and other elements of carnival, has links to slavery and the struggle for emancipation in Trinidad and Tobago and other Caribbean islands. Initially, carnival in Trinidad was called "Freedom Day" to mark enslaved Africans winning their freedom. It was celebrated in a "Cannes Brulees fashion" on the same date as the Simcoe holiday. Third, the arc of history now placed the parade as a hybrid celebration of freedom on the grounds and streets surrounding the building where political power resides in Ontario. Who could have seen these elements coming together the way they did after the celebration of Canada's centenary two decades earlier?

The masquerade bands, musicians and other participants assembled on the roads around Queen's Park and proceeded south on roadway that was dedicated to the parade. The music was provided almost exclusively by live brass and steel bands. Some floats or bands represented the islands from which the masqueraders or participants came. It attracted more tourists internationally. David Trotman writes: "spectators and participants are drawn not only from Canada but also from the Caribbean, Europe, and the United States" (Trotman 177); but the majority were African Americans who made the annual trip to Toronto from various states. It was not uncommon to see cars bearing licence

plates from as far away as Florida and California. The streetcar traffic along intersecting

College, Dundas, Queen and King Streets was interrupted by the spectacle moving in a

southerly direction. South of College Street, it was quite common to see hospital staff and

patients of the Mount Sinai and Queen Elizabeth Hospitals at the University Street

entrance of these buildings taking in the spectacle as it went by. A participant adds the

reflection that:

> And then, you know; mom and dad would take us down … it was on University
> Avenue. It wasn't over on Lakeshore yet. But as kids we were more spectators …
> and parents weren't the type to jump up and participate. We just went down to
> look at, you know, the costumes and hear the bands; and I was familiar with a lot
> of the different … calypso and soca that was playing over the years that I was
> going because my parents played a lot ah calypso and soca in the house.

The physical geography of the space allowed for very few, if any, vendors along

the route. Toilet facilities were sparse. Most of the buildings that lined the route either

housed government offices or were businesses other than restaurants. They were mostly

closed. The police presence was quite significant, but some officers had learnt to be more

relaxed. They were mainly White, but over the years they had gotten used to the different

rules of the parade. Some would even "take ah little wine," a dance that took place

mainly by rotating the pelvis with the knees bent and hands raised, or arms bent at the

elbows and be seen to be enjoying themselves. Along the parade route, there were the

standard metal barriers at the curbsides that separated spectators from masqueraders.

Still, the space was somewhat democratic: spectators who wanted to, easily moved

beyond them to jump up or dance alongside the music trucks, among the masqueraders or

behind the bands. The parade was not commodified. The emphasis was still on everyone

having as much fun as possible.

A participant who participated in the parade as a child with his parents and other family members, then as a teenager with friends, and later still as an adult remembers his Caribana experiences on University Avenue in the 1980s. He says:

> Right. So, the accessibility was very differen; and … you know, you, you would, ah, ah band would come down; and you would kinda, you would jump in behind that band. You jump up for a bit. Follow it for a bit. Jump out. Walk back up University. Another band would come. You would jump in behind that. Jump up for a bit; and, and so on and so forth. Ahm, one of the best memories that I have of Caribana on University is getting caught in that tunnel. At the bottom of the route.

From this account, you may see that the participant was able to move freely and interact spontaneously with others in the parade on University Avenue. However, it is this type of participation that organizers proscribed at the new location; and went to great lengths to enforce the ban. From the information above, we see that the Caribana parade on University Avenue allowed for easy access, fun and freedom of movement as described by this male participant. Following, we shall see how these conditions change when the parade is relocated.

By 1990, attendance at the parade had increased significantly. University Avenue as a central location with easy access could no longer accommodate it comfortably. The civic authorities grew concerned about threats to safety due to overcrowding. There was unintentional damage to horticultural displays. City of Toronto workers also began cordoning off or covering the horticultural displays in the median as a precaution against attendees trampling the flowers and flower beds. They had observed that participants in their eagerness to access various points along the route would walk across the flower beds and destroy the displays.

Another feature of this period was that costumes were designed and made very differently. They covered more of the masquerader's body and could be more easily linked to the themes the mas bands portrayed. There were also more males participating as masqueraders. Along the route, anyone attending the parade could emerge from the Museum, Queen's Park, St. Patrick, Osgoode or St. Andrew stop on the subway line and immediately be caught up in the merriment. The parade was free. Attendees chose their mode of participation and storming was not a problem. "Tiefin ah wine" was quite common for non-costumed males. As "bodies in dialogue," their bodies initiated and the females' either reciprocated or ended the "conversation". The organizers main concern was to stage an incident free parade that flowed smoothly and provided fun and enjoyment for everyone. Generally, participants enjoyed their freedom of movement for the duration of the parade. The bands could have impromptu jams in the tunnel at the bottom of University Avenue (really York Street) and revellers could continue to party at various blockos, or outdoor fetes, in the downtown area after the parade was over.

Relocation, Change and Alienation – Meeting The Fence

The relocation of the parade to Lakeshore Boulevard West in the vicinity of the Canadian National Exhibition in 1991, affected the social relations that permeated the space (Lefebvre 1991: 286) It not only changed the parade route, but also gave the City of Toronto and organizers increased control over the parade space. Increased control over the space also increased the potential of the organizers to control the bodies in the space. As part of the control mechanism, they created a taxonomy of attendees and participants that included vendors, spectators, performers, parade officials and masqueraders. In this

hybridized Caribbean "theatre of the streets" (Riggio 2004: 162) the masqueraders were prioritized.

The parade now began at Strachan Avenue, traveled west along Lakeshore Boulevard West and ended in Parkside in the vicinity of the Palais Royale. Spatialization became a problematic as organizers sought to give the masqueraders and the procession of the mas bands exclusivity over the parade route. The freedom that attendees had on University Avenue was now curtailed and those without a costume were denied entry to the space. Over a twenty-eight-year period, between 1991 and 2019, the erected fences became much taller. Now organizers could not only change the landscape and the parade route, but also have a significant impact on the way attendees participated in the space. Whereas on University Avenue the numerous buildings limited the organizers' ability to transform the space, the openness of The Lakeshore[32] made it much easier for them to erect higher and longer fences/barriers along the roadway. In the following exchange, a participant who experienced the transition from the old to the new location, gives his and his friends' reaction to the change.

> Participant: I remember having a conversation though, with, with a few of my friends when we got down there. This, this had to be in the early years when it moved over to ahm, to Lakeshore; and what we were surprised at were the barricades. That was, that was very, very surprising to us.
> Henry: And how did that make you feel?
> Participant: Ah, it wa, it was actually quite upsetting. We, we were quite upset by it; and, you know; I remember one of my friends saying, "Oh boy, they have us caged in. Or, or, left out."
> Henry: Yaaah.
> Participant: Right. Like, yuh, yuh either caged in once you get in, or you're left out.
> Henry: Yes, that's right.
> Participant: And feel that you can't participate.

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[32] An abbreviated, affectionate term for Lakeshore Boulevard West.

> Henry: Ye, yes. And you're looking through ….
> Participant: Right. Yuh, yuh, looking through this, this fence, an yi, yi, you feel as though you know, you're not truly a part of it.

The Parade as a Site of Contestation

As we saw, themes of accessibility, family, freedom, play, and sexuality played out quite easily in the parade while it was located on University Avenue from 1985 to 1990. I argue that that location, with its huge, permanent, artificial urban structures played a significant role and influenced the way these themes were acted out. Because of their permanence, they exerted a degree of control over the organizers, which in turn prevented them from controlling the participants as they might have liked. For example, the artificiality of the space severely limited the organizers' ability to erect fences and introduce the kind of spatialization we see later when the parade is relocated to Lakeshore Boulevard West. This spatialization and attempts at hegemonic control will give rise to the "storming" phenomenon, as a symptom of power relations and conflicting positionalities in the parade space. The degree of tolerance or goodwill with which they co-existed and sometimes collided prior, faded in this new location.

Storming Then and Now

'Storming' brings me full circle to a practice I sometimes engaged in as a youth in Trinidad, where it still means entering an event, unauthorized and without paying the fee of admission. Now, if this happens in a mas band during carnival, the repercussions could be sometimes quite violent. However, stormers then were motivated primarily by economic necessity. We targeted events held in enclosed areas and were much less conspicuous about our actions. In terms of the male youth demographic of stormers in this study, initially, they were both second generation Canadians and landed immigrants

who could easily be identified as Black. Over the last ten to fifteen years, however, this

demographic has changed to include participants of other ethnic backgrounds. One

stormer, who is Black, speaking of stormers in 2018 has observed that, "But, i, it's not

just Black people that climb it (the fence). Every, people from different ethnicity and

different races, they oh, they just want to know what is, what is Caribana about."

     I have already shown that for them much of the fun of participating in the parade

meant dancing as a form of sex play. The participants would scope out females they were

attracted to, approach them clandestinely from behind, place their pelvis against their

bottoms and, in keeping with the rhythm of the music, they would dance in a sexually

suggestive manner. I confess that as one who grew up in a carnival culture, I behaved the

same way many times. Upon discovery, the females' approval or disapproval determined

whether the mating dance continued. Sometimes the males competed for the pleasure of

the dance; but in the end the females determined the outcome. From 1985 to 1990, the

males, although in a more patriarchal era than 2019, ironically, tended to respect the

females' wishes more. One participant remembers it this way:

> and, and back then, fer, fer us I think the respect level was very different. So if
> you were going to, yuh, if you spot ah, ah, ah female and you were gonna go an
> wine on that particular female or, or take ah dance or jam, and somebody else got
> there before you, or bumped you out the way. Because that happened. And then it
> was like alright, no …. You, you know, you, you know, it'll be a little high five
> for that person out of respect and you mu, you move on. You move on. So, ya, no
> not, ight, we never got into, to any, uhm altercations uhm, that, that I can
> remember.

A Collision of Positionalities

    In 2018 and 2019 however, we see stormers as less respectful; and in an era when

more women assert greater agency over their bodies, in the parade space storming causes

positionalities to collide, becomes openly confrontational; and brings other issues to the

surface. This is especially true in the case of female masqueraders who do not see their

participation in a sexualized manner. To them, less clothing in the parade and 'winin' are

not an open invitation for sexual or commercial consumption. One of them puts it this

way:

> Like what a lot of western society doesn't understand is that as from a Caribbean background, this is just the culture. Like we are embracing our bodies; and usually it's not sexualized. But in the western society, the moment somebody sees a girl with less clothing on, they assume it's for them. But really, it's not for them; it's for us as a whole; 'cause they think their goal to Caribana is go catch a wine; and maybe catch a few numbers, or even try to do something with girls; 'cause a lot of them try to pick up girls. But that's not what we are here for. We are here to celebrate who we are as a culture.

Another female masquerader relates a more confrontational aspect of the situation as,

> … stormers were trying to fight us. Like, "Let us in." And we had to fight back. An, I, it was right before the stage. That's when it got really bad. The stage was the worst part. And they just don't listen. They don't care. So, that was the one frustrating thing; but other than that, ahm, earlier on in the day, it wasn't terrible.

Yet another female masquerader relates her experience thus:

> And I was very upset because at that point, I was just fed up with the whole situation. And my friends, they were tired. And they were also upset because a, ah stormer had tried to take a wine on one of my friends. But my friend was like, "No." Like, "I'm not here to wine on you. I'm just here to have a good time myself." And, they you know, they ended up getting into a quarrel. And like, it just ruined the whole mood. And it was just a big, big commotion; and it was just so frustrating at the same time.

In all three accounts, the females relate their unpleasant parade encounters with

young males who by way of not being costumed, are in the parade illegally. They are

stormers, who are determined to participate on their own terms, which include dancing

intimately with the female masqueraders – without their consent. What the females miss

here, and what the males take for granted, is that theoretically and practically, carnival is

not a politically correct space. It is a paradoxical and transgressive world in which the

rules of everyday life do not apply. It is a "billingsgate" where the Id thrives. In the context of the parade, the scantily clad female masqueraders are simultaneously subject and object. And, in an era of increased commodification of ethnic culture, the stormers see them as objects not only to be consumed by the eye, but also to be handled by the body, in keeping with the carnal, licensed indulgences (food, drink and flesh) of the day.

Despite their agency, the females have become part of what, in referring to T&T and Notting Hill carnivals, Peter Jackson calls a "commercialized event whose principal advantage is as a means of attracting tourist dollars." (1987: 216). Commercially speaking then, the female masqueraders may be analogous to jewelry in the display case, or automobiles in the showroom – to be looked at and lusted after, but not possessed until paid for, at the price of a costume. Further, David Gilmore notes that during carnival in Andalusia, Spain verbal abuse and some physical beating are to be expected and "a man or woman must not take offense and must not respond with anger to any such carnival provocation." (1998: 24). He adds: "Everybody is a potential abuser and a potential victim." (ibid). It is "una cosa de carnival" (a carnival thing).

Sexuality and Carnival

For as long as I can remember, direct or implied sexual behaviour has been one of the dynamics at play in carnival in Trinidad and Tobago. Later, through travel, video viewing and literary research I came to realize that it is also a characteristic of similar carnivals in other countries. It has ritualistic elements that are different for individuals and groups of people in different environments. The form and extent to which it is taken depends on social tolerances in the local culture in which the carnival takes place. For the demographic group (males in their mid-teens to thirties) under study in the Toronto

environment the participants also have their ritual that begins with prepping for the

parade by enhancing their appearance, being clear about their interest, and visualizing the

parade environment. A participant relates the University Avenue experience this way:

> "And we'd always go down to Bi Way[33], or, or whatever and, you know, grab a pair of shorts, or ah, or, you know, whatever, a, a tee shirt and co, you know kinda coordinate your outfit. So, so that was a part of the excitement too. Prepping to go to the parade."

Here he makes clear that they have an interest in sexuality in the parade where the

females are metaphorically "eye candy" which they anticipate enjoying:

> We are in high school, probably in Grade 10, 11 or our senior years. And, obviously, you know, fer some of us, that you, you have an interest in girls. It follows naturally, which is, which is ah big thing; so that became one ah the motivating factors to go down to the parade. That there'd be ah lot of girls. So, you know, for lack of ah better word for us back then, it was eye candy. So, so, so you went down for, you went now for eye candy.

At a later stage, while attending university the interest and motivation for the ritual

continue as they became more immersed in the music of carnival culture. The same

participant explains:

> In high school and in university, we were more exposed to calypso; so we were; we became even more familiar with it. It became one ah those genres of music that ahm, became a lot more common maybe not on the radio station. But, but amongst us, amongst us it became more common, so that, … fueled the excitement to go down to the parade. We became ah lot more familiar, with the artist and the music that was being played by the bands and, you wanted to go down an an see girls an an take ah wine, for lack of a huh you know, ta, take ah wine …. All we were concerned with was going down there an, an winin up behind --- girls.

And, twenty-seven years later, with the parade now on Lakeshore Boulevard West, the

stormers thought and behaved in much the same way as they prepped to participate in the

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[33] A department store that no longer exists in Toronto.

parade. A difference of note is that this stormer, not being of Caribbean background, or

of the carnival culture, has to watch videos and develop a "waistline" (learn to wine) as

part of his preparation. He explains it this way:

> "So, 2018 summer came; and then me and my Ghanaian friends we went to
> Caribana as a, as stormers so …. Because the build to Caribana was, oh, it's just
> you know, they, they wear these costumes and then I started watching videos; and
> I as like oh! okay, no, I have to be there. You know, my waistline is ready … aye,
> you know, aye, there, there's this saying that they say Caribbean girls is where it's
> at. I have, I have to go. I have to be there; so, I went for the car, for the ca ahm,
> we went for the parade; and we were ready; so, like I, we went shirtless. I, I, I
> picked up a Trini flag. I 'as like, today am embracing Trinidad and Tobago

Here is what another participant says of prepping and expectation in 2019:

> Yes. Some ah the, some ah my boys definitely ahm, they try an make swagger up;
> cause I know there's gonna be lots; they know there gonna be a lot ah women
> there so; gotta stay fresh.

And, he adds:

> You start; I guess like if you drink, you take part in that. If you smoke, you took
> part in that; if you smoke, you took part in that. If you don't, I guess you don't;
> but that's what me and my friends did; and then I guess we gathered as a group
> and then we went out.

> The experiences of female masqueraders, however, provide context, as they see

equivalences between storming and feeling unsafe. Some female masqueraders took

offence to the highly sexualized violation of their persons.

> I was excited, you know; just to celebrate the culture itself with other people, who
> also enjoy the music and the whole vibe of it. So, it was ahm the day of the event,
> I was amazed by it; but kind of like disappointed in terms of like the stormers
> coming in at one point. Like, it was great at the beginning, where it's just pure
> masqueraders. But like close to when ahm we were coming to the end of the
> parade; that's when like a whole bunch of stormers came in and interacted with
> the masqueraders … so the beginning when it's early was fine. Like 8 a. m. was
> great. There was no stormers. I just think nobody wanted to wake up at that time
> to be at Lakeshore to watch the parade.

Her division of the day into pre midday when the parade flows relatively quite easily, and after midday when chaos ensues and it gets bogged down, is corroborated by this researcher's own observations, reports from organizers, reports in community press, exchanges on social media and anecdotal reports from other attendees.

> But as time went on, there was one point where ahm, I was literally just surrounded by stormers; and I had no idea where anybody was; where any of my friends were. … So, seeing all those stormers were very frustrating. Ahm, and at one point, it was like me and my section for Saldenah, we were human, like security. Like we had created a [human] fence.

Now that we have examined some of the typical conflicts between stormers and masqueraders we can gain insight into the types of stormers in the parade space.

Typology of Stormers

In the mix-messaged and contradictory space of the parade, in addition to positionalities in conflict, there is also a typology of stormers which includes the very few high-profiled leaders who arm themselves with, and use bolt cutters or wrenches to cut through or undo the metal fences, those who break down the fences at their weakest point, those who use their wiles to get past security and opportunists or followers who exploit the breaches the other stormers make. More recently, females have also joined this typology. Within this mix, some stormers, untypically, act chivalrously to intervene to protect the interests and values of female masqueraders. They take control of what are perceived to be dangerous situations with fellow stormers, especially those who are American and seen as a nuisance, or as misaligned with the culture of the event. Here, a female masquerader, supported by another, tells of her experience, which reflects the complaint about groping that Louis Saldenah expressed earlier in this study:

> On the fence. Yah. Of Americans that were there. And they just; they just grab you, and just want to you know, just dance with you; you know. So, earlier when I

> was explaining that this guy came to catch a wine, the stormer. And I said no. He was like, "I'm from New York. You should like bubble on me." And I said, "I doh care where you're from. I'm not dancing on you." So, like when they; they think that saying that they are from New York it's gonna be like, "Okay. Let's go." But it's not. I doh care where you're from. ***If you're not in costume, you're not catching a bubble; you're not catching ah wine. You're not catching nothing.*** (Emphasis mine).

Notice that her objection to the transgression is not to the male's body being in dialogue with hers, but to the body not being in a costume or masked. It is a body not having paid the price to be in the tribe, or to handle the merchandise.

The other female masquerader tells that the situation escalates to a fight, "And like people would; stormers were trying to fight us. Like let us in; and we had to fight back. An, I, it was right before the stage. That's when it got really bad." She does not explain how they got out of the situation. However, her experience parallels a case given by a male stormer who, unasked, went to the rescue of a female masquerader whom he perceived to be uncomfortable with aggressive American stormers. He explains:

> I remember seeing this one masquerader girl, and there were like four or five American guys trying to dance with her; and she wasn't; she wasn't with it. So, what I did was I, I sort of came up with a way to save her from that. So I started; I started dancing; and she looked at me and she started smiling; because she picked off my energy … and then I just held her hand; I was like … and she started dancing with me instead And then all the, all the American guys were like, "Wooh! Who's this nigga …" that's what am sayin. And then I remember like, I, I took her from there, and then the Am, the American guys left; and the, then ah, after that she was like, "Thank you." An I was like, "Nah; doh worry about that; it's cool."

The issue of storming becomes more complicated because not all stormers are motivated by the desire to dance sexually with the masqueraders. Also, those who are so motivated are sometimes encouraged and assisted by friends who are playin' mas; and female stormers use their wiles to undermine security personnel who let them into restricted

areas. This is an account given by a female stormer, who became a masquerader the following year. I have included only the portions needed to tell her strategy:

> Like, as I said before, I didn't jump the fence; but I found a way to get past the fence. …

Note that she distinguishes between jumping the fence and getting past the fence.

> But I seen ahm, somebody guarding the fence; and nobody was really near him. So, when I went by him, I was like, "Is there any way that we can enter? Because my friends are in the parade; and it's her first time; and I wanna support her." And, he was just standing there like, "No." But then I realized he was looking at my friend. And my friend's name was D. And so, I looked at him; and I was like, "Okay. So, if you let us in through the fence, … I will give you her phone number; and to make sure we're not lying, I will; we will stay here; and I will send her a text and see that it really is it." So, then, ahm once I had bargained with him, he opened up the fence, like discretely cause he, we didn't want to attract any more people. And then we went through; and then I gave; then gave him her number. He called to see if it was real and it was real. And I was like, "Thank you. It was a pleasure doing business with you." And we went our way.

While this example of undermined security may not be typical, it might help to account for the increased number of female stormers, as other females use different strategies to get past predominantly male security. However, some do climb the fence as well.
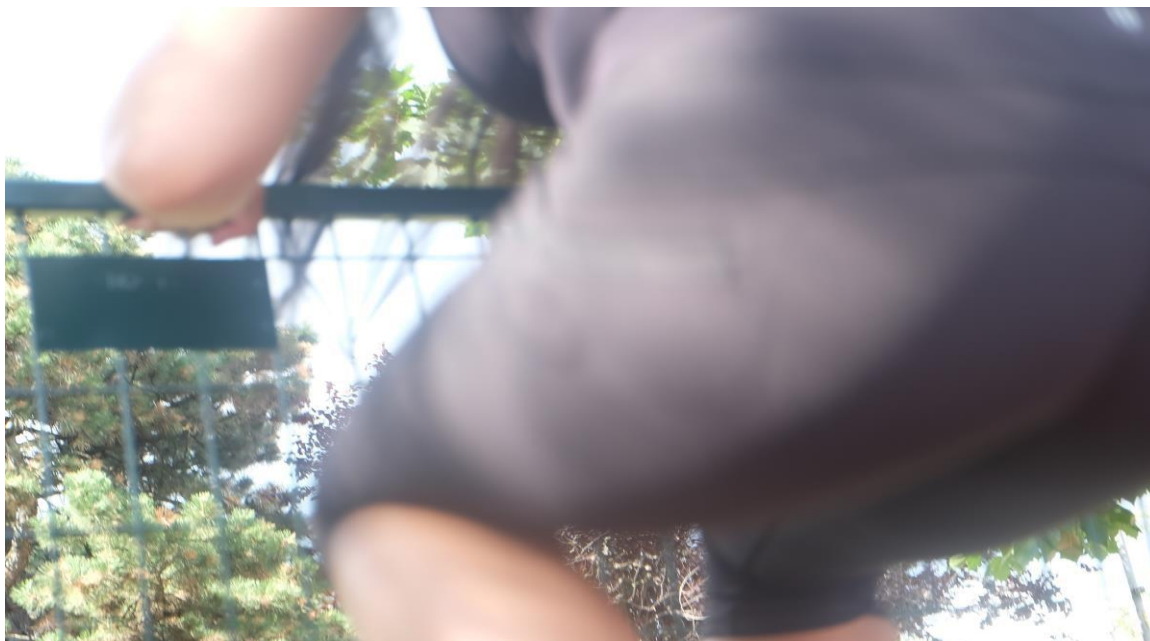
Figure 30: Female Stormers/Fence Jumpers at Caribana. Photo: Henry Gomez

Also, the individual whom she outsmarted (she knew that nothing would come of her giving

him her friend's phone number) must have been of her generation, or close to it, as

suggested by the sexual interest in her friend. And, technically, she did not storm, since she

was allowed entry to the parade space.

The following account, given by a male participant, also gives evidence that non-

costumed attendees, who normally would not be in the parade, sometimes find personnel,

who, for various reasons let them in. The participant tells of a group's interaction with

some police officers:

> And then we saw this big fence. And then, you know; like how we gonna get in;
> how we gonna get in. And then, there was like a lotta people there by the fence
> too. And then we saw some police officers. And then, you know they were
> blocking off the fence. And then I guess after they saw; they saw like a lot of us
> there, like sixty. So, they just, just opened it. And they just let us go through.
> Yeah. The police officers, they just like, "Let them go through," I guess. … But
> like, I, I guess after they saw was so many of us; and they like, "Okay why are we
> just gonna stop them from going in? It's not like they gonna, like they're not
> causing any problems or anything." Cause it's not like we were like you know

> pushing them over, pushing the fence and stuff. We all just standing by the fence, and you know after we just talking to them, we like, "You guys, can't you just let us in?" And then, after you know, they like, "Okay, whatever, we just gonna let them in."

Note that while the participant does not estimate the number of police officers in the interaction, he does so for the attendees wanting to get past the fence. This leaves one to wonder what instructions the police might have had for crowd control, whether they chose to be proactive before the mood changed from friendly to confrontational, or, as one of the female masqueraders indicated, there was a need for more officers to provide security. At issue here too, as indicated in this participant's account, is the recently imposed twenty-dollar fee to enter the CNE grounds. Although not indicated here, some attendees thought that it gained them access to the parade route. However, this participant, like others, chose not to pay. He felt that he could have spent the money differently. He says,

> Cause it was like a line up to pay to go in. And then it was like twenty dollars or something. I can't even remember …. But then, I was like, "Come on, paying twenty dollars!" You know. But am like, "Do I really want to pay the twenty dollars, when I could just spend that on something inside, you know; get ah gen …." And then, that's pretty much it. And, like I just didn't want to. But like, I've never paid to go in. And all the times I've gone I never paid to go in. So, I was like; like I could have paid the twenty dollars.

This participant lived in Parkdale, close to the parade route; and began attending the festival as a child with his father and grandmother, before the admission fee was introduced. They sold merchandise in the vicinity of the parade; and were used to their freedom. The twenty-dollar admission fee may be seen metaphorically as another fence he and others had to find their way around. Next, we will note how some stormers assessed their success and built their reputation.

Collecting Phone Numbers/Building a Reputation

As indicated earlier in this study, attendees at the Caribana ritual experienced fun and enjoyment in various ways. For some, this meant taking a "jump up," a Caribbean carnival expression that means dancing relatively freely to the up-tempo music with the masqueraders, or behind a mas band. For the more daring, non-costumed male teens and adults, it meant "tiefin ah wine" on female masqueraders; and obtaining as many phone numbers as possible on the day. This was a very important part of the sex play, which heightened the "fun" they had in the parade. Very importantly, it was also used to build street credibility and establish reputations among their peers. On the way back home, they measured and compared their success based on who collected the most numbers. One of the participants I interviewed explains the experience this way:

> "And all we were thinking about is fun, excitement and then, you know, how many phone numbers we could get. Right? Very important. How many phone numbers, how many phone numbers we could get, how many wines we could take!" Earlier in this chapter, a female masquerader also assesses male stormers from this perspective.

Growth, Policing, Risk and Consequences of Storming

In the early years, most of the attendees and participants in the parade were Black people, born in the Caribbean, or of Caribbean background. As the parade became more popular, the crowds also grew and became ethnically more diverse. The organizers faced greater challenges to commodify it, to balance the masqueraders' need to display the costumes with the smooth flow of the parade and to ensure the enjoyment of everyone in the space. The Toronto Police Force, consisting mainly of white officers, had a significant presence enforcing various city bylaws, especially these that proscribed drinking alcohol in public, and ensuring the safety of participants. However, some

attendees were uncomfortable with the way the police and fences curtailed their freedom at the event; and this also contributed to tension and contestation in the space. One participant describes storming, acts that are associated with it and the tacit support stormers receive from attendees:

> Like, ah, well it's not allowed; but, you know, some people sometimes they just; I guess those people are paving the way for us to go in without having to break the fence. You know; those are the ones that let us get away. They're breaking over, breaking open the fence; and then you know; we are the ones; we don't have to. Yeah, you know. So, they're doing it; we don't have to. So, ah doh wanna talk too bad on them; but, but you know, as long as they're not hurting anybody, or hurting thems [sic]. Well, if they're hurting themselves, it's their problem, because they know the risk.

There is a value, therefore, in the way that storming offers a means by which to transgress the status quo, and, in doing so, to offer a form of resistance to the control of white police officers and others in authority. When asked about the fact that the organizers have to pay the police officers, however, the same participant noted that, "Well, that's just the sacrifice you gonna have to make if you don't want people storming. Then use those police officers to line the parade ground too. So, like you know, even more people; but, they gonna have to pay. Like, nothing's free. Either way, they gonna have to pay." At this point, he does not see the irony of his statement, based on the fact that the organizers depend on a paying public to help defray the cost of policing the parade. If "nothing's free", this maxim should apply equally to those who want to be in the parade.

> Another describes the space and actions associated with storming thus:
>
> And then, so, and we thought once we pay to enter, "Oh you gonna be in the parade." When we got there, then we saw the fences. And then we are like, "Oh no. There's no way we're paying for this, and not being in the parade."

Here, he and his friends believed that after having paid the twenty-dollar fee to the grounds they would be in the parade. Upon discovering it was not so, they took the actions they felt necessary to get them there. He continues:

> They had fenced the bridge. And, there was a little; they didn't fence the staircase, the stairwell of the bridge. There was a little opening. So we climbed from the bridge. We crossed the bridge; and then we'd go to the other end. And when we'd go to the other end of the bridge, we came down. And, over there it just has the little metal barricades. So that's easy to … in. So, we got there, and then these two guys, we actually saw, oh, they were like security or something, because they were like, "Hey, how'd you guys get up there?" Or something. And we are like, "Oh no, oh shit, we've, we've been caught!" You know, I'as thinking, I'm like, "Am not trying to go to jail for this, you know." We're like, "Ohhh, we saw the, there was an ope, there was an entrance." And then they were like, "Oh help us, help us come over too." I was like, "Okay, you's the one who jumped the fence." I'm like, "So they were also trying to get into the parade."

We may see the comedy in this situation as stormers mistake other stormers for security personnel; but, as we shall see in another account, they sometimes injure themselves while scaling the fence:

> I remember one year we went down, and, you know, we, we jumped the fence; and a friend ah mine got caught; his hand got caught on the top of the fence. And he tore open his hand. And we were like, yah, and we were like, "Oh my goodness!" And all he did is, he had er, like ah, ah rag in is pocket. Wrapped up his hand, and that was it. We were, we were in there one. We were, we were in there you know, in any way that we, we could be in there.

Here, the desire to storm the parade trumped his friend's injury, which was not life threatening. However, on at least one occasion storming proved fatal; as an attendee who was deemed a stormer fell off a truck, was crushed under its wheels and sadly, died.[34]

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[34] This researcher is aware that legal action against the organizers ensued; but I am not aware of the outcome.

Ultimately, however, storming has become an ingrained cultural form within the space Caribana parade, so much so that it is expected. With respect to this activity, one participant noted that,

> "Like there are certain things that like you're never gonna stop. Like you can try and end it too. You could make it like not as big as it is currently. But, I don't know if it's ever gonna be to the point where you gonna see nobody else is storming. But, unless there is like police lined off for like maybe every couple lines of the fence, I don't think it's gonna like, stop."

So far, we have gained insight into the thinking and motivation of the stormers. Let us now take a brief look at the parade itself, and the music, the sonic force or energy that drives this spectacle of movement, colour and sound.

From Script (order) to Scenario (orderly chaos) and Disorder? in the Parade

On the day, after civic and other officials make their political and other speeches, they cut the ribbon and the parade begins. They may travel the route in special vehicles. Sometimes, the Canadian calypso monarch is included in this group. Next are the guest or non-competing bands, usually in tee shirts, and sometimes representing sponsors, community or charitable organizations, a politician or political party. All this happens pre-midday before attendance has peaked, and while competing bands are organizing their sections and getting into position in accordance with a predetermined sequence. The power generators are being turned on and the massive sound systems mounted on the lengthy flatbed trucks are starting to pump out the soca hits played by the dee jays. Other trucks and support vehicles are stocked with food, soft drinks, beer/alcohol[35], water and other supplies. Attendees are arriving at the various entry points, sometimes together with costumed or partially costumed masqueraders, who may have an entourage of friends,

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[35] Beer or alcohol is sometimes sold clandestinely from vehicles in the parade.

relatives or attendants. Some bands, depending on their numbered position in the parade, are still assembling the large masquerade pieces for the King, Queen, Male Individual and Female Individual. Masqueraders – male and female - adorn their bodies. In some areas bandleaders and hired security go over their parade protocol. Some masqueraders, in addition to preparing their alcohol tubes to be sure they have the "fuel" to take them the parade distance, are securing the flag of the country they identify with. The entire CNE complex, lower Dufferin Street and land around the Medieval Times building are beehives of activity.

Figure 31: Parade assembly area, north side of Medieval Times building, overlooking the Gardener Expressway. Photo: Henry Gomez

By noon, more competing bands have joined the parade to compete for the title, Band of

The Year. Many more attendees have arrived. Sound has become more cacophonous in

some spaces as the song from one sound system opposes another, sometimes within the

same band. Technology has allowed for a different "soundscape" (Schaffer 1977: 3) to

affect the "erotic orifice" (12) of the ear as decibel levels indicate "auditory excess"

Figure 32: Caribana pre-parade security briefing. Photo: Henry Gomez

(Henriques 2011: xvi). The winer girls[36] dance atop elevations on the flatbed trucks as

popular soca artistes perform from mountain high speaker boxes. Up to this point, the

parade ebbs and flows; but is still orderly. The masqueraders are not seen by as many

attendees; but the parade still follows the "script." Then around 2:00 pm there is a

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[36] These are females who are strategically placed on the sound trucks, sometimes high atop the speaker boxes as an added attraction. They specialize in winin to the music being played.

Figure 33: An intact mas band at Caribana. Photo: Henry Gomez

transformation and the script becomes a "scenario" as the organizers and authorities

begin to lose control of the space.

By this time, non-costumed attendees of every description have used various

means to enter the parade route; and have become so numerous that bands either move

very slowly, or, cannot proceed at all. Added to this are the masqueraders who have

passed the judging station and begun to strip down to bare essentials to show the more

bacchanalian aspects of carnival. Some are highly inebriated and put on their sexual

displays to the delight of the stormers, who are ever so eager to join. In this scenario, the

"theatre" has become a beach party or bedroom on the streets. Huge gaps appear between

bands, sometimes also caused by bandleaders who carry a grudge and deliberately try to

prevent rival bands from making it to or along the parade route. The dee jays are also in

competition and pump out the music (mainly soca). In 2019, stormers of all types, in

greater numbers and attracted by the popularity of Machel Montano and Kes The Band,

wanted to "jump up" even closer to the music trucks and the masqueraders. Where there

are bottlenecks and the increased potential for accidents, truck drivers blast their air horns

Figure 34: Stormers occupy gaps in the parade. Photo: Henry Gomez

and performers plead with stormers to leave the parade. Few comply; and, at its worst,

fighting ensues and, on occasion, chaos spreads even among the grandees in the cabanas

and VIP areas. At the beginning, the civic authorities and organizers performed their

power; but now the power of performance has favoured the stormers; and the live image

of a neatly packaged parade as a commodified product is lost.
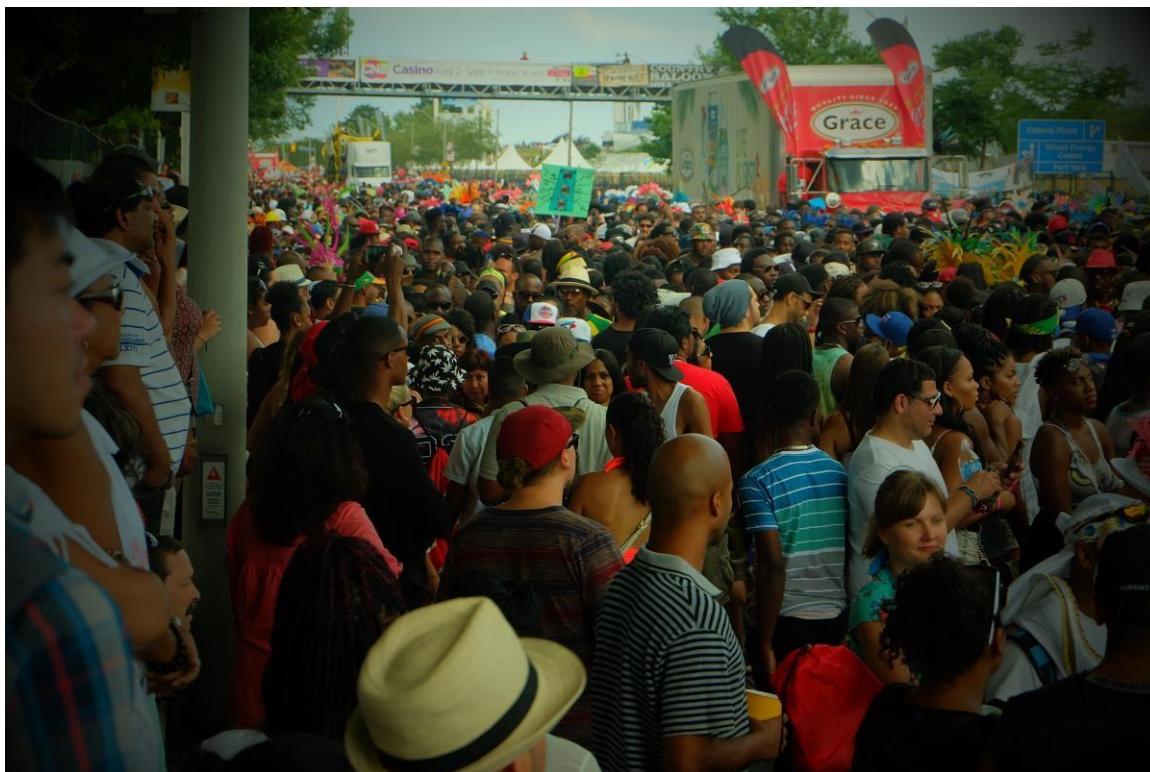
Figure 35: Stormers en masse on the Caribana parade route. Photo: Henry Gomez

Later in the afternoon, some parade marshals and security personnel have

abandoned their posts and police officers, for whatever reason, allow more pedestrians

onto the route. In this "time space/space time compression" (Harvey 1991: 260; Massey

1994:) or "Global Village" (McLuhan 1967: 272) of a carnival, a ritual that lasts forty-

eight hours or more in Trinidad and Tobago has been allotted only eight or less in

Toronto. If a band has not made it out of the CNE grounds before 5:00 pm when the

police begin to shut down the parade, even though it is still daylight, that band would not

be seen along the route. The masqueraders will have lost their opportunity to be seen and

admired by many and to pose for that cherished selfie for an attendee. There are no

refunds for the cost of the costumes. Better luck next year?

The mood has changed. The police are now more interested in clearing Lakeshore Boulevard West and other roadways that were affected by the parade. They order that all music be stopped. As more people, some reluctantly, begin to make their way home, we may make the following observations about the parade:

- The City of Toronto, its agents and organizers perform their power through scripting the parade and attempting to exercise hegemonic control over the space.

- The stormers, in what might be the only example of transgression or resistance, show the power of their performance. They act out a scenario as a foil to the script by refusing to be spatialized.

- Stormers find accomplices to undermine security, even among masqueraders and the police.

- Storming is widespread and goes well beyond the Black or Caribbean community.

- Storming may be a rite of passage in which stormers see their performance as fun.

- There are contestations over positionalities. E. g. women's right and desire to perform as they wish versus men's desire to act sexually in keeping with patriarchal conditioning and the carnivalesque; attempts to package and sell the parade as a commercial product versus the participants' desire to have fun as they wished.

- Many attendees show that given the choice and opportunity, in true carnival spirit, they would rather be in the parade.

- Some bandleaders, directly or indirectly, might be contributing to storming.

- Storming will continue, unless organizers find the will and deploy the resources to prevent it; as is done in Trinidad, New York, Montreal and Salvador da Bahia.

Conclusion

In understanding why storming, the practice of mainly males in their teens to thirties, has persisted as an unwelcome form of participation in the Toronto Carnival/Caribana parade for more than twenty years, the findings from this study suggest that it is symptomatic of resistance to hegemonic power and control by those in authority over bodies in the space. It is a form of cultural creation and retention. As an act of transgression, it fits, first, within the context of a typically paradoxical carnival; and second, within the context of Caribbean cultural history. Blatant storming is a form of mainly male bonding, which may be considered ritualistic and a rite of passage from teenage to adult years, since one does not participate actively beyond a certain age. Aspects of the rites include buying specific clothing, purchasing and consuming alcohol (not for everyone), "getting the waistline," linking with friends, traveling to the parade, defeating the fence, intermingling with the masqueraders and sharing recaps of their exploits after the fact. Stormers are multi-ethnic. They are apolitical and leaderless, with a focus on having fun.

Storming is reflective of various dynamics in the increasing containment of the parade because of acts of power and control levied on attendees (still mainly Black) by those in power, still mainly white. It is a comparatively safe contestation of the space. Though not overtly political, it promotes resistance to the status quo, and demonstrates the potential power of this resistance to affect outcomes. For example, it sometimes causes the parade to end prematurely.

There is ambivalence about storming among participants and the wider community because of the risks that are posed to women in particular. By promoting

resistance to the status quo, those who are affected by intersectional risks are more likely to be vulnerable despite their efforts to band together and use transactional strategies that raise awareness as well as cause social change. This is especially true of female masqueraders. These actions are effective at mitigating the impact of power relations that increase social ambivalence about the parade's values, and the way in which the space is used by those who are and are not emergent from a Caribbean cultural space. Nonetheless, discourse can help those involved to define not only their social context but their identity now and in the future. These issues can have an impact on the teleology of Caribana and the way that it is performed. Many individuals in the Toronto Caribbean, Black, or other related ethnicity-driven communities use Caribana as a marker for their identities, but when constrained by funding, police, and cultural norms within Canada, as well as hidden racism, the parade becomes a performative, relational event rather than a ritual that reflects its spiritual and economic power.

Being created at the crossroads partly means that the Caribana parade is directly linked to Canadian federal politics and changes that led to the introduction of multiculturalism as federal government policy. At the same time, because multiculturalism has acted to blur the lines of what is important to people of different backgrounds, and to legitimize the needs of the state to ensure that there is less conflict, it also delegitimizes the real struggles of certain social groups, in this case the Caribbean community, to address the endemic challenges, power dynamics and hegemonic struggles they face. Gestures such as multiculturalism have been just that, because they fail to address what is under the surface. Being 'the other,' is an identity which has been constructed through the development of power dynamics among people and communities

in Canada over many hundreds of years. In this way, the performative nature of Caribana may be deeply problematic, as it leads to the further commercialization of culture, while at the same time creating binaries of cultural distance and difference which situate the Caribbean diaspora as representative of a subordinate status in Canadian society.

Is there a role for Toronto Carnival/Caribana in a post-multiculturalist approach to this issue? Yes, but only within the realm of discourse and a clear reconciliation with how Caribana has shaped the way that the Caribbean community has become endemically isolated over time (Henry 235). We might have to question the following and answer honestly: Why do we continue to perform the Caribana parade? What is its purpose? To whom does it belong? Whom does it serve and/or benefit? Why is it spatialized and policed the way it is? Why is it so time constrained compared to the Pride parades? How can it be expanded or modified to include the grotesque?

Finally, it is difficult to imagine a Canada in which there is a return to a pre-multiculturalism state because of the essential problematizing of which cultures are truly recognized outside those connected with official languages (Henry 236). What this means is that there needs to be an unpacking of the language and practice of othering in which it becomes challenging to engage with culture. The urban centre can be a place through which the emancipation of ideas, freedom, and self-regulation governed by local institutions can be explored. Deep resistance and the need for communal care are both evident in storming in the Toronto Carnival/Caribana parade at the present time. The parade is a site of great complexity. As a subject of study, it still offers scholars the opportunity to explore the storming phenomenon further, or to examine more closely some of the contestations that storming brings to the surface.

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Appendix A: Transcript Coding

Codes

<mark>Familiarity/Introduction</mark> <mark>Influence of</mark> <mark>Family/Friends</mark> <mark>Type of participation/Role</mark>

<mark>Location of event</mark> <mark>Accessibility to the event</mark> <mark>Linking with Friends</mark> <mark>Planning/Preparation</mark>

<mark>Sexuality/Sensuality/Pleasure/Fun/Transference</mark>

<mark>Knowledge/Understanding</mark>

1. Risk/Danger/Fear

2. Caged/Locked Out/ Resentment/Policed

3. Being Carefree

4. Clubbing/Party/Social Influence

5. Storming/Defeating the Fence/Security Undermined

6. Star Attraction/ Technology

7. Music/DJs & The Vibe

8. Competition/Conflict/Respect

9. Education/Knowledge/Understanding

10. Affordability

11. Spoiling The Party

12. American Factor

13. Timing

14. Profile

15. Changed Attitude/Behaviour

16. End of Storming?

17. Community

Appendix B: Ethics Approval Document

tcps2_core_certifica
te (1).pdf

Certificate of Completion

This document certifies that

Henry Gomez

*has completed the Tri-Council Policy
Statement:
Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans
Course on Research Ethics (TCPS 2: CORE)*

Date of Issue: **1 October, 2018**

Appendix C: Human Consent Form

Human Consent Form

My name is Henry Gomez. I am a master's candidate in Interdisciplinary Studies at York University, Toronto. I am also an entertainer known as King Cosmos. I am a past member of the Caribana board of directors; and now I am doing research on the Caribana parade for my studies, which I plan to complete in 2020.

As a follow up to our email, text and/or telephone conversation, I am here to interview you about the Caribana Parade, and what led you to jumping the fences, or "storming" to interact with the masqueraders. I appreciate your taking the time to talk with me. I cannot think of any risks to you in doing this interview; but if you feel vulnerable at any time, please let me know.

I'll be asking you a series of questions that you may answer based on your experience. There are no right or wrong answers; so feel free to answer in a way that suits you best. And, know that you do not have to answer a question if you do not want to. Also, you have the right to stop the interview at any time you choose. There will be no penalty for doing so. In addition, if you decide not to continue, you have the right to have any data you have given removed from the study. Again, there will be no penalty for doing so.

A possible outcome of this interview is that the knowledge we gain might help to make the parade more enjoyable for all participants. The findings might also be published and presented at conferences. However, at no time will your identity be revealed, unless you expressly want it to be. If so, you will have to sign a separate document for that purpose.

Since I would like to pay full attention to our conversation, it will be difficult for me to write at the same time; so I hope you do not mind me taping the interview. I am bound by the ethics of the Institutional Review Board, so all the information you give me will be confidential. Only my supervisors and I will know what your answers are.

Our interview today will last about 45 minutes – 1 hour. And, I should let you know, that after listening to your information, I may need a short follow up to clarify anything I may not understand.

Before we can get underway, I need you to sign this Informed Consent Form, which says that you understand the nature of the interview, you are doing it voluntarily and that I have not promised you any reward or payment for your time or information.

Please sign below to show that you are 18 or older, that you have read the information and voluntarily agreed to this interview.

Thank you.

Date: _____

Full Name (Please print): _____

Signature: _____

Phone #: _____

Email: _____

Appendix D: Interview Protocol Form

Research Project: The Caribana Parade: Issues of Fence-jumping (storming) During the Parade.

Date: _____

Time: _____

Location: _____

Interviewer: _____

Interviewee _____

Release form signed? _____

Notes to interviewee:

A possible outcome of this interview is that the knowledge we gain might be used to help to make the parade more enjoyable for all participants.

I am bound by the ethics of the Institutional Review Board, so all the information you give me will be kept confidential. Your identity will be coded and kept separately under lock and key at the university, from your contact information. I will keep the recorded information at all times.

Our interview today will last about 45 - 60 minutes.

Reason for the research:

> To find out if, how and why the music, spectacle, or other factors motivate you to jump the fences and "storm" the Caribana parade.

Use of information:

> The information will be used for my thesis; and will be seen by my supervisors. It may be published in academic journals and other media; and used/presented at future conferences; and it may be used by those who plan the parade.

Appendix E: Interview Questions:

Again, thank you for allowing me to have this conversation with you today.
First, tell me your name and how old you are. How do you spell your name?

1. Tell me about your background and your involvement in carnival culture?

2. So, at what time of the year did you begin thinking about Caribana and making plans for the parade?

3. Take me through the day of the parade. What was it like for you, getting to the Lakeshore, the time you arrived, linked with friends, some things you did? Any alcohol? Stimulants?

4. How did going to night clubs; influence your behaviour on the day of the parade?

5. The organizers and others argue that the masqueraders purchase their costumes, and they should be allowed to show them off for the entire parade without interruption. They argue that if "stormers" want to be in the parade, they should buy costumes also; and be in the parade legitimately. How do you respond to that suggestion?

6. How did you feel once you got over the fences and in among the masqueraders?

7. Why did you risk getting into fights, getting hurt, or being arrested for your actions?

8. If you had some advice for the organizers and those who want to see fence jumping stopped, what would it be?

Well, we have come to the end of our time for today. Thank you once again; and be reassured that your information is confidential.

May I have your permission for follow up if I need to?

And you have my contact information, both private and at York University, in case you need to get in touch with me. This also helps to make sure you find out the results of the research.