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Policy and performance in the Caribbean

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Abstract

This article examines the intersections of music policy and citizenship in the Caribbean island of Barbados. The article focuses on the development of music policy from the late 1970s to the early 2000s. It is argued that it is possible to trace efforts made by Barbadian state managers to shape citizenship. However, these efforts at defining an ideal Barbadian citizen should not be understood exclusively in national terms. In fact, the article demonstrates that the ways in which national identities in Barbados are constituted through calypso and soca performances have their roots in global shifts in development policies. Therefore the article integrates a three-tiered focus. It considers national policy decisions, international policy decisions, and finally it examines the ways in which decisions taken at these levels shape and are shaped by what takes place within the calypso/soca music industry and within calypso/soca performance.

Introduction

Citizenship is intimately tied to aesthetic practices. National identities and practices of living as members of nation-states are constituted within the works of the imagination (Anderson 1983; Appadurai 1996). It is for this reason that examining music policies is fundamentally important to understanding the myriad conceptualisations of citizenship. This is particularly true at this moment when global integration seems to be revolutionising traditional practices of nationalism. In this article I specifically examine the interrelationship between music policy in the Caribbean nation-state of Barbados, practices of calypso and soca performance and the constitution of Barbadian national identities. I argue that music policies in Barbados have had, at the heart of them, the pedagogical project of constructing an ideal Barbadian citizen as conceived by Barbadian political and economic elites. However, this citizen-making project should not be viewed in exclusively national terms. This article demonstrates that national policy decisions about music made in Barbados are always shaped by international factors. Thus the construction of the national, and even the local, is always done with one eye trained on the international horizon. My analysis in this article, therefore, will integrate a three-tiered focus that not only examines national and international policy decisions, but also the way that decisions taken at these levels shape and are shaped by what takes place within the calypso/soca music industry and within calypso/soca performance.

After a brief examination of music policy as an aspect of governmentality, I will zero in very specifically upon the Barbadian case. The article will trace the development of Barbadian music policy in the late 1970s and early 1980s as part of national

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and international efforts to link cultural policies to strategies of economic development.[1] I will demonstrate that these policy decisions had an important impact upon the development of a particular style of calypso performance, privileging a particular style of performance practice as *the* calypso ideal. Finally I will explore the impact of international discourses about cultural industries and digital music technology on music policy and performance practices in Barbados.

Music policy and forms of rule

The Caribbean already forms an important part of the music policy literature. Thanks to the work of Krister Malm and Roger Wallis (1982; 1984) one could say that experiences with policy in the Caribbean form part of a music policy canon – if we were to admit the existence of such a canon. Yet there is still much more that can be learned from the experiences in the Caribbean. Malm and Wallis were especially concerned with broadcast media policies as they intersected with music policies, whereas, in this paper, I pay most attention to the ways in which music policies shape live performance. The attention that Malm and Wallis paid to the impact of technological changes on recorded music and performance practices will still find resonances in the next few pages, but, all the same, my main interests lie in policy and popular music as a form of rule.

Tony Bennett *et al*. (1993) drew attention fifteen years ago to the increasing interest which governments in a variety of nation-states were taking in popular music. They pointed out that 'government intervention in the rock industry is becoming increasingly explicit, increasingly programmatic and institutional' (Bennett *et al*. 1993, p. 9). What was true of the rock industry is also true of other music industries, including the calypso music industry of the Caribbean.[2] Caribbean governments have been the major driving forces behind the national calypso competitions that are the main feature of the calypso music industry (Guilbault 2002) and these governments continue to focus their interests on policy initiatives aimed at boosting development of the music industry (Nurse 2002a; b). In part, the incentives for getting so deeply involved in the calypso music industry are governmental. Music policies, like all cultural policies, are fundamentally important to the processes of governmentality; that is to say, cultural policy is at the heart of the construction of governable citizens. Toby Miller and George Yudice (2003) write of governmentality as a pedagogical project:

> . . . in its role as custodian of nationalism the idealized Western state endeavors to form cultural citizens who will be virtuous political participants through self scrutiny and self improvement. This pedagogic style may appeal to national objectives of economic or cultural growth, patriotism, educating populations into artistic appreciation or unlocking creativity that awaits the opportunity to express itself. (Miller and Yudice 2003, p. 19)

In former colonies, like Barbados, these citizen-making processes are inextricably tied to the processes of fashioning newly independent nations. Music policy, therefore, becomes part of the important processes of delimiting the nation and legitimising particular practices of citizenship. Through music policy, state managers often seek to define the cultural limits of a nation by defining particular genres and styles of performance as *the* authentic culture of the nation.

As much as these processes are regulatory they are also simultaneously economic, which, as Paul Du Gay and Michael Pryke (2002) point out, highlights the

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inseparability of the economic and the cultural – first because economic practices are themselves cultural, and secondly, because of the increasing importance of 'cultural industries' to the world economy. Both of these perspectives on the 'cultural economy' underscore the importance of analysing national music policies beyond the borders of the national. The expressly national, even local, nature of many music policies can lead to scholarly analyses that themselves are limited to the national and fail to take due consideration of the ways in which international factors can intimately affect the national and the local. Perhaps there is an even greater desire to limit music policy research to the national and the local because conceptualisations about music are so often caught up in discourses about 'the authentic' in which the local is taken as the authentic by scholar-fans, and the global as the inauthentic.[3] However, given that 'the Caribbean' was born in the moment of Europe's aggressive economic expansion; and given that the relative smallness and economic vulnerability of most of the Caribbean nation-states provides them with little cover from the vagaries of international economic storms, an examination of the Caribbean case illuminates the ways in which a triple focus on the local, national and international factors permits one to take full consideration of the different vectors of power that operate in the development of music policies. Consequently I would modify Miller and Yudice's assertion that (musical) policies deliver docile bodies to national capitalism and state management to suggest that musical policies deliver docile bodies to national *and* global capitalism and to state management *and* international management.

This examination of the different vectors of power in music policy construction also suggests the importance of examining performance as part of the analysis of policy. It is, after all, the actions of performers and audiences that policy makers often seek to regulate. The attention to the practices of performances, therefore, makes clear the policies are not simply acting on passive, powerless performers and audiences. Rather, policies are often attempting to direct the energy and creativity of performers and audiences to satisfy specific political goals, such as the definition of the nation. Highlighting performance practices also permits analysis of where differently situated performers and audiences stand in relation to these political goals. There is somewhat of a tradition within popular music studies of paying particular attention to the protest aspects of popular music. Possibly the focus on youth and popular music and the significance of rock to European-American popular music studies made this inevitable. However, researchers have also pointed to the need to discuss the pursuit of commercial success without relying on a simple 'sell out' thesis. Similarly, examining performances within the Caribbean permits analysis of the ways in which performers and audiences seek to participate in the construction of national identities – the ways in which they support the dominant narrative of nation, and also the ways in which the performances articulate alternative narratives of the nation (Harewood 2006).

Culture and development: early music policy in Barbados

Barbados is one of a number of micro-states in the Caribbean – just 166 square miles in area with a population of a quarter of a million. Unlike many of its neighbours which were batted back and forth during the seventeenth-century European wars for colonial supremacy, Barbados had consistently been a British colonial possession from the time of the first English settlement in 1627. In 1966, Barbados gained constitutional independence during the period of decolonisation which started as a

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wave that began in Asia and Africa in 1945. This wave changed the dynamics of international relations as a number of new nation-states joined the United Nations system and attempted to reorient the agendas of international organisations.

One way in which this reorientation manifested itself was through the reassessment of the role of culture in the processes of economic development. Formerly, the cultures of the 'Third World' countries had been viewed as a barrier to development (see, for example, Lerner 1958; Schramm 1964). However, the leaders of newly independent nation-states were much less inclined to blame under-development on its victims. Thus there emerged, from UNESCO in particular, a discourse that argued that the cultures within the newly independent nation-states would help, rather than hinder, development. Culturally appropriate strategies for economic development were demanded; methods of strengthening cultural unity were sought; and efforts were made to stanch the unidirectional flow of cultural information from the North to the South. In keeping with this cultural perspective, UNESCO sponsored conferences aimed at developing national cultural policies across the globe. There was a series of *Intergovernmental Conferences on the Administrative and Financial Aspects of Cultural Policies* that started in Venice in 1970 and which reached the Caribbean and Latin America in 1978.

Barbados participated in these discussions, and other similar discussions within the region, with the result that, with funding from UNESCO and Barbados' new Ministry of Culture,[4] the *Report on Cultural Formation in Barbados with Proposals for a Plan for National Cultural Development* researched and compiled by Barbadian poet and historian Edward Kamau Brathwaite was published in 1979. One of the key features of the *Report* is its pedagogical tone. It is particularly important to make note of this because, despite Brathwaite's work and a number of comparable documents like it in the years since 1979, many cultural managers and practitioners argue that there is no clear music policy or cultural policy in Barbados. What these cultural workers are highlighting is the contrast between the well-structured plans documented by government, and the seemingly *ad hoc* nature of musical and cultural development on the ground. However, Brathwaite's report, and those that came after it, do provide insight into the discourses of cultural development that have shaped Barbados' cultural landscape. The reports' statements, in a Foucauldian sense, are part of a locutory nexus that enacts particular 'common-sense' understandings of the nationalist work to which art should be put.

In the 1979 *Report*, Brathwaite argues that Barbadian culture had been deliberately weakened during the period of colonialism. He states that the imperial bourgeois culture mandated the eradication of 'folk expressions of foreign national culture, especially in those overseas plantation/colonies where the ''folk'' were non-European, non-bourgeois' (Brathwaite 1979, p. 74). Brathwaite calls for a rediscovery of Barbados' 'true culture' which, he contends, had hidden itself in the face of imperial aggression. In many ways, therefore, the *Report* participates in what Stuart Hall (1994) has recognised as an important, though often limiting, 'act of imaginative rediscovery' of an essential identity. These acts of rediscovery frequently accompanied, and were vital to, decolonisation efforts. Interestingly, though Brathwaite identifies the 'folk' as the source for this rediscovery, it is the bourgeois state managers, particularly Ministry of Education and Culture officials, who he charges with the task of strengthening Barbadian culture. He asserts that their task will be to define what it means to be Bajan[5] and to educate Bajans how to be Bajan. This emphasis on training Bajans to be Bajan has continued to be the theme drawing

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together policy documents and the activities of state cultural institutions, at least up to the new millennium.

As indicated above, the *Report* was published around the same time that the institutional framework to implement cultural policy was also being established. The main institution that emerged to facilitate the cultural policy was the National Cultural Foundation which was established with the National Cultural Foundation Act of 1984. The NCF Act outlines four functions for the organisation:

(1) to stimulate and facilitate the development of culture generally;
(2) to develop, maintain and manage theatres and other cultural facilities and equipment provided by the Government;
(3) to organise cultural festivals; and
(4) to do anything necessary or desirable to assist persons interested in developing cultural expression.

These functions emphasise government's managerial role and its responsibility to provide venues, both physical venues and temporal venues, for artistic activity. Functions such as these can be linked to the general thrust of Barbados' economic development plan. That plan has been traditionally built upon the model most often ascribed to Sir W. Arthur Lewis which sees foreign investment as the engine of growth. Within this model, government's role is to create the type of infrastructure – roads, factory space, tax incentives – that makes a country such as Barbados attractive to foreign capital. Similarly, in the 1980s the NCF set about the task of developing Barbados' *cultural* infrastructure. The NCF's role was to encourage, support, and provide any catalysts that were necessary to help citizens develop cultural projects.

The NCF has played a key part in the implementation of Barbados' music policy. Cultural Officers were appointed for the different artistic disciplines, including music. However, it is perhaps the huge popularity of calypso that has made it so important to the NCF mission. The popularity of Barbadian calypso can be linked to the re-establishment of the plantation harvest celebration, the Crop Over Festival (COF), in the 1970s. A pan-African organisation, the Yoruba Foundation, initially attempted to revive the festival in 1972, but, probably due to its focus on Black empowerment, it received little support from the new and cautious government. However, in 1974 the Barbados Board of Tourism adopted the Festival as a means to boost summer tourist arrivals to Barbados. Initially, as conceived by the Board, which was dominated by members of Barbados' social elite, calypso was not part of the Crop Over Festival. However, calypsonians led by The Mighty Dragon fought to get calypso included on the Festival agenda. Clearly, these calypsonians believed that calypso should be part of any national and nationalist agenda. By the 1980s, the calypso competition had become one of the most important aspects of the Festival, if not the very engine of the celebration (see Marshall 1986). The popularity of local calypso seemed almost to guarantee that calypso would come under careful scrutiny. State managers set about the task of shaping and refining calypso music performance practices *and* calypso audiences in the service of the idealised nation-state.

A number of decisions were taken with a view to 'improving' and regulating performers, performances and audiences. The major decisions were taken within the contexts of the national calypso competition, the Pic O De Crop. This competition, along with the carnival-like jump up Kadooment Day, are the highlights to the month-long Crop Over Festival. Pic O De Crop, though it mirrors calypso competitions throughout the region, reasserts the importance of the nation-state through its regulations. Calypsonians who wish to compete are required to be members of

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state-sponsored calypso tents.[6] Only citizens and those who have been resident for over five years are allowed to participate in the competition. Lyrics must be vetted before performance in order that they conform to the defamation and libel laws of Barbados as well as the more vaguely defined dictates of 'good taste'. The importance of competitions to the calypso music industry adds another dimension to the discussions of musical valuation and music industry structure that take place in policy research. A market-driven system is seen as both a boon and a bane to the freedom of creative musical expression depending on whether scholars emphasise the ways in which it 'lets the customer decide' or the negative aspects of rampant commercialism. The non-commercial, state-run system is equally ambivalent: though it is free from unrestrained commercialism, it is generally severely restrained by the interests of the state. Jocelyn Guilbault (2002), writing about Trinidad, clearly argues that a musical industry built on competitions is part of the regulatory processes of the state. She states that calypso competitions have three objectives – they are mechanisms aimed at controlling the Black population of Trinidad, they define what the state identifies as the authentic limits of Trinidadian culture and they shape the aesthetics of performance. Certainly in the Barbadian case, competitions have had these disciplinary effects; though, as disciplinary effects, they also draw our attention not only to the coercive power but also the negotiations over 'common sense' ideas of the nation, citizenship, and musical value. This can be seen in the efforts to determine the 'authentic' sound of calypso by improving the Festival Band and through the style of calypsos that have been favoured by the judges.

The Festival Band is the musical orchestra that accompanies the calypsonians at the Pic O De Crop Final. Elombe Mottley,[7] who in 1982 was invited by the Ministry of Information and Culture to produce Crop Over as Chairman of the Crop Over Committee, was less than impressed by the state of the Festival Band: 'Many of the instruments were out of tune. There were few meaningful arrangements. There were no standards or commitments to anything called a standard' (Mottley 2003, p. 150).

The Crop Over Committee, therefore, entered into contractual agreements with the musicians requiring changes in the way the Band operated. The contracts stipulated that all instruments be in tune for the audio-visual recordings; it required that all calypsos selected for the semi-finals and finals had to be scored and arranged; and all members of the Festival Band had to be able to read music. It is not necessary to romanticise the more disorderly style of play that existed before the Committee's contracts in order to point out that these stipulations can be viewed as a move towards a more disciplined style that had a particular concept of aesthetic value at its heart. Part of that aesthetic valuation was shaping the Festival Band into a Big Band in the style of Duke Ellington. Mottley states:

> In determining the size and shape of the band, I was influenced by the sounds of the Duke Ellington and Count Basie Basic bands. From Duke's band came the sweetness of the saxes and the boisterous baritone sax anchoring the section. From the Count came the sparkling precise crisp brass and their acrobatic punctuations. Underlying all of this was a rhythm section that defined the tempo and drove the whole performance forward. (Mottley 2003, p. 152)

Mottley's interest in a jazz aesthetic came not only from his well-known love of jazz, it can also be tied to his desire to draw upon the aesthetic of 'authentic calypso' from its 'golden age' in Trinidad.[8] Shannon Dudley (2004) points out that from the 1920s to the 1940s, jazz style instrumental accompaniment became more and more popular in Trinidadian Calypso. Interestingly, Dudley also likens some of this 1930s music to the Duke Ellington sound. The decisions taken to have a more disciplined

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band were also part of the developmental strategy that under-girded Barbadian policy at this time. Thus in order to make the change from the more unruly style to the Ellington élan, the Crop Over Committee agreed to underwrite the costs of arranging the calypsos for three years.

If the instruments shaped the aesthetics of performance, so too did the type of calypsos that seemed most favoured by the judges. The two are, of course, interrelated as instrumentation tends to argue for a particular sound and judges' decisions are based on the artists' ability to render that sound faithfully. An examination of both the competition winners over the years and the common discourses about what constitutes a winning or 'crown song' in Barbados suggest that the judges favour a number that through its tempo and content suggest a seriousness of purpose. 'Crown songs' it would seem, tend to have a slower tempo, with a narrative lyrical style and lyrical content which deals with ways of improving the young nation and/or ways of defining the national identity. Both the calypso style and the competition structure had a role to play in the mapping out of the cultural landscape of Barbados. The competition structure results in the assignment of value based on the judges' positions as a special class of experts qualified to make assessments. This suggests important differences in conceptualisations of 'the people'.

One might argue that within a fully commercial music industry 'the people' are conceived as consumers and their desires are gleaned from consumption patterns. Within the calypso competition music industry, however, the category of 'the people' is defined by its distance from economic, political and class privilege. This becomes clearer if one examines the academic and media criticism of calypso. Here calypso tends to be defined using some variant of the phrase 'the voice of the people'. This phrase is usually followed by a brief description of a rather homogenous category of 'the underprivileged'. The calypsonian is said to capture the concerns of the underprivileged and re-present them to those in power – the politicians and presumably the intellectual classes represented by the critics and judges. The desires of 'the people' are gleaned, therefore, not through consumption patterns, but through interpretation of the calypsos and the ability to undertake this analysis seems to ultimately rest with the judges.[9] This privileging of judge and critic expertise seems to interrogate significantly the notion commonly held in both academic and media criticism that calypso is a particularly democratic space. Frank Manning (1990) is just one scholar who idealises calypso's democratic potential: 'Calypso is an expression of participatory democracy and a means of preserving it. Like the voting franchise, it is an instrument of retribution against an incumbent government' (Manning 1990, p. 246). However, rather than suggesting full political participation, the competition structure that I have just outlined seems rather to maintain the status quo in which 'the people' remain at a distance from the seats of power and to leave political action to their proxies – 'serious' calypsonians, judges, critics and politicians.

Music policy and the cultural industries

In the 1990s the national and international environment changed in ways that had a significant impact on music production and music policy in Barbados. The promise of independence took a real hit when the economy faltered in 1990. The GDP declined for the first time in seven years. There were decreasing revenues from tourism, sugar and manufacturing as well as rising interest on the large foreign debt incurred in the 1980s (Payne and Sutton 2001). That debt had fuelled the social welfare programmes of the

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1980s that provided Barbadians with a better standard of living, though not necessarily a sustainable one as it was linked more to patterns of consumption than to production (Marshall 1998; Barriteau 1996). In 1991 the government instituted an International Monetary Fund (IMF) sponsored austerity programme. In 1991 public workers balked at that plan and there was a two-day general strike. By 1993 unemployment had risen to between 27 and 30 per cent; unemployment was especially hard on youth and women. In May of 1994 a no-confidence motion was lodged against the Prime Minister which he only narrowly defeated. The same year the besieged Prime Minister opted to call an early election but was unable to overcome the resentment engendered by the economic downturn and his party lost.

This forced retreat from the social welfare programmes of the 1980s at the national level was embedded within a related retreat internationally. Barbados was just one of a long line of Third-World countries – including Caribbean neighbours Jamaica, Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago – who felt the hard press of the not-so-invisible-hand of the IMF pushing them towards the reduction of government spending, the freezing of wages and the elimination of subsidies and price controls. IMF programs promoted a neo-liberal viewpoint in which governments were lean, efficient and revenue generating rather than revenue spending. As part of this changed focus, culture's special status as a category apart from other industries, requiring special dispensation for protection, lost ground.

In Barbados, cultural policy continued to draw upon the idea of culture as having special status in the lives of citizens, but it now also reflected a 'culture as industry' standpoint. This can best be seen in the National Consultation on Culture that was conducted by the new Barbados government between 1995 and 1996. A special committee appointed by the Minister of Culture held a series of public meetings seeking Barbadians' input into decisions on the direction the island's cultural policy. The discussion paper that formed part of this consultation process followed international emphasis on cultural industries whilst continuing to hold on to the pedagogical impulse that had been part of policy in the previous decade. It therefore sets out as its task the creation of the 'ideal Barbadian citizen'. In addition to creating the citizen, however, the discussion paper states that one of its objectives is also to 'make recommendations for the development of viable cultural industries which will make a significant impact on the economy of our country' (NCF 1996, p. 7).

As part of the new direction, the NCF, which had become a key symbol of the perceived mismanagement of the former administration, was restructured, 'the main purpose of which was to ensure that the Foundation is able to operate efficiently within its dual role, viz., as a developmental as well as a commercial organization' (NCF 1996, p. 7). Antonio 'Boo' Rudder a musician and successful businessman who had also been involved in arts management and the unionisation of musicians for a number of years, was appointed to lead the NCF. He was given the title Chief Executive Officer rather than Director as had been the habit in the past. Rudder's personal commitment to ensuring that artists could view art as a viable livelihood, together with his business acumen made him a good fit for the restructured NCF. In a *Nation* newspaper interview immediately after his appointment, Rudder emphasised both the developmental and economic views of culture. He stated, 'More than ever, the arts are important in terms of developing skills, positive attitudes and that spirit of self-sufficiency that is so critical to development in these so-called hard economic times' (Alleyne 1995). And he also drew upon the discourses of cultural industries:

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> Cultural industries have the ability to create self-employment and competitive products, based on the skills of the participants. If used correctly, this can create significant wealth. If we examine entertainment industries in other countries, we will realise that entertainment represents a significant part of the gross domestic product. There's no reason why the same can't happen here.
>
> Cultural activity is at the stage in Barbados where we must realise that it is economic activity and must now be accorded the type of support people generally accord so-called legitimate industries. (*ibid*. 1995)

Other staff changes occurred at the NCF in 1995 and some of the new titles, such as Corporate Communication Officer, Marketing Officer and Business Development Officer reflected the government's thrust towards, as Minister of Culture Mia Mottley put it, the 'commercialization of artistic works' (Baker 1995). Wayne Simmons, Business Development Officer – Music, appointed in 1995, was the first member of the Business Development Department to be selected. The Business Development Department was given a specific mandate to develop cultural industries and promote Barbadian artists; however the restructuring of the NCF highlighted a number of contradictions within Barbados' cultural policy. The new business emphasis revealed structural flaws in the Barbadian economy that meant that there were limited options for generating revenue. Further, these structural flaws often put the state in direct competition with the citizens. An assessment of the 1996 discussion paper and action plan offers a means of examining these structural problems.

The discussion paper and action plan emphasised four specific areas of activity: education, promotion, archiving and management. Archiving and management were only a minor element of the paper (although management plans centred on copyright issues and these were supplemented with their own section later in the paper). Education and promotion received the most attention. Educational goals included plans to appoint more music teachers at the primary and secondary level, music scholarships, and the development of the music programme at the Barbados Community College (BCC). Promotional goals included developing more opportunities for musicians to perform at the regional and international level through the development of a performance circuit, more musical competitions and festivals, more audio-visual recording of performances, and the development of a promotional fund. Although the rhetoric of the time emphasised cultural industries, it can be seen that the policy sought to balance that rhetoric with the type of pedagogical/developmental goals that had been a part of earlier cultural policy efforts. At a time characterised by the scarcity of international loans and the problems of paying back the loans already incurred, the natural question is where would the government find money to meet its goals – for both development and promotion?

The discussion paper is quite succinct on the matter of funding. It identifies two sources of funding and also suggests an educational programme be instituted to teach public and private financiers why they should fund the arts. The sources of funding were the establishment of a publicly and privately supported Promotional Fund to facilitate the development of new markets and 'alternative forms of financing such as equity financing, venture capital funds and hire purchase, etc.' The emphasis in funding seems to have been on partnerships between the public and private sectors. However, the possibilities of such partnerships between the private and the public sector were undercut by the NCF's double focus on cultural developmental goals and business developmental goals. Because the organisation had the funding for neither it was pushed towards accepting a client status with the private sector.

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The NCF was seriously under-funded. At his farewell function in 1998, Antonio Rudder likened the NCF to an under-funded small business. Monies from central government barely paid for wages and building maintenance. Former Cultural Officer – Music, David Jordan, said that achieving the developmental goals he conceptualised whilst at the NCF was extremely difficult due to the lack of funding:

> One of the big things was the funding. We talk a lot about different things but the NCF never really had the funds to do workshops and seminars and do developmental stuff. It was only when I was leaving, the year before I left, that I could say that my department had access to significant funds to implement development programs[10] . . . . . before government never put anything into Crop Over. I think it was only when Owen (Arthur)[11] took over that that changed. All of their revenue was raised through sponsorship and ticket sales. So it was very easy to see why there was a shortfall every year. (David Jordan, personal communication, 12 December 2003).

Despite the best efforts of the officers, therefore, the lack of funding led to a sort of identity crisis in the mission of the organisation. The international environment, tangibly articulated in such things as IMF conditions and WTO agreements, advocated the privatisation of culture. This meant that the NCF would need to increase its efficiency, cut back on spending, step back from its involvement in cultural activities and work to create an environment conducive to private sector involvement in the arts. Attempting to fulfil this role led to a number of predictable clashes. For example, throughout the 1990s there were clashes with the Barbados Association of Tent Managers (BATMAN) over the size and distribution of the tent subvention from government. There were also clashes with BATMAN over NCF efforts to cut back on its archival videotaping of calypso tents. Other clashes surfaced. In 1996 the NCF had a minor disagreement with the Barbados Association of Journalists (BAJ) when the NCF stated that journalists would have to pay for their press passes to Crop Over events. A bigger row broke out in 1996 with the public when CEO Rudder suggested that the Pic O De Crop Finals, rather than being broadcast free on the sole local television station the Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) as they had been, should be a pay-per-view event. In addition to this, each year vendors at the various Crop Over events cried out at the increases in the price of renting stalls and stall spaces. One of the most telling vendor/NCF quarrels came over the provision of exclusive beverage contracts to drinks companies that sponsored events. For example, Carib Beer was given exclusive rights for the Congaline Festival, also managed by the NCF, and Banks Beer was given exclusive rights for the Bridgetown Market which was part of the Crop Over Festival. Small vendors complained in the media; large distributor R.L. Seale filed a high court injunction. The company claimed that the exclusive beverage contracts were a restraint of trade, and therefore illegal. R.L. Seale's use of the language of trade liberalisation to challenge the NCF's attempts to facilitate private sector involvement in cultural activities highlights the contradictory impulses contained in the privatisation of culture.

There were other examples of this contradiction. Whereas the privatisation of culture required government agencies to step back from cultural activities, the NCF was also required to make money. This led the organisation into direct competition with its clients – the people and businesses of Barbados – in a number of areas. Thus, for example, the organisation was accused of competing with masquerade bands for scarce sponsorship dollars; the NCF took over the production of Cohobblopot[12] from the private company that had been managing it; in 1996 the NCF was executive producer on a compilation soca CD; in 1995 the organisation also launched its own

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Crop Over party spot, Festival Village, building on the 1994 successes of Soca Village, which was run by private entrepreneurs; and, competing with another private enterprise, Ring Bang City, the NCF produced tours to both Jamaica and Trinidad called the Bajan Invasion. Media commentators worried that the NCF had lost its vision. More than one opined that the 'C' in NCF stood for Cash. Rudder recognised that the organisation had become overly concerned with the bottom line:

> Where we suffered at the NCF, we never got enough money to do the developmental work. I was always under a lot of pressure to do the things that were financially viable. Things that had a return. Because government was never invested in the organization the way it should have been. It was a lot of talk but when you look in real terms when you look at the money that was put in it wasn't there. (Antonio Rudder, personal communication, 20 April 2004)

Ironically I would suggest that these contradictions in the NCF's position within the cultural market did not necessarily harm calypso and soca development in Barbados. Rather, the contradiction lead to more concentrated attention being given to music, to the extent that media commentators today suggest quite frequently that the Crop Over Festival has been reduced to a music festival. The strong attention given to calypso and soca development can be attributed to three factors. First, the new NCF personnel had a great deal of interest and expertise in music. The simultaneous appointment of Wayne Simmons, Business Development Officer for Music, and David Jordan, Cultural Officer for Music, meant an increased concentration on the music sector. Secondly, and in a related manner, although CEO Rudder held responsibility for, and interest in, the other arts, he also had a great deal of experience in and affinity for music. This familiarity allowed him to recognise the changes that were taking place within Barbados' music scene, and he perceived that there could be a reciprocal relationship between the NCF's promotional objectives and the objectives of the individual musicians:

> The music was developing in a way that the music could drive the Crop Over Festival in a positive way. We were also seeing that there were a number of avenues that were opening up to musicians, but I think at another level, government was not really creating the type of, to use one of their terms, enabling environment which would have allowed musicians to function efficiently. (Antonio Rudder, personal communication, 20 April 2004)

It is possible to account for the burgeoning development of Barbadian recorded calypso and soca in many different ways. Perhaps the developmental seeds that the government's music policy had planted in the 1980s were coming to fruition in the 1990s. It could also be that because during the economic downturn in the 1990s music had been identified as a way to channel the energies of the disaffected and unemployed youth, more young people were alerted to the possibilities of a career in music. One can also point to the examples of Eddy Grant (see Best 1995), Nicholas Brancker, and Spice and Company, who not only demonstrated the range of possibilities available with the new digital music technologies, but also, in the case of Grant and Brancker, provided the environment in which other musicians could learn the ways to use those technologies. Digital musical technologies, themselves, became less expensive and thus more accessible to more musicians and producers. Finally, the international success of hip hop and dancehall artists also provided insight as to what was possible musically and professionally. The result was that a number of new music producers emerged who were and continue to be deeply committed to experimenting with the calypso/soca form. They democratised the relationship between producer and writer/performer; musically they drew from the less privileged archive of calypso for their lyrical and musical inspiration – the humorous songs, the sexy songs,

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and particularly the soca songs, i.e. the songs that would not have much of a chance in the national calypso competition; they also drew heavily upon the rebellious appeal of dancehall reggae and 'foreign' hip hop. All of this mixed together to develop a style that Curwen Best (2001) has called hardcore soca. This new style was particularly attractive to the youth. These new styles that the musicians and producers were trying were expanding the audience base for soca, meaning that any music-centred Crop Over programming would potentially increase gate receipts.

All of this was taking place within particular discourses of value that set up a binary between the type of musical development that the NCF *was* doing and the type of musical development that it was perceived that it *should* have been doing. In media accounts, policy documents, interviews (including interviews with NCF employees), judging decisions, and also in academic research, a hierarchy of value was articulated, based on delimitations of what constitutes 'true calypso' and what comprises its 'legitimate' work. I made reference to this in the last section. This true calypso drew from traditions crafted a decade earlier and therefore located within the bourgeois pedagogical project of making appropriate citizens through the reclamation of 'authentic Barbadian culture'. But, in practice, the NCF was drawing on newer soca forms that were seen as inauthentic because they seemed to veer away from the genealogical line of the accepted tradition. The NCF was thus accused of flouting tradition, phasing out the older calypsonians and pandering to the unsophisticated, almost degenerate, tastes of the youth. What it is important to note about this at this point is that what was going on was not a simple rejection of one style of music in favour of another; rather it was the construction of difference and the mapping out of the allowable terrains of performance. In the media accounts, policy documents, interviews, judging decisions and academic research, there seems to be a consensus that the proper task of the NCF was and is the preservation and advancement of true calypso as this, in turn, is equal to the preservation and advancement of civil society. From this perspective, the utilisation of hardcore soca in order to meet the dictates of the bottom line is a grubby little task that must be performed in order to get resources to support the true mission. In other words, what happened in this period was the creation of a high-culture calypso/low-culture soca binary that not only preserved gentrified calypso as the authentic culture of the nation, but also constructed hardcore soca as the spectacular zone of desire.

Conclusion

Barbados is still a young nation and its musical policy is equally young. Nevertheless, in the few decades that there have been efforts to craft a direction for music in the island-state, a great deal has happened that illuminates many of the concerns of popular music studies. Popular music scholars are frequently concerned with valuative decisions made and the limits and possibilities of 'authenticity' in music. In this Barbadian case it is possible to witness the role of music policy in the crafting of a musical ideal. The creation of this ideal was part of the process of making an ideal nation and ideal citizens. Barbadian popular music policy emerged as part of efforts at nation-building both at the national and international level. At the international level, decolonisation changed the ways in which culture, defined as the way of life of a people, was viewed. Rather than the cultures of 'Third World' people being seen as a hindrance to development, cultures were seen as foundational to crafting culturally relevant development strategies. In Barbados, culture – understood as aesthetic

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practices including popular music – was recruited to the task of teaching Barbadians how to be Barbadians. Centrally important within this pedagogical project was the development of a calypso ideal.

When the national and international climate changed and the 'cultural industries' became a major focus of neo-liberal strategies, once again the valuation of calypso became a central issue. The broad range of calypso music performance practices has been divided into categories: calypso/soca, serious music/party music, adult music/youth music. Scholars of popular music have written about similar processes of categorisation in many other music genres. However, this article adds another layer to our conceptualisation of the ways in which these valuations are part of nation-building and citizen-making processes. Key to this understanding must be the acknowledgement that the definition and delineation of the nation is not a process that finds its energy solely within the borders of the nation. International factors have an extremely important role and thus this article locates national and nationalist decisions made in Barbados within the context of changing global discourses about the popular arts and the role of the popular arts in society.

Endnotes

1. There are ways in which several definitions of 'culture' and 'cultural policy' intersect in this article. The Barbadian policy documents that I outline below specifically make reference to the anthropological understanding of culture as the 'whole way of life'. Nevertheless, the proposals in the documents and the actions taken in relation to them are heavily focused on the traditionally defined arts and therefore culture is taken to mean the visual arts, performing arts, literary arts, etc. This focus on aesthetic practices, however, highlights a main contention in this article – that the aesthetic arts have been drafted into the processes of governmentality. Thus, within this article I pay most attention to the ways in which aesthetic practices have been used as nation-building and citizen-making practices.
2. The word 'rock' can be understood in many different ways – as a catch-all phrase for popular music or as a specific genre of music making activities. For example, in 'Another boring day in paradise: rock and roll and the empowerment of everyday life' (1984) Lawrence Grossberg suggests that his use of the term 'rock and roll' should be understood broadly: 'I use the term ''rock and roll'' to include post-war, technologically dependent youth music' (Grossberg 1984, p. 225). However, Jocelyn Guilbault's (2002) contention that Caribbean music industries have their own features and should be analysed on their own terms is useful here as it allows us to focus on calypso/soca music industry differences whilst still maintaining the connection between those differences and international discourses about the uses of culture.
3. A number of scholars have examined the ways in which the local and the global operate in academic scholarship. See Lawrence Grossberg (1995) for the role that these concepts play in cultural studies. Keith Negus (1996), John Connell and Chris Gibson (2002) and David Hesmondhalgh (2005) look at some of these issues in relation to popular music more specifically.
4. A Cultural Division was initially established in the Ministry of Information in 1976, but a full Ministry of Culture was established in 1978.
5. People from Barbados are either referred to as Barbadians or Bajans.
6. A calypso tent is often defined as the venue for calypso performance. At the beginning of the twentieth century in Trinidad the venue was likely to be an open space covered with a tent and thus the name has survived and been applied to calypso venues throughout the region. Today tents are often modern auditoria and halls. It should also be noted, however, that a tent is also the mode of organisation. In Barbados, registered tents of a specified size hosting a specified number of performances per week receive a subvention from the National Cultural Foundation. Terms are negotiated each year (along with the rules for the competition, the composition of the judging panel and competition performance fees) with the Barbados Association of Tent Managers (BATMAN).
7. Elombe Mottley also founded the Yoruba Foundation which had made the initial efforts at reviving Crop Over and was the first person to head the National Cultural Foundation.
8. Trinidad is usually identified as the 'authentic home' or 'Mecca' of calypso.
9. It should be noted, though, that questioning the quality of the adjudication each year is a favourite sport in Barbados, particularly on the radio call-in programmes. Callers often claim a special expertise for themselves, arguing that the judges did not understand a particular calypso that was not placed high enough, or that

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the people did not understand a particular calypso when they booed because it was placed high in the competition. Thus one is caught in the strange position where 'the people' are said not to understand that which, by its definition as the voice of the people, is their own message.

10. Jordan pointed out that these significant funds that he was able to access just prior to leaving the NCF, were not actually voted directly to the NCF, but, in fact, came through a Youth At Risk Programme, 'it never came to the NCF although . . . I was the person who conceptualised everything. The money came out of Youth Affairs. That Youth At Risk program cost in excess of $150,000 and that was more than the funding for NCF programs for all of the performing arts for the year and that was just one program' (David Jordan, personal communication, 12 December 2003).
11. Barbadian Prime Minister, Owen Arthur, who was already Minister of Finance, added Culture to his portfolio in October 2001.
12. Cohobblopot was traditionally a show that brought together a number of different types of performance. However, since the 1990s there has been an emphasis on the most popular musical bands and performances of the Crop Over season. The adjudication of the king and queen costumes for the Kadooment masquerade is also done during Cohobblopot.

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