

**STEEL DRUMS IN THE STEEL CITY:
PERFORMANCE PRACTICES AMONG
STEEL DRUM MUSICIANS IN PITTSBURGH**

by

Lisa M. Bona

Bachelor of Music, SUNY Fredonia, 2006

Master of Library and Information Science, University of Pittsburgh, 2007

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

University of Pittsburgh

2009

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

This thesis was presented

by

Lisa M. Bona

It was defended on

September 14, 2009

and approved by

James P. Cassaro, MLS, MA, Adjunct Assistant Professor

Andrew N. Weintraub, PhD, Associate Professor of Music

Thesis Director: Adriana Helbig, PhD, Assistant Professor of Music

Copyright © by Lisa M. Bona

2009

**STEEL DRUMS IN THE STEEL CITY:
PERFORMANCE PRACTICES AMONG
STEEL DRUM MUSICIANS IN PITTSBURGH**

Lisa M. Bona, M.L.I.S., M.A.

University of Pittsburgh, 2009

The steel drum bears an indexical relationship to notions of ‘Caribbean identity’ that correspond with fun, sun, and relaxation. These associations grow out of media representations in film, music, and the American tourist industries. Musicians in Pittsburgh and elsewhere around the world, however, use the steel drum in their own ways, expanding the types of music the steel drum is heard playing. While some still choose to use the steel drum, or steel pan as it is also known, in what is perceived as authentic Caribbean steelband music, others have found ways of incorporating it into a variety of musical genres such as jazz fusion. Music venues, audience perceptions, and performance opportunities determine the ways the steel drum is played and expressed in old and new forms. As the home of steel pan makers and many steel pan musicians, Pittsburgh plays a significant role in these exchanges. Ethnographic material from the Steel City reveals that expectations of authenticity influence the reception of steel pan music. World music education curriculums and multicultural programming in the region shape the instrument’s identity as well. This thesis analyzes the complex ways the steel drum is imbued with notions of “Caribbeanness” and how musicians perform on this instrument within and beyond these cultural parameters.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	X
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 THE ‘CARIBBEAN’ LABEL.....	2
1.1.1 Tourism and the pan.....	3
1.1.2 Pop Culture’s Representations of the Pan	5
1.2 THE DIVERSE ROOTS AND CULTURE OF THE CARIBBEAN	6
1.3 THE PAN BEYOND THE CARIBBEAN: PITTSBURGH, THE STEEL CITY.....	8
1.3.1 The Demographics of Pittsburgh.....	9
1.3.2 Pan builders in Pittsburgh: A centrifugal force in the creation of Pittsburgh’s steel pan scenes	13
1.4 THE STEEL DRUM AS AN EDUCATIONAL TOOL IN SCHOOL CURRICULUMS	15
1.3 MULTICULTURALISM’S INFLUENCE ON FESTIVAL PROGRAMMING	19
1.4 WORLD MUSIC AND THE PAN: CONTEXTUALIZING THE STEEL DRUM WITHIN U.S. RECORDING INDUSTRIES	21

1.4.1	The Expectations of Audiences and the Factors Impacting their Perceptions of Musicians	23
1.5	THE STEEL DRUM AS A VEHICLE FOR CONSTRUCTING THE SELF AND PERFORMING THE INDIVIDUAL.....	26
2.0	THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAN.....	29
2.1	CRAFTING A PAN	32
2.2	THE PAN ORCHESTRA	35
2.3	PAN AND CLASS IDENTITY.....	38
2.4	THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PAN TUNER	40
3.0	PRESENTING A “CARIBBEAN” IDENTITY TO AN AMERICAN AUDIENCE	43
3.1	FROM TOBAGO TO THE UNITED STATES: VERNA AND HER “CARIBBEAN” IDENTITY	44
3.2	EXPOSING STUDENTS TO LIVE STEEL PAN MUSIC IN THE UNITED STATES.....	51
3.3	PERFORMING “CARIBBEANNESS” IN A STEEL BAND PERFORMANCE IN THE UNITED STATES	56
4.0	A FUSION APPROACH: USING THE PAN IN A MIX OF MUSICAL TRADITIONS	58
4.1	RESONANCE’S BLEND: STEEL PAN AND GLOBAL JAZZ	58
4.2	VICTOR PROVOST, THE PAN, AND AMERICAN JAZZ.....	65
4.3	MUSICAL INNOVATIONS ON THE PAN IN PITTSBURGH	69
5.0	REPRESENTATIONS OF THE STEEL PAN IN THE STEEL CITY.....	71

6.0	CONCLUSIONS	81
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	84

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. White Population Percentages by City	11
Table 2. Black Population Percentages by City.....	12

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Solomon Steelpan Tent at the Three Rivers Arts Festival.....	20
Figure 2. Stacks of steel drums ready to be shaped and cut.	32
Figure 3. Steel drum with template traced onto the head of the pan.....	33
Figure 4. Crichlow (in hat) and two members of her band playing at the Three Rivers Arts Festival.	46
Figure 5. Ken Schrader playing along with his students.....	54
Figure 6. Resonance performing at the CD release party for their recording "Steel Drum Jazz" .	59
Figure 7. Resonance performing a West African drum and call and response song	64
Figure 8. Mark Lucas (left) and Victor performing at Little E's jazz club in downtown Pittsburgh	68

PREFACE

I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Adriana Helbig for her guidance in the writing of this thesis as well as the support of my committee. This thesis would not have been possible without the understanding and encouragement of my husband and family.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Popular culture in the United States associates the steel drum with the Caribbean. Media representations frequently depict the instrument in settings that include beaches, tropical drinks, and relaxation. Reggae and calypso, musical genres that traditionally feature the steel pan, offer a common soundtrack for Hollywood movie scenes that reference the Caribbean.¹ Advertisements for cruises and tropical getaways also encourage these same stereotypes and cultural associations. Through these avenues, audiences in the United States have become particularly accustomed to the connection of the steel drum with sun, sand, beach, and fun.

Such representations, however, stereotype the instrument as strictly limited to the performance of Caribbean music. The steel drum, also known in the Caribbean as the steel pan, or, more simply pan, is actually used in much broader musical contexts, including jazz, classical, and global fusion music, which blends musical influences from around the world. Such musical diversity on the steel drum can be heard in cities around the country, including Pittsburgh. The media's pigeonholing of the pan into musical genres generally associated with the Caribbean limits people's exposure to other types of music played on the pan. As this thesis shows, audiences may be hesitant to accept the pan in diverse musical contexts. Similarly, musicians

¹ Examples of this include scenes in *Enchanted* and *The Little Mermaid*. The song "That's How You Know" from *Enchanted* features syncopated rhythms that are frequently heard in calypso music. In *The Little Mermaid*, "Under the Sea" also features syncopated rhythms based in calypso music, accompanied by visuals emphasizing the "tropical" underwater world. Both songs also feature musical instruments that are common in Latin American music, such as conga drums and chekeré, that lend a distinct 'Caribbeanness' to the music.

who perform on this instrument may be hesitant to break from the American audience's expectations of hearing Caribbean music when encountering the steel drum.

1.1 THE 'CARIBBEAN' LABEL

Comparable to the confusion and misrepresentation that surrounds the words 'Latin,' 'Latino,' and 'Latin America,'² the ideas surrounding the word 'Caribbean' are similarly convoluted. In the United States, the term 'Caribbean' refers to two distinct, separate concepts: a geographic label for a particular part of the world, or, a sociologic label for the people and a corresponding culture that exists in the Caribbean region. For the former, the islands between Florida and South America are often grouped together and categorized *en masse* as 'the Caribbean.'³ This may be due to the common means of economic development among these countries, particularly through the trade and tourism industries, as well as their related geographic location.⁴ This geographic distinction and unity based on location, however, has developed into the assumption of the latter meaning of 'Caribbean:' as a uniform 'Caribbean culture' and 'Caribbean identity.' Such a meaning of 'Caribbean' implies an overly homogenous nature among the individual countries located in the Caribbean. The simplification that is required to produce such a homogenous 'Caribbean' does not recognize myriad cultures that exist among and within the various countries of the Caribbean. Instead, many traditions are suppressed to elevate the dominate culture,

² See Deborah. Pacini Hernandez, "Race, Ethnicity and the Production of Latin/o Popular Music," in *Global Repertoires: Popular Music Within and Beyond the Transnational Music Industry*, ed. by Andreas Gebesmair and Alfred Smudits (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2001), 57-59 for more information on the terms 'Latin,' 'Latino,' and 'Latin America.'

³ See many of the titles of the books in the bibliography for this paper for many examples.

⁴ An email was sent to a music professor at the University of Pittsburgh seeking help locating a steel drum band to play at a Hawaiian Luau-themed pig roast in March 2009. This is just one example of people not differentiating between 'tropical' locations that may or may not be in the Caribbean.

resulting in a form of propagation that the generalized ‘Caribbean culture’ and ‘Caribbean identity’ is representative of the whole Caribbean.

The idea of the presence of such a monolithic ‘Caribbean identity’ is, in fact, a concept that has largely been developed and promoted in the United States,⁵ particularly in the travel industry. The shift to the post-colonial world has been a time of changing roles among nations from colonizer and colonized to independent countries. The attempted replacement of old institutions such as government structures and hierarchies, as well as the evolution of cultures that incorporated aspects of both the colonizer and the colonized, has not been instant. Neo-colonial ways of thought among many of the current powerful nations, especially the United States, still have a strong impact on world economics, tourism, and ideas surrounding culture, particularly in terms of cultural representations of the formerly colonized.⁶ A primary example is the perception surrounding a uniform ‘Caribbean identity’ when the roots of the Caribbean are in fact very diverse.

1.1.1 Tourism and the pan

In his chapter titled “*Mas’ Identity: Tourism and Global and Local Aspects of Trinidad Carnival*,” Niels Sampath writes, “The tourist phenomenon nurtures itself on distinct sensory images that have become attached to distinct geographic areas.”⁷ While steel pans in Trinidad are used to play a variety of music including soca, calypso, and European classical music, many

⁵ Christine G.T. Ho, “The Globalisation of Pan in South Florida,” in *Globalisation, Diaspora and Caribbean Popular Culture*, ed. by Christine G.T. Ho and Keith Nurse (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2005), 165.

⁶ Jaume Marti-Olivella, “The Post-Colonial Tourist And/In the Caribbean,” in *The Caribbean(s) Redefined*, Latin American Issues 13 (Meadville, PA: Allegheny College, 1997), 88.

⁷ Niels Sampath, “*Mas’ Identity: Tourism and Global and Local Aspects of Trinidad Carnival*,” in *Tourists and Tourism: Identifying With People and Places*, ed. by Simone Abram, Jacqueline D. Waldren and Donald V.L. Macleod. (New York: Berg, 1997), 149.

people in the U.S. still expect to hear the pan playing only “cruise music” or other expected Caribbean-styles of music, along the lines of Bob Marley’s reggae or calypso music as is often heard around the time of Carnival. They also expect to see pan performers wearing “tropical” style clothing as shown in advertisements for Caribbean getaways. These visual and aural expectations have shaped the ways in which much middle-class America perceives the steel drum.

The marketing for Carnival attempts to not only engage the residents of the Caribbean, but also to draw tourists, including middle-class Americans, to visit. Carnival is a very important part of the tourism industry in not only Trinidad and Tobago, but also other parts of the Caribbean. Carnival offers a stage for the competition in calypso for both men and women (the winner of each is crowned as the King or Queen of Calypso and retains bragging rights until the following year), as well as an active steel pan competition called Panorama. During this competition, massive steelbands compete (they are officially capped at 120 members) and play for audiences and judges alike. The winners each year usually gain the best corporate sponsors for the following year. Sponsors pay for instruments for the band and dress, in addition to other things as necessary.⁸ Carnival is known as a tourist event, similar to the draw of Mardi Gras in New Orleans. Parades and festivities draw large crowds of diasporic Trinidadians and native Latin Americans, as well as visiting tourists from around the world. Carnival is another opportunity for tourists to gain exposure to the steel pan in its native, but in a one-sided setting of the pan in Carnival.

Part of the reluctance among audiences to accept the steel pan as a musical instrument as opposed to as a Caribbean musical instrument may be due to the marketing effects for the

⁸ Stephen Stuempfle, *The Steel Band Movement: The Forging of a National Art in Trinidad and Tobago* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 144.

tourism industry in the Caribbean. Even prior to the steel drum becoming the official national instrument of Trinidad and Tobago in 1992,⁹ the steel drum has been identified as uniquely belonging to a broader ‘Caribbean identity’ as defined largely by those seeking to lure the money of American tourists. From the tourist marketing agendas in the United States, the pan has been coupled with the idea of a carefree, laidback life.

1.1.2 Pop Culture’s Representations of the Pan

Pop culture references to steel drums and their place in the Caribbean have only strengthened this idea for millions of people who have never visited the Caribbean. Instead of their knowledge coming from first-hand experiences from visiting the Caribbean,¹⁰ most Americans' information about the Caribbean is constructed through what they are presented with in pop culture. Television commercials for cruises often have background music of steel bands playing and tout the live steel bands that perform on the trips, either on the ship or at the various ports-of-call. Movies frequently pair Caribbean beach scenes with pan music playing in the background.¹¹

Messages presented in music on the radio are another source of misinformation. The popular Beach Boys’ song “Kokamo,” released in 1988,¹² references not only steel bands but also many of the common ideas surrounding spending time in the Caribbean. As one verse of the song states:

“Bodies in the sand

⁹ Daina Nathaniel, “Finding an ‘Equal’ Place: How the Designation of the Steelpan as the National Instrument Heightened Identity Relations in Trinidad and Tobago.” PhD dissertation, Florida State University, 2006.

¹⁰ Even then, the vibrant tourist industries of many of the Caribbean nations would ensure that what the tourists see when visiting conforms to their preconceived ideas of what they think the Caribbean is like.

¹¹ Celia Sankar, “Soaring Scales of the Silver Basin,” *Americas* 49, no. 4 (Jul/August 1997), Accessed electronically through Academic Search Premier (18 July 2009), np.

¹² “Beach Boys,” *Virgin Encyclopedia of Popular Music*, ed. Carl Larkin (Brentwood: Muse, 2002), 87.

Tropical drink melting in your hand,
We'll be falling in love
To the rhythm of a steel drum band,
Down in Kokomo"

A small steel drum ensemble accompanies certain parts of this song, which otherwise features a saxophone solo, drum set, synthesizers, electric guitars and other American band staple instruments. Also notable in the lyrics is the equal treatment imposed upon all of the places mentioned in the song (Aruba, Bermuda, Jamaica, etc.). This corroborates the ideas discussed above regarding the media representations of the islands of the Caribbean as interchangeable, when in fact there are differences among all of these islands.

The concept of something resembling a uniform Caribbean where the islands are transposable is also reflected in the idea that the music of the steel pan is uniformly represented by the 'Caribbean music' of calypso and reggae. Audiences expect that because the steel drum is from the Caribbean, the music generally played on it in the United States accurately represents a conglomerate, uniform Caribbean identity that in reality does not exist. According to interviews with several of the musicians profiled in this thesis, many audiences fail to recognize that the steel drum is used to play a wide variety of music and rather than serving as a means of expressing a "Caribbean" identity, the pan instead serves as a means for the performer to demonstrate his or her own identity as a musician.

1.2 THE DIVERSE ROOTS AND CULTURE OF THE CARIBBEAN

The specific and limiting label of 'Caribbean culture' that can constrict the steel pan is based largely on the information disseminated by media representations and marketing techniques. The

cultures that exist in the Caribbean are the products of the interactions of people from four different continents: Africa, India, South America, and Europe. People came to the Caribbean from Africa through the slave trade. Once the slave trade was phased out, the indentured servant system brought people from India to the Caribbean. European colonizers as well as the South Americans who first inhabited these islands of the Caribbean led to this heterogeneous mix of people from many places living in the same place. As people came to the region, they brought with them their cultural traditions, including music by means of melodies, rhythmic patterns, and instruments. Gradually the music of the Caribbean began to mix the musical ideas and instruments of these four different groups of people together into new musical styles.

The musical roots of the steel pan and the ‘Caribbean music’ many expect to hear played are equally diverse to the people who live in the Caribbean.¹³ It seems that reggae, calypso, soca, and reggaeton have come to represent the Caribbean as a whole, although the genres developed on different countries within the Caribbean and variations on these genres exist among the different islands. The people living on the various islands are not part of one uniform ‘Caribbean country’ and the music that they play is not the exclusive showcasing of a conglomerate ‘Caribbean identity’ that unites multiple countries into one overarching mass culture. This type of conglomeration and generalization of these musical genres fails to recognize not only the array of music that the pan is used to play (jazz versus calypso versus classical) but also the distinct differences that give a calypso piece in Trinidad a different sound from one heard in St. John.

¹³ Peter Manuel, *Caribbean Currents* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), 2-3.

1.3 THE PAN BEYOND THE CARIBBEAN: PITTSBURGH, THE STEEL CITY

Pan musicians are not tied to the use of the steel drum as an expression of a media-constructed ‘Caribbean identity.’ While some pan musicians still perform what many consider to be ‘Caribbean music,’ others are working to promote the pan in musical genres outside of reggae and calypso. In such contexts, the steel pan becomes the vehicle for the demonstration of the self-perceptions of the performing *individual*, as developed by his or her exposure to certain styles of music and life experiences, rather than an attempted expression of a broader ‘Caribbean identity’ to represent a large group of people. Such performances are heard from several different groups in the metropolitan Pittsburgh area where a surprisingly active steel drum community is present. Musicians in Pittsburgh use the steel pan, an instrument that is so firmly entrenched in a manufactured Caribbean context, to express their own identities through their musical and cultural performances. In such contexts, the musicians’ reception and success is influenced by the musical and cultural views surrounding the steel drum as perceived by their middle class American audiences.

Steel pans are played in Pittsburgh and the surrounding areas by a variety of people with various musical and ethnic roots, which has led to a diverse steel drum community. Performers include people born in the Caribbean that have relocated to Pittsburgh, junior high students in several schools in the metropolitan Pittsburgh area, and white American graduates of nearby West Virginia University. All of these musicians offer different musical ideas expressed through the same medium: the steel pan.

1.3.1 The Demographics of Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh is a city of ethnic diversity, evident in the number of ethnically-centered neighborhoods around the city and the corresponding musical activity that accompanies them. Certain areas of the city still claim large populations of generational Italian-Americans, Polish-Americans, and Jewish people; 4.1% of the city's residents were born outside of the United States and 8.4% of homes speak languages other than English.^{14,15} Pittsburgh does not, however, have significant Caribbean populations. Just 1.4% of the population claims Hispanic or Latino heritage.¹⁶ Miami and New York City, both known for their active steel drum scenes,¹⁷ have 27% and 65.8% of their populations, respectively, claiming a similar heritage.¹⁸ Despite this lack of people in Pittsburgh who claim Hispanic or Latino roots, the steel drum in Pittsburgh is played by a number of people.¹⁹ The presence of two pan builders in the Pittsburgh area, however, mitigates the disparity of Caribbean ethnic claims between Pittsburgh, New York City, and Miami, and helps to support the growth of the active pan scene in Pittsburgh.

Because of the general lack of Caribbean immigrants, Pittsburgh is an ideal location to examine the issue of the reception and adaptation of the steel drum. The area surrounding Pittsburgh and the city itself has developed as an area that is home to many steel pan musicians. Pittsburgh's appeal as a venue for examining the use of the pan is broader than just the presence

¹⁴ U.S. Census Bureau, "State and County Quickfacts." <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/> (accessed July 14, 2009).

¹⁵ Cities such as Buffalo (4.4% and 12.4%, respectively), Cleveland (4.5% and 11.9%, respectively), and Philadelphia (9.0% and 17.7%, respectively) have somewhat higher percentages than Pittsburgh.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ See Ray Allen and Les Slater, "Steel Pan Grows in Brooklyn: Trinidadian Music and Cultural Identity," in *Island Sounds in the Global City*, ed. R. Allen and L. Wilcken (Brooklyn: New York Folklore Society, 1998), 114-137; Gave Averill, "Pan Is We Ting: West Indian Steelbands in Brooklyn," in *Musics of Multicultural America: A Study of Twelve Musical Communities*, ed. K. Kornell and A. Rasmussen (New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1997), 101-29; and Ho, 2005 for more information about these steel pan communities.

¹⁸ U.S. Census Bureau, "State and County Quickfacts." <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/> (accessed July 14, 2009).

¹⁹ It should be noted, however, that the steel drum scene is still much larger in both New York City and Miami and few people outside of Pittsburgh seem to be aware of the steel drum activity in the city.

of pan musicians. Pittsburgh has a great diversity of white and black residents, as well as a mix of blue-collar and white-collar workers. This diversity of race and class in Pittsburgh offers a chance for a case study based on ethnographic examination of the general reception of the steel drum as an instrument for performing not just a 'Caribbean identity' but also how the identity performed by the individual performer.

Pittsburgh is known as a city that largely consists of working class citizens, however recent years have shown a shift to a larger number of white-collar workers. Prior to the 1980s, the majority of its occupants worked in factories, particularly in steel mills, which led to Pittsburgh's nickname of the "Steel City." After the steel boom began to fade, industries that had previously played only a secondary role in providing jobs began to support the livelihood of a larger percentage of the city's residents.²⁰ New jobs developed in the medical and academic industries after the world-renowned University of Pittsburgh Medical Center (UPMC) began attracting researchers and doctors from around the country. College students began to attend the University of Pittsburgh, Duquesne University, and Carnegie Mellon University (CMU) in larger numbers and so professors and their families also relocated to Pittsburgh.

Jobs in these medical and academic institutions have become the mainstay for a majority of those that reside in Pittsburgh and according to the 2000 census, 26.2% of the nearly 335,000 residents of the city have a bachelor's degree or higher diploma.²¹ This is generally a higher percentage of college graduates as compared to other cities in this part of the United States,

²⁰ Sabina Detrick, "The Post Industrial Revitalization of Pittsburgh: Myths and Evidence," *Community Development Journal* 34, no. 1 (1999), 5.

²¹ U.S. Census Bureau, "State and County Quickfacts" <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/> (accessed July 14, 2009). Information also corresponds with that available at SOCDS Census Data Retrieval website <http://socds.huduser.org/Census/screen1.odt?metro=cbsa> (accessed July 30, 2009).

including Philadelphia (17.9% of approximately 1.5 million residents), Buffalo (18.3% of nearly 293,000 residents), and Cleveland, (11.4% of 478,000 residents).

The influx of those working in the fields of medicine and education living in the Pittsburgh area has not led to an overall increase in the white-collar population in Pittsburgh, as people from these types of jobs continue to move out of the area. However it has slowed the outmigration from Pittsburgh, providing employment opportunities for those who otherwise might be forced to seek jobs in other cities. Table 1 and Table 2 provide the breakdown of the percentages by race the Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Cleveland, and Philadelphia. While Buffalo, Cleveland, and Philadelphia all saw significant percentage changes of white populations from 1980 to 2000 (17.8%, 13.5%, and 14.6% respectively), Pittsburgh's percentage decrease was much smaller, at just 7.4%. This middle-class population is the primary target of the marketing efforts of the tourism industry and thus they are perhaps more likely to have preconceived notions regarding the firm placement of the steel pan into an artificially developed 'Caribbean

Table 1. White Population Percentages by City²²

Year	Buffalo	Cleveland	Philadelphia	Pittsburgh
1980	69.6	52.3	57.1	74.3
1990	63.2	48.0	52.2	71.5
2000	51.8	38.8	42.5	66.9

²² Percentages in this table do not add to 100% due to the presence of other race categories as well. Information for this table was taken from the State of the Cities Data Systems (SOCDS) website <http://socds.huduser.org/Census/screen1.odt?metro=cbsa> (accessed July 30, 2009).

Table 2. Black Population Percentages by City²³

Year	Buffalo	Cleveland	Philadelphia	Pittsburgh
1980	26.3	43.5	37.5	23.9
1990	30.4	46.3	39.5	25.7
2000	36.6	50.5	42.6	27.0

music.’ Largely because of the impact of the fields of medicine and secondary education, Pittsburgh has maintained a large, educated (and therefore most likely middle-class), white population.

The relatively high percentage of residents that possess a college degree has led to a wealth of cultural venues. Music in the city flourishes alongside the well-known sports teams of the Steelers, the Pirates, and the Penguins. Numerous venues for the visual, musical, and theatrical arts exist in the area of the city known as the Cultural District. The musical and arts programs at the three major universities within the city also produce many musical performances and CMU and University of Pittsburgh offer programs for musical composition. Performance opportunities for local bands and performers are also present in bars and clubs throughout the city and the surrounding areas. New places such as Little E’s Jazz Club and Your Inner Vagabond²⁴ have developed along with the standbys of CJ’s, Ava, Backstage Bar, and Gullifty’s. This type of musical foundation has helped to support the spread of and interest in the steel pan

²³ Percentages in this table do not add to 100% due to the presence of other race categories as well. Information for this table was taken from the State of the Cities Data Systems (SOCDS) website <http://socds.huduser.org/Census/screen1.odt?metro=cbsa> (accessed July 30, 2009).

²⁴ At the initial time of the writing of this thesis, this coffeehouse was still open, however as of November 2009, Your Inner Vagabond closed.

in Pittsburgh and the surrounding areas. It does not explain, however, the direct cause of the beginning of the steel pan movement in Pittsburgh.

1.3.2 Pan builders in Pittsburgh: A centrifugal force in the creation of Pittsburgh's steel pan scenes

What led to the development of steel drum activity in Pittsburgh, a city that lacks a sizable Caribbean or Latin American immigrant population to support what many consider to be an ethnic music? A possible answer to this lies in the presence of two well-known and influential pan builders living in the area: Phil Solomon, who lives in Pittsburgh, and Ellie Mannette, who lives in Morgantown, West Virginia, approximately seventy-five miles south of Pittsburgh. Because of the specialization required to make them, craftsmen dedicate themselves to the creation of these instruments and steel pans are not instruments that are readily available in typical music stores. The presence of dedicated pan builders who can supply these handmade instruments is imperative for the growth of pan music in any given location. Solomon's business, Solomon Steelpan Company and Mannette's company, Mannette Steel Drums, and the craftsmen employed by these businesses produce the pans that are played by many musicians in the Pittsburgh area and throughout the United States.

Both Mannette and Solomon have also helped to begin steel band programs not only around Pittsburgh and Morgantown, but also in other parts of the country. Both pan builders have played an active role in promoting the expansion of the pan into the United States, influencing new generations of pan musicians. Mannette, considered by many to be the creator of

the modern steel pan, came to New York City in 1967²⁵ and currently lives in Morgantown, West Virginia. Besides the work he has done as a pan builder, Mannette also worked with West Virginia University (WVU) to develop a steel drum ensemble that encourages pan players at the collegiate level as part of the world music program at WVU. Many of the apprentice pan builders active in Mannette Steel drums have branched out and begun their own businesses. Some of the pan builders have remained in the area while others moved elsewhere in the country, spreading Mannette's ideas. Phil Webster, a pan player with the Pittsburgh-based band Resonance, purchased his pans from Alan Coyle, a former apprentice of Mannette who now works in Florida.²⁶ Phil Solomon has had a direct impact on many of the pan musicians living in Pittsburgh, supplying the pans for Verna Crichlow's band Caribbean Vibes and for the steel band at the Frick I.S.A.²⁷ School. Solomon has also built pans for school groups across the country, helping to start steel bands in Michigan, supplying them with the necessary drums to allow the ensembles to grow and develop in their communities. This expands the exposure of audiences to steel drums when they might otherwise not have access to hearing and seeing the instruments first-hand.

Mannette and Solomon, through their own efforts to create pans for school ensembles of various ages, have created a new audience of people to not only listen to the music knowledgeably, but also to produce it themselves. While the role of pan builders and their influence on pan scenes in the United States has largely gone unmentioned in current literature,²⁸

²⁵ Janine Tiffé, "The Arrival of Steel Pan in the United States," *Percussive Notes* 10 (June 2007): 11.

²⁶ Phil Webster, interview by the author, digital recording. September 17, 2008.

²⁷ As of the 2009-2010 school year, the Frick I.S.A. school has relocated to the area of Pittsburgh known as Shadyside and will have an official re-naming in the near future. The school has switched to an International Baccalaureate program, however the steel bands still exist. Because the school has no official new name, the school will be called Frick I.S.A. throughout this paper.

²⁸ It should be noted that the exception to this are profiles of early pan builders as well as many articles about Ellie Mannette. The direct link of pan builders to stronger steel pan scenes in their general vicinity are not addressed.

it is very apparent that the presence of these two men in close proximity to Pittsburgh has had a very strong impact on the developing pan scene in the area.

1.4 THE STEEL DRUM AS AN EDUCATIONAL TOOL IN SCHOOL CURRICULUMS

The world music program at West Virginia University (WVU), founded with the help of Ellie Mannette, is one of several hundred schools from the elementary level to the collegiate level in the United States that offer students the opportunity to performance in a steel drum ensemble.^{29,30} Slightly more than fifty of those ensembles are found in colleges and universities. The program at WVU was developed in the early 1990s, originally as a means for students to learn to play, teach, and build steel pans, through collaboration between the WVU music department and Mannette.³¹ Music education graduates of the program learn how to start steel pan ensembles in the primary and secondary schools in which they teach.³² To begin these programs, these teachers order sets of drums from local pan builders, which lead to new, younger generations of pan players in public and private schools. In addition to those that have become teachers, some of the graduates of WVU's world music program have settled in Pittsburgh and have brought their steel pans with them, forming new ensembles that perform around the area.

²⁹ J. Marc Svaline, "Ellie Mannette: Master of the Steel Drum," *Teaching Music* 8, no. 6 (2001), 46-49.

³⁰ Although WVU featured a very high-profile pan builder, the first collegiate steelband was actually started Illinois University in 1973. See Mike Ceaser, "The Steel Drum Works Its Magic," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (September 16, 2005), available electronically <http://chronicle.com/weekly/v52/i04/04a04401.htm> (accessed September 28, 2008) for more information.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Phil Solomon complained in an interview with the author that a teacher he assisted in teaching the steel band did not have any training in teaching the steel drum and was unable to understand how to best teach the instrument to students.

Other music teachers who were exposed to steel drums while in middle school or high school also start steel bands. Although Ken Schrader attended Duquesne University (a school that does not have a steel drum program) for his music education degree, Ken drew from his steel drum performance opportunities as a high school student at Washington High School and continued playing in Phil Solomon's steel band Steel Impressions. Upon being hired at Frick International Studies Academy (I.S.A.) School, Ken has worked to increase the steel drum activity at the school.³³ Frick I.S.A., located in the area of Pittsburgh known as Oakland (also home to the University of Pittsburgh and Carnegie Mellon University campuses) is one example of a school in the Pittsburgh area that has an active steel pan program. Ken Schrader began the program at Frick with two of his own drums. Since that time, the band has grown to a total of seventeen instruments, with a total of six bands at the school. The steel bands at Frick play at a variety of concerts, including concerts for parents and other community members. Parents and families account for the vast majority of those in attendance at the concerts. Members of the audiences that might not otherwise be exposed to steel drums in Pittsburgh gain further awareness of the steel drum and its role in music in Pittsburgh.

In addition to discussing the role of the steel pan in the school community, it is also important to examine how the instrument is viewed within the music program of the school, especially in the case of schools that have a steel band as part of the curriculum or as an afterschool activity. These teaching methods not only result in the performances that people hear, but also affect how the students perceive the instruments and their future playing.

Many of the students in steelbands in the United States have learned about the pan and how to play it in an academic setting. When learning how to play in a school-setting, the method

³³ Ken Schrader, interview by the author, digital recording. November 3, 2008.

of learning is largely prescribed by how the teacher instructs the ensemble. Ken Schrader, for instance, learned how to play the pan by reading music in Western five-line staff notation while learning to play at Washington (Pennsylvania) High School where he participated in the steel pan program that was started by Phil Solomon. In his classroom, which largely consists of black and white Americans, Ken uses chord symbols and strumming patterns to teach the majority of the band, while the people playing the lead pan read music for the melody.³⁴ Victor Provost, who learned to play the pan by rote while growing up in St. John in the U.S. Virgin Islands, made the decision to teach his students to play by reading notation instead. He stated that he did this largely to validate the instrument in the Western music world.³⁵

The issue of how to teach the steel drum reflects issues faced by other “world music” ensembles. The pan was originally taught in Trinidad and Tobago by rote.³⁶ James Morford summarizes the ideas as proposed by Robert Chappell regarding why rote is a primary method of instructing students of the pan in Trinidad but not in the United States is. Morford states, “while the rote method employed in Trinidad encourages a more thorough understanding of the music, the limited amount of rehearsal time in collegiate ensembles in the United States makes it impractical as a primary mode instruction.”³⁷ Ken Schrader mentioned that his greatest difficulty with the Frick I.S.A. Steel Bands is trying to teach them in the limited time provided during their weekly rehearsal. Ken uses written music to instruct his students, however, because many of his students do not read music, he provides all but the lead pan players with lead sheets for each song.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Victor Provost, interview by the author, digital recording, October 29, 2008.

³⁶ James B. Morford, “A Study of the Pedagogy of Selected Non-Western Musical Traditions in Collegiate World Music Ensembles.” MA thesis, West Virginia University (2007), 14.

³⁷ Ibid, 14.

In recent years, a wider American audience has been exposed to steel drums through the media. This may be tied to the new emphasis on multiculturalism as shown in the media, schools, programming and advertising since the early twentieth century.³⁸ The development of a broader understanding and acceptance of different cultures has been a direct result of this initiative that has transformed itself throughout the century. Multiculturalism has been especially emphasized in schools, dating back to the 1960s and the impact of the Civil Rights Movement on the development of an acceptance of the racial differences that divided the United States at that time.³⁹ The education of students with regards to multiculturalism has been embraced by many of the national teaching organizations, including MENC: the National Association for Music Education. One of the nine teaching standards endorsed by MENC as a necessary component of music education is “understanding music in relation to history and culture.”⁴⁰

As demonstrated above, multiculturalism as a policy in the United States is reflected in general music classrooms and is supported and encouraged through teaching standards on the national and state levels. Evidence of multiculturalism is also evident through the introduction of various “ethnic” non-Western instrumental ensembles in public schools. For many types of music from around the world, including steel pan music, this added emphasis brings additional attention to a music that might otherwise fall by the wayside due to the emphasis on classical music in formal music education. Introducing world music at an earlier age develops a younger audience that is more accepting of non-Western instruments and is eager to learn more. This knowledge can be passed on to students in the classroom through a history course or music, through performance opportunities in specialized ensembles, or through the wider community.

³⁸ Patricia Shehan Campbell, “Music Education in a Time of Cultural Transformation,” *Music Educators Journal* 89, no. 1 (September 2002), 28.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ MENC <http://www.menc.org/resources/view/national-standards-for-music-education> (accessed June 14, 2009).

1.3 MULTICULTURALISM'S INFLUENCE ON FESTIVAL PROGRAMMING

Festivals have played a prominent role in the increase in awareness of Europeans and North Americans in the role of the steel drum in music from Trinidad and Tobago, as well as from other Caribbean islands. Festivals highlighting select heritages occur around the city of Pittsburgh, including days devoted to the celebration of various countries at Kennywood, a local amusement park, the Greek Food Festival held in the area of the city known as Oakland, and the annual Irish and Italian festivals held in downtown Pittsburgh. These festivals, which include food, cultural exhibits, and music, reach outside of traditional school classrooms where students might learn, into community events where a larger audience consisting of a variety of ages is exposed. Cultural events in Pittsburgh, in addition to highlighting cultural practices and foods of the celebrated nationalities, also recognize the importance of the art and music from other parts of the world as well. This is demonstrated by the prominence of musical performances at the above events.

It is not necessary for a festival to be focused solely on music or even on a particular ethnicity for audiences to have an opportunity to gain a larger appreciation of the music related to the culture that is highlighted by the festival. Even general cultural festivals such as a broader arts festival offer the opportunity to highlight music. One recent example of a broader cultural festival in Pittsburgh is the annual Three Rivers Arts Festival, held this year during the second and third weeks of June 2009. There, steel drums were showcased in two different venues. A tent sponsored by a local radio station focused on provided the opportunity for children to be exposed to the steel drums. This tent featured performances by Verna's Caribbean Vibes. There, information about the cultural roots of the pan in Trinidad and Tobago was interspersed with a

performance of a variety of music by the steelband. Solomon Steelpan was in a second tent as a vendor. This tent had several instruments available for people to play and had a constant crowd



Figure 1. Solomon Steelpan Tent at the Three Rivers Arts Festival.⁴¹

of people experimenting with and getting a closer look at the drums. Information about the steel pan was also available on handouts for people to take to learn more. Live events such as these offer the opportunity for communities to not only hear but experience the steel pans in person, leading to a much larger audience for the musicians playing these instruments. In the case of steel drums, this has led to the exposure of a larger audience to this instrument in Pittsburgh that did not exist previously.

⁴¹ Photograph taken by the author on Saturday, June 6, 2009 at the Three Rivers Arts Festival in downtown Pittsburgh.

1.4 WORLD MUSIC AND THE PAN: CONTEXTUALIZING THE STEEL DRUM WITHIN U.S. RECORDING INDUSTRIES

Both formal (through teaching in the classroom) and informal (through festivals that focus on a particular culture) multicultural education in the United States and the awareness it fosters has contributed to an increased interest among the general population in the genre known as ‘world music.’ The increase of interest generated through music education initiatives as well as festivals that recognize and celebrate “world music” Steel drums have been placed into the ‘Caribbean music’ genre within the broader ‘world music’ category. This genre of ‘Caribbean music’ is problematic, as discussed earlier in this paper. However, it is still used and helps to perpetuate limit the steel pan to the genre of Caribbean and ‘world music.’

This amalgamation of disparate cultures is common to the "world music" industry that aims to identify a target audience based on generic genres. Tad Lathrop's book *This Business of Global Music Marketing*, is geared towards explaining how to market music to a world-wide audience and includes advice on this subject for budding music entrepreneurs. He states that one of the most challenging aspects of marketing music for a global audience is identifying the specific listener to whom the music would appeal and that targeting the best audience for the music is a “largely elusive goal.”⁴² Marketing and organizing music into these genres of music is in fact highly subjective, largely because nearly all music is a blend of many different ideas from music with diverse geographical locations. Music catalogers have had difficulty assigning strict genre (and thus subject headings) to identify sound recordings from Trinidad and Tobago, largely because of the blend of cultures present (East Indian, Afro Trinidadian, and blends of

⁴² Tad Lathrop, *This Business of Global Music Marketing*. (New York: Billboard Books, 2007): 16.

these and others) and the resulting mix of musics from these cultures that leads to non-distinct categories.⁴³ Soca (a combination of soul and calypso), raga soca, and rapso are just some of these hybrid genres.⁴⁴

Lathrop also states that music should be categorized by a variety of features including the related genres, the “featured instrument,” and the “moods” associated with the music.⁴⁵ In this vein of thought, recordings of the steel drum would be categorized as calypso or reggae, steel drum, and perhaps “fun,” “upbeat,” and “relaxing.” It is through marketing techniques such as these that the recording industry helps to cement audience’s perception of the steel drum’s exclusive place in music associated with this idea of a constructed Caribbean and ‘Caribbean music.’

In Jocelyne Guilbault's words, "the orientation of a music industry cannot be presented as a matter of pure choice (aesthetic or otherwise), but must be recognized as embodied in power relations, historical contingencies and ad hoc circumstances."⁴⁶ The purpose of marketing these “world music” and “Caribbean” genres is to develop an audience’s expectations for a particular type of music associated with certain instruments. The effectiveness of such marketing has affected not only the recording industry, but audiences of live performances as well.

⁴³ Lorraine M. Nero, “Classifying the Popular Music of Trinidad and Tobago” *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 42, no. 3/4 (2006), 120.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 122.

⁴⁵ Lathrop, 17.

⁴⁶ Joycelyne Guilbault, "The Politics of Calypso in a World of Music Industries," in *Popular Music Studies*, ed. David Hesmondhalgh and Keith Negus (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 192.

1.4.1 The Expectations of Audiences and the Factors Impacting their Perceptions of Musicians

For musicians seeking to support themselves through their art, audience support is crucial. Without wider exposure through performance opportunities that draw audiences of some magnitude, it is significantly challenging (if not impossible) for a musician to support himself or herself through performance alone. The type of music any musician plays, whether in a band or solo, can greatly impact the audience's reception not only of the musician and music they are hearing at that time, but future encounters with similar music and instruments. Phil Webster of Resonance, said that when people encounter the steel drum there is still a sense of exoticness to it, "...probably because they don't really understand what it is. Almost everyone equates steel drums with their Caribbean vacation...I don't think that there's that stigma of seriousness attached to it. They kind of get away with being serious and people are still thinking they're having fun."⁴⁷ The audience's pre-conceived notions of the type of music that they expect to hear (possibly based on the venue they are visiting, the type(s) of instruments that are being played, the ethnicity of the performer(s), etc.) and how those constructed ideas impact the reception of the performing musicians are important to consider.

The audience, although theoretically looked at as one unit in many popular music studies, actually consist of many people, each with his or her own thoughts, expectations, and prior experiences. Still, it is possible to examine the factors that may generally influence members of the audience, leading to a total effect. The venue, for example, can have a strong influence on the type of music an audience expects to hear. At Little E's, a jazz club in downtown Pittsburgh

⁴⁷ Webster interview, 2008.

where Victor Provost performed several times, it would be surprising to hear music outside of the realm of jazz or blues. A band performing heavy metal music at a folk festival would most likely have trouble gaining audience support, despite the fact that they might be well-respected in other venues that regularly feature heavy metal bands.

For music that does not easily fit into just one category (a group that plays global jazz fusion, for example, that uses elements from a variety of musical genres), it is possible that the success of the musicians may be dictated by the venues at which they play and how well the music played fits into the schemata of the people in attendance. Phil Webster commented that his band Resonance has had difficulty with the reception of their music based on the stage on which they perform. “A lot of times at music festivals it seems like the presenter doesn't understand which stage we fit on. Like we probably fit better on the jazz stage, but they have [a] world music stage [so we play there]...it [the music Resonance performed] was so different that people...[were] shocked.”⁴⁸

Non-verbal cues that are gleaned by the audience from the performers also impact how musicians are received. Musicians who look like they are enjoying themselves may have a different reaction from the audience than musicians who are less visual with their emotions. They may show their enjoyment of performing in any number of ways, including through smiling, moving with the music, and interacting with other band members. The dress of the performers may also impact the audience's perception of the music and musicians.⁴⁹

An audience's expectations can also be shaped by its prior knowledge of an instrument or musical genre. For example, an audience would most likely unquestionably accept hearing a

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Stephen B. Groce and John Lynxwiiler, "The Silent Performance: Audience Perceptions of Musicians' Nonverbal Behavior," *Popular Music and Society*, 18, no. 1 (1994), 114-115.

violinist playing a concerto, fiddle tune, or country song, but may be surprised to listen to a violinist improvising as a soloist with a jazz band. In many of these cases, the accepted range of the instrument's genres is limited by the audience's prior exposure to its place in other music.

Audience's expectations about the quality of the performance have a strong impact on how live music is accepted. People expect a professional level ensemble to sound of a higher caliber than an ensemble consisting of school-age children. In the case of steel bands, however, people may have more difficulty discerning the quality of the steel band because they have not been regularly exposed to the music they play and may be measuring the ensemble they are hearing against what they have heard through the media's representations of the steel drum. In Phil Webster's words, "There's [sic] a lot of really bad steel drum bands in the United States. And people really don't—at this point don't know the difference between a bad band and a good band. Until they hear you play. I think a lot of times they think you're going to be like one of those bad bands and then you play and they're like, 'Whoa, this is not what I was expecting to hear.'"⁵⁰

Based on my research in Pittsburgh, one can argue that many of the American audience expectations for the music played by steel drums have been shaped by the media portrayal of the steel drum as an instrument that only plays Caribbean musical styles such as reggae and calypso. Musicians that play "atypical" steel drum music or use the steel drum to play different types of music have a difficult time fully engaging the audience because of this. Audiences have come to expect to hear the type of music that for them has become the standard for performance on the steel pan due to their limited exposure to the use of the steel pan in playing other types of music.

⁵⁰ Webster interview, 2008.

1.5 THE STEEL DRUM AS A VEHICLE FOR CONSTRUCTING THE SELF AND PERFORMING THE INDIVIDUAL

The appearance of the steel drums in the United States began as a vehicle for those from Trinidad and Tobago to express part of their cultural roots from the islands. Nevertheless, as the drum has been adapted by a larger number of innovative musicians consisting largely of non-native Trinidadian pan performers, the pan has become a means for a different expression: the performing self of the individual musician. The steel pan is a musical instrument that is used to present the identity of the musician playing it, an idea in direct conflict with the equation of the steel pan and a Caribbean identity. The steel drum is slowly being incorporated by performers into non-Caribbean musical genres, and is used to play a variety of music. This has led to a crossroads of musical cultures that is also impacted by audience expectations for the pan.

Some of the American pan players in performances and interviews may acknowledge the geographic and cultural roots of the steel drum in Trinidad, while others ignore its origins and seek to place it into a new context within music scenes in the United States, thus attempting to present the steel pan as an instrument that is capable of playing all types of music. This shift of musical focus presents a plethora of questions. When an instrument is perceived to have such strong ties to a geographic region, is it possible for it to be separated from its perceived related cultural foundations? Can the instrument be adopted by and understood from within other pre-existing music cultures without the expectation of authenticity to pre-conceived notions of cultural sound? Do the geographical and cultural roots of an instrument matter in its performance? Is it possible for the audience to separate a musician's performing identity from the perceived identity associated with the cultural roots of the musical instrument that is being played? How are musical and cultural identities impacted by the interpretation and perception of

others? These are just some of the questions that arise from this recent adoption of the pan beyond the usual Caribbean music in the United States.

The chapters that follow will focus on four of the many pan players in Pittsburgh. These four examples illustrate the use of steel drums in different ways: one mostly for use in what is generally seen by Americans as “traditional Caribbean steel drum music,” another that combines elements of traditional Caribbean style (such as reggae and calypso rhythms) with other global and jazz influences, and a third who solely plays jazz standards without any direct use of Caribbean influences. The fourth example is a group of steel bands at a local school that assists in bringing recognition of the pan to new audiences. These four examples illustrate various levels of musical fusion, the different places the pan is being played around Pittsburgh and the types of audiences that are exposed to the steel pan.

While much has been written about the history and the development of the steel drum and its role in Trinidad and Tobago (its place of origin),⁵¹ far less has been written about the transfer of the steel drum and its subsequent development and use within music of the United States. The use of the steel drum in music forty years post-transplantation into the United States offers the opportunity to investigate this idea. Through the pan’s migration to the United States, it has come to represent many things to different people, but the primary association is still with a distinct Caribbean identity. Some pan performers are willing to accept and encourage the restraints cultural typecasting place on their performance while others seek to use the pan as an avenue for forming new representations of their own individual identity. These individually constructed selves as displayed through the music that is performed on the pan can be in direct

⁵¹ See Shannon Dudley’s book *Music from Behind the Bridge: Steelband Spirit and Politics in Trinidad and Tobago* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) and Stephen Stuempfle’s book *The Steelband Movement: The Forging of a National Art in Trinidad and Tobago* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995) for more information regarding this.

conflict with the cultural identities previously associated with the instrument. Such diametrically opposed ideas can have a distinct impact on how the music itself is perceived by an audience. To understand how the American-produced idea of a limited Caribbean identity for the steel drums has been developed over time, it is important to begin by looking at the musical roots of the pan in Trinidad.

2.0 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAN

The literature written about the steel pan reflects the violence related to the development of this instrument. The unrest in Trinidad and Tobago that is typically associated with steel pan history actually began in the mid-1800s, before the steel pan was invented. During this time of the British colonization of Trinidad, it was common for music to serve as a means for expressing discontent. Stickfighting (which was related to *kalinda*, a martial art tradition), singing, and drumming were all closely linked during these early years.⁵² The violence escalated in 1834 after the emancipation of slaves.⁵³ Street riots were common, and the British colonists and ruler were alarmed by the larger implications of this and began to fear an uprising. To quell this, drums with skin heads were banned because “in the minds of the English, [skin-headed drums] were associated not only with *kalinda*, but with the arousal of group spirit and rebellion.”⁵⁴

Tambo bamboo bands were popular in Trinidad beginning in the late nineteenth century after drums were banned, and continued to be popular well into the twentieth century. These bands were formed by groups of people who used bamboo as musical instruments, often performing while marching through town hitting bamboo together or by hitting the bamboo on the ground to keep time. As time went on, other percussive instruments were added and tin cans were frequently incorporated into the ensemble. Some sources say that this was due to the fragile

⁵² Dudley, 41.

⁵³ Ibid, 41.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 41.

nature of the bamboo and the ease with which it split while the bands were parading through town⁵⁵ while others say that people would pick up anything laying around on the street to play. Regardless, this incorporation of tin cans into the tamboo bamboo bands can be seen as the progenitor for the development of the steel pan.

Band members began to notice that the tin cans produced different pitches when dented. This led to the intentional denting and tuning of the cans to play actual tones.⁵⁶ Eventually, it was discovered that more pitches could be produced on larger cans. While there is some debate among scholars about the exact starting date for the use of actual oil drums in making the steel pan, it is generally agreed upon that the steel drum in its current form is rooted in music developments dating to the late 1930s and early 1940s. At this time it was discovered that when struck and shaped, empty fifty-five gallon drums that previously held oil could produce many pitches. Many pan builders have stepped forward to claim to have been the first to begin tuning the fifty-five gallon drums due to the competitive nature of pan building, however it has not been ascertained with any certainty who was actually the first to accomplish this task.⁵⁷

The matter of multiple claims of innovations in the development of the steel pan demonstrates some of the issues that have evolved and continue to play an active role in the use of the pan in the present day. The pan was a source of demonstrating personal individuality from its early days. The gangs that first used the pan used it to demonstrate their superiority to other ensembles. Groups had dedicated pan builders who only made instruments for one particular gang. While the gangs themselves sought to be better than the others, the pan builders had similar aspirations, attempting to be the first to refine and develop instruments that showed

⁵⁵ Stuempfle, 31-34.

⁵⁶ Phil Solomon interview by the author, digital recording, March 13, 2009.

⁵⁷ Stuempfle, 37-38.

improvements over the instruments played by the other gangs. Pan builders strove to be the first to produce pans that were capable of not only producing distinct pitches, but that also produced the largest number of pitches on a single instrument. The competition this produced in the early days allowed for the relatively rapid improvements in creating the instruments and also led to disputes as to which pan builder was responsible for various innovations.⁵⁸ The pans became a marker of identity for not only the gangs that played them, but also for the pan builders who produced them. This idea of competition among pan builders was clear when I spoke with Phil Solomon.

Although it is unknown exactly who first began to use the large steel drums, Ellie Mannette is acknowledged by most people (scholars and musicians alike) as the first pan builder to make a drum that was concave instead of convex.⁵⁹ This modification, which first occurred around 1946, allowed for the placement of more pitches on each instrument. The addition of chromatic notes due to this innovation allowed the repertoire of the pans to expand beyond the simple children's songs the pans had previously played. Over time, additional refinements to the tuning process (such as using overtones and harmonics to tune the notes of the pan and later the expanded use of electronic tuning devices), as well as improvements in the process of shaping and tempering the drums have occurred over the last sixty years and have helped develop steel pans into their current form.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 42.

⁵⁹ Shannon Dudley, *From Behind the Bridge* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 64.

2.1 CRAFTING A PAN

Recently during a visit with veteran Pittsburgh panman Phil Solomon, Solomon explained the extensive process of creating pans in great depth. Solomon has created a profession for himself in the Pittsburgh area, as well as filling orders from musicians in other parts of the country. He creates pans for a livelihood and his standalone shop is a testament to the work he has done by creating pans.

Solomon uses forty-five gallon drums that are made specifically for him by a company in Clarion, Pennsylvania. The top and bottom of both ends of the drums are solid, allowing for a maximum of two pans to be made from one barrel, depending on which type of drum is to be



Figure 2. Stacks of steel drums ready to be shaped and cut.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Photograph taken by the author during a tour of Solomon Steelpan Company on March 13, 2009.

made. The first step of the process is called sinking, when the flat ends of the drum are pounded into a concave shape, which develops a five to six inch deep bowl. All of this work is done by hand and care is taken throughout the process to hammer the pan evenly.

A template of where the notes will be placed on the drumhead is then traced with marker onto the drum. While there is no standard placement of the notes for each pan, it has become more common to arrange the notes of the single tenor pan in the circle of fifths, with the lowest note of middle C placed centered on the lowest portion of the drumhead. Shaping is the next step of the process. During this time, each individual note is hammered in to get close to the correct pitch. This part of the process leads to the area for the note being slightly raised, while the metal around is lower than the notes. Once the notes are shaped, the edges of the notes are scribed



Figure 3. Steel drum with template traced onto the head of the pan.⁶¹

⁶¹This photograph demonstrates the second stage of the drum building process, which allows the builder to mark the sections of the drum for each note that will be tuned on the pan. Photograph taken by the author during a tour of Solomon Steelpan Company on March 13, 2009.

(etched) so that it is easier for the player to produce a clean tone of one pitch without reverberation from surrounding notes. After this point of the process, the drum is cut to the correct length (which will be explained shortly) and placed in a furnace that reaches temperatures in excess of 2000 degrees for about five minutes, tempering the drum. Once the drum has adequately cooled, the marker is removed and the outside of the drum (with the exception of the drumhead) is either chrome-plated or painted. This step of the process helps the drum to retain its pitch for longer, as well as providing a coating that protects the instrument so that it is usable for a longer period of time.⁶²

The final step of the process is to tune the pans. While the use of electronic tuners has improved the exact pitches hammered into the drum, tuning is still a tedious process. Because the drumhead is one unit, every time one note is tuned, another note is knocked out of tune. The pan builder must move between the notes, making small adjustments to all of the notes until the entire drum is in tune. Depending on how much they are used, steel pans usually need to be tuned every year or two. Essentially, sound on the pan when it is played is produced through the same actions as tuning the drum: hitting. The drum is played with a rubber-tipped metal stick that produces a warm tone and does not cause the drum to go out of tune as quickly as the use of a wooden or metal stick would.

⁶² Solomon interview, 2009.

2.2 THE PAN ORCHESTRA

Traditional Caribbean steel bands, like the string orchestra, have instruments in a variety of sizes and with different pitch ranges. The lowest pitches are produced by using the full fifty-five gallon or forty-five gallon drum. The set of instruments that are produced from the full drums are called the basses. Because of the low pitch, there are usually only three notes to each drum head. To produce a full range of notes, the basses come in sets of five, six, nine, or twelve drums. The next highest-pitched drums are the cello pans. These instruments, which are about three-quarters of the forty-five gallon steel drum have three or four drums and have more notes per drum (thus resulting in a smaller area for each note to vibrate, leading to higher pitch). Guitar pans usually have two or three drums to a set, with slightly more notes per drum than the cellos. This provides a limited range, but allows the drum to fill in the middle harmonies. These drums are generally half the size of a full drum. The double seconds and double tenors, as the name implies, use two drums, cut so that they are approximately ten inches deep. The double seconds are usually non-chromatic. The double tenors however, are chromatic and are frequently used to double the tenor steel pans on the melody played an octave lower. The tenor steel drum (also known as the lead pan or the “ping-pong” in Trinidad) is a single drum that is slightly shallower than the double seconds. While there are multiple methods of organizing the notes on the pan and no standardized method among different pan builders, the most common arrangement has the drum starting on middle C at the bottom of the drum, and then moves to the right around the circle of fifths. Once the circle of fifths has been completed in the outer ring of the drums, the circle of fifths pattern is replicated in the next ring of the drum, but with notes of a smaller size that correlates to producing notes an octave higher than the outer ring (see Figure 3 for clarification).

The highest notes on the tenor pan may be an E6, F6, or even G6.⁶³ As the pitches on the pan get higher, the size of the area of the drum devoted to the note decreases, making it more difficult to sound the note and get a clear sound. When played together in an ensemble, steel bands produce a sound that has been compared to the playing of an organ, most likely due to the range of notes that are included and the volume of the constant sound coming from hitting the drums with rubber-tipped mallets.⁶⁴

There are several notable factors that lead to a comparison between the steel band and classical music. The names of each drum (cellos, bass, guitar, etc.) demonstrate one of these connections. Despite the roots of the steel pan in the tamboo bamboo music of Trinidad (which were derived from Africa), the names of the instruments are instead mainly derived from traditional instruments of Europe (specifically string instruments). Additionally, the drums are tuned in a way that conforms to playing Western music that is based on diatonic scales. While the notes are not arranged chromatically, all of the notes necessary to play in any of the twelve major or minor keys are present on the lead pan. According to Solomon, the drums were tuned this way because they were *intended* to play diatonic classical music:

On each instrument you have enough notes to produce that chord. Like on the lead, which is like a first violin, you have...thirty notes, sometimes thirty-two notes. And that is a full chromatic scale. So it's easy to play classical music on steel pans because that's what it was created for. The steel pans were created to play classical music. And then it was discovered that it could play everything else.⁶⁵

⁶³ Jeremy Montagu, "Steel Band," in *Oxford Companion to Music*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed April 21, 2009).

⁶⁴ Essentially, this is a cylindrical metal stick with the top half inch coated in rubber.

⁶⁵ Solomon interview, 2009.

In fact, when I visited with Solomon in his shop and he demonstrated the sound of his pans for me, he chose to play “Moonlight Sonata,” not a calypso or reggae melody. The first radio broadcast of the steel pan in Trinidad occurred in 1946 when Mannette performed “Brahms Lullaby” in a transmission that was played across the Caribbean.⁶⁶ In this way, there have been strong attempts since the beginning of the physical refinement of the steel drums to elevate them to a social level that would lend legitimacy to the instrument in the world of music. In addition to classical music, children’s songs such as “Mary Had a Little Lamb” (one of the first songs played on the steel pan⁶⁷) also played a prominent role in the early musical performances of the steel pan.

This connection of the steel pan with classical music, however, is frequently ignored by or perhaps not actively demonstrated to audiences, who thus form the idea that steel drums only play “Caribbean” music such as reggae or calypso. This idea of the place of the steel pan in the classical world was also supported by a comment made by Phil Webster, a founding member of the Pittsburgh-based band Resonance. When asked the kind of music he, a double pan player played while attending West Virginia University, Webster commented that in addition to playing music written specifically for the pan,

We would do a classical arrangement of something...Ellie’s [Mannette] really big on that—“Symphony of Steel”—so we’d always wear tuxedos when we’d play. That was like his thing, the orchestra version of the steel band. Which, I’d love to see eventually some professional steel drum orchestra[s].⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Svaline, 46-49.

⁶⁷ Stuempfle, 41.

⁶⁸ Webster interview, 2008.

It seems, however, that this idea has not spread. The concept of the steel pan as a “Caribbean” instrument has become so entrenched in the minds of Americans. Attempts to divorce the pan from this idea into other, semi-related genres of music have largely been unsuccessful as well. Given the difficulty of audiences accepting the steel pan into these genres, the probability of using the steel pan in an orchestral setting where they would play classical music would be minimal. Instead, the popular idea of steel pans has turned to reflect the place of origin of the instrument and the types of music non-Caribbean people expect to hear from a drum native to a Caribbean country.

2.3 PAN AND CLASS IDENTITY

According to the literature about the steel pan in Trinidad, the early days of the steel pan were marred by a link to the tougher population of Trinidad, in Port of Spain. Steel pan players were frequently seen as troublemakers, whose fierce competition for developing the best steel drums often led to physical fights in the streets. Early pan players were also often associated with gangs, drugs, and a violent street life. This rough beginning led to some hesitation from some people to become involved with an instrument that was traditionally tied to such a lifestyle.⁶⁹ Verna Crichlow, who lived in Tobago until her early twenties, stated that she did not become involved with the pan until she moved to the United States, primarily because she did not want to be linked with the group of people who are seen as the “bad guys” who play in steelbands.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Stuempfle, 62.

⁷⁰ Verna Crichlow, interview by the author, digital recording. September 17, 2008.

I actually had bought a drum [upon moving to Pittsburgh], just to demonstrate, because the steel drum started in the Caribbean—Trinidad and Tobago—and I was born in Tobago, but at that time, the guys who played the steel drums, they were bad guys, so I did not play steel drums.⁷¹

Others have shared this sentiment and attributed this rough beginning for the pan due to its ties to violence to some hesitation from other people in becoming involved with an instrument that was viewed in such a manner.⁷² Because of these problems, the pans became synonymous with a lower class lifestyle of the gangs present in Trinidad and Tobago. Changes were made as the government in Trinidad and Tobago began to see the problems associated with the lack of regulation among the steelbands and the resulting violence. The government worked to provide more regulation during steelband events such as Carnival.⁷³ Corporations began sponsoring steelbands as a means for promotion in competitions such as Carnival, slowly separating gangs and steel drums from the public perception, as gangs were no longer the active sponsors of the competing steelbands. Competition among the bands gradually moved from the street to a focus on performing the best at Carnival and thus winning better corporate sponsorships. The pan-specific event of Panorama where calypso was one of the primary genres was held as part of Carnival and played a role in raising the visibility of the pan to a worldwide level through tourism. Through this platform, steel pans gradually began to play a role in the world's ideas of the culture of Trinidad, developing expectations of the types of music that people would begin to associate with not only Trinidad, but with the steel pan as well. It became more acceptable for people of the middle class to join in the music-making as the pan was gradually separated from its rough beginnings and the negative social stigma associated with it disappeared. Classical

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Stuempfle, 62.

⁷³ Ibid, 63.

music also was frequently heard on the steel pans and a broader audience in Trinidad and Tobago began to accept it.⁷⁴

Because of this gradual divorce of the pan from its rougher beginnings, it has slowly been re-marketed to act as a tourist attraction in the Caribbean for members of the American middle or upper middle class. It is this level of society that has the discretionary funds to spend on travel and cruises, the avenue through which the steel pan is heavily marketed. Travel has become a means for marking the wealth of the middle class of the American society that has sought to prove its identity since the middle of the twentieth century. For the steel pan to be effectively linked with the middle class and the travel that they can afford, it is necessary that the steel pan as an instrument be separated from its early roots in the lower class of Trinidad and Tobago and a new identity of the instrument as a tourist draw and as the national instrument of a tourist friendly “Caribbean” destination.

2.4 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PAN TUNER

The role of the pan builders in Trinidad cannot be overstated. These early innovators who shaped the drum (literally) and developed new innovations that allowed the pan to become more playable and versatile. These early pan builders were frequently the pan musicians who participated in performances. As the process of creating the pans became more detailed, pan builders began to specialize and focus on crafting the best possible pans, often leaving behind the role of public performer.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 84-86.

Ellie Mannette's early days as an innovator in building steel pans were the focus of his career. Without the time he devoted to the instrument and improving it, the pan performance community today would be drastically different and the drums might be very different today. Although Mannette did continue to play at the time, his primary focus shifted towards not only making pans himself, but also training a new generation of pan builders to carry on his legacy. Mannette's career trajectory also demonstrates the role of pan builders in spreading knowledge about the steel pan. Corporate sponsorships in Trinidad's Carnival celebrations helped to bring about new exposure to steel drums. Mannette's inclusion of his name in the name of his company Mannette Steel Drums, linking his name (which is recognizable by many in the steel pan arena) with a clear declaration of what he does serves as a powerful branding. His work at WVU and his efforts to develop his business Mannette Steel Drums also demonstrate his efforts to train new people on the art of crafting the best possible instruments. In addition to the work Mannette has done to promote steel pans in Morgantown, he has also had a role providing drums in communities around the country. Mannette has shaped the direction of the steel pan in not only Pittsburgh, but the rest of the country.

Phil Solomon's role as a pan builder also parallels the history of pan tuners in Trinidad and Tobago. Phil has built pans for both Verna's Caribbean Vibes and Frick I.S.A., as well as for the steelband program at Washington High School, where Ken Schrader, the leader of the Frick steelbands attended school. Additionally, Phil has expanded the steel drum into other communities around the country. Steel Impressions, a band that he started (which Ken also joined) is now in the hands of his daughter. His influence on the development of the pan both through his craftsmanship as a pan builder and his role in exposing the Pittsburgh area to the steel pan are invaluable.

Pan builders in Trinidad and Tobago and pan builders in the United States have both led to the development of the steel pan industry as it exists today. In part due to their efforts to spread information about the pan through performance, but primarily through their craftsmanship and education efforts, the pan community has grown immensely since its start just seventy years ago.

3.0 PRESENTING A “CARIBBEAN” IDENTITY TO AN AMERICAN AUDIENCE

While the previous chapters of this thesis demonstrate that the steel pan has the potential to be separated from its Caribbean roots and developed into an instrument that can be used to play a wide variety of music, some musicians still embrace the “Caribbeanness” of the drum. These musicians use the pan to present an audience in the United States with the concept of the steel drum as a marker of a “Caribbean” identity. Such a demonstration can prove to be effective in gaining the support of the audience because it confirms the marketing of the tourist industry and the music recording industry that has established the steel drum as a direct correlation with a “Caribbean” culture. The steel pan has been marketed to American audiences as a Caribbean instrument that is used to perform a “Caribbean” identity, which has led to the expectation of American audiences to hear steel drums perform what has been defined by the music recording industry as “Caribbean” music. Although this “Caribbean” identity has largely been a media-constructed concept, some musicians in Pittsburgh purposely play to these ideas of the identity of the pan as a marker of “Caribbeanness.”

It is necessary to closely examine the reasons why performers choose to present such a stereotyped identity. Motivations behind such an effort can be vast. Is it an effort to play to the expectations of the audience or is it instead tied to the expression of a personal identity? Could it in fact be some combination of both? Caribbean Vibes (and their Trinidadian founder Verna Crichlow) and the Frick I.S.A. steelbands both conform with the American idea of what a

steelband should sound like, yet the roots of the two ensembles are vastly different and demonstrate differences in the presentation of group identities as presented by the group leader.

3.1 FROM TOBAGO TO THE UNITED STATES:

VERNA AND HER “CARIBBEAN” IDENTITY⁷⁵

Verna Crichlow and her Caribbean Vibes are just one of the Pittsburgh-area musicians who have purchased drums from Phil Solomon. Caribbean Vibes (or Verna’s Caribbean Vibes as it is also known) has performed in the Pittsburgh area since 1988. The ensemble has risen to a relatively high level of recognition in the community and their twentieth anniversary concert event was well attended by not only friends and family, but the public at large. Prior to the event, Caribbean Vibes was featured on a local television station, where they performed their usual Caribbean music selections. While there has been some fluctuation of the group members in the band, Verna Crichlow, the founder of the group, has remained a constant presence, guiding and directing the band’s musical selections.

As a young adult in Tobago, Crichlow had been aware of the steel pan, but was reluctant to learn how to play because of the poor reputation of the pan players. Having grown up in Tobago during time of the pan's association with gangs and violence, Verna was hesitant to play the pan there. This negative street identity of the pan, however, was not part of the cultural transfer of the pan to the United States, and thus when she moved to Pittsburgh after getting married, Verna felt free to learn to play it. Verna explains that her primary reason to learn how to

⁷⁵ Unless otherwise notes, the information for this section of the paper is taken from an interview conducted by the author of this paper with Verna Crichlow on October 21, 2008.

play was to take part in the multiculturalism pride present in Pittsburgh and to help spread awareness of Trinidadian culture in the city through her performance on the steel pan. In Verna's words,

I actually had bought a drum just to demonstrate, because the steel drum started in the Caribbean—Trinidad and Tobago—and I was born in Tobago...as I came to Pitt, and Pittsburgh had a lot of diversity, culture, multicultural things going on, I thought wow, it would be a good opportunity to demonstrate the steel drum...Actually I had asked someone else to do it and then there were times when they were disappointing; they wouldn't show up or were late and then I thought to myself, 'maybe I should just try to play' and what I did, I found the notes on the drum and I started to play."⁷⁶

Verna was able to learn the pan fairly quickly because of her musical background on the piano, and taught her four children how to play the steel pan. Once they had learned, the family formed the band Caribbean Vibes and began to perform publicly. The band (which now consists of mostly non-family members) often plays around the Pittsburgh area for a variety of public events such as local cultural and arts festivals and private events, such as church festivals and private parties. In addition to establishing Caribbean Vibes as a known steelband in the area, Verna has also worked as a host on a radio station for a radio show called "Calypso Rhythms," which she hosted on WYEP-FM for many years. There, Verna exposed her audience to a variety of music, where she played her own selections of reggae, calypso, and soca.⁷⁷

While watching performances of Caribbean Vibes, the cultural ideas they present are demonstrated both aurally and visually. The group wears what people may think of as "traditional" Caribbean clothing with bright, festive colors and prints in what can be seen as a "tropical theme" during performances. From the audience's first perception of the group based

⁷⁶ Critchlow interview, 2008.

⁷⁷ Ann Butler, "Voice of the Islands" in *The Pittsburgh Press*, C5, Saturday, April 18, 1992.

on visual representation, Caribbean Vibes exudes what the white- and blue-collar non-Caribbean audience of Pittsburgh would expect of a strong Caribbean identity, as based on the “Caribbean” identity that has been presented to them through various tourism and music industry marketing.⁷⁸ Even the name of the ensemble is a marketing tool to lead the audience's expectations of an ensemble playing “Caribbean” music. The music that Caribbean Vibes plays reflects their choice of representing Trinidad in a way that is expected by their audiences, mainly playing songs that are from Trinidad and the rest of the Caribbean or songs that are popular songs in the United



Figure 4. Crichlow (in hat) and two members of her band playing at the Three Rivers Arts Festival.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ It is probable that this ideology of expectations of dress in the Caribbean for most audience members is not from first-hand observation while visiting the Caribbean but is instead most likely based on the representation of Trinidadians in pop culture through television, movies, art, and music that have reached a global audience, in addition to the vast tourism marketing that has been targeted to middle class Americans who have the means and the time to travel to places that seem “exotic.” Additionally, the music industry has also played a role in the marketing of a “Caribbean” style of brightly printed tropical shirts and palm trees. Album covers of not only steelbands, but also of calypso and reggae music often feature such illustrations or pictures of musicians that conform with these advertised ideas.

⁷⁹ Photograph taken by the author in downtown Pittsburgh on June 6, 2009.

States and are associated with having a relaxed and fun time. Caribbean Vibes' set list and CD includes "Under the Boardwalk," "Sloop John B" (and other American classics), "Day-O," "Brown Girl in the Ring," and "Jamaican Farewell." Although the band generally uses a drum set and an electric bass (for reasons of convenience of transportation), the band also includes two single tenor pans, occasionally a set of double tenors, one or two sets of guitars, one set of cellos, and a vocalist who also plays maracas, cabasa, and tambourine. The carefree, laidback feeling that many associate with Bob Marley and Caribbean music in general can be heard throughout many of their songs.

The music of Caribbean Vibes has a tendency to draw audiences in to listen to their music. At the recent Three Rivers Arts Festival held in Pittsburgh in June 2009, Caribbean Vibes played in a small tent, with three dozen or so chairs set out for the audience. Even before they played, the tent was filled to capacity, but it was noticeable that when the band began to play (including Bob Marley favorites of "No Woman No Cry" and "Three Little Birds"), additional people began to come in from outside, crowding around the open borders of the tent. Many people sang along with the lyrics while dancing, clapping, and moving along with the music. The crowd seemed to be energized by the music. This may have been due to the nature of the music and the audience's excitement with the collection of familiar and popular songs that Caribbean Vibes played.

For most of the arrangements of the songs Caribbean Vibes plays (both live and on their CD), the tenor pan plays the melody, with or without the singer joining in with the lyrics. The rest of the band supplies the larger harmonic structure, rhythmic support (the guitar pans, for instance, take on a role similar to that of the rhythm guitar in a traditional rock band), and occasional direct harmonies with the melody. The songs tend to be straightforward with minimal

improvisation on the melody as played by the tenor pan. In sections that do call for a solo, the lead pan generally plays the same melody with only slight rhythmic modifications, vastly different from the fluid melodic improvisation exhibited by Victor Provost in his performances. This general performance style of Caribbean Vibes is consistent across the vast majority of the band's songs.

Caribbean Vibes generally has a melodically weaker sound than either the Frick I.S.A. steelband or Resonance Percussion. The focus of the ensemble is Verna and her tenor steel pan and the music reflects this. Verna is the only musician playing the melody with many people supplying harmonies. While she can be heard over the harmonies and rhythmic counterparts, the large disparity between the number of people that play the harmony and the melody leads to the result of an unbalanced band. Verna and her pan take a very clear place as the leader of the group. The result is that the group sounds more like a soloist pan player and vocalist accompanied by a group of "back-up" pans. While the rhythm of the music is generally driving, the music is not very tight in the harmonic changes and there are frequently some missed notes, both in the melody and the harmony. The sustaining rolls of the notes on the lead pan are generally looser and gaps develop between the notes of the melodies. The audience, however, is more focused on the energy of the group and the enjoyment of listening to songs that they know on what is still a relatively novel instrument. Concerns about the quality of the music play a secondary role to the idea of an escape through the "tropical sounding" music.

In many ways, Caribbean Vibes fulfills many of the expectations the audiences in Pittsburgh have regarding what a Caribbean steelband should sound and look like. Their visual and aural representation match the constructed cultural identity of the Caribbean as a whole that has been ascribed to that group by the media and embraced by people living in the United States.

Part of this may lie in the way Verna herself has constructed her own identity in Pittsburgh. In multiple interviews and during performances, Verna draws attention to her accent. While discussing her radio show and her introductions of music and materials on the air, Verna said, “Since I have an accent, then it’s [an] authentic Caribbean DJ. I think [the listeners] like that too...oh yeah, they question that lots of times. Is she for real? Every now and then I’ll tell them.”⁸⁰ Verna's accent, despite having lived the last thirty years in Pittsburgh, is still very strong and easily noticeable, thus making it seemingly unnecessary to explain and draw attention to it for her audiences. In regularly doing so, however, Verna creates her own identity in opposition to the largely white identity of those around her, thus emphasizing and drawing attention to her differences and lending an "authentic Caribbean" air to the music played by her band. In this way, she not only recognizes how she perceives her own identity as an "otherness" but also attempts to confirm it within the audience's construction of "Caribbeanness," thus commodifying her own constructed “Caribbean” identity to market her music. Timothy D. Taylor states:

...in an era that has witnessed the increased commodification and consumption of otherness, selfhood has come to be fashioned as much by the construction of identity through practices of consumption. Commodification has come to depend increasingly on the fabrication and valorization of sign-values—their value in a symbolic system of consumerism—which are largely made by media processes such as advertising and marketing. In the realm of music, the role that the music industry can play in positioning musicians and musics is also extremely influential.⁸¹

Verna markets not only herself, but also her band through the media commodification of her “Caribbeanness.”

⁸⁰ Verna Crichlow, interview by Maurice Levy. Tape recording. July 25, 1995. Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh Oral History of Music in Pittsburgh Collection.

⁸¹ Timothy D. Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007), 114.

The music of Caribbean Vibes exists firmly in the role of fulfilling the American idea of what it means to be Caribbean. A band that consists almost entirely of steel drums, led by a woman from Tobago with a heavy accent helps to validate Caribbean Vibe's place in the generalized category of steel pans as a measure of a sense of "Caribbeanness" that is constructed by American audiences. Through self-identifying in this generalized idea of "Caribbeanness," Verna does not push her band (or the music that they play) into a role that challenges the widely held stereotypes of the place of steel pans in a limited Caribbean music. Ironically, placing the pans into such a context actually ignores the diverse musical roots of the pan in Trinidad and Tobago and the variety of musics the pan plays there. Other musical ensembles in Pittsburgh, such as the band known as Resonance, challenge these American-produced ideas of not only what the definition of the steel pan as "Caribbean" means, but also the variety of music played on the pan, instead offering their audiences other ways of hearing the pan's role in producing music. Victor Provost decided to leave behind virtually all mention of the pans' roots in Trinidad and instead focus on the development of the pan as a musical instrument in its own right. There are, however, other ensembles in Pittsburgh such as the Frick Steel Bands that take a similar approach to that of Caribbean Vibes, most likely because the model of the steel pan as an instrument of the Caribbean has been so widely successful and perpetuated.

3.2 EXPOSING STUDENTS TO LIVE STEEL PAN MUSIC IN THE UNITED STATES⁸²

Frick I.S.A. (or simply Frick, as it is also known), located in the Oakland neighborhood of Pittsburgh, is a school that currently houses students in grades six through nine. Steel drums are taught during the school day as a pull-out class where students miss other classes to come to rehearsal. Each grade has at least one steelband: the ninth grade band meets every day, the two eighth grade bands meet twice a week, and the sixth and seventh grade bands meet one day a week each. Each band consists of seventeen instruments, but in the case of the ninth grade group which has thirty-four students, the students rotate playing the pieces. Approximately three-quarters of the students play other instruments in school, while the rest only play the steel pan.

Ken Schrader is the director of the steelbands at Frick and has taught there for the last fourteen years. In his first job as a music teacher, Ken has played a significant role in shaping the steelband program at Frick. Ken helped to start the steelband, with two steel pans of his own, a string bass, and an encouraging principal who was born in St. Thomas, U.S. Virgin Islands. Over the years Ken has added drums to the ensemble, resulting in the band's current size of seventeen sets of pans. When talking about the school steelbands, Ken is quick to acknowledge the support he has from his school principal, Dr. Wayne Thomas, who is originally from the St. Thomas and a musician himself.

Ken learned to play the steel pan while attending Washington High School in Washington, PA. There, he spent three years playing on a triple cello made by Ellie Mannette. He started playing in Steel Impressions, Phil Solomon's band, with Solomon, Ken's brother, and

⁸² Unless otherwise noted, the information from this section of this paper is taken from an interview conducted on November 3, 2008 by the author with Ken Schrader, director of the steel band program at Frick I.S.A.

a bass player (later Phil's daughters would join the band) while attending college at Duquesne University and continued to play with the group for eight years. Ken currently plays in a duo with his wife (he switched to playing lead around the time he first started the duo, and his wife plays double guitar). They play mainly for wedding cocktail hours. He also plays with John MacDonald, a local singer and guitarist, and his band John MacDonald and the Mango Men. The band consists of anywhere from two to seven players, depending on the size of the event. Regardless of the number of musicians however, Ken is the only steel pan player, usually taking the role of soloist or background lines. The repertoire of the band consists primarily of Jimmy Buffett and classic rock. Ken commented that most of their gigs are booked for the summer, where they frequently play for country clubs and Caribbean-themed parties.

Ken's first-hand experience of playing the steel pan has a very strong impact on his ensemble. His expertise, passion, and enjoyment of the instrument are clearly contagious to his students and the quality of the performances of even the beginning students are of a high caliber. In addition to playing several evening concerts, the band also plays for school events and assemblies, as well as playing for local events, including at the Three Rivers Arts Festival in recent years. The band has also played in Philadelphia and in Harrisburg, as well as other locations in the Pittsburgh vicinity. Ken learned to play pan by reading music, however, he teaches his students primarily through Western theory methods using "chord symbols and strumming patterns" to supplement the musical knowledge they already have. He does, however give the students playing the lead pan lead sheets to allow them to read the more complicated melodies. The bands play a variety of music, including some jazz, soca, calypso, as well as American audience favorites from Disney movies and popular music. All of the arrangements for the younger groups are completed by Ken Schrader, mainly to tailor the pieces to the abilities of

his students, while the ninth grade bands usually play more difficult versions of the pieces. The drums for the group were made by Phil Solomon in Pittsburgh and Ken usually tries to send the drums to Phil to have them tuned about once a year. Funding in recent years has not been as readily available, however, and this has caused delays in having the drums tuned.

Ken said that the students enjoy playing the steel pan, most likely because they enjoy the music selections but also because the drum is easy to play, a sentiment echoed by Phil Webster.⁸³ The band has a very high retention rate, only losing students due to their moving away from the area. Ken noted that this is very different from the other musical ensembles in the school that have a much lower retention rate. The group is a very popular part of the music classes at Frick, with many incoming students already having an awareness of the opportunity from hearing the ensemble play at school assemblies and through connections with older students. Ken said that he is able to fill open spots in his steelbands fairly easily.

The biggest challenge for Ken as the leader of the steelband program is trying to teach the students the music in such a short amount of time. With the exception of the eighth grade students who have a chance to come to practice during their lunch break, the students do not have a chance to practice outside of rehearsal and only one student in the steelband program owns his own drum. As a result, the only chance students have to learn the music is during their weekly rehearsals. Ken is currently looking to purchase two or three additional sets of pans for the coming year. The potential exists for another music teacher to be hired to teach the non-steelband components of Ken's schedule, especially as a new steelband is added to Ken's schedule each year with the start of next year's shift of the school to include students in grades six through twelve.

⁸³ Webster interview, 2008.

The Frick I.S.A steelbands played at a celebration of Carnival held at the school on February 23, 2009. The mood was festive and contrary to what many people associate with a concert performance, with people talking through the performances, students moving around, and some people dancing in their seats and in the aisles. It was also possible to hear



Figure 5. Ken Schrader playing along with his students⁸⁴

people that were singing along with the songs that they knew.

The quality of the performance of the Frick I.S.A surpassed the performances of Caribbean Vibes. The students were well-rehearsed, despite Ken's fears of the effects of a limited number of rehearsals for the students. The arrangements of the music were very upbeat and the sound level of the music produced by the bands was at an impressive level. The energy of the groups was at a high level, with some students moving with the music as they played. Like many

⁸⁴ Photograph taken by the author on February 24, 2009 at the Frick I.S.A. school during a Carnival celebration.

school concerts, the audience consisted almost entirely of family of the students involved in the steelband and those who had non-steelband students attending to take part in other aspects the event.

There was not a formal concert program provided to the audience outside of the brochure that was handed out at the door that described the various events for Carnival occurring around the school for the evening. Instead, after an introduction from the principal of the school and a brief mention of the principal's own roots of growing up in the Caribbean, Ken announced the first steelband's initial song. After the first band had finished its performance, Ken returned to the microphone to state the titles of the songs that were just played and to announce which band would be performing next. The individual steelbands were not named; instead they were referred to by the grade of the students in the performing ensemble. During the evening, there was not a significant amount of background about the history of the steel drum, with the exception of the principal's opening remarks. This approach differed vastly from the wealth of knowledge that Verna shared with her audience about the steel pan and its place in Trinidad.

The selection of music was diverse and included "Come Back Eliza," "Pan in A Minor," "Matilda," the popular song "On Broadway," and crowd favorites "La Bomba," "Lion Sleeps Tonight," "What a Wonderful World," "Brown-Eyed Girl," "Just the Two of Us" and John Mayer's "Waiting on the World to Change." In terms of the type of music played, of the ensembles profiled in this thesis, the steelbands of Frick were most like Caribbean Vibes, with a mix of traditional Caribbean music and popular American songs. The popular songs that were played consisted largely of music from the pop genre, mostly songs that were past top-40 hits. This type of music (popular American songs) plays to the American audience's expectations of the steel pan as the source of a relaxed, enjoyable time. The built-in recognition of these songs,

as well as their general appeal to a middle-class, middle-aged audience, automatically links the steel drum to the identity of the individual audience members present. These people have already constructed schemas and memories related to these songs. Many of the student performers were most likely exposed to these hits from the 1960s through playing the steel pan. Because of this link of the musical material to personal experiences of those in the audience listening to the Frick steelbands, the music of this steelband serves as a method for the audience to link the instrument to their previous experiences of pleasant memories as associated with this popular music genre. Through the musical selections, the members of the audience enjoy the steelbands because of the music they play and the positive connotations the audience has with the musical selections.

3.3 PERFORMING “CARIBBEANNESS” IN A STEEL BAND PERFORMANCE IN THE UNITED STATES

As previously stated, one popular method of using the steel drum is to use it within the contexts already established for the instrument by the travel and marketing industries. For traditional-style steelbands such as Caribbean Vibes and the Frick steelbands that consist of a majority of pans instead of incorporating other instruments, the music that they play is a key indicator of how they view the instrument. The use of the steel pan to play music that is typically heard by an American audience as an indicator of the pans’ “Caribbeanness” indicates that the bands also embrace portraying the pan as a means of demonstrating this Caribbean culture.

Caribbean Vibes’ tropical-style shirts are a visual clue to their audiences of their embrace of the steel pan from the contexts of the media’s representations of the Caribbean. This visual presentation is then supported by the typical musical genres performed by the band. Their

performance of the reggae music of Bob Marley, traditional calypso and other Caribbean melodies, as well as their incorporation of American popular songs such as the “Limbo,” “La Bomba,” and “Sloop John B,” demonstrates the band’s embrace of the placement of the steel pan squarely within the constructs developed by Americans and the media. Verna and Caribbean Vibes do not seek to challenge these boundaries of the pan and time during their performances is dedicated to educating their audiences about the roots of the pan in Trinidad and Tobago.

Although Ken does not have geographical roots in Tobago as Verna does, his interpretation of the use of the pan in performing music with the Frick steelbands is constructed similarly to the music played by Caribbean Vibes. Although the Frick bands lacked the visual impact of the tropical shirts worn by the members of Caribbean Vibes, the set lists of the two groups were very similar, with several songs overlapping between the playlists of the two bands. The steelbands at Frick, under Ken’s leadership, while of a good quality, did not demonstrate a desire to challenge the boundaries of the pan in the eyes of Americans, leaving the repertoire choices in the realm of what is typically played by these ensembles.

Caribbean Vibes and the Frick steelbands both offered their audiences further confirmation of the identity of the steel pan as placed in the Caribbean. The instrument was used to perform a “Caribbean” identity, which drew from the audience’s prior experiences with the steel pan to portray a relaxed, “Caribbean” culture.

4.0 A FUSION APPROACH: USING THE PAN IN A MIX OF MUSICAL TRADITIONS

Not all musicians in Pittsburgh follow audience expectations of playing a ‘Caribbean music.’ The band Resonance and Victor Provost, a pan musician temporarily located in the city, offer Pittsburgh audiences the chance to hear music performed on the pan that does not conform to the notion of the pan as a “Caribbean” instrument. Each offers their own unique perspective on the use of the pan in performance. While Victor prefers to entirely leave behind the roots of the pan in Trinidad, Resonance offers audiences the chance to see the pan as an extension of a broader musical scene that incorporates musical concepts from around the world.

4.1 RESONANCE’S BLEND: STEEL PAN AND GLOBAL JAZZ

The Pittsburgh-based band Resonance has a different approach to the pan than that of Caribbean Vibes. One of the first easily seen differences between the two bands is their varying methods of visually presenting themselves. While Resonance also seems to have a uniform as Caribbean Vibes does, at a CD release party in November 2008, Resonance’s five group members wore a neutral ensemble of black shirts and blue jeans, a distinct difference from the colorful, “tropical” clothing worn by Caribbean Vibes. This visual difference helps to separate the idea of the pan as an instrument played in a cruise band from the side of the instrument that Resonance seeks to

portray. Additionally, the instrumentation of the group is vastly different from Caribbean Vibes. Whereas Caribbean Vibes consists of many different types of pans and more steel drums than other instruments as well as a vocalist, Resonance is an instrumental ensemble, with just two pan players, both of whom usually play double tenor (although one of the pan players, Dan Moonye, also plays lead pan on certain songs). The other three men in the band play guitar (not the steel pan instrument known as the guitar, but electric six-stringed guitar), electric bass, and drum set. Not only does this present a visual difference for the audience, but the musical sound produced by Resonance is vastly different from that produced by Caribbean Vibes.



Figure 6. Resonance performing at the CD release party for their recording "Steel Drum Jazz"⁸⁵

Resonance was formed in 2001 by the two pan players, Moonye and Phil Webster. Both attended WVU and participated in the steelband there, which at the time was led by Dr. Tim Peterman. While the steelband at WVU played a variety of music, it was almost entirely from composers and arrangers that specialized in steel drum music. Most of the pieces were either

⁸⁵ Photograph taken by the author on November 14, 2009.

originally composed for the steel drum or were steel drum arrangements of traditional symphonic orchestra repertoire, a genre that is very commonly heard on pans in Trinidad. Webster referred to this as the concept of a “Symphony of Steel,” which was an image for the band pushed by Mannette. This idea of exuding the image of a symphony orchestra was also reflected in the choice of uniform for the band: tuxedos. When asked, Phil said that he would love to see a commercial symphony orchestra that consists of steel pans, however that it would prove to be a “gimmick market” and that the ensemble would have trouble surviving because “...it would be prohibitively expensive to move all those instruments around [and] you’d have to have a tuner with you all the time.”⁸⁶

The previous concept is worthy of further discussion and warrants a pause here to delve into the concept of a symphony orchestra that consists of pan players and to examine Phil’s concern of such an orchestra being perceived as a “gimmick.” An examination of the current expectations of audiences in the United States and the place of steel drums place in the music industry shows that Phil Webster’s concerns may be well-founded and prove to be true. Visually, the switch from tropically colored shirts would potentially work in two different ways. A shift to wearing tuxedos would show the “seriousness” or the “legitimacy” of the steel symphony orchestra as the audience’s perceptions of an American symphony orchestra are shaped by the formal dress of the performers on stage. Tuxedo-wearing steel bands could alternatively be seen as an ironic statement that might make the audience feel ill at ease, particularly because not only would the audience be faced with hearing music from the potentially unfamiliar genre of classical music, but the carefree spirit fostered by the visual product of a steel band that wears “tropical” style shirts would also be absent. This situation would potentially cause the audience

⁸⁶ Webster interview, 2008.

to struggle to understand the music and the steel drum's place in performing it, leading to a sense of discomfort in the audience. As it is, many people who currently attend performances of steel drum ensembles in Pittsburgh do not have a high level of comfort at a performance of the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra due to the perceived class difference between the lower-middle and middle classes common at steel drum events around Pittsburgh and the expectations that the symphony is intended for a higher class audience. The audience's acceptance or rejection of the music played by the steel symphony orchestra would also be called into question. In addition to the performance of "traditional" steelband music that sounds "Caribbean," many steel pan musicians also play songs with which audiences are familiar. Although many people would be surprised by the amount of classical music with which they are familiar, the "novelty" of listening to the steel pans play this type of music may not in itself be enough for the audience to sit through a Mahler symphony, for example. The "fun factor" for the audience of hearing the steel drums play popular music would most likely surpass the enjoyment that some people might have hearing traditional classical music on the steel pan.

After graduation, both Moonye and Webster moved to Pittsburgh and formed a band called Carib Impressions, which later led to their current band Resonance. Despite the shared roots of WVU's steel pan program, Moonye and Webster's band Resonance has taken a different approach to the pans from their experiences at WVU. Since graduation, Webster has found himself substitute teaching for a few local schools that have steelbands and having short-term residencies at schools with Resonance,⁸⁷ however he has not taught steel pans extensively in schools like Frick I.S.A. In these contexts, in addition to providing some historical information

⁸⁷ "Residency Programming," Resonance Percussion. <http://www.resonancepercussion.com/residency.htm> (accessed June 16, 2009).

about the history and development of the steel pan, Resonance also performs with students on steel pans, as well as giving a concert of their own.

The music played by Resonance is not played in an attempt to confirm North American's perceptions of the pan in Trinidad, nor is it an attempt to accomplish a direct transfer of the music played in Trinidad to the United States. Instead, their specialty is in creating a fusion of "Caribbean," "American," and "world" through their selected blend of music. This is mainly accomplished by mixing elements of Caribbean musical ideas into the music of American jazz. The combination of these two types of music and the preconceived expectations of the audience have resulted in some challenges for the band. In Phil's words,

Since we're not from Trinidad that sets up a barrier [in the audience's eyes of playing the steel drums]. But we're not trying to act like we're from Trinidad; we're playing music that is American in a lot of ways. We feel like we're authentic as jazz musicians who happen to be playing instruments that are from Trinidad. You know, you don't get a barrier from someone who's playing an instrument from Europe, like a trumpet, but they're playing American jazz on it. It's just that it's been a longer tradition on the instrument in the United States.⁸⁸

This example illustrates one of the differences in the reception of Resonance by audiences as compared with the popularity of Caribbean Vibes. In the case of the former, the band has extra barriers to reach their audience, attempting to convince those that listen that the band does indeed use the pans in a valid musical performance context, despite the fact that it may not coincide with the schema of audience members for steel pans. For Caribbean Vibes, the music they play and how they represent themselves visually generally validates the notions of the pan already held by audience members. Those that hear Resonance for the first time may be

⁸⁸ Webster interview, 2008.

taken aback by the music the band plays and may require some additional time to process the music that they hear played on the pan.

Members of Resonance work to provide a blended sound in their performances that showcase elements from all of the genres of music that are their sources of inspiration rather than simply using a jazz standard or calypso or reggae tune and playing it “as is”. Their use primarily of double pans rather than the single pans as melodic instruments as used by Verna and Victor offers a mellower sound, as well as a wider range of pitches. The careful melding and blending that results from this and their musical selections reaches across not only musical genre divisions but also across perceived racial divides, provides a carefully constructed balance that seeks to present the audience with elements of music from many different continents, including melodic ideas from North and South America and drumming patterns and complex rhythms from West Africa. This blending carries over to all of the pieces the group plays, and it is possible to hear the Caribbean influence on the rhythms and the overall “feel” of the music on jazz standards and blended interpretations of common calypso and reggae music. Their set list includes songs such as Gershwin’s “Summertime,” Bob Marley’s “I Shot the Sherriff” and the jazz standard “Polka Dots and Moonbeams.” The music they play presents an eclectic mix and the presentation of music does not easily fit into one category, instead forming a bridge between American jazz and Caribbean calypso and reggae.

Resonance presents itself through grounding their music historically by offering acknowledgment to the roots of the steel drum in both Africa and the Caribbean. At their CD release party (held at a local venue called “Your Inner Vagabond,” a coffee house known to provide a stage for many of the local “world music” ensembles that seek to become “a community crossroads that promotes relaxation, socialization and cultural interaction...

appeal[ing] to the world-conscious Globalista in everyone”⁸⁹) Resonance stepped away from their regular instruments and moved off of the stage onto the carpet just feet from the audience to perform African hand-held drums, drawing on the West African drumming traditions related to the development of the pan in Trinidad and Tobago⁹⁰ while singing a call-and-response



Figure 7. Resonance performing a West African drum and call and response song⁹¹

based African melody. Throughout the night, they also discussed some of the history of the steel pan and its development as a method of explaining how the various musical aspects of their performance blend together. Through both these types of interactions and the types of music they play, Resonance provides an aural and cultural middle ground to the vastly different steel pan music of Caribbean Vibes and of Victor Provost.

⁸⁹ Your Inner Vagabond, <http://www.yourinnervagabond.com/about.php> (accessed June 16, 2009).

⁹⁰ “Residence Programing.”

⁹¹ Photograph taken by the author on November 14, 2008 at Your Inner Vagabond.

4.2 VICTOR PROVOST, THE PAN, AND AMERICAN JAZZ

Originally from St. John in the U.S. Virgin Islands in the Caribbean, Victor Provost, a white man in his late-twenties who speaks with only a slight accent (a marked difference from Verna's heavy Trinidadian accent), moved to the United States in 2000, and has lived mostly in Pittsburgh and Maryland. Victor's passion for broadening audiences' perceived purpose of the steel pan to include non-Caribbean music is very evident. Because of this goal, Victor's approach to musical performance on the pan is markedly different from both Caribbean Vibes and Resonance.

Victor's first exposure to music began with classical piano lessons at the age of nine and he first became interested in learning to play steel drums after hearing a steelband rehearsing in another room while he was practicing piano. In Victor's words, "I don't remember hearing steel drums before that, even though I was ten years old, eleven years old, and I had grown up on St. John, but I don't remember ever hearing steel drums. I was curious and they were playing "Chariots of Fire" so I went and asked if I could try." Victor went on to join this after-school steelband called Steel Unlimited II,⁹² and learned to play by rote. He continued to play with the band from about 1990-1995 until the group was disbanded. During that time, he learned a variety of repertoire on the steel pan, from classical (such as Rachmaninoff's "Prelude in C# Minor") to American popular music such as Disney music. He specifically commented that they played everything *except* what many think of as "traditional" steelband fare: "actual Trinidadian soca or calypso," a surprising fact given that the instructor of the ensemble was Trinidadian. Victor said that he always thought the instructor didn't teach the ensemble how to play that type of music

⁹² "Victor Provost – Biography," <http://victorpanman.com/biography.html> (accessed April 24, 2009).

because "he didn't think that we'd be able to do it like in the real Trini style so he'd rather just not do it at all." Instead, the band played what he described as "soca-fied versions" of popular music, with some integration of jazz and other musical styles of Chick Corea and Chuck Mangione. When asked if he had picked up the traditional Trinidadian calypsos on his own, Victor said that the "U.S. Virgin Island kind of had its own repertoire that was different from the Trinidadian calypsos that were coming out. The solo, the vibe of the music is pretty much the same. The tempo is a little different, some of the syncopation is a little different but the feel is all derivative of the same thing, so there was really no getting away from Caribbean music: soca, calypso, and some other Eastern Caribbean styles."⁹³

When the Steel Unlimited II was discontinued after the instructor left, Victor continued playing on his own on a steel drum that his parents had purchased for him, and he performed at coffee shops and played gigs on the side to earn some extra money. Victor has purchased several steel pans since he left his first drum in St. John after moving to the U.S. The second and third pans he purchased came from Trinidad again through the school organization (even though the band no longer existed) and his most recent instrument were made by Glen Rowsy, an apprentice of Ellie Mannette, in West Virginia.

Victor became seriously interested in jazz about four years ago after years of "dabbling in it" during his early years as a musician and he began to listen to more modern and traditional American jazz to broaden his knowledge of the subject.⁹⁴ As he became more passionate about jazz and the potential role of the steel pan in performing in that genre, Victor's focus moved squarely into the performing jazz music on the steel pan, although he hasn't been able to move completely away from "Caribbean jazz," as he says. Although he admits that it is difficult to

⁹³ Provost interview, 2008.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

break away from the audience's expectations of a Caribbean music, Victor said that one of his goals is to get the audience to hear the instrument itself without the expectation of the Caribbean music to accompany it.

It's a really unique instrument on like a rudimentary level that it doesn't take a lot of effort to play it to a level that's satisfactory to an audience. And it's got its own little kind of commerce. I mean, there's [sic] a million guitar players in the world, so if you're a guitar player and you want to make any kind of money, you have to be half-way decent, preferably really good. And the audience will know that, and they'll know that by listening to you. I think that because [the steel pan] has that sense of novelty and its boundaries haven't been explored, I don't think that the audience typically sets their expectations very high.⁹⁵

The final sentence of the above comment by Victor reflects a certain amount of bitterness. Victor did not meet with widespread success during the time he lived in Pittsburgh. His comment above indicates that it is his belief that he should have been accepted by the audiences in Pittsburgh based on his musicianship, however because he does not conform with the idea that "Caribbean" music should be played on the pan and thus his reception is poor, audiences do not seek out the "upper-level" pan play that he demonstrates.

In his own performances, Victor follows through with his idea that members of the pan community need to be one of the driving forces for expanding the audience's palate for hearing various music on the steel pan. When I heard Victor play, he was performing at Little E's, a relatively new jazz club in downtown Pittsburgh. Such a place is not a common site for an audience to hear the steel pan. Due to the home Steelers game that occurred that same evening, there were only a handful of people in attendance; however Victor and Mark Lucas, who played

⁹⁵ Ibid.

jazz guitar, played their instrumental jazz music as if there was still a sizable crowd listening. Over the course of an hour and a half, they played a number of songs including “Just Friends” and a very jazzy version of “Penny Lane” by The Beatles. The construction of their musical selections was very similar and would be familiar to jazz enthusiasts. Victor started by playing the melody over harmonies provided by Mark Lucas. This then moved into a section of improvisation by Victor with Mark continuing on chords, followed by a solo opportunity for Mark with an occasional harmony added by Victor. Calypso rhythms and influences were not apparent in the two and a half sets I heard and had Victor been playing an instrument besides the steel drum, a person would never hesitate to categorize this music as jazz.



Figure 8. Mark Lucas (left) and Victor performing at Little E's jazz club in downtown Pittsburgh⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Photograph taken by the author on November 20, 2008.

Although making his home in Pittsburgh, Victor has also been pursuing musical leads in Washington, D.C. and in New York City and says that he has worked on developing a following that expects the type of music they get from him. It does not seem that he has had much luck developing a following for his music in Pittsburgh, despite the fact that there are many jazz musicians in the Pittsburgh area.

4.3 MUSICAL INNOVATIONS ON THE PAN IN PITTSBURGH

The approaches of Resonance and Victor Provost to the steel pan are similar. Both attempt to cultivate in their audiences a sense of acceptance for the pan as an instrument of its own accord, an instrument that can be used by different types of musicians in different musical genres. The degree to which each of these two present the historical roots of the pans differs vastly.

Resonance provides their audiences with historical background of the pan and while they use the instrument to play a mix of different types of music, they still desire to demonstrate where the pan began. Resonance typically performs in areas that offer a broader musical context that accepts and promotes a wide variety of “world” music. In such venues, it is possible to see how their music and their use of the pans in their ensemble that blends these acoustic instruments with the electronic bass and guitar is a seemingly perfect mix of music from a variety of places around the world. Resonance does not have a very large, devoted audience thus far, however as they continue to foster a new audience through their school programs and visits that consists of people who do not see the pan as a purely “Caribbean” instrument and a marker of Caribbean identity, their music will see new support and they will have an audience that is eager to listen to their performances

Victor's approach to the pan is to present it as an instrument of its own accord. To accomplish this, he seeks to divorce the pan from its roots in the Caribbean. His exclusive performance at jazz clubs and jazz festivals highlights one of his techniques to bring attention to the music that is played on his instrument, instead of the instrument itself. In Pittsburgh, however, most of the performance contexts for the steel drum are still devoted to a recognition of the steel drum as a marker of a Caribbean identity. Although Victor tries to use the instrument as a means for expressing his own identity as a jazz musician, he has thus far failed to find an audience in Pittsburgh that is willing to accept his music and his use of the pan as a means of performing a non-Caribbean identity.

5.0 REPRESENTATIONS OF THE STEEL PAN IN THE STEEL CITY

The four ethnographic profiles analyzed in this study demonstrate the complex processes through which pans are appropriated as indicators of a performer's expression of self. The different backgrounds of the performers influence how they use the steel drum in their music and how they see the pan in the field of music in general. The Frick Steel Bands, Resonance, Verna's Caribbean Vibes, and Victor Provost use to express themselves both as musicians and as individuals. What aspects of the steel pan and its role in the performance of identity are called into play that allows so many different identities and cultural ideas to be expressed by different people? How do each of the above groups and people represent themselves and their music and what are the larger implications for these meanings? What information about the performers themselves can be demonstrated through observation of their use of the steel pan in their performances as a means for presenting themselves?

Born and raised in Tobago during the development of the pan, Verna Crichlow has the most direct ties to the instrument's roots in Trinidadian culture. Similar to the students at Frick, Verna was exposed to the steel pans from an early age, although she did not learn to play until she moved to the United States while in her twenties. The difference between these two steelbands lies in the Verna's direct link to the pans from growing up in Tobago. While she can rely on her own experiences with the authenticity of the pan, the students rely on Ken Schrader's experience and knowledge for their interpretation and understanding of how to perform on their

drums. The Frick Steel Bands' performance is also based on the identities of the students and Ken as Americans. The majority of the students express their identities as black Americans, while Ken presents his identity as a white, middle-class American who has gained knowledge about the steel pan through education and performance. Based on these differences, Verna's direct link to the native roots of the pan impacts Verna's use of the instruments and she uses them in a specific way to express her own identity, while Ken is able to construct his identity as a white American who has studied the instrument in the United States.

As the organizer and leader of Caribbean Vibes, Verna has the control over the type of music that the group plays. In speaking with her and listening to recordings of other interviews people have conducted with her, she frequently mentions that her reasons to learn how to play the steel drum were to spread diversity and cultural awareness of the instrument and the Caribbean in Pittsburgh. Verna is eager to raise interest and share her experiences and knowledge of the pan and its history with people. Caribbean Vibes serves as one vehicle for her to do this. Just like any performer, Verna uses her music to display to her audience what is important to her as a person. In Verna's case, she is passionate about placing a strong emphasis on the roots of the steel pans in Trinidad and works to demonstrate that she is an authority on the subject because she spent much of her youth there. Her portrayal of the pans and the music that the pans typically play corresponds with her selection of traditional Caribbean songs such as "Brown Girl in The Ring" and her efforts to support the audience's ideas of the Caribbean through her "tropical style" clothing and the inclusion of the "fun" American party songs. These traditional popular American songs have a built-in identification for many audience members and this ready-made framework may serve the dual purpose of helping the band to draw in new

listeners who are unfamiliar with the steel pan and engaging the audience more easily to support and enjoy the music of Caribbean Vibes.

The type of music played by Caribbean Vibes is commonly that which most audiences already associate with the steel pan. Thus, the music that Caribbean Vibes plays is not just representative of Trinidad, but also corresponds with the audience-formed (and media-supported) identity of what a steelband should play. Through the incorporation of American popular music such as "Sloop John B" and the "Limbo," Caribbean Vibes affirms the audience's ideas of what a steelband is supposed to sound like. The performances of Caribbean Vibes support the spread of an American-constructed "Caribbean steelband" identity and do not offer the audience the opportunity to experience the incorporation of the steel drum into other types of music.

Verna believes that people expect her to be authentic to their expectations of Caribbean-ness due to her accent and she works to make people believe that she is in fact a legitimate pan player because she is from Trinidad. Verna's establishment of her authenticity as a pan performer as based on her roots in the Caribbean is the opposite of Ken's display of his authenticity through his pursuit of knowledge about the steel pan. Although people inquire about the legitimacy of Verna's accent, they still rely on it to validate their beliefs that she is indeed being authentic to the Caribbean identity that has been constructed. Verna's accent provides the audience with a means of relating the music they hear and the visual component of the performance with the schema for a Caribbean identity that has been pre-constructed in their minds through the marketing practices of the tourist industry. In return, Verna delivers to her audiences a means for validating their construction of a Caribbean identity through emphasizing her accent as a marker of her "Caribbean-ness" and the role it plays in authenticating her performance as a musician. The selection of music that she plays serves the dual purposes of

both performing her own identity and performing the identity of “Caribbean-ness” that has been ascribed to steel pans. Through her performances with her steelband, Verna is mixing her personal experiences of growing up in Trinidad, the history of the drum, and spreading the idea of “Caribbean-ness” to an American audience.

Members of Resonance do not have a direct tie to the Caribbean through their individual or group identities. Instead, the introduction to the pan for the two pan players in Resonance came through an American university. While they had some exposure to working with Ellie Mannette who has first-hand experience with the pan in Trinidad, their primary teacher was Tim Peterman, an American who learned to play the pan at the University of North Texas.

The music repertoire played by the steelband at West Virginia University has also affected the musical choices made by Resonance. In the steelband at WVU, musical selections were typically songs that had been written specifically for steelbands, as well as some standard Caribbean songs. The group also incorporated classical music into their repertoire.⁹⁷ Resonance, however, has chosen to mix jazz and Caribbean along with world music in their performances, lending themselves to a more cosmopolitan interpretation of their group identity and their music. Their press kit states that “Resonance has always juggled two identities. They are the voice of American Jazz and they are citizens of the World. Their music – a blend of Trinidadian Calypso and Soca, Jazz, African drumming, Brazilian Bossa Nova and Samba, American Funk and Soul – has long followed this key mantra: Using the alluring sound of the steel pan it will take you on a musical trip around the world.”⁹⁸ This clearly comes across in their music. While the roots of Resonance’s music lie primarily in the performance of jazz and calypso, the band also draws from the influence of other “world musics,” a trait that is heard in their music and expressed in

⁹⁷ Webster interview, 2008.

⁹⁸ “Resonance Press Kit” http://www.sonicbids.com/epk/epk.aspx?epk_id=49685 (accessed April 23, 2009).

their own words. In addition to jazz standards, they also play traditional calypso songs, such as “Pan in A Minor” and find ways to add their own interpretation to it, often through improvisation. Their music provides elements of Caribbean music, mostly from calypso, that are then melded into jazz. The final product is a fluid blend of music that recognizes the roots of the instrument while at the same time demonstrating a sense of hybridity and multiculturalism. This approach effectively convinces the listener that the steel drum has validity as an instrument to play any type of music.

Resonance also deliberately seeks to inform their audiences of the African roots of the pan dating back to the tamboo bamboo days, and takes the time to educate audiences and students about the impact of West African drumming on the development of the pan in Trinidad and Tobago.⁹⁹ This is accomplished during their gigs, where they often play a song titled “Bomaya,” a song from the northern part of Ghana and a place that Dan Moonye visited. The band plays the song on skin-headed African drums, along with other non-pitched percussion and a wooden flute, with the incorporation of call-and-response vocals (a common trait of music from this part of the world). Mini-lessons can be observed in some of their performance, such as at their CD release party, which included bits of information about the history of the steel pan, tracing it back to West Africa. Prior to the performance of the piece, the group provided an overview of how African drumming formed the root of the Trinidadian tamboo bamboo bands which then led to the discovery and refinement of the steel pans. Dan also emphasized the belief of the group that it is important to recognize the impact of West African drumming and its transfer to Trinidad through slavery on the development of the steel drum.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ “Resonance Steel Drum Jazz.”

¹⁰⁰ Resonance performance at Your Inner Vagabond, November 14, 2008.

Resonance also has a program called “Caribbean Traditions” that teaches school children about the development of the pan from its roots in West African drumming to its current form.¹⁰¹ Through their recognition of the roots of the steel pan in several places around the world, Resonance establishes a Bhabian idea of a “Third Space,”¹⁰² a fertile ground for the fusion of music from many different cultures that serves to fulfill the goals of Resonance to explore the melding of music from around the world and provide their audiences with the opportunity to do the same.

While Victor’s goal of expanding the audience’s ideas about the steel pan is fundamentally the same as the goal of Resonance, Victor chooses to leave all of the roots of the instrument in the Caribbean behind and looks to make the steel drum recognized as just another instrument that is not directly tied to a particular culture. He seeks to accomplish this through the use of his own identity as a jazz musician to validate the use of the pan as an instrument that can play jazz, just as the trumpet or guitar are valid instruments for the performance of jazz. When I observed one of his performances at Little E’s, he told the audience what kind of instrument he was playing, but he did not mention any history about the drum, a marked difference from the performances of the other three groups in this paper. Perhaps this is Victor’s way of pushing the instrument to a place of its own, where it can be recognized an instrument that does not need to be authenticated through a particular culture and instead should be able to stand on its own as another multi-faceted instrument.

The steelbands at Frick expose new audiences of both young performers and young non-performers to steel drums, which has an effect similar to Resonance’s “Caribbean Traditions”

¹⁰¹ “Residency Programming.”

¹⁰² See Homi Bhabha’s book *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004) for more information on the concepts of Third Space and hybridity.

program. At Frick, however, younger students are not the only ones exposed to the steel drums through the steel pan program. Parents and other family members that attend concerts also begin to develop expectations of the steel drums and what they represent. The Frick Steel Bands follow a more traditional model of the American-constructed identity of Caribbean music (and steel pan music) as displayed through their musical selections, a repertoire that is similar to the types of songs that Verna's Caribbean Vibes plays. The music selections serve as a representation of a certain idea about the Trinidadian musical culture associated with the steel pan, which works to reinforce thoughts on the subject already held by the audience members.

The difference between the impact of the selection of music of the Frick Steel Bands and the impact of the music played by Caribbean Vibes is that in Verna's case, she can be seen constructing her own identity through the music her group plays whereas the Frick Steel Bands do not represent their own identity. Instead, through the musical selections of their white, non-Caribbean musical director Ken Schrader, the bands serve as a vehicle to display a representation of the identity of the steel pan's place in a limited view of Caribbean and Trinidadian music. Schrader, as a pan player trained in a band constructed along the same lines as the one he leads at Frick, continues to spread the Americanized version of a Caribbean steelband to both the students performing in and the audiences listening to the steelbands. Additionally, he uses his authenticity as an educator to validate the bands' portrayal of the music.

The three professional groups mentioned above are meeting a variety of levels of success in the Pittsburgh area. Caribbean Vibes can be heard playing in a variety of places in Pittsburgh, particularly in the summer months and some members of the band occasionally travel to other areas around the Pittsburgh area to perform at private parties. Verna also gained recognition in the Pittsburgh area through her time spent hosting "Calypso Rhythms" on the radio. Verna has

been recognized for her contributions to spreading Trinidadian culture by many different places, including at the Carlow College Women of Spirit 2000 Gala, as a “Woman of Excellence 2008” in the New Pittsburgh Courier, and in an article in The Pittsburgh Press.

Resonance does not yet seem to have a dedicated audience, possibly because people still do not know what to make of their music. Phil Webster spoke of people being unsure of how to classify them in a recent interview. Phil described the band as a “Caribbean steel drum jazz band or like a global steel drum jazz [band].”¹⁰³ Defining the place of music that blends multiple genres in a world that likes strict, exclusive categories presents a challenge. This leads to difficulty in defining a place where those mixes can fit into the pre-constructed schemas for music. Resonance, however, may be working to counter this idea through their “Caribbean Traditions” program, where they are able to expose children to the various types of Caribbean music and to also play for them the style of music Resonance usually plays. By indoctrinating a young audience to the idea that music does not have to fit neatly into just one category, Resonance is working to support their own musical endeavors and may someday in the near future reap the reward of an audience that accepts their integration of the steel pan into jazz.

Of the four samples examined in this paper, Victor Provost reaches the furthest from the roots of the pan in Trinidad. While the others offer some amount of Caribbean musical styles, albeit possibly blended with other styles, Victor is a self-professed jazz musician. Victor's "authenticity factor" of living much of his life in the Caribbean makes many people believe that he would play their idea of Caribbean steel drum music (calypso, reggae, etc.). Instead, Victor uses the pan as a different musician might use a trumpet: as a non-culturally connected instrument.

¹⁰³ Webster interview, 2008.

It may be possible that Victor's willingness to play jazz without the incorporation of any "Caribbean-ness" into his performances is related to the type of music that he played with the community group in St. John. Victor said that the group played everything *except* Trinidadian soca and calypso, while many people in Pittsburgh would expect that a group that played in the Caribbean would embrace the cultural roots of the pan in Trinidad and commonly perform this type of music. Perhaps because he grew up without this tie between the pan and Trinidad, Victor feels no need to acknowledge that the pan is tied to Caribbean music or to include any Caribbean influences in his interpretations, despite his direct ties to that geographic region. For certain audiences in Pittsburgh, however when they see the pan, it is often difficult for them to separate the music played on it from its cultural roots. In their minds, the pan has become a strong symbol of Caribbean culture and there is no way to divorce the two. This mentality is in direct conflict with Victor's goal of getting people to recognize the steel pan as an instrument on its own.

It is noticeable that during his time in Pittsburgh, Victor met limited success. When asked what the reception of his performance of jazz on the steel pan has been like he responded with a laugh and the statement,

Not very good, at least not in Pittsburgh. You know, it's mixed. So there are people that appreciate it for what it is and then there are people that can't make the distinction between the instrument as an instrument and the instrument as a novelty. So you can just play some killer jazz tune and have somebody say 'oh that reminds me of being on a cruise'...So the perception differs, but I'd say that the instrument has kind of ingrained itself within a certain niche and the audience has come to associate that with these ideas of Caribbean or cruises or just kind of hanging out. I don't think that it really has to be like that.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Provost interview, 2008.

During the two times I saw him play at Little E's jazz club in downtown Pittsburgh, there was a total of only fifteen people in the audience between the two events, a rather disappointing turnout by any measure. Victor seemed saddened about the prospects of moving away from Pittsburgh the last time I saw him. In the time since I spoke with Victor in December, he has moved to Washington, D.C. due to his wife's teaching position, and has plans to commute regularly into New York City to explore his performance opportunities there. He hopes that New York City, which has a sizable community of pan players and a highly active jazz music scene, will provide the right blend of pre-existing musical communities that will allow him to have a better chance of success of using the pan in jazz than the reception of his music that he encountered here in Pittsburgh.

6.0 CONCLUSIONS

The steel pan in Pittsburgh has become a means of demonstrating the representation of the performers instead of being a method of spreading ideas about a ‘Caribbean culture.’ The musical performances of Verna’s Caribbean Vibes, the Frick I.S.A. Steel Bands, Resonance, and Victor Provost show that the steel pan can be used to play a variety of musics and to the complex processes of self-representation. Because of this diverse use of the pan, it is possible to move the instrument into use performing a variety of music that does not always dwell on its roots in the Caribbean.

Stereotypes of the pan and its role in the Caribbean have been perpetuated by the global music industry and tourism. Through their efforts, the steel pan has been constructed as an instrument of a Caribbean identity rather than an instrument to be used to demonstrate the identity of the individual. Many pan musicians in Pittsburgh, however, play non-Caribbean music in an effort to perform music that portrays their own identity on an instrument that they enjoy, while others instead choose to use the pan to express a “Caribbean” identity.

Caribbean Vibes, under Trinidadian Verna’s leadership, provides their audiences with music that sounds “Caribbean,” which the audience relates to from their exposure to steel drums through the media and advertisement. For Verna, the music that she performs is an extension of her own perceived identity as a native Trinidadian. Frick Steel Bands also performs music that many audiences would categorize as “Caribbean.” In contrast to Verna, Ken Schrader did not

grow up in the native home of the pan and instead gained his knowledge of the instrument through his education in the United States. At the same time, however, Ken is able to demonstrate authenticity of his own type: not through roots in Trinidad but through his early education as a pan musician. He demonstrates that “Caribbean” music can be established through a learned knowledge of a practice, instead of being the product of the place a person is born. Regardless of how they gained their perceived authenticity, the groups led by Ken and Verna perform music that displays a ‘Caribbean identity.’

In contrast to the two groups above, Resonance and Victor Provost offer another method of using the pan outside of the constructs of a ‘Caribbean identity.’ Resonance’s music is a means for the group to express their innovative identity that seeks to blend music from places around the world with a mix of steel pans, electronic instruments, and drum set to become a “global steel drum jazz” band.¹⁰⁵ They do not purport to have roots in the Caribbean and instead embrace their different approach to use the pan as a means of expressing an identity that is not neatly categorized. Victor also demonstrates a way to use the pan in a “non-traditional” sense. Despite having grown up in the Caribbean, his performances utilize the steel pan as a means of expressing his identity as a jazz musician, not as someone who lived for two decades in St. John. Out of the four musical groups discussed in this paper, Victor’s use of the steel pan is the most drastically different from the “traditional” use of the pan.

These Pittsburgh-area musicians exhibit how the pan can be used as a means for presenting different perspectives on the use of the same instrument. Although these four performers have met with a mix of success in terms of the support they have received from the audience, they have succeeded in using the steel pan to express their own individual identities

¹⁰⁵ Webster interview, 2008.

and their selected uses of the steel pan in performing them. Through these four examples, it is possible to see the extent to which steel drums are being used in Pittsburgh and the different ways they are used to represent different individual identities. Pittsburgh is fortunate to have two pan builders in the area whose supply of steel drums has allowed the pan community in and around Pittsburgh to grow. As the pan becomes more widely available through improvements to the production process (many of which have happened over the last ten years or so), it is hopeful that more people will have access and exposure to the instrument and usage of the steel drum in all types of music will increase, broadening and expanding beyond the ideas of Caribbean culture currently associated with the steel pan in the United States. For the time being however, while the Frick I.S.A. Steel Bands, Victor, Verna, and Resonance may have different methods of representing the steel pan and the music it plays, all are succeeding in bringing a wider awareness of the instrument to eager American audiences.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- "Beach Boys," *Virgin Encyclopedia of Popular Music*. Edited by Carl Larkin. Brentwood: Muse, 2002, 87.
- Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 2004
- Brackett, David. "(In Search of) Musical Meaning: Genres, Categories and Crossover" in *Popular Music Studies*. Edited by David Hesmondhalgh and Keith Negus, 65-83. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Butler, Ann. "Voice of the Islands." *The Pittsburgh Press*, C5, Saturday, April 18, 1992.
- Campbell, Patricia Shehan. "Music Education in a Time of Cultural Transformation," *Music Educators Journal* 89, no. 1 (September 2002): 28.
- Ceaser, Mike. "The Steel Drum Works Its Magic," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* September 16, 2005. Available electronically
<http://chronicle.com/weekly/v52/i04/04a04401.htm> (accessed 28 September 2008).
- Crichlow, Verna. Interview by Maurice Levy. Tape recording. Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh Oral History of Music in Pittsburgh Collection. July 25, 1995.
- Crichlow, Verna. Interview by the author. Digital recording. October 21, 2008.
- Detrick, Sabina. "The Post Industrial Revitalization of Pittsburgh: Myths and Evidence." *Community Development Journal* 34, no. 1 (1999), 5.
- Dudley, Shannon. *Music from Behind the Bridge: Steelband Spirit and Politics in Trinidad and Tobago*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Groce Stephen B. and John Lynxwiiler. "'The Silent Performance: Audience Perceptions of Musicians' Nonverbal Behavior.'" *Popular Music and Society* 18, no. 1 (1994): 105-121.
- Guilbault, Joycelyne. "The Politics of Calypso in a World of Music Industries" in *Popular Music Studies*. Edited by David Hesmondhalgh and Keith Negus, 191-204. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

- Ho, Christine G.T. "The Globalisation of Pan in South Florida." In *Globalisation, Diaspora and Caribbean Popular Culture*. Edited by Christine G.T. Ho and Keith Nurse, 162-183. Kingston: Ian Randle, 2005.
- Lathrop, Tad. *This Business of Global Music Marketing*. New York: Billboard Books, 2007.
- Manuel, Peter. *Caribbean Currents*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995.
- Marti-Olivella, Jaume. "The Post-Colonial Tourist And/In the Caribbean." In *The Caribbean(s) Redefined*. Latin American Issues 13 (Meadville, PA: Allegheny College, 1997).
- MENC <http://www.menc.org/resources/view/national-standards-for-music-education> (accessed June 14, 2009).
- Montagu, Jeremy. "Steel Band." In *Oxford Companion to Music* www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed April 21, 2009).
- Morford, James B. "A Study of the Pedagogy of Selected Non-Western Musical Traditions in Collegiate World Music Ensembles." MA thesis, West Virginia University, 2007.
- Nathaniel, Daina. "Finding an 'Equal' Place: How the Designation of the Steelpan as the National Instrument Heightened Identity Relations in Trinidad and Tobago." PhD diss., Florida State University, 2006.
- Nero, Lorraine M. "Classifying the Popular Music of Trinidad and Tobago." *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 42, no. 3/4: 119-133.
- Pacini Hernandez, Deborah. "Race, Ethnicity and the Production of Latin/o Popular Music." In *Global Repertoires: Popular Music Within and Beyond the Transnational Music Industry*. Edited by Andreas Gebesmair and Alfred Smudits, 57-72. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2001.
- Provost, Victor. Interview by the author. Digital recording. October 29, 2008.
- "Residency Programming," Resonance Percussion.
<http://www.resonancepercussion.com/residency.htm> (accessed June 16, 2009).
- "Resonance Press Kit." http://www.sonicbids.com/epk/epk.aspx?epk_id=49685 (accessed April 23, 2009).
- "Resonance Steel Drum Jazz." <http://www.resonancepercussion.com/about.htm> (accessed April 23, 2009)
- Sampath, Niels. "Mas' Identity: Tourism and Global and Local Aspects of Trinidad Carnival." In *Tourists and Tourism: Identifying With People and Places*. Edited by Simone Abram, Jacqueline D. Waldren and Donald V.L. Macleod, 149-171. New York: Berg, 1997.

- Sankar, Celia. "Soaring Scales of the Silver Basin." *Americas* 49, no. 4 (Jul/August 1997), accessed electronically through Academic Search Premier (July 18, 2009), np.
- Schrader, Ken. Interview by the author. Digital recording. November 3, 2008.
- Solomon, Phil. Interview by the author. Digital recording. March 13, 2009.
- "State of the Cities Data Systems (SOCDS)"
<http://socds.huduser.org/Census/screen1.odt?metro=cbsa> (accessed July 30, 2009).
- Stuempfle, Stephen. *The Steel Band Movement: The Forging of a National Art in Trinidad and Tobago*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.
- Svaline, J. Marc. "Ellie Mannette: Master of the Steel Drum." *Teaching Music* 8, no. 6 (2001): 46-49.
- Taylor, Timothy D. *Beyond Exoticism*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Tiffe, Janine. "The Arrival of Steel Pan in the United States." *Percussive Notes* 45, no. 2 (June 10, 2007): 10-16.
- U.S. Census Bureau, "State and County Quickfacts." <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/> (accessed July 14, 2009).
- "Victor Provost – Biography." <http://victorpanman.com/biography.html> (accessed April 24, 2009).
- Webster, Phil. Interview by the author. Digital recording. September 17, 2008.
- Your Inner Vagabond. <http://www.yourinnervagabond.com/about.php> (accessed June 16, 2009).