assess my players and know what they can do and what they can't. If I see they are doing alright I try to give them a little more so they could extend themselves. I don't have a set pattern that they have to do. It takes so much time. (M.KM970528)

The musicians in Hot Pans are also members in the association Stockholms Steelband that takes care of the band's business and instruments. During the 1990s, the members of *Hot Pans* have via study circles taught the art of playing steel pans to a whole range of new people. A couple of new bands have been formed in Stockholm, *Cool Pans* and *Panorama*. Sometimes these bands appear together in a large band called *Stockholm All Stars*. One of the members has also introduced courses in steel pan at Kulturskolan in Södertälje. In 1999, there were three steelbands there with members of various ages. Trevor Kydd has a similar operation at a couple of primary schools in Malmö. Since the spring term 2000, Kydd has also taught steel pan at the Malmö College of Music. There is also a steelband at the Örebro College of Music.

Like the steelbands, calypso orchestras belong to the carnival-focused Swedish Caribbeans. The first pure calypso band in Sweden was *Mr Okey from the Banana Republic*. It was formed in Gothenburg in the mid–1980s. One of the founders had been involved in the first carnivals in Luleå at the beginning of the 1980s. One of the first bands to begin playing soca in Sweden was Soca Rebels, who also hail from Gothenburg. Soca Rebels appeared for the first time at the Gothenburg carnival in 1991. They introduce themselves as follows on their website:

We play SOCA, the music for carnival and fête, the street beat from Trinidad and Tobago. We are the Trinidad and Tobago musical connection in Sweden. Classic soca, steel pan, ragga soca and calypso. The hits of the season and original material.

Soca Rebels is the first and only Swedish band focusing solely to bring the push and the energy of SOCA to the dance floors and the streets of this remote part of the world. No fraternizing with laid back styles such as salsa or reggae, which have so far been synonymous with caribbean music up here. Only the pure street sound of SOCA — the music that PUMPS YOU UP. (http://www.geocities.com/~soca_rebels/bio.htm)

In the last two sentences a certain distancing is expressed from the reggae phalanx in the grouping. "Fête" is the French Creole word for party/festival, a highly central concept both in the Lesser Antilles and for Swedish Caribbeans. Lars Hansson, *Soca Rebel's* band leader, had previously played jazz-rock and fusion, among other things. He is a programmer/systems analyst and plays Caribbean music in his spare time, as do the majority of musicians among Swedish Caribbeans. *Governor Andy* and *Serious Version* from Stockholm belonged to

the most active Reggae bands during 1999, also as part-time musicians.

The various types of actors among Swedish Caribbeans fit into the categories, doers, knowers and makers very well (see fig p. 270). The majority of actors are in the doer's group, while there are rather few knowers and makers. Among the doers, those involved in parties and carnivals are the largest category, while the more specialised doers who face more in the direction of knowers are fewer. Few among the doers are professional in their area. The majority practise their "Caribbeaness" in their spare time. The ideologists are mainly to be found among Jamaican music's Rastas. The most common arrangers are those who organise parties and various events. A couple of arrangers who organise events in Sweden with artists and bands from the Caribbean enjoy a special position. There are no companies producing commercial phonograms of Caribbean music in Sweden. Those records that are released are produced by doers (musicians and intermediaries) or knowers. Among those active on the Internet there are both webmasters and organisers of e-mail lists and electronic discussion forums. Among the administrators there are those who manage the various associations' and orchestras' bookings and accounts.

DJs occupy an important place among actors. It is they who convey news from the Caribbean to the public and set the musical trends in the grouping. DJs do not only know a lot about the repertoire but also often have extensive knowledge of the music's best-known practitioners, its original environment and history. For this reason the majority of DJs can be regarded as knowers.

Contacts with Trinidad and Jamaica

Soca Rebel's leader, Lars Hansson, was first in Trinidad in 1985 but he did not attend the carnival until 1989:

I really came into contact with the music during my visit to the carnival in Trinidad in 1989. I was struck by the infectious rhythm and that practically an entire nation took part in the music and total event. I've also found the humour and satire that exists in calypso and soca amusing. Perhaps you have to know Trinidad to understand it. When I began playing soca it was a cool experience to see that even Swedes like the music and get with it. It also gave more and more enjoyable sessions than those I had with the jazz-rock group. (E-mail from Lars Hansson 970402)

The direct contact with Trinidad referred to by Lars Hansson was quite unusual among activists in the 1980s, but has become more common in the 1990s. Soca Rebels recorded a version of the soca Nanny Wine in Swedish as their first record. Originally made by Crazy, a very popular calypsonian (a Trinidadian term for a calypso singer who makes his own songs), the record was played on Swedish radio, becoming famous even in Trinidad where people were surprised by the interest in soca in a distant country.

Crazy thought it was fun that we played his music with Swedish lyrics, so when I met him 1991 he thought it would be fun to do something together. So in 1992 we invited Crazy here and went on tour with him to four different locations in Sweden. The Swedish Institute funded Crazy's travel expenses. We held concerts in Karlstad, Norrköping, Stockholm and Gothenburg. The finale in Gothenburg was best with a lot of people. The venue was full. There were a lot of people outside who wanted to come in but there wasn't room. (Interview with Lars Hansson M.KM970325)

The collaboration between *Soca Rebels* and Crazy has continued. In recent years Lars Hansson has run Crazy's official website on the Internet (http://home.swipnet.se/crazy).

Trinidad's music culture is strong locally. The lyrics of most calypso tunes are packed with references to local phenomena that a foreigner can scarcely understand, which is also suggested by Lars Hansson above when he says "perhaps you have to know Trinidad to understand it." That is why many Trinidadians are surprised that there is an interest in their music in a country like Sweden. It is seen as unusual. The mass media have partly played a part in informing the people of Trinidad of what happens to their music in Sweden. When Derek Walcott from St. Lucia in the Lesser Antilles received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1992, *Hot Pans* played at the Nobel reception. People in Trinidad could see it on Tv. This Swedish steelband caused great consternation and became a general topic of conversation.

Lars Hansson relates how Soca Rebels awoke interest in Trinidad:

We've now been invited to play in Trinidad in a newly opened calypso tent that's called Chutney Soca Review, specially for chutney. A guy from San Fernando runs it. We were invited by him to play there in 1998. He discovered us through our website on the Internet! We've wanted a chance to play down there for a long time, but it has been difficult because there are so many in the group.¹⁷¹ (M.KM970325)

One problem for carnival-orientated bands in Sweden has been renewing their repertoire. Every year new carnival tunes are created and in Trinidad nobody plays a tune from last year's carnival. When asked "Where do you get your repertoire from?" Lars Hansson answers:

¹⁷¹ Chutney is a special form of soca with strong elements of Indian music. Nearly 40 % of the population in Trinidad has its origins in India. San Fernando is Trinidad's second largest city.

We select tracks from records. We do different stuff, like Crazy, Baron and Kitchener, and also a little from Barbados, Crossfire, so it's a bit mixed.

How do you get hold of the records?

It varies. I've sometimes picked up some when I've been down there. Sometimes we've contacted Crosby who has sent records to us. Crosby is a record dealer in Trinidad. Most recently we've ordered over the Internet. Crosby has a website and the person who runs it sent the records from the US. (M.KM970325)

Artists and bands visit Sweden from Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados several times a year. They play at special events or at festivals. These visits are important for Swedish contact with new repertoires and developments in the music style.

Another example of direct contact with Trinidad is that members in Hot Pans and Cool Pans have been to Trinidad and played with domestic steelbands during the carnival season in, among other things, the national steelband competition Panorama, which is one of the carnival's most important features. These Swedish steel pan-players must be competent musicians otherwise they would never be accepted as members of a steelband in Trinidad in such an important competition. The members of Stockholm Carnival Club regularly visit Trinidad and participate in the carnival. In Stockholm they also make large complex carnival costumes in the Trinidad style in which they have appeared at the Water Festival and on other occasions.

A special but important form of direct contact has arisen through the research that has taken place in Sweden around music and instruments from Jamaica and the Lesser Antilles. Krister Malm worked between 1969 and 1972 at Trinidad's folklore archive and has published articles, books, teaching materials, phonograms and radio and TV programmes on music from Jamaica and the Lesser Antilles. One member of Hot Pans, Ulf Kronman, began to study the construction and acoustic properties of steel pans at the end of the 1980s. The result was the book Steel Pan Tuning from 1992, which is an important standard work on the manufacture of steel pans.

When the book was completed, it was published in Trinidad. Kronman relates:

A whole gang of us went down to Trinidad and released the book down there. We were a bit worried about the cultural... what might happen down there when they saw that a white guy suddenly documented all this so that Americans and Japanese could get their hands on the entire technique. But it was well received. Some mumbled: "Why haven't we done this?" The answer is probably that because you haven't done it, we have done it and you're welcome to do it yourselves. They were kind of inspired to do something themselves. As it is, researching the steel pan is not something that exactly pays. The problem for Trinidadians is that they need to do stuff that is directly profitable. They don't have the same opportunities to do non-profitable research as we have in Sweden. (M.KM970316)