Carnival: Community Cohesion, Neighborhood Identity or Political Challenge

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Abstract

Notting Hill Carnival is a unique event that has been shaped by its historical, political, cultural and community origins. Notting Hill Carnival generates over £93 million in income and supports over 3,000 full time jobs, making a significant contribution to the economy . A strategic review of Notting Hill Carnival was conducted in 2004 and since then there has been very little research into whether the recommendations from the report have helped the continued development of the event. This paper intended to explore whether political changes made by policy makers have helped develop Notting Hill Carnival; into a well organised event which makes a significant contribution to the economy, society and cultural wealth of London.

The results concluded that political changes have had very little impact on the development of the event. In particular respondents suggested that many of the issues that exist today are similar to the issues outlined in the strategic review in 2004. The recommendations of this paper suggested that further investigation into the subject area was possible with particular focus on the perceptions of residents in relation to the impacts of the Notting Hill Carnival.

Keywords : Carnival, Political Changes, Cultural and Economic Impacts, Community Cohesion, Host Community

Introduction

Events play a significant role for the local and national community in destination planning and enhancing and linking tourism and commerce(Hall, 1989; Fredline& Faulkner, 2000; Raj & Vignali, 2010). This paper seeks to examine the effect government and tourist promotion can have on a community event, the social, cultural and economic impacts of the event and how the event has evolved since a strategic review took place.

This paper will explore the case study of Notting Hill Carnival (NHC), reviewing the impact of political changes and the role of policy makers in the development of the event. A strategic review of NHC was conducted in 2004 and since then there has been very little research into whether the recommendations from the report have helped the continued development of the event; this study aims to address this.

NHC is a unique event that has been shaped by its historical, political, cultural and community origins. NHC generates over £93 million in income and supports over 3,000 full

time jobs, making a significant contribution to the economy . Compared to its unassuming beginnings as a local event attended by a few thousand, today NHC has become a full bodied Caribbean Carnival with a global presence; listed second only to Rio Carnival. The paper investigates the history of the NHC and how the event has developed over the years. Further discussion of the case study considers the social, cultural and economic impacts of the event on the local community.

This paper explores literature surrounding event tourism and the role of politics in events. It explores how policy makers use events to secure political influence and promote nationalism, increase community pride and cohesion. This paper will argue that the influence of governments and tourist promotion can sometimes be detrimental to the values of community events; leading to the cultural authenticity being lost. The paper will consider the social, cultural and economic impacts of events and explore how events can both engender community cohesion and community disharmony.

Through conducting primary research this paper strives to identify whether there is a need for further development of NHC through analysing the perception of key agencies involved with the organisation of the event and it will seek to analyse whether the role of policy makers is important. From the literary review and further primary research this paper will help identify any areas of development for the Carnival. It will consider the findings from research undertaken and suggest any areas for further research as well as recommendations based on these findings.

Literature Review

Cultural celebrations have always played an important role within societies and the cultural expressions and celebration elements within planned events, specifically festivals and carnivals, have been the focus of many cultural anthropologists (Turner, 1988; Falassi, 1987, Bakhtin, 1984). Bakhtin, In *Rabelais and his World,* discusses carnivalesque ('folk-humour'), a particular speech-genre which occurs across a variety of cultural sites, most notably in carnival itself. His theory is useful for understanding the social and cultural impacts of carnival.

Carnival is a communal performance that lays no boundaries between audience and performer and is marked by displays of excess and grotesqueness (Bakhtin, 1984 cited in Robinson, 2011). Under Bakhtin's theory carnival is a moment when anything is permitted and occurs on the border between art and life . Conventions are broken down and new perspectives realised. Carnivalesque and carnival create alternative social space characterised by freedom, equality and abundance, everyone is equal.

Bakhtin, (1984) contested that Carnival brings together groups that are usually exclusive; hierarchies are overturned and social roles refused. Time and space are rearranged and everything is rendered ever-changing, playful and undefined. It brings together groups and categories which are usually exclusive with celebration and laughter. Notting Hill Carnival is a direct reflection of Bakhtins theory. During the event the streets are closed off and transformed into a venue, allowing the celebrations to take place. In the 1970s attendance to Carnival increased tremendously and over the Carnival weekend the black minority became the majority reversing the social roles that had been inflicted. The street performances of Notting Hill Carnival allow the audience to take part in the celebrations removing the borders between the performers and the audience.

Notting Hill Carnival is a complex event in nature from its legacy in slavery to its current day

status as Europe's largest street festival. It has been over a decade since the strategic review of Notting Hill Carnival was conducted and there is little research into the true value of the Notting Hill Carnival, in social, economic and cultural terms. The Mayor of London strategic review identified that the promotion of carnival art forms within carnival was of significant social and educational value however, it reported that further research into the social, community and cultural value was needed . Thus, it is hoped that that empirical findings from this study will contribute to the understanding of the social, economic and cultural impacts of Notting Hill Carnival.

Notting Hill Carnival and Caribbean Culture

NHC is known as the 'biggest street festival in Europe' and takes place every year over the two days of the August bank holiday. Cohen (1993) states that it is listed second only to Rio Carnival; emphasising its global presence. Although the annual event as we know it today only began in the late fifties, the traditions of Carnival in the Caribbean date back to the slavery epoch.

The origins of the Trinidad Carnival emerged from the entry of the French planters and African Slaves to the island. The French brought the principles of carnival in the form of elaborate masquerade balls, house-to-house visiting and street promenading in carriages or on foot (Nurse, 1999; Pearse, 1956). Carnival was confined exclusively for the upper classes during this period and often took place as a series of festivities during the pre-Lenten Mardi Gras (Tompsett, 2005). The abolition of slavery in 1838 saw the African slaves take to the streets of Trinidad celebrating their emancipation in a 'carnivalesque' style (Bakhtin, 1984). Nurse (1999, p. 670) describes the post-emancipation carnival as;

 "…an annual ritual of social protest and resistance by the African population against the hegemony of the European elite."

There are conflicting opinions as to the beginnings of NHC and much debate surrounding the founder. However, many would argue that the Notting Hill riots of 1958 were the very beginnings of NHC (Hinds, 2008; Alleyne-Dettmers, 2005; La Rose, 2004; Sherwood, 1999). The tensions between the white and black communities at this time were fuelled by anti-black immigrant fascists; who roamed the streets violently attacking black youths and vandalising black homes (Olden, 2008). In protest to the riots and racial tensions activist Claudia Jones (Trinidadian born editor of the West Indian Gazette) organised a Caribbean Carnival as a showcase for Caribbean talent at St Pancras Hall, this became an annual carnival attended by mainly the West Indian Community (Cengage, 2013; Hinds, 2008; Cohen, 1993).

In 1965, Mrs Laslette, a social worker not of Caribbean descent organised a local, poly-ethnic event much similar to the NHC which takes place today (Gutzmore, 1982). This outdoor carnival procession was a relatively small affair that brought together all the different ethnic groups living in the area; as a means of promoting racial harmony (Cengage, 2013). The firstevent had a variety of themes and incorporated many different traditions; approximately only half of those who attended were West Indian (Cohen, 1980).

By the 1970's the Notting Hill area had become predominately an African Caribbean community and with this NHC became a black led event, with a more Trinidadian style of theme, performance and culture (Picard & Robinson, 2009). At this time unemployment was high and many people were living in poverty, the racial tensions amongst

the British born and the Caribbean immigrants strengthened and Notting Hill was at the forefront of racial violence (Cohen, 1980). The social and political changes taking place during this time had a major impact upon the event; Carnival quickly became a demonstration of black culture, artistry and tradition, no longer incorporating the many different cultures it once had (Alleyne-Dettmers, 2005).

By 1975 carnival was led and directed by Leslie Palmer it is claimed that he was responsible for turning NHC into an organised affair and his leadership saw that year's attendance estimated at about 500,000 people (Gutzmore, 1982). Palmer introduced static sound systems playing the Jamaican sound of reggae, to attract a younger audience (Dawson, 2006). Figure 1 highlights the new creative structure of NHC which now incorporated five artistic disciplines, which fully encapsulated the Caribbean culture.

Figure 1: Creative structure of NHC
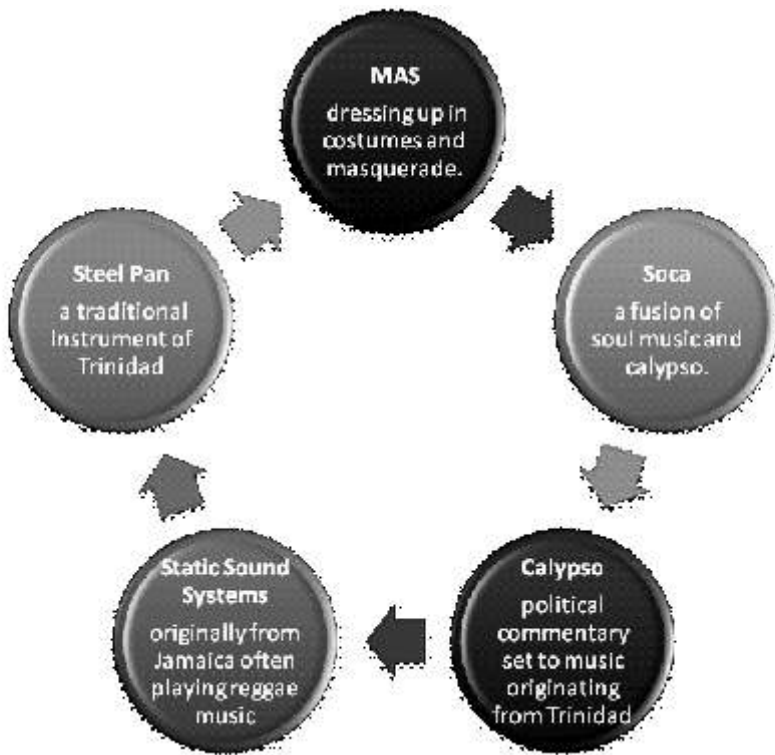
Many problems arose from the 1975 event, petty crimes such as pick pocketing, vandalism and illicit sales, with no prediction of such a large crowd the police presence was minimal. This resulted in an increase of complaints from Notting Hill residents regarding noise and property damage calling for Carnival to be cancelled. Needless to say the years after this, police presence was increased and with this so did the violence. At the climax of the tensions in 1976 black youths attacked 1,500 policemen on patrol with stones and bottles (La Rose 2004). Following the incident the leader of the local council laid protest to ban Carnival and wrote a letter to the Home office secretary calling for action, no inquiry followed (Moore, 2013).

Attendance continued to increase, as had crime associated with the event which presented many problems to public safety (Batty,et al.,2003).

The Guardian report that Tory shadow home secretary Willie Whitelaw (1977) said:

> *"The risk in holding it now seems to outweigh the enjoyment it gives."*

Lynda Lee-Potter (1991), Daily Mail columnist cited in The Guardian described carnival as:

> *"A sordid, sleazy nightmare that has become synonymous with death."*
>
> (The Guardian,2002)

The celebrations were however supported by Prince Charles;

> *"It's so nice to see so many happy, dancing people with smiles on their faces."*

Carnival has always attracted official opposition even during the post-emancipation period in Trinidad when the white elite tried to ban it, but despite the negative views and opposition it has continued to take place and attract a large multi-cultural audience. Through gathering an understanding of the history of NHC, the complexities of the event and its political and cultural roots have now been explained; providing contextualisation for this study.

Political changes by policy makers for NHC

In 1999,the Mayor of Londonestablished the Carnival Review Group, which sought to change the image of Carnival and promote the culture and customs of carnival goers to the wider community .The Mayor of London ordered a review of NHC to evaluate NHC and address the process of staging the event . The review was in response to the on-going issues surrounding Carnival, concerns about crowd safety and congestion and the lack of a proper Carnival Management team. The review also focused on the management, organisation and funding of the NHC which had lacked significant financial and political support over the years andsought to establish true appreciation of the Carnival.

The strategic review of NHC was published in 2004 and made recommendations to ensure the sustained development of Carnival (Mayor of London, 2004). Figure 3.2 shows the priority areas which the review group identified as key to the development of the carnival industry in London; specific recommendations were highlighted within the review on how to address these priority areas.

Figure 2: Priority development areas for NHC identified by the strategic review
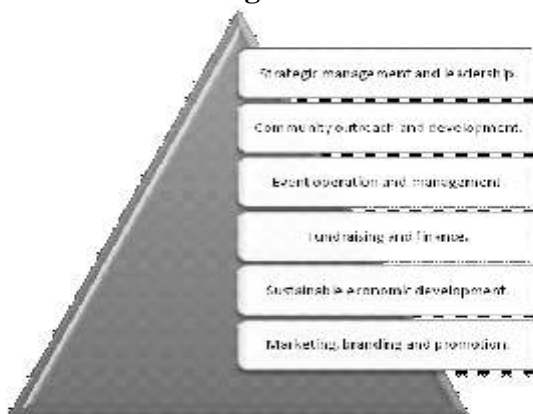
The report suggested that carnival had the ability to contribute much more to the host community if properly managed and highlighted the need to secure further sponsorship from commercial partners. The review made recommendations to make major changes to the route to incorporate Hyde Park moving part of the event away from the streets.

These recommendations underline the conflicting interests of the event. The history of the NHC is firmly rooted in the ideals of freedom, unity and community empowerment and this is how the event came into existence. Despite this it is the opinion and debate of policy makers that the event should be 'contained', which is accentuated with the recommendation to move to Hyde Park.

The quantified economic value of NHC was first reported in the LDA (2003) economic review. NHC it is suggested contributes £93 million to the local economy as well as creating 3000 full time jobs (Mayor of London, 2004). The strategic review reported increased racial harmony was the main societal impact (Bowdin, et al., 2011; Mayor of London, 2004). The increasing number of visitors to NHC each year, combined with its mutli-cultural character and economic value has led to NHC being not only a significant and well publicized event but a tourist attraction. The strategic review was successful in highlighting the true value of NHC and changing the perspective of carnival amongst the authorities, business leaders and the media and with this realization support for Carnival with policy makers grew (Nurse, 2004).

## Management, finance and commercialisation of NHC

NHC has come under the control of many committees over the years. Figure 3 presents a timeline of the different Carnival Committees. It was not until the establishment of a new community-based Carnival organising body in 2003, that the carnival arts community were represented within the management structure . NHC has five artistic carnival arenas (identified in Figure 1) and as with all Caribbean influenced Carnivals, the carnival arts are central to the ethos and vibrancy that is NHC.

Figure 3.1: Timeline of NHC committees

NHC is currently being managed by the London NHC Enterprises Trust (LNHCET) which was established in 2012. This new executive management board and company was set up to consist of five directors each representing a different arena. The management team is made up of unpaid volunteers and volunteer artists work on their Carnival acts throughout the year. There are no full time workers for LNHCET. Figure 4, provides an overview of the current structure of LNHCET.

Figure 4. Management structure of LNHCET

London Notting Hill Carnival Enterprises Trust
Company Structure / Roles & Responsibilities
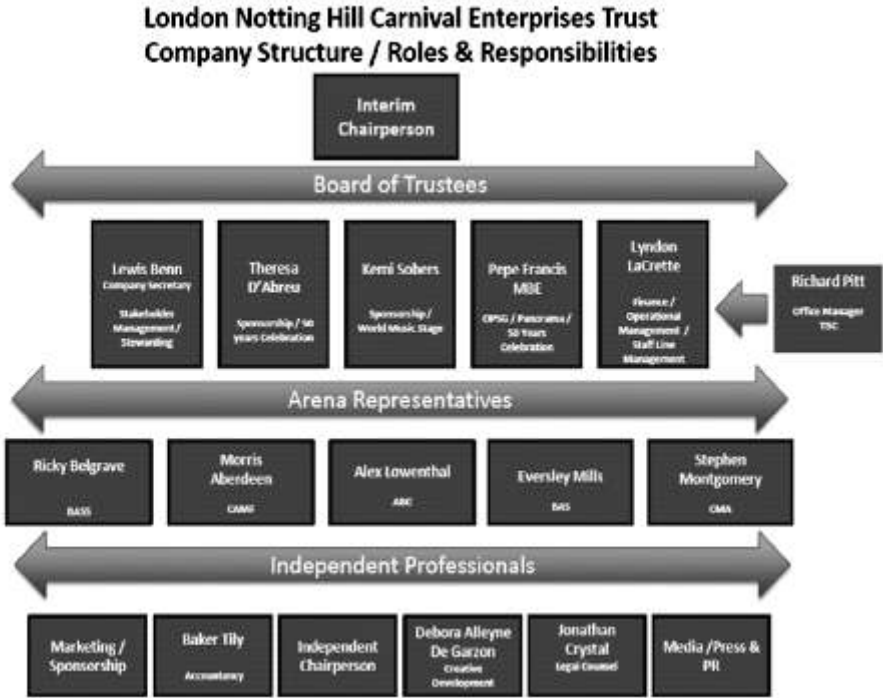
Provided by the LNHCET (2014)

There are many stakeholder organisations that provide NHC with support services or financial help (Burr, 2006). Funding for Carnival over the years has come from local government including the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea (RBKC) and the Greater London Authority (GLA).

Table 1 presents the GLA funding figures for NHC.

Funding figures					
Year	2013	2012	2011	2010	2009
GLA	£160,000	£190,000	£190,000	£210,000	£300,000 (£148,000 Notting Hill Carnival stewarding costs and £152,000 delivering Caribbean in the Park)

Since 2001, The GLA has provided funding to the organisers of the NHC to support the crowd management and stewarding operation, Table 1, shows that funding has decreased significantly over the last five years. NHC previously received funding from the Arts Council England but this ceased after a review in 2001; due to organisational issues within NHC. Despite being a worldwide event, there is little funding to stage NHC other than that provided by government. Figure 5, has been compiled to provide an overview of the management and funding support for NHC.

Figure 5 : Management and funding structure of NHC

Key agencies	Funders group	Operational Planning and Safety Group	Carnival Arts
• RBKC • Greater London Authority • Westminster City Council • London Notting Hill Enterprise Trust • Metropolitan Police Service	• Greater London Authority • RBKC	• London Notting Hill Carnival Enterprise Trust • Westminster City Council • RBKC • GLA • Metropolitan Police • British Transport Police • Transport for London • London Ambulance Service • London Fire and Emergency Planning	• London Notting Hill Carnival Enterprise Trust

The table suggests that there are a many stakeholders involved in the organisation of NHC. The relationship between these statutory powers and the organising committees over the years has at times come into conflict surrounding management, control and content of the event (Bowdin, et al., 2011: Burr, 2006). However, despite this the agency groups are really engaged in delivering NHC and play a vital role in ensuring the event happens (Mayor of London, 2004).

The commercialisation of carnival began with the sponsorship of Lilt in 1995, a tropical fruit-flavoured soft drink manufactured by Coca-Cola, in which it became the Lilt NHC; this arrangement continued in 1996 and 1997 (Carver, 2000). The carnival was sponsored by Virgin Atlantic in 1998 when Nestle (who were meant to sponsor the event) withdrew their support (BBC News, 1998). Western Union NHC became the name of the festival in 1999 when Western Union sponsored the event. 1999 was the last time the event had a major sponsor and more recently the event has struggled to secure sponsorship deals.

The commercialisation of NHC highlights the growth of the event since its humble beginnings. However, conflict exists between the radical past and political operations of NHC and the commercialisation of the event. Michael Williams quoted in the BBC (2007) spoke about the tensions within Carnival regarding commercialisation:

"People are suspicious of the commercialisation of the carnival and what we have to do is maintain the artistic integrity of the event while ensuring it is financially viable."

(BBC, 2007)

This suggests the carnival community do not view sponsorship and commercialisation as wholly negative. However, what they seek are sponsorship opportunities that will lead to the development of the event and the artistic art forms of the event.

Impacts of NHC on the host community

NHC is about people coming together, celebrating and having fun. NHC presents a wonderful atmosphere it combines Caribbean music and art forms with Caribbean food. NHC merges the vibrant colours of parading costumes and sounds of the Caribbean with the

terraced streets of London; creating cultural diversity in the local community.

Over the bank holiday weekend, there is a large influx of people into Notting Hill area; in 2013, approximately one million people attended (RBKC, 2013). This presents many problems for local residents as it prevents them from carrying out their day to day activities. Batty et al., (2013) suggested that the number of people in the streets during NHC presents many challenges. The strategic review had identified the impact of this on the Notting Hill area was problematic and sought to minimise this through recommending parts of the event be contained.

Both community cohesion and community disharmony have surrounded the NHC celebrations from its very beginnings. NHC has had a chequered past with violence, crime and anti-social behaviour often being associated with the event. The police presence at carnival is often high and it has been portrayed within media that NHC is an unsafe event.

The Guardian (2011) reported:

"Up to 70 floats are expected to take part in the children's day parade amid a heavy police presence. Officers are manning knife arches on London underground links around the capital...about 16,000 officers will be deployed across the capital for the duration of the carnival."

The Guardian, 2011

The Police attendance figures for NHC over the last five years are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Police attendance figures for NHC

Police attendance figures					
Year	**2013**	**2012**	**2011**	**2010**	**2009**
Sunday	5827	5941	5500	4626	4961
Monday	6810	6582	6500	5729	5618

(Adapted from RBKC, 2013)

The table shows that the police presence at NHC has been significantly large over the last five years. Each year the police report on what criminal activity has taken place during NHC. In 2013, it was reported that there were 279 arrests were made during the event (The Voice UK, 2013). This highlights that there are some negative impacts for the host community and NHC can bring anti-social behaviour and crime into the area. The RBKC (2013) conducted an environmental impact and community safety report which showed the number of complaints received by residents regarding noise. Table 3 has been compiled showing this information for a five year period.

Table 3: Complaints about noise in RBKC

Year	Complaints about noise in Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea
2013	22
2012	23
2011	14
2010	33
2009	18

(Adapted from RBKC, 2013)

This shows that NHC can cause some disruption to the local community and complaints of noise are often in relation to the static sound systems. Complaints are monitored by RBKC (2013) who are proactive in trying to minimise the disruption to residents through monitoring sound levels.

Despite the negative impacts of hosting NHC, the event plays an important role in developing economic benefits for the host community and local businesses. Carnival attracts an estimated 90,000 foreign tourists(Plummer, 2011). Local businesses and the community benefit significantly from visitors spending money on food, drink, travel, merchandise and accommodation. Organisers suggest that NHC is becoming more of a tourist attraction due to the growth and size of the event. Table 4 provides an economic analysis of NHC.

Table 4: Economic Analysis of NHC

Variable	Who benefits
£93million income generated.	• London's economy
3.000 full time jobs.	• Local community • London
1 million people attend carnival.	• Local community • Local businesses • London • Britain
90,000 tourists.	• Local community • Local businesses • Local authorities • London • Britain
£45 million pound direct spend by carnival goers.	• Local community • Local businesses • London • Britain
£50 million financial boost to firms and individuals involved in carnival.	• Local businesses • Suppliers of services • Local authorities

(Adapted from Raj & Vignali, 2010)

This table further highlights that the local community and local businesses stand to benefit significantly.

Methodology

This paper explores whether political changes made by policy makers have helped develop NHC; into a well organised event which makes a significant contribution to the economy, society and cultural wealth of London by examining the opinion of five key stakeholders involved in the organisation of NHC. This paper followed a phenomenological, interpretive philosophy which informed the choice of method used. The ethnography strand of the explicatory method was identified as the most appropriate research strategy as it allowed the researcher to collect data based on people's views on the past, present and future of NHC; allowing comprehensive exploration of the development of the event (Jankowicz, 2005). The data collection method used wasindirect observation through semi-structured interviews.

The first step for the methodology was to identify the key stakeholder organisations involved in the organisation of the event. This was established from the literature review. The second step was identification of the key individuals within these organisations which was identified through a list provided by the Greater London Authority. Selection of the sample size was determined from this using the 'key informant technique',which suggests participants with specialised knowledge on the subject area are selected for interview (Tremblay 1982).

The population for this research consisted of six organisations and eleven key individuals. Due to the small population, a sample size of six interviews was chosen as a representative sample for this study; representing 50 per cent of the population. Five interviews took place, due to non-responses; representing 45.5 per cent of the population. This still provided a satisfactory sample that allowed for lengthy, detailed interviews and produced comprehensive data. The organisations represented were the Greater London Authority, Metropolitan Police Service and London NHC Enterprise Trust. These sources allowed the researcher to gather a varied opinion in response to the questions.

Interviews were conducted face-to-face and were recorded using a Dictaphone; participants were notified of this prior to the commencement of each interview as well as the topics that would be covered. Interviews consisted of fifteen questions for manageability and in order for the interview to flow and questions were split into four different sections.

Discussion of results

Cultural, social and economic impacts of Notting Hill Carnival

The literature review suggested there are positive and negative impacts of hosting events. In line with this, the themes arising from interviews in relation tosocial, cultural and economic impacts of NHC are presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Positive and negative social, cultural and economic impacts of NHC

Area of Impact	Advantages	Disadvantages
	• Brings community groups together. • Promotes community spirit. • Party atmosphere and sense of occasion.	• Crime and drugs can be brought into the area. • Masses of litter. • Large crowds. • Notting Hill is lock down.

Social	• Enriches peoples lives. • Promotes community pride. • Promotes social belonging people expect NHC to happen. • Civic pride it is a great event for London and Britain. • Encourages tourism, it is the largest street festival in Europe. • Community participation and ownership.	• Disruption to residents. • Health and safety issues - a new event would not be allowed in the format NHC currently exists as. • . Anti-social behaviour, urinating in gardens and drunken behaviour.
Cultural	• It allows Caribbean's to showcase themselves and celebrates their culture. • Multi-cultural event brings together different cultures. • Educates different cultures. • Respects traditions the history and roots of Carnival.	
Economic	• Makes a big contribution to the economy. • Economic impact study quantified the worth to £93 million. • Businesses and suppliers of services make a lot of money.	• Money doesn't feed back into the carnival community. • Taxpayer covers the costs for staging the event, infrastructure and policing costs. • Money doesn't feed back to local residents directly.

All participants had parallel responses and the table shows that the participants' views of the impacts of NHC, are similar to the perceived impacts of events on the host community identified in literature(Fredline, et al., 2006; Delamere, et al., 2001; Xiao & Smith, 2004).

The secondary sources suggested that the positive social impacts focused on civic pride, community self-worth, social belonging and quality of life(Fredline & Faulkner, 2000; Jones, 2001; Misener & Mason, 2007; Wood, 2005). The positive impacts for NHC, identified from the interviews have supported this. Many respondents acknowledged that NHC was successful in enhancing tourism as a social impact which supports the theory that community events play a vital role in developing tourism (Bowdin et al, 2011).

The negative social impacts were mainly operational and logistical issues of the event. All participants advocated that much of the disruption and anti-social behaviour was because of the lack of infrastructure and stewards. Alexander Da Great described:

> *"....people complain about people defecating in their front gardens because they can't find a loo that is the fault of the infrastructure because there aren't enough loos..."*

All participants agreed that for the large number of people attending the event NHC, takes place in a space that is not built for events; the streets. Batty, et al., (2003) and the strategic review (Mayor of London, 2004) claimed this was a challenge presented by NHC.

None of the participants highlighted any negative cultural impacts but several suggested that NHC not only gives the Caribbean community a platform to express their

culture and traditions but also educates other cultures. All participants emphasised on several occasions that celebrating the roots, traditions and history of NHC is important and highlighted that because of this the authentic cultural aspects of NHC still exist; particularly the fact the event takes place in the streets. This links closely back to the benefits of hosting cultural events for tourism purposes, identified in literature. Many theorists suggested that cultural events not only attract tourists who want to experience the local authentic culture, it provides opportunities to preserve and diffuse local culture; strengthening heritage, as well as generating income (Dwyer & Wickens, 2013; Felsenstein & Fleischer, 2003; Hall, 1992; Buch, et al., 2011; Hughes, 2002). The literature showed that NHC is successful in supporting the tourism economy because 90,000 tourists attend the event; the primary research suggests this is due to the authenticity of the event being preserved.

All participants made reference to economic impact report discussed in the literature review; advocating that the NHC is still considered a high income generating event; even though this study was conducted over a decade ago. Many of the participants focused on the economic benefit mainly being to local businesses and suppliers of services. Several participants including, Lewis Benn member of the LNHCET board, raised the argument that "economic benefits were not filtering back into the carnival community". Majority of the participants suggested that without this money feeding back into Carnival, NHC would continue to depend on its funding partners, the GLA and RBKC who were identified in the literature review.

The results presented in the table 5, suggested that across all three categories there are more positive impacts. However, two of the five participants emphasised that they felt there were more negative impacts than positive ones. One participant explained their thoughts:

> *"Unfortunately I feel that the negative things possibly outweigh the positive...from a very operational, logistical point of view there are currently more challenges to deal with than actually what positive impacts are produced from the event."*

The findings highlighted that there are many operational and logistical issues in staging this large event in the streets of NHC which impacts negatively on the host community. The findings of this research however, provide evidence that there are many social, cultural and economic benefits of hosting NHC for the host community. This is supported by the theory that the impacts of events across different areas are often conflicting (Syme, et al., 1989).

Impact on Host Community

Earlier in the study it was identified that over one million people attend NHC and that this presents many issues in terms of health and safety (Mayor of London, 2004). It became apparent from these participants that the police presence that exists at NHC is linked to the crowd density, health and safety and operational issues of the event. This presents, a very different perspective than that gathered from the literature and newspaper reports in chapter two; which implies the heavy handed police presence at NHC is linked to the negative history of the event and an attempt to keep violent crime and anti-social behaviour to a minimum. Andy Sharp, Major Events Sergeant in the Metropolitan Police clearly explained the presence of police:

> *"...we are carrying out tasks beyond what our core policing function is. We end*

up looking after crowd control, route management all of which should be stewarding roles."

Through exploring the responses of the participants it is clear that lack of funding to support stewarding costs leads to the police undertaking stewarding duties to ensure the event is safely delivered. The evidence indicates that police presence would be minimised if more stewards were hired.

All participants identified that the large audience numbers were the main cause of crowd density and health and safety issues for the event. Andy Sharp explained that the crowds were so dense; a five minute walk on a normal day, could take up to four hours. The crowds do not only prevent residents from carrying out their day to day activities but most participants emphasised that, the space used is not built for events. Some participants claimed that with that many people in the area uncontrolled it is a dangerous situation in terms of health and safety and therefore it makes NHC very difficult to manage.

The recommendations of the strategic review, suggest this was also seen as concern for the event when it was conducted. The review recommended that a controlled space would be more suitable for an event the size of NHC. Some participants agreed with this suggestion, from an operational point of view. However, others believed that the event belonged in the streets of Notting Hill because of the history of the event. Alexander Da Great said that 'people voted with their feet' when they tried to move to Hyde Park by staying in the streets of Notting Hill. All participants agreed, attempts to move the event have been and will be unsuccessful, because people expect NHC to happen on August Bank Holiday weekend, in the streets of Notting Hill.

All participants were aware of the 2004 strategic review that was conducted and felt policy had, had limited impact over the last decade. The participants gave varying reasons as to

Participant name	Why they believed policy has had a limited impact for NHC	How policy has impacted NHC
Andy Sharp	• No one at a senior level taking responsibility for ensuring the policy is fully implemented.	• Recognition that NHC is an event that needs to go ahead for London as it is a massive advert for the country.
Alexander Da Great	• The move to Hyde Park failed because people believe the event belongs in Notting Hill.	• Route is more controlled. • Recognition that NHC is beneficial to London and England
David Holley	• Changing administrations. • Lack of funding. • Lack of resources.	• Recognition from agencies groups they have to play a more active role due to the limitations of the members of the LNHCET. • Through offering support and guidance to the carnival community and LNHCET. • Mayoral support.
Lewis Benn	• Lack of funding. • The move to Hyde Park failed because people believe the event belongs in Notting Hill.	• Route is more controlled. • Better support and guidance from the agencies for LNHCET and carnival community.
	• Some operational factors will always exist. No amount of policy can change that. • The key issues that were presented in the strategic review so many of them are still the same today.	• Better support and guidance from the agencies for LNHCET and carnival community. • Both mayors have funded it.

| Sarah Barrow | • Carnivals immediate needs need to be addressed first, long term management structure and planning.
 • Changes in mayoral and borough administrations.
 • Lack of resources
 • Lack of funding. | |

Several of the participants proposed that lack of funding was a core reason for policy having little impact. Sarah Barrow stated:

> *"...I think there is also a policy recognition that the delivery of carnival is always going to be a compromise because no one ever has as much money as it would take to do what needs to be done for Carnival."*

The participants suggested that NHC is still in a position much similar to 2004 but highlighted that policy has been important in changing the image of NHC. The literature review revealed that the image and audience opinion of NHC in the lead up to the strategic review was very much negative. Many people wanted to either ban NHC altogether or minimise the event. The findings revealed that NHC is now a well-respected event and audience opinion has changed to support NHC continuing.

Policy makers have a clear understanding of the benefits hosting NHC brings to the host community especially economic benefits. Some of the participants emphasised that the strategic review was conducted during the mayoral administration of Ken Livingstone and Boris Johnson has continued to support the event. Although, both Mayors have supported the event it became evident the policy derived from the strategic review has had little impact due to Mayoral changes. It was suggested by David Holley, that the 'changes of administration' impact the implementation of a longer term policy. Different political parties have different political agendas and there is a need for politicians to show what they have achieved in their term; therefore policy is often changed in line with administration.

The literature review highlighted that the political reasons for hosting events are surrounded around increasing the popularity of politicians' to create nationalism, enthusiasm and increase voting figures (Raj, 2006). Some of the participants suggested that NHC no longer offered politicians this opportunity and therefore it is not priority in terms of developing policy. Due to the large numbers attending NHC there is nothing to gain politically from investing in NHC, policy makers are not giving more people the opportunity to celebrate, as the event is already at the edge of its capacity. Policy for NHC can only ensure the event happens safely and minimise the negative impacts on the host community; it was implied that this alone does not give policy makers enough political kudos to increase their investment.

David Holley justified this:
> *"...if you are going to increase someone's money you need to see there are real gains for Londoners in increasing that money and what are the real benefits coming back to a wide number of Londoners and if you can't increase participation you are just softening impact..."*

Although there has been very little impact from policy makers, four out of the five participants claimed that the role of policy makers is still extremely important for NHC.

Through supporting and advocating the event the participants suggest that policy makers are vital in popularising the image of NHC.

Future developments for NHC

The primary research has highlighted that many areas of NHCstill need to develop. Figure 5 shows the suggested areas of developments from participants in relation to their answers.

Figure 5: Future development areas for NHC

Bar chart showing the future development areas for Notting Hill Carnival
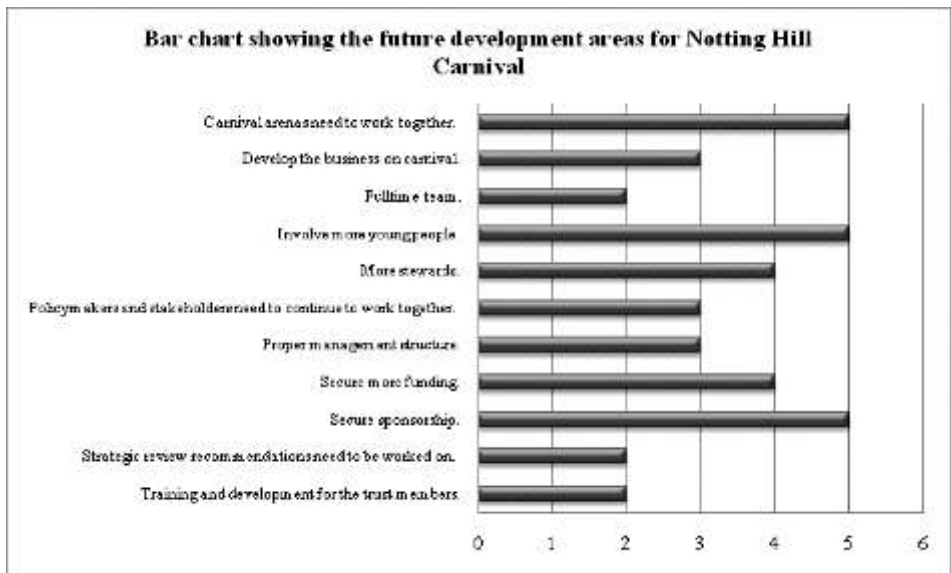
The key development areas identified by all participants were that the Carnival arenas need to work together more efficiently, more young people need to be involved in all aspects of the event and sponsorship needed to be secured. Alexander Da Great stated:

> *"...the successful future of NHC is to get sponsorship if we can, that doesn't rely on hand outs from the powers that be, the GLA, the borough..."*

This further supports the literature which suggested the Carnival community recognised the importance of securing sponsorship. Some of the respondents advised that NHC organisers firstly, need to address their immediate needs of having a proper management team and financing before they would be able to act upon the recommendations suggested.

The primary research has shown that many of the development areas for NHC are similar to those suggested in the strategic review discussed in the chapter two (Mayor of London, 2004). This further supports the view of participants that political changes by policy makers have been minimal over the last decade. It is evident from the research however; that the role of policy makers is extremely important in developing the image of the event and supporting NHC to ensure the event is delivered safely.

Conclusion

The findings of this paperhave explained why events have been at the forefront of political agenda for centuries. The literature review highlighted that policymakers view events as

important in achieving political kudos and the research explains that politicians often see events as an opportunity to secure popularity in a hope to increase votes. The research suggests that events help policy makers develop social cohesion, share culture and generate income for the host community. The research also suggests that the associated benefits of hosting events help politicians to secure political power amongst local businesses and residents.

The findings show NHC has become a centre piece for event policy because of the social, cultural and economic benefits of the event. Policymakers have continued to support the event over the last decade because of this and are concerned with ensuring the event is delivered safely. Policymakers have been successful in changing the negative image of NHC into a positive one and the event has become more widely accepted by the community due to their support. The case study within this research demonstrates how NHC has developed to become a multi-million pound income generating event for the local community that brings together people from different backgrounds. It suggests that policymakers have been fundamental in changing perceptions amongst the local community and businesses by highlighting that NHC is a vital part in developing the local economy through attracting tourism into the area.

The research shows that although policymakers are supportive of NHC policy development for the event is no longer a priority. The findings suggest that many of the recommendations of the strategic review conducted in 2004 have not been implemented and many of the operational problems for NHC identified in the strategic review still exist. The research suggests that NHC is already a significant event for developing social, cultural and economic cohesion and therefore policymakers do not see the value of investing in NHC as there is not enough political kudos to be gained. The research however, highlighted that the role of policymakers is important in supporting and advocating the event and suggests that policymakers will continue to support the event because of the benefits NHC brings to the host community.

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