

1 The Making of the London Notting Hill Carnival Festivalscape: Politics and Power and the
2 Notting Hill Carnival

3

4 Abstract

5

6 This paper examines the role of politics and power in the Notting Hill Carnival's evolution
7 from a community festival to a hallmark event and tourism product. It overcomes the
8 limitations of previous event/festival tourism research by utilizing Actor Network Theory's
9 conceptualization of power as an evolving, relational and transformational phenomenon to
10 analyse the development of the Notting Hill Carnival's festivalscape. Findings reveal over its
11 fifty-plus-year history, non-human actors (such as, money) and human actors (such as,
12 organizing committees) have engaged in continuous, complex ordering processes that have
13 led to the development of six distinct festival frames – Community Festival, Trinidad
14 Carnival, Caribbean Carnival, Black Arts Festival, Business Opportunity and City-led
15 Hallmark Festival. These changes have taken place within a festivalscape that includes
16 objects, space, the translation process, pivotal events and dissenting actors. Within the
17 festivalscape, political actors have exerted significant influence due to their asymmetrical
18 power creating challenges for festival organizers.

19

20 Key words: Actor Network Theory; festival; festivalscape; Notting Hill Carnival; politics;
21 power; stakeholders

22

23 1. Introduction

24

25 Traditionally, festivals were expressions of historical, social or cultural aspects of
26 communities (Getz & Page 2016) and they have remained central to the articulation of
27 cultures (Gold & Gold 2016). In contemporary societies, they are staged increasingly for their
28 economic benefits. Festivals are critical to making cities more dynamic and liveable places
29 (Richards 2017). They increase leisure options for locals, attract new investment to an area,
30 revitalize existing infrastructure and, in some cases, completely remodel a city's landscape.

31

32 Recent research continues to highlight that festivals staged for the benefit of tourists can
33 lose their authenticity when they are distorted in pursuit of tourism goals (Overend 2017).
34 Whereas it is unfair to dismiss all manifestations of these of types of festival as mere
35 commercial pastiche, the tensions that result when local culture is used as part of tourism
36 promotion are undeniable (Gibson & Connell 2016).

37

38 The difficulties organizers and city officials have faced in balancing the interests involved
39 when a festival is staged, both for the benefit of host communities and for the purposes of
40 tourism, are well documented. It has been observed that contemporary festivals are spaces
41 of conflict because of the opposing views of festival stakeholders (Todd, Leask & Ensor
42 2017) However, the literature has yet to explain how on-going conflicts and their resolution

43 serve to develop and transform cultural celebrations, such as festivals, over time. The
44 purpose of this paper is to examine the transformation process of a local community
45 celebration into an international hallmark event attracting tourists. It uses the Actor Network
46 Theory (ANT) and takes a process approach to examine the activities, interactions and
47 outcomes of festival actors in the London Notting Hill Carnival (LNHC), formerly known as
48 the Notting Hill Carnival, for just over 50 years. It adapts van der Duim's (2007)
49 touristscape to develop a festivalscape for the LNHC to make three distinctive contributions
50 to event/festival tourism literature. Firstly, it reveals overarching patterns in festival
51 development, thus going beyond the conflict that dominates examinations of festival politics
52 in event/festival tourism research. Secondly, it provides an examination of festival politics,
53 which shows how asymmetrical power relations impact festival networks. Thirdly, it
54 advances van der Duim's (2007) touristscape by demonstrating the importance of pivotal
55 events and dissenting actors for the LNHC's festivalscape.

56

57 2. Politics and Power in Event/Festival Tourism

58

59 This paper traces the development of a community festival into a hallmark international
60 tourist event and, as such, is situated within the literature of festival/event tourism, which is
61 described as a form of special interest travel in which attendees undertake a journey for the
62 purposes of attending an event or festival (Getz 2008). A great deal of the literature on
63 tourism-driven festivals/events is devoted to exploring the on-going, unresolved tensions
64 some festival/event sites embody (Markwell & Wait 2009; Browne 2011; Laing & Mair 2015).

65 Politics and power relations are also central to research that examines the debates around
66 the legitimacy of cultural expression from a community, which can result in an event or
67 festival being excluded from a community's cultural narrative (Cornish 2016).

68

69 Adapting a festival to incorporate tourists and commercial interests may reduce cultural
70 expression to "a fetishized surplus value" (Nagle 2005: 563) or gimmick used to sell ethnic
71 products. For example, St. Patrick Day is an officially recognised Christian feast day in
72 Ireland but in cities, such as New York and more lately London, these celebrations have
73 become synonymous with drinking and with the Irish brand Guinness® (Nagle 2008). Recent
74 research has confirmed that festival commercialization through activities, such as the sale of
75 souvenirs, local food and drink, are vital for tourist satisfaction (Kim 2015). However, such
76 associations can result in ambivalence amongst communities, needing the income that
77 tourists and other commercial stakeholders bring into a festival, if they wish to preserve
78 cultural authenticity. The adoption of sustainable development principles is critical if local
79 communities are to avoid the commodification of indigenous festivals (Whitford & Dunn
80 2014).

81

82 Organizers of tourism-driven festivals may purposely, or sometimes inadvertently, exclude
83 socio-economic, ethnic or other groups (Quinn 2010; Clarke & Jepson 2011) even when they
84 develop deliberate strategies of social inclusion. Usually these strategies are developed to
85 engage visitors rather than residents, limiting the likelihood of inclusivity outcomes (Laing &
86 Mair 2015). Research has also demonstrated that when festivals/events display counter-
87 cultures with their own distinct politics, there is frequently ambivalence about the festival's
88 acceptance by the wider community. Funding for these events tends to come under public
89 policy remits of inclusion or multi-culturalism, which are typically characterized by very
90 narrow definitions of these constructs, thereby negating the potential for such initiatives to

91 celebrate true cultural differences (Jackson 1992; Markwell 2002; Rushbrook 2002; Markwell
92 & Waitt 2009).

93

94 Stakeholder analysis is a useful tool deployed within event/festival tourism literature to
95 examine power and politics (Getz, Andersson & Larson 2006). These types of studies use
96 Freeman's (1984) definition of stakeholders, which are groups or individuals that can be
97 affected or affect an organization's purpose (Mitchell, Agle & Wood 1997 cited by Karlsen &
98 Nordstrom 2012). Karlsen and Nordstrom (2012) used the International Marketing and
99 Purchasing (IMP) framework of Activities and Resources to examine the interdependencies
100 among stakeholders in festivals. Their findings suggested that the success of festivals was
101 based on the adoption of stakeholder network management strategies classified as
102 "long-stretched", "loose" and "glocal" network management strategies. Frieire-Gibb and
103 Lorentzen (2011) suggested festivals enable economic diversification by changing the
104 pattern of stakeholder interactions at a location.

105

106 Yet another advancement in the examination of power and politics within event/festival
107 tourism is Larson's (2002, 2009) work on festival networks and the relationship-building
108 process, which viewed stakeholder interactions as a "political market square". Social
109 Network Analysis (SNA) has been harnessed similarly to explore intra- and inter-festival
110 network relationships (Jarman, Theodoraki, Hall & Ali-Knight 2014; Williams, Inversini,
111 Ferdinand & Buhalis 2017).

112

113 These perspectives are limited, however, since none of them explore the transformational
114 aspects of politics and power relations. Their limitations lie in the way they conceive the
115 politics and the resulting power relations in festivals. They are conceived either as a source
116 of ongoing, unresolved tension (Markwell & Wait 2009; Browne 2011; Laing & Mair 2015) or
117 as a phenomenon to be understood through classification of relationships (Larson 2009;
118 Williams, Inversini, Ferdinand & Buhalis 2017). This is because power is seen as fixed,
119 which overlooks its ever-changing, relational nature. Power in this paper, as in ANT
120 research, is conceived not as something that is fixed or possessed but is generated through
121 persuasion (Munro 2009). These persuasions or processes of alignment are what cause
122 festivals and events to be transformed over time. This paper seeks to carry out such an
123 examination by utilizing ANT, which embraces the relational and transformational aspects of
124 power relations.

125

126 3. Actor Network Theory

127

128 Whereas stakeholder analysis is focused on the classification of individuals/groups and SNA
129 studies the social relations of individual human actors (Latour 1996), ANT is concerned with
130 how actors, both human and non-human, form networks, as well as how the actions of these
131 actors lead to these networks falling apart and later reforming. Thus, an actor within ANT is
132 anything or anyone whose activity leads to the formation or failure of a network. Van der
133 Duim (2007) specifically highlights three elements of ANT which may be useful for examining
134 the evolution of tourism phenomena, such as festivals; these are the principle of symmetry,
135 the importance of social spaces and the processes of translation.

136 3.1 Symmetry

137 Symmetry means that objects are equally as important as human actors. ANT proposes
138 every situation is the result of ongoing associations among actors (Latour 2005). When
139 conducting ANT analysis, researchers have been cautioned to focus on the network rather
140 than on individual entities, which allows identification of the role of objects, including hotels,
141 airports and entertainment, making activities possible (Urry 2002). The interplay of human
142 and non-human actors, such as buses (Farías 2010) and performing animals (Cloke &
143 Perkins 2005), is increasingly being studied in tourism to understand how experiences are
144 staged for visitors.

145

146 3.2 Social Spaces

147 The second feature of interest is at the core of how ANT conceptualises social spaces. A
148 broader view has emerged that attempts to integrate the characteristics of travel and tourism
149 that enable multiple evolving modalities of physical, social and mental space (Crouch 2000).
150 The meaning of these tourism spaces is constructed and reconstructed over time by
151 mobilizing elements, such as actors, funding, information, brands and imagery (Sheller &
152 Urry 2004). Locations can be viewed as dynamic 'tourismscapes' (Van der Duim 2007), in
153 which visitors, suppliers, non-human actors, buildings and technological systems interact
154 over time.

155

156 Thus, ANT is not merely a theoretical lens but also shapes the direction of inquiry (Murdoch
157 2006; Law 2004) as it encourages researchers to follow the process of how resources, tasks
158 and meaning is assigned to actors, not merely the outcomes (Latour 2005). One approach in
159 the tourism domain has categorised this process as a “tourismscape” (Van der Duim 2005
160 2007). Spaces are developed within tourismscapes (Murdoch 2006) linked to locations
161 where activities are performed and can shape the process of relation-building and
162 reconfiguration by actors. These spaces may be permanent, in the form of hotels or
163 temporary, in the form of festivals (Zukin 2010). In the latter, they can become a source of
164 conflict since public and private actors may apply differing claims to a given space. These
165 spaces may be real, such as beaches that tourists interact with (Ren 2010), or imagined
166 (Lengkeek 2002), such as depictions in brochures.

167

168 3.3 Translation

169 The third element identified by van der Duim (2007) is translation (Latour 1987). Translation
170 follows phases rather than stages because distinction between states is not clear cut
171 and progress is not a deterministic path from initiation to the end. At the beginning of
172 translation, a focal actor frames the problem and identifies the identities and interests
173 of other actors that would need to be engaged to achieve its own interests (Rodger
174 et al. 2009).

175

176 The focal actor then identifies an Obligatory Passage Point (OPP) under its control
177 (Callon 1986). The OPP influences interactions in the network and defines the basis
178 of negotiations (Revellino & Mouritsen 2017). Previous festival research has
179 identified a number of OPPs, including identity (Ivakhiv 2005) and the requirements
180 of funders. The focal actor then encourages the required participants to align
181 interests, despite holding different views, in order to achieve the outcomes they are
182 seeking.

183

184 If this alignment process is successful, the OPP is defined (Sidorova & Sarker 2000)
185 and members are enrolled in the network. Convergence of network members may
186 occur in which they may align activities to maintain compatibility with each other and
187 the OPP is institutionalized (Van der Duim 2007). Members seeking to join after this
188 point will have to invest the resources required to become compatible or will not be
189 able to participate. Translation is ultimately driven by the shifting power dynamics
190 that play out in networks.

191

192 The concepts of symmetry, social spaces and translation have been adapted in
193 Tables 4.0 and 8.0 to demonstrate the evolution of the LNHC festivalscape.

194

195 3.4 ANT and Festivals and Events

196 Recent events management research includes a few studies in which ANT properties have
197 been used to examine the interactions of participants and physical elements in an obstacle
198 course event (Weedon 2015), as well as the enrolment of animals in a network embedded in
199 an equine event (Graham & McManus 2015). Of interest, is the study of Gustafsson, Larson
200 & Svensson (2014), which is an attempt to develop a hallmark event, highlighting the
201 difficulties in framing by the focal actor and the initiative's failure. However, these papers
202 examine the interactions of actors over a short period and focus on a single-framing of an
203 event. This paper seeks to use ANT to understand the actor interactions evolving over more
204 than 50 years. It goes beyond existing literature on festival politics and actor dynamics, as
205 well initial applications of ANT to festivals and events, to show how the interplay of human
206 and non-human actors combine to achieve multiple successive frames of an event over time.

207

208 4. The Research Context

209

210 Six key types of festival actors have been central to the shaping of the NHC's successive
211 networks and these are detailed in Table 1.0. The Notting Hill area, like the festival sharing
212 its name, has undergone radical changes over time. In the decade immediately preceding
213 the staging of the Notting Hill Festival in 1964, it was characterized by 'down-at-heel', cheap
214 lodgings, mainly occupied by immigrants from the old Commonwealth (Batty, Desyllas &
215 Duxbury 2003). Most of the original immigrant population moved away from Notting Hill by
216 the 1990s and they were replaced by wealthy, younger residents, typically white and British,
217 from middle-class backgrounds (Batty et al. 2003). However, the area has retained some

218 poorer neighbourhoods and has attracted a new wave of ethnic minority settlement in the
 219 form of a Moroccan community (Martin 2005). This heterogeneous mix of residents, along
 220 with its quaint shops, boutique pubs and restaurants, gives the area a bohemian character.
 221 Much like the contemporary LNHC, the area is a mixture of cultures and traditions. See
 222 Table 2.0.

223
 224 Changing the event's name from the 'Notting Hill Carnival' to the 'London Notting Hill
 225 Carnival' is part and parcel of this heterogeneity. It is undoubtedly what Jago and Shaw
 226 (1998) define as a hallmark event because it is now synonymous with the Notting Hill area
 227 and also the city of London, which derives significant benefits from the hundreds of
 228 thousands of visitors flocking to the event every year. These benefits include £93 million in
 229 visitor spending and 3,000 full-time equivalent jobs annually (Webster & McKay 2016).

230

231 Table 1.0 – Key Festival Actor Groups within the Notting Hill Carnival

Festival Actor Groups	Description
Organizing Committees	Following the departure of Rhuane Laslett, a number of organizing committees have assumed responsibility for the overall organization of the event. They work in conjunction with other key festival actors to deliver the festival programme and the festival's overall mission.
Cultural Organizations	These organizations deliver the cultural elements of the Notting Hill Carnival, which are primarily the steel band competition, the costumed parades and the static sound system for street parties. These groups are known as steel bands, masquerade bands and static sound systems.
Statutory Funding Bodies	There are three key state funding bodies providing financial support to the Notting Hill Carnival. First is the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea Council (RBKC), since the majority of the Notting Hill Carnival's activities take place within that borough. Secondly, the Greater London Authority (GLA), which includes the Notting Hill Carnival amongst the London events it supports; thirdly, the Arts Council England (ACE) funds masquerade bands, steel bands and the cultural arena associations.
Emergency and Transportation Services	In order for an event to be delivered on the scale and scope of the Notting Hill Carnival, emergency and transportation services need to be involved. These services include the British Transport Police (BTP); the London Ambulance Service NHS Trust (LAS); the London Fire and Emergency Protection Authority (LFEPA); the London Underground

Festival Actor Groups	Description
	Limited (LUL); the Metropolitan Police (MPS); St John Ambulance (SJA); and Transport for London (TFL).

232

233

234 Table 2.0 – Main Activities Featured During the Notting Hill Carnival Holiday Weekend

When	Activities	Cultural traditions displayed
2 days before Carnival Monday	Panorama – Champions of Steel Competition (organized by the British Association of Steel Bands)	Features the music of steel bands, a musical tradition from Trinidad & Tobago.
1 day before Carnival Monday	J'Ouvert (organized by the British Association of Steel Bands)	J'Ouvert features a parade tradition that is found in Trinidad & Tobago, as well as other Caribbean islands that have these types of parade.
	Children's costumed parade (organized by the Carnival Arts and Masquerade Foundation)	This costumed parade features masquerade forms originating from Trinidad and other Caribbean islands, as well as other countries, such as Britain.
	Static sound system street parties (organized by the British Association of Sound Systems)	Sound systems although originating from a Jamaican reggae tradition, currently features music from throughout the Caribbean, Latin America, North America, Africa and Britain.
Carnival Monday	Static sound system street parties continue (organized by the British Association of Sound Systems)	-Same as above-
	Adults costumed parade (organized by the Carnival Arts and Masquerade Foundation)	The adult costumed parade features masquerade forms mainly from Trinidad, as well as prominent countries such as Barbados, Grenada and Brazil.

235

236

237 5. Methodology

238

239 Current events and festivals research examines a single festival at a point in time. Less
240 attention is paid to the dynamics that influence the delivery of annual festivals (Hall 2012),
241 which have sustained their activities over a long period. The research combines 27 in-depth
242 interviews with archival research from documents setting out the early history of the NHC (a
243 listing of archival documents used for this paper is provided in Appendix 3). This study
244 sought to understand the evolution of associations among actors over time (Larson 2009);
245 therefore, the interview and archival review process were designed to identify and
246 understand incidents. Appendix 1 illustrates a sample interview guide. Initial respondents
247 were selected from the key festival actor groups identified in Table 1. The interviewees were
248 purposively sampled by their history and specific responsibilities within the event (See
249 Appendix 2). They belonged to both past and present festival actor groups with specific
250 responsibilities for planning and organizing the event, including organizing bodies, cultural
251 organizations and statutory bodies. The duration of their involvement ranged from more than
252 40 years to less than 10 years (see Appendix 2 for a detailed listing). Their identities were
253 kept anonymous and interviewees in the paper are referred to as “I”, followed by their
254 interview number.

255

256 Analysis procedures followed an iterative approach that incorporated open and axial coding
257 of text data (Strauss & Corbin 1998). Each author read transcribed interviews a minimum of
258 3 times before independently open coding text at the sentence level independently to
259 provide an initial understanding of the data (Todd, Leask & Ensor 2017). The open codes
260 were then reviewed and events and incidents identified in the text were used to search
261 archives to find supporting documents.

262

263 Archival data was used to confirm and supplement the content of interviews, which also
264 reduced potential subjectivity, increasing the validity of the study (Miller, Cardinal & Glick
265 1997). Text segments from these documents were also extracted and open coded. Once
266 confirmed, incidents and concepts raised in interviews were used to guide further archival
267 searches and identify additional interview respondents. Other historical publications were
268 also used to give context to the findings and supply specific details unknown to interviewees.

269

270 At the end of the data collection process, interviews and documents were arranged in
271 temporal order and axial coding was performed to identify conceptual relationships among
272 events, actors, spaces and associations (McKeever, Jack & Anderson 2015). Themes were
273 then identified independently by each author from the codes that described the duration and
274 content of a temporal period. These themes were discussed and a final theme assigned to
275 the temporal period.

276

277 The analysed data, grouped by theme, were used to create narratives that provided a rich
278 description of frames held by actor groups, mobilizing elements and associations among key
279 actors (Langley 1999). These narratives were analysed subsequently to create visual maps
280 (Miles & Huberman 1994; Pratt 2009.) in the form of tables to identify translations and
281 outcomes for each chronological era labelled by theme.

282

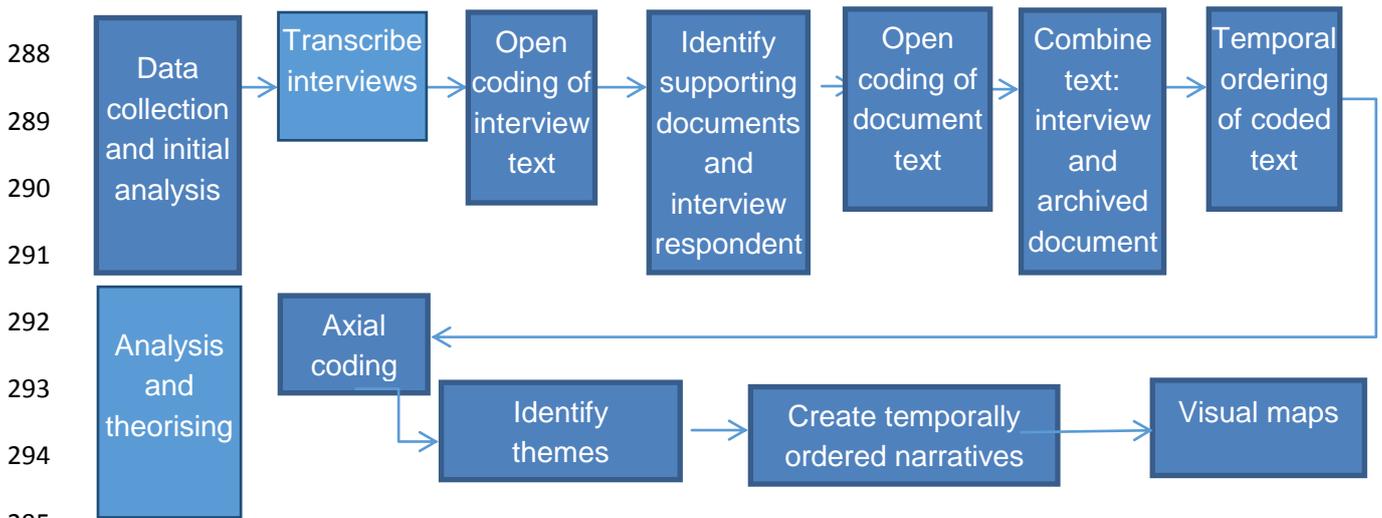
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287 Figure 1.0 – Data Collection and Analysis Procedures



297 Table 3.0 – Extract of Table of Assigned Codes

Raw Data Examples	Open Code	Axial Code	Theme (Researcher1)	Theme (Researcher2)	Final Assigned theme
<i>"... it was all very competitive ...when Virgin sponsored Carnival, British Airways paid some man something like £20,000 to put up banners on the screens to interrupt the whole Virgin process. We managed to get him knocked off."</i> - I18	Funding competition	Funding	Commercial Carnival	Competition in Carnival	Business Opportunity
<i>"At least when we had Claire we had money [...] back in [those] days we use to win prizes and we [my band] used to make at least £2000 from being on the road."</i> – I8	Band	Funding	Commercial Carnival	Commercial Carnival	Business Opportunity

298 6. Findings and Analysis: The Development of the Notting Hill Carnival Festivalscape

299

300 6.1 Initial Framing: Community Festival (1964-1969)

301 Previous tourism research utilizing ANT has shown the development of cultural products is
302 not the result of a “rigid rational approach” but the adoption of a conditional path in which
303 actions are taken in response to certain pivotal events (Arnaboldi & Spiller 2011: 652).
304 Studies have also noted the importance of the focal actor or ‘Leader Translator’ in the
305 innovation of tourism products, who can convince other actors of the worth of their visions
306 (Paget, Dimanche & Mounet 2010). Both these aspects are demonstrated in the initial
307 framing of the festival by its founder, Rhuane Laslett, who set up the festival in 1964 as a
308 means of combating racial tensions and bringing together a divided community. These
309 tensions were apparent in the response to an invited group of steel band players (see Table
310 2.0 for a brief explanation of steel bands), who decided to stage an impromptu parade during
311 the event. Some residents of the area mistook their actions for a protest and shouted abuse
312 at the players. I10 remembers:

313

314 “[...] while they [steel band players at the Notting Hill Festival] were playing, people
315 were saying ‘What are you protesting about?’ Go back from where you come from’,
316 that sort of thing [...]” - I10 (member of participating steel band organization)

317

318 However, the community festival did attract support from many in the area. Archived Press
319 documents highlight a range of immigrant populations and local organizations participating in
320 the event. Costumes were donated from Madame Tussaud’s, a local hairdresser did the hair
321 and make-up free of charge, the gas board and fire brigade had floats that featured in the
322 event and stallholders in the Portobello market donated horses and carts (Younge 2002). In

323 this first framing, the streets of Notting Hill were also an important actor. As is the case with
324 other tourism-scapes, the space in which the NHC is situated is one which is constructed and
325 reconstructed over time (Sheller & Urry 2004). During this first phase, the steel band players
326 through their interactions with the streets, began reconfiguring the Notting Hill Festival into a
327 Caribbean Carnival by establishing a parade route, which would later become the focus of
328 the event:

329

330 “Year by year, they [players in the steel band] began gradually extending their march
331 through the streets of Notting Hill until they achieved a semblance of a route.” - I10
332 (member of participating steel band organization)

333

334 During this initial phase the Notting Hill Festival was renamed Notting Hill Carnival.

335

336 6.2 Second Framing: Trinidadian Carnival (1969-1974)

337 As the event began to shift in appearance from a community fayre to a Carnival that focused
338 on a parade, attendance increased from an initial 1,000 people (Younge 2002) to 10,000
339 attendees. A significant number of individuals of Afro-Caribbean descent enthusiastically
340 embraced the changing appearance of the festival and began to make their own contribution
341 to the framing. The number of steel bands, which played steel pan music native to Trinidad,
342 increased during this period and they also introduced the Trinidadian Carnival tradition of
343 playing ‘mas’ by forming masquerade bands (see Table 2.0 for a brief explanation of these
344 bands) and participating in the parade. I12 remembers:

345

346 “... it was about ‘71, ‘72 and the [steel] band started coming out with mas’ and, at that
347 time, there wasn’t many mas’ bands in Ladbroke Grove.”- I12 (member of
348 participating steel band organization)

349

350 Perhaps this also led to both the intentional and unintentional exclusion of other festival
351 actors, among them the festival’s founder. In the early years of the festival’s development,
352 an uneasy relationship emerged between the Afro-Caribbean attendees and participants and
353 the event organizer Rhuane Laslett, who was of European and Native American ancestry. A
354 recently published history of the NHC tells of Laslett having a vision of a multi-cultural
355 festival and this subsequently led to her applying for the licence to host the Notting Hill
356 Festival (Blagrove & Busby 2014). I18 recalled conversations with Laslett, which revealed
357 the founder of the NHC was “hurt” by the recasting of the event as one with Afro-Caribbean
358 origins and that she felt her role as founder and her initial vision of a multi-cultural festival
359 was negated by subsequent organizers. The current history of the event on the London
360 Notting Hill Carnival Enterprise Trust traces the origins of the festival to indoor Carnival
361 celebrations organised by Trinidadian Claudia Jones (LNHCET 2017).

362

363 Laslett had not intended to host an event focused primarily on the Afro-Caribbean
364 community so, understandably, there was tension when Caribbean Carnival lovers kept
365 coming forward following the first staging of the event with suggestions to make the event
366 better (i.e. more like the Carnivals in the Caribbean and the Trinidad Carnival, in particular)
367 (La Rose 2004). Moreover, when the focus of the event became the culture of the Afro-
368 Caribbean community in Britain, it became intertwined with the ascendance of Black power
369 movements and to surveillance from the police, which was ultimately something for which
370 the festival’s founder did not want responsibility (Younge 2002).

371

372 In 1969, Laslett relinquished leadership of the event to an Afro-Caribbean leadership, who,
373 like the participating steel bands, made their own changes to the event, many of which can
374 be attributed to Trinidadian-born Leslie Palmer, who was interested in growing attendance at
375 the festival. He thought this would be best achieved by introducing Trinidadian traditions to
376 the Carnival. He is reputed to have encouraged, cajoled and recruited people to create
377 Trinidad-style mas' bands, which were separate and apart from those formed by steel bands.
378 Thus, at the 1973 and 1974 Carnivals, the Trinidadian Carnival traditions of steel bands and
379 masquerade were the focus of the event (La Rose 2004), making these celebrations very
380 much reminiscent of the Trinidad Carnival.

381

382 6.3 Third Framing: Caribbean Carnival (1975-1981)

383 In 1975, Leslie Palmer continued his "Trinidadianizing" of the event, taking inspiration from a
384 fact-finding visit undertaken in 1974 to study the organizational structures in place to
385 manage the Trinidadian Carnival (La Rose 2004). In 1975, a Carnival Development
386 Committee (CDC) was established based on an organization that Palmer had met with in
387 Trinidad bearing the same name. However, in the same year, he made a change to the
388 festival that shifted the framing of the event from that of a Trinidadian Carnival to a
389 Caribbean Carnival when he took the decision to invite Jamaican DJs to play at the event.
390 This decision, combined with inviting a radio station to broadcast live from the event,
391 transformed the event from one with a primarily local audience in the tens of thousands to a
392 hallmark event attracting 250,000 attendees from London and its environs (Gutzmore 1982).
393 I18 in reference to this decision, noted that although Palmer's involvement with the NHC was
394 not long, it was indeed significant:

395

396 "Leslie, he didn't stay long, he stayed long enough though to achieve that very
397 important thing" -I18 (former member of festival organization)

398 The theme of exclusion emerged again during this period as Jamaican reggae replaced steel
399 bands as the main source of music at the event. I12, in reference to the pounding reggae
400 sounds emanating from the DJ's sound systems, explained:

401

402 "Once people get used to listening to music at a certain volume, forget it, they can't
403 hear [steel band] pan music after that." -I12 (member of participating steel band)

404

405 This change is one that was also lamented by masquerade bands because it meant that live
406 music was supplanted by recorded music:

407

408 "[...] now the steel bands are separate from the costumed bands and they go
409 [a]round at a different time. To me, that's such a terrible shame. To us [live] music on
410 the street is an absolute crucial thing [...]" – I3 (member of participating masquerade
411 band)

412

413 At the same time, new actors were enrolled, such as the Arts Council Great Britain (ACGB),
414 which began funding the event when attendance grew exponentially and the newly-formed
415 CDC argued its artistic merits. The numbers of Jamaican immigrants and British-born youth
416 of Afro-Caribbean heritage attending the event also increased (Cohen 1993). Cohen (1980)
417 suggested that the addition of sound systems playing reggae music which spoke of violence,
418 blood and police oppression, tapped into the newly-established counter-culture that was
419 growing among the British born youth of Caribbean heritage. Many of them had grown up
420 alienated in a hostile environment of racial discrimination. Moreover, the biggest single group

421 of Caribbean immigrants to Britain were from Jamaica, which did not share Trinidad's
422 Carnival traditions of steel and masquerade bands.

423

424 The enrolment of these new actors also attracted a dissenting group of actors in the form of
425 the Carnival Arts Committee (CAC), which had a vision of re-shaping the NHC as an event
426 to be used for uplifting the Black community in Britain. Consequently, it obtained funding
427 from the Council for Racial Equity (CRE) and the Greater London Council's (GLC) Black Arts
428 Steering Group (Cohen 1993). This contrasted with the CDC, which intended for the event to
429 be an apolitical artistic display.

430

431 Previous research has also highlighted that the 1975 NHC, like other large-scale events,
432 became a target for pick pockets and other perpetrators of petty crimes, which exacerbated
433 the increasingly tense relationship between the festival's attendees and the police. This was
434 because the latter were not prepared for the dramatic rise in numbers attending and were
435 powerless to stop the criminal activity taking place (Cohen 1993). In 1976, the police
436 compensated by deploying 1,500 officers to the event. Jackson (1988), among other
437 researchers, described policing of the event as heavy-handed and the cause of what
438 became known as the Notting Hill Riots, which saw both police officers and festival
439 attendees injured in violent clashes. Throughout the remaining years of the decade, the
440 streets of Notting Hill continued to be a stage on which the tense race relations between the
441 primarily white police force and the primarily black festival attendees would be acted out.
442 Table 4.0 details the development of the Notting Hill Carnival festivalscape up to this point.

443 Table 4.0 – Development of the Notting Hill Carnival Festivalscape (1964-1981)

444 Source: Adapted from Van der Duim (2007)

	Community Festival 1964-1969	Trinidadian Carnival 1969-1974	Caribbean Carnival 1975-1981
445			
446	Objects acting on the festivalscape (symmetry)	Community donated floats, horses and carts, costumes and make-up come together to contribute to a multi-cultural fayre.	Steel pans and mas' (Trinidadian inspired costumes) become the focal objects of the Notting Hill Carnival to produce an event very much reminiscent of the Trinidad Carnival.
447			Sound systems and reggae music, stalls selling Jamaican beer and food fuse with Trinidad steel pan music and mas' playing to create a Caribbean fusion event.
448			
449	Social Space	The streets provide relief from cramped conditions and a parade setting to animate the event.	The streets become a place of surveillance as the festival becomes dominated by the cultural forms of the Afro-Caribbean residents of Notting Hill.
450			The streets become a place of protest as black attendees clash with a white Police force, acting out the racial tensions that existed during the period.
451			
452	Focal actor and festival framing	Rhuane Laslett, social worker and activist wishing to bring together a divided community.	Leslie Palmer, Trinidadian-born, school teacher wished to create festival based on Trinidad Carnival.
453			CDC seeks to develop a Caribbean fusion event that would attract youth and Jamaican immigrants without Carnival tradition.
454			
455	Obligatory passage point	Part of Notting Hill's multi-cultural community.	Part of the Trinidadian Carnival tradition.
456			Part of the Afro-Caribbean community in Notting Hill.
457	Enrolment of actors	Actors enrolled included the local gas board, fire brigade, Portobello market stall holders and a local steel band.	Actors enrolled included an increasing number of steel bands and mas' bands (Trinidadian-style costumed masquerade).
458			Actors enrolled included Jamaican DJs and funding body ACGB.
459	Pivotal events (context of the festival framing)	The existence of racial tensions and community divisions.	The demands of Caribbean Carnival lovers for a Carnival like the ones they remembered from their home countries.
460			Growing racial tensions and the oppressive discrimination suffered by an increasing number of Black British-born youth.
461			
462			
463			
464			

457 Translation

458

465 6.5 Fourth framing: Black Arts Festival (1981-1987)

466 From 1981 onwards, the evolution of the NHC festivalscape would be increasingly driven by
467 external concerns, such as funding, public opinion and the political agendas of funding
468 organizations. Notably, rivalry between the CAC and CDC in 1981 resulted in ACGB
469 withdrawing its funding from the latter organization, citing ambiguity surrounding the event's
470 leadership as the reason. The CDC, which had become dependent on the ACGB's funding,
471 collapsed whilst the CAC, which had other sources of funding from the CRE and GLC, took
472 over leadership. Their framing of the event as a celebration of Black Arts fitted in well with
473 public sector funding initiatives directed at ethnic minority art, such as those offered by CRE
474 and the GLC (Cohen 1993). The ACGB, during this period, also funded the masquerade
475 bands participating in the festival through its own Ethnic Arts Working Group. The success of
476 the CAC's framing was evident in the increased funding to the event, which was recorded in
477 archived ACGB meeting notes for the 1984/85 Carnival period. See Table 4.0.

478

479 Table 5.0 - Public Funds for the Notting Hill Carnival for 1984/85

Funding Body	Amount (£)
Commission for Racial Equality (now defunct)	17,000
Royal Borough for Kensington and Chelsea (for toilets and cleaning)	27,000
Greater London Council (now GLA) through Black Arts Steering Group	69,962
Arts Council Great Britain (these funds went directly to masquerade bands)	37,000
Total	150,962

480

481 Source: Adapted from ACGB (1985)

482

483 Cohen (1993) also provides further evidence of the success of the CAC's framing of the
484 event by highlighting that in the years following the CAC assuming leadership of the event. A

485 glossy magazine included statements of endorsement from the British Prime Minister,
486 leaders of the UK's main political parties, Scotland Yard chiefs and the Mayors of several
487 London boroughs, suggesting their successful enrolment into the festivalscape. Additionally,
488 attendance at the event during this period reached 1 million attendees.

489

490 The inability of the CDC to preserve its framing of NHC as a Caribbean Carnival and the
491 subsequent success of the CAC's framing highlights the relational nature of power (Foucault
492 1984). The CAC's bid to change the framing of the event was successful because of the
493 power conferred upon the organization by state funding bodies (who could exert greater
494 power than other actors). This situation also demonstrates how asymmetrical power is
495 created inside the network-building process (Law 1999). It is through their enrolment and
496 participation in the festival network that state funding bodies were subsequently able to
497 acquire their asymmetric power and effect significant change. This becomes particularly
498 evident in subsequent translations of the event. See Table 7.0.

499

500 Despite, the initial success of the CAC during this period, as has been the case with
501 previous framings of the NHC, there were a few dissenting actors within its growing
502 festivalscape. The police, for example, continued to have a contentious relationship with
503 attendees. As one media source observed, during the 1980s "law and order became the
504 main Press angle [that was taken to report on the Carnival], obscuring the growth of the
505 Carnival disciplines" (Touch Magazine 1996: 6). A 1983 archived ACGB report also revealed
506 criticisms of the CAC, which included: not looking for sponsorship, not doing a hard sell of
507 the magazine and charging too little for stalls (Stote, Walwin & Cleur 1983,). Residents, who,
508 by this time, were increasingly white and middle class, also became critical of the event
509 organizers. Following the first fatality at the Carnival and a major confrontation between the
510 police and spectators in 1987, an archived letter from the ACGB revealed a petition from

511 residents to relocate the festival (Smith 1987). I21, a participating member of a sound
512 system, remembered the year as one in which the relative freedom under which the sound
513 systems operated was curtailed:

514

515 “After a man was killed over a can of Pepsi, all the unlicensed bars stopped and new
516 restrictions came into effect.” -I21

517

518 In that year also, auditors Coopers and Lybrand, commissioned by the RBKC, highlighted
519 perceived fiscal incompetence and corruption in a report, which was leaked to the press; it
520 eventually led to mass resignations among CAC board members. I18 explained because the
521 CAC was an unpaid, part-time organization, they had no money to pay professional
522 accountants for bookkeeping services so it was “assumed that they had been stealing
523 money”.

524

525 Although none of the allegations against the CAC were ever proven, the combination of
526 allegations and mounting pressures from other dissenting actors resulted in total failure of
527 the Black Arts Framing of the NHC, highlighting how interplay of human and non-human
528 actors can bring about translation failure. Dissenting human actors, combined with the
529 gentrified Notting Hill streets, the leaked Coopers and Lybrand report and the resulting
530 allegations, proved to be too much for the CAC. Their experience also demonstrates the
531 dangers festival organizations can face when they accept public funding without sufficient
532 accountability infrastructure as it subjects them to a level of scrutiny for which they may be
533 unprepared. In the case of the CAC, the reputational damage from unproven allegations was
534 substantial:

535 “[...] all the police did was disrupt people’s lives and hurt a lot of people with their wild
536 allegations. A lot of people got mangled in it. The police and the council did that [...]”
537 -I18 (former member of festival organization)

538

539 6.6 Fifth Framing: Business Opportunity (1989-2002)

540 Despite the collapse of the CAC and what I18 described as a “crisis” for the Notting Hill
541 Carnival, the processes for ordering the festivalscape continued:

542

543 “[...] Alex was resigning, this one was resigning [...] there was nobody left and in May
544 1989, there was a public meeting at the Tabernacle where about 300 people
545 gathered and they voted to start again.” -I18 (former festival organization member)

546

547 The CAC was, at this point, £200,000 in debt and, following the accusations of fiscal
548 incompetence made against the former organizers, a new organization body was formed
549 that sought to frame the NHC as a business opportunity. In support of this, the festival
550 community chose the name Notting Hill Carnival Enterprise Limited (NHCEL). Its aim was to
551 make the NHC less dependent on public sources of income. The success of the framing
552 became evident in the mid-1990s when corporate brands became title sponsors of the NHC.
553 I18, who was part of the NHCEL during this period, shared how the financial picture for the
554 festival drastically changed in the years 1995-1999. See Tables 5.0 and 6.0.

555

556

557

558

559

560 Table 6.0 - Major Public and Private Sector Funding Sources (1995-1999)

Funding Source	Amount (£)*
Title Sponsorship	350,000
London Arts Council - During this period London Arts Council (a successor to ACGB) funded the organizing body directly	60,000
London Boroughs Grant Scheme	60,000
Stall Rentals	69,995**
Main Live Stage (where popular artists and DJs performed)	45,000
Total	584,995

561

562 Notes:

563 * These amounts were raised on an annual basis.

564 ** This figure was estimated based on averages calculated for the different types of stall available at
 565 the Carnival. The total number of stalls at the carnival was taken as 40, in accordance with the LDA's
 566 (2003) economic impact report; interviewee 18's estimates were used to calculate individual stall
 567 rentals shown in Table 6.0.

568

569

570 Table 7.0 – Revenue from Stall Rentals

Based on Interviewee 18's estimates	Amount (£)
20 ordinary stalls bringing in an income of between £110 and £240 (this was averaged as 165X20)	3,300.00
5 Ice-cream stalls which each brought in £460	2,300.00
15 bar sites bringing incomes averaging at around £4293X15	64,395.00
Total	69,995.00

571

572 In addition to title sponsorship, stall rentals and rental of the main live stage also became
 573 sources of funding, highlighting the successful enrolment of new commercial actors into the
 574 festivalscape. Touch Magazine (1996) noted that popular music artists Destiny's Child, Ice
 575 Cube and Jamiroquai all performed at the NHC during the 1990s. Moreover, attendance at
 576 the festival during this period was estimated to reach 2million (Nurse 1999), with an
 577 increasing number of overseas tourists attending the event. As has been noted by Kim
 578 (2015), festival commercialization is an important predictor of tourist satisfaction; therefore, it
 579 is, perhaps, not surprising that when Coca-Cola and other commercial brands chose the

580 NHC to launch their and promote their products, more tourists were drawn to the event. I18
581 explained that during this period, the NHC's commercial success made it an example of
582 successful festival tourism Carnival organizers in Europe wished to emulate:

583

584 “[...] Europeans began to wake up to what was going on in Notting Hill and every
585 year they would send delegations to Notting Hill and we would sit down and go
586 through our structure. People from Rotterdam, people from FECC [Federation of
587 European Carnival Cities]. We were even given pride of place in the World Carnival
588 Organization. Everybody hung on our every word.”- I18 (former festival organization
589 member)

590

591 It is at this point that NHC became widely recognized as a successful hallmark event and
592 tourism product and the streets of Notting Hill became known as the venue for “Europe’s
593 largest street party”. I15 recalled the sheer revelry as the festival’s popularity soared:

594

595 “It was amazing, the police moved cars out of the way to make room for people to
596 dance.”- I15 (member of participating sound system)

597

598 Participating cultural organizations, especially masquerade bands, remember this period
599 with some fondness because it was a time when they received funding from the festival
600 organization to defray their costs:

601

602 “At least when we had Claire we had money [...] back in [those] days we use to win
603 prizes and we [my former band] used to make at least £2000 from being on the
604 road.”- I8 (member of participating masquerade band)

605

606 It also meant that individual participating cultural organizations became able to attract
607 sponsorship, even though they may not have had overt commercial objectives. The ability to
608 attract sponsorship was a necessary benefit in an environment that was more closely
609 monitored and required payment of licences and other fees:

610

611 “[...] it’s not even like setting out to get into sponsorship, I couldn’t manage the
612 weight no more, yeah at first it weren’t bad [...] but then everything went up,
613 everything went up, yeah the fees went up, then there were fees that you never had
614 to pay [...]” I17 (member of participating sound system)

615

616 At this stage, the unpredictability of developing cultural products is especially stark because
617 what started as a community event aimed at residents was now an international event
618 attracting tourism and commercial sponsorship. In addition, the role of pivotal events in
619 framing and re-framing of cultural products is highlighted (Arnaboldi & Spiller 2011). In this
620 case, a leadership and financial crisis led to the development of commercially-driven framing
621 for the festival.

622

623 Not all actors viewed this framing of the NHC in a positive light. Media reports expressed
624 fears that “traditional elements”, which were viewed as masquerade bands and steel bands
625 by this time, would be “totally eclipsed by the combined effects of commercial pressure and

626 cultural apathy” (Tuckey 1996, p.7). Additionally, attendance figures at the event created
627 unprecedented challenges for the police and local councils in managing health and safety at
628 the event. Moreover, residents made fresh calls for the festival to be relocated. Notably,
629 absent from the recollections of interviewees and archival documents was the mention of
630 sustainable development initiatives, which are critical in avoiding the social ills of
631 commercialization (Whitford & Dunn 2014). However, it should also be noted that along with
632 the typical drawbacks associated with commercialization, the process was also one that
633 empowered participating organizations by transforming their cultural assets into economic,
634 as well as political, assets (Cole, 2007). After becoming a commercial success, the
635 participating masquerade bands were given national recognition when they were included in
636 Queen Elizabeth II’s Golden Jubilee celebrations, which was, for some, an important
637 milestone in their journey to become legitimate artists:

638

639 “We did the Queen’s Golden Jubilee. It was fantastic. They booked a coach and fed
640 us. I think that is how we got recognised [...]” – 127 (member of participating
641 masquerade band)

642

643 6.7 Current Framing: City-led Hallmark Tourism Product (2002-present)

644 The successes enjoyed by the NHCL proved to be temporary. The deaths of two people at
645 the 2000 Carnival prompted another review of the festival concerning its health and safety
646 arrangements, which was initially published by the GLA in 2001 and updated in 2004.
647 Among its key recommendations was improved stewarding at the event to control the
648 increasing numbers (GLA 2001). Additionally, according to I18, the festival “lost a great deal
649 of its reputation resources” following the 2000 Carnival, so the event was unable to secure
650 title sponsorship. There were also fresh calls from residents that the festival be relocated.
651 The pivotal event that would trigger translation failure was implementation of the increased

652 stewarding and the subsequent delay in payment for these stewards. I18 explained that the
653 GLA agreed to provide the NHC organizers with £200,000 for this additional expense but
654 kept delaying so the organizers were forced to use their reserves to pay the stewards, which
655 fuelled allegations of corruption against the Head of the Festival Organization, Claire Holder,
656 who was later fired by her own Board Directors.

657

658 She would eventually be found innocent years later (Howe 2005) but as was the case when
659 the CAC was dissolved, her dismissal led to a fundamental reframing of the NHC, utilizing
660 many of the recommendations in the GLA's strategic review. It was reframed as a hallmark
661 event, produced and regulated by the City of London. According to I4, after participation of
662 masquerade bands in the Queen's Jubilee, a number of the festivalscape's stakeholders
663 began to realize the significant political resource the Carnival had become and sought to
664 seize control, making the subsequent reframing possible:

665

666 "... during the Golden Jubilee year [...] people [masquerade band leaders and other
667 festival stakeholders] starting seeing the benefits of performing coming [...] and what
668 did they do? They ganged up and got rid of Claire Holder [...] and they've never
669 recovered, so sponsors and funding and all of those various things, they killed it."

670

671 Evidence of the reframing can be found in the re-naming of the event and the festival
672 organization as the London Notting Hill Carnival and the London Notting Hill Carnival Limited
673 (changed to London Notting Hill Carnival Enterprise Trust in 2013), respectively. This re-
674 naming served to solidify its status as a hallmark event, not only for Notting Hill but also for
675 the City of London. The newly formed festival organization worked more closely with
676 London-based government organizations, such as the GLA, RBKC and the MET, and both

677 the festival's organization and festival participants continue to be tightly regulated by them.
678 Both members of the central festival organization and participating organizations during this
679 period spoke about the increasing restrictions posed by the new framing of the festival:

680

681 “[...] we also provide stewarding down there, security down there at our own cost and
682 these are things that are increasing year-on-year and we've just agreed that we
683 would bring in more security [...] at the request of the police [...]” – I15 (member of
684 sound system organization)

685

686 We were always doing it [trying to arrange sponsorship] through the council [...] so
687 every year we would have this battle about what we could brand, what we could sell,
688 what rights we had.” – I26 (former festival organization head)

689

690 The framing of the event as a product of the City of London also brought benefits for some
691 actors. In 2003, the London Development Agency published the first ever report of the
692 tourism and economic impacts of the NHC, highlighting the significant amounts of visitor
693 spending, increases in income for local businesses and jobs generated by the event (LDA
694 2003). This served to justify the continued investment from public sector organizations in an
695 event that has been continuously criticized for its economic and social cost to tax payers and
696 residents. Additionally, following the finalized strategic review published by the GLA (2004),
697 one of the participating cultural organizations received significant funding to host their
698 competition - £150,000 annually from 2007-2009. Two key recommendations from the
699 review were for the NHC to focus more on traditional disciplines and for the event to be
700 moved to Hyde Park. Although the latter recommendation was widely rejected by many
701 actors within the festivalscape, the Steel Band Association welcomed relocation of their

702 competition to Hyde Park and the additional funding that came with it, which included money
703 to pay players and professional production fees.

704

705 This situation highlights how new forms of order take place in networks because of individual
706 actors seeking their own interests (Law 2008). In this case, the re-framing served the
707 interests of public sector agencies that could now claim they were more closely managing an
708 event which produced significant tourism and economic benefits for London. The Steel Band
709 Association attracted significant funding for their event (albeit only for three years) by striking
710 an agreement with the focal actor of the event's new framing. Although the current situation
711 has been described previously as the NHC becoming a victim of its own success (see, for
712 example, Burr 2006), the events leading up to the festival's current framing serve to highlight
713 the complexity of festivalscapes and how fragile the bonds are which hold festival networks
714 together. See Table 8.0.

715

716 7. Discussion: Elements of the NHC Festivalscape

717

718 Adapting van de Duim's (2007) concept of a touristscape has proved useful in unravelling
719 the development of NHC as a hallmark tourism product by tracing its development as a
720 festivalscape. Like van de Duim's (2007) touristscape, it features objects, space and the
721 translation processes of the network being investigated. However, with an event like the
722 NHC, which has been subject to dramatic upheavals, the role of pivotal events is vital to
723 examining its development. Additionally, as has been the case with other large-scale
724 festivals, dissenting actors have been a persistent and significant part of the NHC
725 festivalscape. They have, together with non-human actors and the festival space, repeatedly
726 brought about translation failure. Whereas objects and space are visible parts of the

727 festivalscape, the translation process, which is impacted by pivotal events and dissenting
728 actors, is invisible. See Figure 1.0.

729

730 Table 8.0 – Development of the Notting Hill Carnival Festivalscape (1981 onwards)

731 Source: Adapted from Van der Duim (2007)

	Black Arts Festival 1981 – 1987	Business Opportunity 1987 – 2001	City-led Hallmark Event 2002 onwards
Objects acting on the festivalscape (symmetry)	Trinidadian-styled carnival costumes, steel pans, reggae music, static sound systems, as well as a glossy magazine and public funding, were part of this celebration of Black Arts.	Trinidadian-styled carnival costumes, steel pans, reggae music, static sound systems, glossy magazine and public funding remained but private sponsorship was the key object in the festivalscape during this period.	Trinidadian-styled carnival costumes, steel pans, reggae music and static sound systems continue to be the cultural forms featured but public funding becomes the main stable source of income for the event.
Social Space	The streets of Notting Hill continued to be a stage for race politics.	The streets of Notting Hill. by then. was a site for transgressive politics.	The streets of Notting Hill became a space to be managed and controlled.
Focal actor and festival framing	The CAC wished to promote NHC as a celebration of the arts of Black Britain.	NHCEL wanted to increase funding available to the Carnival so that more of its economic benefits could accrue to its participants.	The GLA proposed a more tightly controlled NHC working closely with city organizations.
Obligatory passage point	Interest in using Notting Carnival as a vehicle for Black British empowerment.	Compliance with conditions to attract and retain private funding.	Compliance with health and safety requirements.

Enrolment of actors	Actors enrolled included Ethnic minority funding bodies (CRE, GLC).	Actors enrolled included private sponsors, popular music artists and, tourists.	Actors enrolled included stewards, event evaluation consultants and the GLA .
Pivotal events (context of the festival framing)	Withdrawal of ACGB funding from the CDC and the collapse of the CDC.	First death at NHC and the collapse of the CAC.	Firing of Claire Holder and the collapse of NHCEL.

732

733 Figure 2.0 – The Notting Hill Carnival Festivalscape

734

Invisible Festivalscape

735

Visible Festivalscape

736

737

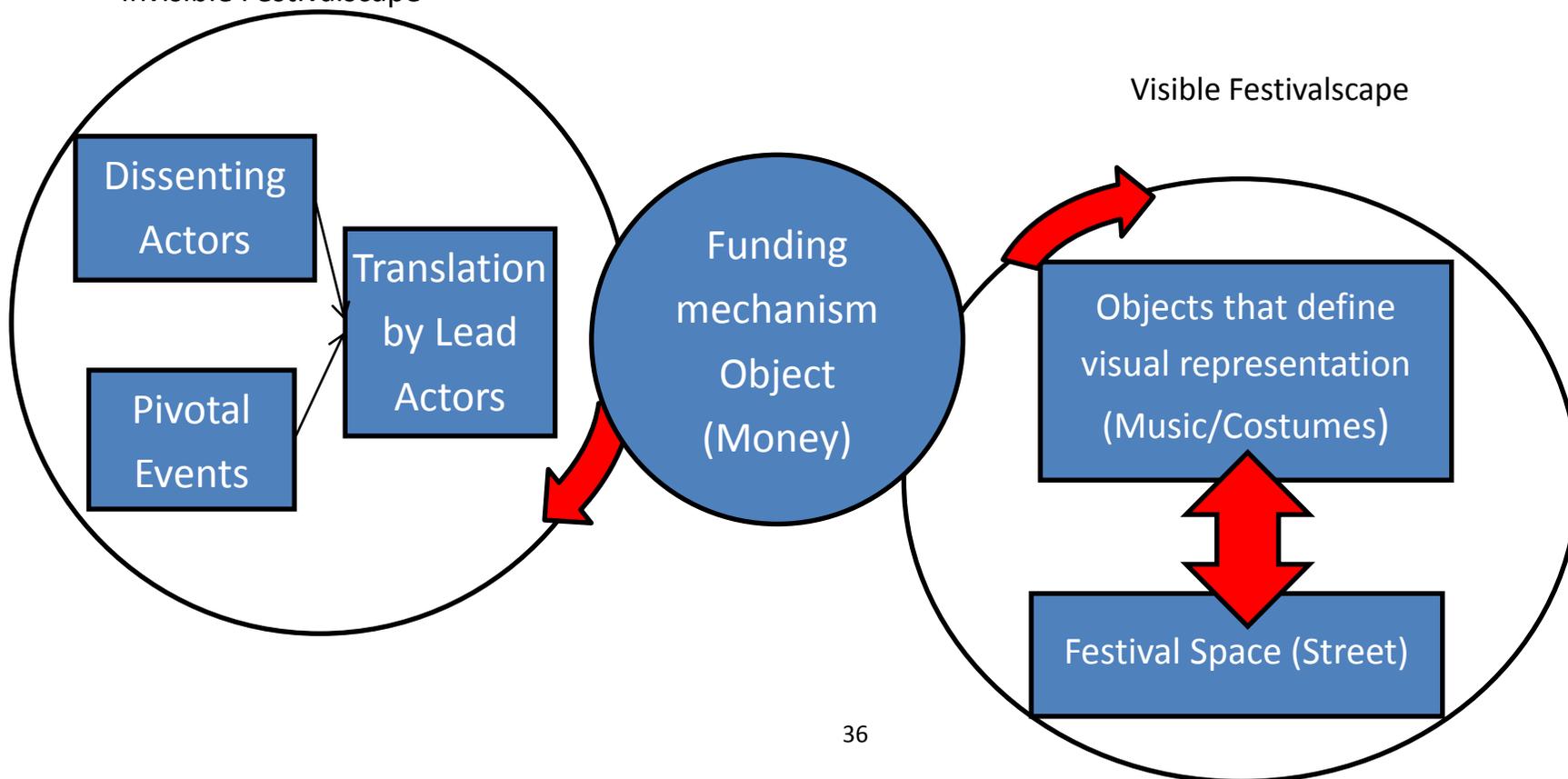
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742



7.1 Objects

The NHC's development highlights how human and non-human actors come together in their "collective capacity" to bring about action (Cloke & Jones 2004: 193). One object that has been particularly influential in the NHC festivalscape is funding or money provided by state agencies as well as sponsors. Recent research has highlighted the integral role money has in tourism-scapes in forging relationships, particularly in establishing asymmetrical relations between hosts and their guests (Simoni 2016). In the NHC festivalscape, money has been a means of buying access into the festival network and having a say in how it is run. For funding agencies, this has meant levelling criticisms against festival organizers, which have, in some cases, gone on to be the basis of reports recommending organizational change, whilst sponsors (particularly title sponsors) have shaped how the festival has been branded and positioned. Asymmetrical relations have also been created because of funding, as by possession of funding, lead actors have been able to trigger translation change successfully or have their translation accepted.

Trinidadian-type costumes and reggae music, because of their cultural connotation, are both objects that have been "mediated to produce particular outcomes" (Weedon 2015: 446). The former made the NHC more like a Trinidadian Carnival, whereas the latter opened-up the event to a wider Caribbean audience. However, as Weedon (2015) observes, objects do not always behave as expected and can create unwanted consequences. In the NHC's case, introducing Trinidadian-type costuming invited increased observation by the police because the event was now unmistakably Afro-Caribbean and the addition of reggae music, in addition to drawing huge crowds, made the festival a target for petty crimes.

7.2 The Festival Space

When Rhuane Laslett was staging her community-based Notting Hill Fayre, she saw the streets of Notting Hill as a space offering release from the cramped, slum conditions in which residents of the Notting Hill area lived. Later, when the NHC became linked with the Afro-Caribbean population in Britain, it became a space in which racial tensions between the police and the festival's attendees were acted out. As the area became gentrified, the streets became a site where transgressive activities were performed because, for two days, the streets are claimed by mainly non-white, working class festival participants within what is now a predominantly white, middle-class neighbourhood (Ampka 2004). Like in tourism-scapes, the space in the NHC festivalscape also has important physical functions. The streets are a place in which both static and mobile forms of entertainment can be accommodated. They are also a site allowing easy access both by the attendees and emergency services. Additionally, the Notting Hill area with its bohemian character provides assets and attractions that add to the festival atmosphere.

7.3 Translation

In a network of dissenting groups, such as the one forming around the NHC, breakdown and reconfiguration are likely to result (Callon 1986; Woods 1998). An international festival, which the NHC eventually became, is a complex experience-production system (Ferdinand & Williams 2013) that must satisfy conflicting actors' needs. As the festival continued to grow in scope, so too did the number of actors involved with the event with conflicting agendas. Thus, translation processes within the festivalscape have been somewhat volatile. The increasing involvement of state actors in the festivalscape has fuelled some of the more drastic translation changes, such as the shift from a "Black Arts Festival" to a "Business Opportunity", which highlights their asymmetric power. However, these changes would not be possible without the cooperation of other actors within the NHC festivalscape. Both

festival organizers and participating festival organizations have benefited from aligning themselves with state actors. This view contrasts with previous research examining the festival politics of the NHC (see, for example, Cohen 1993) that have depicted these changes as state actors trying to contain the event within their parameters. However, as Connor and Farrar (2003) note, such a view ignores the social relations existing within the NHC festivalscape.

7.4 Pivotal Events and Dissenting Actors

The focus of ANT is on the interactions between actors and, especially, how lead actors enrol other actors to make their translations successful. However, within the NHC festivalscape, pivotal events were used strategically by lead and dissenting actors in triggering translation change, demonstrating their importance in making the NHC festivalscape. As has been the case in previous ANT research on the development of cultural tourism products, these events have been important triggers resulting in a conditional path of development (Arnaboldi & Spiller 2011). In complex organizations, pivotal events, such as crises, are often used by an organization's management as justification to push through significant transformational changes which otherwise would be very difficult or take a very long time to implement. Major crises have also provided opportunities to overhaul entire industries and implement major reforms that affect multiple organization across sectors (Walsh, Castan-Broto, Glendinning & Powella 2015). In the NHC festivalscape, crises, such as the deaths of festival attendees and the collapse of the festival organizations, have been used by lead and external actors to push through their individual agendas and implement fundamental changes. The CAC used the collapse of the CDC to reshape the NHC to serve its own agenda and the deaths of attendees were used by both the RBKC and GLA to shape development of the festival. The former event was used to

trigger the development of a festival more focused on Black politics, whereas the latter events were used to create an event that is highly and controlled and regulated.

The importance of dissenting actors was highlighted when these actors used pivotal events to draw attention to their concerns. On both occasions when deaths occurred at the NHC, there were calls from residents to relocate the festival. Additionally, when other actors sought to trigger change within the festivalscape, the concerns of dissenting actors are highlighted to support their agendas. Notably, when the GLA published its strategic review of the NHC, it included recommendations that addressed the concerns of traditionalists who objected to the more commercial aspects of the festival and residents who wanted the festival relocated.

8. Conclusion: Lessons from of the Notting Hill Carnival Festivalscape

ANT analysis has shown six distinct modes of ordering within the NHC festivalscape and that the coming together of actors with competing interests is a necessary part of a multi-cultural event serving tourism, economic and socio-cultural objectives. In this way, this study has contrasted with others on the NHC and other large-scale festivals, which view power relations as a source of unresolved tension, conflict or ambivalence or as something to be classified. In overcoming the limitations of this view, the paper has demonstrated that the process of actors working through their differing opinions with regards to framing of the festival is one of innovation and adaptation to changing circumstances. It has also shown festival politics as a source of transformation and renewal. Additionally, adopting this relational view of power has provided new insights about the asymmetric power of state

actors due to their access to resources and their ability to impact multiple actors within the festivalscape.

This paper has also advanced van der Duim's (2007) tourismscape by the addition of pivotal events and dissenting actors to the NHC's festivalscape. Although they were not the source of translation failure, they were used by lead and other actors to support their arguments to fast-track drastic changes that may otherwise have been difficult to implement. This highlights the importance of festival organizers being proactive in managing crises and the concerns of dissenting actors. Otherwise, these discordant aspects of a festivalscape can be manipulated by influential actors to further their own agendas, which may not be in best interest of the festival.

Festivals, such as the NHC, are known for being fraught with conflicting actor tensions and there can be a tendency to view their development as a chaotic bacchanal, arising out of their peculiar politics, especially when they are examined at a single point in time. A process perspective enables event tourism researchers to go beyond the bacchanal to identify long-term forces and the changing roles of actors. Rather than focus on individual episodes of conflict, failure or success, future tourism research on festivals that utilizes ANT should examine the successive transformations that have occurred over time. In this way, the research may be positioned better to understand the role of actors and future development of festival tourism products. Specific research that could be undertaken includes studies comparing the roles of festivalscapes in urban and rural environments in festival networks, as well studies examining the development of commercial and/or privately-run festivals over time because there may be lessons that community-run or public festival organizations can learn from their experiences and vice versa.

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INTERVIEW GUIDE – CULTURAL ORGANIZATION (Mas' band)

ABOUT THE ORGANIZATION

1. Origins
2. Changes

PATH/DEVELOPMENT OF THE BAND

3. Adaptation to changing festival environment

ACTIVITIES

4. Business models, old and new
5. Challenges of funding environment
6. New activities or business models to meet challenges

PARTNERS/PARTNERSHIP ROLE

7. Role of umbrella organizations
8. Role of the Arts Council
9. Role of the LNHCL
10. Relationships with other mas' bands

SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEWEES

Interviewees	Organization(s), Date(s) Established	Role(s) in Carnival	Organization Type(s)
I1	Mas' band, 1983	CAMF Member	Cultural Organization
I2	Mas' band, 2001	CAMF Member	Cultural Organization
I3	Mas' band, 2001	CAMF Member	Cultural Organization
I4	Mas' band, 1998	CAMF Member	Cultural Organization
I5	Mas' band, 2002	CAMF Member	
I6	Mas' band, 1980	CAMF Member	
I7	Steel/mas' band, 1980	BAS/CAMF Member	Cultural Organization
I8	Mas' band, 2009	CAMF Member	Cultural Organization
I9	Steel band, 2007	BAS Member	Cultural Organization
	BAS, 1995	BAS Executive	
I10	BAS, 1995	BAS Executive	Cultural Organization
I11	Steel band, 1980	BAS Member	Cultural Organization
	BAS, 1995	BAS Executive	
I12	Steel band, 1969	BAS member, BAS Executive & LNHCL Executive	Cultural Organization/ Organizing Committee
	BAS, 1999, LNHCL, 2003		
I13	Steel Band, 1988	Independent steel band leader	Cultural Organization
I14	Static sound system, 2009	BASS Member	Cultural Organization
I15	Static sound system, 1994	BASS Member	Cultural Organization
I16	Steel band, 1985	Independent steel band leader	Cultural Organization
I17	Static sound system, 1989	BASS Member	Cultural Organization
I18	NHCEL, NHCL, NHCT, 1989, 1991, 1997	Former Executive member of various NHC Organizing Bodies (1989-2003)	Organizing Committee
I19	ACE (formerly ACGB), 1946	ACE Officer	Statutory Funding body
I20	Steel band, 2000	BAS Member	Cultural Organization
I21	Static sound system, 1970	BASS Member	Cultural Organization

Interviewees	Organization(s), Date(s) Established	Role(s) in Carnival	Organization Type(s)
I22	LNHCL, 2003	Former LNHCL Executive (2009-2012)	Organizing Committee
I23	Steel band, 1996	BASS Member, Acting BAS Executive	Cultural Organization
I24	LNHCL, 2003	Former LNHCL Executive (2005-2008)	Organizing Committee
I25	RKBC, 1965	Environmental Health Officer /Special Event Officer responsible for	State Funding Body
I26	LNHCL, 2003	Former LNHCL Executive (2009-2012)	Organizing Committee
I27	Mas' band, 2000	CAMF Member	Cultural Organization

Listing of Archival Documents Used

Document Type	Details
Internal Report	Stote, S., Walwin, J. & Cleur, A. (1983, September). London Carnivals 1983 [Arts Council report on Carnival] (ACGB/79/138 132 Carnival General Correspondence and enquiries) Victoria and Albert Museum Archives, London, United Kingdom
Letter	Smith, P. (1987, October 1). Carnival [Letter in response to residents petition to ban or relocate carnival] (ACGB/79/138 Carnival General Correspondence and Enquiries). Victoria and Albert Museum Archives, London, United Kingdom
Magazine Article	Touch Magazine. (1996). Mas' movement. <i>Touch in association with Time Out Magazine: Guide to Carnival 1996</i> 4-10. Tuckey, B. (1996.). Carnival 2000. <i>Touch in Association with Time Out Magazine: Guide to Notting Hill Carnival 1996</i> 6-8.
Media Report	Younge, G. (2002, August 17). The politics of partying, <i>The Guardian Weekend</i> 28-32.
Meeting Notes	ACGB. (1985, February 7). Meeting to discuss Notting Hill Carnival [Notes of a meeting at ACGB held on January 24th] (ACGB/79/137 Carnival General Enquiries) Victoria and Albert Museum Archives, London, United Kingdom