Notting Hill Carnival
A Strategic Review
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Foreword

Ken Livingstone, Mayor of London

London is one of the most diverse and culturally dynamic capital cities in the world. In recent years, no event has illustrated this more so than the Notting Hill Carnival.

We have all become familiar with popular media portrayals of what makes for a successful carnival – a merry police officer amid spectacular costume designs; a heaving crowd surrounding large music stages or performing artists; and the skilfully painted faces of excited young children taking centre stage with the encouragement of their proud parents. Each year, more than nine thousand people appear on the streets of Notting Hill as performers, DJs, stewards, bandleaders, poets, traders and steel-pan players.

Since its humble origins as an indoor event in 1959, the Carnival has grown organically in recent years, attracting more than 700,000 visitors and revellers. In 1999, the number of people attending the Carnival reached 1.2 million – a clear indication of how successful this summer festival has become. However, the success of the Notting Hill Carnival has at times, also proved to be the source of its problems. And although it has suffered from a number of setbacks, the resilience and vibrancy of the Carnival in general and the community responsible for making it happen in particular, has been the festival’s key unifying strength.

I initiated this strategic review of the Notting Hill Carnival in order to begin the process of addressing the challenges inherent in staging an event that has, for so many years, lacked the proper investment needed to ensure that performers and spectators alike are able to experience a safe and enjoyable festival. This report is the product of a major evaluation of how the Notting Hill Carnival is managed, financed, supported and perceived. In addition to addressing the public safety issues posed as a result of the Carnival’s growth, it also reveals the significant cultural, social and economic potential and contribution already made by the Carnival to London’s communities, schools, businesses and tourists.

The Notting Hill Carnival is here to stay and therefore the true value of this report lies in its adoption of a long-term strategic approach to the Carnival’s development as a major London event that continues to be the subject of international recognition and acclaim. I hope that this report and its recommendations are used as a basis for further discussion and action by those who have a real interest in making the Notting Hill Carnival work – not just in the short term but in the future.

For a festival that has succeeded in promoting a fusion of cultures, people and customs, there is more to the Notting Hill Carnival than many of us realise.
Preface

Lee Jasper,
Policy Director (Equalities and Policing)
Chair, Mayor’s Carnival Review Group

My involvement with the Notting Hill Carnival spans some seventeen years, when I first joined the Mangrove Community Association as an ardent volunteer. Between 1991 and 1993, as Mangrove’s director of development, I was responsible for fundraising and providing strategic support for community issues and campaigns. Based on the All Saint’s Road, the “Mangrove” as it was affectionately known, used to be the central meeting place and forum for community organising and leadership within the Notting Hill area in general and for the Notting Hill Carnival in particular. Before the Carnival organisers established an office in Ladbroke Grove, it was the Mangrove that provided them with a home. My intimate knowledge of the Notting Hill Carnival also includes ten years’ experience as a chief steward for the All Saints Road. Having witnessed first-hand the many issues facing the Carnival over the years, I share the Mayor’s vision of a safe, sustainable and enjoyable festival of music, costume and culture. I am therefore grateful for the opportunity to contribute to the strategy for making this vision a reality as chair of the Mayor’s Carnival Review Group.

There are a number of reasons why the Notting Hill Carnival deserves our attention. Many of the problems faced by the Carnival are also experienced by the majority of London’s black and ethnic minority arts and cultural organisations – the struggle for recognition as credible art forms or endeavours, lack of investment from mainstream arts funding bodies and the continuing failure to successfully capacity-build the black and Asian arts sector. Research commissioned by the Arts Council1, found that the prevailing perception of the arts amongst some members of the African, Caribbean, South East Asian and Chinese communities was that of predominantly white, elitist establishments which housed the opera, ballet, Shakespearean theatre, classical music and galleries featuring abstract post-modern art. When asked to define the arts, those who included activities linked specifically to their Caribbean, African, Asian or Chinese heritage were acutely aware of the fact that whilst such activities were central to their own interpretation of “the arts”, this was not necessarily reflected in the “dominant” definition and arts landscape of British society. The research highlighted the centrality of the arts in ethnic minority communities, observing that in many cases, these activities “were part of larger social, religious or cultural occasions such as festivals, religious occasions or weddings. At such events the dividing line between the audience and the performers was often blurred.” Recognising this, the Mayor has not only initiated a number of programmes designed to prioritise and support the development a black and Asian arts and cultural infrastructure2, but also set out his vision for a more inclusive arts and creative industries sector in his Culture Strategy3.

The wider relevance of this review is also firmly rooted in the fact that some of the possible solutions to the public safety issues highlighted by the Notting Hill Carnival have the potential to be applied to other major outdoor events that take place on London’s streets - the New Year’s Eve celebration is a notable case in point.

2 In January 2001, Mayor Livingstone called for greater capital funding to help develop and support the expansion of the black and Asian arts and cultural sector in London (“Mayor calls for fair funding for black arts”, 25 January 2001). In doing so that Mayor launched his Black and Asian Capital Arts Infrastructure Initiative by endorsing four leading projects: the Rich Mix Centre in Tower Hamlets, the Stephen Lawrence Technocentre in Deptford, the Bernie Grant Centre for Performing Arts in Tottenham and the Talawa Theatre Company in Westminster. As part of the process of delivering these four projects, support from the CLA involved activity in the following key areas: liaison with relevant public funding bodies; project development and planning; project advocacy; commercial fundraising and business sponsorship; the initiation of new partnerships and strategic alliances in relation to black and Asian arts capital development; long-term financial planning and capacity strengthening; and assistance with the development of programmes focusing on the delivery of education and training opportunities to young people in the arts and cultural industries.
This review has, in a variety of ways, sought to explore new ideas and establish new areas of understanding about the Notting Hill Carnival. At the same time, it has re-visited a number of critical issues, all of which appear to have remained unresolved for many years. The work of the Carnival Review Group has been both innovative and extensive. It has included the most wide-ranging consultation ever conducted with the various Carnival stakeholders and interest groups. In 2001, the Greater London Authority commissioned planning and crowd safety specialists, the Intelligent Space Partnership to implement its Carnival Public Safety Project - the first comprehensive assessment of crowd safety and route design at the Notting Hill Carnival. The project involved the use of both state of the art computer modelling and best practice risk assessment guidance. As a result of this groundbreaking work, both Intelligent Space and the Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis (CASA) at University College London received the 2002 Award for Innovation from the Association for Geographic Information. On behalf of the Carnival Review Group, I would like to congratulate Dr. Jake Desyllas, Dr. Elspeth Duxbury (the Intelligent Space Partnership), Zachary Au and Professor Mike Batty, the director of CASA for their well-deserved recognition and award. I would also like to acknowledge the decision-making support provided by Professor Jonathan Rosenhead and Tom Horlick-Jones from the Department of Operational Research at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). In 1997 and 1998, Professor Rosenhead and Tom Horlick-Jones carried out the first detailed analysis of the organisational and inter-organisational risk management processes associated with the Notting Hill Carnival. The importance of their work, particularly within the context of the Carnival Review Group’s interim recommendations provided the basis upon which the Carnival Public Safety Project was founded.

As an integral part of the Mayor’s strategic review, the London Development Agency commissioned a study to determine the economic contribution and value of the Notting Hill Carnival to the local and regional economy. A consortium led by the consultants Mann Weaver Drew and De Montfort University were appointed in early June 2002 to carry out this seminal piece of research and this work has been extremely important in informing the deliberations of the Carnival Review Group, as well as establishing a more detailed understanding of the community development achievements and potential of the Carnival.

One of the stated objectives of the Mayor’s review was the consideration of evidence from organisers of similar events both in the UK and in other countries. The Glastonbury Festival was identified as one such comparable UK event in terms of the public safety challenges that it faces and I would like to thank Chief Superintendent John Buckley of Avon and Somerset Constabulary and Avon and Somerset Council for taking the time to share their views and experiences with members of the Carnival Review Group.

The issue of public safety has rightly remained a significant element in the Review Group’s final report, but the Carnival’s history, true economic, social and cultural contribution, as well as the importance of community leadership are also considered in great detail. The Notting Hill Carnival has become a national institution. It has become a defining London feature, which cuts across race, gender, age, ability, sexual orientation and class. At Carnival, it is not uncommon to find three, possibly four generations of one family performing in the same masquerade band or steel-pan orchestra, such is the strength of tradition that the Carnival engenders. I know of no other major London event that has been able to consistently produce this level of activity, on this scale with relatively few resources, for so many years and despite so many obstacles.
This strategic evaluation was made possible by the positive willingness of key Carnival interest groups and stakeholders to engage with the review. I would therefore first like to thank members of the Mayor’s Carnival Review Group for their commitment and invaluable contributions and perspectives. I would also like to thank officers from the statutory agencies for their co-operation and willingness to share their knowledge and insight in relation to the operational planning activities for Carnival: Metropolitan Police Service, London Underground Limited, Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea, St. John Ambulance, London Fire and Emergency Protection Authority, Transport for London, Westminster City Council, British Transport Police, London Ambulance and London Buses. Finally, recognition and thanks must go to a passionate and truly committed Carnival community, to those who responded to the Carnival Review Group’s public consultation, to those who attended the public hearings and to those who set aside time to address members of the Review Group at these hearings.\footnote{A list of the hearings and presenters is set out at appendices 6 and 7 of this report.}

The challenge for the Notting Hill Carnival and its future lies in the extent to which the views and sometimes competing interests of a diverse range of people, organisations and groups can be addressed and accommodated so as to achieve consensus on the solutions to issues that are by no means insurmountable if the will is there. This strategic review and the Mayor’s stated commitment to support the infrastructural development of the Carnival in London therefore represents a significant and positive advance towards the long-term security of the world’s second biggest carnival of Caribbean culture and celebration.
Mayor’s Carnival Review Group

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Angie Bray
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The Challenge: Executive Summary

This report represents the conclusion of a three and half year investigation into the management, organisation and funding of the Notting Hill Carnival. Central to this strategic review has been the need to gain a detailed understanding and picture of an event that has grown phenomenally during its forty-year history.

The Notting Hill Carnival is a unique event, but the challenges that it must overcome in order to ensure that it remains a vibrant, enjoyable and most importantly, sustainable event are not new. This review has found that the Carnival is riddled with contradictions and competing perspectives, all of which have, over the years, served to weaken the ability of the grassroots carnival arts movement in London to enjoy the tangible benefits of an event that they are responsible for creating. On the one hand, the Notting Hill Carnival commands the status of a ‘World Carnival’ – it is the largest carnival in Europe and second in the world only to the Rio Carnival in Brazil. And yet, the infrastructure and resources supporting this significant cultural festival are wholly inconsistent with this ‘World Carnival’ ranking. The economic impact study, commissioned by the London Development Agency on behalf of the Mayor’s Carnival Review Group found that in 2002, the Notting Hill Carnival generated approximately £93 million and supported the equivalent of 3,000 full-time jobs – clear evidence that what takes place every August Bank Holiday weekend on the streets of Notting Hill is a multi-million pound income generating event. And yet, the way in which the Carnival is currently perceived has been shaped more by crime figures than its positive social and economic contribution to London’s economy and cultural dynamism. If properly supported and resourced, the Carnival has the potential to contribute significantly more. The history of the Notting Hill Carnival and the reason for its existence are firmly rooted in the ideals of freedom, unity and community empowerment. And yet so much of the language and debate about the Carnival has been centred on how the event should be ‘contained’. Until the establishment of a new community-based Carnival organising body in 2003\(^8\), the majority of the carnival arts community were neither democratically represented within the Carnival management structure, nor legally entitled to influence it.

This final report of the Mayor’s Carnival Review Group sets out a broad strategic framework for the sustainable development of the Notting Hill Carnival and the carnival arts industry in London. The recommendations are made with a view to achieving long-term positive and systemic change to the way in which the Carnival is organised, managed and funded.

Focusing on the central themes surrounding the Carnival, the report is divided into the following five sections:

Part I: Introduction

A true appreciation of the significance, meaning and complexities of the Notting Hill Carnival can never be attained unless one first acknowledges the multi-dimensional nature of an event that has been shaped by its historical, political, cultural and community origins. This section:

- introduces the Mayor of London’s strategic review of the Notting Hill Carnival (‘the Carnival’) and the context in which the review was established;
- provides an overview of the Carnival Review Group process, its methodology and key stages;

\(^8\) The new organising body, the London Notting Hill Carnival Ltd was established in May 2003.
• traces the cultural and historical roots of the Notting Hill Carnival, its multicultural and multi-dimensional nature, as well as the strong political and community focus that shaped its formative years;

• offers a brief description of the Notting Hill Carnival as it is today, highlighting the particular changes that have taken place since 2000; and

• identifies the main ‘interest groups’ within the Notting Hill Carnival – the ‘stakeholders’. The chapter also examines the relationships amongst these stakeholders and summarises their key issues and concerns.

Part II: Public Safety, Responsibility and Accountability

As one of the largest urban festivals in the world, attracting vast numbers of visitors onto the streets of central London, the Notting Hill Carnival poses extraordinary public safety challenges. This section:

• raises questions about who is (or should be) held accountable for ensuring that public safety planning for the Carnival is effectively co-ordinated;

• examines the roles and responsibilities of the various organisations and statutory agencies involved in planning and delivering the Carnival;

• assesses the impact of the Carnival Review Group’s interim report and recommendations on event planning for the Carnival; and

• provides an overview of the Carnival Public Safety Project, its assessment of the routes used in 2001 and 2002, and its conclusions in relation to the public safety risks presented by such routes.

Part III: Carnival Management and Leadership

The folklore of the Notting Hill Carnival suggests that it ‘just happens’ and that it is an ‘unplanned’ event. This is not however, entirely correct. The series of activities and tasks undertaken in the lead up to the August Bank Holiday weekend are the result of months of detailed planning and organising by the Carnival performers and organisers. A community-based management committee of one kind or another has, from the very outset, always overseen the Notting Hill Carnival. Over the years, these committees have been responsible for the planning and co-ordination of the event, undergoing as many transformations as the Carnival itself. This section:

• charts the recent management history of the Notting Hill Carnival, from the mid-1980s to the present day. It explains the various changes in leadership that have taken place, providing the background and context to establishment of the present management, London Notting Hill Carnival Ltd (LNHCL);

• revisits the conclusions and recommendations of two major reports into the administration of the Carnival, the Coopers & Lybrand Report in 1988 and the end-of-funding review conducted by the Arts Council in 2001;

• discusses the limitations of the community-based management, leadership and structure of successive Carnival organisations; and
• recognises the grassroots nature of the Notting Hill Carnival and argues for greater accountability and democratic ownership of the event by the wider carnival constituency.

Part IV: The Value of Carnival

The true value of the Notting Hill Carnival, in social, economic and cultural terms, has received little recognition in the past. Members of the wider carnival arts community have consistently expressed their growing disappointment at the way in which the Notting Hill Carnival has been portrayed in the media and the lack of recognition afforded to them for the cultural and artistic development and educational work that they undertake within schools and their communities. This section:

• describes the Notting Hill Carnival as a ‘community of interest’ – people linked together by a shared vision and concern. The history of the Carnival clearly demonstrates how, in adverse conditions, a cultural event became a vehicle for community self-help, a movement towards self-sufficiency, empowerment, participation and involvement;

• offers a definition of the ‘carnival arts’ as emanating from the cultural traditions of Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. It argues that from a variety of perspectives, the carnival arts are extremely valuable in promoting new learning ideas as well as multicultural awareness within the classroom and in higher education;

• provides rich examples of the social, cultural, human and intellectual capital that has always existed within the Notting Hill Carnival and the wider carnival arts industry; and

• examines the ‘business of Carnival’ and its significant economic contribution and potential. It argues for a fairer assessment of an event that generated £93 million in 2002 and offers an analysis of how this economic potential can be harnessed to ensure that the Carnival is able to develop into a truly independent and sustainable festival.


As the Notting Hill Carnival grows, sustained success will be directly related to careful management of the Carnival, particularly in the areas of public safety, community leadership, economic development and environmental impact. This section:

• identifies possible ways forward for prioritising and strengthening public safety planning for the Carnival;

• utilises the Review Group’s recommendations as the basis for a four-year ‘London Carnival Development Programme’ that will focus on the following priority areas:
  a) Strategic management and leadership
  b) Community outreach and development
  c) Event operation and management
  d) Fundraising and finance
  e) Sustainable economic development
  f) Marketing, branding and promotion

• argues that the Notting Hill Carnival’s true economic and social potential can only be realised through strong community-based management and leadership that is supported by all the relevant stakeholders. The real challenge will be to conceive of the Carnival in new ways,
retaining the best of the past and building on its strengths so that the Carnival thrives in conditions that are radically different from its creation.

Key Findings and Recommendations

The main findings and recommendations of this strategic review are made within the context of the overarching principle that the Notting Hill Carnival should be embraced. It is a major world-class event that should be supported, both politically and financially. The review argues that solutions to the particular public safety challenges posed by the Carnival’s growth can offer models of best practise that could be applied to other major outdoor events, which take place on the public highway. It is also based on the Carnival’s proven economic and social contribution to London’s economy and cultural diversity, its international significance and its potential to be a vehicle for community development, empowerment and future wealth creation.

Representation, Management and Leadership

History has a tendency to repeat itself when issues raised about the Notting Hill Carnival are placed under intense scrutiny. As far back as 1981, the Arts Council warned the Carnival organisers at the time that funding would cease unless a proper organising committee was established and the management of the Carnival was improved. In 1988, the first ever review of the Carnival’s management structure concluded that there was an urgent need to increase the professionalism in the planning and presentation of the Carnival. Skills reflecting the necessary expertise required to organise large-scale events, manage the finances, communicate and negotiate at strategic levels were all pivotal to ensuring the Carnival’s future survival and success. In 2002, a leadership dispute within the Notting Hill Carnival Trust – the Carnival organiser at the time – led to the Carnival Funders’ Group\(^9\) consulting the Charity Commission on the governance and management of the organisation. A new organising body, London Notting Hill Carnival Ltd was subsequently created the following year. The Review Group found that the nature and complexity of the Carnival made the need for effective management and leadership vital for a successful and safe event. Its absence posed a serious threat to public safety and the limitations of the community-based management and leadership structure was linked to years of under investment in the administration of the Carnival as a whole. This report re-affirms the recommendations of the 1988 report in that it recommends that:

- the wider community of interests, which includes residents, educationalists and businesses, should be represented on the present Carnival management organisation [recommendation 14c];

- legal, finance, management, public safety, business and marketing experience and skills must be present on the board of any Carnival organising body [recommendation 18d]; and

- a Carnival management and leadership development programme should be established to provide professional development for board members [recommendation 18a].

Planning for Future Growth: The Carnival Route

One of the major achievements of this review was the establishment of a two-year Carnival Public Safety Project, which provided a detailed analysis of the significant risks to public safety posed by the circular design of the present Carnival route. The project found that the present route is unable to

\(^9\) Group members were: Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, City of Westminster, Association of London Government, Greater London Authority and Arts Council England.
provide the level of flexibility required to safely accommodate the Carnival’s future growth. Given that visitor numbers cannot be controlled at a free and open event such as the Notting Hill Carnival, the Carnival Review Group found that the weakness of the current decision-making and planning process lay in its failure to plan for growth. As a preliminary guide, the Safety Project offered three possible growth trends:

(a) growth at the rate experienced in the early 1990’s (high, 20 per cent); or

(b) growth at the same rate as the increase from 2001 to 2002 for both days of the Carnival (medium, 15 per cent); or

(c) growth at the rate of increase from 2001 to 2002 on the Carnival Monday (low, 5 per cent)

Setting aside the possibility of inclement weather and the suspension of major transport networks, if the Notting Hill Carnival were to grow at an annual rate of 5 per cent per year, attendance would reach one million visitors by 2006. Faster growth would see the Carnival becoming larger than at any time in its history. Without a fundamental change to increase public safety and reduce crowd density, a major incident at the Carnival could lead to significant loss of life. This report is therefore:

- re-affirming its interim recommendation that a non-circular route must be introduced for the Carnival; and [recommendation 14]; and

- recommending that Hyde Park, the Bayswater Road and the Harrow Road be considered as part of a new route for Carnival 2005. [recommendation 14a]

Policing, Crime, Casualties and Stewarding

Although many commentators seek to define the success or otherwise of the Notting Hill Carnival in terms of whether or not there is an increase or decrease in crime from year to year, there appears to be little recognition of the fact that when compared to other large-scale festivals, the Carnival is a relatively safe event. The Review Group were however concerned that the overall number of reported crimes rose in 2002 and 2003. Carnival policing costs also totalled £5,781,994 in 2003 with over 10,000 officers being deployed over the August Bank Holiday weekend. Whilst the level of stewarding has increased since 2000 due to the provision of funding from the GLA, the Review Group emphasised the importance of establishing a longer-term strategic funding programme that would develop the Carnival’s stewarding capacity. The number of people receiving first aid or hospital treatment in 2003 also rose sharply by 140 per cent and 154 per cent respectively. This report is therefore calling for:

- the development of a multi-agency Carnival Community Safety Strategy to provide a co-ordinated approach to reducing crime and casualty rates [recommendation 10a]; and

- the gradual reduction in policing levels as the professionalism, effectiveness and number of stewards deployed at the Carnival increases [recommendation 9d].

Delivering on Public Safety: Responsibility and Accountability

The Notting Hill Carnival involves a complex network of relationships between culturally and politically diverse parties with sometimes competing interests. Central to this review was the fundamental issue of who is ultimately accountable for public safety at the Carnival. Published guidance by the Health and Safety Executive (HSE) states that it is the event organiser that has the primary responsibility for
protecting the health, safety and welfare of everyone working at, or attending, an event. All of the statutory agencies involved in contingency planning for the Carnival have stated that although a safety forum exists in the form of an Operational Planning and Safety Group (OPSG) so that information on public safety arrangements is shared between organisations, in their view, the ‘event organiser’ for the Carnival is currently LNHCL. In an attempt to establish what happens in practice, the Review Group produced a ‘Carnival Public Safety Matrix’, which offers an analysis of the various roles and responsibilities currently being undertaken by all the organisations involved in delivering the Carnival. The matrix clearly demonstrates that whilst there has always been a community-based organisation to co-ordinate the Carnival, the limitations of this organisation – in financial and human resource terms – have meant that its ability to fully assume the role of ‘event organiser’ with responsibility for public safety, has not been achievable. As a consequence, the evidence suggests that in reality, the MPS, the Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea (RBKC) and the City of Westminster (WCC) have been required to commit considerable resources in order to compensate for the inability of the event organiser to assume full responsibility for the Notting Hill Carnival’s public safety issues. With public investment comes public accountability and therefore, given the level of operational responsibility that has been assumed by the statutory agencies in general and the police and local authorities in particular, this report calls for:

- greater transparency and accountability for the decisions being taken by the OPSG. In particular, the Carnival Review Group is recommending that the minutes of all group meetings are made public and that the group should be responsible for producing an annual Public Safety Strategy and detailed review, all of which would be subject to independent scrutiny by the London Assembly, the Audit Commission and the HSE [recommendation 16b];

- greater level of involvement from the HSE. The Review Group identified an urgent need for an independent agency, capable of leading on matters of public safety at the Carnival [recommendation 16c]; and

- the establishment of a high level working group to review public safety responsibility, accountability and decision-making issues relating to all major events that take place on the public highway. Membership of such a group would comprise HSE, GOL, Home Office and DCMS in the first instance. [recommendation 17]

Sustainable Economic Development, Empowerment and Investment

Now in its 40th year, the Notting Hill Carnival has enormous economic and social potential that has yet to be fully realised. A majority of the problems experienced by the Carnival stem from years of under-investment and lack of appreciation for the true value of the Carnival as a world-class event. The empirical evidence provided by the LDA’s study of the Carnival’s economic contribution to London’s economy has succeeded in challenging the negative assumptions held about the Carnival and provided a compelling case for greater investment in order to safeguard the future of one of London’s oldest festivals.

- the establishment of a permanent home within Notting Hill, a Centre for Carnival Arts and Enterprise [recommendation 22];

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the development of a four-year Carnival Economic Development Strategy to harness the Carnival’s economic potential for the benefit of the wider carnival community [recommendation 23]; and

the development of a four-year London Carnival Development Programme to oversee the implementation of the Review Group’s recommendations [recommendation 26]
### Abbreviations

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Association of British Calypsonians</td>
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<td>Arts Council</td>
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<td>ALG</td>
<td>Association of London Government</td>
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<td>BASS</td>
<td>British Association of Sound Systems</td>
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<td>BAS</td>
<td>British Association of Steel Bands</td>
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<td>Commission for Racial Equality</td>
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<td>Cultural Strategy Group</td>
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<td>FECC</td>
<td>Foundation of European Carnival Cities</td>
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<td>Greater London Authority</td>
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<td>Government Office for London</td>
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<td>SEU</td>
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Recommendations

Understanding & Documenting Carnival

1. We believe that a greater awareness of the Notting Hill Carnival’s history and how it came into being is critical to transforming the way in which the event is portrayed and ultimately perceived by the public. As the principal custodians of the event, those responsible for organising and delivering the Carnival must play a more proactive role in co-ordinating and initiating the collection, preservation and dissemination of information about the Carnival’s history, contemporary significance and meaning. We recommend the adoption of a more strategic approach to the development of a Carnival Archives and Heritage Collections programme. Possible programme partners could include organisations and institutions such as the Archives, Libraries and Museums (ALM), Museum of London, Victoria & Albert Museum, Kensington & Chelsea Community History Group and the Horniman Museum.

Listening to Stakeholders: Competing Perspectives

2. The Notting Hill Carnival affects a diverse range of individuals, organisations and interest groups. Whilst the views of these Carnival ‘stakeholders’ tend to be represented throughout the event planning and decision-making process to varying degrees, the voices of residents continue to be marginalised despite the consultation meetings organised by the local authorities. We believe that the Carnival organisers must take the lead when consulting residents on Carnival-related issues. They must also take immediate steps to ensure that appropriate mechanisms are put in place so that the views of residents are represented throughout the Carnival event planning and decision making process.

3. As with all Caribbean influenced Carnivals, the traditions of making and playing ‘mas’, (masquerade), making and playing ‘pan’ (the steel band), composing and performing calypso and other Caribbean music are central to the ethos and vibrancy that is the Notting Hill Carnival. We welcome the Arts Council’s continued commitment to support the Carnival and its decision to increase its overall investment in the carnival arts. We believe that the Carnival Arenas would also benefit from funding programmes specifically targeted to support:

(a) organisational, professional and vocational development and training initiatives in the carnival arts, design technology, construction, arts management, marketing, business-planning, finance, instrument making, live music and performance; and

(b) the establishment of sustainable volunteer programmes to increase participation in carnival-related activities and events.

4. During our strategic review, one of the most significant community developments to take place as a result of our public hearings and consultation around a possible route change was the formation of the Notting Hill Mas Band Association (NHMBA) in April 2002. We welcome this association and recognise its importance in ensuring that the costume bands are involved in the overall event planning and decision making process. We would encourage the Arts Council to consider providing development funding in order to strengthen the association’s role as the representative voice of the masquerade band movement.

5. Pre-Carnival events – the Grand Costume Gala, Panorama and the Calypso Monarch Finals – are an important part of the Carnival season and alongside the August bank holiday weekend, represent the highlight in the Carnival calendar for the artistic Arenas. The role of the Arenas in planning
and delivering these events has grown considerably in the last two years and we believe that this should continue with adequate financial support from arts funding bodies and the Carnival organisers. The Carnival arenas should be responsible for providing the artistic direction and lead on the staging of all pre-Carnival activities.

Achieving an Effective Communications Strategy: Key Messages

6. It is the responsibility of the Carnival organisers to drive the news agenda, rather than react to it. The media should be positively engaged as strategic partners and greater use should be made of information communication technology in order to ensure that Carnival–related news is disseminated to a variety of audiences in a professional and timely way. We therefore recommend that communications between the Carnival organisers and the media, carnival participants, residents and the public should be strengthened by:

(a) the appointment of a full-time press and communications officer with professional journalism experience, good media contacts and an understanding of the Carnival;

(b) the development and implementation of a media and communications strategy that (i) reflects the Carnival’s year-round local, regional, national and international activities, (ii) provides media skills training and acts as a resource for the Carnival Arenas; and (iii) takes a proactive and constructive approach to submitting positive stories about the Carnival’s history, traditions and cultural significance, whilst at the same time anticipates and responds to negative press coverage; and

(c) the creation of a dedicated website that is well maintained and serves as a central information and communication resource for the Notting Hill Carnival in particular and the carnival industry generally.

7. The Carnival Code has become an effective tool for communicating key public safety messages to those attending the Notting Hill Carnival. The multi-agency endorsement of the Code has been critical to its success and LUL and TfL are to be commended for ensuring that the Code has become a permanent feature in the 500,000 information leaflets that are produced and distributed throughout London’s transport networks in the run-up to the August bank holiday weekend each year. We recommend that the Code:

(a) is revised to address environment issues and concerns;

(b) is adopted by all Carnival stakeholders, including the Arenas; and

(d) remains a central feature of the overall communications strategy. More effort should be made to encourage members of the static and mobile music Arenas and associations to promote the calypso version of the Code, both before and during the event. DJs who also have their own radio shows have access to a powerful medium through which to extend the reach of the Carnival’s core public safety messages.

8. Whilst our interim report found that crowd movement and congestion could be significantly improved through greater use of directional signage within the Carnival, considerable work remains to be done in this area. We strongly recommend that the development and implementation of effective ‘core’ signage be prioritised within the Carnival Communications Strategy. The creative use of large video screens to show key Carnival moments and to provide visitors with real time travel information must also be a central feature of the strategy.
Stewarding and Policing at Carnival

9. Effective crowd management is an essential feature of any public safety strategy for large-scale events. The establishment of a suitably qualified and sustainable body of stewards is vital to ensuring the safety of spectators and participants at the Carnival. Such a body could eventually compete for the stewarding of large-scale events in London. We believe that the GLA should now initiate discussions with DCMS, GOL and the Home Office in order to establish a long-term strategic funding programme that will develop the infrastructure necessary to ensure that:

(a) the significant contribution made by the costume bands and the static sound systems to the crowd management effort during the Carnival is recognised - the former through their deployment of volunteer band stewards and the latter through their innovative use of music to regulate crowd behaviour. The static sound systems have also used their own resources to employ stewards to manage the crowds around their music sites;

(b) a combination of experienced community-based stewards and ‘professional’ stewards remains a core element of any crowd management operation at the Carnival. The experience of community stewards should be harnessed and managed so that their contribution is enhanced and sustained;

(c) the successful practice of allocating a police officer to each band/float (‘Band Serial Officers’) is consolidated and built upon. The possible use of Police Community Support Officers (PSCOs) and Special Constables to support the Carnival policing and stewarding effort should also be explored;

(d) realistic and achievable targets for the gradual increase in the number of stewards deployed at the Carnival are established. These targets should be reviewed annually against a performance framework to be agreed with the MPS. The overall aim should be for the gradual reduction in policing levels as the professionalism, effectiveness and number of stewards deployed at the Carnival increases;

(e) support for the strategic objectives of the MPS policing operation through the continued development and integration of stewarding into the MPS strategic plan is achieved; and

(f) the establishment of an effective communications system, encompassing all aspects of the Carnival’s communications requirements is developed. Voice (radio and mobile phone) communication may not necessarily be the correct medium for the Carnival. Innovative solutions should be developed and used, whilst advances in technology such as text messaging and paging systems could serve to enhance communication considerably.

10. Whilst in comparison to other large-scale festivals, the Notting Hill Carnival remains a relatively safe event, we are concerned that the overall number of reported crimes rose in 2002 and 2003. After a fall in the number of people receiving first aid or hospital treatment for two years running, the figures rose sharply in 2003 by 140 per cent and 154 per cent respectively. The work of the MPS and St. John Ambulance (SJA) is to be commended – the former have, since 2001, implemented a successful pre-Carnival intelligence gathering operation and deployed officers to specifically target known crime hotspots within the Carnival area. The latter continue to deliver a first class medical service at the Carnival despite never having received any form of funding or sponsorship for this work. We believe that the work of both organisations can be strengthened and supported through:
(a) the development of a multi-agency Carnival Community Safety Strategy that is delivered in partnership with the Carnival arenas. All the evidence shows that the majority of crime committed at the Carnival occurs as night falls. Achievement of the 9pm close-down time must therefore be a central feature of the strategy; and

(b) the establishment of a funding agreement between SJA and the National Health Service (NHS). We are firmly of the view that the high quality on site medical service provided by SJA over the Carnival weekend significantly reduces the potential impact of Carnival-related injuries on the services of neighbouring hospitals in and around the Carnival area. This is because the majority of the casualties (84 per cent) are treated on site. We believe that the true overall value of SJA’s contribution – in terms of volunteer and paid staff, cost of equipment, vehicles and consumables, as well as what it would cost the NHS to treat these patients if SJA were unable to provide their current level of service – should be quantified with a view to making a powerful case for funding.

Event Management

11. In our interim report, we called for a reduction in the number and size of support vehicles used by each performance unit on the route in order to improve public safety and minimise crowd congestion. Insufficient resources and poor event management have meant that no discernible progress has been made. We believe that professional event management of the Carnival is vital, not only from a public safety perspective but also to safeguard the event’s artistic quality and content. We therefore recommend that:

(a) a robust event management and planning framework that makes use of information technology to share vital information with stakeholders is introduced; and

(b) contracts are introduced in order to ensure that the Carnival participants comply with the event’s staging and performance protocols. Key obligations would include adherence to arrival and close-down times; vehicle size and numbers and promotion of the Carnival Code.

Waste Management & Recycling

12. The Notting Hill Carnival generates approximately 200 tonnes of waste each year. We support the recommendation of the Network Recycling Study, which called for the development of an environmental strategy that would set annual targets for making inroads into the Carnival’s waste by recycling materials for local markets and eliminating non-recyclable materials in order to achieve the ultimate long-term goal of a waste-free Carnival. We therefore recommend that funds be made available through the London Recycling Fund (LRF) to enable the Carnival organisers to work with the local authorities and members of the Carnival community to develop an effective and sustainable Carnival Waste Management and Recycling Strategy to implement the recommendations of the Network Recycling Study.

Public Safety Responsibility & Accountability

The Route

13. The Carnival Public Safety Project and the work of Intelligent Space has been instrumental in objectively highlighting the relationship between the design of the Carnival route, location of

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entertainment sites and the associated public safety risks of crowd build-up and congestion. The impact of this work has been clearly evidenced by the partial route change and relocation of the Judging Point, which was initiated in 2002. Having considered all aspects of the research, its findings and the views of all stakeholders, it is our recommendation that any future change to the Carnival route must address the issue of public safety and be risk assessed, as far as is possible, in accordance with the GLA’s Carnival Design Guidance. In addition, the guidance should be developed further in partnership with the Carnival Arenas to include the positive work undertaken by the Caribbean Music Association (CMA) in its ‘On de Road’ code of best practice and the NHMBA’s ‘Route Management Plan’.

14. Our interim recommendations called for the introduction of a non-circular route and the possible use of Hyde Park for Carnival-related activities. These particular recommendations have been the subject of much debate and whilst the Intelligent Space findings provided the catalyst for a partial route change in 2002, we do not believe that these changes go far enough to reduce crowd density and ensure public safety. The Intelligent Space study found that the 2002 route was unlikely to deliver any gains in public safety, raised serious concerns in relation to the new risks presented and was unable to provide the level of flexibility required to safely accommodate the Carnival’s future growth. Without a fundamental route change to reduce crowd density and enhance the cultural spectacle, we do not believe that the Notting Hill Carnival can fulfil its economic and social potential as a ‘World Carnival’. We therefore recommend that:

(a) Hyde Park, the Bayswater Road and the Harrow Road must be considered as part of a new route for Carnival 2005. Such a fundamental change will require detailed discussions and consultation with all key stakeholders, nevertheless we believe that the Carnival Arenas in partnership with the Carnival organisers, should be supported to take ownership and lead on these discussions to determine their ‘route of the future’; and

(b) the Operational Planning and Safety Group (OPSG) seek additional expert guidance during the detailed planning and implementation stages of any new route. This will ensure that (i) all safety issues and implications are identified and addressed at the earliest opportunity; (ii) risk assessments are kept up to date; and (iii) every assistance is made available to those stakeholders who experience practical difficulties when implementing recommended risk reduction measures.

15. Whilst, as a starting point, it is necessary to review the design of the Carnival route in order to make future Carnivals safer, we believe that it is also important to review the design of the whole entertainment area. From a crowd safety viewpoint, the route, the sound systems, and to a lesser extent, the stalls are all integral and interrelated parts of the Carnival. These elements must therefore be considered together as a package in order reduce crowd density and achieve increased levels of safety at the Carnival. We therefore recommend that in addition to the route, an assessment of the Carnival’s entertainment area should be undertaken with the view of achieving a safer overall package for future Carnivals.

Accountability & Responsibility

16. The Carnival Public Safety Matrix offers an analysis of the various roles, responsibilities and tasks that are delivered by members of the OPSG. We believe that the Matrix clearly demonstrates that whilst there has always been a community-based organisation to co-ordinate the Carnival, the limitations of this organisation – both in financial and human resource terms – has meant that its ability to fully assume the role of ‘event organiser’ with responsibility for public safety, has not been achievable. As a consequence, the evidence suggests that in reality, the MPS, the Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea (RBKC) and the City of Westminster (WCC) have been required
to commit considerable resources in order to compensate for the inability of the event organiser to assume full responsibility for the Notting Hill Carnival’s public safety issues. We believe that with public investment comes public accountability. Given the level of operational responsibility assumed by the OPSG in general and the local authorities and police in particular, it is our recommendation that:

(a) the terms of reference of the OPSG, the Statement of Intent and Code of Practice should be revised to reflect and acknowledge the various levels of operational responsibility assumed by members of the group. These documents should be reviewed on an annual basis and revised accordingly, as the professionalism, sustainability and delivery capacity of the community-based event organiser increases, such that it is then able to assume greater operational responsibility;

(b) greater transparency and accountability for the decisions being taken by the OPSG can only be achieved by making the minutes of all group meetings public. The group should also be responsible for producing an annual Public Safety Strategy and detailed review, all of which would be subject to independent scrutiny by the London Assembly, the Audit Commission and the Health & Safety Executive (HSE); and

(c) consideration be given to greater involvement of the HSE. There is an urgent need for an independent agency that is capable of leading on matters of public safety at the Carnival. Such a body could be responsible for co-ordinating the resources of the various statutory agencies and making determinations based solely on public safety grounds. Immediate discussions should be initiated with the HSE with a view to ascertaining what possible role and involvement they should have in determining the nature of such an independent agency.

17. We believe that the planning and decision-making process for the Notting Hill Carnival clearly illustrates the difficulties encountered when responsibility for the event is not and cannot be attributed to any one single body and where the weakness (or in some cases, absence) of an event organiser is such that there is a danger that public safety may be compromised. The issue of public safety responsibility and accountability is not unique to the Notting Hill Carnival. Indeed, it is relevant to all major events that take place on the public highway. We therefore recommend that the Mayor take immediate steps to initiate an urgent review of the public safety responsibility, accountability and decision-making issues relating to all major street events in London. We believe that a working group should be established with representation from the HSE, Association of London Government (ALG), Home Office, MPS, GLA, GOL, TFL, LUL and DCMS as key partners. We further recommend that the Minister for London play a role in facilitating these discussions.

**Carnival Management and Leadership**

18. The nature and complexity of the Notting Hill Carnival make the need for effective management and leadership vital for a successful and safe event. Its absence poses a serious threat to public safety and we believe that the limitations of the community-based management and leadership structure surrounding the Carnival is linked to years of under investment in the administration of the Carnival as a whole. Whilst we welcome and recognise the establishment of London Notting Hill Carnival Ltd (LNHCL) and the Executive Committee of the Carnival Arenas (ECCA) as significant developments that have succeeded in engendering a greater level of community accountability for and ownership of the event, we are firmly of the view that significant investment and capacity-building is required in order to ensure that the problems experienced by previous Carnival organisations are not repeated in the future. We recommend that:
(a) a Carnival management and leadership development programme is established, the completion of which should be mandatory for all serving and prospective board members;

(b) individual board membership of LNHCL should be limited to a maximum term of four years;

(c) membership of the LNHCL board should be broadened to include residents, young people, carnival-related businesses and education and heritage practitioners; and

(d) independent legal, finance, management, public safety, business and marketing experience and skills must always be present on the board.

19. A clear distinction must be drawn between the long-term development of London’s carnival industry on the one hand and the event planning, management and delivery of the Notting Hill Carnival on the other, since they are two separate but nevertheless complementary and important roles. The first involves the overall strategic development and direction of the carnival industry within the context of London’s creative industry sector. The second involves the event management, administration, logistical arrangements, operational planning and public safety aspects of the Notting Hill Carnival as a major event. In our view, the former role can only be satisfied through the creation of a London Carnival Development Strategic Forum whose membership would comprise of representatives from the LDA, Arts Council, Recycle for London (RfL), GOL, DCMS and Visit London, together with representatives from the carnival arts, businesses, education and heritage sectors and creative industry professionals. The latter role will require a greater level of investment in LNHCL in order to enable it to either outsource the event management function entirely or employ a professional full-time events team.

The Social, Cultural & Community Value of Carnival

20. There is no doubt that the social and educational value of the Notting Hill Carnival, through its promotion of the carnival art forms has been significant. The work of carnival arts-related organisations and groups illustrates the positive contributions that they have been making in the areas of educational enrichment and achievement. This work continues to be overlooked and we therefore believe that a more detailed study should be conducted into the educational potential and benefits of the Carnival arts, together with the possible linkages that could be made to existing curricular and lifelong learning programmes. Such a study could be funded by the Department for Education and Skills and would include:

(a) a mapping of past and present carnival arts and education initiatives;

(b) researching areas of good practice in the development of carnival and carnival arts in schools; and

(c) an evidence-based approach to the contribution of the carnival arts and carnival education to the development of communication and life skills.

21. The development of Carnival Sunday into a true Children’s Day event would be greatly assisted by the establishment of greater links between educational institutions and carnival arts organisations. Sufficient funding, through the Arts Council or the Department for Education and Skills (DFES), should be made available to the Carnival organisers in order to:

(a) create a new post of Carnival Arts Education Officer with the specific responsibility of liaising with schools, facilitating school-community partnerships and developing Carnival education resources;
(b) establish a Carnival Arts Education Network, which will act as a forum for information exchange, partnership and curriculum development between teachers, academics, carnivalists, museums, libraries, schools, community groups and musicians; and

(c) the possible creation of a London Carnival Schools’ Competition. If the Trinidad model were to be followed, the competition would have several elements, including a school steel band competition, calypso competition and costume band competition. The competitions would need to take place at the end of the summer term preceding the Notting Hill Carnival and would provide an incentive for school-based carnivals, which tend to happen at this time.

The Business of Carnival – Funding, Finance & Economic Development

22. Notting Hill is and always will be the ‘spiritual’ home of the Carnival. We believe that the carnival arts movement in London, which has been an inspiration for many and has shared its expertise to support the emergence of other Caribbean-influenced carnivals – both nationally and internationally –, now deserves a permanent home within Notting Hill. We are strongly in favour of the creation of a dedicated ‘Centre for Carnival Arts and Enterprise’ that will, amongst other things, serve as a ‘Centre of Excellence’ for the development, promotion and teaching of the carnival arts and Carnival arts management. We recommend that the development and delivery of this major initiative be placed on the agenda of the London Carnival Development Strategic Forum.

23. Discussions about the Notting Hill Carnival have overwhelmingly focused on issues of public safety and the cost of the event. We believe that the LDA’s assessment of the Carnival’s economic contribution and future growth potential now provides us with an opportunity to balance these discussions and achieve a more equitable cost-benefit analysis of what the Carnival has to offer as a key vehicle for social and economic regeneration. As a seminal piece of research we welcome the report and its recommendations. Further, we strongly recommend that the LDA utilise the report and its findings to devise and implement a 4-year Carnival Economic Development Strategy so as to ensure that the Carnival community truly benefits from the money it generates.

24. The Notting Hill Carnival has and continues to be an important vehicle for the promotion of black music, the development of live music audiences and the showcasing of London’s creative and artistic talent. The mobile and static sound system DJs continue to be the key drivers in this regard, since they are primarily responsible for determining the type and style of music played and promoted within the Carnival entertainment area. Whilst we recognise that carnival music is constantly changing and evolving, we strongly believe that positive action must be taken in order to maximise the revenue generating opportunities that the Carnival presents. It is therefore our recommendation that a Carnival music policy and strategy be developed and implemented with a view to:

(a) increasing the amount of live music performances within the Carnival through the re-introduction of live stages;

(b) ensuring that Caribbean and African music remain at the heart of the Carnival’s music programming strategy;

(c) introducing agreed music playlists within the Carnival entertainment area;

(d) developing commercially viable Carnival-related music products and services; and
(e) cultivating new audiences for traditional Caribbean and African music.

25. We would like to see a greater level of partnership between the Notting Hill Carnival and the Caribbean food and drink industry. The former has been instrumental in promoting the latter, the value and potential growth of which should not be underestimated. We believe that significant opportunities and synergies exist to not only strengthen the Carnival’s economic base through branding and sponsorship, but also increase the quality and professionalism of the food and beverage offered. We therefore recommend the development and implementation of a Caribbean-cuisine centred Food and Drink Strategy for the Carnival which:

(a) encourages the development of mutually beneficial strategic partnerships between such organisations as the Caribbean Cuisine Consortium and the Carnival;

(b) ensures that 100 per cent of the income from stall concession fees is given to the Carnival organisers and not retained by the local authorities; and

(c) explores the possibility of the local authorities working with the Carnival organisers to consider the establishment of a limited number of alcohol sites which would be a significant source of revenue for the Carnival and could cover the costs associated with providing toilets.

Future Vision: The Way Forward

26. The Notting Hill Carnival should be embraced. It is a major world-class event that should be supported both politically and financially. We also recognise that clusters of carnival creatives can be found throughout London. Having initiated this review, we firmly believe that the Mayor of London should continue to provide a strategic role in overseeing the implementation of the recommendations in this report. We also believe that these recommendations should form the cornerstone of a four-year London Carnival Development Programme, which will:

(a) act as a catalyst to drive the development of the carnival industry in London; and

(b) focus on the priority areas of:

- Strategic management and leadership
- Community outreach and development
- Event operation and management
- Fundraising and finance
- Sustainable economic development
- Marketing, branding and promotion

The programme should adopt a phased approach to implementation and should be informed by all stakeholders in order to ensure that appropriate benefits are derived from the success and growth of the Notting Hill Carnival.
Introduction

The Review Process

Understanding Carnival and Why It Exists

The Notting Hill Carnival Today: A Brief Overview

Listening to Stakeholders: Competing Perspectives

“Carnival is a way of saying, ‘I am here!’”¹³

- A.R. Tompsett

Part I: Introduction

Summary

A true appreciation of the significance, meaning and complexities of the Notting Hill Carnival can never be attained unless one first acknowledges the multi-dimensional nature of an event that has been shaped by its historical, political, cultural and community origins. This section:

- introduces the Mayor of London’s strategic review of the Notting Hill Carnival (‘the Carnival’) and the context in which the review was established;
- provides an overview of the Carnival Review Group process, its methodology and key stages;
- traces the cultural and historical roots of the Notting Hill Carnival, it’s multicultural and multi-dimensional nature, as well as the strong political and community focus that shaped its formative years;
- offers a brief description of the Notting Hill Carnival as it is today, highlighting the particular changes that have taken place since 2000; and
- identifies the main ‘interest groups’ within the Notting Hill Carnival – the ‘stakeholders’. The chapter also examines the relationships between these stakeholders and summarises their key issues and concerns.

Recommendations

1. We believe that a greater awareness of the Notting Hill Carnival’s history and how it came into being is critical to transforming the way in which the event is portrayed and ultimately perceived by the public. As the principal custodians of the event, those responsible for organising and delivering the Carnival must play a more proactive role in co-ordinating and initiating the collection, preservation and dissemination of information about the Carnival’s history, contemporary significance and meaning. We recommend the adoption of a more strategic approach to the development of a Carnival Archives and Heritage Collections programme. Possible programme partners could include organisations and institutions such as the Archives, Libraries and Museums (ALM), Museum of London, Victoria & Albert Museum, Kensington & Chelsea Community History Group and the Horniman Museum.

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4. During our strategic review, one of the most significant community developments to take place as a result of our public hearings and consultation around a possible route change was the formation of the Notting Hill Mas Band Association (NHMBA) in April 2002. We welcome this association and recognise its importance in ensuring that the costume bands are involved in the overall event planning and decision making process. We would encourage the Arts Council to consider providing development funding in order to strengthen the association’s role as the representative voice of the masquerade band movement.

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(a) the appointment of a full-time press and communications officer with professional journalism experience, good media contacts and an understanding of the Carnival;

(b) the development and implementation of a media and communications strategy that (i) reflects the Carnival’s year-round local, regional, national and international activities, (ii) provides media skills training and acts as a resource for the Carnival Arenas; and (iii) takes a proactive and constructive approach to submitting positive stories about the Carnival’s history, traditions and cultural significance, whilst at the same time anticipates and responds to negative press coverage; and

(c) the creation of a dedicated website that serves as a central information and communication resource for the Notting Hill Carnival in particular and the carnival industry generally.
The Review Process

Background

1.1 In London, the Notting Hill Carnival dominates the month of August each year. From humble origins, the Carnival has grown into a spectacular multicultural celebration and a powerful expression of community, art, music and performance on the streets of Notting Hill. However, in August 2000, the tragic murders of two young men served to highlight the critical issues of public safety and accountability for an event that attracts almost one million people each year. This report represents the culmination of a three year in-depth inquiry into the management, operation and funding of the Carnival. It is designed to provide a long-term strategic analysis and plan for the future sustainability and development of an event that has grown to become London’s most extravagant celebration of Caribbean culture.

1.2 In September 2000, Mayor Ken Livingstone initiated the first major examination of the Notting Hill Carnival by establishing the Carnival Review Group (‘the Review Group’), a twelve-member panel, drawn from the diverse fields of politics, culture, community, policing, policy development, education, the carnival arts, equalities, law, event management and race relations. Chaired by Lee Jasper, the Mayor’s cabinet advisor on race relations and policy director on equalities and policing, the Review Group was tasked with conducting an independent and wide-ranging inquiry into how the Notting Hill Carnival is organised, managed and funded. The impetus for this inquiry stemmed not only from the murders of Mr. Abdul Bhatti and Mr. Greg Watson, but also from increasing concerns about overcrowding and a reported rise in the levels of crime committed at the event.

1.3 In announcing his review, Mayor Livingstone commented: “The Notting Hill Carnival has become London’s largest cultural festival and a showpiece for the vitality and diversity of London’s many communities. I have today been discussing with the Metropolitan Police what can be done to prevent a tiny handful of hardened criminals from disrupting an event, which is enjoyed, by millions of Londoners. I also want to see all of the issues of public safety raised by the Carnival’s immense popularity properly addressed. To these ends, I have decided to conduct a wide-ranging review of the development of the Carnival as London’s largest cultural festival, including how we ensure that all issues of public safety are fully addressed.”

1.4 The Review Group interpreted its terms of reference to include:

1.4.1 an examination of the management, organisation, operation and resourcing of the Notting Hill Carnival;

1.4.2 an assessment of the impact and implications of Carnival’s growth on public safety, levels of crime and the local environment;

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14 “Mayor pledges review of Notting Hill Carnival”, Greater London Authority Press Statement, 4 September 2000

15 The full text of the terms of reference for the Carnival Review Group are set out in Appendix 2
1.4.3 the involvement of and consultation with key stakeholders, groups and individuals during the Inquiry process; the consideration of evidence from organisers of similar events, both in the UK and in other countries;

1.4.4 the consideration of any relevant submissions, comments and documentary evidence, commissioning and/or pursuing any additional research where necessary;

1.4.5 addressing and/or determining Carnival’s cultural aims, economic & social benefits, and location and organisational needs; advising on and making recommendations as to the current and future role of the Greater London Authority, local authorities and other funding partners; making findings as to the on-going viability and sustainability of Carnival in its present form; and

1.4.6 producing a report making recommendations to the Mayor of London and other appropriate agencies on the future development of the Notting Hill Carnival within London.

The Issues: Talking to Stakeholders, Consulting the Public and Interim Recommendations

1.5 An initial period of consultation\textsuperscript{16} with key organisations involved in planning and delivering the Notting Hill Carnival allowed the Review Group to identify the key issues surrounding Europe’s largest street festival. Exploratory meetings were held with the Notting Hill Carnival Trust (NHCT); the Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea (RBKC); the City of Westminster (WCC); the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS); British Transport Police (BTP); St. John Ambulance (SJA); the London Ambulance Service (LAS); London Underground Limited (LUL); and the London Fire & Emergency Protection Authority (LFEPA). The Review Group also studied media coverage and reporting of the 2000 event, together with a number of documents and statistics relating to previous Carnivals.

1.6 A wider programme of consultation with the public, involving the distribution of a consultation questionnaire, together with a call for submissions and the hosting of two public meetings within Notting Hill was initiated in the November 2000. The questionnaire canvassed the public’s views on the following central issues:

- the importance of public safety;
- the Carnival’s location and route;
- crowd numbers, density and congestion;
- the effectiveness of stewarding and policing;
- the content of the Carnival and its activities (i.e. programming);
- the provision of amenities (first aid centres and toilets);
- communication and signage; and
- transportation to and from Carnival.

1.7 Over 75 written responses were received at the close of the public consultation period with approximately 40 per cent of these coming from residents living in and around the Carnival area. Submissions from Carnival bands and participants represented the next biggest respondent group (21 per cent), with the remainder coming from members of the general public (10.5 per cent), police community consultative groups or working parties (4.5 per cent) and key statutory agencies (such as the police, local authorities, emergency services and transport authorities), organisations and individuals.

\textsuperscript{16} Members of the Carnival Review Group attended the 16th Annual Carnival Management & Development Seminar on 7-8 October 2000
1.8 The Carnival Review Group concluded the first stage of its inquiry with the publication of its Interim Report in February 2001\(^\text{17}\). The report placed great emphasis on the public safety challenges posed by the Carnival’s immense growth and it was published with the intention that both the findings and the fourteen substantive recommendations\(^\text{18}\) would be considered by the Carnival organisers and statutory agencies as part of their planning process for Carnival 2001.

**Public Hearings, Stakeholder Engagement and Practical Involvement**

1.9 The second stage of the Review Group’s work took two critical paths. With a view to conducting a more detailed examination of the issues raised during the public consultation, a series of public hearings located in community venues were organised over a period of four months. At these hearings, key organisations and individuals were invited to address members of the Review Group on the issues raised in their earlier responses to the public consultation. The hearings covered an array of topics, including: press reporting and media coverage of the Notting Hill Carnival; the aspirations and work of the five Carnival Arenas; the transparency and accountability of the management and governance structures surrounding the Carnival; the long-term development and sustainability of the Carnival and its artistic content; the role and development of carnival arts and carnival education in schools; an assessment of the Carnival’s potential to act as a catalyst for local economic development; the impact that future growth in the number of people attending the Carnival; and the role of the statutory agencies. With attendance figures totalling 826, a striking feature of these public hearings was the extent to which they became forums for the exchange of information between members of the various Carnival arenas, the organisers and concerned residents.

1.10 In addition to the hearings, in each financial year, approximately £200,000\(^\text{19}\) in the Mayor’s Culture budget was ring-fenced to provide additional resources for public safety-related planning and operational activities in the 2001, 2002 and 2003 Carnivals. With the publication of its interim report, the Review Group provided the lead on implementing some of its key interim recommendations, using the additional funds where necessary to strategically target and deliver on the critical safety and long-term recommendations of increasing steward numbers\(^\text{20}\) and gaining a better understanding of the Carnival environment and crowd behaviour\(^\text{21}\). In the run up to Carnival 2001, the Greater London Authority (GLA) played a central role in convening a number of strategic planning committees. Focusing specifically on transport and communications, these committees were successful in developing a more integrated and co-ordinated media and transport strategy for the Carnival. In 2002, the work of these committees was incorporated into a central multi-agency planning committee for the Carnival, the Operational Planning and Safety Group (OPSG). Membership of this group was made up of representatives of the Carnival organisers and the statutory agencies. The GLA also became a member of this group and therefore, one of the distinct features of this review was its involvement in the Carnival planning and decision-making process. This provided members of the Review Group with an opportunity to observe the relationship between the Carnival organisers and the various statutory agencies and obtain first hand experience of the event planning process.

**Building Knowledge and Expertise: Independent Research**

\(^{17}\) Notting Hill Carnival Review: Interim Report and Public Safety Profile Recommendations for 2001

\(^{18}\) Interim recommendations are set out in full at Appendix 5

\(^{19}\) The exact figures were £250,000 in 2001, £215,000 in 2002 and £215,000 in 2003.

\(^{20}\) Recommendation 3(a) in Notting Hill Carnival Review: Interim Report and Public Safety Profile Recommendations for 2001

\(^{21}\) Recommendation 4(a) in Notting Hill Carnival Review: Interim Report and Public Safety Profile Recommendations for 2001
1.11 A third aspect of the Review Group’s work was the commissioning of independent research to support the investigation process and secure additional expertise in addressing key elements of the strategic review. Two significant and groundbreaking studies were commissioned in this regard:

1.11.1 Carnival Public Safety Project: a two-year analysis of the Carnival route, crowd build-up, movement and dispersal using computer modelling and established risk assessment guidelines; and

1.11.2 Economic Impact Study: commissioned by the London Development Agency on behalf of the Review Group, an analysis of the Carnival’s economic contribution to the local and regional economy was carried out in 2002.

1.12 In addition to these two studies, a professional evaluation of the stewarding operation was carried out in 2001.

**Understanding Carnival and Why It Exists**

**Recommendation**

1. We believe that a greater awareness of the Notting Hill Carnival’s history and how it came into being is critical to transforming the way in which the event is portrayed and ultimately perceived by the public. As the principal custodians of the event, those responsible for organising and delivering the Carnival must play a more proactive role in co-ordinating and initiating the collection, preservation and dissemination of information about the Carnival’s history, contemporary significance and meaning. We recommend the adoption of a more strategic approach to the development of a Carnival Archives and Heritage Collections programme. Possible programme partners could include organisations and institutions such as the Archives, Libraries and Museums (ALM), Museum of London, Victoria & Albert Museum, Kensington & Chelsea Community History Group and the Horniman Museum.

**Origins**

1.13 Nowhere has the relationship between black cultural expression, social, economic, political and institutional policing been more definitively illustrated than through the evolution of the Notting Hill Carnival. Whilst only a brief overview and analysis of the origins of Carnival can be provided in this report, its inclusion is of paramount importance for the consideration of issues and concerns facing the festival today. A true appreciation of the significance, meaning and complexities of the Notting Hill Carnival can never be attained unless one first acknowledges the multi-dimensional nature of an event that has been shaped by its historical, political, cultural and community origins. Consideration of these overlapping and sometimes competing frameworks are central to our appreciation of what the Carnival stands for, its appeal to diverse audiences, its relationship to statutory agencies (and in particular the police and local authorities) and its undeniable uniqueness.

“It is often forgotten that carnival at Notting Hill and those mirrored in other parts of Britain, is based on a historically and culturally-specific model, borne out of an unfortunate, yet relevant historical context: i.e. European expansion, colonization and slavery in the Caribbean islands, especially Trinidad and Tobago.”

22 Patricia Alleyne-Dettmers, “Carnival: The Historical Legacy”, p1, 1996
1.14 The origins of the Notting Hill Carnival can be traced back to the Caribbean island of Trinidad, which in turn derived its carnival culture from the enduring customs, traditions and beliefs of Africans who were brought to the island to work on the plantations as slaves. The concept of carnival had originally been transported to the island during the era of slavery when – at the invitation of Charles III – French-speaking Catholics flocked to the island from the surrounding territories of Grenada, Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Vincent and Dominica. They brought with them a European version of the carnival, which was celebrated immediately before Lent. The main feature of this particular festival was *Le Masquerade* – daytime concerts, masked fancy-dress balls, hunting parties and house-to-house visits in colourful carriages. Prior to the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and the subsequent emancipation of the slaves in the Caribbean in 1834, these celebrations were exclusive ‘high society’ affairs for the white slave-owning aristocracy. As an alternative, the slaves established their own festivities in the shape of the *Cannes Brûlées*, also called *Camboulay/Canboulay* (or burned canes), which was a public celebration of the slaves who turned out en masse from neighbouring plantations to help put out sugar cane fires.

1.15 When freedom eventually came on 1 August 1834\(^2\), the emancipated slaves took to the streets and celebrated their liberty through song and dance, reproducing and reinstating the former Canboulay festival as an anniversary symbol of liberation and freedom from the shackles of colonialism and the brutal regime that was slavery. They mocked and mimicked their former slave masters and mistresses by painting their faces and creating costume caricatures of the garb, pomp and ceremony that had been the hallmark of the wealthy plantation owners. The carnival therefore became a celebration of their freedom from bondage as well as their remembrance of it.

1.16 Since its inception, the carnival has developed into a strong Caribbean tradition. The seeds of the Notting Hill Carnival were sown with the docking of the *Empire Windrush* in 1948, which signalled the arrival of Caribbean immigrants who were responding to the post-war labour shortage in England in the late 1940’s and early 1950’s. As members of Britain’s colonial empire, they settled in the working class London districts of Brixton, Southall and Notting Hill as well as Moss Side in Manchester and Handsworth in Birmingham. Invited to Britain, the Caribbean community was greeted with hostility, racism, social intolerance, poor housing and exploitative working and employment conditions.

1.17 A number of factors conspired to increase social tensions between the minority black and majority white community in England. Britain’s weakening grasp on its colonial empire and declining economic fortunes gave rise to an urgent need for some to find a suitable political scapegoat to take the blame for Britain’s social, political and economic woes. The emergence of extreme right-wing movements and views became a feature of the day with the formation of, amongst others, the Union Movement by Oswald Moseley, the White Defence League by Colin Jordan, the National Labour Party by John Bean and the League of Empire Loyalists by G.K. Chesterton. Physical attacks on members of the black community became a common occurrence and this reached its height when in May 1958, a young Antiguan carpenter by the name of Kelso Cochrane was murdered by six alleged members of the White Defence League in Ladbroke Grove. No one was ever arrested or convicted.

1.18 The Cochrane murder proved to be a turning point in race relations in Britain. At a community level, a committee under the chairmanship of Amy Ashwood Garvey (the wife of Marcus Mosiah Garvey), which included the Trinidadian journalist and political activist Claudia Jones, met at the

\(^2\) By virtue of the Abolition of Slavery Act (1833).
surgery of another Trinidadian, Dr (later Lord) David Pitt, to organise approaches to the Government. But the murder ignited what had already been a smouldering powder keg of black community discontent and resistance to the poor conditions, treatment and harassment that they were experiencing. The ensuing Notting Hill race riots, which erupted in late August of that same year, sent shockwaves throughout the country. Although at the time, an official police report claimed that the national press had been wrong to portray the street disturbances as ‘racial riots’, internal police witness statements confirm that the disturbances were overwhelmingly caused by a mob of 400-strong ‘Keep Britain White’ Teddy boys who, armed with iron bars, butcher’s knives and weighted leather belts, roamed the streets of Notting Hill, breaking into homes and attacking anyone that they could find. The battles raged over the bank holiday weekend as members of the black community responded by arming themselves and organising counterattacks. The disturbances continued night after night until they finally petered out on September 5, 1958.

1.19 The riots had a significant impact on the black community. In the aftermath, nine white youths were convicted and received sentences of four years each. While those dealt with by the courts were overwhelmingly white, a large number of black people were also arrested. Official insistence that the riots had not been racially motivated ‘ensured a legacy of black mistrust’ of the police that was to resurface in later years. The riots also demonstrated ability of the black community in Notting Hill to self-organise and, for the first time, defend themselves against racist attacks. With a heightened sense of unity, purpose and determination, the community was now unwilling to accept or succumb to the prospect of a life of perpetual oppression and so emerged a political, social and cultural grassroots organising strategy, designed to achieve greater equality and social change.

1.20 A number of cultural and social commentators have observed that this politicisation of the black community had been germinating for some time. After the 1958 riots, organisations such as the Coordinating Committee Against Racial Discrimination, the Conference of Afro-Asian-Caribbean Organisations, the Association for the Advancement of Coloured People and the Inter-Racial Friendship Coordinating Committee were established to harness and channel the renewed energies of the black community into an anti-racist resistance movement where the primary focus was one of promoting black self-reliance. Excluded by white mainstream institutions, black communities established their own cultural and political associations, welfare organisations, churches and fellowships. These networks and groupings provided a much-needed source of strength, support and social interaction for the community, enabling them to not only “bypass the existing but un-proclaimed colour bar in white-controlled centres and pubs, but also [give] black culture the spaces to flourish in a hostile environment”.

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24 Riots also broke out in Nottingham and Middlesborough.
25 It is popularly believed that the riots began on the night of Saturday 20 August 1958.
26 In his official report, Detective Sergeant M. Walters of the Notting Hill police stated that “whereas there certainly was some ill feeling between white and coloured residents in this area, it is abundantly clear much of the trouble was caused by ruffians, both coloured and white, who seized on this opportunity to indulge in hooliganism.”
29 It was clearly evidenced in a meeting of the 1945 Pan-African Congress in Manchester. Prominent African, Caribbean and African-American thinkers, activists and leaders of the day attended this historic event: Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana; Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya; George Padmore; Ras Makonnen and W.E.B Dubois.
“A People’s Art is the Genesis of their Freedom” – Beginnings of Carnival

1.21 One such ‘space’ was provided by Claudia Jones, a leading member of the West Indian Workers and Students’ Association and a prominent figure in the black community. Jones was also the editor and co-founder of the West Indian Gazette, a news journal designed to address black issues and provide a source of inspiration, assurance and information to an embattled minority community. Following the 1958 disturbances, Jones cultivated the idea of establishing a carnival as a vehicle through which to uplift the Caribbean community, build upon the new found sense of unity and begin the process of healing. The primary purpose of the event was to “present West Indian talent to the public, which at that time could not see Caribbean people as anything other than hewers of wood and drawers of water”. The Gazette sponsored the creation of a Caribbean Carnival Committee and, as a positive reaction to the divisive events surrounding the riots, Jones used her skills and connections to bring together African, Caribbean and other artists and performers in a celebration of black culture. St. Pancras Town Hall provided the venue for the first Carnival celebration on 30 January 1959 and a portion of the proceeds from the sale of the souvenir brochure was pledged to pay the fines of those members of the community (black and white) who had been involved in the 1958 disturbances. For the next six years, these indoor Mardi Gras celebrations continued to be organised under the auspices of the Gazette in halls located in West London. Each year the festivities would take place under the slogan, “A people’s art is the genesis of their freedom”.

1.22 It was after Jones’ untimely death in 1964 that a local social worker by the name of Rhaune Laslett invited members of the black community to participate in a street fair in Notting Hill. Laslett invited a steel band to take part in the street parade so as to appeal to the vast majority of Caribbeans living in the area. When the steel band came to the Notting Hill Festival in 1965, it is said that nearly every Caribbean as well as local white people, came onto the streets in celebration, song and dance enthused by the infectious rendition of the popular songs being played on the pan. For the first time black people were able to express themselves freely on the streets of Notting Hill in appreciation of their music and in the same tradition as the carnivals of the Caribbean.

1.23 The first Notting Hill Carnival therefore “consisted of one steel-pan combo, 500 followers and two policemen”31 and was a great success. Its organisation however, had not been without its problems: a few weeks before the festivities, the mayor of Kensington cancelled his sponsorship and withdrew a grant, which had been promised by the council. On behalf of the carnival committee, Laslett published a letter sent to the mayor signalling the community’s intention to proceed with the festival and its activities. In a leading article after the event, the Kensington Post criticised the mayor and the council for withdrawing their support, commenting that “for our part, all we saw was an innocent, unselfconscious mingling of white and black… all intent on enjoying themselves and in so doing bringing a welcome splash of colour and gaiety to their drab surroundings”32.

Politics, Community and Culture

1.24 In his seminal work on the politics of the Notting Hill Carnival, Abner Cohen33 has commented that the process of organising and planning for the Carnival provided an effective platform for mobilising the local working class population, both black and white, for a vigorous, sustained and relentless campaign against the area’s dire housing situation. During the 1966-70 period, a major by-product of the Notting Hill Carnival was the development of a multi-racial grassroots...
mobilising strategy, which allowed local people to contribute to the struggle for better housing and social conditions. In the programme distributed by the Carnival Committee in 1967, Laslett also highlighted the political significance of the event: “The people of North Kensington, regardless of race, colour and creed, have a common problem: bad housing conditions, extortionate rents and overcrowding. Therefore, in this misery, people become one.”

1.25 It is clear that from its inception, the Notting Hill Carnival has always been a multicultural event, designed to bring communities together. In a leading article in the Kensington News, a local reporter went so far as to offer the following description of the 1967 Carnival: “The Notting Hill festival lost money but enriched the community. It brought a lot of gaiety to Notting Hill, the street Carnival and the international song and dance festival being particularly successful. At these events the various national groups got together and mingled freely and happily. It was a far cry from the sullen atmosphere sometimes associated with the area…..It showed just what a voluntary organisation can achieve but at the same time showed up the Council’s own failings”34.

1.26 When, because of growing tension in the area in 1970, Laslett cancelled the event only two weeks before it was due to take place, local black leaders stepped in and the festival went ahead as planned. By that time, the carnival movement in Notting Hill had assumed a life of its own.

1.27 The nature and character of the Notting Hill Carnival underwent a dramatic transformation between 1971 and 1975 as the event’s leadership and artistic content became almost exclusively Caribbean. This was also reflected in the audiences who attended to witness and participate in the festival. Once again, the growth of Carnival could also be linked to the economic and political climate facing black people in Britain at the time. Rising unemployment fuelled the competition for jobs and heightened the tension between black and white communities. The call for more stringent immigration controls was constantly on the political agenda, against a backdrop of continuing racial discrimination and the “rivers of blood” speeches and writings of the Conservative MP, Enoch Powell who painted scenes of Britain being torn apart by racial violence. In addition to the national politics, there was also growing discontent and unrest within the black community about what they believed were the local manifestations of Powell’s speeches and government policy in Notting Hill – the heavy-handed and continual police raids on a Caribbean restaurant called the ‘Mangrove’.

1.28 Established by Frank Critchlow in 1969, the Mangrove Restaurant had become an important meeting place for community activists, journalists and musicians. Situated on the All Saints Road, the Mangrove became the focal point of a series of police-community confrontations, which started with the 1970 demonstration organised by the Action Committee for the Defence of the Mangrove. What began as a peaceful mass protest against what was seen as hostile policing and harassment, escalated into a violent clash between local police and Mangrove protesters. Of the nineteen people arrested, nine were later charged and tried at the Old Bailey. Known as the ‘Mangrove Nine’. Many viewed the trial as an opportunity to highlight what they saw as the oppressive policing and treatment of black people in Britain. The trial ended with the acquittal of seven of the accused and short suspended sentences being passed on the remaining two. The trial of the Mangrove Nine has become a symbolic landmark in the history of police-community relations in Notting Hill. The acquittals and relatively light sentences were viewed by many as a major triumph and in the aftermath, the Mangrove underwent a transformation from a local restaurant into an institution for community mobilisation, resistance and struggle. Its role in the development, shaping and planning of the Notting Hill Carnival was pivotal, as it became the central headquarters and meeting place for the organisers, performers and musicians.

34 Kensington News, 29 September 1967
1.29 The Mangrove trial and the emergence of a robust black community movement served to not only ignite greater political activity, but also spawn a number of creative endeavours in the fields of art, literature, drama, music, dancing and religion. The Notting Hill Carnival became an important vehicle for the promoting and showcasing the black community’s unique cultural and creative identity. The writer, filmmaker and musician, Kwesi Owusu once described the Carnival as an “annual mecca” at which the “revellers came to re-enact a powerful cultural and political symbolism which was essential to daily black existence, survival and struggle”.

1.30 Subsequent years saw increased Caribbean participation in the Notting Hill Carnival whilst that of other ethnic groups declined. Cohen has argued that this was partly due to the construction of the Westway flyover through Ladbroke Grove, which resulted in what many people saw as the ‘preferential’ re-housing of much of the white community on the one hand and the growing importance of Carnival to Notting Hill’s black community. Allegations of police harassment, brutality and institutionalised racism continued to politicise the black community, which responded in kind with the formation and strengthening of grassroots organisations. New community mobilisation strategies and political ideologies employed by the Black Power and Civil Rights movements in the United States were studied and where possible, applied by black groups in Britain to their own community circumstances. At the same time, these forms of political and community protest augmented and provided inspiration for the growing popularity of black musical genres of ‘lyrical protest’ such as reggae, which served to strengthen the community’s sense of identity, unity and purpose.

1.31 Cecil Gutzmore has observed that it was at this point that the Notting Hill Carnival began to be viewed as a ‘threatening culture’. With the introduction of large sound systems and the concentration of large crowds of young black people, the Carnival began to be perceived as a ‘problem’ by the local authorities and the police. In the lead up to the 1976 Carnival, the Notting Hill Black Information Centre wrote a letter to The Times and The Guardian newspapers, warning of a potential disturbance if extra provision for the growing number of Carnival revellers and participants was not made. The first major Carnival disturbance occurred in 1976 when 10,000 policemen accompanied 250,000 revellers down the Ladbroke Grove. The policing strategy that year divided the Carnival area into six sections, but prevented any crowd movement between sectors. Helicopters and police cameras were used to survey and monitor the Carnival crowd, which in response reacted violently. The rioting continued well into the next day.

1.32 Some critics have argued that the police chose to interpret the 1976 Carnival as a protest march and that the real problem lay in the inability of local officials and the police to view the Carnival as a cultural event. Police-community conflict at the Notting Hill Carnival was to be a recurring feature, with serious confrontations in 1977, and again in 1981 and 1989. There have been various attempts to control the Carnival and contain its social and political impact over the years.

1.33 The transformation of a traditional English fair into a significant manifestation of popular black and traditional Caribbean culture is doubly significant. It demonstrates the resilience of a marginalised community, but it has also bequeathed an institution that is an integral part of the history and heritage of the black community. It is clear that somewhere along the way, this understanding of the history, relevance and wider social and cultural meaning of the Notting Hill Carnival has been lost. Certainly there appears to be a significant disparity between what the Carnival is meant to communicate and how new generations interpret and understand the event today. The Carnival’s history and heritage is, in many respects, all the more relevant, not least

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36 Cecil Gutzmore, ‘Carnival, the State and the Black Masses in the United Kingdom’, Black Liberator, 1.
because the plight of minority ethnic communities in Britain continues to place them disproportionally at risk of exclusion and disadvantage. Communities of people of Caribbean descent are more likely to be unemployed, suffer ill health, live in deprived or unpopular neighbourhoods and have their children disproportionately excluded from school. At the same time, these communities continue to be the target for racial harassment and racist crime, which is widespread and under-reported37.

**Documenting the History of Carnival - A Case Study**

1.34 The Review Group came across a number of positive community-based initiatives designed to document and record the history of the Notting Hill Carnival. The work of the Kensington & Chelsea Community History Group is an example of what is currently being done to preserve and record Carnival’s past (see below). In our opinion, the Notting Hill Carnival Trust has a central role to play in supporting, co-ordinating and initiating strategies for the effective collection, preservation and dissemination of the history of Carnival so as to encourage a greater awareness and respect for the event, particularly amongst young people.

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<th>Case Study 1</th>
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<td>Notting Hill Carnival Oral History Project</td>
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<td>Sue McAlpine, Oral History Coordinator of the Kensington &amp; Chelsea Community History Group and Eric Huntley have so far recorded just over fifty interviews with people who, over the years, have been the makers and shakers of Carnival. The project is still continuing.</td>
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“This is the story of Carnival from the inside. From the Carnival makers themselves you can hear of the hopes, disappointments and the sheer joy of making mas’. For many reasons it is vital that these memories are collected before they are lost and forgotten: to preserve the history of Carnival, to pay homage to the pioneers who were instrumental in taking it from its tentative beginnings and brought it to the international festival it has become today. Two recorded comments were the inspiration for this oral collection. The first was from Michael La Rose who commented that ‘Carnival is about survival and resistance - we have to trace and record, for future generations of black and white people the stories of those carnival pioneers, now in their sixties and seventies, who established a festival in Britain under extreme opposition but yet have survived, and not only have survived but flourished.’ The second came from Wilf Walker who stated: ‘There are lots of people who have made profound contribution to carnival but no one ever talks about them, no one ever brings them in, no one seeks out their opinion . . . if we can’t identify those people who made this happen and big ‘em up and hail them for what they did, then God Almighty what can you do? . . . how are we going to grow this thing?’

These are memories from early calypsonians and soca singers, of steel pan players, of leaders of bands, of sound system men – stories of running electrical cables under the Westway to plug into a friend’s power source on the other side. There are memories from the local churches, from residents, from people who cooked for Carnival, people who crewed St John ambulances, and people who cleared up afterwards. Of course there are memories of the riots of the seventies both from people who found themselves caught up in them and from members of the police force themselves. There are the voices of people who talk passionately about the spirit of Carnival, what it means personally to them and their fears and anxieties about its future. The North Kensington Community Archive was set up to collect the oral history of this area of London, in particular from its ethnic groups. It is still in the process of being developed and established. The oral history of the Notting Hill Carnival will shortly be accessible and available for people as a resource and will be published in book form.”

Notting Hill Carnival Today: A Brief Overview

The Changing Nature of Carnival

1.35 The Notting Hill Carnival is made up of five cultural and artistic disciplines called ‘Carnival Arenas’. The Arenas represent the music, poetry, song, performance and costume of the Carnival:

- Masquerade (or ‘mas’)
- Calypso
- Steelpan (or steelbands)
- Soca DJs (mobile sound systems)
- Static sound systems

1.36 Today’s Notting Hill Carnival is staged during a period called the “Carnival Season” - two weeks of carnival-related cultural activities that take place towards the end of August each year. The activities are categorised as ‘Pre-Carnival events’ and the ‘Two Days of Carnival’. The pre-Carnival events consist of the Grand Costume Gala, the Calypso Tent Monarch Finals and the steelpan ‘Panorama’. These events take place in either hired in-door venues or in special designated areas. The steelpan Panorama, for example, is held at Emslie Horniman’s Pleasance in Notting Hill. It is the largest of the three pre-Carnival events, involves approximately 1,000 performers and attracts almost 4,000 spectators.

1.37 The Two Days of Carnival take place over the August bank holiday weekend - the ‘Carnival Sunday’, also called ‘Children’s Day’ and the bank holiday Monday. Over the two days, members of the Carnival arenas perform, entertain and compete with each other for a range of titles and awards on the streets of Notting Hill. The performances take place within a designated entertainment area – the ‘Carnival Area’ – which is defined by a processional route – the ‘Carnival Route’. The masquerade bands, steelbands, and mobile soca sound systems all perform on the route, whilst a number of sites situated throughout the Carnival area are used by the static sound systems to stage music concerts, showcases and promotions. Several parks and open spaces within the Carnival area have also been used to stage live concerts and performances. The atmosphere of the Carnival is enhanced by a approximately 250 stalls the majority of whom sell food and drink throughout the area.

1.38 Since the start of the Mayor’s review in September 2000, the Notting Hill Carnival has undergone a number of changes, most notably in relation to its management and leadership, the Carnival route, policing numbers, the use of parks and open spaces and the number of visitors attending the Carnival.

The Carnival Route in 2000 and 2001

1.39 In 2000 and 2001, the route used for the Carnival was 4.9km long, with the procession travelling in an anticlockwise direction starting at the Northern end of Ladbroke Grove, through Arundel Gardens, Westbourne Grove, Chepstow Road, the Great Western Road, Elkstone Road and Kensal Road. Introduced in 1988 by the MPS, use of the circular route became compulsory for all masquerade and steelpan bands and mobile sound systems. The route enclosed a total area of 1 square kilometre, with 0.3 square kilometres of pedestrian space within it. A key feature was a competition stage for performances - the ‘judging point’ - located on Westbourne Grove. The Carnival bands accessed the route via a number of official entry and exit points for floats, which
are shown in Figure 1 below as blue dots. Most of the entry and exit points were located along the length of the Ladbroke Grove (7 of the 10 total). The use of a particular entry point by a Carnival band is largely dependent upon the location of the band’s changing area or ‘base camp’. These camps are situated within church halls, schools and youth centres in Notting Hill. As part of this review, an analysis of base camp locations revealed that the vast majority of the masquerade bands had established camps within the North Kensington area, in close proximity to and on the western side of the Carnival route.

1.40 The most significant change that is made to the Notting Hill area to accommodate crowds during the Carnival is the introduction of a Traffic Exclusion Zone (TEZ), which delineates the whole Carnival ‘footprint’. With the TEZ in place, road space is freed up for pedestrian use. In 2001, all roads within a 3 square kilometre area around the route were included in the TEZ, leaving 0.8 square kilometres of pedestrian space for the Carnival. The TEZ border can be seen in Figure 2 below.

1.41 MPS have estimated that approximately 400,000 people attended the Carnival on the Sunday with 1 million people attending on the bank holiday Monday. There were over 80 participating floats and mobile sound systems (including a number of ‘commercial’ floats advertising products or services), two large-scale live music concert stages situated at Emslie Horniman’s Pleasance and Powis Square; 41 static sound system sites – 8 of which were situated within Westminster; 3,092 police officers supported by 267 civilian staff on the Sunday and 3,991 officers supported by 273 civilian staff on the Monday.

**The Carnival Route in 2002 and 2003**

1.42 The first major change to the Carnival route for almost fourteen years took place in 2002. Using the existing Carnival ‘footprint’, a “U” shaped route with all mobile sound systems and masquerade bands travelling in a clockwise direction was introduced in response to the findings of the Review Group’s Carnival Public Safety Project. The judging point was relocated to the
Great Western Road, a ‘marshalling area’ was created for use by the bands as rest areas, and the northern part of Ladbroke Grove, the Harrow Road and the Great Western Road was used as a ‘relief route’ with a view to reducing crowd congestion on the main performance route. The change reduced the length of the procession section of the Carnival route to 3.6km. A further change was introduced in 2003 with the creation of a ‘judging zone’ to promote continuous movement rather than the use of a stage which required bands to stop in front of a judges’ table and perform.

1.43 The number of people attending the Carnival has declined since 2000 although this has not led to a corresponding decrease in the number of police officers deployed over the August Bank Holiday weekend. There has also been a movement away from the use of the parks and open spaces within the Carnival area for large-scale live concerts. In 2001, for the first time in a number of years, there were no live music stages at Carnival and this trend continued in 2002. In 2003, there was a relatively small-scale ‘world music’ live stage, but the majority of the parks and open spaces were used as rest areas.

Carnival Management and Leadership

1.44 The management and operation of the Notting Hill Carnival has always involved a number of organisations and statutory agencies. In 2000, the responsibility for the year-round preparation, co-ordination and planning of the Carnival’s artistic and cultural activities was borne by the Notting Hill Carnival Trust (NHCT), a registered charity. However, issues of public safety, public order, public health and hygiene and noise pollution also mean that a number of statutory agencies play a significant planning and organising role. In order to clarify the various responsibilities and functions of all the parties involved, a Statement of Intent and Code of
Practice was introduced in 1993, setting out the minimum standards of safety for the Carnival in a number of operational areas. Lead agencies are identified for each operational area and both the Statement and the Code are reviewed annually and signed by a representative of each organisation in order to signify their agreement with its terms. The following table provides a summary of the ‘lead agency’ status accorded by the Statement and Code.

Table 2: Statement of Intent and Code of Practice – Summary of Responsibilities and Designation of Lead Agency Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Operational Areas</th>
<th>NHCT/LNHCL</th>
<th>WCC</th>
<th>RBKC</th>
<th>MPS</th>
<th>BTP</th>
<th>SJA</th>
<th>LAS</th>
<th>LUL</th>
<th>LFB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carnival route</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s Day route (Sunday)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access point to the route</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carnival bands (floats)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sound systems</td>
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<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closing down time</td>
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<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public safety managers</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedestrian zones</td>
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<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street Trading</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of intoxicating liquor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road signs</td>
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<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panorama</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.45 The Statement contains a proviso that whilst the document itself purports to set out the overall intentions of the parties, it is not “intended [to] create a legally binding contract between them”. Further, a number of operational areas, such as close down times, bands (floats), and sound systems appear to require the compliance of members of the various Carnival arenas, although they are not signatories.

1.46 In addition to the Statement and the Code, the multi-agency planning characteristics of the event has been recognised through the formation of a Carnival Safety Liaison Group (CSLG). Membership of the group is made up of officers representing the Carnival organiser and all the statutory agencies who have some involvement with the Carnival. The group served as a forum for the exchange of information about operational, public safety and contingency planning arrangements. In 2002, the CSLP was replaced by the Operational Planning and Safety Group (OPSG).\(^\text{38}\) Whilst the former had been convened and chaired by NHCT, the latter is now convened and chaired by WCC. The central underlying concerns posed by the current management and planning arrangements for the Carnival are those of accountability and responsibility. As part of this review therefore, an analysis of the current legislative framework was undertaken, together with an examination of the various roles played by each stakeholder.

\(^\text{38}\) The following organisations are members of the OPSG (and were also members of the Carnival Safety Liaison Group): Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea; City of Westminster; Metropolitan Police Service; British Transport Police; Transport for London; London Underground Ltd; London Buses Ltd; St. John Ambulance; London Ambulance Service; London Fire Emergency and Planning Authority; Notting Hill Carnival Trust/ London Notting Hill Carnival Ltd. The Greater London Authority became a member of the Safety Group (and its successor, the OPSG) as a consequence of this strategic review.
1.46 In 2001, internal management and staffing difficulties within NHCT led to the creation of a temporary company, ‘Carnival 2002 Ltd trading as the Notting Hill Carnival Trust’ to oversee the planning and organisation of Carnival 2002. In May 2003, following a lengthy consultation process and a series of elections carried out within the five Carnival arenas, a new company, the LNHCL was established. Supported by the statutory agencies, LNHCL was able to provide the community lead in organising and successfully hosting the Carnival in 2003.

**Listening to Stakeholders: Competing Perspectives**

**Recommendations**

2. The Notting Hill Carnival affects a diverse range of individuals, organisations and interest groups. Whilst the views of these Carnival ‘stakeholders’ tend to be represented throughout the event planning and decision-making process to varying degrees, the voices of residents continue to be marginalised despite the consultation meetings organised by the local authorities. We believe that the Carnival organisers must take the lead when consulting residents on Carnival-related issues. They must also take immediate steps to ensure that appropriate mechanisms are put in place so that the views of residents are represented throughout the Carnival event planning and decision making process.

3. As with all Caribbean influenced Carnivals, the traditions of making and playing ‘mas’, (masquerade), making and playing ‘pan’ (the steel band), writing and performing calypso and other Caribbean music are central to the ethos and vibrancy that is the Notting Hill Carnival. We welcome the Arts Council’s continued commitment to support the Carnival and its decision to increase its overall investment in the carnival arts. We believe that the Carnival Arenas would also benefit from funding programmes specifically targeted to support:

   (a) organisational, professional and vocational development and training initiatives in the carnival arts, design technology, construction, arts management, marketing, business-planning, finance, instrument making, live music and performance; and

   (b) the establishment of sustainable volunteer programmes to increase participation in carnival-related activities and events.

4. During our strategic review, one of the most significant community developments to take place as a result of our public hearings and consultation around a possible route change was the formation of the Notting Hill Mas Band Association (NHMBA) in April 2002. We welcome this association and recognise its importance in ensuring that the costume bands are involved in the overall event planning and decision making process. We would encourage the Arts Council to consider providing development funding in order to strengthen the association’s role as the representative voice of the masquerade band movement.

5. Pre-Carnival events – the Grand Costume Gala, Panorama and the Calypso Monarch Finals - are an important part of the Carnival season and alongside the August bank holiday weekend, represent the highlight in the Carnival calendar for the artistic Arenas. The role of the Arenas in planning and delivering these events has grown considerably in the last two years and we believe that this should continue with adequate financial support from arts funding bodies and the Carnival organisers. The Carnival Arenas should be responsible for providing the artistic direction and lead on the staging of all pre-Carnival activities.
6. It is the responsibility of the Carnival organisers to drive the news agenda, rather than react to it. The media should be positively engaged as strategic partners and greater use should be made of information communication technology in order to ensure that Carnival-related news is disseminated to a variety of audiences in a professional and timely way. We therefore recommend that communications between the Carnival organisers and the media, carnival participants, residents and the public should be strengthened by:

(a) the appointment of a full-time press and communications officer with professional journalism experience, good media contacts and an understanding of the Carnival;

(b) the development and implementation of a media and communications strategy that (i) reflects the Carnival’s year-round local, regional, national and international activities, (ii) provides media skills training and acts as a resource for the Carnival Arenas; and (iii) takes a proactive and constructive approach to submitting positive stories about the Carnival’s history, traditions and cultural significance, whilst at the same time anticipates and responds to negative press coverage; and

(c) the creation of a dedicated website that serves as a central information and communication resource for the Notting Hill Carnival in particular and the carnival industry generally.

Context

1.47 The strategy for engaging with Carnival ‘stakeholders’ - those individuals, interest groups or organisations that affect or are affected by the Notting Hill Carnival - proved to be instrumental in shaping the Review. Through a process of public consultations, hearings, interviews and written submissions, a sustainable dialogue with a diverse range of Carnival constituency groups, all with competing interests and concerns, provided the starting point for discussion and the basis for building a consensus view about Carnival’s future. Within the stakeholder spectrum, it is clear that different categories of stakeholders have varying degrees of influence on the way in which Carnival is managed and operated.

The Residents

1.48 The immediate area covered by the Notting Hill Carnival is home to approximately 660 private properties, the extensive Brunel, Wessex and Hartford housing estates, 35 business premises and an estimated 10,000 residents. Although sympathetic to the history, purpose and spirit of Carnival, those living in Notting Hill have serious concerns about an event, which, in their view, has now outgrown the area. Residents questioned the ability of the local community and the environment to cope with what has now become a major international festival, arguing that noise levels and event close down times are neither adhered to or enforced; those residents who are able to leave the area over the August Bank Holiday invariably find that they are unable to return to their homes at a reasonable hour on the Monday due to continued road closures. In many cases, they return to find that their front porches, gardens and basements have been used as public lavatories and rubbish tips by Carnival spectators and revellers.

1.49 It was felt that elderly residents and those living in areas of social housing were given no choice as to whether they wished to attend the Carnival or not. The continued growth of Carnival, whilst clearly demonstrating the event’s success, is accompanied by a number of negative consequences, such as the anti-social behaviour of some visitors to the area and issues of public safety. One borough-wide tenant organisation has implemented a pre-Carnival operation each year. The operation involves boarding up the windows of some of the more vulnerable social housing properties, employing over thirty security guards and enhancing a 24-hour freephone
service with additional staff. The total cost of this operation – approximately £100,000 – is borne by the tenants themselves out of their rents and service charges.

1.50 A crucial aspect of residents’ concerns was the extent to which they felt unable to influence the way in which the Carnival is managed. Views were often communicated via pre and post-Carnival meetings organised by the two local authorities (RBKC and WCC). Apart from this, there appeared to be no direct communication or link with the event organisers themselves. This lack of dialogue was identified as a significant barrier and issue for Notting Hill residents who wanted to be recognised by the organisers as a legitimate stakeholder group.

The Carnival Arenas

1.51 “Carnival bands are a feat of great organisation. There is the designing and making of the costumes, organisation of the masqueraders, providing food and drink, hiring of the music section and organisation of how the band will look on the road on Carnival day. This is usually organised by one bandleader who is also the designer or an individual who acts as the band producer or a committee of people. This organisation is based in a temporary or permanent building where costumes are made called the mas camp. This is the working, social and cultural heart of the band. Financial management, artistic creativity and social organisation are crucial ingredients for the organisation of a Carnival masquerade band. Plans and preparations start 9 to 12 months before the coming festival.”

1.52 During the second phase of this review, representatives of all the Carnival arenas - the masqueraders, calypsonians, soca DJs, static sound system DJs and the steel band players - were given an opportunity to address members of the Review Group in detail at a series of public hearings held between April and July 2001. The hearings were used by the disciplines to not only offer their views as to what they felt the critical issues or concerns were, but also to connect with and share information across the various disciplines themselves. In that sense, the hearings (there were eleven in all) became extremely important vehicles for the dissemination of information about Carnival. It also became evident that in many cases, the disciplines tended to be quite insular in their approach; prior to the public hearings for example, it emerged that there had been little or no systematic interaction between the static sound system DJs and the masquerade bands. In the earlier stages of the hearings, some members of the “traditional” Carnival arenas (i.e. masquerade bands, soca DJs and calypsonians) expressed open hostility towards the static sound systems and questioned their presence at the Carnival, with the problems of Carnival – overcrowding and rising crime figures – being laid squarely at their feet. As the hearings progressed, attendees were able to listen to the views of other Carnival arenas and that of the sound systems in particular. This gave rise to a small but noticeable shift amongst members of the ‘traditional’ sections of the art form.

1.53 There was a clear recognition that the sound systems represented modern black popular culture, served an important role in the Carnival environment and more significantly, communicated a message and a language that engaged young people. At one level this was an inter-generational issue. A strategy would have to be found to ensure that all the various elements, which go to make up the Carnival, can co-exist in relative harmony. A number of issues were common to all the artistic arenas:

1.53.1 lack of recognition of the immense work and skill involved in creating the spectacle of Carnival.

39 Michael La Rose, “A Short History of Carnival in the Caribbean and Britain”, June 1999, p8
1.53.2 lack of general awareness of the culture, significance and history of the Notting Hill Carnival.

1.53.3 lack of support, both in terms of funding and space (mas camps and pan yards) from local authorities and other grant-giving bodies.

1.53.4 the need to create sustainable infrastructures for the disciplines, which would be responsive to their needs and effectively advocate on their behalf.

1.53.5 the negative press reporting and media portrayal of Carnival, which served only to undermine the legitimacy of creativity, art and skill involved.

1.53.6 the need to recognise that each carnival grouping, be it a masquerade band, sound system or steel pan operated as a miniature “carnival enterprise”, a microcosm of the larger event itself. There was therefore a need to underpin these enterprises and the carnival industry through training and continuing professional development for those participants who wished to pursue the Carnival arts as a full-time commercial concern.

1.53.7 the lack of information from and communication between themselves and NHCT – the organisation responsible for organising the Carnival at the time of the public hearing.

The Masqueraders (Costume Bands)

1.54 Satire, mockery, irony and comedy are the dominant themes of the Carnival masquerade (or ‘mas’ as it is better known). Mas, as the ‘theatre of the streets’ is the visual backbone and unifying force of Carnival. One of the key concerns of the masquerade bands was the lack of understanding and appreciation of carnival costume-making as both a legitimate art-form and skill. It is a little known fact that the majority of costume designers have in fact trained in prestigious fashion schools such as St. Martins and the London College of Fashion. Parallels can therefore be drawn between the Carnival season and other fashion events such as London Fashion Week. Masquerade bands were keen to stress that Carnival costume-making is a year-round activity which involves the development of themes, the construction of mood boards, and the communication of stories through movement and fabric. These aspects of the masquerade band operation (including the skills required to manage a mas camp) tended to be overlooked by many.

1.55 It was felt that this lack of appreciation was specific to London as opposed to other regions around the country, where, by contrast, masquerade bands are welcomed and supported by places such as Bristol, Leeds, Reading, Stoke and Birmingham. The Review Group found that the work of the masquerade bands was rich with stories and case studies of the positive impact made by their work on various aspects of the community. The concern for many was that certainly in the media and press reporting of Carnival, there was no acknowledgement of role of the masquerade band in bringing communities together and empowering socially excluded or disadvantaged groups. This had always been a central principle of the Carnival and certainly of ‘playing mas’.
Case Study 2
Masquerade 2000 – An Innovative Approach to Creation

Lincoln Rahmut started and operated the masquerade band Perpetual Beauty in the late 1970s from his house in Walthamstow. He eventually left the group twenty-one years later when he was approached by colleagues to set up a new organisation. Taking up the challenge, he created Masquerade 2000. Rahmut’s philosophy of moving on in Carnival is not new, for some Carnivalists have a history of moving from one band to another to face more challenges. And the competition amongst designers and bands is fierce. In Rahmut’s opinion, Carnival is living art. He says: “We use all sorts of creative arts within Carnival. We do sculpture and cover all aspects of history, life and emotion. We research and create all these costumes to reflect something.”

Although it may be hard for some Carnivalists to place a value on their creations, Rahmut has costed his character costumes at £450 each. This, in carnival terms is not considered excessive. Many designers succeed in creating extravagant and original designs with few resources. Although some critics of Carnival see this as a limitation, there are others such as teacher and designer Leah Parker who argue that what is being demonstrated is innovation and resourcefulness. Corn husks, crisp packets (with the silver side used as lining) and corks are some of the materials used. “In fact”, she says, “the Notting Hill Carnival can be seen as a great advertisement for recycling”. And the innovation has paid off. Masquerade 2000 costumes have been used in the Australian feature film Diana and Me, requested for adverts by Vidal Sassoon and used for catwalk work on the BBC Clothes Show. More recently, the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, commissioned Rahmut to create a sculpture. Known as “The Crossing”, it currently sits in the Trade & Empire gallery of the museum, but will be moving to the Merseyside Gallery in Liverpool soon. For Rahmut and Masquerade 2000, the Carnival arts is a growth industry, which is flexible and resilient enough to cater to the needs of diverse audiences and venues.

1.56 At the time of the Review Group’s public hearings in 2001, the masqueraders were distinctive in that they were not represented by any umbrella or trade organisation. All the other arenas were represented by an umbrella organisation to which their bands were all members: the British Association of Steel Bands (representing steel bands), the Association of British Calypsonians (representing calypsonians), British Association of Sound Systems (representing the static sound system DJs) and the Caribbean Music Association (representing the soca DJs). Although an umbrella masquerade association had been in existence in the past, differences had led to its demise. Two issues became abundantly clear during the hearings. The first is that the Mayor’s strategic review and certainly the Carnival Review Group’s interim report and recommendations on route change, reducing vehicle numbers and size and support for those art-forms which reflected traditional Caribbean culture, not only required the masqueraders to develop appropriate (and unified) responses to these developments, but also to actively engage in the review process.

1.57 Members of the Review Group were firmly of the view that the presence of an umbrella organisation with a mandate to represent and speak on behalf of mas bands would have assisted the individual bands greatly and this was acknowledged during the ‘Mas at Carnival’ public hearing. It was clear that in the absence of such an organisation, the body responsible for planning and managing the Carnival appeared to be the next best option. In the case of NHCT, the masquerade bands were at a disadvantage because they had no representation on the board. For the Review Group, this raised a number of questions concerning the relationship between NHCT and the very carnival constituency groups that the organisation was created to represent.

1.58 In the months and days leading up to the Carnival in 2001, the level of media scrutiny, fuelled by an open hostility between the leadership of NHCT and RBKC respectively, served to crystallise the need for the masquerade bands to become more involved in the decision-making and
planning process of Carnival. A key area of contention that year had been the proposal by the RBKC and WCC to implement a system of licensing to control the number of vehicles permitted to enter the Carnival area and thereby travel the processional route. Following the 2001 Carnival, a number of bands came together and established an informal forum in order to represent their interests. A further series of meetings in the autumn of 2001 and beginning of 2002 led to the creation of the Notting Hill Mas Band Association (NHMBA) in April 2002, a fully constituted organisation with an elected committee. Since it’s creation, the Association has played a vital role in the Carnival planning process. Only bands that are members of the Association are allowed to participate at the Carnival and in 2003, with funding from the Arts Council, NHMBA took sole responsibility for planning and organising its Grande Costume Gala at Alexandra Palace – a role that had previously been played by NHCT.

Calypso – the Poetry of Carnival

1.59 “The calypsonian was the popular poet, a Caribbean descendent of the African griot, who was the eyes and the ears of the community. His art, as an instrument of satire, social criticism and awareness, is now renowned”

1.60 The Carnival Review Group received representations from the Association of British Calypsonians (ABC) at one of its public hearings. Founded in 1991, the ABC is the representative body for British-based calypso singers and composers in both the United Kingdom and Europe. The Association’s central mission, namely the promotion of the culture of calypso and UK based calypsonians to worldwide audiences, is achieved through its work with schools, community groups and the music industry. As a not-for-profit organisation and based at the Yaa Asantewaa Arts & Cultural Centre in West London, the ABC has been instrumental in producing a growing programme of activities based on the traditions and ethos of calypso music, but with a discernible British focus. Since its inception, ABC has been a key partner in the delivery of calypso music programmes at the Yaa Asantewaa centre.

1.61 For almost ten years, ABC has been working towards one of its main goals, the recognition of calypso as a contemporary Caribbean art form in the UK and eventually in Europe. The achievement of this goal is now being supported with fixed term funding from London Arts and this had enabled the Association to employ a part-time administrator – its first salaried post. Surprisingly, at the public hearing, members of ABC were of the firm view that the biggest problem and barrier to achieving their organisational goals was their relationship with NHCT. For two years prior to March 2002 there had been no ABC representation on the board of NHCT and the relationship was such that in 2000, the ABC approached London Arts and requested that the latter act as a mediator between the two organisations.

1.62 The ABC felt that calypso was suffering from a lack of support, both within the Carnival community and outside of it. The Association expressed grave concerns that many of their ideas for the development and promotion of calypso, had been rejected by NHCT and therefore the latter was seen as stifling the progress and work of the ABC. An example of this, it was argued, was the Junior Calypso Monarch, a competition designed to encourage more children to take up the art form. Lack of funding and support had meant that this competition had not taken place for a number of years. Calypso, as the traditional and official music of the Notting Hill Carnival was not being recognised and promoted as such.

1.63 The Review Group was impressed with ABC’s vision of where they wanted to be as an organisation and as an art form. The Association was the only Carnival discipline that had produced a five-year development plan in order to guide their work and they had embarked on the process of obtaining charitable status as a first step towards the implementation of their fundraising strategy. Members of the organisation were acutely aware of the fact that the next
few years would be of critical importance in terms of building sustainable initiatives and achieving financial independence. It is not surprising then, that as a direct result of this awareness and the experience of a strained two-year relationship with the NHCT, the calypsonians, represented by the ABC put forward the most far-reaching proposals in terms of how they wished to see the Notting Hill Carnival develop. The ABC called for a strengthening of the role of the Carnival Arenas within the event planning and decision-making process. And since it was the Arenas who had the passion and drive for Carnival, its music, its traditions and its message, the ABC were of the firm opinion that the responsibility for organising and staging the pre-Carnival events\textsuperscript{40} should be devolved to them. Following the demise of NHCT in 2002,

\textbf{Steel-Pan – the Orchestra of Carnival}

1.64 The views of steel band (also referred to as ‘steel-pan’) players were presented by British Association of Steel Bands (BAS). Along with ABC, BAS were the only other representative organisation that received fixed-term funding from London Arts. These monies were used to provide small grants to BAS members and to host a number of events such as ‘Pan Explosion’, an annual event established and run by BAS in order to nurture, amongst other things, the musical arrangement and performance skills of young pan players. At the public hearings, the Review Group was told of the work undertaken by BAS to support the development of the steel band movement. Despite continued under-funding and a heavy reliance on the volunteerism of the organisation’s management committee, in July 2001, BAS celebrated the 50\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the first performance of the steel band in Britain. BAS is also a founder member of Pan European, an organisation representing the steel band community across Europe. In 2000, Pan European hosted the first European Steel Band Music Festival in Paris. London-based band, Ebony Steel Band was placed within the top four rankings in this competition. They went on to compete in the World Steel Band Music Festival in Trinidad, coming fourth in the bands’ competition and second in the quartet category.

1.65 The Review Group noted that when one compared the positive work and international achievements of the steel band movement to the number of steel bands actually performing at Notting Hill, the latter was disappointingly low. Only 9 steel bands performed at Carnival 2001 and these low numbers reflected the current challenges and critical concerns of the bands:

1.65.1 the average cost incurred by a steel band taking part in the Carnival, including the Panorama, is approximately £31,500. This figure does not include the ‘hidden’ costs associated with stewarding, food and refreshments. Although bands looked for sponsors to offset some of the costs, these tended to be difficult to negotiate with little beneficial return.

1.65.2 throughout the year, steel bands conduct workshops and give performances in order to raise funds to pay rental, storage and maintenance fees for their on-going, year-round activities. With so many bands competing for a limited amount of work, the average income for a band in a good year was estimated at approximately £10,000. BAS were of the view that in order to realise their potential, steel bands would need to secure an annual operating budget of approximately £50,000.

1.65.3 the Carnival route and environment was seen as not being conducive to steel bands. Of critical concern was the congestion on the route and the presence of commercial floats: “BAS sees no value in the inclusion on the route of those participants who do not fall into one of the five cultural disciplines of Carnival. Equally, commercial floats should

\textsuperscript{40} Pre-Carnival events include the Grand Costume Gala (mas bands), Panorama (steel pan) and the Calypso Monarch Finals.
not be allowed onto the Carnival route. Such organisations should be required to sponsor participating bands. BAS strongly recommends that efforts should be made to bring brass bands and calypsonians back onto the route and to incorporate their presence into the Carnival scene.”

1.65.4 as well as competing with commercial floats, steel band players also find themselves being drowned out by the large mobile sound systems on the route.

1.65.5 the continued development and growth of steel-pan was dependent upon stability and, at the root of this, was access to a dedicated pan yard for each band and proper funding.

1.66 Panorama, the key pre-Carnival event for steel bands is held in Kensal Road and makes use of Horniman’s Pleasance Park for the crowd and audience purposes. Close working relationships with the police had resulted in making maximum use of the park’s facilities and the introduction of large screens, music and improved stewarding had served to ease some of the problems associated with crowd control. As an annual event, the Panorama provided a platform for young and talented musicians to display their skill and dexterity in front of thousands of people. As the last event before the Two Days of Carnival, the Panorama was generally viewed as “the jewel in the crown” of the pre-Carnival events.

1.67 In recent years BAS had been investigating the possibility of using alternative local venues to replace the Kensal Road. The impending redevelopment of the Kensal Road area and the building of new residential units did not bode well for the continued use of this particular area for the Panorama. The search for an alternative venue was seen by BAS as an opportunity to secure a venue that would allow them to charge an admittance fee and therefore raise funds. This was seen as a priority objective for the steel band movement. In addition, the bands expressed a keen desire to see the reintroduction of J’Ouvert (i.e. the early morning opening of Carnival) for steel band performances only on a short, circular route (Golbourne Road, Ladbroke Grove, Westbourne Park Road, Great Western Road and back to Golbourne Road) and commencing at 6.00am.

1.68 The Review Group acknowledged the immense skills that steel pan players were required to develop in order to perform at carnivals and festivals, both nationally and internationally. Their art-form required them to learn - without the use of musical scores - complex classical pieces, executed to exacting professional standards. The case presented by BAS was also linked to their vision of developing a sustainable infrastructure to promote the art of play and performing the steel pan in London. The reintroduction of a national Steel band Music Festival, designed to complement the European and world competitions, was seen as a very important part of this vision. BAS argued that such a festival would not only serve to raise the profile of the steel-pan and integrate it into mainstream music in the UK, it would also provide a platform for British bands to clearly demonstrate the versatility of the instrument, musicianship and talent of the exponents involved in the art form.

Soca – the Music of Carnival

1.69 The Caribbean Music Association (CMA), the representative voice for disc jockeys (‘DJs’) specialising in soca music, was clear about the changes that their members wished to see at future Carnivals. The removal of all non-carnival related floats from the route and/or the
integration of commercial floats with existing Carnival bands was again, a central message in their presentation to the Carnival Review Group. Adequate funding to enable the organisation to carry out its work was also a critical concern, although many of its members had the advantage of being resident DJs on a number of radio stations and were therefore able to draw an income from their DJ-ing skills all year round. In relation to the type of music played at Carnival, the CMA called for the introduction of a Carnival ‘music policy’ that placed the emphasis on the prominence of the more ‘traditional’ forms of Caribbean music, derivations and sources – soca, calypso, highlife, zouk, salsa and reggae.

1.70 The Review Group were extremely encouraged by the work currently being undertaken by the CMA to develop its own public safety code of best practice for its members. Entitled, ‘On de Road’, the code aimed to set out the minimum standards and health and safety requirements for all mobile performance units participating at Carnival. One of the organisation’s key objectives in this regard was to have the code approved by the Health and Safety Executive. Full compliance with the code would then become a prerequisite to a band’s eligibility to perform at Carnival.

**Sound Systems Have a Place at Carnival**

1.71 The views presented by the British Association of Sound Systems (BASS), the representative voice for static sound system DJs, were in contrast to those of the costume bands, steel bands and soca DJs. As an organisation, BASS received no financial support from the arts funding bodies or the Carnival organisers (save for a small appearance fee). A great deal of the cost of performing at Carnival was met by the DJs themselves personally. Some of the more successful sound systems are able to attract sponsors in recognition of their huge following and attractiveness to young audiences. There was a clear strength of feeling that more adequate funding was required to ensure that basic health and safety requirements (such as the provision of adequate staging and crowd management measures) could be met. There were also the ‘hidden costs’ of performing at Carnival – equipment hire and transportation costs for example.

1.72 BASS were not in agreement with the Review Group’s interim recommendations that those sound systems attracting larger crowds should be re-located to larger sites such as Wormwood Scrubs. This, they argued, would only serve to place larger crowds together and cause friction between different sound systems and their followers. Moreover, the recommendation was viewed as ‘punishing’ the sound systems for their success by banishing them from the main part of the Carnival environment. As an arena that had made a significant contribution to the August bank holiday weekend, this was seen as unacceptable. BASS was firmly of the opinion that sound systems were an integral part of Carnival’s cultural environment, playing music from the Caribbean and all over the world. In 1988 a 7:00pm shutdown time for all static sound systems was introduced and this had always been adhered to. Ironically, the 9:00pm close-down time for the rest of Carnival had yet to be achieved and at Carnival 2000, it was the mobile music floats that could still be found on the road as late as 01:00 am.

1.73 It was felt that more could be done by the traditional Carnival arenas to embrace BASS members. There appeared to be little or no recognition of the fact that the sound system DJs were able to use their abilities, knowledge and experience of the Carnival crowd to recognise problems around them and implement positive measures to quell crowd disturbances when they arose. Many had taken it upon themselves to finance the purchase of their own video cameras in order to record any signs of trouble. They appreciated the importance of working in partnership with the police and emergency services in order to deliver a safe and enjoyable Carnival. In many cases and without any direction from NHCT, BASS and its members had developed their own strategies to address safety issues. The prospect of losing more sites within the Carnival environment was not an acceptable option for the sound systems. Rather, they argued that more sites should be
made available to provide opportunities for younger, up-and-coming DJs to experience playing at Carnival.

**Arts & Funding Bodies**

1.74 As major funders of the carnival arts, the Arts Council and the Association of London Government (ALG) focused on the Notting Hill Carnival as a community-based dynamic art form, produced through collaboration and partnership between music, cultural expression and art. As a major event, funders saw the Carnival as a unique ‘brand’. Concentrating more on Carnival’s artistic content, the Arts Council set out the parameters of their funding role, together with the strategic objectives that would guide any future investment:

1.74.1 **supporting the artistic development of the Carnival**
   - capacity-building Carnival organisations to enable them to liaise effectively with sponsors, statutory agencies and representative associations;
   - developing the Carnival Costume Gala as a major arts event;
   - increasing the amount of live music at the Carnival;
   - supporting the development and inclusion of new performance ideas in Carnival; and
   - strengthening the Carnival arenas and associations.

1.74.2 **extending the reach of Carnival arts**
   - supporting the development and implementation of more effective public relations and marketing strategies for Carnival events;
   - supporting the rising number of carnivals in London; and
   - nurturing creative partnerships between mainstream arts organisations and Carnival artists.

1.74.3 **raising the profile of Carnival arts**
   - helping to secure broadcast coverage for key Carnival and pre-Carnival events;
   - stimulating critical debates about the Notting Hill Carnival as an artistic and cultural event (as opposed to a street party or ‘rave’); and
   - working with the arenas to develop a more positive Carnival media profile.

1.74.4 **increasing the inclusiveness of Carnival**
   - developing a unique profile for Children’s Day (Carnival Sunday);
   - increasing the presence and involvement of disabled people;
   - encouraging wider participation, especially in the mas camps; and
   - ensuring representation of London’s diversity.
1.74.5 **consolidating organisational and financial structures**

- creating a progressive environment for the growth of bands;
- helping find suitable and affordable spaces for the bands; and
- supporting the development of a continuing professional development/ training programme for Carnival artists and organisers.

1.74.6 **ensuring a safe and harmonious Carnival environment**

- working with the Carnival organisers and partners to improve stewarding;
- exploring the provision of raked seating for spectators;
- ensuring that any future Carnival route is designed with the needs of Carnival as an art form in mind; and
- ensuring that artistic and cultural integrity are given serious consideration alongside safety pragmatism.

1.74.7 **securing long-term partnerships for Carnival**

- contributing to the co-ordination of the funders’ group and liaison with Carnival organisers;
- continuing to work with the archives, museums and gallery sectors; and
- helping to secure long-term commercial partners.

**Statutory Agencies**

1.75 Taken together, the key statutory agencies involved in the planning of Carnival were united in their views about the growth of the event and its impact: ever increasing numbers of Carnival spectators and revellers would mean ever increasing demands on finite public resources. Agencies acknowledged the unique nature of Carnival and its status as London’s single most diverse and celebratory community festival of Caribbean culture. In their opinion, the Notting Hill Carnival was an ‘unplanned’ event in that it did not conform to the conventional event planning process of other similar major London events. This process necessarily involved the event organiser submitting detailed plans to the agencies for comment so that any safety implications could be identified and addressed: “Because the event is not ‘planned’ the usual assurances sought from an event organiser cannot be obtained and we have categorised Carnival as an ‘unplanned’ event.”\(^\text{41}\) Recognising the lack of managerial capacity and financial constraints of the organiser, the police, local authorities, transport agencies and emergency services did as much as possible to provide an event planning framework to support the Trust in discharging its responsibilities.

**The Media**

\(^\text{41}\) “A Safer Carnival: A Global Risk Management for Council Services”, Special Events Group, City of Westminster (August 2002), p6
1.76 The role of the media in shaping and influencing how the Notting Hill Carnival is perceived has always been a key area of concern for members of the Carnival community. In recognition of this, the Review Group devoted its first public hearing to an examination of how the Carnival is portrayed by the mass media. Those submitting evidence to the Review Group were keen to point out that the way in which the Carnival is reported by the press tended to perpetuate and reinforce the popular racial stereotypes about black and ethnic minority people and events. Rather than focus on the cultural and artistic aspects of the Carnival, there appeared to be an overwhelming media preoccupation that associated the Notting Hill Carnival with crime, drug use, illegal traders and other forms of conflict or anti-social behaviour. Members of the Carnival community also expressed their growing disquiet at the fact that the Carnival was often portrayed as a hedonistic street party.

1.77 Whilst the Review Group acknowledged that the media’s interest in the Carnival as a focal point for conflict and crime as opposed to creativity and community was, to a large extent fuelled by the event’s vivid history of police-community confrontations and riots, this was not now the case. There was a clear need for more balanced and informed reporting about the Carnival, the various disciplines and its wider significance and meaning. The point was made even more clearly in an article, which appeared in the British Medical Journal in 1989. This article recounted an exercise conducted by medical staff at the accident and emergency departments of St. Charles’s Hospital and St. Mary’s Hospital to document the number and nature of injuries sustained at the 1989 Carnival. The figures were then reviewed in light of media coverage of the riot that occurred on Monday 28 August 1989. The study found that in general, the broadsheet papers quoted figures for the number of injured that broadly reflected the number of people actually seen at the hospital accident and emergency departments. By contrast however, some of the tabloid press quoted much higher figures for the number of injured. The study concluded:

“Though it is not surprising to discover that some elements of the British press report events in a sensationalist manner, it is worrying to reflect upon the harm that this may cause. The public, reading about the civil disturbance at the 1989 Notting Hill Carnival, might be misled to believe that attendance could pose a risk of serious personal injury. The figures for injuries requiring hospital attention show this not to be the case, despite reports of a riot. …..It is quite feasible for a massive number of people to congregate in an inner city area, over a period of two days, without placing an excessive burden on the attendant medical services.”

1.78 However, the carnivalists also accepted that the media were not entirely to blame. At the time of the Review Group’s public hearings, there was an overwhelming consensus view that in order to transform and indeed challenge negative media images and news reporting, NHCT as the event organiser needed to adopt a much more proactive approach to cultivating positive relationships with key reporters across all media sectors. The Trust was criticised for being in the main, slow, reluctant and unreliable in providing information to the media. The organisation did not appear to be driving the carnival news agenda and its ability to react to breaking news stories was weakened by the fact that funding only allowed the Trust to engage a public relations company for three months of the year to cover the Carnival Season. The Review Group accepted that weak communication links between the Carnival organiser and (i) the media, (ii) carnival participants, (iii) local residents and (iv) the general public, meant that the news agenda was continually made by others, such as local politicians, police and disgruntled residents.

1.79 In its interim report, the Carnival Review Group recommended that the GLA work with the Carnival organisers to develop a communications strategy that would include residents,
stakeholder organisations, Carnival participants and the media. Although this recommendation related specifically to a pre-carnival publicity campaign, which emphasised the public safety profile of the event, the strategy proved to be successful in securing positive media coverage of the pre-carnival events such as the Costume Gala and Panorama. In August 2001, arrangements were also made for members of the British Association of Steel-pan to perform on Trafalgar Square as part of their 50th Anniversary celebration of the introduction of the first steel-pan instrument in the UK. The event proved to be so successful that it was repeated in 2002 and 2003.

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43 Recommendation 2 in Notting Hill Carnival: Interim report and public safety profile recommendations, Greater London Authority (2001)
Public Safety, Responsibility & Accountability

The Issue of Public Safety
Stewarding & Route Management at Carnival
Policing Carnival
Waste Management & Recycling
The Carnival Route
Evaluating the Carnival Public Safety Project
Revisiting Accountability
Part II: Public Safety, Responsibility & Accountability

Summary

As one of the largest urban festivals in the world, attracting vast numbers of visitors onto the streets of central London, the Notting Hill Carnival poses extraordinary public safety challenges. This section:

- raises questions about who is (or should be) held accountable for ensuring that public safety planning for the Carnival is objectively co-ordinated;
- examines the roles and responsibilities of the various organisations and statutory agencies involved in planning and delivering the Carnival;
- assesses the impact of the Carnival Review Group’s interim report and recommendations on event planning for the Carnival; and
- provides an overview of the Carnival Public Safety Project, its assessment of the routes used in 2001 and 2002, and its conclusions in relation to the public safety risks presented by such routes.

Recommendations

7. The Carnival Code has become an effective tool for communicating key public safety messages to those attending the Notting Hill Carnival. The multi-agency endorsement of the Code has been critical to its success and LUL and TfL are to be commended for ensuring that the Code has become a permanent feature in the 500,000 information leaflets that are produced and distributed throughout London’s transport networks in the run-up to the August bank holiday weekend each year. We recommend that the Code:
   
   (a) is revised to address environment issues and concerns;
   
   (b) is adopted by all Carnival stakeholders, including the Arenas; and
   
   (d) remains a central feature of the overall communications strategy. More effort should be made to encourage members of the static and mobile music Arenas and associations to promote the calypso version of the Code, both before and during the event. DJs who also have their own radio shows have access to a powerful medium through which to extend the reach of the Carnival’s core public safety messages.

8. Whilst our interim report found that crowd movement and congestion could be significantly improved through greater use of directional signage within the Carnival, considerable work remains to be done in this area. We strongly recommend that the development and implementation of effective ‘core’ signage be prioritised within the Carnival Communications Strategy. The creative use of large video screens to show key Carnival moments and to provide visitors with real time travel information must also be a central feature of the strategy.

9. Effective crowd management is an essential feature of any public safety strategy for large-scale events. The establishment of a suitably qualified and sustainable body of stewards is vital to ensuring the safety of spectators and participants at the Carnival. Such a body could eventually compete for the stewarding of large-scale events in London. We believe that the GLA should now
initiate discussions with DCMS, GOL and the Home Office in order to establish a long-term strategic funding programme that will develop the infrastructure necessary to ensure that:

(b) the significant contribution made by the costume bands and the static sound systems to the crowd management effort during the Carnival is recognised - the former through their deployment of volunteer band stewards and the latter through their innovative use of music to regulate crowd behaviour. The static sound systems have also used their own resources to employ stewards to manage the crowds around their music sites;

(b) a combination of experienced community-based stewards and ‘professional’ stewards remains a core element of any crowd management operation at the Carnival. The experience of community stewards should be harnessed and managed so that their contribution is enhanced and sustained;

(c) the successful practice of allocating a police officer to each band/float (‘Band Serial Officers’) is consolidated and built upon. The possible use of Police Community Support Officers (PSCOs) and Special Constables to support the Carnival policing and stewarding effort should also be explored;

(d) realistic and achievable targets for the gradual increase in the number of stewards deployed at the Carnival are established. These targets should be reviewed annually against a performance framework to be agreed with the MPS. The overall aim should be for the gradual reduction in policing levels as the professionalism, effectiveness and number of stewards deployed at the Carnival increases;

(e) support for the strategic objectives of the MPS policing operation through the continued development and integration of stewarding into the MPS strategic plan is achieved; and

(f) the establishment of an effective communications system, encompassing all aspects of the Carnival’s communications requirements is developed. Voice (radio and mobile phone) communication may not necessarily be the correct medium for the Carnival. Innovative solutions should be developed and used, whilst advances in technology such as text messaging and paging systems could serve to enhance communication considerably.

10. Whilst in comparison to other large-scale festivals, the Notting Hill Carnival remains a relatively safe event, we are concerned that the overall number of reported crimes rose in 2002 and 2003. After a fall in the number of people receiving first aid or hospital treatment for two years running, the figures rose sharply in 2003 by 140 per cent and 154 per cent respectively. The work of the MPS and St. John Ambulance (SJA) is to be commended – the former have, since 2001, implemented a successful pre-Carnival intelligence gathering operation and deployed officers to specifically target known crime hotspots within the Carnival area. The latter continue to deliver a first class medical service at the Carnival despite never having received any form of funding or sponsorship for this work. We believe that the work of both organisations can be strengthened and supported through:

(a) the development of a multi-agency Carnival Community Safety Strategy that is delivered in partnership with the Carnival Arenas. All the evidence shows that the majority of crime committed at the Carnival occurs as night falls. Achievement of the 9pm close-down time must therefore be a central feature of the strategy;

(b) the establishment of a funding agreement between SJA and the National Health Service (NHS). We are firmly of the view that the high quality on site medical service provided by
SJA over the Carnival weekend significantly reduces the potential impact of Carnival-related injuries on the services of neighbouring hospitals in and around the Carnival area. This is because the majority of the casualties (84 per cent) are treated on site. We believe that the true overall value of SJA’s contribution – in terms of volunteer and paid staff, cost of equipment, vehicles and consumables, as well as what it would cost the NHS to treat these patients if SJA were unable to provide their current level of service – should be quantified with a view to making a powerful case for funding.

11. In our interim report, we called for a reduction in the number and size of support vehicles used by each performance unit on the route in order to improve public safety and minimise crowd congestion.\(^{44}\) Insufficient resources and poor event management have meant that no discernible progress has been made. We believe that professional event management of the Carnival is vital, not only from a public safety perspective but also to safeguard the event’s artistic quality and content. We therefore recommend that:

(a) a robust event management and planning framework that makes use of information technology to share vital information with stakeholders is introduced; and

(b) contracts are introduced in order to ensure that the Carnival participants comply with the event’s staging and performance protocols. Key obligations would include adherence to arrival and close-down times; vehicle size and numbers and promotion of the Carnival Code.

12. The Notting Hill Carnival generates approximately 200 tonnes of waste each year. We support the recommendation of the Network Recycling Study, which called for the development of an environmental strategy that would set annual targets for making inroads into the Carnival’s waste by recycling materials for local markets and eliminating non-recyclable materials in order to achieve the ultimate long-term goal of a waste-free Carnival. We therefore recommend that funds be made available through the London Recycling Fund (LRF) to enable the Carnival organisers to work with the local authorities and members of the Carnival community to develop an effective and sustainable Carnival Waste Management and Recycling Strategy to implement the recommendations of the Network Recycling Study.

13. The Carnival Public Safety Project and the work of Intelligent Space has been instrumental in objectively highlighting the relationship between the design of the Carnival route, location of entertainment sites and the associated public safety risks of crowd build-up and congestion. The impact of this work has been clearly evidenced by the partial route change and relocation of the Judging Point, which was initiated in 2002. Having considered all aspects of the research, its findings and the views of all stakeholders, it is our recommendation that any future change to the Carnival route must address the issue of public safety and be risk assessed, as far as is possible, in accordance with the GLA’s Carnival Design Guidance. In addition, the guidance should be developed further in partnership with the Carnival Arenas to include the positive work undertaken by the Caribbean Music Association (CMA) in its ‘On de Road’ code of best practice and the NHMBA’s ‘Route Management Plan’.

14. Our interim recommendations called for the introduction of a non-circular route and the possible use of Hyde Park for Carnival-related activities. These particular recommendations have been the subject of much debate and whilst the Intelligent Space findings provided the catalyst for a partial route change in 2002, we do not believe that these changes go far enough to reduce crowd density and ensure public safety. The Intelligent Space study found that the 2002 route was unlikely to deliver any gains in public safety, raised serious concerns in relation to the new risks.

\(^{44}\) Recommendation 4(a) in ‘Notting Hill Carnival Review: Interim report and public safety profile recommendations for 2001’ (April 2001)
presented and was unable to provide the level of flexibility required to safely accommodate the Carnival’s future growth. Without a fundamental route change to reduce crowd density and enhance the cultural spectacle, we do not believe that the Notting Hill Carnival can fulfil its economic and social potential as a ‘World Carnival’. We therefore recommend that:

(a) Hyde Park, the Bayswater Road and the Harrow Road must be considered as part of a new route for Carnival 2005. Such a fundamental change will require detailed discussions and consultation with all key stakeholders, nevertheless we believe that the Carnival Arenas in partnership with the Carnival organisers, should be supported to take ownership and lead on these discussions to determine their ‘route of the future’; and

(b) The Operational Planning and Safety Group (OPSG) seek additional expert guidance during the detailed planning and implementation stages of any new route. This will ensure that (i) all safety issues and implications are identified and addressed at the earliest opportunity; (ii) risk assessments are kept up to date; and (iii) every assistance is made available to those stakeholders who experience practical difficulties when implementing recommended risk reduction measures.

15. Whilst, as a starting point, it is necessary to review the design of the Carnival route in order to make future Carnivals safer, we believe that it is also important to review the design of the whole entertainment area. From a crowd safety viewpoint, the route, the sound systems, and to a lesser extent, the stalls are all integral and interrelated parts of the Carnival. These elements must therefore be considered together as a package in order reduce crowd density and achieve increased levels of safety at the Carnival. We therefore recommend that in addition to the route, an assessment of the Carnival’s entertainment area should be undertaken with the view of achieving a safer overall package for future Carnivals.

16. The Carnival Public Safety Matrix offers an analysis of the various roles, responsibilities and tasks that are delivered by members of the OPSG. We believe that the Matrix clearly demonstrates that whilst there has always been a community-based organisation to co-ordinate the Carnival, the limitations of this organisation – both in financial and human resource terms – has meant that its ability to fully assume the role of ‘event organiser’ with responsibility for public safety, has not been achievable. As a consequence, the evidence suggests that in reality, the MPS, the Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea (RBKC) and the City of Westminster (WCC) have been required to commit considerable resources in order to compensate for the inability of the event organiser to assume full responsibility for the Notting Hill Carnival’s public safety issues. We believe that with public investment comes public accountability. Given the level of operational responsibility assumed by the OPSG in general and the local authorities and police in particular, it is our recommendation that:

(a) the terms of reference of the OPSG, the Statement of Intent and Code of Practice should be revised to reflect and acknowledge the various levels of operational responsibility assumed by members of the group. These documents should be reviewed on an annual basis and revised accordingly, as the professionalism, sustainability and delivery capacity of the community-based event organiser increases, such that it is then able to assume greater operational responsibility;

(b) greater transparency and accountability for the decisions being taken by the OPSG can only be achieved by making the minutes of all group meetings public. The group should also be responsible for producing an annual Public Safety Strategy and detailed review, all of which would be subject to independent scrutiny by the London Assembly, the Audit Commission and the Health & Safety Executive (HSE); and
consideration be given to greater involvement of the HSE. There is an urgent need for an independent agency that is capable of leading on matters of public safety at the Carnival. Such a body could be responsible for co-ordinating the resources of the various statutory agencies and making determinations based solely on public safety grounds. Immediate discussions should be initiated with the HSE with a view to ascertaining what possible role and involvement they should have in determining the nature of such an independent agency.

17. We believe that the planning and decision-making process for the Notting Hill Carnival clearly illustrates the difficulties encountered when responsibility for the event is not and cannot be attributed to any one single body and where the weakness (or in some cases, absence) of an event organiser is such that there is a danger that public safety may be compromised. The issue of public safety responsibility and accountability is not unique to the Notting Hill Carnival. Indeed, it is relevant to all major events that take place on the public highway. We therefore recommend that the Mayor take immediate steps to initiate an urgent review of the public safety responsibility, accountability and decision-making issues relating to all major street events in London. We believe that a working group should be established with representation from the HSE, Association of London Government (ALG), Home Office, MPS, GLA, GOL, TFL, LUL and DCMS as key partners. We further recommend that the Minister for London play a role in facilitating these discussions.
The Issue of Public Safety

Recommendation

7. The Carnival Code has become an effective tool for communicating key public safety messages to those attending the Notting Hill Carnival. The multi-agency endorsement of the Code has been critical to its success and LUL and TfL are to be commended for ensuring that the Code has become a permanent feature in the 500,000 information leaflets that are produced and distributed throughout London’s transport networks in the run-up to the August bank holiday weekend each year. We recommend that the Code:

(a) is revised to address environment issues and concerns;

(b) is adopted by all Carnival stakeholders, including the Arenas; and

(d) remains a central feature of the overall communications strategy. More effort should be made to encourage members of the static and mobile music Arenas and associations to promote the calypso version of the Code, both before and during the event. DJs who also have their own radio shows have access to a powerful medium through which to extend the reach of the Carnival’s core public safety messages.

8. Whilst our interim report found that crowd movement and congestion could be significantly improved through greater use of directional signage within the Carnival, considerable work remains to be done in this area. We strongly recommend that the development and implementation of effective ‘core’ signage be prioritised within the Carnival Communications Strategy. The creative use of large video screens to show key Carnival moments and to provide visitors with real time travel information must also be a central feature of the strategy.

Context

2.1 The Carnival brings with it the possibility of threats to public safety from a variety of sources – fire, crime and disorder, building collapse, crowd congestion and distress. MPS debriefing reports and written submissions to the Review Group described 2000 as a difficult year for the Notting Hill Carnival, which was marked by a significant rise in the level of reported criminal activity and the number of arrests45 - the event saw a 27 per cent rise in the level of crime reported, including a number of serious offences. Most prominent amongst these were the murders of Mr. Abdul Bhatti and Mr. Greg Watson in two separate incidents. Both murders occurred on the Monday, the first at approximately 7.30pm in Kensington Park Road when Mr. Bhatti was attacked by a gang of youths and the second at approximately 10pm in Kensal Road where Mr. Watson was stabbed receiving a fatal wound. In total there were eleven reported stabbings at Carnival 2000, the majority of which took place on the Monday. Other incidents of note included the arrest of an individual in possession of a loaded firearm and the collapse of a wall at 167 Ladbroke Road where two young females fell into a basement area with both suffering serious injury. The number of people in Emslie Horniman’s Pleasance, the venue of the Radio One stage also became a concern. On the Carnival Monday at approximately 5.30pm the venue became so crowded that at the request of the senior police officer for the area the event was closed down early so as to minimise the risk to the public. Although there was a drop in the number of reported crimes in 2001, the figures have risen significantly in 2002 and 2003. The number of people receiving first aid treatment or being taken to hospital has also risen, with one

person falling to their death from a window ledge in 2003 and five people being treated for stab wounds.

2.2 Within the event planning process, several public agencies have individual responsibilities to prevent or respond to these threats. The Carnival Review Group’s interim report rightly focused on the public safety profile of the Notting Hill Carnival with all stakeholders expressing the need to prioritise the safety of Carnival goers and Carnival participants. In their submissions to the Review Group, the local authorities have stated that the Notting Hill Carnival has now become a victim of its own success. Their argument is that attendance levels at the event are such that the ability of NHCT (and its successor, LNHCL) to discharge its responsibilities as the ‘event organiser’ has become increasingly difficult. In addition, all the statutory agencies are faced with increasing demands on their resources. It was therefore felt that any further growth in crowd numbers would make the Carnival less safe.

Public Safety Recommendations of the Interim Report

2.3 In its interim report, the Carnival Review Group set out fourteen key public safety profile recommendations, which included:

- the need to support NHCT (through secondments and increased financial resources) as the lead organisation responsible for co-ordinating an effective public safety strategy for Carnival.
- the development of a Carnival communications strategy.
- increasing the number of route marshals and stewards at Carnival 2001.
- the immediate introduction of a non-circular processional route.
- reducing the number and size of vehicles currently being used on the Carnival route.
- re-introducing the MPS practice of allocating a police officer to each band/float (‘Band Serial Officers’).
- relocating live stages and those static sound systems drawing crowds of over 5,000 people to more suitable sites within the existing Carnival area, or to alternative venues.
- increasing the number and location of toilet facilities.
- establishing a Carnival transport committee to develop an improved transport strategy.
- ensuring that key Carnival facilities such as toilets and first aid areas are adequate in quantity and are clearly defined and signposted.
- returning Carnival Sunday to “Children’s Day” and giving priority to those Carnival activities and art forms that reflected traditional Caribbean culture.
- the need for central Government support in the areas of i) public safety and policing and ii) cultural and artistic content.

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46 See Appendix 5: Interim Report: Public Safety Profile Recommendations
2.4 In the main, whilst these recommendations were well received and provided the basis for further discussion and consultation at the Review Group’s public hearings. By far the most contentious series of recommendations related to the possible use of Hyde Park or Wormwood Scrubs for Carnival-related activities and the Review Group’s call for the immediate introduction of a non-circular route, thereby making a clear connection between the design of the Carnival area, the location of the static sound system sites and performance areas and the numbers of visitors attending the event each year.

The Carnival Code

2.5 In partnership with the Carnival organiser, MPS and other statutory agencies, the Review Group took the lead on implementing key aspects of the interim report’s recommendations and this included the creation of a Carnival Communications Strategy Group to bring together the press and communications officers of all the key stakeholders in order to establish a multi-agency partnership approach dealing with the media and providing information to the public. The group successfully developed the core standard messages for the Carnival, that of safety, enjoyment and respect. With NHCT taking the lead, a “Carnival Code of Etiquette”\(^{47}\), offering advice on how to behave at the Carnival was developed and launched in July 2001. In additional sponsorship was secured from LUL in order to commission the well-known musician and calypsonian, Alexander De Great to write, perform and professionally record a calypso version of the Code. Compact Disc copies of the Carnival Code Calypso were then distributed to soca DJs who were encouraged to endorse the message by including the track in the playlists of their respective radio. The Code formed an integral part of the pre-Carnival publicity and promotion for 2002 and is now included as a standard text in the 500,000 transport information leaflets, which LUL produce and distribute every year prior to the August Bank Holiday weekend.

Carnival Transport Strategy Group

2.6 In the run up to the Carnival in 2001, a Carnival Transport Strategy Group was established with meetings facilitated by the GLA. As a direct result of the Review Group’s recommendations, both LB and LUL provided an enhanced transport service on the Bank Holiday Monday. In particular, LUL:

- recruited and trained additional staff for the purposes of managing and directing the crowds within and immediately outside their stations; and
- assigned dedicated event co-ordinators to their stations to act as the main point of contact for the co-ordination of London Underground’s response on each of the two days of Carnival.

2.7 In addition and for the first time, stewards were given ‘transport briefings’ as part of their Carnival awareness training sessions. Enhanced service levels were maintained for Carnival 2002 and the work of the transport group has now been integrated into the OPSG.

2.8 The Review Group’s emphasis on public safety reflected many of the key concerns that have been voiced about the safety of Carnival over the years. The main recommendations addressed the prevalent issue of crowd density and congestion in a confined area and the need to explore other possible solutions.

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\(^{47}\) See Appendix 8: Carnival Code
Operational Planning and Safety Group

2.9 The Carnival involves a complex network of relationships between culturally and politically diverse parties with sometimes competing interests. All the statutory agencies involved in contingency planning for Carnival have made it clear that they believed the event organiser to be NHCT — and following its demise, LNHCL. In delineating roles and responsibilities, the City of Westminster’s Special Events Group produced its own global risk management document48 for the Carnival in which it provided the following information:

2.9.1 Notting Hill Carnival Trust/ London Notting Hill Carnival Ltd is principally responsible for: co-ordinating Carnival participants and contributions; provision and deployment of route management stewards and the safe passage of the procession; liaison with statutory authorities on all matters of public safety; leading on joint strategies and aims for Carnival management; and raising monies, donations and grants to cover their running costs. They are an employer under health & safety legislation and are responsible for risk assessing the working practices, methods and areas of work for their employees. The employees principally at risk are the stewards. To help them discharge their duties they attend the regular OPSG meetings with the statutory authorities.

2.9.2 Local Authorities: WCC and RBK&C are principally responsible for. (a) a general duty of care to the public for their safety. To help them discharge this they: attend regular NHCT led safety group meetings, contribute to the information provided in the joint authorities’ leaflets and maintain a close liaison with others who have statutory duties. Principals in WCC are the Special Events and Emergency Planning teams; provide cleansing facilities before and after the event to safeguard public health. Principals in WCC are the Street Environment Managers and the cleansing contractors; and remove street furniture at potential crush and pinch points. Principals in WCC are Highways Maintenance. (b) A duty of care to those residents in local authority owned or managed housing properties for their safety. Principals in WCC are the Housing Estates Managers and the Emergency Planning Officer. (c) Granting a variety of temporary licenses to use the public highway and enforcing the set conditions in manner, which safeguards officers’ personal safety and that of the general public. Principal in these duties are Environmental Health and Street Trading Enforcement officers. (d) Making a Temporary Traffic Order and permitting vehicle access to closed streets. (e) Contingency planning for services.

2.9.3 Metropolitan Police are principally responsible for: matters of public order (keeping the Queen’s Peace); strategies for minimising and reducing the potential for crime; controlling vehicle and pedestrian crowd movements in the Carnival area; and contingency planning for London. [Note: MPS are not solely responsible for public safety, though they recognise that their action or inaction on the day will raise questions of public safety.] To help them discharge their duties, CO11 (Public Order Branch) have a year round presence in planning discussions. MPS have powers under Commissioner’s Directions (CDs) and the Road Traffic Acts, which can be used on the day to modify their operational plan. In attending the Operational & Safety Planning Group meetings they are able to communicate the intent behind their strategies and eliminate obvious gaps in their knowledge.

2.9.4 British Transport Police are principally responsible for matters of public safety, minimising crime and for pedestrian and vehicle movement on Railtrack, London

2.9.5 **London Buses (TfL)** is principally responsible for continuity and safe running of bus services to and from the area. To help them discharge their duties they attend the regular Operational & Safety Planning Group meetings.

2.9.6 **London Underground Limited** is principally responsible for continuity and safe running of the underground train services to and from the area and for the management of pedestrian movement within LUL property. To help them discharge their duties they attend the regular Operational & Safety Planning Group meetings.

2.9.7 **Transport for London (TfL)** have strategic overview of all transport in Greater London. No TfL managed roads are used for Carnival, though some are affected and Carnival’s affect on the transport system spreads by road to Barnet in the north and Hammersmith & Fulham in the west and all the major interchange rail and bus stations. They have no direct responsibility for public safety at Carnival (other than through agent departments above), but contribute to signage. They could have a liability if these direct the public in the wrong direction or set up a conflict with existing signage. As part of their strategic role for the capital and to assess the impact of Carnival on the transport network, to help them discharge their duties they attend the regular Operational & Safety Planning Group meetings with the statutory authorities.

2.9.8 **London Ambulance Service** is principally responsible for: co-ordination of First Aid facilities (principally St. John Ambulance); contingency planning for hospital services; and any request through the emergency ('999') response service. To help them discharge their duties they attend the regular Operational & Safety Planning Group meetings.

2.9.9 **St John’s Ambulance Service** is principally responsible for First Aid services on site, they co-ordinate their on site activities through LAS to ensure continuity of patient care off site. To help them discharge their duties they attend the regular Operational & Safety Planning Group meetings.

2.9.10 **London Fire and Emergency Planning Service** is principally responsible for: ensuring that its Operational Response service delivery standards are maintained; ensuring that its Operational Planning service delivery standards are maintained; and providing Fire Safety strategies (including on the day inspections of trading pitches). To help them discharge their duties they attend the regular Operational & Safety Planning Group meetings.

2.10 In 1997 and 1998, Professor Jonathan Rosenhead and Tom Horlick-Jones of the Department of Operational Research at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) undertook a detailed study of the Carnival planning and decision-making process. In their resulting report, they provide a useful overview and analysis of the public safety planning and decision-making process:

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2.11 “Risk management at the Carnival is achieved by a combination of careful planning and real-time activities. The latter is dominated by a huge police operation. Policing the Carnival requires sensitivity to the needs and perceptions of the various interests involved, including ethnic, local community and commercial groups. It also requires efficient and co-operative relations with other organisations and emergency service agencies. The policing operation is co-ordinated by a special operations room based at New Scotland Yard, which acts as a communications centre, collates information and provides a liaison point with the emergency service. A formal decision-making structure is organised according to a ‘Gold’ (strategic command), ‘Silver’ (co-ordinator of the six geographical sectors), and ‘Bronze’ (sector command) hierarchy.

2.12 An important finding is the perhaps surprising extent to which Carnival decision-making (or at least the framework for decision-making) is pre-programmed, certainly at the strategic level or involving inter-organisational relations. The Carnival has become a mature, well-practised operation in which a multitude of tactical, incremental decisions, predominantly made at Bronze level or below, serve to steer the huge, complex process. Once the Carnival is under way, there is very little liaison between the police and other organisations. In practice, the MPS Gold commander has an overseeing, monitoring role, intervening on a handful of occasions...The stability that seems to arise from the incremental nature of the Carnival’s planning process does present a severe difficulty: a lack of attention to the need to plan in strategic ways for future developments.”

Carnival Public Safety Matrix

2.13 The LSE study raises a number of issues when one begins to ask the fundamental question of who is ultimately accountable for public safety at the Notting Hill Carnival. Published guidance by the Health and Safety Executive (HSE) provides that it is the event organiser that has the primary responsibility for protecting the health, safety and welfare of everyone working at, or attending, an event. In theory at least, LNHCL is recognised as the ‘event organiser’. However, in practice, the Carnival Review Group questioned whether this had ever been the case. The Carnival Public Safety Matrix set out at Table 3 below, provides an overview of the various roles and responsibilities of the organisations involved in delivering the Carnival. When compared with the roles assigned under the Statement of Intent and Code of Practice, the matrix begins to illustrate the way in which the powers and responsibilities in relation to the planning and delivery of the Notting Hill Carnival are shared amongst a range of organisations, with no one organisation taking an overall lead. Whilst in theory, a community–based organisation in the shape of LNHCL is seen as the ‘event organiser’, in practice and in relation to the public safety aspects of the event, many of these responsibilities are being shouldered by other members of the OPSG. The Carnival arenas and bands have a significant impact on a

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51 Pp145-146 supra.
53 See Table 2: ‘Statement of Intent and Code of Practice: Summary of Responsibilities and Designation of Lead Agency Status’ on p46.
54 LNHCL took over this role from NHCT in May 2003.
number key public safety issues and yet they are not signatories to the Statement of Intent and Code of Practice. The Review Group felt that this anomaly should be remedied. The views of many residents and tenants’ organisations was that the Statement and Code amounted to little more than a stated set of ‘aims’, which, given the nature of the Carnival, were not enforceable and contained no sanctions in the event of non-compliance.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIORITY AREAS/ISSUES</th>
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<th>APPLICABLE LEGISLATION</th>
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<th>LAS</th>
<th>ARENAS/BANDS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FUNDRAISING &amp; SPONSORSHIP</strong></td>
<td>The event organiser has been the organisation responsible for raising the majority of the sponsorship for Carnival.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>PROCESSIONAL ROUTE</strong></td>
<td>The circular route was originally introduced in 1988 by the MPS. The Current ‘U’ shaped route was proposed by the local authorities and endorsed by the MPS in 2002.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ROUTE ACCESS</strong></td>
<td>Although the event organiser has historically been responsible for issuing access permits to the route, the local authorities took over this responsibility in 2002. The police can also override pre-determined entry and exits points. Finally, the decision as to which entry/exit point is used by which band is left solely to the discretion of the band itself.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>CARNIVAL AREA &amp; SECTORISATION</strong></td>
<td>Since the determination of the route also delineates the ‘Carnival Area’, it appears that the MPS and the local authorities are responsible for this. Also, the division of the Carnival Area into ‘sectors’ appears to be part of the Carnival policing strategy.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>PEDESTRIAN ZONES</strong></td>
<td>Again, this is determined by the MPS as part of their Carnival policing strategy. The local authorities are responsible for making the necessary orders.</td>
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Road Traffic Regulations (Special Events) Act 1994
### Table 3: Carnival Public Safety Matrix

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<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SAFETY ZONES/ STERILE AREAS</td>
<td>The location of safety zones/sterile areas is determined by the MPS in consultation with the emergency services.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BARRIERS</td>
<td>The location of police barriers is solely the responsibility of the MPS.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT ORDERS</td>
<td>Critical to delineating the Carnival route and area. The local authorities are responsible for issuing the Temporary Traffic Management Orders necessary to close roads in the Carnival area. Officers also conduct pre-event inspections of the carriageway and footpath, initiating any relevant repairs.</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>CROWD MANAGEMENT/ PEDESTRIAN MOVEMENT</td>
<td>The principal agency responsible for crowd control and pedestrian movement are the MPS (BTP and LUL are responsible for crowd management and movement within and directly outside tube stations). Although the Carnival organiser has historically deployed stewards over the two days of Carnival, their numbers are insufficient to have any real impact on crowd movement and control.</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>STEWARDS</td>
<td>Historically, the Carnival organiser has provided 200 stewards at Carnival. With additional funding from the GLA, this was increased in 2001, 2002 and 2003. The Carnival bands also provide volunteer ‘band stewards’ to assist bands to travel around the area.</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAINTENANCE OF EMERGENCY ACCESS ROUTES</td>
<td>During the Carnival period, the police deployment strategy ensures that officers are stationed at key areas such as entry/exit points and sterile/safety zones so as to ensure that these areas are kept clear in the event of an emergency and to allow emergency vehicle access.</td>
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<tr>
<td>TRAFFIC EXCLUSION ZONE/ ROAD TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT</td>
<td>The MPS are responsible for determining the Traffic Exclusion Zone. They are also responsible for implementing parking suspensions, whilst also maintaining an adequate number of parking facilities in the area.</td>
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<tr>
<td>HEALTH &amp; SAFETY POLICY</td>
<td>“A safety policy is a document that demonstrates to others that the company or organisation to which it relates accepts that concern for health and safety is an integral part of its organisation at all levels and that the highest management within the company mean to ensure that this concern will be translated into effective action”55</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>PUBLIC SAFETY KNOWLEDGE &amp; EXPERIENCE</td>
<td>All officers from the statutory agencies who are involved in contingency planning for the Notting Hill Carnival have a high degree of public safety knowledge, experience and training.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAND NUMBERS</td>
<td>In theory, only bands that have been provided with permits by the event organiser are allowed entry into the Carnival area. In many cases, the fact that a band has not applied to take part in Carnival or been given a permit does not necessarily preclude a band from participating at the Carnival.</td>
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<tr>
<td>VEHICLE (FLOAT) NUMBERS</td>
<td>The number of vehicles (floats) on the Carnival route has been a pressing issue for the statutory agencies who argue that there are far too many vehicles on the road to ensure that all bands are judged before the Close Down time. Although the Carnival organiser has set a limit of two vehicles (one float and one support vehicle) per band, it is in reality unable to enforce this despite the introduction of a permit system.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SOUND SYSTEM SITES</td>
<td>The MPS and local authorities ultimately determine the location of sound system sites. Local authority officers who are responsible for issuing the permits carry out site inspections.</td>
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<tr>
<td>LICENSED STALL HOLDERS/TRADERS</td>
<td>The local authorities are responsible for issuing street trading licenses to all the Carnival stallholders and traders. MPS and LFEPA also contribute to joint stallholder briefing sessions and officers inspect stalls during the event to ensure that license conditions are being met.</td>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUOR</td>
<td>Seizures of Illegal alcohol are pursued jointly by the MPS and the local authorities. The licensing of bar sites is the responsibility of the local authorities.</td>
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<tr>
<td>LIVE STAGES</td>
<td>Although there were no live stages at Carnival 2001 and 2002, it is RBKC officers who determine whether a space will be made available for the purpose of erecting a live stage. A separate event plan/proposal must be submitted for approval. In order to raise additional funds, the Carnival organiser has historically ‘franchised’ spaces to commercial organisations (eg. BBC Radio 1). Once this is done, liaison takes place directly with the local authority. In 2003 a small ‘world music’ stage was erected at the Carnival.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CLOSING DOWN TIME</td>
<td>Close Down is achieved in two phases: all static sound systems are switched off by 7pm. The British Association of Sound Systems (BASS) regulates the licensed sound system sites and the MPS and the local authorities enforce the close down. In theory, the rest of the Carnival activities (judging, floats stalls etc) are meant to close down by 9pm. This was achieved for the first time in 2003, with the creation of a ‘judging zone’ at the start of the route.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPERATIONAL PLANNING &amp; SAFETY GROUP</td>
<td>Apart from the Carnival bands, all other organisations attend the Operational Planning and Safety Group (OPSG).</td>
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<tr>
<td>ROAD SIGNS</td>
<td>Road signs are erected to direct the public to the various amenities available to them throughout the event. MPS (police stations, crime reporting centres and first aid posts), local authorities (toilets) and LUL (underground stations).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPERATIONAL PLANNING &amp; SAFETY GROUP LEAD</td>
<td>Although OPSC meetings take place at the offices of RBKC, the meetings are chaired by WCC officers and minuted by RBKC officers.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STREET CLEANING</td>
<td>The local authorities are responsible for preparing and implementing a cleansing plan to remove all litter and event-generated debris from the highway over the event weekend.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUBLIC ORDER</td>
<td>The MPS and BTP are principally responsible maintaining public order and implementing strategies to minimise or reduce crime. As part of their community safety strategy and legal obligations, the local authorities work with the MPS, using combined intelligence on local initiatives.</td>
<td>Metropolitan Police Act 1839, s.52, Town Police Clauses Act 1847 s.21</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSPORT TO &amp; FROM CARNIVAL AREA</td>
<td>The development and implementation of an effective transport strategy for Carnival is the responsibility of the transport agencies – buses, tubes and TFL.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIRST AID FACILITIES &amp; EMERGENCY RESPONSES</td>
<td>SJA is principally responsible for establishing, staffing and managing treatment centres within the Carnival area. LAS are responsible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3: Carnival Public Safety Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIORITY AREAS/ISSUES</th>
<th>WHAT REALLY HAPPENS</th>
<th>APPLICABLE LEGISLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FIRE SAFETY</td>
<td>LFEPA is the lead agency in this area, although there is close co-ordination and communication with the MPS, SJA and LAS.</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVENT COMMUNICATIONS</td>
<td>During the event, inter-agency communication is managed by the MPS through ‘GT’ – the Major Event Control Room in New Scotland Yard.</td>
<td>✓ ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CODE OF PRACTICE SIGNATORIES</td>
<td>The Statement of Intent and Code of Practice sets out some of the areas of responsibility for OPSG members.</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH</td>
<td>Local authority officers monitor, advise and enforce current food safety legislation and advise on the safe use and positioning of barbeques, use and storage of LPG cylinders and electrical connections. They will also monitor the condition of public toilet facilities. Officers from the Noise monitor team monitor noise levels from the sound systems (mobile and static).</td>
<td>Environment Protection Act 1990 Control of Pollution Act 1974</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stewarding & Route Management at Carnival

Recommendation

9. Effective crowd management is an essential feature of any public safety strategy for large-scale events. The establishment of a suitably qualified and sustainable body of stewards is vital to ensuring the safety of spectators and participants at the Carnival. Such a body could eventually compete for the stewarding of large-scale events in London. We believe that the GLA should now initiate discussions with DCMS, GOL and the Home Office in order to establish a long-term strategic funding programme that will develop the infrastructure necessary to ensure that:

(a) the significant contribution made by the costume bands and the static sound systems to the crowd management effort during the Carnival is recognised - the former through their deployment of volunteer band stewards and the latter through their innovative use of music to regulate crowd behaviour. The static sound systems have also used their own resources to employ stewards to manage the crowds around their music sites;

(b) a combination of experienced community-based stewards and ‘professional’ stewards remains a core element of any crowd management operation at the Carnival. The experience of community stewards should be harnessed and managed so that their contribution is enhanced and sustained;

(c) the successful practice of allocating a police officer to each band/float (‘Band Serial Officers’) is consolidated and built upon. The possible use of Police Community Support Officers (PSCOs) and Special Constables to support the Carnival policing and stewarding effort should also be explored;

(d) realistic and achievable targets for the gradual increase in the number of stewards deployed at the Carnival are established. These targets should be reviewed annually against a performance framework to be agreed with the MPS. The overall aim should be for the gradual reduction in policing levels as the professionalism, effectiveness and number of stewards deployed at the Carnival increases;

(e) support for the strategic objectives of the MPS policing operation through the continued development and integration of stewarding into the MPS strategic plan is achieved; and

(f) the establishment of an effective communications system, encompassing all aspects of the Carnival’s communications requirements is developed. Voice (radio and mobile phone) communication may not necessarily be the correct medium for the Carnival. Innovative solutions should be developed and used, whilst advances in technology such as text messaging and paging systems could serve to enhance communication considerably.
2.14 The GLA provided project development funding in the sum of £160,000, £115,000 and £120,000 respectively to enable the Carnival organisers to recruit, train and deploy stewards at the 2001, 2002 and 2003 Carnivals. For the 2001 event, a competitive tendering process was undertaken and a professional stewarding company was selected to manage the stewarding and route management operations. In 2002 and 2003, the operation was again brought in-house and managed by the event organiser.

2.15 The Notting Hill Carnival is unique in stewarding and crowd management terms due to its complex nature and combined with the specific requirement to manage both crowds and vehicles. The Carnival organisers have always recognised the need to control both the crowd and the vehicles from a safety point of view and from a Carnival timing point of view to ensure the effective closedown of the event. This resulted in the development of a stewarding operation that is unique to Carnival. The timing of the Carnival procession is inextricably linked to safety in that as the hours of darkness draw in, the incidence of criminal activity and concomitant likelihood of public order incidents increases, thereby necessitating the mounting of a major policing operation on an annual basis. The method of determining steward numbers has never been arrived at via any scientific process of risk assessment. Rather, number was determined purely on the basis of the funds available for the exercise and experience.

2.16 In assessing the effectiveness of the Carnival stewarding operation over the last three years, it is essential to bear in mind that inclement weather on the Sundays in 2001 and 2002 caused crowd numbers to drop well below the level of previous years. This therefore reduced the pressure on the stewarding operation over the two days. In 2003, crowd numbers were also down and this was primarily due to the suspension of major rail network services as a result of major maintenance work. Increased funding meant that the Carnival stewarding operation expanded three-fold. Management difficulties and capacity issues – first with NHCT and then with LNHCL, meant that in each year of the GLA’s funding, extremely tight time-scales precluded quality planning. Despite this pressure the consensus was that the stewarding function had improved greatly. The general feedback has been complimentary and the increase in steward numbers has been recognised as a positive step forward, particularly by the MPS.

Lessons

2.17 Post-Carnival debriefs of the stewarding operation laid great emphasis on the need for the operational plan to focus as much on the preparatory work as upon the execution of the operation. The process of recruiting, training and briefing all staff and management to the highest standards was deemed essential to the Notting Hill Carnival because it was a one-off annual event with unique requirements and a unique culture. There was a clear recognition that the process of recruiting the correct people, registering and issuing of ID passes, distributing uniforms and the delivery of appropriate quality training required considerable planning skills and experience.

2.18 The training of stewards was limited to between two and three hours. Whilst the content and delivery was good under the circumstances and limited time constraints, the sessions were, at

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56 The Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea also agreed to provide funding for an additional 100 stewards (valued at £30,000) for Carnival 2001.
times, interrupted or delayed. A number of stewarding qualifications do exist on the market ranging from the Football Stewarding Qualification to individual training packages designed by independent companies. There is however no nationally recognised qualification. It was acknowledged that the requirements of the Notting Hill Carnival were not specifically stewarding but involved vehicle, band and crowd management. There was clear evidence of the need to develop a more robust carnival-specific training module as a four to six hour session. Further, there was no evidence of supplemental training for each management layer of the stewarding operation.

2.19 At Carnival 2001, the stewards were issued with ID passes. These passes were manually produced and served no other function than the purposes of recognition. The manual production of the passes was fraught with difficulty and relied heavily on the individual stewards remembering to provide passport photographs. This was confirmed by a continual process of ID production on the morning of Carnival Sunday. Uniforms, which were also issued on the Sunday contributed to further delays in the commencement of the stewarding operation. Although practical, the uniforms did not clearly differentiate the stewards as people with authority to manage the carnival crowd or environment. The rank of supervisor or team/section leader was not clearly discernible and in the event of a major incident, this requirement was critical.

2.20 The Carnival Review Group were acutely aware of the fact that although GLA funding had succeeded in increasing the numbers of stewards deployed at the Carnival for the last three years, the long-term objective was to develop a sustainable body of accredited stewards that could eventually compete for the stewarding of large-scale events in London.

**Policing Carnival**

**Recommendation**

10. Whilst in comparison to other large-scale festivals, the Notting Hill Carnival remains a relatively safe event, we are concerned that the overall number of reported crimes rose in 2002 and 2003. After a fall in the number of people receiving first aid or hospital treatment for two years running, the figures rose sharply in 2003 by 140 per cent and 154 per cent respectively. The work of the MPS and St. John Ambulance (SJA) is to be commended – the former have, since 2001, implemented a successful pre-Carnival intelligence gathering operation and deployed officers to specifically target known crime hotspots within the Carnival area. The latter continue to deliver a first class medical service at the Carnival despite never having received any form of funding or sponsorship for this work. We believe that the work of both organisations can be strengthened and supported through:

(a) the development of a multi-agency Carnival Community Safety Strategy that is delivered in partnership with the Carnival Arenas. All the evidence shows that the majority of crime committed at the Carnival occurs as night falls. Achievement of the 9pm close-down time must therefore be a central feature of the strategy; and

(b) the establishment of a funding agreement between SJA and the National Health Service (NHS). We are firmly of the view that the high quality on site medical service provided by SJA over the Carnival weekend significantly reduces the potential impact of Carnival-related injuries on the services of neighbouring hospitals in and around the Carnival area. This is because the majority of the casualties (84 per cent) are treated on site. We believe that the
true overall value of SJA’s contribution – in terms of volunteer and paid staff, cost of equipment, vehicles and consumables, as well as what it would cost the NHS to treat these patients if SJA were unable to provide their current level of service – should be quantified with a view to making a powerful case for funding.

11. In our interim report, we called for a reduction in the number and size of support vehicles used by each performance unit on the route in order to improve public safety and minimise crowd congestion57. Insufficient resources and poor event management have meant that no discernible progress has been made. We believe that professional event management of the Carnival is vital, not only from a public safety perspective but also to safeguard the event’s artistic quality and content. We therefore recommend that:

(a) a robust event management and planning framework that makes use of information technology to share vital information with stakeholders is introduced; and

(b) contracts are introduced in order to ensure that the Carnival participants comply with the event’s staging and performance protocols. Key obligations would include adherence to arrival and close-down times; vehicle size and numbers and promotion of the Carnival Code.

Context

2.21 The policing of the Notting Hill Carnival represents the largest single policing operation in London in any one year with the MPS committing considerable resources, not only to the bank holiday weekend itself, but also to the Carnival planning process which takes place throughout the year – policing involvement revolves around a dedicated MPS Carnival office that is staffed throughout the year with the sole objective of organising and arranging the police response to the Carnival. This process relies heavily on close links with the main participants responsible for the event with day-to-day contact maintained between police and NHCT. A representative from RBKC is also a member of the Carnival office team. Overall, almost 7,500 officers and 550 civilian staff were deployed for Carnival 2000. This was made up of the following numbers for each day of the event:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Saturday (26-08-00)</th>
<th>Sunday (27-08-00)</th>
<th>Monday (28-08-00)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police Officers</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>3,091</td>
<td>3,991</td>
<td>7,422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Staff</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>3,359</td>
<td>4,264</td>
<td>7,971</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.22 The deployment of manpower was focused so as to meet the demands of the busiest periods during the Carnival weekend - late afternoon through into the evening of both Sunday and Monday with particular emphasis on the Monday evening. Comprehensive logistical support to assist the large numbers of police personnel involved in the event included a multitude of

issues ranging from accommodation, catering and transport through to CCTV and Information Technology.

2.23 In total, 3,598 police officers were deployed on the Carnival Sunday and a total of 5,173 officers were deployed on the Bank Holiday Monday at Carnival 2001, representing an increase of 1,357 officers from Carnival 2000. An officer was also seconded to NHCT to contribute to and assist in the overall planning and implementation of the stewarding operation. By way of comparison with other major events in London, in a recent report to the Metropolitan Police Authority (MPA)\(^{58}\), the MPS presented the following cost implications of public order events held throughout 2001 and the May Day Demonstrations in 2002:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Events</th>
<th>Deployment</th>
<th>£</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Police Officers</td>
<td>Police Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Front Marches (Bermondsey) (07 April 2001, 14 April 2001 and 12 May 2001)</td>
<td>2,709</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May Day Demonstration 2001 (Central London) (09 May 2001)</td>
<td>5,095</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trooping the Colour (Central London) (02 June 2001)</td>
<td>1,191</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trooping the Colour (Central London) (09 June 2001)</td>
<td>1,188</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trooping the Colour (Central London) (16 June 2001)</td>
<td>1,364</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Opening of Parliament (Central London) (20 June 2001)</td>
<td>1,450</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrations in London (Lambeth/Central London) (20 June 2001)</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrations in London (Lambeth/Central London) (21 July 2001)</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remembrance Day (Central London) (11 November 2001)</td>
<td>1,414</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Years Eve 2001 (Central London) (31 December 2001)</td>
<td>1,849</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funeral of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother (31 March – 09 April 2002)</td>
<td>11,887</td>
<td>1,306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May Day Demonstration 2002 (Central London) (01 May 2003)</td>
<td>3,868</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notting Hill Carnival 2002 (Kensington &amp; Chelsea/Central London) (24-26 August 2002)</td>
<td>10,584</td>
<td>664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May Day Demonstration 2003 (Central London) (01 May 2003)</td>
<td>2,888</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Policing Objectives and Strategy

2.24 The Carnival policing operation takes over complete responsibility for the Carnival area from the local police for the entire duration of the event and deal with every incident requiring a police response. In its oral and written submissions to the Carnival Review Group, the MPS set out the strategic objectives, which govern their involvement in the planning and delivery of the Carnival:

- to prevent public disorder.
- to assist the organiser and the local authorities to ensure public safety.
- to prevent damage to property.
- to prevent crime and take all reasonable steps to arrest offenders if crime is committed.
- to minimise the effects of congestion to vehicle and pedestrian traffic in the surrounding area.
- to minimise the effects of any disruption to community life in the area.

2.25 In policing the Carnival the MPS works to a predetermined geographical area based around Carnival route. With such a large area to cover, the policing operation divides the Carnival area into five sectors. Each of these sectors is brought under the command of a Sector Bronze. These Bronzes - who are of at least superintendent rank - report to a chief superintendent, “Silver”, who in turn reports to “Gold”, the event commander. This group, effectively forming the senior command team for the event, is collectively responsible under the guidance of “Gold” for the setting and implementation of the strategy for policing Carnival. Each sector bronze is assisted by their own dedicated support team consisting of other senior officers who ensure that all policing functions are carried out.

2.26 In order to ensure a uniform approach to the policing of the event, a structured process is followed. This process is led by a series of Command Team meetings through the course of the year. These meetings are supported by a variety of additional meetings and exercises. These include planning meetings held by the sector bronzes with their own command teams who also participate in specially designed training. A working party also meets to make sure that all necessary administrative and logistical support is in place for the event.

2.27 In the immediate lead up to the Carnival, a series of comprehensive briefings take place. These briefings are used to prepare and inform the supervisors of every policing serial employed on the event. Each briefing follows the same sequence; Gold, Carnival video, Sector Bronze and the sector briefing officer. (The video provides an outline of what to expect at Carnival). In addition, every officer employed is briefed by his or her respective sector briefing officer on each day of Carnival. These briefings include the showing of a Carnival video. In order to support these pre-event functions a series of command team meetings chaired by Gold are held during the course of the event. Two of these meetings are held each day at a location within the centre of Carnival.
Crime at Carnival

2.28 Making safe arrests of armed or violent people, whether individuals or in gangs, in the middle of a crowd presents severe tactical challenges for the policing operation. The following table provides a statistical summary of crime levels at the Notting Hill Carnival since 1997. The murders of two young men in 2000 served to highlight the significant rise in the number of arrests and reported crimes committed at the Carnival.

Table 6: Carnival crime figures 1997-2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.18/20 Assaults</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecent Assaults</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual Bodily Harm</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Assault</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault on Police</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft Person</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Snatch &amp; Pickpocket)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offensive Weapon</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibited Weapon (CS Spray)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Order/</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Damage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.29 The Review Group’s interim report and recommendations led to increased support for the Carnival in terms of police resources. A pre-Carnival Intelligence Team was established as part of the MPS response to reduce and minimise the opportunity for crime in 2001. This team was tasked with gathering quality information and intelligence in order to identify and, where possible, arrest suspects intending to commit significant criminal acts during Carnival. In total, 24 pre-Carnival arrests were made, including four suspects in possession of a semi-automatic shotgun, ammunition and gloves. An additional 1,000 officers were specifically tasked with targeting offenders at known crime hotspots within the Carnival area. These extra officers patrolled the periphery of the Carnival area with the aim of responding to intelligence and disrupting potential criminals before they reached the congested Carnival area. High visibility policing saw a significant increase in the cost of uniformed officers – the total cost for 2001 was £5.6 million, representing a 65 per cent increase on Carnival 2000. This cost also included
the £442,000 spent to increase surveillance activities\(^{59}\) at Carnival – an increase of 76 per cent on the previous year’s surveillance costs. Carnival policing costs in 2002 and 2003 were £5.4 million and £5.7 million respectively with approximately 11,000 police officers and police staff deployed in both years.

2.30 Following the Review Group’s interim report, the MPS re-introduced the practice of allocating a police officer to each Carnival band or float (“Band Serials”). An additional 250 officers were recruited for this specific purpose and their role included helping the bands to travel round the route and acting as a point of contact for float personnel. In financial terms the cost to the MPS was in excess of £300,000. The use of Band Serials has proved to be extremely successful and the strategy has become a standard feature of the policing plan for the Notting Hill Carnival.

2.31 The adoption of a more proactive approach to the policing of Carnival, together with the re-introduction of band serial officers, contributed to the reduction of both crimes and arrests in 2001. The MPS sought to build on these key achievements by:

- taking into account the concerns of local residents.
- working in partnership with all key agencies.
- providing an appropriate and effective policing response, to any given circumstance.
- signing up to the multi-agency Statement of Intent and Code of Practice.

2.32 Despite this, the overall numbers of reported crimes rose in 2002 and 2003 and this is a cause for concern. The number of arrests in 2003 was the highest for several years.

2.33 Although many commentators seek to define the success or otherwise of the Notting Hill Carnival in terms of whether or not there is an increase or decrease in crime from year to year, the Review Group noted that when compared with other large-scale events, the Notting Hill Carnival is a relatively safe event - a position that has been supported by the MPS. Crime levels at the Carnival used to be significantly higher before 1996. By way of comparison with other events, there were over 2,000 reported offences committed at the Glastonbury Festival in 1999. Reducing crime was identified as one of the major objectives for Glastonbury 2000 and it was therefore agreed that a crime reduction strategy should be required as part of the event organiser’s licence conditions.

2.34 The strategic focus of the policing operation has remained that of working with all stakeholders to deliver a safe and trouble free Carnival. The Review Group noted that this approach took into account the difficult lessons learned during the 1970’s and 80’s when the Carnival received greater attention for the large-scale violent crime and regular breakdown of public order took place. They were conscious that in setting policing levels, the primary aim was to strike a balance between the requirement to deal with potential large-scale crime and disorder and the desire of those attending the Carnival to celebrate freely, without unnecessary intervention from the statutory authorities.

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\(^{59}\) These costs related to the purchase and hire of audio, CCTV and audio-visual equipment.
Event Management and Close Down Times

2.35 In their submissions to the Review Group, both the police and the local authorities identified two critical and interrelated areas, which they argued were particularly important to review so as to offer a realistic possibility of improving public safety and reducing crime and disorder. The first such area was the Carnival’s finishing time, with the second being the closely related issue of the number of vehicles on the processional route.

2.36 There are two finishing or ‘close-down’ times in Carnival. The first takes place at 7pm, when the live stages and music played by the static sound system are turned off. In relation to the Carnival procession, the multi-agency Statement of Intent and Code of Practice provides that all bands must aim to pass the judging point by 6.30pm on both the Sunday and the Monday. In theory at least, “all the necessary arrangements before and during the Carnival acknowledges the necessity for all the street events, such as bands (floats) and street trading, to be closed down in time to encourage a peaceful, safe and gradual crowd dispersal from the Carnival area by 9.00pm on each day.”60 In reality, whilst the 7pm close-down time has always been achieved, it is the 9pm finish time that has consistently eluded the Carnival organisers.

2.37 In its interim report, the Review Group acknowledged that the number of support vehicles accompanying the Carnival floats on the route was a key obstacle to achieving a 9pm finish time. An analysis of vehicle numbers during the 2001 and 2002 Carnivals found that for every music float on the processional route, masquerade bands were also accompanied by on average an additional 2 ‘support’ vehicles. These vehicles served as rest areas (particularly in the case of bands with young children or the elderly) whilst on the route. In total, for Carnival 2001, there were 140 vehicles on the route each day. These were despite the Review Group’s interim recommendation that the Carnival organisers make every effort to reduce vehicle numbers. The numbers increased slightly for Carnival 2002, against a backdrop of repeated and unsuccessful attempts by the police and the local authorities who encouraged the organisers to work with the masquerade bands to reduce vehicle numbers. Evidence has shown that the majority of crime committed at the Carnival occurs at nighttime. The achievement of an effective close-down therefore represented a critical public safety and event management requirement. For two years under the review, the Carnival organisers had been unable to limit the number of vehicles in the procession and thereby develop an effective strategy to achieve a 9pm close-down.

2.38 A key feature of the Carnival in 2003 was the relocation of the judging point to the start of the route on the Great Western Road and the implementation of a ‘route management plan’ that contained several new strategies: the phased entry of bands onto the route; a judging zone to promote continuous movement rather than a series of static performances in front of a judges’ table; and an extensive area of controlled-entry seating placed within the judging zone on the Great Western Road. Together with the deployment of highly visible and well co-ordinated stewards in key locations, the route management plan proved to be successful in maintaining the flow of the procession for much of the time with all registered bands passing through the judging zone well before the scheduled time of 9pm. Although no systematic count of the number of people attending the Carnival was conducted in 2003, the widely accepted view is that numbers were down on previous years. There is no doubt that this reduction in visitor numbers made the implementation of the route management plan much

60 Notting Hill Carnival: Statement of Intent and Code of Practice, Clause 7, p4
The Review Group felt that the success of the new plan provided the Carnival organisers with a good basis upon which to build a more robust and effective event management and planning framework that could include the use of information technology to share vital information with stakeholders, the use of performance contracts to ensure compliance and the development of a body of knowledge about the Carnival that would act as a resource for training, planning and evaluation purposes.

Casualty Rates at Carnival

2.39 As part of its commitment to the Notting Hill Carnival, SJA provides over 250 volunteers each day, comprising doctors, nurses, paramedics and first aiders, together with an estimated £1 million worth of equipment and vehicles. The overall mission of SJA is to provide:

- a safe and appropriate management of any person who becomes ill or injured at the Carnival.
- care and support to those who seek their help.
- aid to the Statutory Authority by providing Ambulances and Forward Incident Teams to assist in the core function of the LAS, throughout the Carnival area.

2.40 This is achieved through the provision of:

- an effective command and control system.
- strategically located treatment centres
- strategically deployed personnel with a range of specialist skills
- ambulances and a range of appropriately equipped specialist vehicles

2.41 Due to the density of the crowds at Carnival, it is impractical for 999 calls to be responded to by ambulance vehicles. In 1990 SJA introduced and developed a ‘Forward Incident Team’, initially solely for the Carnival, with the ability to access casualties quickly on foot. The team is now a vital resource for many events as its training, equipment and safety clothing allow its members to effectively move within the densest of crowds and work with casualties. After diagnosis and any immediate care, the team either move the casualty to a Treatment Centre or to a rendezvous point to meet an ambulance vehicle for removal to hospital. For the past six years, LAS have provided a paramedic to accompany each Forward Incident Team. This approach has led to a reduction in the time taken from a 999 call being received by LAS to the time a SJA team reaches the casualty. The average response time is 8.5 minutes.

2.42 To reduce vehicle movements further, and to assist with the casualty influx on hospitals, SJA have established an Advanced Treatment Centre, which has been operating for the past eight years. This provides facilities and appropriately trained nursing and other specialist staff for suturing, other medical interventions and the stabilisation of critical casualties. In 2000, the centre successfully treated 30 casualties who would have required hospitalisation in traditional circumstances. In total, SJA treated 650 casualties and conveyed 107 to hospital that year.

2.43 Casualty rates fell in 2001 (495 casualties, of which 77 were taken to hospital) and 2002 (425 casualties, of which 63 were taken to hospital). However, 2003 saw a significant rise in the
number of casualties treated – 598, of which 97 were taken to hospital. This represents a 140 per cent (in terms of casualties) and 150 per cent (in terms of hospitalisations) rise on the previous year.

2.44 As a charity, one of the key concerns for SJA was the impact that the Carnival operation has on its budget each year. The organisation has never received any funding or sponsorship for its work at Carnival and during the Review Group’s public consultation, indicated that the current position was being re-assessed. The provision of the SJA treatment centres is an essential element of the Carnival’s public safety strategy. The Review Group were keen to re-affirm the recommendation made in their interim report that the cost of this service and the contribution of SJA should be acknowledged by the National Health Service (NHS) and supported financially.

Waste Management & Recycling

Recommendation

12. The Notting Hill Carnival generates approximately 200 tonnes of waste each year. We support the recommendation of the Network Recycling Study, which called for the development of an environmental strategy that would set annual targets for making inroads into the Carnival’s waste by recycling materials for local markets and eliminating non-recyclable materials in order to achieve the ultimate long-term goal of a waste-free Carnival. We therefore recommend that funds be made available through the London Recycling Fund (LRF) to enable the Carnival organisers to work with the local authorities and members of the Carnival community to develop an effective and sustainable Carnival Waste Management and Recycling Strategy to implement the recommendations of the Network Recycling Study.

Context

2.45 The operational challenges presented in recycling and reducing the amount of litter produced by the Notting Hill Carnival is unique with approximately 200 tonnes of waste generated by the event. Whilst much of the solid waste at Carnival is generated by commercial activity, the responsibility for managing this waste falls within the remit of the two local authorities as part of their municipal solid waste (MSW) streams. A number of attempts have been made to recover recyclables from Carnival waste:

- in 1993, RBKC tipped much of the Carnival’s waste at SITA’s Material Reclamation Facility (MRF). From this waste a total of one tonne of mixed cans and 0.5 tonnes of glass were recovered;

- a local waste charity was previously employed by WCC to collect cans prior to the main litter clearance;

- WCC has previously placed 1100 litre recycling banks around the site but these were subject to very high levels of contamination; and

- local can collectors have collected cans from the Carnival route in previous years.
The Network Recycling Study

2.46 The following table provides a summary of the amount of refuse collected by RBKC over the past five Carnivals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Refuse (Tonnes)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.47 The figures show that despite a decline in visitor numbers in 2003, the amount of refuse collected increased. The local authorities have acknowledged that 2003 refuse collection figures for Westminster – 215 tonnes – has highlighted the possibility that there is a discrepancy in the way in which ‘Carnival refuse’ is being defined and that further work is required in order to provide more comparable data and a more accurate picture in future.

2.48 In partnership with WCC, the GLA commissioned a study of the Carnival in 2000 in order to explore the possibilities for reducing the environmental impact of solid wastes. The study found that the presentation and composition of waste at the Carnival did present opportunities to develop innovative and creative solutions to one of the hardest challenges of municipal waste management – combining litter control with recycling. Network Recycling, the organisation appointed to carry out the study, identified clear emerging patterns in the Carnival’s litter profile. Whilst recognising that litter migrates from its source to the point of disposal, the report found four distinct types of Carnival waste:

- street litter - produced mainly along the Carnival route.
- food service disposables litter - occurring predominantly in the vicinity of food traders.
- venue litter - occurring in turfed arenas.
- traders’ waste - generated during food preparation.

2.49 Although the Carnival’s litter contained a high proportion of recyclables, the study found that many of the techniques that would normally be employed to recycle a similar mix of litter from any outdoor event would not be appropriate for the bulk of litter at the Carnival. The development of the following operational systems was therefore proposed:
- The installation of a temporary Materials Recycling Facility (MRF) to sort mixed litter collected from both the main Carnival route by mechanical sweepers and from litter manually picked from turfed venues; and
- The use of an in-vessel composting unit for the collection of traders’ waste with a high organic content.

2.50 At a policy level, whilst it is difficult to restrict their use, food service disposables present an opportunity to stimulate the market for low-grade waste paper in London by replacing polystyrene disposables at the Carnival with recycled paper disposables. The Network Recycling study recommended that the overall strategy for the Carnival should be to make annual inroads into the Carnival’s waste by recycling materials for which local markets can be identified and taking annual steps to eliminate other non-recyclable fractions of the waste stream, thus working towards an ultimate goal of a waste-free Carnival. Recycling and waste minimisation would need to be gradually integrated into the culture and operation of the Carnival over a number of years, with a recycling rate of 10 per cent set for the first year and incremental increases of 5 per cent for subsequent years.

2.51 The development of an effective waste management and recycling strategy for the Carnival is consistent with many of the key aims and recommendations contained within the Mayor of London’s municipal waste management strategy63, the Recycle for London campaign and the work of London Waste Action. The Mayor’s strategy sets out a number of policies and proposals for improving waste management in London, including:

- developing a ‘Waste Reduction and Reuse Programme’ for London.
- encouraging new business ideas for recycling and looking at ways to increase the amount of products made from recycled material.
- planning for new and improved waste and recycling facilities in London.
- improving public awareness of waste issues including the need to reduce, reuse, recycle and compost waste and also to buy recycled goods.

2.52 The primary objective of the Recycle for London campaign is to get Londoners recycling as much of their consumer waste as possible by providing information about local recycling services. The campaign has been developed by the GLA in partnership with London boroughs, the ALG and Rethink Rubbish – the UK’s largest waste awareness programme that unites retailers, local authorities and the waste management sector. London Waste Action aims to increase co-ordination between the producers of goods, retailers, manufacturers, the public and statutory local authorities and all concerned with the management of waste and reusable materials and equipment. The aim is to achieve a more sustainable approach to waste management. London Waste Action also supports and operates the London Recycling Fund, a £24.9 million fund, which is designed to significantly boost recycling of household waste across London by encouraging partnerships and private sector investment.

The Carnival Route

Recommendation

13. The Carnival Public Safety Project and the work of Intelligent Space has been instrumental in objectively highlighting the relationship between the design of the Carnival route, location of entertainment sites and the associated public safety risks of crowd build-up and congestion. The impact of this work has been clearly evidenced by the partial route change and relocation of the Judging Point, which was initiated in 2002. Having considered all aspects of the research, its findings and the views of all stakeholders, it is our recommendation that any future change to the Carnival route must address the issue of public safety and be risk assessed, as far as is possible, in accordance with the GLA’s Carnival Design Guidance. In addition, the guidance should be developed further in partnership with the Carnival Arenas to include the positive work undertaken by the Caribbean Music Association (CMA) in its ‘On de Road’ code of best practice and the NHMBA’s ‘Route Management Plan’.

14. Our interim recommendations called for the introduction of a non-circular route and the possible use of Hyde Park for Carnival-related activities. These particular recommendations have been the subject of much debate and whilst the Intelligent Space findings provided the catalyst for a partial route change in 2002, we do not believe that these changes go far enough to reduce crowd density and ensure public safety. The Intelligent Space study found that the 2002 route was unlikely to deliver any gains in public safety, raised serious concerns in relation to the new risks presented and was unable to provide the level of flexibility required to safely accommodate the Carnival’s future growth. Without a fundamental route change to reduce crowd density and enhance the cultural spectacle, we do not believe that the Notting Hill Carnival can fulfil its economic and social potential as a ‘World Carnival’. We therefore recommend that:

(a) Hyde Park, the Bayswater Road and the Harrow Road must be considered as part of a new route for Carnival 2005. Such a fundamental change will require detailed discussions and consultation with all key stakeholders, nevertheless we believe that the Carnival Arenas in partnership with the Carnival organisers, should be supported to take ownership and lead on these discussions to determine their ‘route of the future’; and

(b) the Operational Planning and Safety Group (OPSG) seek additional expert guidance during the detailed planning and implementation stages of any new route. This will ensure that (i) all safety issues and implications are identified and addressed at the earliest opportunity; (ii) risk assessments are kept up to date; and (iii) every assistance is made available to those stakeholders who experience practical difficulties when implementing recommended risk reduction measures.

15. Whilst, as a starting point, it is necessary to review the design of the Carnival route in order to make future Carnivals safer, we believe that it is also important to review the design of the whole entertainment area. From a crowd safety viewpoint, the route, the sound systems, and to a lesser extent, the stalls are all integral and interrelated parts of the Carnival. These elements must therefore be considered together as a package in order reduce crowd density and achieve increased levels of safety at the Carnival. We therefore recommend that in addition to the route, an assessment of the Carnival’s entertainment area should be undertaken with the view of achieving a safer overall package for future Carnivals.

A Time for Change
2.53 In 2000, the circular Carnival route that had been introduced by the MPS in 1988 when the numbers attending Carnival had been considerably less, had been in operation for over ten years. In assessing the impact of the Carnival’s growth on public safety, levels of crime and the local environment, there was a clear acknowledgement amongst the majority of stakeholders that although the Notting Hill Carnival is rooted in Notting Hill and should remain so, the event had nevertheless outgrown the current area. Residents in particular and some Carnival participants expressed support for extending the Carnival area, only insofar as such an extension would ease congestion and reduce crowd density. The congestion and overcrowding experienced at Carnival 2000 provides clear evidence of the failure of the current circular route to take account of and respond to Carnival’s increasing popularity and the dramatic growth in visitor numbers. In its Interim Report, the Review Group concluded that the inherent inflexibility of the current Carnival route was a fundamental flaw, presenting serious public safety questions for those seeking to safeguard the welfare of Carnival participants, spectators and residents.

2.54 “We believe that the current circular design of the Carnival route is closely linked to the problem of crowd density and congestion. The design of the processional route, absence of rest areas and exit points, pedestrian flow systems (e.g., one-way routes), location of stewards and police, and lack of signage significantly influence the safety of crowd movement and dispersal. We therefore recommend:

a. The immediate introduction of a non-circular route that incorporates an effective entrance and exit strategy for bands/floats.

b. The use of Hyde Park as a “savannah”. We believe that Notting Hill, is the historical home of Carnival and must remain at the heart of the festival as the “Carnival Village”. However, we are convinced that the interests of public safety and the inconvenience caused to residents requires the creation of an open space dispersal point that will draw crowds away from residential areas. Crowd management would be easier and safer in a large open space such as Hyde Park.

c. That a detailed analysis of the current Carnival area be undertaken to assess the risks of different route designs, pedestrian flow systems and operational plans. We believe that the Carnival Safety Liaison Group should make use of the services of public and/or private sector bodies specialising in crowd safety and management. This will facilitate the establishment of an informed public safety planning process, which identifies potential areas and patterns of crowd build up, dispersal and movement so that alternative strategies can be developed and additional resources allocated to minimise the risks to crowd safety.”

2.55 Altering the Carnival area and route was by far the most controversial and sensitive recommendation of the Carnival Review Group for a number of reasons. For Carnival participants – masquerade bands in particular – change signified the emergence of huge logistical questions that would have to been overcome to their satisfaction if implementing change were to be beneficial and effective. For the statutory agencies, any change, which led to a wider or dispersed ‘footprint’ of the Carnival area, would raise serious resource implications for them. Certainly, there had been no rigorous assessment of the design and function of the processional route in recent years. More than anything else, the

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64Notting Hill Carnival Review: Interim Report & Public Safety Profile Recommendations, Recommendation 4
recommendation called for a re-evaluation of the routing and physical design of Carnival, both to improve crowd safety and to establish an objective and informed Carnival safety planning process.

The Carnival Public Safety Project

2.56 In April 2001, the GLA established the Notting Hill Carnival Public Safety Project in response to recommendation 4(c) of the Carnival Review Group’s Interim Report. The Project sought to investigate and provide answers to the following key questions:

- what is the pattern of crowd build-up at Carnival and what are the major associated risks?
- how does the physical design of the Carnival route relate to crowding patterns?
- what design guidance recommendations can be used to evaluate alternative routes?
- what are the likely effects will alternative route options have on crowd safety?

2.57 By making use of new technologies such as computer modelling and simulation in the areas of spatial design, crowd analysis and movement, the Project offered an evidence-based approach to ascertaining and addressing the public safety implications of the Carnival area in Notting Hill and the processional route. The GLA appointed the Intelligent Space Partnership (ISP), a planning consultancy specialising in pedestrian movement and safety issues, to carry out the Project:

- undertaking a detailed liaison process with the stakeholders of Carnival, so as to ensure that their experience and decision-making processes informed the Project;
- providing an analysis of crowd behaviour at Carnival 2001, identifying those factors involved in crowd build-up and the major risks associated with this;
- developing a set of design guidance recommendations for crowd safety that could be used to inform the choice of a future Carnival route;
- assessing a shortlist of alternative routes identified by Carnival stakeholders in terms of their compliance with the design guidance, and to use crowd modelling and risk assessment to evaluate the potential effects of these routes on crowd safety; and
- making recommendations about the problems and merits of each route.

2.58 The remit of the Project was specifically limited to public safety issues and did not encompass any review of non-safety issues such as funding, logistics or management structures. A detailed liaison plan, which included over twenty diverse ‘stakeholders’ and interest groups involved in Carnival was implemented. Stakeholders provided both data and experience at key stages of the Project. They were responsible for submitting alternative route options for assessment and used the design guidance and analysis to inform their decision making process when making their final selection of short listed routes which went forward for full risk assessment.
Analysis of Carnival 2001

2.59 In August 2001, the Carnival Public Safety Project carried out the first ever detailed observation survey of crowding at the event. The spatial layout of all the constituent parts that go to make up the Notting Hill Carnival was assessed in order to first understand the pattern of crowding.

2.60 In total, there were 239 licensed street stalls at Carnival 2001, selling food and refreshments as well as a diverse range of other items. Street stalls were all located near the main attractions (the route and the sound systems) or on major streets. All the official street stalls were inside the area enclosed by the circular route or directly adjacent to the route itself. As well as the official street stalls, there were a number of unlicensed trading activities on the streets of the Carnival area. Toilet facilities were provided not just inside the route but also located on major access routes such as Kensington Park Road.

Crowd Management Strategies

2.61 A number of measures are used each year at the Carnival to manage the crowd for safety purposes. The main measures are:

- the traffic exclusion zone (TEZ)
- sterile areas
- barriers
- medical and other special facilities

2.62 The Traffic Exclusion Zone (TEZ) is the most significant change that is made to the Notting Hill area to accommodate crowds at Carnival time. With the TEZ in place, road space is freed up for pedestrian use. In 2001, 38 roads situated in a 3 square kilometre area around the route were included in the TEZ, leaving 0.8 square kilometres of pedestrian space for the Carnival. In addition, the MPS cordoned off a number of streets from pedestrian access in order to create ‘sterile areas’ for emergency access and emergency crowd dispersal. These sterile areas accounted for approximately 15 per cent of the pedestrian street space in the area enclosed by the processional route (8 per cent of the total pedestrian space inside the TEZ).
2.63 Barriers were used to manage and channel pedestrian flows as a crowd management tool. In total, the MPS deployed barriers at approximately 60 locations. By and large, barriers were deployed for three general purposes: to control access; to provide separations between the Carnival processions and the spectators; and to channel crowd flows into or away from particular areas.

2.64 Barriers for controlling access were often deployed across street junctions, either to maintain a sterile area, or to stop or slow down crowd influx where necessary (referred to as ‘gate barriers’). Examples of these were found at the end of sterile areas and in some side streets to Chepstow Road.

2.65 Barriers were also used to provide separation between carnivalists and spectators on the carnival route (‘route barriers’). Approximately 23 per cent of the length of the Carnival route had route barriers to hold back the spectators and ensure that the Carnival procession was able to make its way through the crowds. Route barriers were mainly positioned in the southwest/southern section of the route as well as on a small section of Great Western Road to form a queuing system to Westbourne Park underground station. The width of the barriered areas varied generally from 6-10 metres, however in locations such as the judging point and close to junctions the width increases, in the latter case to take into account the turning circles of vehicles. The space that was taken up by the barriered sections of route restricted the available width for spectators from 100 per cent down to only 40 per cent of the available space. This had a significant impact on the level of crowding that is experienced.

2.66 A further use of barriers was in channelling flows into the area. In particular, Kensington Park Road and Ladbroke Grove had staggered barrier deployments and police horses in use to control the flow into the crowd.
2.67 Of the other crowd management facilities, the first aid treatment centres managed by SJA play an important part during the Carnival. There were 18 treatment centres in 2001 and their locations are shown in Figure 7 above.

Visitor Numbers and Flows

2.68 The results of this observation study provided some key facts on the scale of the Carnival and this can be used to help monitor the event’s development and inform present and future crowd management strategies:

approximately 710,000 visitors came to Carnival 2001 in total. The number of visitors on the Monday was higher, accounting for 64 per cent of all visitors, whilst the Sunday accounted for 36 per cent.

as far as can be determined from information on past years, Carnival increased in size steadily throughout the 1990s, although attendance numbers fell in 2001. The historical trend of growth is an important long-term safety consideration, given the uncontrolled nature of the event in terms of visitor numbers. Figure 8 below provides a trend line for visitor numbers over the last ten years. Based on indicators from St. John Ambulance data\(^{65}\), the figures show that the number of visitors in 2001 was lower than the previous year, by perhaps as much as 200,000. According to this index, the last time that visitor numbers were as low as 2001 was probably in the mid-1990s. The historical growth in numbers appears to have peaked around 1.2 million in 1999 and fallen since then by nearly half a million.

\(^{65}\) Although no full visitor counts were made in the past, a technique for extrapolating visitor estimates was applied to accident data from St. John Ambulance.

Figure (8): Trend in Carnival Visitor Numbers
2.68.3 In terms of occupancy (i.e. the total number of visitors in the Carnival area at any one time), the peak time was on the Monday of the event between 4pm and 6pm, when approximately a quarter of a million people were inside the area.

2.68.4 The arrival flows into Carnival peaked between 3pm and 4pm. Departure flows peaked between 8pm and 9pm on the Monday, but total movement remained high between these times.

2.68.5 For the whole period of 3pm to 9pm, additional pressure on crowding was put on the route by high level of pedestrian movement entering and exiting the area. All of these visitors must use or cross the processional route.

2.68.6 Arrival and departure flows were very unevenly distributed, with just four of the 38 roads into the Carnival area accounting for more than half the total flows in. This pattern leads to increased pressure on certain areas of the route.

2.68.7 For the distribution of the crowd on the route, there is a marked distinction between the North and the South of Carnival, with a heavier concentration of use in the streets to the South.

Crowding: Implications for Public Safety

2.70 The Carnival Public Safety Project found that the main characteristics of crowding at Carnival have a number of important safety implications:

2.70.1 The uneven distribution of the arrival and departure flows is a safety concern in that it can put additional pressure on areas where these flows meet the procession route. Analysis shows that this is influenced by the layout of streets in the Notting Hill area (urban barriers and the visibility of the processional route from arrival streets) and public transport facilities (tube stations and their level of use);

2.70.2 Peaks in density present safety concerns for some parts of the route. Analysis shows that this is influenced by the available space for spectators, the visibility of different parts of the route and the accessibility of public transport for arrival and departure flows;
2.70.3 floats reduce available space for spectators and there is a safety issue relating to the
location of some of entry and exit points for floats in densely packed sections of the
route;

2.70.4 the fact that the route encloses the entertainment area means that all emergency
vehicles and all visitors to the entertainment area are forced to cross the route, which
also impacts on the available space for spectators;

2.70.5 the location of the judging point is believed to contribute to the uneven distribution of
crowds, especially as it influences the distribution and congestion of floats in areas
close to and upstream of the judging point;

2.70.6 the width of streets is particularly important in the issue of available space for
spectators and thus to crowding. Where the procession goes through a narrow street
or street section, less space is available for spectators and a pinch point is formed; and

2.70.7 crowding in the entertainment area is predominantly influenced by the locations of
static sound systems and the available data points to a strong attraction influence of
the static sound systems on the overall pattern of use.

Carnival Route Design Guidance

2.71 Using the evidence from the analysis of Carnival 2001, the Crowd Safety Risk Assessment
Methodology developed for the Health and Safety Executive (HSE) has been applied to
Carnival to show how patterns of crowd build up and behaviour translates into risks for safety.
A number of the risks identified related to the route, and these have provided the basis for
design guidance. The following table summarises the key points of the design guidance that
was developed in light of the observation study of Carnival 2001 and the risk assessment. In
each case, the relevant risk for each recommendation of the design guidance is noted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DG</th>
<th>RISK</th>
<th>DESIGN GUIDANCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DG1</td>
<td>Crowd density heightened on route by cross flows for ingress and egress</td>
<td>Remove circular enclosure by route to end compulsory crossing of route for all visitors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG2</td>
<td>As above</td>
<td>Avoid significant pinch points on the route.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG3</td>
<td>Uneven distribution of crowd and concentration of entry points on a small number of streets.</td>
<td>Locate route to encourage more evenly spread access, using public transport and attraction locations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG4</td>
<td>Emergency vehicles have trouble accessing interior of route and create crowd congestion when crossing the route.</td>
<td>Minimise need for vehicles to cross route using alternative entry routes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG5</td>
<td>Entry and exit flows are concentrated between large urban barriers (e.g. canals, railways etc)</td>
<td>Choose areas with permeable street grid both for exit and to allow for contingency diversion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG6</td>
<td>Turns in route are conflict points for vehicles and pedestrians and crowd concentrates at junctions.</td>
<td>Minimise turns on route.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG7</td>
<td>Judging point increases concentration of South Western half of the route.</td>
<td>Move judging point to quieter street or to a larger area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG8</td>
<td>Vehicles on surrounding streets may pose a danger to crowds.</td>
<td>Fit Traffic Exclusion Zone around any new route.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG9</td>
<td>Floats accessing route disrupt crowd and reduce available space.</td>
<td>Put entry and exit points for floats away from most crowded areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG10</td>
<td>Risk of crushing under vehicles on route.</td>
<td>Implement safety cordons around all vehicles and avoid significant pinch points in route.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG11</td>
<td>Risk of injury to carnivalists boarding vehicles from side.</td>
<td>Introduce safe entry points on vehicles away from wheel path.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG12</td>
<td>Static sound systems block pedestrian flows.</td>
<td>Locate sound systems off key pedestrian movement routes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Alternatives Routes

The Carnival Route Design Guidance was presented to all stakeholders in October 2001 at a series of working group meetings. Following these meetings, Carnival stakeholders decided on a shortlist of six alternative routes for evaluation: ‘Horseshoe’; ‘Merging Horseshoe’; West-East ‘EII’; East-West ‘EII’; ‘Reverse Park’; and ‘The Chair’.

**The Horseshoe Route**: the horseshoe route is similar to the circular route except for two key differences. Firstly, it would not pass along the northern section of existing route, which comprises of Kensal Road and Elkstone Road. Instead, the route would start at the Great Western Road/Harrow Road junction and include the narrow section at the top of Great Western Road. Secondly, the current direction of the flow would be reversed so that it would go clockwise and finish at the top of Ladbroke Grove. The judging point would remain in the same position as was for Carnival 2001 and previous years.

**Merging Horseshoe**: the merging horseshoe route starts in two branches, one from Ladbroke Grove and the other from Great Western Road. These would merge at the “Five Ways” junction into a single route. The route would move down towards the Bayswater road and be judged somewhere along its length adjacent to the park (although no clear location was specified by the Stakeholders). It would then continue west for dispersal of floats and carnivalists around Notting Hill Gate.
West-East “Ell” Route: the West-East “Ell” route option would take the Carnival procession down Ladbroke Grove and then extend along Westbourne Grove and Bishops Bridge Road before turning South along Eastbourne Terrace. Two possible locations for the judging point were suggested, with one at the “Five Ways” junction and one on Bishops Bridge road. As a linear route, the West-East Ell option presupposes that resources will be found for the logistical problem of transporting carnivalists back to base.

East-West “Ell”: the East West Ell route option can be seen below. For this route, the floats and “mas” bands would travel in the opposite direction to the current route and the West East Ell. Whereas the West-East Ell proposed two alternative judging points, the East-West variant proposed one judging point, to be located at the “Five Ways” junction. It is also slightly shorter than the West-East version. As with the W-E Ell route, this route would require a transit system for carnivalists off-route, but in the case of the E-W Ell this would be more focused on transit to the route, as most base camps are apparently close to the end of the route around Ladbroke Grove.

Reverse Park Route: this route can be seen below. Whereas the original proposal for this route was to move towards Hyde Park, the proposal from the Stakeholders put forward at their October Conference was with the opposite direction of flow on this option, with the floats travelling from the park area in an Northwesterly direction. The location of the judging point was left ambiguous by the Stakeholders. As with the other more linear routes, the implementation of this route also requires a solution to carnivalist transit, if the potential improvements to the safety associated with a more linear route are to be realised.
The Chair Route: the location of the Chair route option would take the Carnival procession down the whole length of Ladbroke Grove and then turn eastwards along the Bayswater Road, with the judging point inside Hyde Park. The flow of the procession for the Chair that we were asked to assess in this report was from West to East, ending at the park. As with the other more linear routes, the Chair option would only work when combined with the implementation of a back-to-base transport system for carnivalists. This is a question of resources and logistics, but it must be resolved to avoid introducing new safety problems.

Assessing the Alternatives: Compliance with Design Guidance

2.72 There were variations in the compliance of each short-listed route when compared against the Carnival Route Design Guidelines. The Project found that the Horseshoe and Merging Horseshoe routes were the least compliant, whilst the Chair was most compliant with the design safety criteria. These differences are summarized below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DESIGN GUIDANCE</th>
<th>HORSESHOE</th>
<th>MERGING HORSESHOE</th>
<th>WEST-EAST ELL</th>
<th>EAST-WEST ELL</th>
<th>REVERSE PARK</th>
<th>CHAIR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DG1: Remove enclosure by route</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG2: Avoid pinch points</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG3: Spread out entry and exit points to encourage better crowd distribution</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG4: Minimise need for vehicles to cross route</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG5: Choose permeable streets for entry and exit routes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG6: Minimise turns</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG7: Move judging point to quieter street or more space</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No if five-ways</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG9: Put float entry and exit points away from crowded areas on route</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.73 Computer modelling revealed that the alternative routes differed significantly in the extent to which the crowd arrival and departure flows from the entertainment area would be forced to cross the route. The Merging Horseshoe and Horseshoe had little effect in terms of opening up the entertainment area. The “Ell” routes and the Reverse Park options opened up the Carnival area to by 22 per cent. The Chair route provided the least enclosure, with 44 to 46 percent of arrival flows having direct access to the entertainment area.

2.74 In terms of sheer overall capacity, the computer modelling indicated that the length of the route was a significant issue since a reduction in route length reduced the overall amount of space for spectators, the general effect being an increase in crowd density. The Horseshoe and East West Ell routes both showed poor levels of average and maximum crowding than the circular route and this result was strongly influenced by the short length of both routes. The Reverse Park and the West East Ell showed a lower average and maximum crowding than the
circular route. The lowest route crowding indices are for the Merging Horseshoe and the Chair routes. For the Merging Horseshoe, the analysis is strongly affected by the extreme length of the route, as it is so much longer than the others and this implies much greater capacity on all modelling scenarios. For the Chair, the result relates to the much greater width of the route.

2.75 Modelling also identified a number of pinch points that pose serious issues for crowding. For the Merging Horseshoe, both Ell routes and the Reverse Park route, a new narrow section at the Eastern end of Westbourne Grove would be a major concern. For the Horseshoe route, a new pinch point at the top of Great Western Road would be a major concern. Only the Chair route has no significant pinch points. Agent based modelling has been used to illustrate the more general implications of the configuration of the route for capacity in future years. The routes differ in the extent to which crowd attractions are focused or dispersed. The least capacity for coping with increased numbers would be likely to result from the Horseshoe route, owing to its high concentration of attractions in a small area. The greatest capacity would be likely to result from the Chair route, owing to the spreading out of the route attraction away from the concentration of Static Sound Systems.

2.76 In terms of public safety risks, the crowd safety risk assessment revealed potential problems associated with all of the proposed routes. For the selection of a safer route for the future of carnival, the key considerations would be the seriousness of the problems (i.e. the risk levels), how many of problems did each route present and whether these problems can be resolved. The Horseshoe and the Merging Horseshoe routes had the largest number of high-level risks. Most of them were believed to be difficult to resolve. Amongst those that could be resolvable, some would only have limited effects (i.e., only reducing the risk slightly). In comparison, both the W-E Ell and the E-W Ell routes had less high-level risks. The routes that had the least high-level risks were identified as the Reverse Park and the Chair routes. Both routes had the same number of top-level risks (i.e. Level A and Level A/B risks).

The Impact of Future Expansion

2.77 In addition to the risk assessments, the Project stressed the need to look further ahead and consider the possibility that carnival visitor numbers may grow in the future. As previously stated, although visitor numbers appear to have fallen for the last two years, the longer-term trend over the 1990s was for yearly increases. Greater crowd numbers will increase the overall demand for space and the likelihood of crowding and related risks in all the locations identified in the models. The scope for future expansion is an important consideration given the nature of the event as a free and open spectacle on the public highway.

2.78 Two basic issues must be considered. The first issue is the extent to which the route design provides flexibility in its capacity to cope with future increases in visitor numbers. The second issue is the extent to which the route can be extended in length to increase its capacity. In terms of capacity within the route, the modelling analysis in particular showed that the Horseshoe, the two Ell and the Reverse Park were shorter in length than (and similar in width with) the existing circular route and, therefore, would have less leeway to cope with any future growth in visitor numbers. On the other hand, the Merging Horseshoe route (because of its length) and the Chair route (because of its width) had more flexibility in their capacities to cater for more visitors.

2.79 In terms of extending the carnival route, the Merging Horseshoe, the two Ell, the Reverse Park and the Chair routes could all be extended in length if required. For example, additional capacity could be gained by extending along Westbourne Terrace/Gloucester Terrace,
Bayswater Road and/or into the Hyde Park. By comparison, the scope for extending the Horseshoe route is limited. Because of the enclosing effect of the route, the only viable options for extension (without going through a network of side streets) appeared to be either along Kensal Road/Elkstone Road or on section of Harrow Road. This means that, at best, the capacity of the Horseshoe route could only be restored to a level similar to that of the existing route.

Conclusions

2.80 As can be expected from a complex event such as the Notting Hill Carnival, the Carnival Public Safety Project identified some benefits as well as pitfalls in all of the proposed alternative routes, none of which were able to provide an ‘easy fix’ for enhanced crowd safety. On the basis of all aspects of the assessment, and weighing up and comparing the pros and cons of each, the Project listed proposed routes in order of preference from the perspective of crowd safety thus:

(1) Chair
(2) Reverse Park
(3) West-East Ell (considered as the option for judging on Bishops Bridge Road); and
(4) East-West Ell (if the judging point is moved and the length is reconsidered).

2.81 The Merging Horseshoe and Horseshoe routes were not recommended for further planning consideration by the Project. This was of particular concern to Carnival participants (for whom the Merging Horseshoe had been the preferred route) and WCC (who had put forward the Horseshoe route). Indeed, WCC made clear its intention to challenge any route, which brought the Carnival into the central London area.

Determining the “Carnival Route of the Future” - The Interim Route

2.82 Taking into consideration the findings of the Carnival Public Safety Project, as well as the logistical questions posed by the possible relocation of the changing areas of some masquerade bands, the Reverse Park route was perceived by the Carnival Review Group as a possible "Carnival Route of the Future". Members acknowledged the potential of the Reverse Park to elevate the status of the Notting Hill Carnival by attracting new audiences and providing enhanced viewing and performance areas. Operationally, the emergency services, the Metropolitan Police Service and the transport agencies endorsed the route. The masquerade bands acknowledged that whilst the Reverse Park was not their preferred option, it did represent 80 per cent of the Merging Horseshoe route and was ‘fundamentally good’. According to the risk assessment produced under the Carnival Public Safety Project, the Reverse Park was one of the better options from a crowd safety standpoint.

2.83 Based on the risk assessment undertaken by the Carnival Public Safety Project, the Horseshoe route, which had been proposed by WCC and supported by RBKC, was one of the least desirable route options from a crowd safety perspective and contained the same risk elements as the current route. It offered a considerably reduced Carnival area, thus significantly exacerbating the dangers of crowd and route congestion. The local authorities argued that whilst it was important to identify a new route, this was not in itself enough to ensure a safe event. The problems of crowd safety at the Carnival arose from the fact that the streets of Notting Hill were not designed for such an event. In the run up to the Carnival in 2002, WCC and RBKC put forward a further option – the introduction of an ‘interim’ route for 2002. The route proposed was the horseshoe route with a number of significant changes: the direction
of the Carnival procession would be reversed, moving from east to west (as opposed to west to east, as had been tested under the Carnival Public Safety Project). Additional changes included the use of Elkstone Road as a ‘marshalling area’ for the floats and the relocation of the judging point to the Great Western Road.

2.84 The Carnival Review Group were of the view that if this option were to be considered, the use of the Harrow Road would also have to be considered in conjunction with a range of other measures in order for the change to be effective. One such measure - the possible relocation of large sound systems outside of the route - would encourage a greater spread of Carnival activities away from the route. In view of the fact that the sound systems appeared to be the ‘main attraction’ at Carnival, the Review Group acknowledged that this would inevitably result in a larger Carnival area footprint. The Review Group also expressed concern that since the interim route had not been subjected to the same risk assessment process as those alternative routes submitted under the Carnival Public Safety Project. As a result of this omission, the Review Group decided to undertake a second phase of the Safety Project to analyse the interim route.

Carnival Public Safety Project (Phase II): Carnival 2002

2.85 In 2002, the Carnival attracted approximately 15 per cent more visitors overall than 2001. The total attendance was 818,200 (360,200 on Sunday and 502,400 on Monday). This increase in attendance was strongly associated with a rise in popularity of the Sunday, which attracted 34 per cent more visitors in 2002 than in 2001. There was only a 5 per cent increase on the Monday and this was more than likely to be due to the influence of better weather: Sunday in 2002 was a pleasant sunny day, whereas Sunday in 2001 had wet weather.

Figure (15): Attendance at Carnival 2002 Compared to Carnival 2001

2.86 The geographical pattern of arrivals and departures for visitors was broadly the same in 2001 and 2002 without any significant difference in the overall distribution of pedestrian flows on each street into Carnival with the majority of visitors entering and exiting the Carnival area
using the same five key arrival routes. Ladbroke Grove North was more important as an exit route in 2002 than in 2001, and this related directly to the change in the direction of the Carnival route.

2.87 The overall pattern of crowd density appeared to have shifted slightly at Carnival 2002, with more people located outside the carnival route in peak time than in 2001. Density on some sections of the route and some interior areas was lower than in 2001, suggesting that the crowd was better distributed within the area as a whole. Within the entertainment area, there also appeared to be a shift in density towards the East, with areas such as the eastern part of Westbourne Park Road having heavier crowding than in the previous year. This change related to the new judging point and the crowd management controls in place around it. There was also a higher density of people on the Kensal Road, relating to the use of this road as a marshalling area for floats.

2.88 The new layout presented by the interim route was risk assessed in order to determine whether it had led to improved public safety and risk reduction. The assessment found that the new processional route layout presented a similar amount of risk as the previous circular route in 2001 and therefore did not deliver a safer environment for the Carnival. There were risk reductions in parts of the route but other areas either remained more or less the same or the risks became higher. The biggest improvement could be found on the main section of the Ladbroke Grove and most of the southern sections of the procession route. However, some of the areas that experienced high crowd density under the previous circular route layout remained similarly problematic under the new horseshoe route layout – Ladbroke Grove south being a notable case in point. At the same time, the safety report found that the risks in other areas such as Great Western Road and its intersection with Westbourne Park Road had increased considerably.

2.89 It appears that the changes in 2002 had little effect on the main entry and exit points to the Carnival but, at the same time, had re-distributed some of the risks inside the Carnival from one area to another, a strong indication that the current basic design of the Carnival area may have reached or become close to reaching saturation.

2.90 Project had been to look at the potential effects of changing the route as one aspect of the broader work being undertaken by the Mayor’s strategic review. Whilst it was accepted that the streets of Notting Hill were not designed for Carnivals, one cannot ignore the fact that this is a common problem for most street events. All roads in the area would therefore be imperfect in this sense, and consequently, the choice was not between those streets that were not designed for Carnival and those that were. The Carnival Public Safety Project assessment evaluated which of the routes put forward by the Stakeholders offered the best options for public safety within the constraints identified and this had been a key criterion in the assessment. The Review Group determined that evaluating the potential of the proposed routes for the longer-term safety of the public at the Notting Hill Carnival was exactly the purpose of the Carnival Public Safety Project. Not only did the Project’s findings conclude that, on balance, the Horseshoe route was unlikely to deliver any gains in safety, it also expressed concerns about the new risks presented by the Horseshoe, with the recommendation that this particular route should not be implemented from the perspective of crowd safety.
Evaluating the Carnival Public Safety Project

2.91 The Notting Hill Carnival is an important and highly enjoyable event. At the same time, it presents a web of complex and diverse challenges to the stakeholders. The Carnival Public Safety Project looked at one key element in this web; its aim was to provide crowd safety inputs to assist the stakeholders in their selection of a carnival route for future carnivals. It was not, and was never intended to be, a ‘full solution’ to all the problems associated with the Carnival. There are many other issues that still need to be addressed. Through the study, however, several other courses of action were identified as part of an overall process to tackle safety problems and ensure successful future carnivals:

Review of the Entertainment Area

2.92 The analysis of Carnival 2001 and 2002 led to a number of findings about the crowding inside the entertainment area and its potential effects on the event as a whole, particularly the importance of the static sound systems as attractors. Some recommendations were made about static sound systems in the Carnival Design Guidance and we specified that any changes to the location of sound systems in the alternative routes proposed by stakeholders would be evaluated. None of the routes submitted for evaluation by the stakeholders contained any proposals for changes to the design of the entertainment area. There were sound reasons for this decision by the stakeholders, as it was noted that trying to change too much at once will bring its own problems and that Carnival should be modified in an ‘evolutionary way’, beginning with the route change. It is also much clearer to assess the advantages of routes against each other under the same assumptions about the location of other attractions.

Planning and Implementation Considerations

2.93 The design of the route and the entertainment area provide the basis on which detailed planning and implementation of Carnival can progress. However, it is important to note that in addition to the route and the entertainment area, other issues of detailed planning and implementation would also have impacts on safety. They may include how the Carnival is to be event managed; float management, crowd management, the transit of carnivalists, public transport and information provision and public education. Many of these are operational or logistical issues concerning the implementation of changes. Also, given the complex nature of the carnival and the large number of stakeholders involved, inevitably there arise conflicting interests and requirements between stakeholders. Therefore, the Carnival Review Group was acutely aware of the fact that the search for an optimum solution was likely to involve plenty of compromises (probably in all areas) with new proposals and counter proposals, all of which could have safety implications. These safety implications would need to be addressed and the subsequent changes in risks reflected in any risk assessment. The complex nature of the carnival also means that stakeholders may have practical difficulties in implementing some of the risk reduction measures suggested in the risk assessment and alternatives may have to be found.

Completing the Picture: Gaps in Data

2.94 The gathering of data on crowding at the Carnival undertaken by the project identified some gaps in information that could be very useful for strategic planning. In particular, more basic
information about visitors would be required for future planning. For example, there was no reliable information about visitor profiles and what their main interests were in the carnival. Also, no survey of the public transport origins and destinations has ever been carried out for Carnival, and this has prevented LUL or London Buses from modelling the potential impact of transport strategies (such as the closure of specific tubes) on the pattern of transport use. This data limitation is also important for crowd models, as the possible concentration of arrival and departure flows are strongly influenced by the levels of tube use, not just capacity. This could also be used to provide information on the level of demand for the different carnival attractions.

The Value of Computer Modelling

2.95 The value of the use of computer modelling at a more detailed level to help assess the potential effect of specific crowd management policies, such as the location of route barriers or the timing of a float management plan was also identified by the Safety Project. In this way, the models could be developed as an operational tool, as opposed to their current use as decision support tool for choosing appropriate route options. As with the risk assessment, crowd models for Carnival would also have to develop and change in the light of new evidence.

Safety versus Politics

2.96 It was clear that the route introduced in 2002, whilst proposed by the local authorities had not been risk assessed under the Carnival Public Safety Project, even though the Review Group had engaged in a lengthy and detailed liaison process with stakeholders. Moreover, the route did not enjoy the support of the Carnival community, who felt that they were not in a position to influence and/or participate in the decision-making process. A number of notable issues are relevant here. As part of the LSE Study, a number of strategic planning workshops were organised between key organizations involved in the planning and management of the Carnival. The initial focus of the workshops included the changing nature of the Carnival, finance and commercialisation, crowd growth and the geographical spread of the Carnival area. Priority areas identified by workshop attendees included the control of the procession (plus route design issues such as route capacity, crowd dynamics, float entry and exit points etc), sound systems, funding options, national recognition and communications. The LSE workshops are significant because as a result of the decision support provided by the study, the stakeholder groups were able to reach a consensus on the potential value of the Hyde Park ‘savannah’ option:

“...In this case, the arena option was seen as involving a one-way route to an arena outside the current boundaries of Carnival, instead of the current circular route. This possible change in the physical arrangements for Carnival meant that it was necessary to include criteria to assess the cultural, artistic and public order implications. The evaluations......demonstrated significant unexpected advantages in favour of the arena option for (in increasing order) safety, adequate funding, cultural celebration, and promotion of carnival disciplines.”

66 The organisations were: Notting Hill Carnival Trust, Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea, Tenant Management Organisation, Metropolitan Police Service.
Wider Implications for Major Events in London

2.97 Of equal relevance is the report of the investigation by the London Assembly into the planning and subsequent cancellation of the London New Year’s Eve event that had been planned for 31 December 2000\textsuperscript{67}. The Report recognized that although central London’s street patterns presented considerable challenges to running a safe event, these obstacles could be overcome and that successful major events were possible in London provided the following conditions were in place: sufficient lead-in time of at least 18 months; a dispersed ‘footprint’; the event needs to be spread both in time, over the day and evening, and in space across Central London and beyond; sufficient resources; empowered leadership; a committed multi-agency partnership; effective project management arrangements; and effective decision-making capability.

Revisiting Accountability

Recommendations

16. The Carnival Public Safety Matrix offers an analysis of the various roles, responsibilities and tasks that are delivered by members of the OPSG. We believe that the Matrix clearly demonstrates that whilst there has always been a community-based organisation to co-ordinate the Carnival, the limitations of this organisation – both in financial and human resource terms – has meant that its ability to fully assume the role of ‘event organiser’ with responsibility for public safety, has not been achievable. As a consequence, the evidence suggests that in reality, the MPS, the Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea (RBKC) and the City of Westminster (WCC) have been required to commit considerable resources in order to compensate for the inability of the event organiser to assume full responsibility for the Notting Hill Carnival’s public safety issues. We believe that with public investment comes public accountability. Given the level of operational responsibility assumed by the OPSG in general and the local authorities and police in particular, it is our recommendation that:

(a) the terms of reference of the OPSG, the Statement of Intent and Code of Practice should be revised to reflect and acknowledge the various levels of operational responsibility assumed by members of the group. These documents should be reviewed on an annual basis and revised accordingly, as the professionalism, sustainability and delivery capacity of the community-based event organiser increases, such that it is then able to assume greater operational responsibility;

(b) greater transparency and accountability for the decisions being taken by the OPSG can only be achieved by making the minutes of all group meetings public. The group should also be responsible for producing an annual Public Safety Strategy and detailed review, all of which would be subject to independent scrutiny by the London Assembly, the Audit Commission and the Health & Safety Executive (HSE); and

(c) consideration be given to greater involvement of the HSE. There is an urgent need for an independent agency that is capable of leading on matters of public safety at the Carnival. Such a body could be responsible for co-ordinating the resources of the various statutory

\textsuperscript{67} “Future Major Events in London”, London Assembly, Greater London Authority (March 2001). Membership of the committee comprised, Eric Ollerenshaw (Chair), Jennette Arnold, Jenny Jones and Lord Graham Tope.
agencies and making determinations based solely on public safety grounds. Immediate discussions should be initiated with the HSE with a view to ascertaining what possible role and involvement they should have in determining the nature of such an independent agency.

17. We believe that the planning and decision-making process for the Notting Hill Carnival clearly illustrates the difficulties encountered when responsibility for the event is not and cannot be attributed to any one single body and where the weakness (or in some cases, absence) of an event organiser is such that there is a danger that public safety may be compromised. The issue of public safety responsibility and accountability is not unique to the Notting Hill Carnival. Indeed, it is relevant to all major events that take place on the public highway. We therefore recommend that the Mayor take immediate steps to initiate an urgent review of the public safety responsibility, accountability and decision-making issues relating to all major street events in London. We believe that a working group should be established with representation from the HSE, Association of London Government (ALG), Home Office, MPS, GLA, GOL, TfL, LUL and DCMS as key partners. We further recommend that the Minister for London play a role in facilitating these discussions.

Fragmentation of Accountability

2.98 Some of the responses to the Carnival Review Group’s interim recommendations in relation to the possible use of Hyde Park and the Carnival Public Safety Project’s assessment of alternative route options appears to indicate that a number of key stakeholders have not only retreated from the 1998 position that has been secured under the LSE Study but also the recommendations of the London Assembly in relation to major events in London. Rosenhead and Horlick-Jones have observed that in relation to the Notting Hill Carnival:

“All the organisations involved in the Carnival seemed to have similar underlying agendas associated with the avoidance of blame and liability, and each needed to be seen to be taking all possible reasonable measures to protect public safety, so generating a tendency to account for actions in ‘safety audit’-like terms. Transferring blame to other agencies was another potential escape mechanism; a factor which manifestly tended to undermine inter-organisation trust. In a fundamental way, these considerations shape each organisation’s approach to taking part in the Carnival process, and so contribute to the fashioning of its culture of engagement…..During fieldwork we were struck by the observation that all agencies involved in planning for the Carnival tended to talk a great deal about safety, regarding a ‘safe and trouble free Carnival’ (a motto adopted by the MPS as the theme for the 1997 event) as the key criterion of success or failure. It became clear, however, that there was a certain formality to the use of the concept; and by virtue of the fact that no-one could be seen to be arguing against safety, arguments advanced on safety grounds could be potent rhetorical devices, and hence, power relations formed and re-formed in shifting patterns with the skillful and tactical deployment of risk-related discourse in specific settings.”

2.99 From the Carnival Review Group’s point of view, it is important that safety is not dealt with in a piecemeal fashion, particularly in view of the Carnival’s complexity. Safety considerations and risk assessments had to be an integral part of the planning process and Carnival organiser had to be ‘empowered’ so that it could fulfil its important role in coordinating and integrating the planning efforts of all key stakeholders, including the Carnival bands. The gathering of

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69 See footnote 47, p146.
survey evidence on visitor numbers and crowding patterns undertaken for the first time in 2001 and repeated again at Carnival 2002 could provide a valuable resource for safety planning by the stakeholders. In relation to crowd management measures such as policing and stewarding, the evidence could be used to help inform the Carnival’s future and long-term strategy.

**A Role for the Health and Safety Executive?**

2.100 The dispersed nature of the powers and public safety responsibilities for the Notting Hill Carnival are such that the current legislative framework is inappropriate to deal with major public street events. The Health and Safety Executive (HSE) has responsibilities and duties pursuant to Health and Safety at Work Act etc 1974 (HSW Act), except where such responsibilities have been transferred from the HSE to local authorities. The enforcement responsibilities for health and safety legislation are determined on the basis of “main activity”. Where the main activity is a leisure activity, and this includes music events such as the Notting Hill Carnival, it is the responsibility of each local authority to enforce the health and safety legislation, unless the event is organised by the local authority in which case enforcement will be undertaken by the HSE.

2.101 The Carnival Public Safety Matrix set out in this report provides some indication of the level of involvement of the local authorities in planning for and delivering the Notting Hill Carnival. In view of this, some consideration should to be given to the extent to which the HSE should also bear some overall responsibility for the public safety issues associated with this event. Whilst it may be suggested that the duties and powers under the HSW Act have no application to the organisation of an event such as the Notting Hill Carnival on the grounds that it is an entertainment rather than a working environment, the Carnival Review Group were of the view that such an argument would be misconceived. Section 3 of the 1974 Act imposes a duty on every employer and every self-employed person to conduct their undertakings in such a way as to ensure so far as is reasonably practicable, that persons not in their employment who may be affected are not exposed to risks to their health or safety. This would certainly apply to NHCT and it may also extend to local authorities exercising their powers in relation to the Carnival, as well as to the myriad of other employers and contractors involved in the event.

2.102 In addition to the Event Safety Guide, the HSE also publishes the crowd management guidance document, ‘Managing Crowds Safely’\(^70\). Taken together, both these publications provide considerable advice and guidance to organisers of events such as pop concerts etc and are therefore applicable to events such as the Notting Hill Carnival. The advice contained within them should be regarded as the minimum standards to be adopted by reasonable event organisers and those involved in the Notting Hill Carnival, since they will be evidence of good practice that a reasonable event organiser ought to adopt. The Review Group noted that the only Carnival arena that had endeavoured to develop a public safety strategy or code of best practice for its members and its specific performance requirements had been the Caribbean Music Association (CMA)\(^71\). The potential therefore, of bringing together the work of the CMA, the Carnival Public Safety Project and the risk assessment/public safety issues of the other Carnival disciplines to produce a global public safety code of best practice for the Notting Hill Carnival was not only in existence, but also of paramount importance for future development and safety of the event. Such a document would provide the basis for future risk assessment strategies, monitoring and training for the Carnival organiser and the Carnival

\(^70\) HSG154, Second Ed, 2000

\(^71\) ‘On de Road’ Roy McEwen, Caribbean Music Association. See para 1.56 supra
arenas – the two key stakeholder groups identified by the public safety matrix as being most in need of support and capacity-building in this regard.

Future Growth: The Need for Continuous Monitoring and Prediction

2.103 The Carnival Public Safety Project was successful in providing a greater understanding of crowd behaviour, build-up and dispersal at the Notting Hill Carnival. Without doubt, it was because of the Mayor’s strategic review and the Safety Project that some change to the Carnival route was initiated in 2002 and this is a significant step forward from the LSE workshops that were conducted in 1998. Although a number of changes have now been introduced into the Carnival planning process such as the ‘Gold Task Group’, the Review Group were in agreement with the conclusions drawn by the LSE study, namely that “the stability that seems to arise from the incremental nature of the Carnival’s planning process does present a severe difficulty: a lack of attention to the need to plan in strategic ways for future developments.”

2.104 The Safety Project recommended that the Carnival stakeholders continue to monitor crowding at Carnival by using quantitative observation surveys in future years and the Review Group were in agreement with this. Given that visitor numbers cannot be controlled at a free and open event such as the Notting Hill Carnival, monitoring the crowd carefully would be one of the most useful sources of strategic information for safety planning. If attendance numbers were to increase, as they have tended to do over the last ten years, monitoring would prepare stakeholders for the risks associated with such higher numbers. The Review Group concluded that the weakness of the current decision-making and planning process lay in its failure to plan for the Carnival’s growth. In predicting the future growth of the Carnival, the Safety Project, as a preliminary guide, offered three possible growth trends:

a) Growth at the rate experienced in the early 1990’s (high 20 per cent).

b) Growth at the same rate as the increase from 2001 to 2002 for both days of the Carnival (medium, 15 per cent).

c) Growth at the rate of increase from 2001 to 2002 on the Carnival Monday (low, 5 per cent).

2.105 Setting aside the possibility of inclement weather and the suspension of major transport networks, if the Carnival were to grow at an annual rate of 5 per cent per year, attendance would reach one million visitors by 2006. Faster growth could see the Carnival becoming larger than ever before within the next five years.

Figure (16): Growth Potential at 2001-2002 Rate of Increase
Independent Strategic Co-ordination of Public Safety

2.106 It is clear that some intervention is now needed to ensure that political interests or concerns do not undermine the primacy of public safety. In public safety terms, the Carnival, whilst being a unique community-based cultural event, has developed to a scale that now far exceeds the capacity of the NHCT to manage it. As has already been shown, the ownership and responsibility for public safety and the discharge of this responsibility is not only a complex issue, but also does not rest solely with any single organisation. Although this unique situation was acknowledged with the creation of the Carnival Safety Liaison Group (which was chaired by the NHCT) and its successor, the Carnival Operational Safety Planning Group (now chaired by WCC), in times of difficulty and intense scrutiny, the meetings of these safety planning groups have become politically charged and crucial battlegrounds. As currently constituted, the organisation of the Carnival sits outside the normally accepted working arrangements and protocols for public safety when compared with other commercial events on the public highway. It is normal for the event organizer to take responsibility for public safety issues and put controls in place to discharge this obligation. In the realm of major events – those that take place across more than one London borough and those where there is no identifiable event organizer (the New Year’s Eve celebrations being a notable case in point) – the need to establish a single entity that is objective and that has as its sole strategic focus, the public safety implications of the event, has now become of paramount importance.

2.107 When one considers that in general, responsibility for issues specific to London are more often than not shared across a range of different organisations and bodies - the Association for London Government (ALG), Government Office for London (GOL), central Government in the form of the Home Office and the Greater London Authority (GLA) for example - it is perhaps not surprising that major public street events, such as the Notting Hill Carnival or the spontaneous New Year’s Eve celebrations should present such complex public safety accountability and responsibility issues. In addition to having a Mayor of London, the capital also has a Minister for London, a Lord Mayor of London and in some instances, the Home Secretary also plays a role. In looking at the ALG, GOL and GLA in more detail, the Review Group found the following:

2.107.1 Association for London Government (ALG): the Association of London Government (ALG) was formed in April 2000 from a merger of the five borough-funded London-
wide bodies that remained outside of the Greater London Authority. Run by a multi-party committee, comprising all the borough leaders, the ALG represents all 33 London councils including the Corporation of London, as well as the Metropolitan Police Authority and the London Fire and Emergency Planning Authority. It is the local authority in each borough that is responsible for delivering most of the day-to-day services across the capital. These services include education, housing, roads, planning, libraries and street cleaning services. Through its grants committee, the ALG also distributes nearly £30 million a year in grants to cross-London voluntary groups and acts as the voice of local government in London. In terms of its role, the ALG has described itself as a “part think-tank, part lobbying organisation and part service provider.”73 Other stated main functions include: providing a single voice for member local authorities; lobbying for more resources and the best deal for the capital; leading the debate on key issues affecting Londoners; providing a number of London-wide transport and traffic services; acting as the employers’ organisation for the boroughs; and providing specialist housing advice and analysis on behalf of 22 boroughs which pay an additional subscription.

2.107.2 Government Office for London (GOL): created in 1994 as part of a system of regional government offices throughout the country, The Government Office for London works with partner organizations throughout London, acting as a bridge between Whitehall and the London community, to deliver policies on behalf of the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Department of Transport, the Department for Education and Skills (DFES), the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), the Home Office, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs and the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP). GOL is also the home of the London Resilience Team, which works to ensure that the emergency plans and procedures of London organizations vital to keeping the capital running fit together effectively and can stand up to different scales and types of threat. The team supports the London Resilience Committee, whose members are made up of representatives from the following agencies: Metropolitan Police Service; British Transport Police; City of London Police; London Fire Brigade; London Ambulance Service; National Health Service; Mayor and the Greater London Authority; Association of London Government; Corporation of the City of London, Emergency Planning Department; London Underground; Thames Water; British Telecom and the London Fire & Emergency Planning Authority.

2.107.3 Mayor of London and the Greater London Authority: the Greater London Authority came into existence in July 2000. It is a unique form of strategic government for London, made up of a directly elected Mayor and a separately elected Assembly. In terms of structure, there is a clear separation of powers between the Mayor – who has an executive role, setting an overall vision for London and defining clear strategies – and the Assembly, which has a scrutiny role. Under the Greater London Authority Act 1999, the Mayor has a strategic role over transport, planning, environmental issues, public health and economic development, with a duty to develop strategies on air quality, bio-diversity, culture and tourism, economic development, transport, waste and a spatial development strategy to set the overall

framework for land use and development. He also has powers over transport and economic development through two executive bodies, Transport for London and the London Development Agency. A new Metropolitan Police Authority and London Fire and Emergency Planning Authority were also set up to oversee the Metropolitan Police and fire services, respectively. The Mayor appoints members of the Assembly and others to sit on the boards of all four bodies.

Central Government Intervention

2.108 The Review Group found that either one of these organisations could potentially play a strategic role in co-ordinating and assuming responsibility for the public safety aspects of major and/or strategic cross-borough events in London, if properly funded and given the statutory powers to carry out such a role. Although to date, the ALG’s involvement in the Notting Hill Carnival had been purely through its grants and funding committee, there was evidence to suggest that GOL had initially identified a role for itself when it convened an Interdepartmental Working Group on the Notting Hill Carnival in the spring of 2000. This working group, comprising of representatives from GOL, the Home Office and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) had engaged in discussions within the context of Carnivals up to and including the 1999 Carnival. Whilst it did not produce any substantial material or a detailed report, it did reach the following conclusions:

2.108.1 the Home Office remained concerned about attendance levels at the Carnival. It concluded that if the levels continued to grow at the current rate, the sheer volume of people would exceed the ability of the police to manage the crowds, leading to public order problems;

2.108.2 at the time, no relevant Government grant programmes had been identified apart from the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB); and

2.108.3 although parallels could be drawn with the Millennium Celebration and the New Year’s Day Parade, the group identified what they believed to be significant differences: the Millennium event was recognized by the group as a national event organized through the London Readiness Team. The New Year’s Day Parade had been attended by 1.5 million people and had been self-financing with total private backing.

2.109 In its interim report, the Review Group had expressed its firm view that the Notting Hill Carnival - now an event of major national and international significance - required central Government support in the areas of i) public safety and policing and ii) cultural and artistic content. Its recommendations had been directed towards the Home Office, DCMS and the Department for Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR). Following the publication of the interim report and a meeting between the GLA and GOL, the message that appeared to be emanating from the latter was the view that it would be taking a step back given the establishment of the GLA as London’s new strategic body.

Sharing Best Practice Globally

2.110  The Notting Hill Carnival is one of the biggest urban festivals in the world. It not only has global significance culturally but also generates some unusual and complex problems for the Stakeholders to resolve, particularly relating to the scale of the crowd. In crowding terms, some useful comparisons can be made, not so much with music concerts but rather with other world events that can attract over a million visitors, such as the Berlin Love Parade and the Rio Carnival. The planning of Carnival could gain from an exchange of best practice expertise with Stakeholders from other world events of a similar scale. There would be a mutual benefit for all event Stakeholders of sharing their hard-won experience on tackling events of this unusual scale, both in terms of safety but also for broader issues such as logistics and funding mechanisms. One way to begin sharing more information would be for the Mayor to organise a conference on managing world events and to invite Stakeholders from comparable events to make presentations about their work. In the longer term, it may be possible for this international exchange of experience about best practice to be codified in a guidance document. In this way, the Design Guidance used by the Carnival Stakeholders could be the start of a much broader Design Guidance for Urban World Events, bringing in the expertise of many other international experts. The Guidance could help all the Stakeholders to manage the safe enjoyment by so many visitors of great cultural achievements like the Notting Hill Carnival.
Carnival Management & Leadership

Introduction


Notting Hill Carnival Trust

A Question of Governance
Part III: Carnival Management and Leadership

Summary

The folklore of the Notting Hill Carnival suggests that it ‘just happens’ and that it is an ‘unplanned’ event. This is not however, entirely correct. The series of activities and tasks undertaken in the lead up to the August Bank Holiday weekend are the result of months of detailed planning and organising by the Carnival performers and organisers. A community-based management committee of one kind or another has, from the very outset, always overseen the Notting Hill Carnival. Over the years, these committees have been responsible for the planning and co-ordination of the event, undergoing as many transformations as the Carnival itself. This section:

• Charts the recent management history of the Notting Hill Carnival, from the mid-1980s to the present day. It explains the various changes in leadership that have taken place, providing the background and context to establishment of the present organisation, London Notting Hill Carnival Ltd (LNHCL);

• Revisits the conclusions and recommendations of two major reports into the administration of the Carnival, the Coopers & Lybrand Report in 1988 and the end-of-funding review conducted by the Arts Council in 2001; and

• Discusses the limitations of the community-based management, leadership and structure of successive Carnival organisations. The section also argues for greater accountability and democratic ownership of the Notting Hill Carnival by the wider carnival constituency.

Recommendations

18. The nature and complexity of the Notting Hill Carnival make the need for effective management and leadership vital for a successful and safe event. Its absence poses a serious threat to public safety and we believe that the weakness of the community-based management and leadership structure surrounding the Carnival is linked to years of underinvestment in the administration of the Carnival as a whole. Whilst we welcome and recognise the establishment of London Notting Hill Carnival Ltd (LNHCL) and the Executive Committee of the Carnival Arenas (ECCA) as significant developments that have succeeded in engendering a greater level of community accountability for and ownership of the event, we are firmly of the view that significant investment and capacity-building is required in order to ensure that the problems experienced by previous Carnival organisations are not repeated in the future. We recommend that:

(a) a Carnival management and leadership development programme is established, the completion of which should be mandatory for all serving and prospective board members;

(b) individual board membership of LNHCL should be limited to a maximum term of four years;

(c) membership of the LNHCL board should be broadened to include residents, young people, carnival-related businesses and education and heritage practitioners; and

(d) independent legal, finance, management, public safety, business and marketing experience and skills must always be present on the board.
19. A clear distinction must be drawn between the long-term development of London’s carnival industry on the one hand and the event planning, management and delivery of the Notting Hill Carnival on the other, since they are two separate but nevertheless complementary and important roles. The first involves the overall strategic development and direction of the carnival industry within the context of London’s creative industry sector. The second involves the event management, administration, logistical arrangements, operational planning and public safety aspects of the Notting Hill Carnival as a major event. In our view, the former role can only be satisfied through the creation of a London Carnival Development Strategic Forum whose membership would comprise of representatives from the LDA, Arts Council, Recycle for London (RfL), GOL, DCMS and Visit London, together with representatives from the carnival arts, businesses, education and heritage sectors and creative industry professionals. The latter role will require a greater level of investment in LNHCL in order to enable it to either outsource the event management function entirely or employ a professional full-time events team.
Introduction

3.1 The folklore of the Notting Hill Carnival suggests that it ‘just happens’ and that it is an ‘unplanned’ event. This is not however, entirely correct. The series of activities and tasks undertaken in the lead up to the August Bank Holiday weekend are the result of months of detailed planning and organising by the Carnival performers and organisers. A community-based management committee of one kind or another has, from the very outset, always overseen the Notting Hill Carnival. Over the years, these committees have been responsible for the planning and co-ordination of the event, undergoing as many transformations as the Carnival itself.

3.2 History has a tendency to repeat itself when issues about the Notting Hill Carnival are placed under intense scrutiny. As far back as 1981, the Arts Council of England warned Carnival organisers that it’s funding would cease unless a proper organising committee was established and the management of the Carnival improved. In an attempt to facilitate the process, the Arts Council commissioned a study to investigate the feasibility of setting up a new management structure for Carnival planning and administration. In 1988, a management review conducted by the consultants Coopers and Lybrand, criticised members of the Carnival Arts Committee (CAC) for acting as though they ‘owned’ the Carnival, ignoring the wishes of its own constituency, failing to properly manage the event’s finances and lacking the ability to identify or take advantage of opportunities to ensure the Carnival’s development.

3.3 The response to the Coopers and Lybrand Report was overwhelmingly in favour of change. In an article in The Guardian Newspaper, John Wheeler, the then Member of Parliament for Westminster North argued that the size of the Notting Hill Carnival had now outstripped the competence of its local organisers. The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) called for the report to be made public whilst in a letter to The Times Newspaper, David Williams, chair of the London Borough Grants Committee endorsed the report and its recommendations for improving the management of the event. Media coverage at the time also questioned the future of the Carnival as the report’s findings sparked a ‘power struggle’ within CAC. Its chair, Alex Pascall, although narrowly surviving an attempt to unseat him, later succumbed to a vote of no confidence. The following year, Claire Holder, a local barrister, was elected as chair of CAC, succeeding Pascall who had decided not to seek re-election. CAC members later voted to go into voluntary liquidation and Holder was instrumental in establishing the organisation’s successor, the Carnival Enterprise Committee Ltd (CEC).

3.4 Two years after the publication of the Coopers and Lybrand report, the Carnival organisers were again headline news with the resignation of Colin Francis, the vice chair of CEC. Francis, a civil servant and a former leader of the North Kensington Task Force, criticised CEC board members for lacking the relevant management skills and financial experience necessary to organise the Carnival, which he described as being run like a ‘poor voluntary organisation’.

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76 The Guardian Newspaper 17 August 1988, p2
77 The Times Newspaper, 05 August 1988, p13.
78 City Limits 23 August 1990, pp8-12.

3.5 The first ever review of the management structure of Carnival was carried out by the management accountancy firm Coopers & Lybrand in 1988. At that time the Notting Hill Carnival and Arts Committee Ltd (CAC), a company established in 1984, was the Carnival organiser. Prior to this, the Carnival had been run by a voluntary organisation with a management committee. CAC had a board of directors who were duly elected by the membership of the organisation. The report made a number of critical observations in relation to the structure of CAC, most notably:

3.5.1 The absence of a full complement of staff had placed the board of directors in a peculiar executive role, resulting in diffused and unclear lines of responsibility with no formal reporting relationship between the staff and the board. The report found that board members were actively participating in the day-to-day management of the company in the run-up to the Carnival.

3.5.2 Board membership, although made up of dedicated individuals had not been structured to take on board specialists with specific skills that would assist the organisation to formulate policy or strategy. There appeared to be no evidence of board members being selected on the basis of the relevant skills they could offer as well as their commitment to serve in a voluntary capacity.

3.5.3 The carnival constituency appeared to have no formal representation on the board.

3.6 Interviews with key stakeholders revealed that many doubted the CAC board’s ability to manage the organisation. Reasons given related to professional capabilities, historical relationships with funding organisations, unsatisfactory board appointments and restrictions on community involvement in the planning process. In addition, the CAC board had, in the preceding two years, received qualified accounts pointing to an absence of proper and effective financial and accounting policies and procedures. The organisation had never employed more than three members of staff who, in conjunction with the voluntary and full time participation of the treasurer, secretary and the rest of the board arranged all Carnival events. Moreover, there were no formal reporting mechanisms by which the board could monitor the organisation’s financial status, operational activities or policy objectives.

3.7 The Coopers report pointed to Carnival’s changing situation, namely that the event had evolved from being a small Caribbean event into a “truly Black British” event. The report argued that as the Carnival continued to grow, the influence of its British environment would continue to increase also, with a greater participation in the Carnival of a wider, more diverse cultural and ethnic base. Having developed a character all of its own, the implications of such growth were identified as being:

3.7.1 the current ‘ownership’ attitude towards the Carnival by the organisers would, the report argued, have to adjust as community participation increased and a stronger influence over the event was sought.

3.7.2 the membership of the Carnival organisation would have to increase to accommodate this wider participation. The report argued that the organisation would have to recognise and accept this as a necessary process in the growth of any community group.
3.7.3 representation in the management of the organisation would have to reflect this wider membership. Support for the organisation would therefore benefit from on the strength of a wider community base.

3.7.4 the public (residents in particular) had a right to some influence over the management of an event that was increasingly touching aspects of their lives and environment.

3.7.5 over the years, the type of management structure running the Carnival had not changed, and yet so much around it had: the number of spectators; the international recognition and attraction and sheer size of the event.

3.7.6 the urgent need to increase the skills base and expertise required to organise large-scale events, manage the finances, communicate and negotiate at strategic levels were all elements of the quality of professionalism that was identified as being critical to Carnival’s future survival and success.

3.8 The Coopers & Lybrand Report was clear in its warning that if the size of the Carnival continued to grow, then the CAC had a duty to ensure that its growth and development as an organisation in terms of income, staffing and range of activities was commensurate to the Carnival’s growth. The report therefore concluded that the CAC structure did not properly represent all the various groups or individuals who contributed to the Carnival’s success or were affected by its existence. The report’s recommendations were offered with a view to achieving five key objectives:

- ensuring that the CAC was controlled by and representative of the local African Caribbean community;
- securing support from the whole local community for the Carnival;
- ensuring that the Carnival was professionally managed;
- providing the means of accountability to the community, funders and the public; and
- providing the means for the continued growth and development of the organisation and its activities in line with its main objectives.

3.9 To achieve these key objectives, the Coopers and Lybrand report recommended the registration of CAC as a charitable trust and the introduction of a three-tier management structure comprising of a board of trustees, specialist sub-committees and executive management staff for the administration of CAC and the Notting Hill Carnival. This proposed new structure was designed to ensure that no one person or group dominated the organisation; the organisation had stability and continuity; the membership was aware of what was going on; new ideas could be introduced; and the Carnival was professionally organised and managed.

3.10 The new CAC executive management structure was to be implemented over a three-year period, with the assumption that the development of the Carnival would increase the range of responsibilities and workload over that period. The Coopers and Lybrand report proposed a three-phased approach to implementation:
Table 10: Three-Year Executive Management Development Strategy for the Carnival Arts Committee

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Staffing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Managing director, finance and administration manager, public relations manager and secretary/receptionist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Bookkeeper and clerical assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Operations manager</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.11 It was felt that the duties of the operational manager could be shared between the managing director and the public relations manager during phase one and two until the workload justified the recruitment of a new executive. The report took the view that phase three would represent the total complement of the full time staff required for CAC.

**Strategy for Organisational Development**

3.12 The Coopers and Lybrand report proposed a three-year development strategy for CAC, which included:

- the dissolution of the CAC board and the establishment of an independent caretaker group;
- the creation of a new corporate structure by CAC members and the election of trustees;
- the appointment of a new management team with a mandate to run the administrative, financial, business and operational aspects of the organisation;
- the formulation of a development strategy by the new board of trustees and the establishment of formal policies and procedures for the implementation of such a strategy;
- the creation and implementation of sound administrative and financial systems;
- the development of a realistic fundraising strategy, which identified new sources of finance, either through direct grant aid or the commercial exploitation of Carnival to the benefit of the proposed new organisation;
- the creation of formal links with all persons or organisations involved in the preparation, participation, funding and commercial partnership arrangements of Carnival; and
- in conjunction with public agencies, the establishment of procedures and formalities for the logistics of holding and managing the street Carnival event. These were to be formalised and documented, assigning responsibilities where appropriate.

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79 Coopers and Lybrand Report, 1988
3.13 These recommendations were geared towards the attainment of the Carnival’s total financial independence and the longer-term objective of generating enough income to finance specific projects that would support the development of the carnival arts and education. The Coopers and Lybrand report came with the proviso that the Notting Hill Carnival would never amount to much unless there was a will within the carnival community and leadership to change.

**The Notting Hill Carnival Trust**

3.14 Following the Coopers and Lybrand, the Carnival Enterprise Committee (CEC) was established up in 1989 to succeed CAC. The new organisation concerned itself mainly with maintaining stability, credibility and continuity. In the 1990s, the Carnival witnessed a steady growth in both visitors and participants over a ten-year period. In 1993, another organisation, the Notting Hill Carnival Ltd, was established to take over from the CEC and in 1997 in an effort to secure sponsorship and attract other funding possibilities, the organisation obtained charitable status in 1997, and was renamed the Notting Hill Carnival Trust (NHCT).

3.15 NHCT operated as the organiser of the Notting Hill Carnival until March 2002. During that time, it employed three full-time staff – a chief executive, a finance director and an administrator – who were supported by four temporary staff engaged on from May to September each year to fulfil the roles of press, public relations and marketing, route management and stewarding, street trading and operations. Claire Holder, the organisation’s chief executive, had managed the organisation unpaid for eight years from 1989 to 1997, until it secured a three-year sponsorship deal.

3.16 In assessing the effectiveness of NHCT, the Coopers and Lybrand report serves as an important benchmarking tool against which to measure progress. The report had rightly anticipated the Carnival’s future growth and almost fourteen years after its publication, the Review Group found that in line with its recommendations, the community-based management structure delivering the Carnival had successfully re-constituted itself as a charitable trust with a board of trustees who were elected by members of the carnival community. The latter were referred to as ‘members in waiting’. The employment of three full-time staff, though a partial implementation of the proposed executive management structure, was an extremely positive development and contributed significantly to ensuring stability and continuity. The introduction of an annual ‘Carnival Management and Development Seminar’ also served to provide trustees and staff with an opportunity to reflect on past performance, engage in strategic and business planning activities and create a forum within which to review Carnival-related issues with the main statutory agencies. Between 1997 and 2000, the positive work of both trustees and staff yielded considerable benefits and this is reflected in the growth in the Carnival’s popularity, increase in visitor numbers and NHCT’s success in raising public and private sponsorship.

3.17 There is no doubt that the Notting Hill Carnival experienced major improvements under the management of NHCT. The Review Group however, also identified a number of limitations, which continued to persist despite the strong recommendations of the Coopers and Lybrand report. The expansion of the board to include representation from residents had not been implemented and no progress had been made on report’s advice to increase the range of board competencies and skills. The partial implementation of the three-tier executive management structure, together with the limitations at board level meant that the chief executive shouldered a great deal of the responsibility for managing the organisation and delivering a major event.
3.18 In line with its practice of conducting ‘health-checks’ on organisations in receipt of its grants administered under its funding programme, the Arts Council undertook a review of NHCT in 2001. The review was extremely timely in that it was undertaken after the publication of the Carnival Review Group’s interim report and was designed to coincide with the ending of the Arts Council’s three-year funding agreement with NHCT. The 2001 assessment was the first time that NHCT had been reviewed by the arts funding system.

3.19 The Arts Council review acknowledged that NHCT had gone as far as it could within its current organisational structure and that years of under funding had placed severe restrictions on the organisation’s ability to plan systematically or ambitiously for its long-term future. Limited resources meant that it struggled year on year to attract commercial sponsorship and this had resulted in the employment of short-term survival tactics in an attempt to please a diverse array of stakeholders, all with differing and competing interests.

Artistic Policy and Programming

3.20 In terms of programming, the Arts Council found NHCT’s artistic policy statement to be lacking in inspiration and ‘negative and reactive in tone’\(^80\). Despite this, the organisation had been able to describe its core arts activities as being:

- the provision of an inclusive platform/environment for the expression of freedom and creativity, i.e. facilitating the art of the Carnival, including the event management of the pre-Carnival activities;
- the servicing and co-ordination of the Carnival disciplines; and
- the wider dissemination of the carnival arts through the implementation of a carnival ‘road show’ and the development of an educational brief.

3.21 At the time, the artistic programme was initiated by NHCT in liaison with the artistic arenas. The Arts Council review felt that this programme and approach was predominantly reactive to participant, audience and promoter needs rather than being proactive and that this was possibly due to the organisation’s financial constraints and a lack of overall artistic vision. The report concluded that insufficient artistic development had occurred during the three years of Arts Council funding and a much more robust and proactive approach was now needed. Further, the report stressed that the Notting Hill Carnival as an event had now grown to the point where it ‘required artistic shaping’\(^81\). Some fundamental principles were proposed:

- making Children’s Day exclusively a family day;
- introducing a J’Ouvert on the Sunday morning following the Panorama;
- designating parts of the Carnival route as being solely for participants and not for spectators;

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\(^{80}\) London Arts: “Review of the Notting Hill Carnival Trust” (2001), para.5.1.1, p.5

\(^{81}\) Para. 5.3.1, p.7
• providing a smaller circuit for the smaller community bands or those with special needs;

• increasing live music-making on the Carnival route;

• introducing a ‘road march’ competition and encouraging new cultural groups to take part in the pre-Carnival activities and/or the procession.

3.22 It was clear that the Carnival arenas were looking to NHCT for leadership in the area of artistic development, but the review felt that although the trustees had considered developing criteria for participation, it was “too caught up in the daily fire fighting to develop this vision”. Thus, the artistic development of the Carnival arenas, as distinct from the shaping of the whole event was something the Arts Council review concluded should remain the responsibility of the arenas. The report suggested that where possible, the arenas should be strengthened and given financial independence from NHCT. The long-term aim would be for NHCT to house the independent arenas under its roof, acting as an umbrella organisation.

Board Management and Personnel

3.23 The Arts Council report acknowledged a pressing need for NHCT to clarify the division of responsibilities between the board of trustees and the chief executive. It also identified a reluctance or inability on the part of the board, to self-appraise or acknowledge the existence of any internal weaknesses within the organisation. The review commented that the trustees would benefit from a number of away-days, the implementation of a training needs analysis for all staff and board members and the introduction of an appraisal system, which would help the organisation to move forward.

Key Recommendations

3.24 The Arts Council’s central recommendations included:

3.24.1 a re-defining and re-focusing of NHCT’s role to that of a co-ordinating agency, taking responsibility for the overall artistic shaping of the Notting Hill Carnival, and providing a vital service to the Carnival disciplines by facilitating the event and the pre-Carnival activities (such as the Panorama and the Costume Gala). It was felt that the redefinition of NHCT’s role as a service provider as opposed to a commercially-driven business would increase the Trust’s potential;

3.24.2 a complete review by the board of its mission statement and its short, medium and long-term aims, objectives and priorities, with a view to producing a three-year strategy for development of the organisation;

3.24.3 a review of the board’s relationship with all the disciplines with a view to ensuring that all were appropriately represented on the Board;

3.24.4 the urgent need to develop a strong and independent board, with serious consideration being given to the role of Chair, the most appropriate way to fill this position and the appropriate length of tenure; and

3.24.5 the regularisation of all staff positions as part of a programme of increased professionalism. This regularisation would include the review of the Chief Executive’s
job description and progression Arts Council review recommended that an appraisal system be put into place for permanent members of staff and that a skills audit and training needs analysis be carried out with the Board and permanent staff with a view to drawing up an appropriate training plan.

**A Question of Governance**

3.25 In September 2001, a management and leadership dispute within NHCT resulted in the “members-in-waiting” passing a vote of ‘no confidence’ in four of the trustees. These trustees were later removed from the board and new trustees elected to replace them. The dispute was played out in the media with press coverage painting a picture of a Notting Hill Carnival that was in disarray.

3.26 In response to these developments and on behalf of the Carnival Funders’ Group, the Arts Council carried out an independent assessment of NHCT’s internal governance structures and procedures. The resulting report revealed that since the category of “members in waiting” had not been provided for in the organisation’s constitution, those who had been designated as such had no legal right to participate in NHCT’s affairs. This meant that no formal or legitimate mechanism had been established through which the organisation could be linked to its ‘constituency’. The report also concluded that the governance of the organisation to fall into disrepair and there appeared to have been a lack of due process in the way in which trustees had been appointed and removed.

3.27 The level of uncertainty about who the rightful trustees of NHCT were, led the Carnival Funders Group to meet with all the parties involved in January 2002 in order to agree a way forward. Whilst all the funding bodies remained committed to supporting the Notting Hill Carnival, they were united in their view about the changes that would be required to instil public trust and confidence in NHCT’s ability to properly address the huge operational planning considerations for a major event that was only seven months away. The uncertainty as to who were the rightful trustees therefore presented the statutory agencies with a major obstacle in public safety, operational planning and event management terms.

3.28 In order to obtain some clarity on the position of the trustees, the Carnival Funders’ Group and the parties involved agreed to seek advice from the Charity Commission of England and Wales. The Commission later confirmed the view of Arts Council’s governance report that the ‘members-in-waiting’ had no legal status and could play no role in the way NHCT was governed. The Commission also provided a view as to who it considered to be the rightful trustees, a view that was accepted by all parties.

3.29 The Carnival Funders Group urged all those involved in the management of the Notting Hill Carnival to work together and “to create by the end of 2002, an organisation that was capable of delivering the Carnival with the full confidence of its participants, its funders and its other stakeholders”. With the support of the Carnival Funders’ Group, the trustees of NHCT agreed to adopt a ‘caretaker’ role and implement a programme of reform designed to restore public trust and confidence in the organisation as a whole. Changes were proposed with a view to establishing an organising body that was transparent, accountable to and truly representative of the carnival constituency and the local community.

3.30 Key elements of the reform programme included:
- an acknowledgement from each trustee of their sole and exclusive responsibility and duty to act in the best interests of NHCT;
- the appointment of independent legal advisors;
- training in board governance for trustees;
- a commitment to keep the Charity Commission fully informed of the board’s actions and where appropriate to seek advice and guidance on any contentious issues;
- taking all necessary steps to secure and protect the assets of NHCT;
- the appointment of an independent chair to oversee and support the trustees throughout the programme of reform; and
- the creation of an interim Carnival Arts Advisory Group (complete with terms of reference), with membership comprising of the elected representatives of the five Carnival Arenas. It was agreed that the trustees would work in partnership with this new group so as to ensure the integral involvement of the Arenas in the event planning and decision-making process for Carnival 2002.

3.31 It is clear that the difficulties experienced by NHCT prior to the Carnival in 2002 had a direct bearing on its ability to satisfy the conditions of funding placed upon them by various funding bodies. The Carnival arenas, wishing to have a stronger voice and influence on the decisions being taken about the Notting Hill Carnival, came together to create a new forum in the shape of the more powerful Executive Committee of the Carnival Arenas (ECCA). In the first few months of 2003, the Carnival arenas and ECCA were consulted and played an important role in shaping the governing documents of a proposed new organisation – London Notting Hill Carnival Ltd (LNHCL), which was established in May 2003. Each of the arenas elected a representative to the board of directors of LNHCL, which assumed the mantle of event organiser for the 2003 Carnival.

3.32 The nature and complexity of the Notting Hill Carnival make the need for effective management and leadership vital for a successful and safe event. Both the Coopers and Lybrand report and the Arts Council review pointed to the need to increase the skills base and expertise of the community-based management structure running the Carnival as an essential requirement for growth. The need for democratic grassroots community ownership of the Notting Hill Carnival as well as proper investment and capacity-building in order to underpin such organisational development and professionalism were also seen as key factors, since its absence had made successive Carnival organisations extremely vulnerable in times of difficulty. The Review Group felt that consultation with the Charity Commission in 2002 had been necessary in order to ensure that the issues of governance that had been raised were adequately addressed and resolved by all parties. Although in some quarters, the funders had been accused of ‘interfering’ and attempting to ‘taking over the Carnival’, such accusations, whilst unfounded, also laid bare the contradictory messages emanating from successive Carnival organisers and some members of the wider carnival constituency. On the one hand, both groups viewed public funding as an essential requirement for sustaining the Notting Hill Carnival.

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82 The board of directors for the Company were democratically elected by the five Carnival Arenas, and verified by the Electoral Reform Society in February 2003.
Carnival – at least in the short to medium term. On the other hand however, there appeared to be the assumption, mistakenly perhaps, that public funding should be provided with ‘no strings’ or conditions attached. The Review Group welcomed the creation of LNHCL, which represented a positive development forward.
The Value of Carnival

Funding Carnival: The Current Status
Carnival as Part of a Wider Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal
Carnival Arts and Education
The Business of Carnival

"The greatest resource possessed by any nation is the imagination of its people. Imagination nourishes invention, economic advantage, scientific discovery, technological advance, better administration, jobs, communities and a more secure society. The arts are the principal trainers of imagination. They can enrich, not replace, the literacy, numeracy, science and technology we need for prosperity" (Smith 1998, p133)
Part IV: The Value of Carnival

Summary

The true value of the Notting Hill Carnival, in social, economic and cultural terms, has received little recognition in the past. Members of the wider carnival arts community have consistently expressed their growing disappointment at the way in which the Notting Hill Carnival has been portrayed in the media and the lack of recognition afforded to them for the cultural and artistic development and educational work that they undertake within schools and their communities. This section:

- Describes the Notting Hill Carnival as a ‘community of interest’ – people linked together by a shared vision and concern. The history of the Carnival clearly demonstrates how, in adverse conditions, a cultural event became a vehicle for community self-help, a movement towards self-sufficiency, empowerment, participation and involvement;

- Offers a definition of the ‘carnival arts’ as emanating from the cultural traditions of Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. It argues that from a variety of perspectives, the carnival arts is extremely valuable in promoting new ideas and multicultural awareness within the classroom and in higher education;

- Provides rich examples of the social, cultural, human and intellectual capital that has always existed within the Notting Hill Carnival and the wider carnival arts industry; and

- Examines the ‘business of Carnival’ and its significant economic contribution and potential. It argues for a fairer assessment of an event that generated £93 million in 2002 and offers an analysis of how this economic potential can be harnessed to ensure that the Carnival is able to into a truly independent and sustainable festival.

Recommendations

19. There is no doubt that the social and educational value of the Notting Hill Carnival, through its promotion of the carnival art form has been significant. The work of carnival arts-related organisations and groups is demonstrative of the positive contributions that they have been making in the areas of educational enrichment and achievement. This work continues to be overlooked and we therefore believe that a more detailed study should be conducted into the educational potential and benefits of the Carnival Arts, together with the possible linkages that could be made to existing curricular and lifelong learning programmes. Such a study could be funded by the Department for Education and Skills and would include:

(a) a mapping of past and present carnival arts and education initiatives;

(b) researching areas of good practice in the development of carnival and carnival arts in schools; and

(c) an evidence-based approach to the contribution of the carnival arts and carnival education to the development of communication and life skills.

20. The development of Carnival Sunday into a true Children’s Day event would be greatly assisted by the establishment of greater links between educational institutions and carnival arts organisations. Sufficient funding, through the Arts Council or the Department for Education and Skills (DFES), should be made available to the Carnival organisers so as to:
(a) create a new post of Carnival Arts Education Officer with the specific responsibility of liaising with schools, facilitating school-community partnerships and developing Carnival education resources;

(b) establish a Carnival Arts Education Network, which will act as a forum for information exchange, partnership and curriculum development between teachers, academics, carnivalists, museums, libraries, schools, community groups and musicians; and

(c) the possible creation of a London Carnival Schools’ Competition. If the Trinidad model were to be followed, the competition would have several elements, including a school steel band competition, calypso competition and costume band competition. The competitions would need to take place at the end of the summer term preceding the Notting Hill Carnival and would provide an incentive for school-based carnivals, which tend to happen at this time.

21. Notting Hill is and always will be the ‘spiritual’ home of the Carnival. We believe that the Carnival arts movement in London, which has been an inspiration for many and shared their expertise to support the emergence of other Caribbean-influenced carnivals – both nationally and internationally –, now deserves a permanent home within Notting Hill. We are strongly in favour of the creation of a dedicated Centre for Carnival Arts and Enterprise that will, amongst other things, serve as a ‘Centre of Excellence’ for the development, promotion and teaching of the Carnival arts and Carnival arts management. We recommend that the development and delivery of this major initiative be placed on the agenda of the Mayor’s strategic forum [see recommendation 24].

22. Whilst we recognise the importance of the Carnival Funders’ Group as a forum for key funding organisations to exchange information and assess the funding priorities of the Notting Hill Carnival, we believe that greater importance must be placed on the long-term funding requirements of the event and the Carnival industry. It is our recommendation that the Mayor establish a high-level strategic forum to prioritise and co-ordinate the Carnival’s long-term sustainability and economic independence. Membership of this forum should, in the first instance, comprise of representatives of the LDA, ACE, GLA, GOL, DCMS, LRF and Visit London.

23. Discussions about the Notting Hill Carnival have overwhelmingly focused on issues of public safety and the cost of the event. We believe that the LDA’s assessment of the Carnival’s economic contribution and future growth potential now provides us with an opportunity to balance these discussions and achieve a more equitable cost-benefit analysis of what the Carnival has to offer as a key vehicle for social and economic regeneration. As a seminal piece of research we welcome the report and its recommendations. Further, we strongly recommend that the LDA utilise the report and its findings to devise and implement a 4-year Carnival Economic Development Strategy so as to ensure that the Carnival community truly benefits from the money it generates.

24. The Notting Hill Carnival has and continues to be an important vehicle for the promotion of black music, the development of live music audiences and the showcasing of London’s creative and artistic talent. The mobile and static sound system DJs are the key drivers in this regard, since they are primarily responsible for determining the type and style of music played and promoted within the Carnival entertainment area. We strongly believe that positive action must be taken to harness the Carnival’s unique potential. It is therefore our recommendation that a Carnival music policy and strategy be developed and implemented with a view to:
(a) increasing the amount of live music performances at the Carnival;

(b) ensuring that Caribbean and African music remains at the heart of the Carnival’s music programming strategy;

(c) introducing agreed music playlists within the Carnival entertainment area;

(d) developing commercially viable Carnival-related music products and services; and

(e) cultivating new audiences for traditional Caribbean and African music.

25. We would like to see a greater level of partnership between the Notting Hill Carnival and the Caribbean food and drink industry. The former has been instrumental in promoting the latter, the value and potential growth of which should not be underestimated. We believe that significant opportunities and synergies exist to not only strengthen the Carnival’s economic base through branding and sponsorship, but also increase the quality and professionalism of the food and beverage offered. We therefore recommend the development and implementation of a Caribbean Food and Drink Strategy for the Carnival which:

(a) encourages the development of mutually beneficial strategic partnerships between such organisations as the Caribbean Cuisine Consortium and the Carnival;

(b) ensures that 100 per cent of the income from stall license fees is handed over to the Carnival organisers; and

(c) explores the possibility of the local authorities working with the Carnival organisers to consider the establishment of a limited number of alcohol sites which would be a significant source of revenue for the Carnival and could cover the costs associated with providing toilets.
Carnival as Part of a Wider Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal

Carnival and Regeneration

4.1 The Notting Hill Carnival represents a ‘community of interest’ - people linked together by a shared vision and concern. The history of Carnival is a clear demonstration of how, in adverse conditions, a cultural event became a vehicle for community self-help, a movement towards self-sufficiency, empowerment, participation and involvement. The Home Office’s Active Community Unit has recognised the benefits of such communities of interest83 and has argued that the economic value of these benefits can be measured - the value of volunteering activity undertaken within the costume bands or the money which Carnival bands bring into the locality through grant applications and fundraising - are all examples of quantifiable benefits. Active self-help is one of the common pre-conditions for sustained regeneration. Less easily measurable are the changes in attitude that self-help brings. Organising mutual support increases people’s self confidence and their belief that they can affect the circumstances of their own lives. It can also act as a stepping-stone to more formal links with wider society.

4.2 One example of a self-help initiative developed by the Notting Hill Carnival which was linked to a wider society agenda and policy was the Carnival Industrial Projects (CIP). Operating between 1982 and 1987, CIP provided some of the first Carnival-centred vocational workshops in the country. Based West London, the project was part of the government’s Youth Training Scheme84. Managed by Victor Critchlowe, the chairman of the Caribbean Music Association, students attended classes on a daily basis. The training programme consisted of a series of workshops designed to teach young people about all aspects of the Carnival and specific carnival skills. Participants were taught silk screen-printing, costume making, wire-bending, welding and steel-pan making. Many of the Project’s graduates are still involved in Carnival today and some have used it as a stepping-stone for further training, educational purposes or business enterprise. One participant went on to establish his own business, the Happy Cobbler, on Goldbourne Road. Twenty years on, workshops with children, young people and adults are now taking place across London.

Carnival and Neighbourhood Renewal

4.3 Historically, neighbourhood renewal programmes have been imposed from the top down with little or no involvement from the communities that were supposed to be the beneficiaries of such programmes. In a 1998 report on neighbourhood renewal85, the Government’s Social Exclusion Unit’s (SEU) argued that the success of such regeneration programmes would greatly depend upon the target communities themselves having the power and taking responsibility to make things better. The Policy Action Team (PAT 10) established by SEU, under the auspices of the Department of Culture Media and Sports (DCMS) to examine how to maximise the contribution and impact of arts, sports and leisure on neighbourhood regeneration, recognised the beneficial social outcomes:

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84 The Youth Training Scheme (YTS) was seen as a bridge between school and work and it provided training for young people who were unemployed. CIP therefore developed strong links with the Manpower Services Commission (MSC).
85 ‘Bringing Britain Together: A National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal’ (1998), Social Exclusion Unit
“Arts and sport are inclusive and can contribute to neighbourhood renewal. They can build confidence and encourage strong community groups. However, these benefits are frequently overlooked both by some providers of arts and sport facilities and programmes and by those involved in area regeneration programmes.”

4.4 The PAT 10 report identified the various distinctive contributions which the arts have to offer when tackling the root causes of social exclusion:

4.4.1 Growing industries - arts (and sport): are closely connected to the rapidly growing creative, leisure and tourism industries, which in turn provide powerful positive role models for those living in deprived neighbourhoods; bring economic benefits both to communities, with increased employment opportunities, and to individuals, by equipping them with transferable skills; and help develop the personal confidence, flexibility and self-reliance on which success in the changing employment market increasingly depends.

4.4.2 Engaging and strengthening local communities - (arts and sport): lend themselves naturally to voluntary collaborative arrangements which help to develop a sense of community; help communities to express their identity and develop their own, self-reliant organisations; and relate directly to individual and community identity, the very things which need to be restored if neighbourhoods are to be renewed. Recognising and developing the culture of marginalized people and groups directly tackles their sense of being written out of the script.

4.4.3 Emphasis on people, not buildings or places - (arts and sport): are activities in which people participate willingly, and in which there is widespread interest, including among people at risk of social exclusion; give individuals social, organisational and marketable skills; can communicate directly with individuals and groups and bring out hidden talents which have a lasting effect on the person’s life; give individuals greater self-respect, self-confidence and a sense of achievement; and can contribute to greater self-esteem and improved mental well-being.

4.5 Over the years, the Notting Hill Carnival has proved itself to be a significant vehicle for positive community engagement in the arts. In addition, the impact of this cultural festival has not been confined to Notting Hill or indeed the Capital. Many have been unaware of the major role played by the Carnival organiser and London-based carnival groups in establishing and breathing life into regional carnivals up and down the country. Indeed, a critical feature of the Notting Hill Carnival’s year-round agenda of activities has been its annual national touring programme, made possible through funding from the Arts Council. In 1998, organisers of the Laid and Pond Festival at Stoke-on-Trent appointed experts from the Notting Hill Carnival to help them train people in carnival arts and design.

The Luton Carnival Experiment

4.6 Since the closure of its Vauxhall plant, Luton has resolved to reposition itself. With excellent national and international links via road, rail and air, a culturally diverse population and a university, Luton has much on which to build for the future. The town’s cultural profile is at the heart of its strategies for community revival and it has identified its annual carnival as the asset that it hopes will put it on the international cultural map.

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96 Department of Culture Media and Sport Policy Action Team 10 (PAT 10) Report (1999), p5
4.7 Held annually on the late May bank holiday, the Luton International Carnival is the second-largest street carnival in the UK. It attracts carnivalists from all over the world and draws audiences of over 150,000 to Luton’s streets. The success of the Carnival sits at the heart of Luton’s strategies for regeneration, partly as a way of repositioning the town and celebrating its diverse cultural mix, and partly through the development of a major new centre for Carnival Arts. With £5 million of arts capital committed by the Arts Council of England, the Council and its partners intend, by 2007, to have established the UK’s major centre for the study and practice of Carnival in Luton. The new centre will provide excellent facilities for Carnival artists and its programme of community and outreach work will ensure that communities, especially young people, in Luton, have access to new skills and high quality events.

4.8 Luton Carnival Trust intends to invite carnivalists of international renown to take up residencies in Luton as visiting artists, bringing with them a variety of carnival styles from the Caribbean, Europe, Africa, South America and Asia. Their expertise will contribute to a flowering of artistic content, and local communities and individuals in Luton will have opportunities to learn carnival skills and take part in a range of related activities. The international exchange will work both ways, with opportunities for Luton Carnival artists to work with other international carnivals.

A Permanent Home for Carnival Arts in London

4.9 Notting Hill is regarded by many as the ‘spiritual’ home of the Caribbean-influenced carnival in the UK. Many have argued that there appears to be little or no permanent recognition of the role played by the Carnival and the positive effect that it has had on regenerating the North Kensington area. Rather, every effort is made to ‘clear away’ the presence of the Carnival until such time as the August bank holiday weekend comes around again.

4.10 The need for a permanent home that would act as a vehicle to support the development and showcasing of the carnival arts, create employment, business and marketing opportunities has been discussed within the Carnival community for a number of years, but if the Carnival is to realise its full potential, much more must be done to ensure that the creation of a permanent ‘Centre for Carnival Arts and Enterprise’ within Notting Hill is made a reality. The LDA has already earmarked £4.2 million for such an initiative.

Carnival Arts and Education

Recommendations

18 - There is no doubt that the social and educational value of the Notting Hill Carnival, through its promotion of the carnival art form has been significant. The work of carnival arts-related organisations and groups is demonstrative of the positive contributions that they have been making in the areas of educational enrichment and achievement. This work continues to be overlooked and we therefore believe that a more detailed study should be conducted into the educational potential and benefits of the Carnival Arts, together with the possible linkages that could be made to existing curricular and lifelong learning programmes. Such a study could be funded by the Department of Education and Skills and would include: (a) a mapping of past and present carnival arts and education initiatives; (b) researching areas of good practice in the development of carnival and carnival arts in

schools; and (c) an evidence-based approach to the contribution of carnival arts and carnival education to the development of communication and life skills.

19 - The development of Carnival Sunday into a true Children’s Day event would be greatly assisted by the establishment of greater links between educational institutions and carnival arts organisations. Sufficient funding should be made available to NHCT to: (a) create a new post of Carnival Arts Education Officer with the specific responsibility of liaising with schools, facilitating school-community partnerships and developing Carnival education resources; (b) establish a Carnival Arts Education Network, which will act as a forum for information exchange, partnership and curriculum development between teachers, academics, carnivalists, museums, libraries, schools, community groups and musicians; and (c) the possible creation of a London Carnival Schools’ Competition. If the Trinidad model were followed, the competition would have several elements, including a school steel band competition, calypso competition and costume band competition. The competition would need to take place at the end of the summer term preceding the Notting Hill Carnival and would provide an incentive for school-based carnivals, which tend to happen at this time.

“My response to the critics of carnival across the curriculum is this, they obviously have not experienced carnival, and they are not aware of the complexities that the art form embraces. They are unaware of the need for this type of learning within the British school system and they cannot see how the art form is a real opportunity to be totally inclusive for all children no matter what cultural background they come from.”

4.11 The role of the carnival arts education in schools, colleges and the higher education sector has become a source of much debate since it focuses on multicultural education, Carnival’s place within society, its value as an acceptable topic for study and the need for black history to be recognised. Carnival arts can be described as the study, practice and creative development of specific genres of music, literature, poetry, art, textiles, sculpture and design, which originate from the ancient rhythms, traditions and cultures of Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America. The Notting Hill Carnival and carnival arts offer a wealth of possibilities, which cut across all subject areas and encompass all age ranges. For those interested in academic study, it is possible to theorise about carnival, study carnival aesthetics and relate its significance and growth in historical terms.

4.12 The Notting Hill Carnival is the largest, most complex and significant, as well as spectacular cultural festival in Britain today. In her submissions to the Carnival Review Group, teacher trainer, Celia Burgess-Macey, has argued that work on carnival education within schools and colleges in London has been going on for at least twenty years. This has usually been the result of the enthusiasm of individual Head teachers, teachers and parents with contacts in community-based mas camps and steel bands rather than as part of an official educational or school arts policy. Some schools have successfully developed and implemented a carnival arts education curriculum with a view to preparing their pupils to participate in the Notting Hill Carnival and other local Carnivals:

- In 1986, under a Greater London Council sponsored initiative, ‘Caribbean Focus’, William Patten Primary School in Hackney worked with the Perpetual Beauty Masquerade Band in order to stage a successful street carnival;

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88 Carole Chin, teacher, Stockwell Park Secondary School, South London
• the first year of the Lambeth Schools Carnival Project was funded by the London Arts Board and was the result of a bid from Lambeth Education Department; and

• Black History Month has led to the development of ‘Carnival Arts and Calypso’ organised by ABC.

4.13 The Review Group found that some schools (particularly those in the area of Notting Hill) have a long history of celebrating the Carnival and taking part in the Notting Hill Carnival. The lack of the specific children and schools focus in Notting Hill Carnival has discouraged many others who have preferred to take part in smaller local carnivals. Schools wishing to introduce carnival into their curriculum at present have great difficulty in obtaining the books and resources to support their work, and often do not know where to locate music sources, materials for making masquerade, how to contact artists who will work with children, steel pan teachers and tuners. These practical and organisational difficulties discourage busy teachers from entering into this area. In order to overcome this difficulty teachers in Lambeth produced their own self-help pack of resources with the co-operation and input from experienced carnival artists. The study of carnival is relevant to all subjects of the national curriculum and to the National Literacy strategy. It supports the personal, social and cultural development of children, relates strongly to the newly introduced education for citizenship and contributes to the creation of an inclusive learning experience for all children.

4.14 Museums and art galleries play an increasingly important part in educating children. Both the Museum of London and the Horniman Museum have had exhibitions or installations about carnival. The Horniman Museum has organised carnival arts workshops in the summer holidays as part of their own museum education programme. For the past two years, the Victoria and Albert Museum has staged a carnival event in which mainly children take part. In terms of sustaining these positive initiatives, the Review Group felt that the long-term answer could be the creation of a dedicated space devoted to the carnival arts where costume designs and costumes could be displayed, videos of previous carnivals reviewed, calypso’s listened to and steel pans displayed, together with the history of their invention and development.

The Benefits of Teaching the Carnival Arts in Schools

4.15 Teaching young children about carnival and Carnival Arts can help them develop several key stage skills whilst maintaining and developing their creative interests by incorporating the elements of performance and visual arts into their arts curriculum. The basic skills of design can be applied and children can be encouraged to explore a whole range of activities from drawing (which aids in their co-ordination) to testing outfits to check if they are waterproof and exploring themes.

4.16 For several years, school carnivals have been taking place in parts of London. Indeed, a nursery carnival has taken place every year in Kensington Park, giving children the opportunity to perform and interact in a community setting with parents, teachers and carnival practitioners. School involvement in Carnival Arts provides a unique opportunity to develop positive relationships with creative carnival arts bands and groups. There continue to be plenty of good examples of how Carnival Arts is used within an educational setting and context to engage and develop young children. Year 5 pupils at Loughborough Infants School in South London have learnt about recycling through Carnival Arts, creating a garden and making musical instruments out of waste. Children from Fox Primary School in West London have learnt how to use digital technology for their Carnival Arts project. An Office for
Standards in Education report on Fox Primary, described how its initiatives, including participation in the Notting Hill Carnival, has enriched the school’s life.

4.17 Much has been written about how to address the under achievement rates of black and ethnic minority pupils in the education system. The Mayor of London has hosted several conferences to explore the underachievement of African Caribbean children, particularly young boys. These conferences\(^9\) have revealed that schools still have low expectations of black pupils, many of whom are failing to meet the benchmark of five GCSEs at grades A–C. This is in direct contrast to research, which shows that black children entering the school system at the age of five years have higher levels of attainment than their fellow white counterparts. By the time these children reach 16, they have some of the worst examination results among ethnic groups. Much of this disparity has been attributed to cultural and discriminatory factors including the fact that black males in particular are up to five times more likely to be excluded from school than white males. The educationalist Dr Richard Majors has maintained that teachers may exclude black boys because they do not understand their culture and misinterpret some of their actions.

4.18 In 1996, Professor David Gillborn of the Institute of Education found that three out of four black pupils were excluded from school for their attitude. And yet the importance of education in combating racism and discrimination has been recognised by many. The CRE has stated that “education has a key role to play in eradicating racism and valuing diversity. The government’s acceptance of the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report, published in 1999, reinforces this responsibility for all educational establishments, including those with few or no ethnic minorities.” Carnival arts appear to be an appropriate subject to use to raise the interests of young black children whilst incorporating a multicultural education approach. But in the majority of schools, it is not happening. Reinforced by media portrayals of the Notting Hill Carnival, many teachers continue see Carnival Arts as something which is too closely connected with ‘street or party culture’. In spite of this, those teachers with experience of or an interest in the Carnival Arts believe that it is a viable option in the curriculum and schools that have offered it have proved that one of the most important aspects of the art form is its inclusiveness. Such inclusive practice makes it a good subject for citizenship.

4.19 Young people can be receptive to the Carnival and it is often the case that those who appear to be disinterested in education can participate with surprising results. Research by Dr Viv Golding of Leicester University\(^9\) revealed that a group of disaffected young people improved their GCSE results when they were offered a carnival arts project. It proved to be a way to tackle underachievement especially among black youths. Of the students who participated in the scheme 77 per cent attained grades A–C in their GCSE art examinations. Overall, the students felt that they were participating in something that was relevant and of interest to them. One teacher noted that even the most reluctant students gained some self esteem as a result of taking an active part in the whole process of carnival.

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\(^9\) In 2002, Mayor Livingstone hosted the first ever pan-London conference focusing on the inequalities in educational attainment experienced by children of African and Caribbean heritage in London’s schools. Over 2,000 people attended the ‘London Schools and the Black Child’ conference, which has become an annual event in the London's calendar.  
\(^9\) Unpublished.
The Benefits of Carnival Arts in Teaching – The Case Studies

4.20 Yaa Asantewaa - The Yaa Asantewaa Carnival Masquerade Group in West London holds half-term and Easter projects based on carnival arts. Tutors use elements of drama for the children to explore situations and they are encouraged to research their projects and record the information. A Yaa spokesperson said, “Themes are explored through the child’s eyes and they are encouraged to interpret them. On the whole, it is very much a social-educational activity. People work together. They are forced to work together. It is a group thing and everything enhances the understanding of the concept.

4.21 Calypso in Schools Project - In June 2001, the Association of British Calypsonians (ABC) launched its Calypso in Schools project with a grant from Westminster Council’s Education (Lifelong Learning) Committee. The aims of the project are: to develop understanding and appreciation of calypso in children aged 4-16, and with their teachers, enable calypso to be developed as a new British folk sound; make children and teachers aware of the tradition and ethos of calypso; develop children’s abilities to compose and perform calypso; enhance and develop music, writing, creative and interactive skills; develop inter-personal skills and potential work opportunities; and enable children to take part in ABC’s junior Calypso Monarch competition.

4.22 ABC uses an innovative approach in teaching calypso. Instead of approaching it solely as a musical genre, the group links it to the school curricula. Pupils learn about history and social history. They are given an insight into its slavery background and how calypso is a derivation of minstrels singing. An element of geography is introduced so that children learn about Calypso and its journey from Africa to the Caribbean. Literacy is explored through writing calypsos and poetry, while communication skills are enhanced as children analyse their reasons for choosing a winner after watching a video of the Junior Calypso Monarch Competition. Music becomes a lesson in rhythms and dance is based on basic calypso steps.

4.23 ABC workshop facilitator, Wendy Cutler hopes to change the perception of calypso as ‘older people’s music’ that is only played at parties and promote it as a British art form that can appeal to the young. She gives examples of calypso variations across Canada that is influenced by where people live. To this effect, Cutler, a former teacher, thinks that British calypso could be a crossover between garage between garage, house and other popular sounds. She is confident of change because that “it is the nature of the music”, which changes over time. Rapso, Chutney and Mozart are given as examples of this. Further development of the ABC schools programme is contained in its five-year development plan and Cutler is currently working on a schools’ work pack with Celia Burgess-Macey and Ruth Tompsett. ABC hopes to hold in-service training days in the near future.

4.24 ‘Carnival in Schools’ of the Inner London Education Authority - The Inner London Education promoted carnival arts in education. One of the first openings for steel bands in schools was via ILEA. Many of the steel band tutors had connections with the mas camps and they would recommend people. In the late 1980s, ILEA implemented a Caribbean Focus Year whereby they funded certain projects with a focus on Caribbean Culture. Celia Burgess-Macey who worked on their Multi ethnic education review journal and Trevor Carter, Inspector for multi ethnic community education, were part of the team. The aim was to promote cultural issues in schools and both Burgess-Macey and Carter went to Trinidad to look at carnival in schools. The trip led to the production of a draft pack of materials. However, it did not get published as ILEA was disbanded.
4.25 **Carnival in the Curriculum: A Resource Pack for Schools** - This resource pack is a good practice guide produced by the Lambeth Schools Carnival Group – practitioners who work in early years education. There is a section on the history of Carnival and how it developed in Britain and an informative chapter entitled ‘Carnival at the centre of the Curriculum’. A comprehensive spider web diagram provides readers with notes of Carnival’s relevance in religious and moral education, history, English, dance and drama, art, personal, social and cultural education, maths, design and technology, music, geography, food technology, science and information technology. The authors show how those subject areas could relate to the national curriculum. Moreover, to aid teachers who may not know how to proceed, there is a book list for further reading together with suggestions for activities on how to make costumes and where to obtain the necessary materials and resources. Case studies from various primary schools in the borough serve as best practice guides with numerous ideas for teaching children about carnival in their own schools.

4.26 **Perpetual Beauty** was the first carnival band to run a course in carnival arts at Hackney College where they were accredited with National Vocational Qualification status. Although the course is no longer running, the group was instrumental in forging links within the community and promoting adult learning by bringing members of the local community into contact with education.

4.27 **‘The Factory of Dreams’ at Stockwell Park School** - Stockwell Park School in South London has a varied history with carnival arts that has resulted in some good quality artwork. Year 9 participated in a five-month arts education project entitled ‘The Factory of Dreams’, with pyrotechnician Christophe Berthonneay and some other artists to produce a pyrotechnical theatre piece in Brockwell Park, Brixton. The work was integrated into Key Stage 3 of the National Curriculum and included carnival design. Artist and teacher Carol Chin who taught for many years at Stockwell park School thinks that teachers can have an impact: “In my opinion, Carnival arts can be promoted in schools if the management team can be made aware of the benefits to the whole school and if it is undertaken as a whole-school project”. However, in many cases, these decision-makers will not be black, which for some highlights one of the problems faced. There are not enough black and ethnic-minority teachers in a position of authority to influence teaching; they represent just 2.5% of all teachers.

4.28 **Policy and Practice: Making an Impact** - There is a wealth of people in the community with Carnival experience gained through study, personal experience and a combination of both. Sterling Betancourt (MBE), Frank Rollock of London Allstars, Clary Salandy of Mahogany and Shabaka Thompson of Yaa Asantewaa are some of the well-renowned artists and academics that have worked in schools. The Carnival Review Group heard that in order to pursue carnival arts in education further, the following points need to be considered: the establishment of partnership approaches to develop and promote carnival arts in education; schools should be encouraged to become actively involved; funding and training opportunities to help groups and mas camps become established and maintain standards; an information network for schools and carnivalists should be established to promote joint working; schools should be encouraged to work with parents; and a training group should be created to train coordinators who could be employed to liaise with artists and schools.

4.29 **Carnival Arts Scheme of the Qualification and Curriculum Authority (QCA)** - During the late 1990s, The Qualification Curriculum Authority (QCA) initiated a Carnival Arts Scholarship Scheme, which operated in schools and post 16 colleges across Birmingham, Kent and Manchester. Under the Scheme, schools and colleges were able to apply for awards for
carnival art projects. Although it was a QCA\textsuperscript{91} funded initiative, the masquerade band Perpetual Beauty, contributed their expertise and this included writing up a case study. Awarding bodies, (OCR, RSA and EDXCEL), funded workshops for schools at local level, while in some instances, large companies such as Yamaha, came forward to sponsor a scheme in Birmingham. One part of the project involved the publication of guidance on how to award marks to students for a Carnival project submitted as part of an A level, GCSE or GNVQ examination. Learning materials were also available as projects were often submitted as an integral part of the qualification such as the history of Carnival under A’ level History of Art.

4.30 It is easy to see how carnival arts will help students studying English or art and design but it is also beneficial for those enrolled in business, finance, leisure, tourism, media and marketing courses. The scheme proved to be popular. A QCA spokesperson stated, “As soon as we launched the project, schools could not get enough of it. Pupils became so motivated that for teachers, preparation for Carnival became the high spot of the year.”

4.31 Although take-up in regional areas was good, the Scheme proved difficult to get things moving in the Capital. There were several reasons for this – London was more politicised, teachers tended to shift between jobs more often, and students in local schools were not necessarily from the same borough. In addition, student discipline and truancy rates were higher than in the regions, which made it more difficult to operate the scheme. Outer London boroughs appeared to be easier to work with than some of the inner London boroughs.

4.32 Under the scheme, a workbook was produced, similar to the Lambeth Schools Carnival Group, with useful resources and Carnival Technical Guidance Sheets containing health and safety pointers and information on joining material, making corex boards and ‘A’ frame backpacks. Its educational benefits were clear. New technology was fused with traditional methods such as costumes using traditional cane bending and fibreglass rods and professionals were called to help with work.

4.33 Measures of success were based on the grades that the students received in their exams, with some teachers observing a marked increase in the grades attained. Overall, the QCA provided the formality to give the scheme exposure. Natalie Miller from Joseph Chamberlain College in Birmingham, won the top scholar award in 1998 for her costume, ‘Madame Butterfly’, which went on to become the first Carnival costume to be exhibited at the Museum of London. As a result, Chamberlain was offered an unconditional place at St Martins, London, to study for a degree in design. Pupils from Thomas Aveling School, in Medway, Kent, were also part of the QCA scheme. They have since joined the Perpetual Beauty Masquerade Band on the road at the Notting Hill Carnival, wearing some of the costumes designed as part of their examination coursework. An evaluation of the Medway scheme was able to prove that relationship between different ethnic groups was greatly improved since it raised awareness of Carnival traditions in the area. Local residents have now used Carnival bands as part of their celebrations for parties and birthdays. Thus Carnival goes some way to promoting social inclusion, integration and tolerance.

4.34 **Steel-pan in schools: the pioneers** - In 1969, Islington Green School became the first school to form a steel band under the guidance and teaching of Gerald Forsythe. A number of Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) schools subsequently followed suit by organising

\textsuperscript{91} The QCA withdrew from the scheme in 2000 although some of the established projects are still running with funding by other means.
steel-band classes for their pupils. By the late 1970s, Forsythe and Frank Rollock of the London Allstars had formed the Pan Teachers Association (PTA) to promote pan teaching in schools. In 1975, there were over fifty schools had steel bands and in the same year, the PTA received recognition from the Greater London Council (GLC). In 1978, Forsythe was appointed steel-band organiser for schools and within twelve years, the number of schools with steel bands had risen to 160. For his part, Frank Rollock, who taught steel-pan at secondary schools in London, wanted to form an ILEA steel-band orchestra. He approached Audrey Dennett (ILEA Head of Music) who was instrumental in obtaining funds for it. Rollock selected the best players from London schools and they appeared at the Commonwealth Institute.

Mainstreaming Carnival Arts in Higher Education

4.35 In 1986, Ruth Tompsett, a senior lecturer at Middlesex University, introduced Carnival Studies as part of the university’s performing arts degree. It was not initially greeted with much enthusiasm “higher up the academic scale” but, as Tompsett remarked at a meeting organised by the Carnival Review Group, these views merely “reflected establishment feeling and thinking of the time.” Sixteen years later, Middlesex University has a substantial carnival archive and university staff receive calls from all over the world from researchers and journalists who want to know more about it. Tompsett has observed that, “People are studying the Notting Hill Carnival and it has moved from something that was peripheral and derided to where it has showed itself utterly worthy from the grassroots to the top.” If Carnival is to take its place in academia, it will need a course in its own right and that will take time. It is something that Tompsett, who has become the unofficial point of call for carnival matters and the recipient of theses from students can confirm, “We know that we still have a way to go to convince people about Carnival arts.”

4.36 Research continually shows that it is important for teaching staff to embrace other cultures and move away from a ‘colour blind’ approach where the cultures of minority groups are often ignored or undervalued. In the case of the carnival arts, the Review Group were provided with numerous examples of best practice in terms of how educational study could be enriched through the introduction of carnival-related arts and study. Those committed to its teaching and practice have made several attempts to initiate positive discussion in academic circles:

4.36.1 The first academic conference on Carnival in Britain, ‘Catch the Spirit: A Carnival Arts Conference’, was held at the Museum of London in 1997 by Ruth Tompsett at Middlesex University. Sponsored jointly by the Arts Council and Middlesex University, the conference offered a critique of Carnival Arts education, development, performance and practice. One of the key conference outcomes was the preparation of a Safety Fact Sheet for Carnival and an exhibition of the winning carnival costumes at the Museum of London. During the same year, the music department at Leeds University held a conference entitled, ‘The Ethnic in Music.’

4.36.2 In 2000 Goldsmiths College held a conference with a workshop on ‘carnivalised discourse’ with a contribution from Dr Viv Golding who has been responsible for promoting Carnival education workshops at the Horniman Museum. The Caribbean Centre at Goldsmiths College is also currently considering the introduction of a proposed postgraduate course in ‘Carnival Arts and Caribbean Poetics’ as an interdisciplinary MA. The MA would be taught by practising Carnival artists and visits would be organised from well known carnivalists, reflecting the cultural diversity of London. Dr Joan Anim Addo, head of the Caribbean Centre has pointed to the rich
research that is already available within Goldsmiths College, on Carnival and this includes the carnavalised strategies for the reading of Caribbean literature, the music of Carnival, carnival arts and continuing education.

4.36.3 University institutions aside, the Arts Council has done much to promote Carnival arts. In the run up to the 1996 Notting Hill Carnival, the Arts Council arranged a series of debates on carnival in partnership with the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA). The talks were part of the ICA’s ‘Spaced Out’ programme and speakers included the dramatist Errol Hill who is recognised as an authority on Carnival, Pat Bishop and Clary Salandy of Mahogany Carnival Band. One point that is not often stated is that many of the practitioners hired to lead these Carnival workshops are professionals in their fields, often holding degrees in art-related subjects such as theatre design, fashion, administration, community relations and education. One student observed: “The assumption among some of the students is that because it’s carnival, a guest tutor is only present in the classroom because they work with a masquerade band. It’s not always like that”.

**Mainstreaming Carnival Arts in Higher Education – The Case Studies**

4.37 **The Anthropology of Carnival: Masquerade Politics (Elective Unit for anthropology students at the University of East London)** - students study carnival and participate in some form of carnival performance. The course consists of workshops in mask and costume, samba percussion and dance. There are numerous topics to choose from including Carnival as play, Carnival as transformation: Lewes Fire Festival, the Notting Hill Carnival and the anthropology of “mas”, Carnival as resistance: black resistance in post “emancipation”, Trinidad and Carnival as joking relationship: Cohen’s theory of the Notting Hill Carnival. In terms of learning outcomes, students are expected to be conversant with an appropriate body of interpretative literature, especially the different theoretical assumptions about Carnival from European historiography compared to social anthropology, acquire management and carnival skills, and enhance their report and creative writing skills.

4.38 **Teacher training** - In 1999, the Department of Educational Studies at Goldsmiths College ran an Art Education, Carnival arts and Caribbean cultures course aimed at teachers, youth and play workers, classroom assistants and museum education staff. It had accreditation at Masters Level for students who were suitably qualified. The course aim was to explore ways of including Caribbean cultural material more effectively in multicultural or intercultural project development. The learning outcomes were as follows: to raise awareness of Caribbean visual culture and the culture of Carnival; develop skills in making traditional western art practices relevant to African Caribbean students; enable students to gain a greater understanding of Carnival arts and the ways in which these can be approached in schools or other settings; develop some practical skills relating to the construction of Carnival costumes; gain a firmer understanding of Caribbean visual art practices and their place in the African diaspora; and develop skills, knowledge and understanding of how Carnival can underpin the National Curriculum.

4.39 A carnival workshop is central for first year students on its BA education course as part of their professional studies. The course, in part, is taught by practitioners from well known masquerade bands including Ros Price from South Connections and it is compulsory. Every

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92 Carol Brown.
teacher trainee from Goldsmiths would have had a carnival experience. The next step, according to a Goldsmiths lecturer, is to try to take it forward to the postgraduate programme with a link to the MA on Carnival Arts at the University of West Indies. A student evaluating the Carnival workshop wrote: “I learnt about the history and culture of Carnival and what can be done with few resources and excellent design and technology skills to use in school. It is important to use skills that children and parents have developed outside school - recognising and using those skills in school.”

4.40 **Carnival Messiah** - Classically trained musician and university lecturer Geraldine Connor brought Carnival to the mainstream in the 1990s with her ambitious work ‘Carnival Messiah’ - a combination of Handel’s ‘Messiah’ – with the Trinidadian Carnival and the sounds of world music – jazz, calypso, rock, choral music and steel-pan. It succeeds in fusing two cultures without losing sense of its traditional roots. For Connor, the work became a case of using art as a tool for integration as every culture has its music, dance and theatre. She wanted to combine European ‘high art’ with Carnival art and bring the major influences from both cultures together.

4.41 The idea for ‘Carnival Messiah’ emerged in 1994 when some students at Leeds University were looking for a project that would last five weeks. Connor had been thinking of combining classical and carnival music after she heard Quincy Jones’s ‘Soulful Messiah’ that fused American music with Handel’s ‘Messiah.’ The students’ project presented her with an opportunity to press ahead. A year later, Carnival Messiah was showing at the West Yorkshire Playhouse with costumes designed by Clary Salandy and dub poet and actress Jean Binta Breeze in the cast. One of the most striking elements of the show was the finale when the classic ‘Hallelujah Chorus’ was played by a steel band.

4.42 Though some would consider it exceptionally ambitious, when put into perspective, history, knowledge and research played an important part in the composition and production. For Connor, “Knowing the context and history of your indigenous history is important. You’ve got to know where it came from to take it somewhere else. If you are going to use someone’s culture, you need to know it as well as they do and manipulate it.” She is very clear about the direction that she wants to go and she has no doubts about the position of Carnival arts and its place in society. “My culture is mainstream. Very often one of the mistakes we make as artists is that we think our art is a minority art.”

**The Business of Carnival**

**Economic Contribution and Impact**

4.43 The business of Carnival is not only cultural, but also economic. As part of the Mayor’s strategic review, the London Development Agency (LDA) commissioned a review of the economic contribution made by the Notting Hill Carnival to the local and regional economy. A consortium lead by the consultancy firm Mann Weaver Drew and De Montfort University carried out an analysis of:

- the economic value of the Carnival in terms of total revenues generated, visitor spend and job creation;
- the potential linkages such as the transfer of skills within the creative industry sector and the wider London economy so as to enable Carnival specific businesses to move from seasonal trading base towards long-term sustainability;
- the key infrastructure and operational processes required to improve the broad management capacity of the Carnival; and

- the development of a distinctive Notting Hill Carnival ‘brand’ and identification of the values associated with that brand.

4.44 The study involved conducting face-to-face, telephone, postal surveys and semi-structured interviews with: 944 visitors to Carnival 2002; 65 ‘fixed’ businesses in and around the Carnival area; 250 licensed Carnival stallholders and traders; 12 Carnival bands and performers; and key Carnival stakeholders such as the police and the local authorities.

4.45 The visitor surveys revealed that respondents felt that attending the Notting Hill Carnival influenced their spending patterns throughout the rest of the year. 52 per cent of respondents said that they were likely to buy more Caribbean food items and products launched at the Carnival as a result of their attendance at the event. 29 per cent of these positive responses came from white British/Irish attendees, providing a strong indication of the Carnival’s potential as a vehicle for promoting Caribbean products to a diverse market. Of the 65 ‘fixed’ businesses surveyed, 23 were closed over the Sunday and Monday period. Over half of these would normally have been open, suggesting that whilst there was some loss of trade for some businesses that had to close, this was not as large as might have been expected and was probably outweighed by the increase in trade for those businesses that stayed open over the Carnival weekend. In addition, one third of the food retailers and newsagents surveyed who were closed over the Carnival period experienced increased sales in the four weeks before Carnival. By far the majority of businesses (98 per cent) that were open on the Carnival weekend experienced higher sales than a normal Saturday to Monday period with over a quarter estimating a 50 per cent increase and 5 per cent more than doubling their trade.

4.46 Based on the visitor survey, the LDA study found that the average spend per person, together with estimates of the number of attendees provided an overall visitor spend at Carnival 2002 of £36 million with a further £9 million being spent on accommodation. Spend on the infrastructure of the Carnival including grants given to the Carnival organiser and the Carnival bands totalled at least £2 million. To these ‘direct’ economic impacts were added the ‘indirect’ and ‘induced’ economic impacts – ‘indirect’ impacts resulting from businesses that received income, spending some of this on goods and services from their suppliers. ‘Induced’ impacts arising from the employees of businesses, traders, Carnival groups etc spending some of their income on goods and services from other businesses – producing an overall estimate of the Carnival economic impact for the 2002 event of £93 million. Whilst this figure clearly dwarfs the estimated £6-£10 million costs of the Carnival, it also raises the critical question of how this income can be properly harnessed to benefit the Carnival community and local residents.

4.47 The study identified a number of areas in which the Carnival’s economic and social impact could be improved: better leveraging and co-ordination of public investment, including improved marketing of the Carnival as part of London’s ‘offering’ to both residents and visitors; more effective leveraging of private investment and sponsorship, supported by more effective marketing and improved accommodation provision and other tourism services; the need to build upon the skills and business development potential of the Carnival; balancing spontaneity with better management of the Carnival ‘brand’, thereby ensuring that a greater proportion of the income generated would be drawn into the communities involved in
delivering the Carnival; and positioning the Carnival as a central symbol for London and Britain.

4.48 The report’s central recommendation called for the establishment of a solid partnership comprising key Carnival stakeholders. Such a partnership could then be tasked with overseeing the development and implementation of the following range of specific strategies designed to secure the Carnival’s future:

- a robust communications, public awareness and advocacy campaign;
- a fundraising strategy, aimed at maximising revenue, capital and project funding from public, private and non-profit sector sources;
- a branding, marketing and merchandising strategy;
- a co-ordinated tourism strategy, involving tour operators and public sector tourism agencies aimed at making the Carnival an integral part of tourism packages and promotions;
- an imaginative programming strategy, linking the Carnival with a calendar of events in other parts of London, the UK and Europe;
- a training and skills/business development strategy that will review existing forms of business support and strengthen the Carnival’s links with the creative industries. The strategy will involve identifying and addressing the strengths, weaknesses and needs of small businesses in the areas of management, marketing, health and safety, design and technology, intellectual property and finance; and
- a strategy to encourage a more systematic presence of the Carnival in school outreach and education activities.

Music

4.49 One cannot overlook an essential ingredient of the Notting Hill Carnival – indeed all carnivals – namely the music. The Notting Hill Carnival is part of a very lucrative music industry that is one of Britain’s biggest and most culturally significant industries. It lies at the heart of and is a key determinant of British popular culture. In terms of the economic contribution of the UK music business, the music industry generates over 130,000 jobs, contributes £3.2bn to the UK economy and earns approximately £1.3bn through exports93. In November 2002, the National Music Council published a report funded by the DCMS entitled: “Counting the Notes: The Economic Contribution of the UK Music Business”. This report revealed that in relation to the world market, the UK is the fourth biggest music publishing market in the world with a 9.8 per cent share of international revenues ranked behind the USA (29.5 per cent), Japan (12.2 per cent) and Germany (12 per cent). For performance-based income, the UK is ranked sixth in the world and for reproduction-based income, it is ranked fourth in the world. The UK is therefore seen as a major world market for music. In terms of location, London is the nucleus for music business operations and activity within the UK. The five major companies94 who control approximately 90 per cent of the recording, production, publishing and production

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93 ‘Banking on a Hit: The Funding Dilemma for Britain’s Music Businesses’, DCMS (October 2001), p2
revenues within the industry are all based in London. In a recent GLA Economics\textsuperscript{95} report, it was estimated that the creative industries added £21 billion annually to London’s output, more than all the production industries combined and second only to Business Services at £32 billion. As a whole, creative industry growth is strong in London because of the capital’s “unique combination of skilled and talented workers, cultural diversity, range of services, hi-tech infrastructure and direct access to wealthy consumer markets”\textsuperscript{96}

4.50 The Notting Hill Carnival has played a significant role in popularising black music and black culture. Many of the sound system DJs have also been responsible for developing new and loyal audiences who attend their sites religiously every August Bank Holiday weekend and those DJs who also have radio shows or club promotion nights are able to develop their audiences all year round. The Carnival Public Safety Project’s analysis of crowd build-up and dispersal at Carnival 2001 found that at its peak, almost 80 per cent of the Carnival revellers were located around the static sound system sites. Carnival DJs have also noted that in the run up to the August Bank Holiday weekend, they are inundated with free records from record and music promotion companies – in the hope that their recording artists will receive free airplay to a relatively ‘captured’ audience. The benefits to the record company and their artists are significant. Receiving free airplay at the Carnival generates income for the record company, but not necessarily for the Carnival. In order to play copyright music in public, the broadcaster or user must by law, obtain a copyright music licence\textsuperscript{97}. Each year, the Carnival organisers are required to obtain such a music licence from the Performing Rights Society (PRS), which collects the licence fees from music users and distributes the money to its members – the writers and publishers of the music. There are similar performing rights societies throughout the world and by agreement with them, PRS represents their members in the UK and in turn the foreign societies collect the royalties PRS members earn in their territories. Because of these reciprocal agreements, a PRS licence holder is entitled to play any of over 15 million musical works – everything from advertising jingles to entire symphonies. The cost of a PRS licence is dependent upon the type and size of the venue in which the music will be played and the extent to which the music is played and relayed. PRS distributes money collected through the license fees by monitoring and collating performance information on the use of the music being broadcast.

4.51 Although there are carnivals up and down the country, no Carnival has had as much impact on British culture as the Notting Hill Carnival. So much so many record companies view August as the ‘Carnival Season’ in the UK.

4.52 In terms of its relationship with the music industry in general, the Carnival Review Group found that whilst the Notting Hill Carnival has and continues to make a significant cultural and economic contribution to the music industry, it receives little or no recognition for it. In assessing the economic value of the UK music business, the National Music Council’s report highlighted the importance of events such as Glastonbury, WOMAD, the Mean Fiddler’s rock-based Reading and Leeds festivals and folk festivals such as Cambridge and Cropredy\textsuperscript{98}. The Notting Hill Carnival is conspicuous by its absence as a major black-led cultural festival that attracts some nine times the number of revellers going to Glastonbury each year. In addition, the Review Group noted that although record companies were quite prepared to take

\textsuperscript{95} The Mayor of London established GLA Economics in May 2002 to provide a firm statistical, factual and forecasting basis for policy decision-making by the GLA and its functional bodies.

\textsuperscript{96} “Creativity: London’s Core Business” (October 2002), GLA Economics, Greater London Authority, p.15

\textsuperscript{97} Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

\textsuperscript{98} “Counting the Notes: The Economic Contribution of the UK Music Business” – A Report by the National Music Council, November 2002
advantage of the marketing opportunities that the Notting Hill Carnival presented - through illegal fly posting of the Carnival area, promoting up-coming concerts and new record releases - they were not prepared to invest in the very event that they sought to benefit from. Rather, they were more likely to pay huge television advertising fees for adverts to promote their own carnival music compilations and themes.

4.53 The value of music businesses to the UK economy is such that the DCMS now sponsors the music industry by acting as its advocate within Government. The Department works closely with leading players and trade associations to identify what the Government and industry can do to improve its economic performance through the Secretary of State’s Music Industry Forum (MIF). This Forum was established in 1997, to act as a high level channel of communication between the industry and Government where key issues affecting the industry can be discussed. The Forum meets around three or four times each year and brings together key players from around the industry to discuss issues affecting the music industry. It has agreed the strategic direction for the Department’s sponsorship role, concentrating its efforts on four main areas: exploiting the opportunities afforded by new technologies; removing barriers to growth among small firms; encouraging ‘creative growth’; and increasing exports.

4.54 Given the importance of the Notting Hill Carnival and the potential exposure which it gives to black music, the Review Group felt that not enough was being done to develop the Carnival as a key vehicle through which to showcase London’s creative and artistic talent.

**Food and Drink**

4.55 Aside from music, the Notting Hill Carnival has been instrumental in promoting Caribbean culture in general and Caribbean cuisine in particular. In the past, the Carnival organisers have estimated that in total, over the Bank Holiday weekend, licensed food stalls have been responsible for providing revellers with:

- 1 ton of chicken curry
- 1 ton of Jamaican patties
- 15,000 deep-fried plantains
- 30,000 ears of corn
- 1 ton of rice and peas
- 12,000 mangoes
- 16,000 coconuts
- 5 million hot and cold drinks
- 25,000 bottles of rum

4.56 These figures provide a clear indication of the Notting Hill Carnival’s importance and value to the Caribbean food industry as a whole and this should be viewed within the context of a UK ethnic foods market that is the largest ethnic foods market in Europe.

4.57 Market sector research published by Research and Markets Ltd found that between 1998 and 2002, ethnic food sales increased by 44.1 per cent to reach a value of £1.07bn. The most established sectors in the market were Indian and Chinese foods, which, due to their widespread restaurant bases and strong supermarket presence in the form of chilled ready

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99 Source: Notting Hill Carnival Trust website.
meals and microwaveable snacks meant that many ethnic recipes were now widely considered to be part of the mainstream diet. The report also cited growth in foreign travel, the UK’s increasing ethnic diversity and increased media coverage of foreign cultures and their eating habits as the main catalysts for the growing ethnic foods market.

4.58 The LDA study found that most people who attend the Carnival (72 per cent), expected to spend money on snacks and food from the stalls. Similarly, 70 per cent of visitors purchased either alcoholic or non-alcoholic drinks, with more money being spent on drink than any other category. In relation to The Review Group felt that significantly more could be done to ensure that the Notting Hill Carnival benefited from the high media profile and consumer exposure that the event gives to the Caribbean food and drink industry. In many ways, food and drink is seen as secondary to the main activities and attractions at Carnival – the procession and the music. Nevertheless the stalls – there were over 300 in 2003 – make an important contribution to the Carnival atmosphere and spirit, even though they are not recognised as a distinct Carnival ‘arena’ in the same sense as the masquerade bands or sound systems. The stallholders also represent the small business and enterprise element of the Carnival and yet it is not clear to what extent their needs and views are being properly catered for or addressed.

4.59 One of the most notable weaknesses of the Carnival has been its lack of strategic alliance building with Caribbean trade bodies, exporters, businesses, high commissions and tourism authorities. At best, relationships that have been developed have been ad hoc and unsustainable. In the area of food and drink, the Review Group noted the existence of the Caribbean Cuisine Consortium, which was founded in April 2003 and whose membership included Caribbean restaurateurs, take-away proprietors, food and drink suppliers, caterers, chefs, nutritionists and rum professionals. The Consortium is dedicated to promoting and celebrating the pleasures, benefits and traditions of Caribbean food and drink, its stated mission being to ‘encourage the growth and development of Caribbean cuisine in the UK’. The Review Group was able to see immediate synergies between the work and vision of the Consortium and the Carnival’s influence on Caribbean cuisine. There is no doubt that the size of the Indian and Chinese food markets provides a clear indication of the potential growth facing the Caribbean food and drink industry in the UK, if properly planned and executed. The Notting Hill Carnival should be viewed as a major vehicle for assisting that growth.

Cultural Tourism, Globalisation and Carnival’s International Context

4.60 “The spread of the West Indian Carnival began simultaneously with the migration of West Indians, particularly Trinidadians, to Europe and North America. Not willing to lose their identity in the clamour of ‘big city’ life, they formed cultural groups and societies that would, among other things, organize yearly Carnival celebrations to keep the festive spirit alive among them. Thus, the influence of Caribbean Carnival reached the world.”

4.61 The Notting Hill Carnival enjoys the status of a ‘World Carnival’ – it is the largest carnival in Europe and second in the world only to the Rio Carnival in Brazil. In recognition of its ‘world status’, London carnival bands have participated in three World Carnival Conferences in

102 Cultural tourism has been defined as ‘travel directed toward experiencing the arts, heritage and special character of a place.’ (see ‘The impact of festivals on cultural tourism’, Razaj Raj – paper presented at the second DeHaan Tourism Management Conference: ‘Developing Cultural Tourism’, Nottingham, December 16, 2003)
103 “The Modern Carnival – Migration and Widening” - World Carnival Conference III (1999), Trinidad and Tobago
Trinidad and Tobago and the United States, sharing their experiences and best practise in terms of carnival aesthetics, economics, art, politics and culture. Prior to its demise, NHCT was a member of the Foundation of European Carnival Cities (FECC), a pan-European body dedicated to the promotion and preservation of carnivals. So great is the influence of the Caribbean-style carnival that many of its key elements such as physical, cultural, social and economic, are today universally accepted as the principal structures in many such celebrations throughout the world.

4.62 The LDA study found that people travel from all over the world to attend the Carnival, although it is still very much a London event. In 2002, 65 per cent of Carnival goers came from London and of these, the overwhelming majority came from outside Kensington and Chelsea (43% per cent)\(^\text{104}\). Internationally, 8 per cent of visitors to the Carnival came from abroad, including 5 per cent from Europe. In relation to the availability of information to overseas visitors about the Carnival, the study found that much more could be done to ensure that Carnival information was distributed more widely to raise awareness about the event and to assist overseas visitors to plan their stay.

4.63 Tourism destinations are built on the qualities, which give a place its own distinctive character and separate it from other destinations. Factors such as lifestyle, heritage, cultural activities and landscape constitute the basic tourism product of any destination. Cultural tourism offers visitors and opportunity to experience, understand and appreciate the essential character of a place and its culture as a whole. As a major festival, the Notting Hill Carnival has the potential to positively contribute to the development of cultural tourism in London. The LDA study found that 94 per cent\(^\text{105}\) of the visitors questioned believed that the Carnival had become a key event in London’s cultural life.

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**Funding Carnival**

**The Current Status**

4.64 Until 2002, the Carnival organisers had been receiving core funding from three primary sources: the ALG, Arts Council and RBKC\(^\text{106}\). In 2000, an analysis of income and expenditure revealed that the level of income from grants had remained relatively constant over the last ten years. Income from sponsorship however had increased by 829 per cent and accounted for approximately 55.6 per cent of the Carnival organiser’s income whilst increased revenues from the issue of street trading licenses accounted for approximately 15 per cent. For the period ending 30 September 2000, NHCT – the Carnival organiser at the time – secured income from its three principal funding sources (grants, sponsorship, street trading and others) totalling £622,000 and these funds were used to cover the costs of core staffing, the employment of approximately 200 stewards, office accommodation, administration, operations and appearance fees to the Carnival bands. Since 2001, the GLA has provided funding to support the Carnival stewarding operation. The vulnerability of this funding profile and NHCT’s heavy reliance on sponsorship was clearly illustrated by the dramatic decline in sponsorship revenue in the run up to Carnival 2001. There can be no doubt that the failure to

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\(^{104}\) Only 10 per cent of Carnival spectators came from within Kensington and Chelsea. 12 per cent came from elsewhere in West London (source: ‘The Economic Impact of the Notting Hill Carnival 2002: A Report for the London Development Agency’)

\(^{105}\) 41 per cent ‘agreed’ and 53 per cent ‘agreed strongly’ with the statement that the Notting Hill Carnival was now a key event in London’s cultural life.

\(^{106}\) In 2003, only RBKC provided LNHCL with any form of core funding.
raise sponsorship in 2001 was as a direct consequence of the tragic murders of Mr. Bhatti and Mr. Watson in 2000. The decline in sponsorship continued in 2002, following media reports highlighting the internal management and staffing difficulties of NHCT. The dispute and subsequent demise of NHCT led to increased speculation about whether the Carnival would in fact take place that year. In 2003, a new organisation, the LNHCL was established to take over from NHCT. However, core funding was reduced by two-thirds when grants provided by the Arts Council and ALG came to an end in 2002 and were not renewed.

4.65 When the size and scale of the Notting Hill Carnival is compared with the funding and staffing profile of NHCT in 2001 and LNHCL in 2003, the extent to which enormous reliance is being placed on the support and in-kind resources provided by the police, emergency services and local authorities becomes much more apparent. In 2001, RBKC had estimated its contribution towards the direct and indirect costs of the Carnival to be in the region of £500,000. WCC’s costs had been placed in the region of £100,000, whilst the MPS, for whom the Notting Hill Carnival continues to be its single biggest policing operation each year, placed its costs at £5.7 million in 2003.

Possibilities for the Future

4.66 The pressing issue for the Carnival Review Group is the contradiction of an event that, to all intents and purposes, stands as one of London’s major international attractions on the one hand, but continues to be chronically under-funded and under-resourced every year. One immediately becomes aware of the funding and economic development opportunities that, for one reason or another, the organisers of the Carnival have either failed to take advantage of or been excluded from – years of regeneration and City Challenge monies has flowed into the North Kensington area and yet neither the Trust nor the Notting Hill Carnival have ever been beneficiaries. The Arts Council review noted that in order to achieve the significant step-change required in the medium term (3-5 years), funding beyond its current scope would be required. The Arts Council had recommended that serious consideration be given to its ‘Stabilisation Programme’, a funding scheme that could unlock substantial resources to underpin a major organisational capacity-building programme.

4.67 As a result of the Notting Hill Carnival’s financial constraints, the key funding organisations established the Carnival Funders’ Group whose membership comprised RBKC, the Arts Council, ALG and the MPS. Through its provision of funding for stewards, the GLA also became a member of this group in 2001. WCC joined the group a year later when it provided a small amount of funding to the Carnival organisers for the first time. In the main, the focus of the group was very much limited to immediate funding issues and concerns of the Carnival and to providing regular reports in terms of the level of commercial sponsorship raised and confirmation from group members in relation to their particular funding contributions in any one year. The Review Group found that in many ways the concern of the Funders’ Group appeared to be purely operational in nature – its primary consideration was whether the Carnival organisers had raised sufficient funds in order to deliver operationally in the relevant Carnival year – and therefore lacked any strategic focus or long-term approach. The Review Group were of the opinion that whilst there was a role for the Carnival Funders’ Group, there was also an urgent need for a higher level forum that would be capable of directing its attention to the longer term strategic and infrastructural work that was essential for the Notting Hill Carnival to develop professionally and successfully. Since the Carnival Funders’ Group tended to be overlooked in favour of operational issues and problems which were themselves the direct result of the failure to prioritise the strategic long-term funding requirements of the event, it was seen as essential that a new structure be established to accommodate both goals.
Future Vision – The Way Forward

Summary

As the Notting Hill Carnival grows, sustained success will be directly related to careful management of the Carnival, particularly in areas of public safety, community leadership, economic development and environmental impact. This section:

- identifies possible routes forward for prioritising and strengthening public safety planning for the Carnival;
- utilises the Review Group’s recommendations as the basis for a four-year ‘London Carnival Development Programme’ that will focus on the following priority areas:
  a) Strategic management and leadership
  b) Community outreach and development
  c) Event operation and management
  d) Fundraising and finance
  e) Sustainable economic development
  f) Marketing, branding and promotion
- Argues that the Notting Hill Carnival’s true economic and social potential can only be realised through strong community-based management and leadership that is supported by all the relevant stakeholders. The real challenge will be to conceive of the Carnival in new ways, retaining the best of the past and building on its strengths so that the Carnival thrives in conditions that are radically different from its creation.

Recommendation

25. The Notting Hill Carnival should be embraced. It is a major world-class event that should be supported both politically and financially. We also recognise that clusters of carnival creatives can be found throughout London. Having initiated this review, we firmly believe that the Mayor of London should continue to provide a strategic role in overseeing the implementation of the recommendations in this report. We also believe that these recommendations should form the cornerstone of a four-year London Carnival Development Programme, which will:

(a) act as a catalyst to drive the development of the carnival industry in London; and

(b) focus on the priority areas of:

- Strategic management and leadership
- Community outreach and development
- Event operation and management
- Fundraising and finance
- Sustainable economic development
- Marketing, branding and promotion

The programme will adopt a phased approach to implementation and should be informed by all stakeholders in order to ensure that appropriate benefits are derived from the success and growth of the Notting Hill Carnival.
Routes for Action

The Art of Celebration

5.1 From humble origins, the Notting Hill Carnival has grown over the past forty years to become an ‘iconic’ event in London’s cultural calendar. With a peak attendance of almost a million people attending the main weekend celebration, the Carnival has attained a level of success matched by only a few events around the world.

5.2 The Carnival’s power as a celebratory art form is the event’s ‘dynamo’, and the principal reason for its success. The continuation and the development of the art form and its supporting infrastructure should therefore be the platform upon which to consolidate and build the Carnival’s future. The scale of what has been achieved - and the complexities within it - has been under-recognised by the community as a whole to date. The intention of this report is to correct that position, at least in part. Continued acknowledgement will help to generate important momentum to sustain the necessary and difficult work that lies ahead to secure the Carnival’s successful future.

A Safe Carnival?

5.3 Public Safety must take priority alongside artistic development and growth. By its very nature and history, the Carnival brings together a potent mix of factors, and appreciating the energy and vitality of the celebration should not obscure the reality that individual tragedy of the most brutal kind has not only been a product, but also has the potential to destroy a great deal of the good work that the Carnival has achieved despite its lack of infrastructure and resources. Other factors, which require serious attention, include consideration of how to best utilise the physical space in the traditional Carnival locality, and the social and environmental impact before, during, and after the event.

5.4 In this respect, it could be argued that Carnival has become a victim of its own success. As in other fields of endeavour, growth is rarely a problem-free pursuit. The principal requirement is to build upon the extensive arrangements already in place, in a manner, which will ensure that future growth can be managed in a planned and co-ordinated fashion with clear lines of responsibility and accountability. The interests of Carnival are in no way served by a continuing perception that it is a risky and unsafe event to participate in, and changing perception and reality here is directly related to success in sustaining investment in the artistic dimension.

Strengthening Safety

5.5 As an event, the Carnival poses unique public safety and environmental challenges, to the extent that a wide range of agencies have some form of ‘controlling interest’ in its staging. The Carnival Public Safety Matrix shown in chapter two of this report outlines the network of roles and relationships. The dispersed nature of these arrangements was also highlighted, and the view was expressed that consideration should be given to the extent to which the Health and Safety Executive (HSE) might bear some overall responsibility for the public safety issues associated with Carnival. Given a reasonable expectation that visitor numbers will continue to grow, the lack of overall coordination of public safety has to be viewed as a major concern. An effective, statutorily-enforceable remedy is required if the risk of future tragedy (as well as political ‘gridlock’ resulting from the over-dominance of local political interest in managing the
additional growth-related stresses) is to be minimised. This report reaffirms the view that the HSE is best placed to provide the additional element of coordination needed.

Strengthening Governance and Leadership

5.6 Whilst the public safety challenges have been heightened by the growth in visitor numbers over the last decade, issues of leadership and management have a substantially longer history in terms of opportunities for improvement. Securing the involvement of people with the necessary talent, insight, and blend of skills to provide the leadership and governance of and for the Notting Hill Carnival is the single most important factor that must be addressed if the Carnival is to realise its future potential. The Notting Hill Carnival poses a unique set of organisational challenges, requiring a distinctive combination of creative, logistical and commercial expertise.

Organising the ‘Communities of Interest’

5.7 At present, LNHCL represents the hub around which event management is located, with direct support and involvement from a range of other partners drawn from key interest groups, primarily the carnival arenas and the statutory agencies. It is difficult to argue, on the basis of the evidence presented in this report, that LNHCL is resourced (in terms of people, know-how, and finance) in a manner, which renders it capable of maintaining effective control over an event of the size and complexity that is the Carnival. Development would be required in at least two key areas – enhancing the overall management capacity of the organisation, and enabling it to maintain effective consensus through dialogue with different stakeholders.

Realising Carnival’s Economic Value

5.8 The dynamism at the heart of the Carnival is evident through its artistic splendour and musical energy. It is also evident in its development as an entrepreneurial space – another previously under-recognised element of this event. The LDA study referenced in section 4 of this report estimated the economic impact of the Carnival in 2002 to be approximately £93 million, with a visitor spend of £36 million over the main Carnival weekend, and over 2000 full-time equivalent jobs created. A range of commercial possibilities in job creation, skills training, small business support, capacity-building and development, and marketing/merchandising are also highlighted. However, economic and social gains of this order can only be realised and sustained through the establishment of a solid partnership between the various Carnival stakeholders. The importance of strong leadership and governance (individually and corporately) in harnessing the Carnival’s commercial potential again becomes evident, and it will be vital that a depth of commercial know-how is built into the governance skill-mix.

Commencing a New Chapter

5.9 A true appreciation of the value, meaning, and complexities of the Notting Hill Carnival can never be attained unless one first acknowledges the multi-dimensional nature of an event that has been shaped by distinct historical, political, cultural, and community origins. Nevertheless, the Carnival is today one of London’s (if not Britain’s) most powerful ‘brands’, with a recognition factor that literally travels the world. The inclusion of the Carnival in the Queen’s Golden Jubilee celebrations in 2002, served to reinforce that recognition and created a different possibility of how the Notting Hill Carnival could be seen in future.
5.15 Carnival has changed during its lifetime, and it will continue to change. It is important that its past, and those playing a role in shaping it, is properly recognised. At the same time, all with an interest in shaping its future will need to challenge themselves and others to begin the task of conceiving of the Carnival in a new way. The vision should be one in which the best of the past is retained, and is strengthened in ways that will enable it to truly thrive in social, economic, and political conditions radically different from those shaping its creation. Everyone has a role to play in developing and supporting the Notting Hill Carnival – and everyone stands to gain.
## London Carnival Development Programme: Action Plan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority Areas</th>
<th>Key Recommendations</th>
<th>Implementation Action/Strategy/Projects Required</th>
<th>Lead Agency</th>
<th>Partners</th>
<th>Deliverables</th>
<th>Timescale</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Strategic Management &amp; Leadership</strong></td>
<td>Need for effective management and leadership; Increased skills base capable of managing a major event; Greater investment in organisational infrastructure and capacity-building; Broader membership to include residents, young people, business, education and heritage sectors.</td>
<td>Succession planning; Governance and accountability; Strategic business planning; Alliance building (local, regional, national and international); Advocate for the carnival industry; Infrastructural development</td>
<td>CDSF</td>
<td>GLA; LDA; LNHCL; Visit London; Arts Council; DCMS</td>
<td>Carnival management and leadership development programme.</td>
<td>1-2 years</td>
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<td>Annual Carnival industry seminar.</td>
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<td>Capacity-building programme</td>
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<td><strong>Community Outreach &amp; Development</strong></td>
<td>Building of strategic alliances between the Carnival and education (schools, colleges), museums, archives and libraries; Promotion of Carnival Sunday as ‘Children’s Day’; More research into the social benefits and value of carnival arts in the community.</td>
<td>Carnival heritage projects and initiatives. Carnival arts education and training Schools and community outreach Artistic policy development</td>
<td>ECCA</td>
<td>ALM; Museum of London; Victoria &amp; Albert Museum; Kensington &amp; Chelsea Community History Group; Horniman Museum; DFES; Arts Council</td>
<td>Carnival Archives and Heritage Collections Programme. London Carnival Schools’ Competition. Carnival Arts Education Network Carnival Arts Education Officer</td>
<td>1-3 years</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Event Operation &amp; Management</strong></td>
<td>Need for dedicated full-time events team; Need for a robust event management and planning framework, using information technology Long-term strategic funding</td>
<td>Artistic programming; Space management and design (route and entertainment area) Operational planning (health and safety, stewarding, policing, transport, waste management and recycling, crime reduction)</td>
<td>LNHCL; ECCA</td>
<td>GLA; TfL; RBKC; SJA; WCC; LUL; LAS; MPS; BTP; OPSG; RFL; HSE; Arts Council</td>
<td>Waste Management &amp; Recycling Strategy Music Programming Strategy and Policy</td>
<td>1-4 years</td>
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<td>Priority Areas</td>
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<td>24. programme to support and develop stewarding at Carnival;</td>
<td>▪ Professionally qualified and experienced staff</td>
<td>Arts Council</td>
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<td>Performance contracts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fundraising &amp; Finance</td>
<td>▪ Environmental strategy to identify local markets for recyclable waste and eliminate non-recyclable materials – ‘waste-free’ Carnival.</td>
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<td>LDA GOL; DCMS; Rfl; Arts Council</td>
<td></td>
<td>Carnival Community Safety Strategy</td>
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<td>19, 23. Need for a more strategic long-term approach to funding Carnival; ▪ Greater level of investment.</td>
<td></td>
<td>LDA GOL; DCMS; Rfl; Arts Council</td>
<td></td>
<td>Crowd management &amp; stewarding strategy</td>
<td>1-4 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sustainable Economic Development</td>
<td>3, 4, 2, 23, 25. Need to harness the Carnival’s economic potential; ▪ Long-term sustainability of the Carnival as an income-generating event that is self-financing. ▪ Contributing to community development and local economy; ▪ Development funding to support the Carnival arenas.</td>
<td>▪ Business support ▪ Creative industry clusters and hubs ▪ Training and skills development ▪ Job creation ▪ Work space/business incubators ▪ Social enterprise and investment ▪ Tourism ▪ Merchandising (London-wide)</td>
<td>LDA BL4L; LSC; Visit London; Rfl; Arts Council</td>
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<td>Carnival Economic Development Strategy</td>
<td>1-4 years</td>
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<td>LDA BL4L; LSC; Visit London; Rfl; Arts Council</td>
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<td>Centre for Carnival Arts &amp; Enterprise</td>
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<td>LDA BL4L; LSC; Visit London; Rfl; Arts Council</td>
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<td>Caribbean Food and Drink Strategy</td>
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<td>LDA BL4L; LSC; Visit London; Rfl; Arts Council</td>
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<td>Skills training programme</td>
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<td>LDA BL4L; LSC; Visit London; Rfl; Arts Council</td>
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<td>Small business support and development</td>
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<td></td>
<td>LDA BL4L; LSC; Visit London; Rfl; Arts Council</td>
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<td>Work space</td>
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<td>Marketing &amp; Promotion</td>
<td>6, 7, 8. Wider promotion of the Carnival Code as central feature in communications strategy; ▪ Development of core signage for the Carnival entertainment area; ▪ Proactive approach to driving the news agenda, providing good news stories and</td>
<td>▪ Branding ▪ Communications ▪ Public relations &amp; awareness ▪ Media</td>
<td>tbc</td>
<td>Visit London; London TV</td>
<td>Carnival Communications Strategy</td>
<td>1-3 years</td>
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<td>Advocacy and public awareness campaign</td>
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<td>Carnival Code</td>
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<td>Well maintained web site</td>
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<td>Priority Areas</td>
<td>Key Recommendations</td>
<td>Implementation</td>
<td>Lead Agency</td>
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<td>developing positive media contacts; Greater level of information about the Carnival to be made available to overseas visitors</td>
<td>Action/Strategy/Projects Required</td>
<td></td>
<td>Partners</td>
<td>Branding, marketing and merchandising strategy</td>
<td>Tourism strategy (both inward and outward) – develop greater linkages.</td>
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</table>
Appendix 1

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Appendix 2
Carnival Review Group: Terms of Reference
The Greater London Authority Carnival Review Group will undertake a review of all aspects of the running of the Notting Hill Carnival, with a view to making recommendations to the Mayor regarding the future development of the Carnival within London.

The Review will address the current operation and management of all aspects of the Carnival, as well as longer-term trends and opportunities for the event’s development.

It will work closely with the range of organisations involved in the running of the Carnival, particularly the Notting Hill Carnival Trust, and will seek to take evidence from as many groups and people as possible who are engaged in the organisation of the event.

The Review Group will address:

- The cultural aims of the Carnival
- Its economic and social benefits to London
- Location and organisational needs
- Stewarding, safety and security
- Staffing, financial and resource needs
- Management and political structure
- The role of the GLA, local authorities, and other funding partners.

It will undertake this Review by taking evidence from the Carnival organisers and from other associated partners, such as the Metropolitan Police Service and relevant community organisations. It will also review existing literature and research, including funding agreements, committee papers etc.

It will also consider evidence from organisers of similar events both in the UK and in other countries.

Appendix 3
Public Consultation Questionnaire
The GLA has identified a number of core themes, around which all elements of our consultation exercise are being focused. We would very much welcome your responses on these issues.

You should not feel constrained by these ten themes, however it would be very helpful to us if you could focus your responses around these key areas of concerns. Please note that all responses to the consultation must be returned by 4 December 2000.

Consultation Questions

**Public Safety**
- Who should be responsible for public safety?
- What levels of stewarding should there be at Carnival?
- What levels of crowd control should there be at Carnival?
- What controls should there be on street trading?
- Where are the strategic places that stewards need to be to maximise public safety?

**Carnival Location**
- Should Carnival continue to be located in Notting Hill?
- Would you like to see an extension of the Carnival area?
- Should Carnival operate in other areas of London?
- How can we make use of Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens and Paddington Recreation Ground as a Carnival resource?

**Carnival Procession/ Route**
- Should there be more or less costume bands/masquerades on the route?
- Should we continue to have a circular route?
- Should there be more route marshals?
- Where should costume bands enter and exit the route?
- Should the Carnival route of three miles be extended or shortened?
- What should be the main function of the route?
- Should the size of Carnival costumes be restricted?

**Density of People**
- How should crowd congestion be dealt with?
- How true are the claims of pockets of empty roads?

**Travel to and from Carnival**
- How effective is the current public transport system to and from Carnival?
- What do you feel about the extent and level of road closures at Carnival?
- How could travel to and from Carnival be improved?

**Police Presence**
- What level of police participation should there be at Carnival?
- Should the police presence at Carnival be more or less visible?

**Carnival Activities**
- Do particular music forms attract undesirable public safety risks to Carnival?
- How important is it to maintain together the five Carnival disciplines of costume bands, steel bands, static sound systems, mobile sound systems and calypsonians?
- What are your views about the Carnival public stage areas

**Provision of Facilities**
• How could health and safety facilities at Carnival be improved?

**Adequate Communication and Signage**
• How could general information about the various activities of Carnival be improved?

**Content of Carnival**
• How do we ensure that any of the changes made do not jeopardise the creative spirit of Carnival?
• What can be done to grow Carnival’s creativity, without creating any safety or other problems?
• What else could be done to strengthen the spirit of Carnival?

_________________________________________________________________________

Please send comments to:

GLA Notting Hill Carnival Review Group

By Post:
Romney House
Marsham Street
London SW1P 3PY

Email:
Carnivalreview@london.gov.uk

Fax:
020 7983 4089

Phone the information line:
020 7983 4077

Regular updates will appear on the website:
www.london.gov.uk/mayor/carnival

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**Appendix 4**

**Public Consultation:**
Organisations and Individuals Submitting Evidence
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hillary</td>
<td>Adamson Resident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. J.</td>
<td>Allen Resident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emmanuel</td>
<td>Amever Hackney Mare de Gras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jennette</td>
<td>Arnold Greater London Assembly Member Labour Lead on Culture Member, Cultural Strategy Group for London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>Austin MP Pioneer and Their Offspring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean</td>
<td>Bernard Covent Gardens Estate Residents’ Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fred</td>
<td>Bharath Former Chairman, Finsbury Park Carnival Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph</td>
<td>Bharath Yaa Asantewaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony</td>
<td>Blondell Yaa Asantewaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merle</td>
<td>Blondell Yaa Asantewaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Errol</td>
<td>Brown ABC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Dominic</td>
<td>Bryan Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen’s University of Belfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>Buck MP Regent’s Park &amp; Kensington North Constituency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Buckley Resident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter</td>
<td>Bull Chairman, Kensington &amp; Chelsea Police and Community Consultative Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celia</td>
<td>Burgess-Macey Yaa Asantewaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patricia</td>
<td>Burn Chair, Westbourne Neighbourhood Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicky</td>
<td>Butler Chairman, The Pembridge Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>Callaghan Resident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clr. Alec</td>
<td>Castle Labour Member for Tokyngton, Brent Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh</td>
<td>Chambers Commissioner, St. John Ambulance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gary</td>
<td>Chance Director, Xandor Limited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackie</td>
<td>Charles Juba Promotions and Publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>Clark Chairman, Police Working Group, Holland Sector Vice Chairman, Kensington &amp; Chelsea Police and Community Consultative Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clr. Merrick</td>
<td>Cockell Leader of the Council, The Royal Borough of Kensington &amp; Chelsea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Antonio</td>
<td>Connell Chair, Blenheim Crescents Residents Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>Simone</td>
<td>Critchlow Yaa Asantewaa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Victor</td>
<td>Critchlow Dragons/CMA</td>
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<td>Lesley</td>
<td>Dillon Chair, Worthington Green Residents’ Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>M.C.</td>
<td>Dorriem-Smith Resident</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uschi</td>
<td>Dresing Shademakers Carnival Club, Germany</td>
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<tr>
<td>Evelyn</td>
<td>Ellison Resident</td>
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<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>Ford Designer/ Historian, Flamboyan Community Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>Larry</td>
<td>Forde Flamboyant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Janelle</td>
<td>Forrester Yaa Asantewaa</td>
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<td>John</td>
<td>Forster Southside Harmonics Steel Orchestra</td>
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<td>Carl</td>
<td>Gabriel Misty</td>
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<td>Cecil</td>
<td>Gall CMC Roadshow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joanna</td>
<td>Grant Peterleic Resident</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alexander D.</td>
<td>Great ABC</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bruce Ley</td>
<td>Greaves Resident</td>
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<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>Griffiths Resident</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gavin</td>
<td>Hamilton Resident</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harriet</td>
<td>Hamilton Resident</td>
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<tr>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>Hamilton Masquerade 2000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hugh</td>
<td>Harper Resident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ken</td>
<td>Hinds Band Co-ordinator, Ruff Diamond Explosion Carnival Masquerade Band</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.</td>
<td>Hinkley Resident</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stephen Hotson Area Commander, British Transport Police
Jim Ives Mahogany Arts Limited
Hyacinth Jarrett
Ian Johnston Assistant Commissioner, Metropolitan Police Service
Peter Joseph Pan Nectar
Sugar K CMA
Dexter Khan Cocoyea
Kanya King MOBO Holdings Limited
Martin Kingsford Chief Executive, Tenant Management Organisation
Michael La Rose Carnival consultant, researcher, writer and lecturer
Jacqueline Lang Resident
G. Larkby
Patricia Ledger Paddington Green Police Consultative Group, Hyde Park Sector
Aston R. Lue Resident
A. Lue Resident
Chris Malcomson Resident
Frank Mathison Carnivalist
Martin McCallum Cameron Mackintosh Limited
Paul McLaren Shademakers Carnival Club, Germany
Ashton Moore Association of British Calypsonians
Margaret Muir Resident
Clive Newman Hammersmith Community Trust
Siamak Nikoopour
Dennis Nivet Trustee Committee Member, Twelfth Century Productions Trust
Ruby Noblemunn Co-ordinator, Stamford Hill Carnival Club
D. Noel Trinbago Carnival Club
Tim Owen Head of Special Events, City of Westminster
Rosalind Price Administrator, South Connections
Patricia Roberts Acting Secretary, Bonham House Residents’ Association
Ruthven Roberts Artistic Director, Lighthouse Players
William Robertson Resident
Brian Robinson Chief Fire Officer and Chief Executive, London Fire & Emergency Planning Authority
David Roussel-Milner Director of Communications, London Tourist Board and Convention Bureau
Charlotte Row Senior Emergency Planning Manager, London Ambulance Service
Anthony Rowe Resident
Catherine Scudamore
Rev. Raymond Singh President, United Reformed Church, South East London District
Angela Slucumbe Bandleader, GBA Carnival Club Limited
Derek Smith Managing Director, London Underground Limited
Roz Spencer Carnival Residents’ Group
Larry Steel Pan Nectar
Jason Subhan
Shabaka Thompson Director, Yaa Asantewaa
Louanne Tranchell Hammersmith Community Trust
Carolyn Treavett Resident
J. Tudor Flyover Carnival Club
Wilf Walker Artistic Director, London Reggae Festival 2000 and Carnivalist
Pene Welch Pan Nectar
William Weston Chief Executive, The Royal Parks
Janet Wilks Resident
Peter Winchester Dragons
Sue Woodford Hollick Chair, London Arts
Thirza Woodstack Resident
Sue Woodford Hollick London Arts
Appendix 5
Interim Report: Public Safety Profile Recommendations

Public Safety
1. We believe that NHCT must be supported as the lead organisation responsible for co-ordinating an effective public safety strategy for Carnival. We therefore recommend:

   a. That resources be made available to enable NHCT to appoint a risk assessment officer.

   b. The short-term secondment of staff from the GLA and its functional bodies to NHCT in order to supplement the organisation’s existing staffing structure. Secondments should commence as soon as possible and continue until September 2001.

2. We recommend that the GLA work with NHCT to develop an urgent Carnival communications strategy to include residents, stakeholder organisations, Carnival participants and the media. This strategy must ensure that:

   a. There is a pre-carnival publicity campaign, which emphasises the public safety profile of the event with the message that those visiting Carnival with the intention of committing crime will be caught and punished.

   b. A general appeal is made to the public to assist and work together with the police in the interests of public safety.

**Route Management & Stewarding**

3. We believe that the distinct, but complimentary roles of stewarding and route management must be maintained and that a lack of available resources has meant that the level and standard of both has suffered. Effective crowd management is an essential feature of any public safety strategy and we therefore recommend that:

   a. Immediate steps be taken by the current funders of NHCT to make additional resources available in order to significantly increase the number of route marshals and stewards that will be recruited, trained and deployed for Carnival 2001. This will ensure that police officers are able to address their strategic priorities of crime detection and prevention.

   b. NHCT work with the MPS in order to:

      i. Integrate route marshals and stewards into the MPS’ strategic plan for Carnival, together with the development and implementation of a strategy to ensure effective co-ordination and communication between all parties.

      ii. Introduce a new training programme for stewards and route marshals reflecting the festival’s co-ordinated approach to crowd management and public safety.

**Carnival Route and Location**

4. In order to reduce congestion on the route and facilitate completion by competition bands/floats, it is our recommendation that:
a. NHCT take immediate steps to reduce the number and size of vehicles currently being used on the Carnival route by:

i. Encouraging commercial and/or private sector companies wishing to take advantage of any product placement opportunities at Carnival to sponsor a band/float.

ii. Setting limits on the maximum number of vehicles in each band.

iii. Enforcing vehicle size restrictions.

b. The MPS re-introduce the practice of allocating a police officer to each band/float (“Serial Band Officers”) for the duration of the Carnival weekend. The presence of an officer who has the ability to communicate within a centralised command and control structure will provide an important operational overview of the Carnival area. We also believe that these officers can play a significant role in Carnival’s close-down strategy, by ensuring that music is turned off on time and floats are guided back to their base camps.

5. We believe that the current circular design of the Carnival route is closely linked to the problem of crowd density and congestion. The design of the processional route, absence of rest areas and exit points, pedestrian flow systems (e.g., one-way routes), location of stewards and police, and lack of signage significantly influence the safety of crowd movement and dispersal. We therefore recommend:

a. The immediate introduction of a non-circular route that incorporates an effective entrance and exit strategy for bands/floats.

b. The use of Hyde Park as a “savannah”. We believe that Notting Hill is the historical home of Carnival and must remain at the heart of the festival as the “Carnival Village”. However, we are convinced that the interests of public safety and the inconvenience caused to residents requires the creation of an open space dispersal point that will draw crowds away from residential areas. Crowd management would be easier and safer in a large open space such as Hyde Park.

c. That a detailed analysis of the current Carnival area be undertaken to assess the risks of different route designs, pedestrian flow systems and operational plans. We believe that the Carnival Safety Liaison Group should make use of the services of public and/or private sector bodies specialising in crowd safety and management. This will facilitate the establishment of an informed public safety planning process, which identifies potential areas and patterns of crowd build up, dispersal and movement so that alternative strategies can be developed and additional resources allocated to minimise the risks to crowd safety.

**Crowd Congestion**

6. In view of the large numbers of people who now attend Carnival, it is our recommendation to NHCT, MPS, RBKC and WCC that they agree to the relocation of those static sound systems [and live stages] drawing crowds of over 5,000 people to more suitable sites within the existing Carnival area, or to alternative venues such as the vicinity of the West London Stadium on Wormwood Scrubs.

**Carnival Activities & Content**
7. In relation to the content of Carnival and its activities, it is our recommendation to NHCT that the activities organised on the two days of Carnival be viewed in conjunction with the need to prioritise public safety. To this end, we believe that:

a. Priority should be given to those Carnival activities and artforms, which reflect traditional Caribbean culture.

b. Sunday should be returned to the traditional practice of being “Children’s Day” and that this must be reflected in a reduction in the number and type of sound systems (both static and mobile) and the number of commercial floats.

**Provision of Facilities, Communication & Signage**

8. Evidence suggests that crowd movement and congestion can be significantly improved if visitors to Carnival are given appropriate information together with increased and adequate signage. To this end, it is our recommendation that additional resources be made available by funding bodies in order to:

a. Establish information booths outside underground stations and other key locations.

b. Ensure that key Carnival facilities such as toilets and first aid areas are clearly defined and signposted.

c. Establish a communications and media subcommittee of NHCT to develop a positive public relations campaign for Carnival.

9. We welcome and agree with the creative communications ideas put forward by RBKC and WCC (i.e. the use of large video screens to show key Carnival moments; the use of banners, totem poles etc). We also believe that part of the cost of this increased signage can be met through the development of sponsorship and cross promotion strategies with private companies and public sector bodies.

10. We agree with the submissions and recommendations of RBKC, WCC and MPS that Carnival is no longer a local event, but rather must be viewed as a festival that benefits the whole of London. We therefore recommend that funding bodies make the necessary resources available to:

a. Increase the number of toilet facilities.

b. Increase the number of mobile CCTVs in familiar “hot spot” areas.

c. Increase the number of barriers being used at critical locations along the Carnival route.

d. Ensure that food safety regulations are adequately enforced by providing additional environmental health officers over the Carnival weekend.

11. The work and adequate resourcing of the St. John Ambulance treatment centres are an essential and integral part of Carnival’s public safety strategy. We therefore recommend that the NHS London Region consider supporting the St. John Ambulance operation by making additional resources available to purchase more first aid equipment.

**Transport to and from Carnival**
12. We believe that the duty to ensure the safety of the public as they travel to and from Carnival must be of paramount importance. We are therefore entirely convinced of the need to provide an enhanced weekday service on bus routes, underground and surface train stations located in and around Carnival area over the August Bank Holiday weekend. It is our recommendation that:

a. A Carnival transport committee, made up of representatives from LUL, TfL, BTP, NHCT and MPS and tasked with the responsibility of developing an improved transport strategy for Carnival be established.

b. BTP and LUL are integrated into the operational planning process for Carnival.

The Role of Central Government

14. We believe that the Notting Hill Carnival is an event of major national and international significance. It is the largest expression of multiculturalism in the United Kingdom today and has done much to bring communities together. This work continues and as such, we believe that central government support in the areas of i) public safety and policing and ii) cultural and artistic content must be a priority. To this end, we recommend that:

a. The Home Office considers making additional funds available to Carnival via the MPA for policing and public safety.

b. The DETR considers making additional funds available for the Carnival clean-up operation and transport plan.

c. The DCMS considers making additional funds available to Carnival via ACE and LA as part of its effort to promote social inclusion.

15. Since the priority of this Interim Report is to ensure that significant changes are made to Carnival 2001, we believe that the implications of these recommendations must be the subject of immediate discussions between the GLA, its functional bodies and key stakeholders with a view to securing both the political commitment and additional resources required to implement these recommendations.

Appendix 6
Public Hearings Schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day/Date</th>
<th>Presenters</th>
<th>Topic of Discussion</th>
<th>Attendees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Stephen Spark, Editor, Soca News</td>
<td>Press Reporting of the Notting Hill</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day/Date</td>
<td>Presenters</td>
<td>Topic of Discussion</td>
<td>Attendees</td>
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<tr>
<td>23/04</td>
<td>Joseph Charles, Publisher, Soca News&lt;br&gt;Paul Macey, Director, Creative Collective</td>
<td>Carnival</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wednesday 02/05</td>
<td>Alfred E Walcott, Designer&lt;br&gt;Jay Gardiner&lt;br&gt;Shabaka Thompson</td>
<td>Mas at Carnival</td>
<td>61</td>
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<td>Wednesday 09/05</td>
<td>Ashton Moore&lt;br&gt;Alexander Lowenthal&lt;br&gt;Wendy Cutler</td>
<td>Calypso as the “music of Carnival”</td>
<td>42</td>
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<td>Wednesday 16/05</td>
<td>Pepe Francis&lt;br&gt;Eversley Mills&lt;br&gt;Matthew Phillip&lt;br&gt;Robbie Joseph</td>
<td>Steelbands and their role in Carnival</td>
<td>101</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wednesday 23/05</td>
<td>Victor Critchlowe&lt;br&gt;Roy McEwen</td>
<td>Soca Sounds and their role in Carnival</td>
<td>63</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wednesday 30/05</td>
<td>Celia Burgess Macey&lt;br&gt;Carol Chin&lt;br&gt;Joan Anim Addo</td>
<td>Carnival Education and Carnival Arts in the Curriculum</td>
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<td>Wednesday 06/06</td>
<td>Glen Tee Falconer&lt;br&gt;Greg Thomas</td>
<td>The role and significance of Sound Systems at Carnival</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wednesday 13/06</td>
<td>Commander Michael Messinger&lt;br&gt;Councillor Kit Malthouse&lt;br&gt;Councillor Merrick Cockell</td>
<td>The role of the MPS and Councils in Carnival</td>
<td>82</td>
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<td>Wednesday 20/06</td>
<td>Greg Hilty&lt;br&gt;Denise Mellion&lt;br&gt;Greta Mendez&lt;br&gt;Paula Ghosh&lt;br&gt;Pax Nindi</td>
<td>Future Carnival funding</td>
<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wednesday 27/06</td>
<td>Jennette Arnold&lt;br&gt;Diane Abbott</td>
<td>Creating a sustainable future for Carnival</td>
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<td>Wednesday 04/07</td>
<td>Claire Holder&lt;br&gt;Chris Nortey</td>
<td>Notting Hill Carnival Trust</td>
<td>150</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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</table>
Ashton Moore is the President and one of the founder members of the Association of British Calypsonians. A former Chair of the Notting Hill Carnival Trust, he is also actively involved in Yaa Asantewaa Arts and Community Centre, London’s leading centre for black cultural arts. More popularly known as the “Mighty Tiger”, he ended his competing days when he was crowned Calypso Monarch for the last time in 1997. He began his calypso career 45 years ago in the Southern Brigade as the “Young Tiger”. He moved on to Lord Kitchener’s Calypso Review Tent, and then to the Victory tent singing with all the calypso greats. He came to England in 1971 and was crowned the first Calypso Monarch of Britain – and the rest is history.

Wendy Cutler
Joint Administrator, ABC & Yaa Asantewaa
A former teacher at St Dominic’s Convent, Barataria, Trinidad, Wendy came to London at the end of the 60’s to study marketing and public relations. She worked at the Trinidad and Tobago High Commission for three years in the Information Department and was actively involved in providing information for schools. A mas player and calypso enthusiast, she became a member of ABC in 1993 and was given the responsibility for seeking funding for its activities. He is a former Joint Chair of Yaa Asantewaa Arts & Community Centre, and today she is proud to be the Joint Administrator for both ABC and Yaa Asantewaa.

Paul Macey
Director, The Creative Collective
Freelance Journalist
Paul is a Director of The Creative Collective and a freelance journalist. For the past five years, he has worked on for The Voice newspaper, writing mainly in the areas of politics and community affairs. He has also contributed to a range of publications, including The Big Issue, The Guardian and Pride Magazine. Prior to becoming a journalist, Paul worked as a Community worker for Hammersmith & Fulham Council and then in Wandsworth for the Race Equality Council and Wandsworth Community Care Alliance. He has also been a member of a wide range of community organisations in a voluntary capacity including being a founder member of the Association of Transracially Adopted People (ATRAP). The Creative Collective was formed in 1999 in response to the negative images of Black and ethnic minority communities portrayed by many sections of the media despite the lessons of the Macpherson Report. The Collective is a media, training and policy consultancy formed by a number of black journalists skills in print and broadcast journalism, media and equal opportunities training, video production, graphic design and social policy.

Jeffery Hinds p/k/a Admiral Jack
Born in Britain of Barbadian Parents, Jeffery was a calypso enthusiast from an early age. Whilst still at primary and secondary school he would sing calypso, trying to interest other black British Caribbean youngsters to sing as well. He was instrumental in forming the first steelband in Reading in 1970. He conducts workshops in schools and universities all over the UK. A versatile performer, he is a popular act at the London Calypso Tent. Lately he has taken on the role of MC, a job he is more than qualified for as he is also a professional boxing referee.

Joseph Charles
Publisher, Carnival Grooves
Joseph Anthony Charles was born in London in 1970. He was later educated in Trinidad, Dominica and finally London, returning to England in 1989. Growing up in the Caribbean meant that Mr Charles was continuously exposed to Soca music. Although Soca was evident in the UK, in 1996 Mr Charles founded Soca News Magazine as a means of raising awareness of Soca music and its roots. In 1998, the flourishing magazine gave birth to another venture, the first ever Soca Music Awards, a medium through which the Soca music industry could recognise the achievements and contributions of individuals and groups both nationally and internationally. In addition to Soca News Magazine, Joseph Charles is also the publisher of Carnival Grooves, a publication which is dedicated to providing information about the Notting Hill Carnival, the mas bands, steelbands and pre-Carnival events. He has presented radio shows with Angie Greaves on GLR and through his company Joseph Charles Media, has been using his extensive IT skills to provide web design services to DJ’s, promoters, mas bands and steelbands. Mr Charles has recently been appointed to the London Arts Carnival Advisory Group.

Alfred E Walcott
Currently the bandleader of the Trinidad and Tobago Association, Alfred E Walcott established himself during the 1960’s and 1970’s as a well-known designer of spectacular Carnival costumes. He trained in Carnival costume-making in Trinidad, winning numerous awards and accolades. Describing himself as a “Carnival
Jay Gardiner
Executive Director, Perpetual Beauty
Jay Gardiner is the Executive Director of Perpetual Beauty Carnival Association Limited. He has been a member of Perpetual Beauty for the past 12 years, joining initially as a volunteer. He became a member of the association’s management committee two years later, creating the post of project co-ordinator and developing the organisations successful mobile arts services which was tasked with taking the “Carnival to the community”.

As the executive director, Jay Gardiner has worked with Education Business Partnerships all over the country. He has acted as a Carnival development consultant in a number of regions and as such, was able to work with communities in Stoke to establish its first Carnival in over 50 years.

Shabaka Thompson
Centre Director, Yaa Asantewaa
Shabaka Thompson is a Carnivalist. He is the Centre Director of the Yaa Asantewaa Arts and Community Centre and has been the Centre’s Carnival Organiser for the past 14 years. He was instrumental in raising the profile and standard of mas presentation at the Centre and this contributed to innovative approaches in costume presentation at Notting Hill. Shabaka conducts various carnival arts workshops in schools, colleges and universities both nationally and internationally and has represented the Centre at international carnival arts conferences. A founding member of the London Calypso Tent, he is a committee member of the Association of British Calypsonians.

Stephen Spark
Editor, Soca News
Stephen Spark began attending the Notting Hill Carnival 18 years ago, originally as a spectator and then as a masquerader with South Connections. During that time, he was introduced to calypso, soca, steelpan and mas, allowing him to develop a greater understanding and appreciation of carnival arts and music. Concerned about the lack of information and exchange about what was going on within the Carnival community, Stephen seized the opportunity to get involved with and contribute to Soca News Magazine. He became the magazine’s sub-editor in December 1996, moving on to become its editor less than a year later. Continuing concerns about the way in which Carnival is reported in the media led Stephen to make this the subject of his thesis whilst completing an MA in journalism at the University of Westminster. Stephen is also chair of the Balham Festival Committee, editor of the bi-monthly Computer Network News in Africa magazine and is the author of the carnival feature in last year’s Evening Standard Hot Tickets magazine.

Roy McEwan (DJ Willi B)
Chair, Caribbean Music Association
He grew up with Carnival culture. At age 11, Roy started collecting music, then started Deejaying with friends and making R & B and Lovers rock mixed tapes. In 1991, after a summer of memorable Soca fetes, he decided to start playing and promoting Soca music. Roy joined the CMA in 1992 and became the representative on the board in 1993. Between 1993 and 1997, Roy produced a record label called Spice Records, featuring established artists such as Flying Turkey and Japs from Grenada. This was a spare time project which at the beginning generated great interest. The vision was to dent the monopoly that existed at the time by marketing new upcoming artists.

Today, Roy McEwan is the Chair of the Notting Hill Carnival Trust, DJ’s for Isis Carnival Club, the largest fun mas band at the Notting Hill Carnival, is the author of On De Road “Code of Best Practice for Mobile DJ’s at Carnival” and is instrumental in encouraging young DJ’s and young people in general to get involved in the carnival process at all levels.

Victor Crichlowe
Victor Crichlowe is the Chairman of the Caribbean Music Association (CME) SOCA DJ’s. He is the former manager of the Carnival Industrial Projects (CIP), a youth training scheme educating young people in carnival skills. He has been associated with Carnival from the beginning.

Pax Nindi
Senior Carnival Officer, Arts Council of England
Since 1997, Pax Nindi has been involved in carnival arts, cultural diversity and multidisciplinary arts in the Arts Council of England where he is now the Senior Carnival Officer in the Drama Department. He has managed funding streams including Arts for Everyone, Notting Hill Carnival Mas Bands Fund and introduced the Regional Carnival Funds and Carnival on De Road tours through the New Audience Programme. Pax set up and designed the Carnival website and edited the forthcoming Carnival Book “On Route”
as well as currently working on a Carnival CD rom game. He is currently negotiating the involvement of Carnival Arts in the opening and closing of the Commonwealth Games next year to coincide with the launch of the “On Route” Carnival book.

Greg Hilty
Director of Arts, London Arts
Greg Hilty has been Director of Arts at London Arts since 1999. Before that he was Senior Curator and Head of Public Programmes at the Hayward Gallery on the South Bank and Exhibitions Director at Riverside Studios in Hammersmith.

Denise Mellion
Lead Officer for Carnival, London Arts
Denise Mellion has been Combined Arts Officer, including Lead Officer for Carnival at London Arts since 1996.

Greta Mendez
Carnival Advisory Group, London Arts
Greta Mendez has been a member of the Carnival Advisory Group, at London Arts since 1996. She is a dancer, choreographer and Carnival specialist. She is an experienced workshop leader and has directed for Talawa. She is currently working on a one woman Carnival performance piece “Ndulgence”.

Celia Burgess Macey
Having been a teacher and advisory teacher in primary schools in London since 1972, Celia Burgess-Macey is now a Teacher Trainer at Goldsmith’s College, University of London. During her time with ILEA (Inner London Education Authority), she was seconded to work with the multi-ethnic inspectorate designing and running courses for teachers on race, community and curriculum. She took up a research fellowship at the Institute of Education Centre for Multicultural Education undertaking research into the implementation of ILEAs equal opportunities policies in schools. She was a member of the Editorial board of Multi-ethnic Education Review. From 1982 to 1986 she worked on an ILEA research project on the implementation of the Rampton/Swann reports. This project, directed by Winston Best and led by Leela Ramdeen focused specifically on developing inclusive curricula and teaching approaches for children of Caribbean origin. In 1985 she accompanied Trevor Carter and Bob Burchell from ILEA multi-ethnic inspectorate to Trinidad to look at school Carnivals. On returning to London she helped prepare a “Carnival in the curriculum” tape slide which, had ILEA continued, would have been reproduced and sold by the Centre for learning resources. Following the demise of ILEA, Burgess-Macey was appointed primary and early years adviser in the London Borough of Lambeth. In 1994, Lambeth successfully bid for funding from the London Arts Board to launch a Carnival project in seven schools. She led this project which has resulted in a carnivals in schools exhibition, a street Carnival to Brockwell Park, and the formation of an ongoing schools Carnival Group run by herself and a small group of committed teachers on a voluntary basis. The Carnival in Lambeth spread to 21 schools since then and the group have produced a Carnival in the Curriculum resources pack with the support of Lambeth Endowed Charities. Since her arrival at Goldsmith’s College, Burgess-Macey has been instrumental in introducing Carnival Arts workshops into both the BA(ed) and PGCE programmes for teacher trainees and in developing research into the implementation of carnivals in schools. She has presented several conferences including the international carnival conference in Trinidad last year. This year she accompanied a Lambeth primary school teacher from Stockwell Park Secondary School on an exchange visit to St Ursula’s primary school in Port of Spain in order to learn more about school Carnivals in Trinidad and to establish ongoing collaboration between the two schools and their children.

Carol Chin
Carol Chin is a teacher and fine artist. She received an invitation from the Creative and Festival Arts Centre at the University of the West Indies to exhibit her work at the Trinidad:1234 gallery in the ‘Inner and Outer Space’ exhibition. She has worked on Carnival arts at the Horniman Museum and will be Artist in Residence at the 198 Gallery, Herne Hill where she will conduct workshops with children from the Family and Friends Summer Scheme to coincide with the Notting Hill Carnival exhibition.

Joan Anim-Addo
Head of Caribbean Centre, Goldsmith’s College, University of London
Joan Anim-Addo is head of the Caribbean Centre at Goldsmiths College, University of London, editor of Mango Season, which presents and debates Caribbean women’s writing. She is also the founder of Mango Publishing and the company published Limbolands (1999) by Maggie Harris which won the prestigious Guyana prize for the best first book of Poetry.
Goldsmiths College, the Caribbean Centre has been the organising impetus for London’s biennial Caribbean Women’s Literature conference, which recently brought together a panel of academics and practising teachers to discuss Carnival Arts within primary, secondary and tertiary education. Research in this area, informing pedagogic and literary practice is of continuing importance to the work of the centre. The centre’s Caribbean Studies Research Forum will be formally launched on Tuesday 10th July at 6:00pm by Cuban poet Nancy Morejon.

Claire Holder O.B.E. PGDipCJ, MA, MSc, ACIS
Chief Executive, Notting Hill Carnival Trust
Claire Holder is a Barrister at Law and a Chartered Secretary, specialising in the legal management of companies. She also practised for some fifteen years as a Criminal Law practitioner and is the holder of a Postgraduate Diploma in Criminal Justice with a particular interest in Criminology. With a Master of Arts in Peace Studies, Ms. Holder has been a consultant Advocacy Adviser on international peace and security and conflict resolution since 1982. She is an Associate Member of the Institute of Chartered Secretaries and holds a Master of Science in Finance and Administration with particular interest in Company Secretarial Practice and Corporate Governance.

Claire Holder has been involved in the Notting Hill Carnival continuously since 1973 as a Mas maker with the Ebony Steelband, L& H Wajangs and Bayie Busuofo; working closely with the Carnival Development Committee and Carnival Arts Committee; as the Chairperson of Notting Hill Carnival Limited 1989 – 1997, subsequently becoming Chief Executive of Notting Hill Carnival Trust in 1997. In 1979, she completed a mini thesis on the ‘Conflicts of the Notting Hill Carnival’.

Glen Tee Falconer
Chair, British Association of Sound Systems
Glen is in his third year of being a Director and Trustee of NHCT. He has been a member of BASS for approximately 15 years. Glen started Love TKO sound system in 1971, although at the time it was called Challenger. They were at the top of the pile until the late 1980’s. Glen now works as a self employed Audio and Broadcast Engineer. He is also a radio presenter on Fusion 107.3, in South London as well as Soul 24.7.com on the internet.

Greg Thomas
Director of Arts, London Arts

Greg is the owner of Music Incorporated, a sound system. He has been in the Carnival for a continuous 12 years, as well as being a BASS official for a number of those years. Greg has been active in the music industry since 1980. By trade he is an aircraft mechanic for British Airline, and is a cricket coach to National standards. He is active in both sport and development.

Jennette Arnold
London Assembly Member, Londonwide
Jennette Arnold is a Labour London-wide Assembly Member. She is the Labour Group lead on Culture and Civic Engagement. She is a member of the Mayor’s Cultural Strategy Group for London and is the former chair of Islington Borough Council’s Arts and Heritage Committee, who was a leading funder of Islington International Festival.

Rt. Hon. Diane Abbott MP
Member of Parliament for Hackney North
Diane Abbott is the Labour MP for Hackney North and Stoke Newington. She is currently a member of the Mayor’s Advisory Cabinet and has been an MP for 14 years, before which she was a Westminster Councillor from 1982 to 1986. Diane has been attending Carnival for over 20 years.

Commander Michael Messinger
Public Order Branch, Metropolitan Police Service
Commander Michael Messinger of the Metropolitan Police is responsible for Pan London Operations, which covers public order, traffic, air support, mounted branch, dogs and marine support. He represents the Metropolitan Police on national committees dealing with public order policing, self-defence, arrest and restraint and emergency procedures. He is a member of the institute of Personnel and Development. In the 1997 Birthday Honours he was awarded the Queens Police Medal.

Cllr. Kit Malthouse
Westminster City Council
Councillor Kit Malthouse is currently Chairman of the Social Services Committee and a member of the Policy & Resources committee. He was formally Vice-Chairman of the Policy & Resources Housing Committees. He has, among others, been a member of the Traffic Sub-Committee and Finance and Support Services sub-committee. By occupation, he is a Chartered Accountant and Finance Director.

Cllr. Merrick Cockell
Leader of the Council, Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea
Merrick Cockell was elected Leader of the Council in April, 2000. As elected Member of the Royal Borough, he has represented North Stanley Ward since 1986 and during that time he has been Chairman of the Education Committee and Chief Whip.

Chris Nortey ACMA, MBA
Finance Director, Notting Hill Carnival Trust
Chris Nortey is a Chartered Management Accountant with over 25 years’ experience in the Financial Management of businesses. He has been responsible for turning around failing companies in his capacity as a Finance Director and Chief Executive in the gold mining, textiles and food industries. For the past twelve years he has been instrumental in developing and shaping the strategies, which have greatly improved the financial health of the Notting Hill Carnival and the Notting Hill Carnival Trust. Chris Nortey is a Senior Lecturer in Finance and Accounting at Thames Valley University with a special interest in Strategic Management Accounting and Strategies for Value Creation for Companies.
Appendix 8
The Carnival Code

As the organiser of Carnival, the Notting Hill Carnival Trust, has three key messages for all visitors to Europe’s largest festival of arts and music, these are Enjoy, Be Safe and Respect!

We want all visitors attending Carnival to remember the following to help them get the best out of the event:

“Enjoy”

• Come to Carnival to enjoy yourself, jump up to the sounds, grind with the mas and chill at the stages.

• Performances at Carnival start from 12.00 noon and finish at 7.00pm, so why not join us early? Leaving earlier will also make it a more enjoyable day as transport systems are not as stretched.

• Dress cool and comfortably.

• If you are planning to follow a Mas band do not jump in front of the costumes, wait until the costumes have gone by and jump behind them in the non-costumed section of each band.

• Always plan how you are going to get to and from Carnival. Transport arrangements are published in a Transport for London guide at tube stations, in the Evening Standard’s Hot Tickets Magazine, by visiting the Carnival Website or London Live’s website www.bbc.co.uk/londonlive or by tuning into London Live on 94.9FM.

• If this is your first Carnival try coming on Sunday, you’ll see more.

“Be Safe”

• The Trust and all our entertainers are working closely with the police to ensure a trouble free environment. You too can help to create a safer environment by telling police if you see an incident.

• Share the experience of Carnival with friends - arrange to meet your friends before travelling to the Carnival environment because you’re unlikely to see them there.

• Stay with your friends - there is always the possibility of danger on the streets of big cities and it’s no different in a crowd of two million.

• Try to go with the flow of the crowd, not against it.

• Keep hold of your Children. If you have a push chair please stay away from the very busy areas and only bring them on Carnival Sunday, Children’s day.

• Remember that Carnival floats are large lorries, do not run across their paths and do not get too close to them.

• Do not jump on and off sound systems or live stages.
“Respect”

- Show respect to each other, Carnival’s historic values represent Freedom and Equality.

- Over 99% of Carnival visitors attend the event without any involvement in incidents. Don’t be one of the 1% that ruins the event for others. Treat other revellers with respect.

- Give consideration to the hosts of Carnival, the residents of Notting Hill. Remember that Carnival only inhabits the area for 48 hours, but this is also home to a lot of people all year round.

- You can make life easier for the residents by using the facilities provided and not turning residents front gardens into public conveniences and not using their walls or buildings as vantage points.

Most importantly let’s remember that Carnival is the social and artistic expression of Freedom and Equality and with this comes a responsibility to each other. So our message is simple, help us create a ‘Carnival Code’ and ultimately a climate for a Carnival we can all be proud of.

*Remember Carnival is a celebration - let’s keep it that way!*
Notes