

Festival Internationalization: Towards a Network Interpretation

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Abstract

As early as the 1920's Trinidadian style Carnivals have been staged in major metropolitan cities. In fact, the Notting Hill Carnival is considered Europe's largest street party, where as the Labour Day and Caribana celebrations are the largest festivals in the United States and Canada respectively. However, the process by which this outward growth has occurred has been largely unexplored in the literature. This study wishes to fill this gap by examining the development of this festival using frameworks drawn from international business theory. First, a literature review examined internationalization in organizations and festivals. Next, a retrospective case study was conducted using archival data of the domestic development and internationalization of the Trinidad and Tobago (TT) Carnival. The findings indicate that international relationships in countries outside of the Caribbean Region, aided the early growth of the festival. In contrast to previous stage models of festival internationalization, geographically closer countries in the Caribbean region began staging Carnivals after its establishment in North America and the UK. Finally, the TT Carnival has become an international network, providing an infrastructure for the exploitation of indigenous intangible resources by entrepreneurs and cultural practitioners.

Keywords: internationalization, festivals, Trinidad and Tobago, networks

Introduction

Over time, festivals have become increasingly internationalized. Today they occupy significant status as part the organised international mass tourism market (Picard & Robinson, 2006) and are consciously being developed as attractions for international audiences (Getz, 2008) by communities hoping to cash in on the current trends of cultural tourism and place marketing. For example, Oktoberfest, which originated in 1810 attracted 5.7million visitors to Munich in 2002 and highly successful versions in North America(Honggen & Stephen L. J, 2003). The Trinidad and Tobago (TT) carnival is perhaps a quintessential international festival. The local festival attracts a considerable number of foreign visitors and there are currently over sixty versions of these celebrations taking place annually throughout North America and Europe (Nurse, 1999). However to date, the opportunities and challenges created by international festivals like the TT carnival have received little research attention. Through examination of the outward path of development, this paper seeks to examine the mechanisms and modes of festival internationalization. First, a literature survey examines internationalization and patterns of outward development. Next, a case study is presented on the outward development of the TT carnival. After an analysis, findings are compared to previous theoretical conceptualizations and the implications for stakeholders are presented.

Literature Review: Modes, Patterns and Mechanisms of Internationalization

There is some debate over the definition of the term 'internationalization' (Andersen, 1997). While early researchers have defined internationalization as outward activity only (Jon Johanson & Mattson, 1988), later work defined it far more broadly as the process of increasing involvement in external activity (L. S. Welch & Luostarinen, 1988). This implies two directions of activity: outward internationalization, to serve international markets (J Johanson & Vahlne, 1977) as well as inward internationalization in which purchasing activities are extended to source from foreign suppliers (Fletcher, 2001).

Entities wishing to engage in outward international activity need to select an appropriate method also known as the entry mode (Clark, Pugh, & Mallory, 1997). Six possible forms of international market entry have been previously identified (C. Hill, 1999, p. 448): exporting, licensing, foreign joint venture, foreign direct investment in production sites, turnkey projects and franchising. For the purpose of this paper, only the first four modes of international market entry will be discussed:

1. Exporting - In exporting, production is carried out in the home country while sales and marketing activities are carried out in the host country, either directly by the firm, or indirectly, through agents. Exporting remains the primary means of internationalization as it offers flexibility with minimal resource commitment (Wolff & Pett, 2000).
2. Licensing - In licensing, a licensor grants intellectual property rights to a licensee in a foreign market in exchange for a royalty payment. This form of internationalization is of great benefit to the licensor as it enables a financial return on existing assets at relatively low costs and to the licensee as it enables access to codified intellectual property (Chen & Hu, 2002).
3. Foreign Joint Venture - Foreign joint ventures are organizations owned by two or more entities to perform research, sales or functions in a foreign market.
4. Direct Investment - Entities can create a wholly owned subsidiary in a foreign country to carry out functions in a foreign market.

Patterns of Internationalization

Internationalization theories can be differentiated by the patterns of development that they anticipate (Van De Ven & Poole, 1995). **Life cycle models** or theories present the change process as a progression through a predetermined sequence of stages from initiation to termination. In these theories, transformation is managed by some underlying form or pattern that moves the object of study toward a conclusion that is determinable from the current status. External environmental events and processes can influence the transformation process, but the underlying pattern (Van de Ven & Poole, 1988) remains dominant. A **teleological model** views transformation as a cycle of formulation, implementation, evaluation, and modification based on experience (Van de Ven and Poole 2005). Finally, an **evolutionary** theory focuses on holistic changes in structural forms of populations of entities (Mclevy, 1997). Driven by external or internal forces, firms engage in a continuous cycle of variation, creating new organizational forms (Van de Ven and Poole 2005). The environment selects the forms that best fit the existing

resource conditions and those characteristics are retained (Sarasvathy 2001). The key difference between the latter two and life cycle theory is that there is no predictable pattern of development.

Life Cycle Internationalization

Stage models describe internationalization as the outcome of an internal learning process: knowledge is acquired, integrated and processed, resulting in a change in behavior. Once the decision to internationalize is made, entities progress outward through a series of distinct stages of increasing geographical distance and operational complexity (Crick & Czinkota, 1995; Leonidou & Katsikeas, 1996). In organizational studies, examples are the Upsalla and Innovation internationalization models (Gankema, Snuif, & Zwart, 2000).

Teleological Models

Based on an interactive view of markets pioneered by Scandinavian researchers (Håkansson, 1982), network models describe internationalization as a relationship driven activity (N.E. Coviello & Munro, 1997). Network and partner commitments create a basis for learning about each other and can generate new knowledge through interaction, creating relationship specific assets. Unlike stage models, network models facilitate multiple directions of internationalization, incorporating inward, outward and horizontal forms of activity. Entities may seek out international supply relationships, or inward internationalization (Johanson & Mattson 1992). For outward internationalization, entities may establish positions in new countries or market entry, develop positions by enhancing existing networks or market penetration or coordinate country networks for firm advantage or international integration.

Resource based models allow for examination of a similar diversity of international activity. In this view, firms are modelled as a collection of resources that generate rents or returns (Mahoney & Pandian, 1992) that are coordinated to generate rents or income (Penrose, 1959). Researchers have identified six main categories of resources (Amit & Schoemaker, 1993) :

1. Financial (size and type of capital)
2. Physical
3. Human
4. Technological (product and process-related)
5. Reputation (image, brands, loyalty, trust, goodwill)
6. Organizational resources (management systems) that can be exploited to generate returns

The resource based view (RBV) has been increasingly applied to explain the reason for cross border activities of firms as it forms an adaptable framework for building theories. For example, in the knowledge model of internationalization, derived from the RBV (Kogut & Zander, 2003), social communities create and transfer knowledge. International organizations are seen as superior vehicles for the transfer of knowledge, and choose to engage in different types of cross border activity, based on attributes of knowledge that they possess. If that knowledge is difficult to transfer, subsidiaries are formed as the organization is extended across national borders. RBV models are also able to provide a theoretical explanation for the **direction** of international activity (Mahoney 1992) as organizations can engage in domestic or international

diversification (internationalization) based on the nature of market opportunities and available resources.

A resource model of festival internationalization has been created based on the examination of a Finnish chamber music event (Tikkanen, 2008). The underlying mechanism was the development of intangible resources that enabled deterministic progression from “local” to “maturing international festival”. While the researcher describes the model as evolutionary, the theory divides internationalization into distinct phases in a similar manner to early life cycle theories like the Upsalla model. Since internationalization may be a multi directional activity in which progression may be non-deterministic, there is a need for research that examines these perspectives. Examination of a larger festival with a longer history of operation may provide the opportunity to capture a broader range of activity, enabling the creation of a more comprehensive theory. For this study, the research question is therefore:

What is the path of internationalization of a large festival?

Examination of the above question requires a research perspective, data collection and analysis method that will not only review the trajectory of development but the underlying mechanisms of festival internationalization. The next section outlines the research method that was adopted for this study.

Research Methodology

While longitudinal studies have been proposed as ideal for examining internationalization (Nicole E. Coviello & Jones, 2004), very few researchers possess the resources to examine a given event for an extended duration (Haahti, 1998). Under these circumstances, retrospective case studies are of more practical value (Nummela, 2004). History can provide an avenue for examining complex, evolving phenomena, determining underlying causal factors when current data is not available (Jones & Khanna, 2006). A retrospective case study was therefore selected as the data collection and analysis tool. The Trinidad and Tobago (TT) Carnival was selected as event to be studied as it had a long history and an extensive global presence, with over 60 offshoots worldwide (Nurse, 1999). Archival data was obtained on the development of TT’s carnival and its counterparts both within and outside the Caribbean region. The distinction between regions was necessary to determine the temporal and geographic trajectory of festival development. This data was then assessed using a narrative sense making strategy (Langley, 1999) and the findings compared to extant internationalization theory to determine the paths and mechanisms of festival development.

Case Study: Internationalization of Trinidad Carnival

Despite their relatively small size, the Caribbean islands attract a disproportionate level of attention due, in part, to their role in world historical events (Sahay, Robinson, & Cashin, 2006). As former colonies, Caribbean islands have long been integrated in the world economy, importing labour and exporting commodities to Europe and later, the United States. It is therefore fitting that one of the largest international festivals worldwide originated in the Caribbean on the island of Trinidad and Tobago (TT). It features Trinidad and Tobago’s

indigenous traditions of masquerade, calypso and steel pan, which are showcased through large-scale assembly in large urban areas.

Carnival Origins

Carnival celebrations in Trinidad originated from French immigrants who were attracted to the island due to liberal immigration policies introduced by Spanish colonisers. At the time Charles II of Spain had become very concerned about the state of his colonies (E. Hill, 1997) and Trinidad was no exception, as its population was dwindling, both in terms of white Spanish settlers and of native Amerindians who were the main source of labour on the island. Spain was unable to profit benefits of sugar cane cultivation (Liverpool, 2001) because of the lack of available manpower. Thus after consultation with French planters in the neighbouring islands, the Cedula de Polacion was devised. It offered new immigrants land grants, tax concessions and protection, once they were Catholic and willing pledge their allegiance to the King of Spain.

In its early stages Carnival celebrations were very much upper class affairs. Balls, concerts, dinners and hunting parties accompanied by music, dance, fun and pranks were its main ingredients (van Konningsbruggen, 1997). Carnival was also a period in which slaves were shown good will by their owners and allowed diversion from their labours. Slaves attached to estates "...were sometimes invited to hold their own revels in front of, or in a room within, the master's house" (Hill, 1997: p.11). These early slave celebrations paved the way for the infusion of distinctly African traditions into the Trinidad Carnival. These French and African roots influenced the development of the festival's central art forms of masquerade, calypso and steel pan.

Masquerade

Masquerade is the oldest art form of the Trinidad Carnival as it can be traced to the early celebrations of the French planter class. After emancipation, street parades by masked revellers were dominated by freed slaves who developed their own masquerades which often criticized and satirized the elite and middle-classes. While masquerade themes have evolved since to incorporate fantasy elements (Green, 2007), the tradition of satiric performances survives in the J'ouvert celebrations held at the beginning of many carnivals worldwide.

Calypso

While the origins of calypso are still unclear (Martin, 1998), post-slavery it became an integral part of Carnival starting with the establishment of the early Carnival Tents. These tents were set up like mock courts with Queens, Kings, archbishops and other dignitaries. In these courts after the King, the chantwell (solo singer) was the next highest ranking official as he would lead his band in song during the street parades (Hill 1997). Since the majority of the newly emancipated African population were not literate and could not read either the English or French newspapers, calypsos sung in French patois were a source of news and often contained gossip about affairs and people in society. Like many of the practices that slaves participated in whilst on the plantations, these gatherings were regarded with a great deal of suspicion by the white population.

However, when English replaced the traditional French patios as the language of expression for calypso, the calypso tents became a place where ‘respectable citizens’ could get a preview of the new carnival music for dancing (van Koningsbruggen, 1997:p.49). Calypsos also became a vehicle for articulating the lower classes’ criticisms of the government and the Trinidadian elite and mobilising the masses into communal action.

All of these styles exist today but the predominant form within the genre is ‘soca’ which came to fore in the 1970s and is thought to be a response to the international market which by this time was shaping musical tastes in Trinidad, as well as, a means for entering foreign markets. Combining American soul music with calypso, it features a more “high tech sound and easily accessible party/dance lyrics” making it more attractive to younger and international audiences (Dudley, 1996: p.286).

Steel pan

The steel pan or steel drum has been described as “one of the world’s newest and most unusual folk instruments” (Seeger: p. 52). It is traditionally made by cutting off the end of a fifty-five gallon oil drum and selectively heating and cooling the remaining surface until different sections make sounds of varying pitches when hit with a rubber tipped stick. It’s presence in carnival originates from the use of percussion instruments as the main accompaniment for both entertainment and religious activities during slavery. Objection by Trinidad’s ruling elite ultimately led to the banning of drums in 1883, which by this time had become a central part of the carnival celebrations of ex-slaves. After the ban on the drum, music was supplied by a new percussion instrument, the tambour-bamboo. Orchestras of sorts were constructed using bamboo stems of different lengths and diameters to make sounds of varying pitches (van Koningsbruggen, 1997). Around 1937, these alternative forms of music gave way to the music made from metal instruments, at least according the newspaper reports which referred to the “terrific din set up by the clanking of pieces of tin” (cited by Hill, 1997:p.48).

Although the debate continues as to when the pan was invented and by whom, it is generally agreed that steelband music was widely heard in Trinidad after 1945 after the wartime ban on carnival was lifted (Dudley, 2001). In the 1940s, the steel pan found support among members of the growing black middle-class culminating with the formation of a national association in 1950. The coming of independence in 1962 ushered in a new level acceptance for steel pan music. The steel pan was adopted as national instrumented and bands were hired to perform at social and state functions. A year later in 1963 the national steel pan competition ‘Panorama’ was introduced (PanTrinbago, 2010a) and the instrument now forms a part of carnival celebrations worldwide.

Early Internationalization of Carnival’s Art Forms

Calypso began to build an international reputation as early 1914 when the first Victor Gramophone Company of New York made the first recordings. However, international interest in art form peaked in the 1950s. Much of the international acclaim that calypso enjoyed during this period can be linked to the American occupation of Trinidad during World War Two and

also improvements in production and distribution methods in the music industry (Hill, 1997). Crowley (1959: p57) highlights the “calypso craze” that occurred in the 1950’s which led to songs of this type accounting for as much as a quarter of popular record sales at one point (Times, 1957). The surge in popularity at the time being fed by success of American artists singing calypso styled songs such as Harry Belafonte, who became known as the King of Calypso after the success of Day O and the Andrews Sisters, a fifties girl trio that succeeded in making “the world resound with five million copies of Rum and Coca Cola” (Crowley, 1959). However, as the 1950s drew to a close so did the calypso craze and the genre has never since enjoyed a level of such acclaim.

However, the local calypso industry has continued to evolve since the 1950s both in music and lyrics. Calypso singers seeking to capture new markets for their product have fused together two or more musical idioms. For example, soul and calypso has fused to produce soca music, and French Caribbean rhythms have been added to calypso to create zouk. These fusions have helped to fuel calypso’s international resurgence. In the early 2000s Caribbean soca artists Rupee and Kevin Lyttle hit the US Billboard Charts and the Baha men enjoyed a runaway hit with ‘Who let the Dog Out’ a soca hit written by Trinidadian Anselm Douglas.

Today calypso major export markets span almost every corner of the globe with the following major markets (Gordon, 1998):

1. West Indian communities living in North America and the United Kingdom
2. Radio and television networks in North America and the United Kingdom
3. Europe, particularly Switzerland, Norway, Denmark, Sweden and France, where there are hundreds of steelbands and growing enthusiasm for calypso.
4. Japan
5. Africa

The steel pan first drew international attention when a national steel band was formed from the best pan men in the country to perform at the 1951 Festival of Britain. Additionally, during the 1940s 1950s and 1960s when West Indians migrated to metropolitan cities such as London, New York, Toronto and Washington D.C and began to celebrate Carnival, steel bands were also eventually included in the festivities. Today, the steel pan has been incorporated into the education systems of Great Britain and the United States, where carnival is still celebrated in their capital cities. The steel pan can also be found on the curricula of a number of Asian schools (Thomas, 1992). Through the efforts of travelling steel pan players, pan enthusiasts can be found in almost every continent in the world. Thomas (1992: p. xiii) provides the following listing of countries in which steel pan has impacted the local music industries:

Table 1: Countries in which the Steel Pan is part of the local music industry

CONTINENT	COUNTRIES
Africa	Various nations
Asia	Bahrain, China, Dubai, Indonesia, Hong Kong and Japan
Europe	Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Switzerland and the Commonwealth of Independent States (formerly the Soviet Union)
North America	United States and Canada
South America	Various nations
Oceania	Australia

The establishment of Carnivals in the Caribbean, North America and the United Kingdom enabled local masquerade designers to follow these celebrations in what has now become a year-round circuit of Carnivals. These carnivals provide a range of export opportunities for these businesses as designers travel abroad to assist and advise on the management of masquerade bands and also on the design of costumes. Some band leaders also ship costumes or pieces of costumes from Trinidad to be fully assembled in masquerade camps of the importing country (Green and Scher, 2007).

Internationalization of the TT Carnival

Presently, the TT Carnival incorporates a number of international elements. To reduce costs, masquerade costumes are imported from Brazil and China (Welch, 2010). Outside of Trinidad, carnivals in other countries are an important source of year round work for Trinidadian calypsonians, steel pan musicians, and masquerade designers. These persons are also invited to perform at other international festivals and events (Nurse, 1997) and Peter Minshall, a Trinidadian Masquerade designer, has contributed to the opening ceremony of the Barcelona and Atlanta Olympics (Schechner & Riggio, 1998). Finally, festival entrepreneurs have also been able to enter international markets with masquerade bands Poison (Poison.co.uk) and Tribe (carnivaltribe.com) creating affiliates in the UK, US and Australia.

Most islands in the Caribbean and almost every major city in North America and Britain has a Carnival resembling the one in Trinidad. Of all the overseas carnivals London's Notting Hill,

New York's Labour Day and Toronto's Caribana are the largest and most popular. In fact, the Notting Hill Carnival is considered Europe's largest street party, where as the Labour Day and Caribana celebrations are the largest festivals in the United States and Canada respectively. As Nurse (1999) observes these celebrations stand out as powerful examples of the influence that Caribbean people exert on mainstream global culture. This section examines the outward evolution of Carnival both outside and within the Caribbean region by reviewing the founding conditions of the three largest festivals of each type.

Extra Regional Internationalization

Carnivals outside of the Caribbean have come to represent a means by which West Indian immigrants living in metropolitan societies maintain a sense of community and connect to their cultural heritage (Manning, 1990). They have been used in these societies as vehicles for social cohesion and they have been credited with breaking down "barriers of colour, race, nationality, age and gender (Dabydeen, 1988). The first of these very popular carnivals began in the 1920s in Harlem and it would go on to become the New York Labour Day celebrations in 1947, which is what it is known as today (Nunley & Bettelheim, 1988) It is the largest of the Carnival offshoots, with over 3 million visitors (Trotman, 2005).

The roots of the Notting Hill Carnival are disputed. Some writers trace its foundations to political activist Claudia Jones, a Trinidadian-born, communist exiled from the United States. Jones along with her friends and comrades established the Caribbean Carnival Committee to organise a celebration in 1959 at the St. Pancras Town Hall in London, shortly after race riots which took place in the Notting Hill area (Sherwood, 1999). Other writers cite an event called the Notting Hill Festival as the beginning of what is now called the Notting Hill Carnival. In 1964 Rhuane Laslett, in response to the lack of participation of West Indian children in the Notting Hill Festival, decided to add some West Indian culture to it as an attraction. She invited a steel band, and this caused West Indians in the area, adults as well as children, to follow the steel band in processional manner as is done in Trinidad, the birthplace of the steel pan instrument (Carver, 2000).

Toronto's Caribana began in 1967 as the West Indian contribution to Canada's centennial (Trotman, 2005). It was intended as a one-time 'gift' to Toronto and consisted primarily of a small parade on Yonge Street, a main downtown thoroughfare. However, the celebrations brought in a record crowd of 80,644 people and the city of Toronto were so impressed that it became an annual event (Green, 2007).

Regional Internationalization

The success of TT's Carnival encouraged regional governments to create similar festivals. The island of Antigua created a TT inspired event in 1957 (Manning, 1983) to both attract tourists and commemorate the emancipation of slaves in 1934. In Barbados, a festival known as Crop Over which originated in the 1780's was revived by the government in 1976 (Dann & Potter, 2001) as a TT style carnival with calypso music (Meredith, 2003) and masquerade. Jamaica's carnival began as a private party in Kingston, the capital that was held by prominent families who participated in the TT carnival regularly (Edmondson, 1999). With the support of the Jamaican

government, it became a public event in 1990 and has grown to become an attraction that features TT music and costumes (Irobi, 2007).

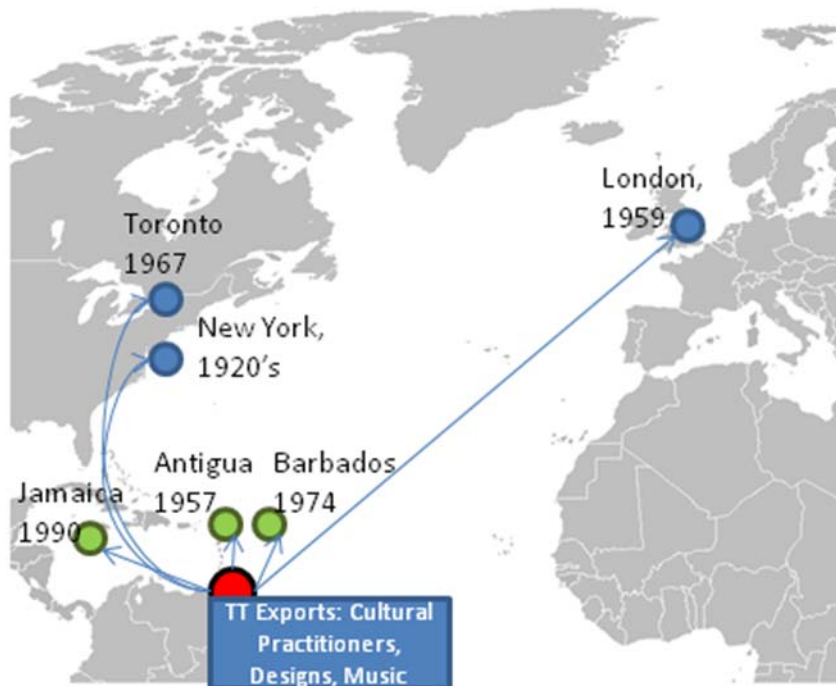
Discussion: The TT Carnival as International Experience Production Network

Internationalization has been a feature of Carnival celebrations from its very inception. Today the festival incorporates aspects of culture that have been extracted from Europe, America, Africa and Asia as well as its indigenous, distinctive Caribbean elements. From 1914 onwards Carnival and its art forms began an increasingly rapid process of internationalization driven by key historical events. Later, the migration of Trinidadians and other West Indians to North America and United Kingdom facilitated the transplanting of the Carnival celebrations to over sixty North America and European cities.

Outward Internationalization

The outward path of the TT Carnival does not follow a predictable path. Unlike the incremental, life cycle approach predicted by stage models, the TT Carnival followed a more complex development path. Based on that theory, Carnival would have expanded to nearby markets first and over time enter geographically further countries (Oczkowski, 2006). Nearby, Regional festivals would have been the oldest, largest and most sophisticated while their extra regional counterparts would have been the reverse. However, in the case of Carnival, foreign offshoots were first established outside of the Caribbean region by expatriate Trinidadians and, over time, have become the largest festivals of their kind. Extra regional success encouraged regional governments to adapt existing festivals or create new versions as tourist revenue earners. Presently TT cultural practitioners provide services for these festival offshoots. Since the home market is relatively small, this allows them to work all year round as Carnival professionals. More recently, Carnival has provided infrastructure for international entrepreneurship as bands from Trinidad have utilized licensing to enter foreign markets (www.poisonUK.com, 2010). Figure 1 shows the outward internationalization path of TT Carnival:

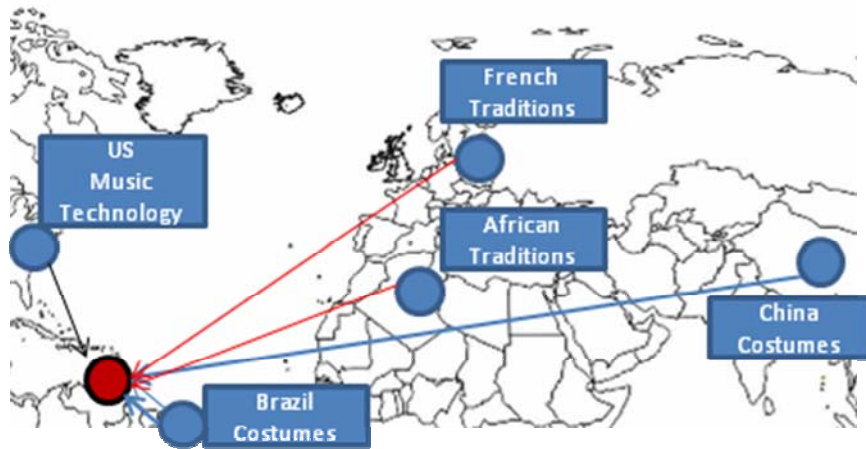
Figure 1: Outward Internationalization of TT Carnival



Inward Internationalization

Inward internationalization has been a significant feature of TT Carnival. Its origins are based on traditions imported from France and Africa, with later English influences helping to create the steelpan. Later, TT musicians travelled to the United States to record, and American influences helped create the Soca genre. Currently, while designs are done in Trinidad, costumes and components are imported from Brazil and China. Figure 2 shows inward internationalization in TT Carnival.

Figure 2: Inward Internationalization of TT Carnival



Established by French and African traditions, Carnival has can be described as an inherently international festival. Even in its domestic form, external forces helped shape festival elements such as the pan and calypso. Over time, it has evolved from a single, domestic event, to a network of festivals linked by the Diaspora, cultural practitioners and businesses. Generally, Caribbean islands have experienced a high percentage of outward migration and TT is no exception. As such, Trinidad has a community of expatriates concentrated in English speaking developed countries such as Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States. The underlying mechanism for the early phase of TT Carnival internationalization was therefore an international network formed by the Diaspora. In this way, it bears some similarity to the Scottish Highland Games and the St Patrick's day parade. The internationalization of both of these festivals have been facilitated by the Scottish(Chhabra, Healy, & Sills, 2003) and Irish diaspora respectively. Like TT Carnival, they serve to not only celebrate the traditions of a distinct group but to demonstrate them to people in their new home(Marston, 2002). This diaspora network also facilitated inward internationalization in the case of TT carnival, allowing calypso performers to access foreign recording expertise.

Subsequent internationalization was based on the development of intangible, knowledge based resources in the form of reputation and expertise. The reputation earned by successful festivals in the US and elsewhere encouraged the establishment of similar events in the Caribbean. Since these festivals are held at different times of the year, they allow cultural practitioners to both develop and exploit expertise, another intangible resource. An international festival network enables popular cultural practitioners to work year round, allowing them to work full time to develop their craft, an option that was not available to early performers. It also provides a platform for exploitation or commercialization by providing an accessible market for performers and entrepreneurs. The latter group have leveraged parallel developments in the global economy to enter international markets since their establishments in the birthplace of Carnival provides a reputational advantage that competitors cannot match The increasing availability of subcontractors and reduction of communication costs (Andersen, 1997) have enabled them to

outsource aspects of costume making, reducing costs. Reduction in trade barriers have facilitated their entry into foreign markets, allowing TT firms to provide services to festivals worldwide (Herrmann & Datta, 2005).

For the internationalization of the TT Carnival, two mechanisms are visible. In the early development, networks supported the establishment of extra regional festivals. Later development of intangible resources spawned another wave of internationalization closer to home, with Caribbean islands staging similar festivals. Finally as a global festival, Carnival has become a network that aids internationalization. TT based entrepreneurs have been able to provide services to these offshoots, supporting further development and exploitation of skills in organization and performance. Unlike previous work in festival internationalization, the emergent path of development is teleological, as festivals were established to meet first cultural then commercial goals.

Conclusions and Implications

There have been very few studies that have addressed the complex management challenges of these festivals face and even those that have sought to address them have viewed the festivals in isolation rather than as a network of event organizations. Organizers seem to operate independently and not as part of a larger festival group (Mossberg & Getz, 2006), as they face very similar challenges but there seems to be no mechanism for harnessing collective learning. The current dialogue surrounding Carnival needs to be expanded in order for festival organizers to come to terms with complex challenges facing them, particularly those arising out the increasing internationalization of Carnival. An examination of the TT Carnival's internationalization has revealed that it has followed a non deterministic, goal determined path. Initially, those goals were cultural but they were later expanded to include commercial aspects. Over time, it has evolved to become a distinct network, facilitating later internationalization by firms.

While the findings of this work are based on the analysis of archival data and need to be confirmed with further empirical work, viewing international festivals as event production networks has significant implications for stakeholders. For organizers, both inward and outward international connections can be traced to understand the extent and nature of festival activity. A depository of festival experiences can then be created to share best practices, improving the festival experience. Further, goods and services created for carnival have the potential to become a high value manufacturing category (Livesey, 2006). These items tend to have a high perceived customer value (Sánchez et al, 2005), generating high margins for suppliers. While the current focus on many developing countries is science and technology based innovation, their limited capabilities in these areas make success doubtful, at best. By contrast, leveraging the Diaspora that exists in many metropolitan countries through international festivals are an avenue for high value product and service sales that need to be further explored. Further research can be undertaken to identify accessible festival business opportunities that can become avenues for development.

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