

Promoting Culture and Tourism in Nigeria Through Calabar Festival and *Carnival Calabar*

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Abstract *This Paper examines current measures of cultural promotion and tourism development in Nigeria, focusing on the efforts of Cross River State. Described as Nigeria's foremost tourists' destination, Cross River State has developed what appears to be a unique cultural and tourism development plan, featuring two major products – The Calabar Festival and Carnival Calabar in its tourism calendar. In the first place, the paper analyses the structures and dimensions of the two cultural and tourism products, situating them in the contexts of traditionality and modernity on the one hand, and globalization and localization on the other. In the later part, the paper attempts to evaluate the economic, social and political implications of the festival and carnival on tourism development in Nigeria. In conclusion, the paper affirms that with products such as Calabar Festival and Carnival Calabar, Nigeria may already have started the process of economic diversification from oil driven economy to ecological/cultural tourism-driven economy of the future. Recommendations are made towards the fortification of the tourism industry, particularly in the areas of security and privatization for accelerated growth.*

Keywords: *Culture, Tourism, Festival, Carnival.*

1. Introduction

A number of cultural activities exist in Nigeria, which create unique creative spaces for producers of the arts as well as conducive interactive spaces for tourists and connoisseurs. Many of these cultural activities have been in practice from time and have given the country an acclaim as being culturally super-active. The cultural activities in Cross River State are particularly outstanding from those in many other states of the federation as they showcase diverse creative packages. The state is renowned for its festivals of songs, dances and masquerades at coronation, marriage, burial, naming, planting and harvesting ceremonies. Cross River State is also popular for its hospitality and its culinary productivity – many Nigerians would want to have a taste of 'Calabar' food. Tourists also like to visit the numerous cultural and historical sites in Cross River State. While these ceremonies, tourism potentialities and locations have ever been present with the people of Cross River State in Nigeria, not much was done to formalize and organize their presentation to diverse international audiences until the year 1999. The administration of Donald Duke at the inception of Nigeria's 4th democratic era evolved a dynamic policy to develop the tourism sub-sector as an area of alternative revenue for the state. Part of the plan was to develop a rich tourism calendar to accommodate more (existing) cultural events and in some cases rebrand and repackage them for better appeal. The plan was also to accommodate new events that would appeal to the emerging consumerist culture of the 21st century. So, in all parts of the state there are cultural festivals and artistic practices that appeal to diverse audiences. There is mountain tourism and recreation in the mountainous region of Obudu; there are new yam festivals in the agricultural belt; maiden outing ceremonies, water sports and other art-related events in many communities of the state. Following the tourism calendar, the month of December is busy, deliberately packed with festive activities, most of which take place at the state capital. Two major activities – Calabar Festival and *Carnival Calabar* feature prominently in this season of festivities every year. The concern of this paper is to analyse the structure, scope and the cultural dimensions of the Calabar Festival and *Carnival Calabar* in the first instance, and later to evaluate the economic, social and political implications of the festival and carnival on tourism development in Nigeria.

2. The Calabar Festival

The Calabar Festival started ordinarily as Christmas festival and initially, celebrations at the festival were similar to Christmas celebrations elsewhere in the Christendom to commemorate the birth of Jesus Christ, but with traditional African touch – a display of masquerades and traditional dances, and heavy consumption of food and drinks. The Christmas celebration climaxes on 24th, 25th and 26th of December. In Calabar, a variety of indigenous masquerades, including *Ekpe*, *Nnabo*, *Tinkoriko*, *Okpo* and dances such as *Abang* and *Ekombi* display around the Bassey Duke Effigy close to Watt Market, at Eleven-Eleven and many other locations within the town. But in 1999, the celebration took a dramatic form. It was the turn of a new millennium and the new civilian administration in the state, led by Governor Donald Duke decided to make Christmas celebration an international festival sponsored by the state and other concerned entities. Fireworks heralded the beginning of a new millennium in the city of Calabar and across the state. A tradition of celebrating Christmas with pump and pageantry had begun and was to get better every passing year.

By the year 2005, the period of Christmas festival was extended to 32 days, beginning from the first day of December to the first day of January. This particular year, public and civil servants in the state were granted a leave from work to enable them enjoy the holidays. There was no work in public offices throughout Cross River State for 32 days. Every day was filled with a major celebration or recreation activity that would appeal to all classes of people - the children, youth and adults.

In what has become an established tradition, Calabar Festival celebration starts on the 1st of December with the city walk campaign against HIV/AIDS. In the event, the organizers thought there was a need to ensure the fitness of the citizens as well as to regenerate the awareness on HIV/AIDS for the season. This activity also commemorates the World AIDS Day declared by the United Nations and observed globally as an annual event. The city walk in some cases serves as a test run for *Carnival Calabar* since it goes through the same route and covers the same 12km distance.

As part of the Calabar festival, several shows and entertainment activities are held every evening and late into the nights at a number of venues – the Millennium Park, The U J Esuene Stadium, the Cultural Centre Complex, Marina Beach and Resort, Tinapa and the Botanical Garden. No day is wasted, no dull moments. Every show is free for all classes of audiences.

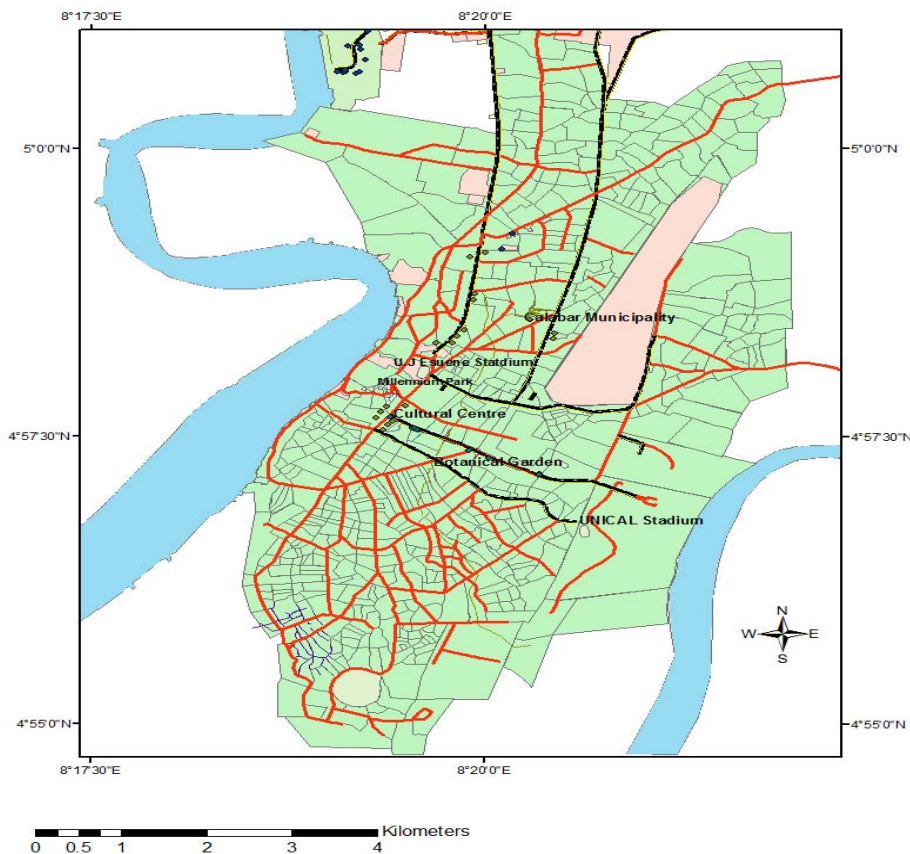


Figure I: Map of Calabar Showing Performance/Activity Venues for Calabar Festival

There is a vibrant festival atmosphere at the Cultural centre ground where the Christmas Arcade is built. Also known as the Christmas Village, the arcade consists of several make-shift kiosks and shops for sales of fast food and drink, and for other forms of entertainment. The people's cultural artefacts – arts, craft and fashion are displayed in this cultural village for sale to visitors. This is also the venue for the Christmas fair where sales are made in specially fabricated shops. Tourists and residents unwind and shop at this venue after the day's activity. A San Grotto is built for the children where with a token, they can have a hand shake, photo shot and a gift from Father Christmas.

At the arcade, all the local government areas in Cross River State also exhibit their cultures in various stands. At the ultra-modern theatre within the complex, theatrical performances – plays, dance-drama and pantomime are held. In the programme of the festival, some days are set aside for play productions, consisting of indigenous and foreign stage plays, featuring, in most cases, the best performers in Nigerian theatre practice. A number of classics have been performed over the years.

The UJ Esuene stadium with a seating capacity of 10,000 spectators is a large venue for open-air performances. A collapsible stage, replete with state-of-the-art lighting and sound equipment is assembled for shows featuring popular international and local entertainers performing for a large crowd. The carnival king and queen competition is also held here.

The Millennium Park commissioned in 1999 is an alternative venue for open-air performances. This is the venue for the annual Christmas carols and nativity plays on Christmas Eve. Church choirs also hold annual festival of songs where the best choirs win fabulous prizes. At the festival, churches also have a wide avenue for evangelism as they circulate tracts and other Bible literature.

At the Tinapa Business Resort, a number of facilities, including the waterpark and games arcade are available for year-round entertainment. In the festive period, one of the emporia is used for the Carnival Calabar Queen competition. Funds raised at this event are used for humanitarian courses. Tourists can access the Tinapa resort by road and by the river channel, using marine boats ferrying from the Marina beach through the Calabar river to Tinapa jetty.

The Marina (Bayside) beach, also known as Freedom Bay is another site that hosts thousands of people in the season of festivities. The boat regatta, another cultural activity in the festival is held at this venue, launching from the bank of Cross River at Calabar. The event is competitive and draws participants from interested local government councils. In the olden days, the regatta was staged during the celebration of tribal war victories. It was also observed during the coronation of a new Efik King (Obong). Still at the Marina beach is the Marina resort where there is an amphitheatre, fantasy world for children, night club, outdoor bar and a boat club. All facilities are open for patronage during the festival period.

The Botanical Garden ground offers a venue for the *Nyoro* festival of Ekpe masquerades. Other performances such as cultural dances, songs, dirges and poetry of different ethnic groups of the state are displayed during the Christmas festival to enable people to appreciate various cultural aesthetics of Cross River State. In some years, the activities may include modelling parade of indigenous fashion. This aspect showcases fashion and style in fabrics, beads, raffia and other accessories of the people of the state.

Football competition between local government areas and well organized club sides is also a part of the festival. The venue is Abraham Ordia Stadium at the University of Calabar. The UJ Esuene stadium which would better suffice for this event is at this time fully engaged for daily concerts.

The city of Calabar wears a different look during the festival. Every part of the city is decorated for the festival. The most striking element of decoration is the lighting. Major roundabouts and electricity power poles on every major street are creatively decorated with special Christmas lighting. The lights are strung on metal wires into various designs with intervals of multiple coloured bulbs. The shaped designs comprise floral patterns, angular, multiple-point stars, Christmas bell, geometric shapes and others. Some have the traditional image of Santa Claus as part of the design. The focal point of Christmas streetlights is the massive structure at the CBN roundabout close to the Millennium Park. The structure is built like a set, covered with special fabric and lit with tiny multi-coloured bulbs. The millennium park itself is also beautifully lit and houses a giant Christmas tree with special lighting accessories. The light patterns are said to have meanings and values for those who share in the Christian faith. A large Nigerian flag acclaimed to be the largest flag in Africa is flown prominently at the centre of the park at the height of approximately 70 feet. As part of the decoration, holiday messages and greetings are printed on flex materials and panels and displayed along major streets to create a panoramic visual delight. The Calabar Festival is rounded up with the cross over night on 31st December and a New Year thanksgiving service on the 1st of January held in different churches.

From the scenario presented, the Calabar Festival offers what can be described as a full menu in the attraction sector, being one of the five components of the tourism industry classified by Middleton and Clarke (2008:11). The other

sectors – accommodation, transportation, travel and destination organization are also provided by the Tourism Development Bureau to support the attraction sector.

3. Carnival Calabar

The Calabar carnival with the brand name *Carnival Calabar*, dubbed 'Africa's Biggest Street Party' by its organizers has been held annually every 26th and 27th December since 2005. The idea of the carnival had been on the drawing board since 2000 when the Cross River State government started celebrating the annual Christmas festival now renamed Calabar Festival. The carnival in its present form is cloned after Trinidad and Tobago carnival. Five bands were formed in the year 2005, namely, *Bayside*, *Freedom*, *Master Blaster*, *Passion 4* and *Seagull*, and each is headed by a leader who in consultation with prominent band leaders develops a guiding philosophy for the operations of the groups. Membership for each band is drawn from the public and can be extended to any size. Funding is derived from corporate sponsorship, adverts at carnival venues, membership contributions, annual registration fees and proceeds from year-round entertainment activities. The Calabar carnival continues to grow in terms of participation and in funding every year. Corporate sponsors, consist of banks, airlines, communication and insurance companies who collectively fund the various aspects of the carnival through their publicity programs. The carnival is largely funded by the private sector. The State Carnival Commission, a government regulatory agency moderates the activities of the bands. The commission seeks for sponsorship and technical partnership, sources for marketing rights, generates publicity, provides logistics, provides themes, organizes dry runs and other activities related to carnival organization.

Children's carnival is a vital preliminary component of *Carnival Calabar*. Prior to the main carnival, children, divided into bands parade a short distance with colourful costumes and dance. The involvement of children is to ensure that the carnival tradition is passed on to succeeding generations. The ultimate winners in the children category are given prizes. Also as preliminary to the main carnival is the cultural parade through the carnival route. This parade consists of cultural groups from various states in Nigeria and resident communities in Cross River State.

The main carnival procession moves through a 12-kilometre route in the city of Calabar, and is very competitive. Judges are drawn from various fields of the arts and also from the academia, the entertainment industry and other relevant professions. There are defined parameters for assessing the ability of each band to interpret the carnival theme.





Pictures Showing Revellers at *Carnival Calabar*

The Calabar carnival is supported by allied activities, including a beauty pageant – the carnival Queen competition, which generates proceeds specifically for a humanitarian cause; and the essay writing competition geared towards encouraging students in primary, secondary and tertiary institutions to develop interest in creative writing. Prizes are awarded to winners in various categories. For reason of maintaining high standards in the carnival, the carnival commission organizes a post-carnival interactive forum, bringing both the organizers and the participants together to discuss operational protocols towards rectifying anomalies. The commission also sends separate delegations to the annual carnivals at Trinidad and Tobago and Rio de Janeiro in Brazil to study production techniques towards applying the experience to improve *Carnival Calabar*.

4. Trado-Modernity versus *Glocalization* in Calabar Festivities

Carnival Calabar and Calabar Festival are tourism products that draw from traditional indigenous practices and the ever-unfolding forms of modernity in various contexts. This is why the concept of trado-modernity, formulated to describe and address the fusion of the traditional and the modern is apt in describing them.

While the contents of *Carnival Calabar* and Calabar Festival are largely indigenous and traditional, parts of the execution and consumption of the concepts reflect aspects of modernity. The core artistic mix of Calabar Festival – the masquerades, songs, dances and costumes are indigenous art form which have been in traditional usage early in time. Masquerades, for instance have been performing in Calabar, like many parts of Africa, acting as intermediaries between the spirits of the ancestors and the real world in roles that vary with societies (Willet 1981: 180). But in contemporary usage in the festival, masquerades simply entertain and the costumes draw from a wide variety of locally produced and foreign materials, the essence of which is to achieve the requisite aesthetic blend.

Similar to what is happening to the masquerades, cross cultural interactions and globalization have introduced new elements into existing indigenous artistic forms adopted or appropriated for the festival and the carnival. Expressionist trends of the 21st Century demand creativity, which is amply displayed in the various designs for *Carnival Calabar* in costumes, props and make-up, which are now produced with a mix of indigenous and foreign materials; songs and dances may be indigenously conceived, but are refined and amplified with modern equipment. Similarly, foreign choreography and dance now coexist with indigenous ones to form completely new creations in many instances.

Another interesting area of manifestation of the global/local relationship is in the concept and eventual structure of *Carnival Calabar*. It has been widely remarked that *Carnival Calabar* is a foreign carnival tradition on which indigenous art forms and festivals have been sprinkled, so to say for acceptability. It is true that at the inception, *Carnival Calabar* was conceived to replicate the Trinidad and Tobago carnival (Carlton 2010: 42). It could be recalled that Donald Duke, the erstwhile governor of Cross River State in a bid to enrich the tourism menu of the state led a delegation to Trinidad and Tobago early in 1995 to participate, study and reproduce the Trinidad and Tobago-type street carnival in Calabar. But as the carnival tradition was shaping up, modifications were made, which added peculiar features that made the carnival somewhat original in the final analysis. For instance, the idea of constructing floats on trucks for each carnival band was borrowed from the Brazilian carnival. The Hip-Hop musical genre, arguably of American origin is popularly used instead of the Caribbean Samba. Contemporary Nigerian popular music is also widely used. The dances and costumes are a blend of the indigenous and Western varieties. The costumes in particular are rendered with a touch of indigenous

morality and consequently are a bit more conservative and less revealing, unlike the Caribbean-type costumes which tend towards nudity. As a further mark of uniqueness, indigenous concepts are performed to meet the aesthetic taste of the largely indigenous audiences. Constantly, the themes of *Carnival Calabar* have been formulated to promote the culture of the indigenous people. It is therefore difficult to assume in totality that *Carnival Calabar* is exclusively indigenous or foreign, for it certainly blends the global and local taste. In other words, it is *glocalized* to adopt Brooks and Normores' usage of the portmanteau terminology in reference to "meaningful integration of global and local forces", and the final product, though still metamorphosing is unique. (Brooks & Normore 2010: 52)

5. Audience Response and Patronage

The formulation of *Carnival Calabar* and Calabar Festival appears to be acceptable to both global and local audiences as reflected in the patronage over the years. Patronage has been increasing progressively and with a remarkable diversity in terms of the number of foreign nationalities that participate. More bleachers have been constructed on the carnival route to accommodate the growing audiences in comfort. It is difficult to declare in certain terms the number of people that visit Calabar for the festival and the carnival every year as there are no official figures to this effect. There are no deliberately designed templates to capture data, neither are there agencies to monitor and publish figures representing the number of visitors to Calabar. But speculations can be made based on the fact that traffic through the Calabar airport during the festive season is dense and air passengers are usually required to book ahead. All the airlines that ply the Calabar local route are usually fully booked towards the festive period. Moreover, from media reports, accommodation in hotels and guest houses are usually scarce as booking is done earlier in the year by guests to beat the rush. Road traffic in the city of Calabar also increases as evident by the traffic jams of December. From all indications, the flurry of activities in Calabar and environs towards the end of year is linkable in one way or the other to the festivities. To draw from Hughes' classification of tourists, both 'culture/art-core' tourists and 'culture/art peripheral' tourists inundate Calabar every end of year. In other words, while some tourists visit Calabar just to see the arts and culture displayed at the festival and carnival, others visit maybe for other purposes, but also take part in the festivities as a secondary activity (Hughes 2000: 2).

6. Tourism Promotion and Transmission of Cultural Values

Over the years, Cross River State has been acclaimed for its great tourism potential and cultural practices probably ahead of other states in Nigeria. The state is naturally endowed with great waterfalls as found in Agbokim and Kwa; rich virgin forests reserves found at Afi and the protected forest areas of the Cross River National Park at Akamkpa, Oban and Okwango. There are also mountain ranges and scenic hills at Obudu and environs. From the cultural perspective, Eyo has publicized prime historical findings such as the Bakor (Ejagam) Monoliths and the Calabar terracottas (2008: 48, 53). There are also a number of historical landmarks such as the Old Residency Museum, Slave History Museum, Mary Slessor tomb site, among others. All these attractions and amenities are easily accessible to tourists; most also conform to the parameters of Hughes' tourist destination evaluation model, consisting of attraction, amenities, accommodation and access – "the 4 As" (Hughes 2000: 125).

The Obudu Ranch Resort is a major tourism centre with its facilities linked by air and by road. The Bebi Airstrip at the top of the Ranch was built to meet the need of travellers who wish to connect directly to the ranch from Calabar and other airports in the country all year round. There is a cable car spanning a distance of 11 km between the foot of the Obudu Mountains and the top of the ranch. Visitors can use this facility while ascending the ranch to have a panoramic view of the mountain ranges. Some major features of the resort are the water park, the presidential villa, international golf course, standard lawn tennis courts, a well equipped gymnasium, deluxe suites and chalets. This venue has hosted major global events some of which are the Miss World Beauty Pageant in 2002; the Gulder Ultimate Search II, which generated a lot media mileage from the 30 days one hourly show on Nigerian Television Authority Network Services; the Obudu mountain race, which attracts internationally acclaimed marathon racers and the African weekend with a bon-fire at the ranch.

Another centre for tourism development is the Tinapa – Africa's premier business resort where business is done in absolute leisure. Facilities at this complex include the 5-star Amber Hotel, a beach, craft village, water park, games arcade, etc. The ecological, cultural and contemporary facilities in Cross River State collectively serve to promote tourism in the state. All year round, the state is a viable tourism destination. This continuity in tourism promotion orchestrated by the international media opens a possibility of continuous patronage from which the annual festivities benefit. The state has developed a marketable brand captured visually in its logo – 'Destination Cross River'. The logo appears to be a

permanent tourism promotional tool that beckons on the visitor wherever it appears. In the year 2011, a giant sculptural replica of the state logo was mounted at a major roundabout at the entrance of the city of Calabar, where like a billboard, it dominates the landscape and literarily as it would appear, raises the image of the state above others in tourism practice.

The state's tourism development thrust has a sustainable framework and its implementation is overseen by the state tourism bureau, established by an act of the state assembly and properly positioned to become a permanent institution for tourism development. Over time, the bureau has identified and developed tourism sites, co-ordinated and promoted activities in the tourism sector.

Even as Cross River State has set up a comprehensive structure to promote tourism and to boost its tourist image, the component products of the sector also continue in this drive. Specifically, the Calabar Festival and Carnival have been veritable tools in the promotion of culture and tourism through the images and impressions they present and the experiences they represent. The period of festivities is perhaps the only time which the people of the state share in an intensive display of performing and visual arts and cultural heritage. This promotes cohesion amongst the people as the participation is interactive between the various ethnic groups that make up the state and beyond. During this period different tribes showcase their cultures to educate the people. The shared cultural values therefore become a medium of learning about the values that have been handed down from earlier generations.

The festival is a forum to showcase the traditional hospitality for which the state is known. Hospitality is part of the culture of the people of Cross River State and is demonstrable not only within family circles, but also to visitors. The people have a strong will and desire to host visitors no matter where they come from. Visitors are entertained primarily with food and drinks, and also with outdoor recreation and entertainment which are plenty during the festival. Apart from being hospitable, the people of the state are peaceful. This quality is rare in many other Nigerian states where there are frequent reports of civil unrests. The attitude of receptivity to visitors, no doubt supports tourism.

7. Tourism and Culture in Cross River State: Economic, Social and Political Implications

Perhaps the greatest factors of sustainability in tourism development are those linked with the economic, social and political structures of the host environment. For tourism to thrive on long-term basis there have to be significant economic, social and political benefits. This justifies the investment in the sector. From the economic perspective, Cross River State, like every state in Nigeria is dependent on federal monetary allocation largely derived from the sales of crude oil. From this allocation, the state meets its needs of both capital and recurrent expenditure, including payment of salaries to the teeming population of civil and public servants. This pattern of income generation is mainly dependent on a singular source – the sales of crude oil. It follows that if Nigeria does not export crude oil for whatever reason, then the whole country will be paralyzed financially. In view of this possibility, many states of the federation with Cross River State at the fore are beginning to explore options for alternative revenue. The agriculture and the tourism sectors were two of the viable sectors earmarked by the state government for development. An attempt was made to produce a roadmap on tourism development to include the improvement of allied infrastructure to support all facets of tourism development. In this regards, transportation and accommodation were to receive prime attention. The civilian administrations of the 4th Republic from 1999 have done much to develop the transportation systems in the state, first by extending the road network and secondly, by introducing mass transportation systems and sophisticated taxis to replace motorcycles. A mono-rail plan is also complete, awaiting implementation to provide another option to mass transportation in Calabar, a city that is fast expanding. The Margaret Ekpo International Airport in the city has been given a face lift to fit the status of the state as the foremost tourism destination in Nigeria. The Bebi Airstrip at the Obudu Ranch Resort was built as part of the transportation plan to enhance tourism.

As part of the tourism development plan, the state has also developed the hospitality industry by privatizing the major hotels previously run by government for effective management and service delivery. The Metropolitan Hotel and the Obudu Resort have been outsourced to competent international conglomerates in hotel management. Private operators in the hospitality industry are also encouraged to invest in hotels, guest houses, motels and hostels to meet the high demands for accommodation in the state towards the end of the year.

The ripple effect of tourism development in the state is enormous. As part of the benefits to the state, the returns accruing from Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) at this period is assumed to be high. While no figure is available to indicate in clear terms this assumption, it is on record that major hotels and guest houses, major transportation companies and vendors pay a percentage of their income as tax to the state. Much benefit also accrues to the private sector as artists, designers, engineers, transporters, hoteliers, artisans, retailers at various outlets and many others experience a boom from the state's tourism initiative.

The social atmosphere, particularly in Calabar is charged as social engagements abound throughout the festive season. Residents key into the festive mood to arrange other social outings such as weddings, birthdays, chieftaincy ceremonies and children parties during this season. The designation of Cross River State as the foremost tourist destination in Nigeria is a boost to the economic, social and the political profile of the state. The respectability earned by Cross River State in the comity of Nigerian states accrues partly from its tourism initiatives. Local and international media echo the need to visit the state for what it has to offer on daily basis. Well before the opening of Tinapa Business Resort, the international media were awash with messages on the facility and tourists began visiting the resort well before its commissioning. The state also understands the primacy of the Nigerian movie industry – Nollywood in social and economic development and has provided a home for the film industry at the Tinapa resort. Cross River State is therefore to Nollywood what California is to Hollywood in the United States of America.

8. Projections: The Future of Tourism in Cross River State

With so much potential, one can safely conclude that when crude oil is exhausted in Nigeria, Cross River State would already have found an alternative economic footing in the area of ecological and cultural tourism. The tourism sub-sector can only survive if the potential is developed. Policies must be instituted to ensure more infrastructural and human capital development in addition to sensitization to ensure that the local or host population understands and keys into the tourism drive to contribute its quota.

There is also a need to enhance security. Even though the state is now acclaimed to be the best secured in Nigeria, the expanding social profile is bound to come with new social challenges. A need therefore arises to put a firm security network on ground for the sake of the thriving tourism industry. Political and social stability are also necessary for sustainable patronage. A turbulent political climate can only repel visitors. Terrorism in all forms, kidnapping, political and religious violence are apathetic to the growth of tourism.

Moreover, it has been proposed that depoliticizing and privatizing the tourism sector will accelerate the growth of the industry. Government should initiate favourable and liberal legislations and policies for the participation of the private sector. International conglomerates should be wooed to invest in the expansion of the hospitality infrastructure at various locations in the state. Government should become less involved in direct investments. The practice whereby the private sector funds *Carnival Calabar* and Calabar Festival should be extended to other products of cultural and eco-tourism for which the state is known. It is possible that these tourism products will later become self-sustaining with some internal restructuring. As a global economic trend, free market systems ensure healthy competition among investors. This is a standard formula for rapid development, which could work in the Cross River State tourism sub-sector as it has worked in other capitalist economic sub-systems.

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