Introduction

Island Cultures and Festivals

A Creative Ecosystem

Sonjah Stanley Niaah and Evangelia Papoutsaki

ONE FEATURE OF HUMAN EXISTENCE IS THE PARADOX of inclusivity inside exclusivity or even cohesion inside isolation as part of the character of geo-culturally specific phenomena such as islands. Islands are bounded yet, more often than not, unbounded by the movement across their multiple borders. They are also often vulnerable, with the task of constantly considering and planning for sustainable outcomes. Among the disciplinary configurations that seek to engage these geo-cultural phenomena, it is well acknowledged that island studies has developed into an established, interdisciplinary research field (Shima Editorial Board 2007), one that has attempted to grapple with existential questions around sustainability and resilience as well as geopolitics and economics. However, specific research and comparative analysis of island cultures within a field that identifies itself as Island Studies is a more recent phenomenon. For Grydehøj (2017, 3), the former editor of the Island Studies Journal, it is "important that island studies not only continue deepening its internal theoretical understandings but also reach out to other fields and regions that have received limited attention within island studies".

The Caribbean is one such region. While the interdisciplinarity of island studies and the uniting of regional island studies into a wider scholarly

community has been strengthened by several scholars over the past two to three decades (see Baldacchino 2004; 2006; 2008; Hayward 2016; Hay 2006; Royle 2014; Hau'ofa 1993; McCall 1994), how has the Caribbean as a distinct region with its creative ecosystem been framed in island studies? Can the Caribbean offer new ways of thinking through and theorizing in island studies? The conference around which this publication was catalysed took place in the Caribbean, which provides an interesting case study coming from the several contributions in this collection added to those of scholars such as Burke (2010), Nurse (2017), Nurse et al (2006; 2019), Tull (2017), Stanley Niaah (2018), Stanley Niaah and Hendrickson (2018), among others.

Island studies as a distinct field is based on the notion that islands share a set of features that other territories do not (Androus and Greymorning 2016, 453). Islands for Baldacchino (2004, 278) are more than simply micro-cosmic research laboratories for mainlanders or worlds-unto-themselves for islanders; instead, "islandness is an intervening variable that does not determine, but contours and conditions physical and social events in distinct, and distinctly relevant, ways." Terrell (2004, 11) has similarly argued that "islands are more varied, diverse and complicated places than commonly believed" and that "isolation is not a defining characteristic of island life; to the contrary, it would be argued that islanders are generally more aware of, and in touch with, the worldwide web of human intercourse than others may be." This is supported by the earlier, much-cited thesis of Hau'ofa (1993), who asserted that instead of a vast empty space in which separate islands exist, the ocean is the medium that links the Pacific Islands into a vibrant field of communication. And Ellis (1998), adding to this, argued that inter-island space is alive with relational meaning. For Hay (2006, 31), islands are special places described as "paradigmatic places, topographies of meaning in which the qualities that construct place are dramatically distilled". Baldacchino (2005, 35) demonstrated this island uniqueness in his observation, often seen in the island studies literature, that "small islands are special because their 'geographical precision' facilitates a (unique) sense of place".

Suwa's (2007) exploration of the Japanese term *shima*, denoting island, provides an additional definitional layer to the term island, which embodies a dual meaning: islands as geographical features and islands as small-scale

social groups where cultural interactions are densely intermeshed. In the context of island festivals, we can see the island/*shima* as a unique milieu within which communicative performances take place and produce communicative ecologies that fill the space with meaning. The patterns of communication exchanges develop in various interpersonal, familial, social, cultural and economic networks and accumulate as island communicative ecology (Papoutsaki and Kuwahara 2018, 2021; Konishi and Papoutsaki 2020). An island-contextualized communicative ecology approach refers to the various forms, activities, resources, channels and flows of communication and information as well as island agents unique to an island or group of islands (ibid.). When we come to study the creative ecology of islands, these elements play a critical role in shaping unique island festivalscapes (see chapter four), reflecting aspects of the island's place, identity and "storytelling" and weaved through the island's communicative ecology. We could also argue that when festivals take place in the unique communication action context of islands, they shape in their turn the islands' communicative ecology and sociality (ibid.) where the festival acts as a "story" about the island, created by, co-created with or imposed upon the island. The festivals, integral to the island's storytelling communicative ecology, help construct island imaginaries, as a particular representation of place that has an impact on how participants create communities (Baragwanath and Lewis 2010, in Baragwanath 2010, 7).

FILLING RESEARCH GAPS

The intersection between island cultures, identity, music and tourism demands greater exploration and, to fill some of the gaps in the literature on island cultures and their ecology, the Institute of Caribbean Studies, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus partnered with the Small Island Cultures Research Initiative and the Sydney Institute of Music and Sound Research to stage the fifteenth International Small Island Cultures Conference under the theme "Island Festivals and Music Tourism", held July 9–13, 2019. The conference, which was staged at the University of the West Indies in Kingston, Jamaica, saw presenters from various disciplinary fields, as well as managers and practitioners with an interest in islands,

festivals and music tourism sharing their research and experiences. This edited volume contains the selected proceedings of the 2019 conference. The focus on island music, tourism and festivals in their multiple dimensions was engaged by scholars from different disciplinary fields who shared research and experiences using case studies, policy interventions and comparative research. While island festivals and music tourism were an initial focus of the conference and are a feature of this publication, this volume also aims to promote a critical research agenda for island studies and ethnomusicology in general.

Islands have been hosts to numerous festivals that have driven music tourism and cultural development for decades. However, the intersection between festivals, music tourism and island studies remains an underexplored one, particularly in the Global South. Festivals have been intertwined with islands and tourism for some time. Academic attention in the context of event and leisure studies increased in the 1990s, focusing on festival economics, event management, sponsorship and marketing, and forecasting. Within event studies, festival studies is also emerging as a distinct sub-field, in large part because festivals occupy a special place in almost all cultures and have therefore been researched and theorized by scholars in various disciplines, particularly anthropology and sociology.

While both festival studies and island studies are interdisciplinary in nature, they have often been pursued through somewhat predictable disciplinary lenses and from particular geographical locations with binary oppositions, such as north vs south, rich vs poor, scientific vs affective, functions vs dysfunctions, sacred vs secular, high vs low culture, among others. Even as the focus on islands and islandness has been less visible in the scholarship on festivals, the festivalization of islands is an emerging sub-field gaining needed attention.

Literature on festival tourism (Gibson and Connell 2012; Getz 2010; Cudny 2013) has centred on such dimensions as group and place identity, geopolitics, sustainable development and elements such as the cultural, community, ritualistic, ceremonial, urban vs rural as well as old and new festivals across a variety of landscapes. Festival tourism has been engaged from unique island spaces, from Australia and Hawaii to Britain and Bali, but there is still a gap in research that renders some areas virtually invisible.

Gibson and Connell (2005) took the first comprehensive look at the links between travel and music. They combined contemporary and historical analysis of the economic and social impact of music tourism, discussing the cultural politics of authenticity and identity. Music tourism evokes nostalgia and meaning and celebrates both heritage and hedonism. It is a product of commercialization that can create community, but that also often demands artistic compromise. Diverse case studies, from the USA and UK to Australia, Jamaica and Vanuatu, illustrate the global extent of music tourism and its contradictions and pleasures.

From examination of Christian youth music festivals to mixed arts, or alternative scenes such as Burning Man, festivals have been examined through the lens of tourism and heritage (Gibson and Connell 2005), musical genres, event management, consumption patterns, promotion of tolerance, measurement of impact and perceptions, socio-economic benefits, ritual aspects and community belonging, and cosmopolitanism and trans-nationalism. Studies examining the de-territorialization of identities crafted in festivals include that of the European Union study (2011, 8) of arts festivals and strengthening cultural diversity, which centred the "ephemeral and non-territorial aspect of festivals that lends support to the ideas of internationalism, cosmopolitanism and trans-nationalism as alternative frameworks for understanding their cultural and socio-political significance". But have these lenses been applied to island cultures and festivals? This is one of the questions answered by this volume.

Even when the rationales for staging festivals and their spaces of operation differ, what they share is a determination to expose audiences to novel ways of looking at and judging the world, its cultures and the arts, but also society and politics. Magaudda et al (2011, 57) examined the relationship between the festival and its local identity context, thereby highlighting the importance of branding at the local level, and how festivals make place/space as situated events. They conceived of "collaborative identity projects" (66), when specific locations then assume a specific identity as sites of memory and recall in relation to festivals and, ultimately, communities.

Not to be missed is the way streaming, diverse online lives and the urgency of the COVID-19 pandemic, which began reorienting lives in 2020 and has now shifted the modalities of festivals both on mainlands

and islands (see Mendes-Franco 2021a, 2021b). Festivals, island cultures and music tourism have all experienced profound shifts with the interruptions in travel and events, and increased fears of association. Digital lives have become more the rule than the exception and, while the economic losses have been great, innovation has led the way to even more openness for transcending the digital borders around both islands and their music and festival cultures.

EXPLORING MUSIC, FESTIVAL AND CARIBBEAN STUDIES

Most importantly, this collection bridges a number of gaps even as we navigate theoretical and existential boundaries related to island studies, Caribbean studies, festival studies, ethnomusicology and, in this time, epidemiology, climate change and sustainable development. Ultimately, this collection is grounded in Caribbean studies as a field of inquiry and area studies more broadly, where it has been a focus at different points leading to the development of various programmes and departments dedicated to Caribbean studies. While Caribbean studies has had an impact in the academy, island studies as a more recent area has not taken full account of the Caribbean as a distinct set of islands with regional specificity. Further, the intersection between Caribbean studies and island studies through a specific focus on music, festivals and island cultures of the Caribbean helps to fill the gap in scholarship on festival studies within the academic domain of island studies.

The creative Caribbean is where this collection is located. It centralizes the remarkable creative output of Caribbean islands even while many creatives remain outside the professional structures of taxation, association, access to funding and matriculation. With some forty-four million residents in the region, its creative mainstay has been embedded in various festivals, some of which have been captured in this volume. At the centre of Caribbean life are carnivals, festivals, musical genres, performance and innovation, which bind disparate islands together. The masquerade tradition is a fine representation of a cultural ecosystem that blends celebration, subversion, politics and citizenship with humour, chaos, transgression and liberation.

The Caribbean's creative sensibility has produced a certain vocabulary for living and livelihood imperative that must be accounted for in the context of its sustainable development. Festivals are marketplaces inside distinct economic models and there are efforts to more centrally include such economic components in the study of island cultures. The festival marketplace has produced local, regional and economic benefits, with some seventy Caribbean diasporic festivals spawned from Trinidad's Carnival alongside local ones (Nurse et al 2006) as well as numerous musical genres of which Jamaica accounts for at least eight (Stanley Niaah 2018). Outside the festivals dedicated to soca/calypso, reggae music festivals, over four hundred of which have been mapped since 1978, litter the festival landscape inside a creative economy that currently lies outside the grasp of island studies. This Caribbean cultural footprint provides a rich diet for scholarship in island studies, but it has to be considered within a context of various vulnerabilities. Since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, for example, there have been cancellations of numerous Caribbean festivals and events leaving over 90% of creatives and event promoters out of work. Such devastating impacts, though periodic, are enough to cripple the festival and, more largely, the creative ecosystem that drives regions such as the Caribbean.

THE COLLECTION

The papers that comprise this collection were divided into two parts with nine chapters organized around the broad themes of "Art, Culture and Island Communities" and "Music, Dance and Island Identity". Festivals have the capacity to transform island places from being everyday settings into temporary environments that contribute to the production, processing and consumption of culture, concentrated in time and place (Waterman 1998, in Derret 2008, 8). The four chapters in part one discuss how festivals can engage with island communities through art and culture, how island communities and culture can be nourished and contested and some of the challenges and opportunities for sustainable island communities involved in this process. Derret's (2008) research model for the role of festivals in community resilience identifies place, residents (in this case, islanders) and

visitors as key elements whose interaction results in an overlap between a sense of community and place, image and identity, and cultural tourism. The five chapters in part two explore the music festivals' connection to island image and identity but also a desirable cultural tourism destination. The majority of the chapters in this part focus on the Caribbean, which is a reflection of the International Small Island Cultures 2019 conference hosted in Kingston, Jamaica. It is also worth mentioning that islands in the Caribbean region are a newly emerging music festival marketplace (Semrad and Rivera 2016). These islands are perceived as desirable festival destinations for visitors who can immerse themselves in the local island culture and in live music as an experiential product.

PART ONE: ART, CULTURE AND ISLAND COMMUNITIES

Diagnosing Uneven Revitalization Outcomes among Declining Communities in a Japanese Island Art Festival by Meng Qu, Yachen He, A.D. McCormick and Carolin Funck focused on the Setouchi International Art Festival (SIAF). Also known as Setouchi Triennale, this international art festival was established to aid the revitalization of twelve remote islands and their depopulating communities through art tourism. SIAF officials and the media claim that the Setouchi Triennale is a successful model for government policies aimed at community revitalization, citing the presence of over a million visitors each year and the increase in new residents on the islands. A true understanding of the outcomes of rural revitalization-oriented art projects, however, has to be sought on the other side of art interventions: the destination community's perspective. In this chapter, the authors explore what locals think about the influence of Triennale tourism, and the way art influences their community. Among the islands involved in the SIAF, Megijima and Ogijima are two important island destinations based on their population, land size and artwork number. Field research was conducted through participant observation as a visitor and art festival volunteer during SIAF 2016 and 2018, as well as through (s and questionnaires with community stakeholders after the festival. The results of the research show that the outcomes of the art festival in the two islands are different, despite the similarities in the way the festival was carried out. In particular, Ogijima

shows more positive outcomes when it comes to its growing number of small-scale creative tourism businesses created by in-migrants.

Emma Lang's chapter on *The Norseman's Home: Up-Helly-Aa and Shetland's Performance of Place* explores festivals as an opportunity to share local history. On the last Tuesday in January every year, the largest town in Shetland, Lerwick, is filled with singing, torch-bearing men in costume participating in the more than a hundred-year-old festival of Up-Helly-Aa. The men parade through the town before gathering in a park to burn a beautiful hand-crafted longboat and proceeding to community halls where they will perform dances and skits into the early morning. Through an examination of Lerwick Up-Helly-Aa's portrayal of Vikings, use of ethnic stereotypes and pop culture references, this chapter provides insight into how local festivals teach outsiders local history and how they serve to maintain invented historical narratives about ethnic identity. These topics are all inherently connected to the role of Lerwick Up-Helly-Aa as, simultaneously, a demonstration of Shetland's historic and modern connections to the broader world – despite predominant narratives that state otherwise – and a space where the emphasis on tradition and the conflict surrounding increasing diversity in the islands are on full display.

In their case study *Mapping Waiheke Island's Festivalscape: Community Activism and Festival Reclamation,* Papoutsaki and Stansfield explore island festivals and related forms of public culture as performance events that construct and negotiate meaning for the island community that hosts them and for visitors. Waiheke Island is the third most populated island in Aotearoa, or New Zealand. Situated in the Hauraki Gulf near the most populated city, Auckland, the island has been a food basket, a forest to plunder, a holiday and retirement community, and a bohemian retreat now catapulted through international recognition as a playground of the rich and famous. The island's vineyards and art studios, pleasant micro-climate and many beaches attract weekend visitors throughout the year. Festivals have always been an important and integral part of Waiheke's community life, island identity and economy and contribute to the tourism product of Auckland. In recent years there has been an increase in cultural tourism events organized by Auckland Tourism Events and Economic Development which has resulted in some events moving from a local island focus to a

regional, national and global cultural festival tourism market, including the Sculptures in the Gulf annual festival and the Jazz Art and Music Festival that attract thousands of visitors annually. In this chapter, the authors map the island's festival ecology through a temporal dimension – past, established and emergent festivals – and look at factors influencing longevity; they discuss the contribution of the island's festival culture to its identity and community organization; and explore the concept of "festival reclamation" as a uniquely local celebration after a larger festival has become a tourist attraction.

The chapter by Marie-Christine Parent on *Promoting the "Creole Traditional Wedding" During the Seychelle Creole Festival as a Strategy to Sustain Cultural Traditions* explains how the Seychelles Creole traditional wedding, considered endangered, has been reintroduced into Seychellois' life through tourism and, more specifically, as being part of the most important festival of the country. Known as a honeymoon destination, Seychelles is now offering couples a "Creole traditional wedding package", which includes a traditional ceremony in Creole, local food and music, with Seychellois. These special packages are set up in collaboration with local NGOs, district administrations and the Ministry of Culture, and take place during the annual Creole Festival. To better understand the context in which these weddings are organized, the author positions them in the political and social history of the country, as well as within its tourism development. The author ends with some considerations on culture, heritage and tourism in the Seychelles of the twenty-first century, showing how these are intertwined, and expresses some concerns that she associates with the postcolonial condition.

PART TWO: MUSIC, DANCE AND ISLAND IDENTITY

In his chapter, Holger Briel explores *The Traditional Daur Music and Dance Festival Kumule on the Island Meadow by the Amur River.* The Mongolic-speaking Daur people are one of the fifty-six ethnic minorities officially recognized by the Chinese government and, according to the last census figures, number about 140,000 people. They mainly live in Inner Mongolia and along the Amur (Heilongjiang) River near Heihe, North-Western

China. Every June they celebrate their biggest festival of the year, Kumule, which highlights their history via dance and song. Originally, the Daur community in Heilongjiang lived on the Russian side of the river, but in 1956 were forced to flee to China due to Stalinist ethnic cleansing strategies. The Kumule Festival restages this traumatic flight. In June 2017, the author visited the Daur with his media studies students and observed the Kumule festival on an island in the huge Amur River estuary, the border between Russia and China for almost two thousand miles. This border was only finally established in 1991 in the Sino-Soviet Border Agreement and has created much hardship for the Daur. In this chapter, the author features excerpts from the documentary film *On the Black Dragon*, shot by his students and addressing some of the issues the Daur are facing. He highlights the music and theatrical presentations during this festival and stress the insular theme, which continues in Daur culture. For centuries the Daur have been isolated, both in Russia and in China, heavily conscripted in times of war and left to fend for themselves in times of peace. The dramatic presentation, the highlight of every Kumule Festival, is designed to remind the Daur where they come from and teach their children their musical and cultural history.

Shauna Rigaud explores soca culture in her chapter *Soca, Pleasure and Utopia*. In the mid-1970s, soca music began its rise as a genre that would later capture the energy of Trinidadian-style carnival. Soca's originator, Lord Shorty, wanted to create a new genre for listeners of calypso music that directly responded to the political climate of Trinidad. For him, this would be the vehicle to bring the nation of Trinidad and Tobago together. In Richard Dyer's article "Entertainment and Utopia", he discusses the pleasure that is derived through the consumption of entertainment and what he sees as utopian sensibilities. He saw the musical as a mediated vehicle that represented a way for its audience to escape: real life scarcity and exhaustion turned into abundance and energy on the screen. In this chapter, the Rigaud looks at the history of soca music and analyses its work as entertainment in the Dyer sense. Using his analysis as a framework, she discusses how soca music uses texture, tempo and storytelling to engage and draw in its audience for pleasure and the ways that utopia is conveyed in soca music.

Melville Cooke's chapter on *Rebel Salute: A Birthday Party the World Attends* analyses the impact of this festival on Jamaica's tourism. In January 1994, deejay Tony Rebel's first Rebel Salute concert celebrated his birthday in Mandeville, Manchester, Jamaica. He recalls that many people from Jamaica's capital, Kingston, sixty miles away, attended. Overseas visitors increased with Rebel Salute's growth and before its twenty-fifth anniversary in 2018, Minister of Culture, Gender, Entertainment and Sport, Olivia Grange, said Rebel Salute attracts the highest proportion of tourists among any Jamaican festival. That was 38 per cent, but Tony Rebel said it was based on a 2013 Jamaica Tourist Board survey, done in the year Rebel Salute expanded to two days and moved from Jamaica's south coast to its current north coast tourism belt location, and believes the current proportion is much higher. The festival's organizers had previously complained of low Jamaica Tourist Board support and attempted to keep track of tourist attendance in order to press for increased government sponsorship. Currently, they use online ticket sales to track the countries comprising Rebel Salute's audience. Using content analysis and interviews, this chapter tracks the Jamaica Tourist Board's sponsorship of Rebel Salute and the tourist composition of its audience, analyses a shift from intense community tourism to include the all-inclusive model, and analyses Rebel Salute's impact on Jamaica's winter tourist season.

In *A Celebration of Music, Movement and Memory: The Archival Significance of St Kitts 'Sugar Mas'*, Stanley Griffin explores the historic and contemporary significance of the St Kitts and Nevis National Carnival. More popularly known as Sugar Mas, it is held at the end of the calendar year, with its festivities culminating on New Year's Day with a grand Carnival parade through the streets of Basseterre, the capital of the twin-island federation. Sugar Mas bears all the usual features of a Caribbean carnival, with its calypso and soca music, queen and teen talent shows, food fairs, and displays. However, there is a strong link between the island's history of sugar production, the customs rising out of the experiences of the enslaved and the Sugar Mas celebration. It revels in the African cultural retentions as expressed in the Christmas Sport dance movements of the Masquerade and, more importantly, the memory of the socio-political and economic struggles and triumphs of a postcolonial island society. In this chapter,

the author considers the significance of Sugar Mas as a "Living Archive", a space filled with materials of enduring value for reflection and reference aimed at appreciating the past and present-day St Kitts and Nevis society.

In *The Sound of Citizenship: Performance, Politics and Transgression*, Sonjah Stanley Niaah zeroes in on island music by putting music and performance in conversation with the politics of citizenship. She uses the sound system as an instrument of the Jamaican nation, a symbol of citizenship but also in/security and transgression. What stories do island sounds tell about citizenship, the politics of belonging, suppression and identity? In this chapter, part of a larger body of work on Black Atlantic entertainment, suppression and reparatory justice, Stanley Niaah is concerned with the aesthetics of noise that have characterized sound across the Black Atlantic. The chapter is a reparatory project that privileges sound in a deliberate Afro-futuristic sense, displacing the pejorative term 'noise' to claim the drum and its sound as science, method, movement, pleasure, fantasy and transgression, its moments of silence and its high waves and tones. Located at the intersection of cultural history, cultural geography, and cultural studies more broadly, this paper is ultimately about forms of citizenry at the heart of island musics and sound revolutions across the African Diaspora at the heart of which lie questions of rights, status, participation, power and identity.

ISLAND FUTURES

We are finalizing this volume while festivals are vulnerable and face threats from internal and external shocks. Whether it is climate change, the COVID-19 pandemic or instability due to war, violence and crime, there is much to be accounted for as island studies seeks to tackle major questions affecting small island states such as those in the Caribbean and elsewhere. For example, the impact on island communities hosting festivals and music events, where such events are the mainstay of a community's economy, needs to be accounted for in the policy and development plans for island communities.

There is a step beyond yet inside theorizing which lies in the quotidian practices that governments and communities can effectively navigate, together with partners and stakeholders, to ensure sustainable develop-

ment of island communities. In Jamaica alone, the drop in revenue from the COVID-19 pandemic has been estimated at half a trillion Jamaican dollars since the start of measures to contain the virus (Miles 2022). The entertainment, cultural and creative industries employ an estimated 75,000 creatives, who bore the brunt of the most severe economic contraction since the start of the millennium. Not only were they the first to be hit with prohibitions on events under the disaster risk management provisions, but cultural and entertainment services provided through restaurants, cinemas, galleries, mass events and festivals (with an estimated 9.3% contribution to the annual gross domestic product) took a nose dive, which later spiralled to a complete shutdown by June 2020 and continued until March 2022.

The impact of COVID-19 on the Jamaican entertainment sector is but one example of the unexpected devastation that fragile island economies can experience without warning. The climate emergency is yet another, which has caused us to question the relationship of festivals to place. When a product such as a festival, which has defined place and identity, is removed from the physical landscape due to shocks, what then of place and identity? What then is an island festival? Both the pandemic and climate emergencies have pushed events into spaces such as digital platforms. For example, the Caribbean saw Trinidad's Carnival, Jamaica's Sunplash and Sumfest return with digital debuts as they sought to keep audiences tuned in and eager for the return of face-to-face events. But how does one experience place within a digital festivalscape? In the Caribbean, where tourism is the mainstay of many economies and is a wholly physical experience of place, the context of vulnerability from external shocks is brought into stark focus. The vulnerability of the festival economy is directly related to the vulnerability of the tourism economy on which Caribbean islands remain dependent. There are multiple impacts for small island communities that rely on face-to-face events.

Are we to expect more upheavals in the coming years? How do we address these challenges in island studies? While the conference theme did not foreground the climate emergency or pandemics, we felt that this edited collection had to account for emerging and longstanding risks. What remains clear is that island studies and Caribbean studies scholars can no longer fragment scholarship in academic silos. Rather, we must

embrace multidisciplinary approaches that calculate climate emergency projections for festival economies just as tourism projections are generated in response to devastation caused by hurricanes. Ultimately, there is a connecting thread that weaves human existence in ways that preserve modes of celebration, identity and livelihoods, and provide economic, cultural and emotional well-being.

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