

FISHING HERITAGE FESTIVALS, TOURISM, AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE GULF OF MAINE
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Abstract

No formal studies have been conducted previously to assess the social and economic impact of fishing heritage events on Gulf of Maine fishing communities. This paper documents how fishing communities in the Gulf of Maine celebrate a centuries-old yet declining traditional maritime way of life. In February 2005, a telephone survey of 13 gulf fishing communities was conducted as a first step toward understanding the social and cultural significance of fishing heritage festivals. The respondents' answers provide a glimpse into the symbolic, religious, and socio-cultural significance of fishing-related festivals and ceremonies. The survey qualifies the economic impact or demand for fishing heritage tourism through attendance estimates and records, and documents the conflicts that have resulted between heritage tourism and fishing communities. This paper provides planners and policy-makers with new information about public interests in fishing heritage and an indication of the potential socio-economic impacts of heritage event development on fishing communities in the Gulf of Maine.

1.0 Introduction

The marine environment of the Gulf of Maine is unique. The gulf is a semi-enclosed sea defined by underwater banks to the south and east, and to the north and west by the coastlines of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and the Canadian provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The gulf consists of some 36,000 square miles of ocean and 7,500 miles of shoreline (GoMOOS 2003). The coast is punctuated further with approximately 5,000 islands. Its coastal morphology ranges from shallow estuaries and broad, sandy beaches to deep, penetrating rivers and high-cliffed shorelines (Shipp et al. 1985). The underwater landscape of the gulf is as variable as its uplands, consisting of a variety of submerged banks, basins, and ridges. Its waters are home to a wealth of fish species including cod, haddock, mackerel, herring, salmon, and lobster, and marine mammals such as baleen whales and harbor and gray seals.

The wide-ranging environments and resources of the gulf have also resulted in an equally wide-ranging number of technological innovations used by people to settle along the coast and harness its natural resources. The initial peopling of the Gulf of Maine began approximately 12,000 years ago. It is only in the last 500 years, however, that the region witnessed extensive coastal settlement and development, and massive exploitation of its fisheries. European explorers in the 16th and 17th centuries recognized the region for its extensive forests, fine farming land, protected harbors, penetrating rivers, but especially the abundant fish and fishing banks. In the centuries following its initial discovery by foreign explorers, ships would be used to facilitate extensive New World colonization from Europe to fish and exploit the region's vast terrestrial natural resources, and to conduct productive local and long-distance trade. Due to the galleons, shallops, sloops, and schooners that plied its waters, and the resulting maritime culture that developed on its shores, the Gulf of Maine has inherited one of the greatest maritime histories of the United States.

The gulf continues to serve as a fish basket for the world, but 500 years of over-fishing may have irreversibly harmed the gulf's fish populations, which have declined precipitously in the last century (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005; U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy 2004). Because fish stocks in the Gulf of Maine are so severely depleted today, traditional maritime-oriented ways of life are also in decline, changing the face and structure of many coastal communities. In particular, established fishing communities are forced to adapt to new social, economic, and environmental conditions in part because of a lack of marine resources from over-fishing and pollution, and increasingly stringent fishery management regulations. These communities are also being supplemented with new technology-based industries and tourism, and are heavily impacted by coastal development, gentrification, and the emergence of retirement communities.

In recognition of the dramatic collapse of fish populations in the Gulf of Maine and the resulting socio-economic crisis faced by the region's fishing communities, this paper examines how cultural heritage may be used by planners and developers to capitalize upon these communities' existing social and cultural capital, and how investment in this capital may provide fishing-dependent

communities with one option for economic diversification. The use of festivals as a venue to improve understanding and cooperation within communities and among the fishing industry, fisheries managers and government, marine conservation groups, and the general public is also discussed. Finally, this paper proffers that the consideration of socio-cultural values is an essential step in guiding festival development in order to maintain and build upon existing social and cultural capital, and consequently provide economic benefit through heritage tourism.

2.0 Public Interest in Cultural Heritage

Although it is difficult to measure the worth of cultural heritage in dollars and cents, national studies show that there is a growing demand for heritage-based tourism among travelers in the United States. Surveys by the Travel Industry Association of America (TIA) document a significant demand for cultural experiences by travelers in 2003. Of the 146.4 million adult travelers in the U.S., 118.1 million (or 80.7%) participated in a cultural or historical activity or event (TIA 2003: 5). Of this group, 41% or 59.5 million attended a cultural heritage fair or festival.

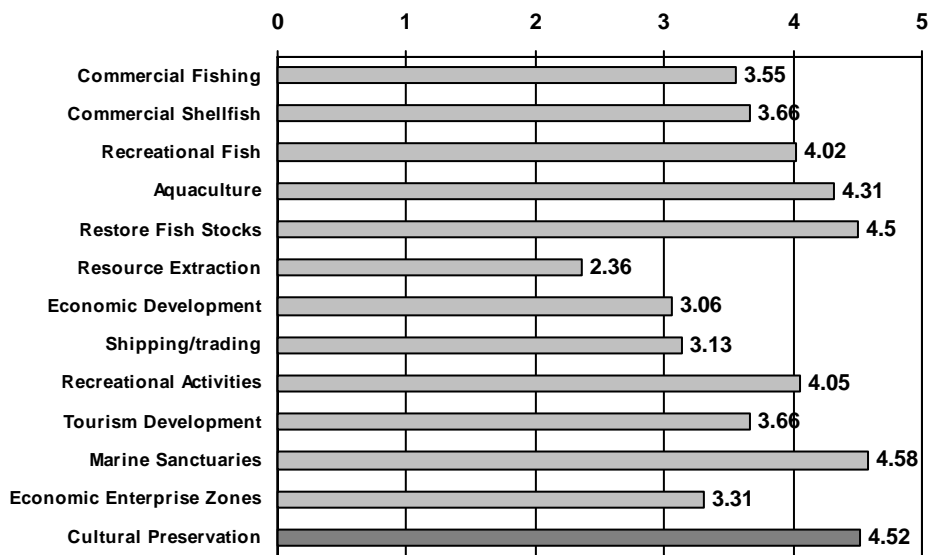


Figure 1. NH seacoast survey participants were presented with a list of 13 options for future uses of marine resources in the Gulf of Maine. Participants were asked how they felt about each activity based on a 5-step Likert-scale (1 = extremely bad, 2 = somewhat bad, 3= neither bad nor good, 4 = somewhat good, 5 = extremely good). (Robertson et al. 2005).

The growing trend and interest in cultural heritage and in attending heritage festivals and events is apparent in the Gulf of Maine region. Surveys of tourists, residents, and fishermen along the New Hampshire seacoast have revealed significant interest in fishing history and culture (Figure 1) (Robertson et al. 2005). Collectively, when asked whether fishing heritage should be preserved, those surveyed responded overwhelmingly in favor of heritage preservation (75% agree, 25% unsure/disagree) (Robertson et al. 2005; Tango-Lowy and Robertson 1999). Additionally, a majority of survey respondents ranked their interest in marine environmental and fishing history museums (ca. 70%) and cultural events or festivals (74%) above all other educational and recreational initiatives, except for whale-watching (82%) (Robertson et al. 2005). Seacoast fishermen surveyed also revealed that historical/cultural preservation was more important to them than restoration of wild fish stocks, indicating a stronger concern for preservation of a traditional way of life than for preservation of a food source.

Although there is a high level of interest in fishing heritage and cultural events among the seacoast survey's respondents, only 5% indicated that they attended cultural events more than 5 times in a year. However, this low figure can also be interpreted to mean that few opportunities exist for people in New Hampshire to participate in cultural festivals and events. The preference for these events in the New Hampshire, as well as the demand exhibited through attendance levels to Gulf of Maine fishing heritage festivals as demonstrated by the present research project, shows not only a strong measure of interest in fishing heritage preservation, but also suggests that cultural events are a viable and sustainable economic development activity for Gulf of Maine communities.

3.0 Methods

In February 2005, telephone interviews were conducted by the authors with event sponsors and organizers of Gulf of Maine fishing festivals. Subjects were asked about when, where, and how many years the festival has been celebrated, levels of attendance, activities, sponsors, and the involvement of fishermen and fishing families in the festivals and ceremonies. Interviewees were also asked to address what they believe the festival means to their community socially, culturally, and economically. The estimates of attendance established the level of demand for the festival within the local community as well as participation from outside the community. In most cases, information offered by interviewees broadly qualified the importance of the festival in economic terms to local businesses through increased visitation.

4.0 Survey Results

This study identified 13 towns and cities with fishing heritage or seafood festival events and ceremonies (Figure 2, Table 1). Although it is very likely that other local festivals exist, the festivals surveyed represent those with the most visibility, public participation and sponsorship. Festivals in Rhode Island and Connecticut are also included in this study, as the fishermen in these states work primarily in the gulf and within the gulf's fishing industry and infrastructure. Festivals are typically held during the summer months. The oldest tradition is the Fishermen's Feast celebrated in the North End of Boston, MA, which began officially in 1911. Although many fishing-related ceremonies are considerably older, particularly those with religious or spiritual influence, most festivals in the region were not officially established and organized until after the mid-20th century.

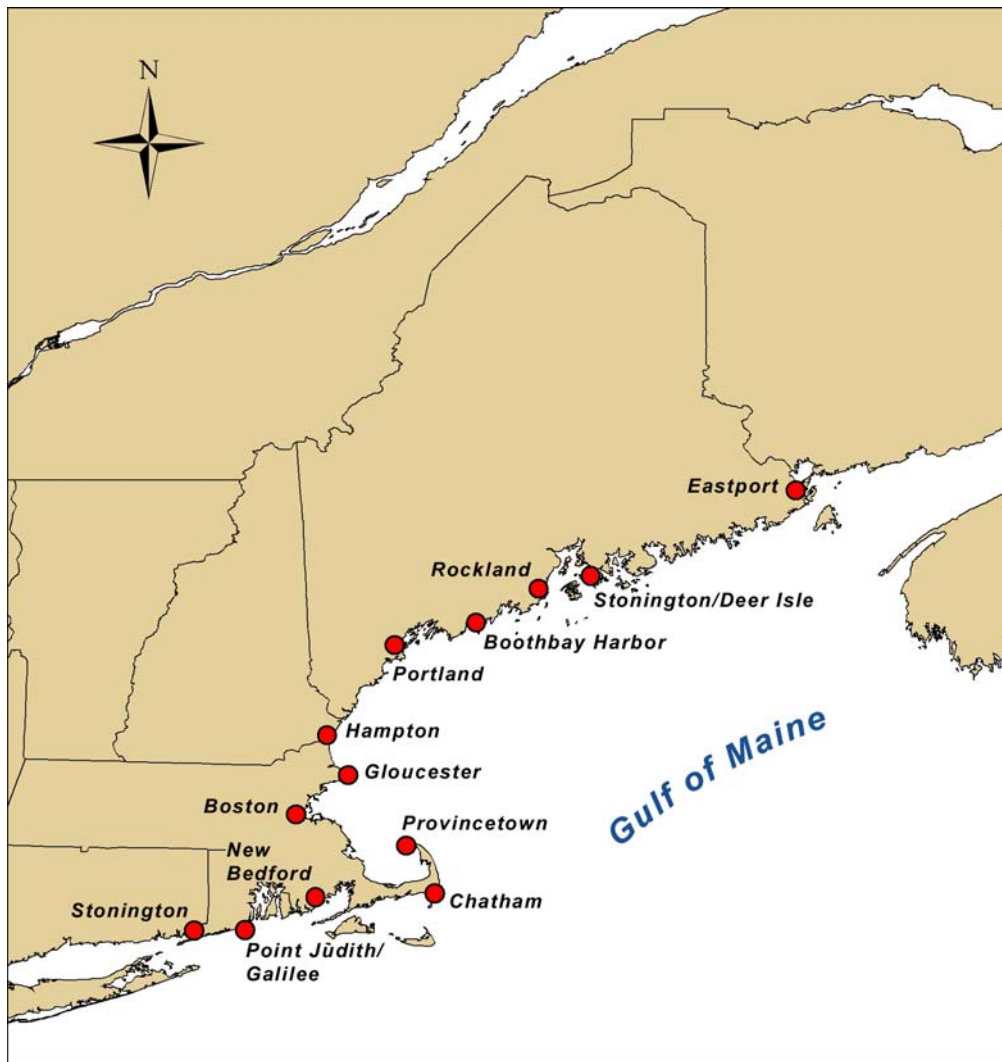


Figure 2. Map of 13 communities surveyed that are dependent upon Gulf of Maine fisheries and have annual fishing heritage festivals.

LOCATION	EVENT	YEARS
Boston, MA	Fishermen's Feast	1911-2005
Gloucester, MA	St Peter's Fiesta	1931-2005
Rockland, ME	Maine Lobster Festival	1947-2005
Provincetown, MA	Portuguese Fishermen Festival	1947-2005
Stonington, CT	Blessing of the Fleet	1954-2005
New Bedford, MA	Summerfest	1969-2003
New Bedford, MA	Working Waterfront Festival	2004-2005
Boothbay Harbor, ME	Fishermen's Festival	1973-2005
Point Judith, RI	Blessing of the Fleet	1976-2005
Hampton, NH	Hampton Beach Seafood Festival	1988-2005
Stonington/Deer Isle, ME	Fisherman's Day	1989-2005
Eastport, ME	Eastport Salmon Festival	1991-2005
Gloucester, MA	Seafood Festival	1993-2004
Chatham, MA	Chatham Maritime Festival	2003-2005
Portland, ME	Blessing of the Fleet	unknown

Table 1. Primary fishing cultural events in the Gulf of Maine.

4.1 Attendance

The attendance at fishing festivals and ceremonies in urban areas is approximately 15,000-30,000. Festivals in towns and rural communities (defined here as towns with a population less than 5,000) draw approximately 1,000-3,000 participants (Table 2). Participants in festivals and ceremonies include primarily local cultural or ethnic groups and families that have strong generational ties to fishing and related maritime traditions or industries. Other participants include advocacy groups such as Fishermen's Wives Associations and Fishing Cooperatives, local and state government, local businesses, Chambers of Commerce, and tourists. Surprisingly, in many instances, fishermen tend to be absent from the festivals because they are at sea fishing.

LOCATION	FESTIVAL	POP. (2000)	ATTENDANCE
Boston, MA	Fishermen's Feast	589,141	100-200,000
Hampton, NH	Hampton Beach Seafood Festival	14,937	100,000
Rockland, ME	Maine Lobster Festival	7,609	100,000
Gloucester, MA	St. Peter's Fiesta	30,273	50-60,000
New Bedford, MA	Working Waterfront Festival	93,768	30,000
Point Judith/Galilee, RI	Blessing of the Fleet	14,985	15-30,000
Provincetown, MA	Portuguese Fishermen Festival	3,431	20,000
Stonington, CT	Blessing of the Fleet	1,100	5,000
Stonington/Deer Isle, ME	Fisherman's Day	3,028	2,000
Boothbay Harbor, ME	Fishermen's Festival	5,294	1,500-2,000
Chatham, MA	Chatham Maritime Festival	6,625	1,500
Eastport, ME	Eastport Salmon Festival	1,640	900-1,000
Portland, ME	Blessing of the Fleet	64,249	unknown

Table 2. Estimated attendance at fishing cultural events.

4.2 “Fishing” Festivals

The cultural events surveyed in this project can be broadly categorized into “Fishing” and “Seafood” Festivals. “Fishing Festivals” are imbedded with religious and spiritual values and incorporate ethnic and cultural qualities. These festivals are influenced primarily by Portuguese, Madeiran, Cape Verdean, Sicilian or mainland Italian cultural heritage, and the religious aspects of the festivals are based in Catholicism. The religious ceremonies and rituals associated with these cultures were brought to the region by immigrant families and fishermen. The Fishermen’s Feast of Boston, for example, is associated with a tradition called the ‘Madonna del Soccorso’, which originated in the 16th century in Sciacca, Sicily and takes place every year on the Day of the Assumption (August 15). Fishing festivals are typically organized and led by members of the local community rather than local government or business organizations. These festivals often incorporate a religious march or ceremony that includes a “Blessing of the Fleet,” an event where Catholic bishops or priests bless fishing vessels in order to provide divine protection and ensure a prosperous fishing season. Other fishing communities that are of northern European descent or “Yankee” tend not to have religious ceremonies, but do celebrate fishing heritage with boat parades rather than fleet blessings. A balance of parade and blessing is achieved in some cases, as for example in Provincetown, MA, in what is described as a very colorful event shared by the fishermen, artisans and the gay community.

These festivals also tend to bring families and individuals that have left the region back into the community. In addition to Blessing of the Fleet ceremonies, the festivals often involve unique activities and fundraising events such as pageants (e.g., “Daughter of the Ocean,” “Son of a Beach,” “Captain Eelgrass” and “Goddess of the Sea”), parades, boat races, arts and crafts displays, and oddities such as the Greasy Pole Contest in Gloucester, MA and the Codfish Relay Race in Stonington, ME.

4.3 “Seafood” Festivals

“Seafood Festivals” are usually organized by Chambers of Commerce and focus on maximizing economic benefits to the local community and businesses. These festivals typically have a corporate sponsor, and feature a variety of waterfront or seaside activities and entertainment. The fishing and local ethnic groups tend not to be represented or participate in these festivals. Seafood festivals often have more effective event marketing and public relations representation, which may account for greater levels of attendance. Seafood Festivals such as the Hampton Beach Seafood Festival (est. annual attendance of 100,000), for example, provide a wide array of activities and entertainment including live music, fireworks, sky divers, a 5K road race, and culinary demonstrations.

4.4 Foodways

Foodways are an important and essential part of Fishing and Seafood Festivals. Both types of events showcase the diversity of local fish harvests as well as display new uses of underutilized fisheries. The New Fish Festival, held a day prior to St. Peter’s Festival in Gloucester, MA, specifically offers culinary demonstrations and menus of underutilized fish, such as skate, by local restaurateurs. However, the focus is usually on traditional, regional, and ethnically prepared seafood dishes. Portuguese and Italian recipes and foods dominate festivals including recipes such as *atum* (marinated tuna) and *bacalhau* (salted or dried codfish flavored with spices, garlic, parsley, and onions). Classic New England seafood recipes such as fried, broiled, and steamed haddock, mussels, clams, and lobster are also typically served. Festival food is not only a primary means of social interaction that affirms ethnic and cultural identity, but also brings together diverse groups that traditionally do not interact or “sit at the same table.”

4.5 Conflicts and Issues

There can be divisiveness between the fishing community and other local groups and tourists over festivals. For example, in 2001 Portland, Maine discontinued the Blessing of the Fleet ceremony because of the carnival-like atmosphere that surrounded the event. Portland fishermen still conduct a Blessing of the Fleet, but it is a more solemn and somewhat private ceremony. Events that promote aquaculture, such as the Eastport Salmon Festival and the Wellfleet OysterFest, have also drawn criticism from sport as well as commercial fishermen because of the perceived and potential negative impact of aquaculture on environmental quality. Though not necessarily indicative of conflicting interests, on Fisherman’s Day in Stonington, ME, locals clearly distinguish themselves from “strappers” (i.e., camera-carrying tourists).

Fishermen, besides their occasional appearances to land fish catches, are usually absent from festivals. With the exception of the New Bedford Working Waterfront and Chatham Maritime Festivals, rarely do fishermen interact with the public to tell stories, describe or show their way of life, or discuss fishery management issues. Most festivals are not used by fishermen as a public relations opportunity. Members of wives associations believe that the festivals are not a time to delve into fishery “issues” and said that fishermen were unlikely to share information because they are protective of their trade secrets. Festivals are also typically held during what is now a very short fishing season and fishermen opt to spend their time at sea. There also is reluctance on the part of fishermen to interact with the public, suggesting that public relations is better left to advocacy groups such as those comprised of fishermen’s wives. However, there is a trend toward improving appreciation of fishing heritage. For example, the relatively new Chatham Maritime Festival (est. 2004) focuses in part on providing an “educational setting centered on the lives, skills and traditions of the fishing industry and preserving natural resources” (<<http://www.chathammaritimefestival.org/>>). It also tries to schedule the festival so that fishermen can participate in activities and events.

4.6 Trend Toward Fishing Heritage Tourism and Education

The trend of engaging the public in the appreciation of fishing cultural heritage through festivals in New England is growing. Festivals, such as the Working Waterfront Festival in New Bedford, MA, are now sponsored or directed by Chambers of Commerce, government agencies, and non-profit and community organizations such as the Lions Club or Fishermen's Wives Association. The New Bedford festival, which began in 2004, is held in one of the region's only national urban waterfront parks. The new event focuses to a greater extent than its predecessor, Summerfest (est. 1969), on educating the public about the fishing community, its history, and the area's cultural heritage. A considerable investment has also been made in authenticating and beautifying the waterfront area. In this way, the New Bedford festival intends to strengthen community identity and pride through development of the maritime landscape and built heritage. Moreover, the event showcases local businesses and artists providing significant economic benefit to the local community.

Event organizers are marketing the festival to tourists seeking authentic cultural and learning experiences. The organizers surveyed in this study indicate that tourists are attracted to waterfront areas where fishing piers and associated landing activities take place and where they can experience or watch a way of life first-hand. For example, in Chatham, MA, tourists can view fishing activities from a platform, or in Plymouth, MA, tourists can walk the pier or watch fishermen from the windows of waterfront restaurants. The Maine Lobster Festival in Rockland, ME, though not focused on cultural heritage per se, is noted in popular publications such as *Gourmet Magazine* which describe witnessing fish landings and the work around the waterfront as a genuine cultural experience.

5.0 Rockland Lobster Festival: An Example of Sustainable Economic Development

The port of Rockland is located in the upper Midcoast region of Maine. The population of Rockland in 2000 was 7,609 (U.S. Census). Employment estimates of fishermen in Rockland vary from 40 to 250, but an additional 2,500 fishermen are believed to live within Knox County (Hall-Arber et al. 2001: 360). The region has a high degree of fishing dependency, second only to Downeast Maine. Rockland was once one of the region's most important groundfishing ports, but because of deteriorating groundfish populations and subsequent strict regulations, the town's fishermen have shifted to herring and lobster fishing (Hall-Arber et al. 2001: 339). Rockland is an important community for marketing and shipping of these fish products.

Tourism and service-based industries have grown considerably in Rockland in the last decade, and the Rockland Lobster Festival appears to be one important factor in the growth of the tourism sector. The diversification of such 'basic' industries in the region has had positive economic results, but the industry shift toward tourism has also resulted in somewhat negative social impacts from gentrification, conflict between fishermen, tourists, retirees and retail businesses, and competition for the town's waterfront space. In a study by the MIT Sea Grant College Program that measured the degree of gentrification in coastal communities, Rockland ranked fifth among 36 New England fishing communities surveyed (Hall-Arber et al. 2001: 339).

No formal studies have been conducted to fully assess the social, cultural, and economic impact of "Fishing" heritage festivals on Gulf of Maine communities; however, the Rockland event is an example of a successful "Seafood" festival and sustainable rural economic development activity. An interview with the marketing director of the non-profit Rockland Festival Corporation, which plans the event, provided detailed information about public involvement, attendance and economic impact of the lobster festival. Approximately 10,000 people attended the festival in 1947. In 2004, attendance was estimated at 100,000. The Rockland Festival now receives the assistance of over 1,000 community volunteers. Rockland is one of the few places that charges admission and accounts partially for the amounts of seafood sold during the festival; therefore, the direct economic impact to the community can be roughly estimated. In 2004, the Rockland Lobster Festival sold 69,600 admission tickets for \$7-10, resulting in a conservative gross estimate of \$487,200 in ticket sales. During the 4-day festival, 12 tons or 24,000 pounds of lobster were sold as well as several tons of shellfish and finfish. At a conservative retail estimate of \$6.00/pound for lobster, the income from lobster sales is estimated at \$144,000. The Lobster Festival also sells souvenirs (e.g., T-shirts, coffee mugs, etc.) and tickets to other concerts and events organized by the festival committee. Not including the indirect economic benefit the festival provides to local businesses, the festival's gross receipts are estimated at approximately \$1 million. In the last 5 years, significant proceeds have resulted and over \$225,000 has been donated back to the community of Rockland in the form of new emergency vehicles, tourism facilities and park renovations.

Rockland calls itself the "Lobster Capital of the World," and because of its major role in the landing, marketing, and transshipment of herring and lobster, it is an "essential provider" to the Gulf of Maine fishing industry (Hall-Arber et al. 2001: 357). The MIT Sea Grant College survey of Rockland revealed that many residents believe that the town is moving toward a tourist-based economy, yet others believe that when fish stocks rebound the town will again be dominated by the fishing industry (Hall-Arber et al. 2001: 357). The health of these two basic industries in Rockland is in fact strongly related, if not dependent upon the success of the other. Because Rockland has other natural assets and recreational resources, tourism will likely continue even if fishing stops. Likewise, rebuilt fish stocks would allow Rockland to thrive as an essential provider of fish products and limit the town's increasing dependence on tourism. The lack of lobster and other fish products, however, would certainly have significant consequences for tourism and the Rockland Lobster Festival.

Rockland has not made significant investment in the town's physical cultural capital, such as the preservation of its historic waterfront. Nor has it developed educational and fishing heritage programs similar to those underway at cultural events such as

the New Bedford Working Waterfront Festival. Although there is already significant demand for the Rockland Lobster Festival, by capitalizing upon the town's fishing history, preserving the historic and working waterfront, and improving public education, Rockland can perhaps be assured greater and continued economic success and simultaneously strengthen community pride and build social capital through appreciation of fishing heritage.

6.0 Social and Cultural Value of Heritage Festivals

Coastal communities have not fully developed their cultural heritage as a means of providing added income by fostering the general public's and tourist's interest in heritage conservation and desire for authentic and unique cultural experiences. What is certain, and revealed by community citizens, visitors of the New England seacoast, and fishermen is that cultural heritage is highly valued. The values individuals place on cultural heritage preservation, whether the preservation of a way of life, the built heritage, archaeological resources, or a festival or ceremony, can be broadly categorized in the following manner (Table 3):

VALUE	DESCRIPTION
<i>Recreation and Tourism</i>	Relaxation, leisure activities.
<i>Sense of Place, Identity, Community Pride</i>	Sense of belonging and community or cultural affiliation. Comfort, safety, and familiarity afforded by association with community as well as recognizable structures and landscapes in human and natural environments.
<i>Spiritualism, Religion</i>	Enlightenment, self-reflection, continuity and understanding of place in the universe.
<i>Social and Civic Relations</i>	Meetings, interactions, communication, and celebration with others at communal structures, places, and sites.
<i>Aesthetics, Authenticity</i>	Beauty, harmony, natural setting, historical and cultural integrity. Genuine experiences and connections with culture and environment.
<i>Symbolism, Artistic Inspiration</i>	Places, sites, monuments and objects that convey meaning and inspiration. Influences folklore and art, and formation of national or cultural symbols.
<i>Research, Science, Education, Knowledge</i>	Cognitive development, understanding of past events, conditions, and cultures.

Table 3. Social and cultural values associated with cultural heritage (Alcama and Bennett 2003; Throsby 2002).

If heritage and fishing festivals are to be utilized in the promotion of cultural tourism, government and economic and community development organizations should consider stakeholders' interests in these values. Although social and cultural values are difficult to quantify, interviews with community members, as shown in this study, can help to qualify the importance of values to a community. Unchecked tourism without considering stakeholder interests may result in the deterioration of the very values that make a region or community attractive for cultural heritage tourism.

7.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

This research paper has shown that: 1) there is significant public interest in the preservation of cultural heritage and in learning about the fishing history and industries of the Gulf of Maine, 2) fishing communities can and do benefit socially and economically from cultural events such as fishing festivals, and 3) community and stakeholder value assessments are an important step in developing cultural heritage tourism related to fishing in the Gulf of Maine.

As with any heritage celebration or preservation activity, cultural events serve as a kind of socio-cultural glue that affirm identity, legitimize existence and lifeways, and keep communities connected through a shared past. In the case of fishing festivals, the celebrations and ceremonies are reminders of a way of life that is perhaps unfortunately fleeting. The Fishermen's Feast in the North End of Boston, MA, for example, begins with a procession of the Madonna del Soccorso to the water's edge in Boston Harbor where a blessing is performed. But there is no longer a fishing fleet there to bless, and only a "Blessing of the Fishing Waters" takes place now, perhaps in hopes that fish abundance will one day return and along with it fishermen and their boats. Although the fishing community of the North End has all but disappeared, and the remaining ethnic community is continually under assault from gentrification and development pressures, there remains intact a sense of place, cultural identity and spirituality, which is strengthened by the Fishermen's Feast celebration and ceremonies. The attraction of the feast to the city population and tourists alike also provides added income for the local residents and businesses. The predominantly Sicilian North End community has survived the loss of fishing in part because of its ability to diversify in an urban setting and preserve its built heritage. However, for those communities that remain largely fishery dependent, particularly the small communities of Downeast Maine, the pressures of heritage tourism and gentrification could have devastating socio-economic results for these traditional fishing communities.

As fish continue to disappear from our waters, fishing heritage festivals are an effective way to keep communities rooted in tradition, strengthening a community's social ties and cultural identity. Although not currently practiced, the festivals could also serve as a tool for fishermen, or their representatives, to communicate to the general public some of the social and economic pressures that affect their livelihoods. Moreover, heritage tourism events could assist fishery dependent communities diversify their economy, and help to subsidize the income of fishermen with what is now a severely restricted fishing season in the Gulf of Maine. Studies have not been conducted to measure the financial impact of Fishing and Seafood Festivals in exacting amounts; however, event organizers interviewed in this study qualified that their communities receive significant economic benefit from tourists staying at hotels or inns, eating at restaurants, shopping in local stores, and paying admission to festival events. Only the abundant presence of fish will ultimately save fishing communities from disappearing, but festivals, ceremonies, and rituals that celebrate the culture and lifeways of the local fishing communities is one option for community development and diversification. When qualifying stakeholder and community interests, such events can clearly result in long-standing traditions with positive social, cultural and economic effects.

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