RIVISTA DI STUDI
antropologia e teatro

ARTICOLO

Cultural Interruption and the 2003 UNESCO Convention. The Case of the Pilgrimage to Watt Town, St. Ann (Jamaica)

David Brown

Abstract – ITA

Il pellegrinaggio di Revival a Watt Town, Giamaica, rappresenta un esempio di salvaguardia del patrimonio culturale immateriale (UNESCO 2003) e di promozione della diversità culturale (UNESCO 2005). La pratica unisce storia, rituali, musica, danza e spiritualità, collegando comunità, giovani e antenati e garantendo la trasmissione di conoscenze culturali. La pandemia di COVID-19 ha interrotto le celebrazioni, evidenziando la vulnerabilità dei siti e delle pratiche. Gli adattamenti della comunità, con rituali modificati e protocolli di sicurezza, dimostrano resilienza culturale e capacità di mantenere continuità e vitalità, in linea con le linee guida UNESCO e il Sendai Framework 2015–2030.

Abstract – ENG

The Revival Pilgrimage to Watt Town, Jamaica, exemplifies both the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO 2003) and the promotion of cultural diversity (UNESCO 2005). The practice combines history, rituals, music, dance, and spirituality, linking communities, youth, and ancestors, and ensuring cultural transmission. COVID-19 temporarily disrupted the celebrations, highlighting the vulnerability of sites and practices. The community's adaptations, including modified rituals and safety measures, demonstrate cultural resilience and the capacity to sustain both continuity and vitality, in line with UNESCO guidelines and the 2015–2030 Sendai Framework.

ANTROPOLOGIA E TEATRO – RIVISTA DI STUDI | N. 19 (2025)

DOSSIER | **Diversità culturale: quali scenari?**

ISSN: 2039-2281 | **CC** BY 4.0 | **DOI** 10.60923/issn.2039-2281/23577
Iscrizione al tribunale di Bologna n. 8185 del 1/10/2010

ALMA MATER STUDIORUM
UNIVERSITÀ DI BOLOGNA

RIVISTA DI STUDI
antropologia e teatro
N. 19 (2025)

ARTICOLO

La Cultural Interruption and the 2003 UNESCO Convention. The Case of the Pilgrimage to Watt Town, St. Ann (Jamaica)

David Brown

Jamaica's eventful history, like that of most of its Caribbean and Latin American neighbors, is one replete with the machinations of empire: European "discovery" and conquest, which brought about the decimation of the indigenous Taino peoples; the forced uprooting of approximately one million Africans from West-Central Africa as unwilling participants in the Transatlantic Slave Trade and in chattel slavery; their subsequent amelioration through emancipation; and the importation of indentured laborers from the Orient, India, and even Germany.

Spanning the period from Columbus' voyage in May 1494 to the declaration of Emancipation in the British West Indies in 1834, Jamaica was transformed into an ethnic and cultural hodgepodge, containing within its landmass expressions of cultural diversity dominated by European and African elements. Nettleford termed this specific dualism of cultures *Melody of Europe and the Rhythm of Africa* (Nettleford R. 2003), notwithstanding the fact that enslaved Africans and their descendants creatively masked their own symbols, sounds, beliefs, and proverbs within European cultural elements as an inherent tool for cultural survival and longevity.

Concomitantly, the African population of Jamaica has, since the late 19th century, birthed three indigenous religious movements: Revival, Kumina, and Rastafari. These religions are part of the identity politics of post-slavery Jamaican society and are representative of movements of self-identity and of the assertion of a determined majority Black population eager to establish itself in post-colonial Jamaican society. The genius of the Revivalist community and its participants lies in their ability to co-mingle the saints and the God of Christianity (along with the Bible) with the earth-bound and ground-spirit traditions of West and Central Africa, producing an autochthonous element that provides needed answers and spiritual guidance while offering a medium of praise and appeasement to their concept(s) of the Divine.

ISSN: 2039-2281 | CC BY 4.0 | DOI 10.60923/issn.2039-2281/23577
Iscrizione al tribunale di Bologna n. 8185 del 1/10/2010

Revivalism, which emerged from the “Great Revival” in Jamaica between 1860 and 1861, is an example of the dualism of cultures and the concomitant, if not inexorable, creation of a new cultural element. During this period, there was a significant spiritual outpouring of African-retentive religious traditions and practices, which intermingled with established Christian traditions in mission houses across the island. The result was the establishment of a uniquely Jamaican, New World religion that incorporated elements from different and disparate worldviews, reflecting the experiences of a people living on a continuum between the poles of colonizing Europe and colonized Africa.

The element, once practiced in secrecy and in rebellion due to opposition from the established Christian Church, or relegated to the rural interior of the island, is now embraced by a wide cross-section of Jamaican society. Indeed, Revivalism ceremonies and performances are events attended by the public, such as the Revivalism tables laid in honour of the late former Prime Minister of Jamaica and Revivalist, the Most Hon. Edward Seaga, in 2019. Presently, Revivalists freely wear their uniforms to services and other related events and are sought after by many Jamaicans who seek their intercession in private matters relating to illness, debt, and burials. Notably, a total of 36,296 respondents to the 2011 Jamaica Population and Housing Census identified themselves as Revivalists.

The Revival religion has two established branches: Revival Zion, established in 1860, which is more aligned with Orthodox Christian practices and beliefs and features communication with and invocation of sky spirits; and Pokumina/’61, established in 1861, which is more aligned with African traditional practices and features communication with and invocation of earth spirits.

Revival “bands” (which refers to a single group or church that conducts rituals, sings, dances, and plays music) are groups of practitioners, usually dressed in designs and colors inspired by the spiritual world, who venerate ancestral spirits and seek to placate them either in thanksgiving or for guidance on matters of the temporal world (Robinson-Smith M. 2018). These ‘bands’ congregate in churches or ‘yards’ to practice their religion. The most important space in these churches or yards is called a “seal”, described as a consecrated area where Revivalists perform cleansing rituals and invoke spirits. These seals—or sacred ports, docks, or spirit-empowered spaces—are assemblages of a multiplicity of natural and/or manufactured ritual objects, abounding with movement and aliveness from the interplay of shapes, colors, light, shade, and texture. The ‘bands,’ led by a male “Captain” or female “Mother” (in Zion Revivalism), or a male “Shepherd” and female “Mother” (in ’61), move anti-clockwise around the seal during Revivalism ceremonies.

ISSN: 2039-2281 | CC BY 4.0 | DOI 10.60923/issn.2039-2281/23577
Iscrizione al tribunale di Bologna n. 8185 del 1/10/2010

Generally, Revivalists are organized into three levels: (1) Leaders, (2) Post-holders, and (3) Floor members. In Zion, in bands led by males, the female "Mother" occupies the second tier of leadership, followed by Deacons and Elders, and then Floor Members. In '61, the leader is almost always male, supported by a Bands Mother and a Shepherd Boy. Below them are nearly fifty other types of functionaries, including the "Doves", "Cutters", and "Hunters", all of whom have varying responsibilities related to rituals, especially those concerning spirit interaction and communication (Seaga E. 1969).

The leaders of the "bands" are tasked with deciphering messages received by members during possession or myal. To facilitate this process, the leader of either the Zion or '61 denomination is responsible for organizing those who "have the spirit" into a circle, drilling them in a side-stepping pattern accompanied by heavy breathing or "trumping", having already set their actions to his or her rhythm. In Zion, messages are delivered by spirits known as "Bands messengers", or by their counterpart, the "Journeyman", in '61.

While more than 200 Revival Churches or Mission Houses currently exist across the island, Revival ceremonies are held regularly for thanksgiving or for ancestral intervention in the corporeal world, addressing matters requiring healing or the warding off or reversal of evil. Services are held mainly on Sundays, with some groups worshipping on Saturdays, and membership and participants range from young children to Elders.

The spiritual epicenter of the Revival Religion is, however, Watt Town, a community located in the parish of St. Ann (a northern parish in Jamaica). Maria Smith provides an overview of the space as follows (Robinson-Smith M. 2018):

> Watt Town is a historical site[1]. The late Henry Downer, who is said to have founded Watt Town in 1869, died in 1943 at the age of 105. The Watt Town institution or shrine has been operating for at least 140 years. Sister Cinderella (Mother of Seal) and Sister Thomas (Mother of Bands) are mentioned earlier than Downer. This suggests that Watt Town's origin predates 1869.

Since its founding, quarterly Revival gatherings have taken place at the site, commencing on the first Thursday of March and ending on the first Thursday of October each year. The selection of Thursday for the Gathering and Pilgrimage is not coincidental. Thursday is regarded as either Earth Day or Mourning Day by the Ashanti people. On Mourning Day, ancestors are honored with special reverence in Ashanti society. It is also

[1] Watt Town has been identified for inscription as a national monument by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust.

ISSN: 2039-2281 | CC BY 4.0 | DOI 10.60923/issn.2039-2281/23577
Iscrizione al tribunale di Bologna n. 8185 del 1/10/2010

recognized as a special day among the peoples of the Congo region. Importantly, both the Ashanti people of Ghana and the peoples of the Congo were sources of slave labor during the period of the transatlantic slave trade, and their traditions would have been brought to the island by the enslaved. Smith notes that the practice of worshipping or mourning on a Thursday is connected with the Akan tradition (Ghana and the Ivory Coast), which is most notably observed among the Maroon societies in Jamaica[2].

At Watt Town, the Jerusalem Schoolroom and Headquarters are regarded as the sacred points of reference for the entire Revivalism community, whose membership spans the island as well as the Jamaican Diaspora (Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom). Revivalists ensure strict adherence to the dates and rituals associated with the quarterly Gatherings.

Watt Town Gatherings are as colorful as they are eventful. In a Gleaner newspaper article of March 22, 2015, a visitor described the events as follows:

> Finding suitable parking near the headquarters was itself a challenge. Yet, I was more interested in the stuff that people had for sale at the foot of the hillock. It was like a little market day. There was singing atop the hill, and people in colourful uniforms were queued up waiting to be formally received. Each church group is called a bans, and is identified by the uniform its members wear. Before each bans member enters the church they have to go through a certain ritual. Should they arrive while the ritual for another group is going on they had to wait. I didn't wait for the group I journeyed with. Too much was going on atop the hill, so I bypassed the group, walked on jagged stones, bended under branches until I found myself in a revival festival, with many more groups yet to join the festivities. Inside the church was packed; preaching, singing, dancing and trumping were going on, and so it would be for the rest of the day. Newly arrived groups were on the 'seal' (consecration ground) making their presence felt in their own way. The sun was high in the sky, and colourful flags fluttered in the breeze. In the kitchen food was being cooked. At the back of the church, different bans were scattered doing their own thing.

Revivalists who participate in the sacred rituals at Watt Town are more circumspect in their observations of the Gathering and Pilgrimage as follows:

Sand Rose-West (Bands Leader from Clarendon):

[2] There are currently four main Maroon settlements in Jamaica: Accompong Town on the St. Elizabeth/Westmoreland border; Charles Town and Scott's Hall in St. Mary and Moore Town in the parish of Portland.

ISSN: 2039-2281 | CC BY 4.0 | DOI 10.60923/issn.2039-2281/23577
Iscrizione al tribunale di Bologna n. 8185 del 1/10/2010

> I come to Watt Town every year for spiritual upliftment, spiritual enlightenment. This is where the spirituality of the whole Revival Zionism, since the 18th century started. And each year it seems to get more and more intriguing. And, whenever time you visit Watt Town and you leave, you always find that the anointing, or our ancestors, so to speak, do visit us more. And we are more enlightened in the spiritual realm[3].

Ray Foster (Bands Leader from Westmoreland) said: "I've been coming to Watt Town from a very young age. Each year, when I come to Watt Town, I have a vision of it. I know what to bring. I get the colors [uniform design and colors] to wear at Watt Town. I also receive the song that I must perform, and I am given a word to deliver".

UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage identifies five broad domains under which intangible cultural heritage is manifested. These are:

- oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
- performing arts;
- social practices, rituals and festive events;
- knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
- traditional craftsmanship.

The Revival Pilgrimage to Watt Town, through its music, dance, worship, and associated rituals, encompasses all the domains of intangible cultural heritage except that of a performing art - although public demonstrations of the element are carried out as part of awareness-building and safeguarding efforts. Its core function, however, is that of a social practice, ritual, or festive event, ensuring the gathering of practitioners, knowledge bearers, the young, and Elders. It is a space created for the participation of the living to communicate with and venerate the ancestral realm. It is therefore, at once, a corporeal space and a liminal one. Through the singing of hymns, chants, and the production of guttural sounds called "chumping", Revivalists at Watt Town open channels of communication between themselves and the spirit world. Possession, or myal, often occurs when the human host is taken over and becomes the vessel through which messages are transmitted. Paul Stoller (1994) described spirit possession as a "commemorative ritual" utilizing "gestures, sounds, postures, and movement" (Hunter J. 2011: 133). In this regard, the role and

[3] Interviews with Bands Leaders Sandra Rose West and Ray Foster was conducted by the Cultural Production and Training Centre in March 2023 as part of activities to prepare a nomination file on the element Pilgrimage to Watt Town, for consideration by the Evaluation Body for inscription to UNESCO's Representative List.

ISSN: 2039-2281 | CC BY 4.0 | DOI 10.60923/issn.2039-2281/23577
Iscrizione al tribunale di Bologna n. 8185 del 1/10/2010

function of the quarterly Pilgrimage to Watt Town is to provide a sacred space of communication between the ancestors of a people uprooted from Africa - who may have lost their songs, forgotten the names of their deities, and their own mother tongues - but who need to reclaim these cultural markers in order to survive in the contemporary world, seek healing, and fortify themselves against illness and ill-will.

The Pilgrimage serves as a vehicle of repair, addressing both the imbalances and the brutal injustices of European colonialism and chattel enslavement, as well as providing a spiritual venue for the diagnosis and treatment of unseen yet deeply felt wounds of the soul. This crucial function reinforces the psycho-social value of the Pilgrimage and of the concomitant heritage site of Watt Town. Additionally, as a space for interaction between youth and Elders, the quarterly Pilgrimage to the site serves as an important rite of passage for generations of Revivalists, who may one day join, form, or even lead their own “bands”.

Cultural activities such as the Revival Pilgrimage in Watt Town face a different set of threats in contemporary times than they did in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, threats have evolved from opposition by Church and State and from what a dominant community espoused as acceptable social forms of worship and praise (examples of institutional and structural threats) to natural and human-made threats, including climate change and the increasing frequency and severity of storms, hurricanes, floods, fires, and even earthquakes. Bearing in mind that the viability of the Revival Pilgrimage depends both on the transmission of intangible cultural knowledge and the resilience of the tangible space within which the Pilgrimage occurs, the element remains susceptible to - and vulnerable to - shocks that can impact the frequency of the Pilgrimage, the number of attendees, and the stability of the physical space, including buildings and other structures.

While Revival Churches and Mission Houses exist across Jamaica, the viability of the Pilgrimage to Watt Town and its social role - as one that cements community bonds and facilitates transmission - was impacted in 2020 by the advent of the novel Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome Coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2) pandemic.

On 10 March, 2020 the Ministry of Health and Wellness (MoHW) confirmed the first case of the coronavirus in Jamaica -a female patient who arrived from the United Kingdom on 4 March 2020. In response to this occurrence and the growing threat poised to the naïve[4] population, the Government of Jamaica instituted the following measures:

- on March 12, 2020 : the closing of all primary and secondary schools for fourteen days;

[4] Vaccine-naive refers to a lack of immunity, or immunologic memory, to a disease because an individual or population has not been vaccinated.

ISSN: 2039-2281 | CC BY 4.0 | DOI 10.60923/issn.2039-2281/23577
Iscrizione al tribunale di Bologna n. 8185 del 1/10/2010

- on March 13, 2020: the invocation of the special powers under the Disaster Risk Management Act, the Emergency Powers Act and the Public Health Act to combat further spread of COVID-19.

The legislation, formally titled *An Act to Repeal the Disaster Preparedness and Emergency Management Act and to Make New Provisions for the Management and Mitigation of Disaster, the Reduction of Risks Associated with Disaster, and for Connected Matters*, was first promulgated on 19 February 2015. However, given the ever-evolving situation regarding the coronavirus, the Government of Jamaica determined that this Act provided the legal framework to formulate responses, modify those responses, and implement them in the quickest possible time.

Combined with the *Zones of Special Operations (Special Security and Community Development Measures Act), 2023 and the Criminal Justice (Reform) Act, 2001*, the Government of Jamaica took steps to restrict physical movement outside designated areas, prevent the congregation of persons in public spaces, institute work-from-home regimes for relevant categories of employees, and impose fines and penalties on those who breached these restrictions.

Fines ranged from J$3,000 to J$500,000, depending on the severity of the offense. For example, failing to wear a mask or maintain social distancing could result in a J$5,000 fine. More serious offenses, such as operating a gym outside permitted hours or hosting events in violation of orders, could lead to a J$20,000 fine. Returning residents or tourists who refused to quarantine as required could face fines of J$25,000 and J$30,000, respectively.

Since the Revival Pilgrimage to Watt Town is a social gathering that normally attracts upward of 1,000 pilgrims within the compact space of the Jerusalem Schoolroom, the strictures of the DRMA represented a death knell to the quarterly events, interrupting modes of transmission, the chain of safeguarding, and the lines of communication between both the physical and spiritual realms. It was fortuitous that the DRMA and Covid-19 lockdown protocols were instituted after the First Quarter Pilgrimage at Watt Town on Thursday, March 5, 2020. Subsequent Pilgrimages, however, would be subject to the DRMA and the relevant clauses on the prevention of public gatherings.

While the Government had laid out its restrictions under the DRMA, along with the requisite fines and sanctions, Revivalists found themselves in a conundrum. To paraphrase Mark 12:17, how were they to adhere to the restrictions and thereby “Give unto Caesar”, while balancing the need to venerate and consult their ancestors and, in doing so, “Give unto God”? In March 2025, Bishop Robert Clarke, JP, a leader of the Revival

ISSN: 2039-2281 | CC BY 4.0 | DOI 10.60923/issn.2039-2281/23577
Iscrizione al tribunale di Bologna n. 8185 del 1/10/2010

religion in Jamaica, reflected on the matter, stating, “Boy, we were in a tough situation. But the work of our Church must go on; we could not stop, would not stop”[5] .

At the advent of the Covid-19 pandemic in March 2020, and with the imposition of strict crowd-control measures, Revivalists in Jamaica found themselves confronted by yet another in a series of obstacles that separated them from full engagement with their rituals and, consequently, with the spiritual realm.

After centuries of colonial interference, during which the Revival community had to creatively navigate the Christian world while respecting African cosmogony, they were faced with a new impediment, a microbe.

There is much to contemplate about this situation in which Revivalists found themselves. In a world of sudden cultural and social interruption - not of their own making - members of the Revival community had to formulate new methods for continuing their rituals in small, restrictive numbers and spaces, away from their spiritual home of Watt Town, and now required to wear masks. The irony of the symbolism of masking, for formerly culturally oppressed and marginalized people, was certainly not lost on the Elders of the Religion, who expressed in the Jamaican proverb, “everywhere you tun makka juk you” (everywhere you turn, thorns stick you).

Any adaptation strategies formulated by the community, however, were essential to the very survival of their cultural identity—a campaign they have been waging for the past 150 years. The coronavirus triggered the gene for survivability, providing new impetus to find ways to mitigate any lasting impact on their cultural life. Indeed, this realization was rooted in a tacit understanding that cultural identity, as asserted by Kane, is “the highest expression of the fundamental equality of nations and groups coexisting within one nation. It is a permanent quest for the cultural bases of peoples. It is the right of these peoples to develop their own culture starting from their specific traditional values, within the context of an endogenous, integrated development” (Kane M. 1982:129).

So how did the Revivalists respond to the new containment measures that restricted public movement and gatherings? After the First Quarter Pilgrimage in March 2020, all subsequent quarterly Pilgrimages were essentially prevented from taking place. An opportunity for the gathering of community members, however, arose with the gradual easing of restrictions for Churches and congregations in response to public outcry. Churches were allowed to hold services, with the number of worshippers increasing incrementally as the

[5] Interview with Bishop Robert Clarke, JP Chairman of the Gibraltar All Age and lead Pastor of the Gibraltar New Testament United Holiness of Christ Church in St. Ann, March 5, 2025.

ISSN: 2039-2281 | CC BY 4.0 | DOI 10.60923/issn.2039-2281/23577
Iscrizione al tribunale di Bologna n. 8185 del 1/10/2010

pandemic progressed. Allowable numbers gradually moved from 10 to 50 within the space of a year, depending on whether new variants or spikes were observed, and later increased to 100 persons in the latter part of the pandemic. Revival Mission Houses, though not formally recognized by the Jamaican State as Churches, were allowed to hold services, albeit within the limits set by the DRMA.

This was the modus operandi of the Revival community until March 2021, when the next First Quarter Pilgrimage was scheduled. Elders within the Revival movement prepared letters, accompanied by telephone calls, to the Ministry of National Security (MNS), the Ministry of Health and Wellness (MoHW), and the Ministry of Culture, Gender, Entertainment and Sport (MCGES), requesting that due consideration be given to allow the community to hold its sacred Pilgrimage, even while adhering to restricted numbers, wearing masks, and following other sanitary protocols. While negotiations initially appeared favorable, an incident in an adjoining community to Watt Town, where a homicide occurred, served as a disincentive for the authorities to consider allowing the Pilgrimage, due to the threat of retaliation.

Nevertheless, the circumstances did not deter the Revivalists, who felt that not holding the Pilgrimage would be a disservice to the ancestors and would ultimately disrupt the flow of spiritual energy between the corporeal and the spirit world. Some Revivalists even opined that foregoing the Pilgrimage could anger the ancestors, with potential consequences for them and the wider community. This concern has been shared by cultural communities such as the Burru[6] practitioners in the community of Old Harbour Bay in St. Catherine, who felt that if they did not hold the Burru masquerade that harm would come to them for their disobedience. Similar concerns were echoed by the Maroon communities who had pivoted to online platforms to stage their rituals, but who still made sure that the feeding of ancestral spirits, the playing of the drums and the invoking of myal continued off-line.

Carolyn Cooper's Noises in the Blood posits, as its central thesis, that embedded within the descendants of the TransAtlantic Trade in Africans are the songs, melodies, rhythms, sounds, riddles, stories, traditions and beliefs – cultural markers that remained in their DNA and which could not be erased even during the dehumanizing and cruel experience of chattel enslavement. Concomitant with these markers are, however,

[6] The Burru masquerade is held each Christmas Day in Old Harbour Bay, a fishing village in St. Catherine. Participants use drumming, music and assembled verses to tell the lived experiences of community members who were involved in scandalous activities during the previous months. It was seen as a necessary part of a cleansing ritual for the community prior to the start of a new year.

ISSN: 2039-2281 | CC BY 4.0 | DOI 10.60923/issn.2039-2281/23577
Iscrizione al tribunale di Bologna n. 8185 del 1/10/2010

the desire to celebrate, ritualize, and memorialize their own culture expressions, desires if, when repressed, will result in psychological harm to the individual and, even to the wider community.

It was not surprising, therefore, that on the morning of Thursday, March 4, 2021, Revivalists began to gather at Watt Town. Decked in their colourful uniforms and turbans, band members—without prompting or coordination, but fueled by an unrelenting desire to worship, seek healing, and coalesce around a community of their own, arrived at their sacred ground. Revivalists who turned up at Watt Town indicated that the day and the rituals were so important to them that the threat of fines and the risk of exposure to the coronavirus paled in comparison to their desire to worship, venerate their ancestors, and request their benevolent intercession. An Elder even opined that, in spite of the threats, they had to “do our business”.

The 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage places communities at the centre of all actions related to safeguarding. In the context of an unpredictable and sudden interruption of socio-cultural activities caused by the novel coronavirus, and the imposition of restrictions on movement and gatherings, members of the Revival community, through their act of defiance on March 4, 2021, made a statement that their cultural traditions, which are part of a communal system of worship, would not be impacted and would not be stopped.

As we commemorate the 20th anniversary of the 2003 Convention, it is timely to reflect on issues relating to the break in cultural transmission, which remains one of the cornerstones of the safeguarding process. In the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic, cultural communities, academics, knowledge bearers, Elders, and youth are confronted with the challenge of making the process of transmission more resilient to natural and human-made disasters. New material in the area of Disaster Risk Reduction by UNESCO, along with guidelines provided by the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030 (adopted at the 3rd UN World Conference on March 18, 2025), among other tools, seeks to inform mitigation strategies and how to make the process of cultural transmission, and thus continuity, more resilient in these eventful times.

The challenge posed to this and future generations is how to adapt these mitigation strategies to an ever-changing series of threats, both from the natural world and, increasingly, from potential threats created in the virtual world by Artificial Intelligence (AI).

ISSN: 2039-2281 | CC BY 4.0 | DOI 10.60923/issn.2039-2281/23577
Iscrizione al tribunale di Bologna n. 8185 del 1/10/2010

Bibliografia

HUNTER, JACK

2011 *Talking with the Spirits: Anthropology and Interpreting Spirit Communications*, in «Journal of the Society for Psychical Research», n. 75, pp. 129-141.

KANE, MAMADOU

1982 *Cultural Identity: A Historical Perspective,* in « EduAfrica, Bulletin of the UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Africa», n. 8, pp. 129-136.

NETTLEFORD, REX

2003 *Caribbean Cultural Identity: The Case of Jamaica an Essay in Cultural Dynamics*, second edition, Ian Randle Publishers, Kingston-London.

ROBINSON-SMITH, MARIA

2018 *Revivalism: Representing and Afro-Jamaican Identity*, University of the West Indies Press, Kingston.

SEAGA, EDWARD

1969 *Revival Cults in Jamaica: Notes Towards a Sociology of Religion*, in «Jamaica Journal», vol. 3, n. 2, pp. 1-13.

ISSN: 2039-2281 | CC BY 4.0 | DOI 10.60923/issn.2039-2281/23577
Iscrizione al tribunale di Bologna n. 8185 del 1/10/2010