

**Cultural Heritage for Inclusive
Growth Collection**

The Cambinda Estrela Cultural Centre and the preservation of Maracatu intangible heritage

Pedro Affonso Ivo Franco

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The Cultural Heritage for Inclusive Growth Collection

Cultural Heritage for Inclusive Growth (CH4IG) is a British Council action research programme which, since 2018, has been exploring how local culture can improve the lives of individuals around the world. The essays in this collection were originally commissioned by the British Council and Nordicity as independent thematic studies during the pilot phase of the programme. They have since been updated by their authors and edited for the British Council by Inherit.

The essays are published as part of the British Council's What Works Cultural Heritage Protection programme, which is designed to support better outcomes for heritage protection and local communities by bringing the best available

evidence to practitioners and other decision-makers across the international heritage protection sector.

Together, the essays explore the role of cultural heritage in bringing about the change which is needed to secure a sustainable future for people and the planet. The collection explores the relationship between heritage and sustainable development from different geographical, topical and philosophical perspectives. The diverse essays are bound by common themes, namely that cultural heritage is at the heart of human development; that cultural relations create conditions in which human development can occur, and; that human development is enabled by people-centred approaches and transparent, accountable and participatory governance.

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Originally from Brazil, Pedro is now based in Germany, and he has contributed a case study from each of these places to the Cultural Heritage for

Inclusive Growth Essay Collection. In his essays, he draws both on his personal experience and on his professional expertise relating to culture and development. In one essay, he writes about the community he comes from in Brazil – Chão de Estrelas in the suburbs of Recife – its Maracatu carnival tradition and the work of the Cambinda Estrela Cultural Centre. In the other, he discusses the Trafo programme in Germany, an initiative of Kulturstiftung des Bundes (the German Federal Cultural Foundation).

The editors

The collection was edited by Dr Chris Dalglish (series editor) and Skye McAlpine Walker (copy editor and proofreader) of Inherit.

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Introduction

Located in the suburbs of Recife in Brazil, the Cambinda Estrela Cultural Centre is an 83-year-old organisation safeguarding the heritage of *maracatu* cultural expression. As well as being a distinctly Brazilian form of intangible cultural heritage, maracatu is a platform which the Centre uses to help improve the living conditions of local communities.

In addition to involving children, youth and adults in Carnival rehearsals and parades, throughout the year the Centre hosts a number of courses, workshops and lectures in its headquarters. Activities range from Afro-Brazilian history classes to music and performing arts workshops to self-empowerment lectures. With an average of 350 direct participants, the Centre catalyses change that can be perceived in community self-esteem and the educational attainment and economic conditions of Centre members.

This essay describes and analyses the initiatives organised by the Centre and it shows how an intangible heritage came to be revived within the community and, through local leadership, generated social, educational and economic benefits. The maracatu tradition was revived in this case in 1996, by an interdisciplinary group, and since then the community has come to understand deeply the value and opportunities which this heritage can bring. After the community welcomed maracatu cultural heritage, the Centre became, over time, a catalyst, boosting and sharing the benefits of this cultural heritage in an inclusive way.

This essay concludes that community members who take part in the Centre have felt an increase in their self-esteem and have been able to access schools and universities as well as increased income. The Centre's members have reported increased socio-economic and educational wellbeing and they say that this was mainly possible because they had the opportunity to be trained and were supported to develop their skills and networks through the Centre. This also gives a sense that these individuals had a greater capacity to play an active role, not only in a specific area of

cultural heritage, but also in the educational and professional areas these individuals chose themselves. This could allow these individuals to benefit from a better formal education and from permanent sources of income.

This essay is based on research, including a literature review, observation over the last ten years and primary data collected through semi-structured interviews with the Cambinda Estrela Cultural Centre President, directors and members, who shared how their engagement with the Centre has changed their living conditions.

The Maracatu

The *Maracatu Nação* or *Maracatu de Baque Virado* is a Brazilian popular expression that emerged during the period of enslavement in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in what is now the state of Pernambuco. Brazil received an estimated 5.5 million enslaved Africans over the course of four hundred years. With the intensive trade of enslaved peoples to Brazil until 1888, the number of enslaved Africans far exceeded the number of Portuguese in the colony.

Different ethnic groups were forcibly brought to Brazil, including Hauçás (Muslims from Northern Africa); Ovimbos, Quimbundos, Ovimbundos, Umbundos and Kikongo (currently present in Angola, the Congo Republic, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo); Fon, Èwé, Mina, Fanti and Ashanti (currently in present-day Togo, Ghana, and Benin); and Yoruba/Nagô-Lagos, Ijexá, Oyo, Osogbo, Ilé-Ifé and Abeokutá (from present-day Benin, Nigeria and Togo).

Given the presence of enslaved Africans from different ethnic backgrounds in the *Capitania Hereditaria*¹ of Pernambuco, in addition to coercive measures, one of the mechanisms used by the Portuguese to maintain control over the enslaved peoples was the coronation of *Reis do Congo*. By appointing kings and queens among the enslaved Africans, the coloniser intended to: a) identify enslaved people that could serve as Portuguese arms to keep the control over other enslaved people; b) give the enslaved people relief, allowing them, to a certain extent, to have a celebratory moment, and; c) convert them to the Catholic faith.²

The appointed 'royalty' enjoyed a privileged status compared to the other enslaved people over which they were given authority to reign. The coronation ceremonies resembled Catholic ceremonies held inside churches. However, the churches used in the coronations were dedicated exclusively to enslaved Africans. At the end of the coronation ceremonies, a series of festivities

occurred. In these festivities, called *congadas*, music and dance played an important role. In the state of Pernambuco, the encounter between African percussion-based music and the more melodic Portuguese music tradition during the *congadas* festivities gave rise to a new cultural expression: the maracatu.

According to the information about the first groups registered in Pernambuco at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the maracatu groups comprised different African ethnic groups, including characters from indigenous tribes, all of them structured in a colonial Portuguese procession. The relations between groups could and can still be noticed through the roughly 30 different characters wearing costumes and performing, representing the Portuguese, African and Indigenous backgrounds. Consequently, it can be said that maracatu is a Brazilian cultural expression instead of a purely Afro-Brazilian cultural expression.³

With the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888, the coronation of *Reis do Congo* came to an end. Despite the repression and control, groups were partially free to parade and compete during the Carnival. For this reason, the maracatu groups remained alive, especially among marginalised communities living in the suburbs of Recife and in the metropolitan region in cities such as Olinda, Jaboatão dos Guararapes and Igarassu.

Considered uncivilised by the public authorities, even after the abolishment of slavery, the maracatu groups needed to prove their willingness to obey civil orders. Suffering insistent persecution, the groups found space during the Carnival to parade when groups were forced to request a licence from the police, in order to parade legally through the streets.⁴

However, as a result of the systematic violence against Afro-Brazilian groups during most of the twentieth century, the maracatu groups started

1. *Capitania Hereditarias* was a form of territorial administration of Portuguese America by which the Crown, with limited resources, delegated the task of colonisation and exploration of certain areas.

2. Guerra-Peixe, 1980

3. Silva, 1988

4. Guerra-Peixe, 1957

lacking resources. This depreciation reduced the number of maracatus, who did not have conditions to rehearse and parade. A large number of maracatus started disappearing, with young people in the communities considering maracatu as an expression from and for elderly people.

Only at the beginning of the 1990s, with the emergence of a cultural manifesto and movement called 'Mangue Beat', was the maracatu reappearance boosted. Mixing rock and roll with

maracatu beats and other traditional rhythms, the movement renewed the cycles in the communities and many groups were reactivated. Maracatu groups started allowing more children and women to take part and the expression became popular among the middle class, getting the attention of researchers and practitioners from other neighbourhoods.

Maracatu as a Brazilian cultural heritage

Thanks to a boom in the 1990s and the diaspora of maracatu practitioners over the last twenty years, the musical language of the maracatu spread through Brazil and reached countries such as Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, Austria, Italy, Germany, and Japan, constituting a new cultural expression known as *grupos percussivos*.⁵ This expression differs from traditional maracatu groups and has its own format. On the one hand, the presence of *grupos percussivos* reinforced the image of maracatu, but on the other hand it presented a challenge to traditional maracatus who were afraid of suffering from mischaracterisation.

In Pernambuco, there are currently around 28 traditional groups. All of them are mainly formed by African descendants living in territories with a high level of socio-economic vulnerabilities but very rich in cultural offer. Maracatu practitioners share a repertoire of practical knowledge or know-how: how to play, how to sew, how to build an instrument and how to transfer the tradition to the next generation.

Recognising the importance of joining forces to make the tradition survive, the Associação dos Maracatus Nação de Pernambuco⁶ was founded to organise groups from Recife and Jaboatão dos Guararapes under one entity. In addition, another

association from the Maracatus de Olinda e Igarassu⁷ was founded. As a direct and indirect result of these initiatives, in 2008 the Government of Pernambuco, through its Cultural Foundation, decided to submit a proposal⁸ to register maracatu on Brazil's list of intangible heritage in the Instituto Nacional do Patrimônio Histórico Nacional (Iphan).⁹ Between 2008 and 2014, a series of initiatives were undertaken to evaluate maracatu application, such as an inventory that collected the stories and captured the current dynamics of the groups and the reality faced by each of them.

The importance of maracatu as an expression, able to communicate Afro-Brazilian culture and present essential elements for the memory, identity, and constitution of the Afro-Brazilian community, was immediately recognised in the evaluation process. It was also registered that despite being based in socioeconomically vulnerable areas, maracatu groups have a transformative power where they are located.¹⁰

All groups develop, to different extents, social projects targeting young, elderly, and LGBTQA+ people and marginalised groups. It is usual in maracatu headquarters to witness actions going beyond rehearsals for the Carnival. Initiatives such as empowerment classes, literacy, digital literacy, cultural and creative entrepreneurship, health and

5. Groups that simulate the percussion rhythm of maracatu but do not have a connection with Afro-Brazilian and indigenous religiosity, do not have headquarters and usually gather to play for fun without a connection with a community.

6. Association from Maracatus Nação de Pernambuco

7. ciation from the Maracatus de Olinda e Igarassu

8. IPHAN, 2008

9. National Institute of Historical Heritage

10. IPHAN, 2014

wellbeing, and other recreational activities are common tools used by the maracatus to involve the community throughout the whole year.

Perceiving the difficulties faced by the traditional groups, the need to safeguard the set of practices, and to give sustainability and autonomy to the maracatu groups, IPHAN registered the maracatu in December 2014 in the *Livro de Registro das*

Formas de Expressão,¹¹ the book that registers Brazilian heritage. The title was given as: *Maracatu as a Living Heritage of the state of Pernambuco*. This date is celebrated on the 1st of August, which became, in 2019, the National Day of Maracatu¹² when big celebrations and events take place in Pernambuco.

Maracatu Nação Cambinda Estrela

The Maracatu Nação Cambinda Estrela was founded on 7 September 1935, in Alto Santa Isabel, Casa Amarela neighbourhood. The maracatu initiated its activities as a *Maracatu Rural*¹³ (also known as maracatu de orquestra or maracatu de baque solto). In this style, it likely acted until the early 1960s. Cambinda Estrela was founded by migrant workers from the Mata Norte (northern forest zone) of the State of Pernambuco, who came to the northern area of the city of Recife where they rebuilt strong social networks. In the memories of Dona Leinha,¹⁴ daughter of one of the founders of the maracatu, the interaction between relatives and friends made everyday life more bearable, and Cambinda Estrela a place of joy and fun. Many elderly residents of Alto Santa Isabel still remember the maracatu, and its famous master, Mr Tercílio, considered the first-rate master for his improvisational skills and the beauty of the tunes he composed. Mr Tercílio had fame among *maracatuzeiros* (maracatu players) for being an excellent rhymers; 'he had no equal!' said Mr Zezinho,¹⁵ a resident of Alto Santa Isabel, who, as a young man, paraded with the group as a Caboclo de Lança.¹⁶

While it was still Maracatu Rural, the Cambinda Estrela was the object of study by conductor and

researcher César Guerra Peixe, one of the first scholars to differentiate the modalities of maracatu as well as to respect it in its diversity. Guerra Peixe's observations in his book *Maracatus do Recife* attest to the importance of Cambinda in the universe of Maracatu de Baque Rural of the time.

Due to the pressure of the Federação Carnavalesca da Cidade do Recife,¹⁷ between 1950 and the 1960s, along with three other maracatus, the Maracatu Cambinda Estrela changed its rhythm, items and expression, becoming a Maracatu de Baque Virado. At that time, the famous *Babálorixa*,¹⁸ Mario Miranda, who was also a Carnival artist, became the leader of the group, making the Cambinda Estrela one of the most well-known maracatus and leading the groups to win several Carnival competition titles. Throughout the 1960s and '70s, Cambinda Estrela performed at the city's Carnival, competing in contests and being honoured by Abelardo da Hora, a famous visual artist from Pernambuco, who, in the mid-1960s, took the group's symbol (the fish and a star) as a motif for the decoration of the Carnival in the city of Recife.¹⁹

The 1980s were already marked by the closing and disappearance of maracatus. After the death

11. IPHAN, 2014

12. Agência Senado, 2019

13. The Maracatu Rural or Maracatu de Baque Solto is a cultural expression originating in the state of Pernambuco and currently present in the rural areas. Its main symbol is the *caboclo*, and it is distinguished from Maracatu Nação for its organisation, characters and rhythm.

14. Interview, July 27, 2016

15. Interview, July 26, 2016

16. Lima, 2000

17. Carnival Federation of the City of Recife

18. The equivalent of a priest in the Afro-Brazilian religion, Candomblé.

19. Lima, 2019

of Mr Tercílio, Dona Inês (the group's queen) and Mario Miranda, it was impossible for the followers to maintain the group. The maracatu pieces were sent to the Museu do Homem do Nordeste. This public museum has the responsibility to archive pieces including costumes, instruments and sacred elements (statues of Afro-indigenous and Portuguese deities, gods and saints) from groups which cannot maintain their activities.

A few years later, the maracatu was re-founded in 1997 after the efforts of intellectuals, university professors and community leaders.²⁰ The new formation of Cambinda Estrela took the maracatu pieces from the museum and established the group in a new headquarters in the neighbourhood of Chão de Estrelas, which until then had no maracatu tradition. Given the connection with university professors (the group's percussion master and community leaders) they wanted to change the landscape of the Chão de Estrelas neighbourhood. Since its re-establishment, the group has had a central goal: the preservation of maracatu heritage and the education, professionalisation and training of young adults and older people.

There are several communities participating in the Cambinda Estrela Cultural Centre, especially Chão de Estrelas and surroundings, such as Jacarezinho, Avenida Professor José dos Anjos, Campina do Barreto and Capilé. These communities are within the major neighbourhoods of Arruda and Campina do Barreto. Nonetheless, the Centre has a wider reach, having developed activities in communities that are outside the above-mentioned neighbourhoods in place such as Ilha do Joaneiro, Sotave, Vila Vintém, and Bola na Rede.

Altogether, according to the 2010 Census by the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatísticas, these neighbourhoods had approximately 25,000 inhabitants.²¹ The area integrates the second political-administrative region of Recife and, according to the Human Development Atlas in Recife from 2000, it has an HDI of 0.827²² with a literacy rate of 89.7% for the population aged 10 and over.

For Wanessa Paula,²³ the president of the Centre,

the community which had one of the lowest Human Development Index (HDI) measures in Recife, started taking part and legitimising the presence of the group in the area. Members that participated in the reopening process remember that the group welcomed former prisoners and young people that were being drawn towards crime, at the beginning.²⁴ As a means to re-socialise those considered 'tough guys', the maracatu started a process that has been based on the valorisation of the human being. Many of these members lacked basic attention and care from their families. Experiencing misery and a lack of recreational activities, these vulnerable groups are easily targeted by gangs. The first task was to give them an occupation, mainly through music, encouraging the group's participants to spend as much time as possible in the group, playing and rehearsing.

It is remembered by the longest-standing participants of the group that many participants had never even gone to the city centre, which is less than 5km from the group's headquarters. The simple fact that maracatu went out of the community playing in the Carnival parades, getting the attention of television and the general public, was already considered a great achievement by these people, which historically have always been subjugated by their economic and social conditions.

Growing in legitimacy in the community, the group also increased the number of members. Along with them, new needs, personal stories and capabilities were also brought into the group. Percussionists, dancers, theatre instructors, clowns, researchers and members of Afro-Brazilian religions joined. Each of them started offering different kinds of activities in a collaborative way, creating a portfolio.

With so much to offer, the group also created (in 2006) another two main performing arts groups, the Coco dos Pretos and the Afoxé Omolu Pakeruaw, meeting the needs of those who wished to express other rhythms and dances; all were attached to the maracatu. It was necessary to broaden the group, turning the maracatu group into a multidisciplinary cultural centre.

20. Carvalho, 2007

21. Prefeitura do Recife, Perfil do Bairro do Arruda: <http://www2.recife.pe.gov.br/servico/arruda?op=NzQ0MQ==>

22. Prefeitura do Recife, Perfil do Bairro Campina do Barreto: <http://www2.recife.pe.gov.br/servico/campina-do-barreto?op=NzQ0MQ==>

23. Interview with Wanessa Paula, 3 May 2020

24. Interview with Madson Japa, 23 March 2020

Living heritage as a platform

Recife is considered the 7th most dangerous capital in the country²⁵ and the 22nd most violent city in the world.²⁶ In the state of Pernambuco, the risk of death for a young Black man (including those self-declared Brown and Black) is 11.5 times greater than that observed for a young white man.²⁷ This violence reaches the communities attended by the maracatu very often.

For this reason, in the creation of the Centre, an understanding was reached among the group participants that, beyond music, the Centre had once more to be dedicated to solving and mitigating social problems. No matter what kind of action it took, the Centre always has the direct and indirect objective to reduce drug trafficking, violence, juvenile prostitution, racism, homophobia and misogyny, among other social problems in the area.

To support the neighbourhood, the Centre uses its own headquarters, which are around 90 square metres. In this place are promoted a wide range of courses in percussion, percussion instruments manufacturing, Afro-aesthetics, graffiti, Afro dance, capoeira, and singing. There are debates, seminars and lectures about society and citizenship, health, education, human rights, racism, gender, and sexual orientation, classes on literacy for young adults and extra-school support for elementary and secondary students.

Throughout these years of work, as it was declared by the members themselves in the mini-documentary *Cambinda Estrela, Maracatu de Festa e Luta*,²⁸ these initiatives effectively improved their socio-economic and educational conditions.

For being the main cultural facility in the neighbourhood, the Centre became a reference in the dissemination of the Federal Law N. 6339/03, which aims to preserve and disseminate the Afro-Brazilian culture through socio-educational means.

In addition, since 2006, in partnership with private schools in the northern zone of Recife, such as Colégio 2001, Invest Centro Educacional and Escola Carrossel, the maracatu sustains an average of around 30 students in primary and secondary schools. The Centre also offers extra-school support, being responsible for the acquisition of didactic materials and uniforms.

Having members with teaching backgrounds, the Cambinda Estrela also offers university admission courses, in which students receive assistance and prepare for the tests of several colleges and universities.

Expanding their educational actions, in partnership with the Higher Education Foundation of Olinda, since 2008 the maracatu has started enrolling its members in the university. Being responsible for the payment of tuition, books and other needs, the Cambinda Estrela is committed to investing in socio-political and cultural development. There are currently around 20 young members studying, taking various degrees (History, Biology, Pedagogy, Letters, Administration and Mathematics). In exchange, the school and university students have to develop activities in the Centre throughout the year and take part in the group rehearsals and parades.

From these students, at least a group of fifteen Centre members have declared, through current interviews and the previous documentary, that they considerably increased their income, mostly because they did not have any source of income before taking part in the Centre.²⁹

In order to make this structure work, the Centre's board is composed of university professors and students, art educators, community leaders, connoisseurs of the Afro-oral tradition, and monitors. It is important to mention that all of the current ten collaborators develop their activities on a voluntary basis.

25. G1 PE, 2019

26. Jornal do Comércio, 2018

27. Ministério Público de Pernambuco, 2017

28. Coletivo Gambiarra Imagens, Cambinda Estrela, Maracatu de Festa e de Luta! <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zU7RPM5ZVfK>

29. Coletivo Gambiarra Imagens, Cambinda Estrela, Maracatu de Festa e de Luta! <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zU7RPM5ZVfK>

As these actions are developed in parallel to the academic calendar (February to December), the Cambinda Estrela constantly needs to find ways to attract investments which are mostly obtained through fundraising campaigns, public and private funds, and donations. Due to the financial instability which has impacted Brazil since 2014, the number of private and governmental subsidies has been considerably reduced.

The group parades in the Carnival with around 300 members and all of them receive new costumes every year that are mostly produced internally by the group's seamstresses. Beyond that, new instruments are built and others are repaired. The usual cost for the group parade is around Brazilian Reais 30,000. The subsidy from the state of Pernambuco and from Recife city hall to all groups with similar characteristics of Cambinda Estrela is considered out of date. Costs increase every year, but the subsidy's value has been the same, at least in the last five years. The group tries to find ways to include everyone wishing to participate in the parade. It is understood as the main pillar of valorisation for these participants.

Step by step, the group tries to reach financial independence. As the Cambinda Estrela has worked with a considerable number of cultural activities that can be commercialised, the group takes advantage of this potential. The commercialisation of percussion instruments, performances during the Carnival and percussion workshops are means found by the Centre to fundraise money for the social project.

Conclusions and recommendations

Interestingly, although some of the Centre members recognise that maracatu is Brazilian cultural heritage, the majority of participants do not even know what 'cultural heritage' is. Members are also oblivious to the fact that there is a list of heritage narratives by UNESCO, for instance. This does not mean they do not recognise the importance of maracatu to their lives and to the life of the community. The maracatu emerges as an endogenous force and its importance is learned as a child. When the community 'owns' the heritage, it makes the heritage an asset that can flourish naturally. The Cambinda Estrela presents a symbiosis in which the community takes care of the heritage and the heritage takes care of the community.

In the maracatu, there is an understanding of the importance of cultural heritage as a platform to reach sustainable development. Even though the government and funders also understand that there is a lack of concrete measures to support the Centre and the Maracatu movement.

Even with the legislation safeguarding the maracatu which gives clear recommendations of the direction in which the public powers and funders can protect and boost the maracatu's potential, the distance between speech, legislation and practice is enormous. Therefore, the Centre does not wait for top-down measures for resources and prefers to move forward by itself.

Following this philosophy, the group aims to be able to increase its financial independence from the government subsidy to be able to keep students enrolled in schools and in the university. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, this plan had been working, with the Centre able to be a vehicle for social cohesion, sustainable development and identity. As Dona Ana,³⁰ one of the oldest members of the group, says, the maracatu heritage will set the community free.

COVID-19 imposed a greater difficulty, mainly because most of the Centre's members are socio-

economically vulnerable. For this reason, the Centre has developed partnerships with foundations and other maracatu groups to receive and distribute donations for the community. In addition, the Centre's groups started doing live performances to raise funds; this has been helpful to portray a positive image of the Centre as an institution which cares for its members and community.

These processes were very successful. Between 2020 and 2022, the Centre could partner and receive donations from CUFA (Brazilian Favelas Central Organisations) and international donations too. By helping with the food security of the community and health orientation, the Centre gained even more legitimacy in the media, being portrayed in local newspapers as a mature institution ready to collaborate with the community. Between June and July 2022, the city of Recife suffered with a flooding problem which also affected the Chão de Estrelas community, which is crossed by canals. Once again, the Centre played an important role. Based on their previous experience during the pandemic, the Centre could fundraise and distribute resources.

From October 2022 to January 2023, the usual activities came back again and the cultural groups within the Centre started rehearsing and performing in advance of the Carnival in February 2023. The new year is seen as a year of stabilisation of activities. The maracatu has now broadcast online its rehearsals and interviews with community members and other maracatu groups' members, building an audio-visual inventory on the YouTube channel Centro Cultural Cambinda Estrela. This unleashed a new project called TV Cambinda, transmitting knowledge via the internet and financed by the Brazilian National Bank of Development via a two-year grant. The group also launched a new clip in October 2022, consolidating even more the online presence of the Centre and paving the way for a living heritage.

30. Interview with Dona Ana, 23 March 2020

Based on the material presented in this essay, the conclusions and recommendations are:

For communities

For a heritage to be managed by an interdisciplinary group, the community needs to be open to external partners and welcome a dialogue between different stakeholders interested in making the heritage a platform for sustainable development. It might be the case that the community has limitations in perceiving the power of the heritage, limiting the outreach of the heritage to the wider society. In the Cambinda Estrela Cultural Centre case, this openness and participation of different stakeholders happened when the maracatu was brought to the community in 1996 as a natural process.

Either original to the community or not, the heritage cannot be imposed onto young people. If the people managing the heritage are not young people, the managers need to find means to make the heritage attractive to different age groups in the community, preserving and presenting the heritage as lively and always evolving.

The heritage brings self-esteem to the community the moment the community enjoys having the heritage as part of their lives. In the maracatu case, the heritage is celebrated mainly during the Carnival, when people from the community are in the spotlight of the media and the wider public. Moments to celebrate the heritage, bringing the public either to the community or bringing the heritage out of the community to the public, can be tools for the heritage to be celebrated.

For heritage practitioners and professionals

The Centre members are trained to take care of the heritage and assisted on socioeconomic matters; these are the basic steps in how the Centre was established. A way forward can be that the cultural heritage keepers can also establish partnerships with technical institutes, schools and universities and offer opportunities as a reward for those who have good results in their internal training. The symbiosis here results in Centre members feeling more confident in playing an active role in cultural heritage but also in their lives.

For organisations and institutions

The Cambinda Estrela Cultural Centre has had the possibility, since the beginning of its activities, to have members with different backgrounds. Despite their differences, the group shared a desire to establish the Centre in the community and encourage the community to take care of the Centre and the maracatu heritage. Over the years, the children were brought closer to the Centre as players and dancers, as teenagers they started to be trained to take care more actively in administrative matters so that they knew how to organise themselves and organise the Centre too. This capacity building was also extended to adults who can collaborate with the Centre administration if necessary.

For policy and decision-makers

It might be the case that the community does not know the policy framework for heritage and sustainable development. Even without knowing the framework, the community can still value the heritage because, through valuing the heritage, the community can be valuing its own existence. In countries or regions where the policy framework is weak, interventions can be around increasing the outreach of the impacts caused by the heritage on inclusive growth to the wider community.

Community members are usually frustrated when they expect a policy framework to defend their interests, and this brings frustration and reduces the self-esteem of the community. In the Cambinda Estrela Cultural Centre case, members are more focused on dealing with the heritage by themselves rather than shifting their attention to deal with policy-makers.

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