


The appropriation of public spaces and the cultural heritage at Carnival: historical centers of São Luiz do Paraitinga (Brazil) and Santiago de Cuba (Cuba)


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Abstract: São Luiz do Paraitinga, listed a *Historical and Landscape Ensemble*, and Santiago de Cuba, listed a *National Monument*, are Latin American cities that hold countless festivals in the public spaces of their historical centers, where Carnival is the most important. As a social practice, the festivity optimizes the touristic exploration of both cities and cultural heritage spaces. The observation of the routes in both Carnivals enables one to understand how residents and tourists appropriate those spaces. The comparison of both contexts as a method of study – emphasizing similarities and differences – revealed common strategies regarding the appropriation of public spaces and cultural heritage in the paths taken during the Carnival parades. The analysis sought to understand how the Carnival transformed the historical centers of both cities into privileged places for social practices and tourist exploration. In conclusion, the most relevant aspects analyzed from these findings are highlighted.

Keywords: São Luiz do Paraitinga; Santiago de Cuba; Public Space; Heritage; Carnival.

Resumo: São Luiz do Paraitinga, listada *Conjunto Histórico e Paisagístico*, e Santiago de Cuba, listada *Monumento Nacional*, são cidades latino-americanas que realizam diversos festivais em espaços públicos de seus centros históricos, sendo o Carnaval o mais importante deles. Como uma prática social, a festividade aumenta a exploração turística de ambas as cidades e espaços de patrimônio cultural. A observação do percurso nos dois Carnavais torna possível compreender como os residentes e turistas se apropriam daqueles espaços. A comparação dos dois contextos como métodos de estudo – enfatizando suas semelhanças e diferenças – revelou estratégias em comum em relação à apropriação dos espaços públicos e patrimônio cultural nos caminhos tomados durante os desfiles de Carnaval. A análise buscou compreender como o Carnaval transformou os centros históricos de ambas as cidades em espaços privilegiados para práticas sociais e exploração turística. Em conclusão, os aspectos mais relevantes analisadas desses achados foram destacados.

Palavras-chave: São Luiz do Paraitinga; Santiago de Cuba; Espaço Público; Patrimônio; Carnaval.

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Introdução

So far, Latin American colleagues have been using the European contribution in the field [of Heritage] and have been trying to apply it rigorously, observing the differences between their specific situations. However, by directly confronting their dramatic [urban] problems, they may provide their European colleagues a valuable and enlightening lesson. The same mechanisms of exploration and marginalization that operate worldwide are openly displayed in Latin America; in Europe, however, they remain covert. The structural link between the preservation of the historical centers and the general organization of cities and territories remains hardly discernible in Europe, while in Latin America it stands out. Hence, this problem can reach public awareness more rapidly here in Latin America and be faced adequately (BENÉVOLO, [1977] 2011a, p. 61).

This article aims to work on three interrelated elements: the heritage context of historical centers, the public spaces, and the social practices. This discussion stems from an analysis of the Carnival festival, one of the main popular festivities held in many Latin American cities, celebrated on different dates, expressing their local contexts and histories. However, those popular festivities have a similar origin, with elements incorporated from African and European, and similar performance and format of parades through the city streets and public spaces. In this reflection, we seek to highlight the role of the communities involved and not just the built spaces, given the risks of mischaracterization of local habits and rituals, due to the changes that occurred in historical centers in the last thirty years.

The Latin American cities underwent similar processes of change in the 1990s. The extinction of dictatorial regimes demanded from the countries an institutional reorganization involving constitutional revisions and changes in government structures at every level, having as a common element the discussion about the need for greater local government autonomy, particularly in the municipal level, and concern with social policies in every scope of public management. Conversely, these changes were accompanied by new forms of local

programs and project financing fostered by the private sector's increasing involvement mainly in cultural activities (SCHICCHI, 2015).

The historical centers had an important role in this process. Since the end of the 1970s, after the World Heritage Convention (*Protección del Patrimonio Mundial Cultural y Natural*) and the designation of several cities and historical ensembles as World Heritage sites, the centers became strategic elements in the process of the economic recovery of several Latin American cities, especially after the disclosure of the “*Colloquium on the Preservation of Historic Centers Faced with the Growth of Contemporary Cities*”, a meeting held in Quito, in 1977, by UNDP and UNESCO as part of the “*Regional Project on Cultural, Urban and Environmental Heritage in Latin America and the Caribbean*” (RLA), which addressed for the first time ongoing processes in Latin American cities.¹

The charter pointed out the urban problems resulting from the Latin American growth and urbanization and its consequences for the historical centers. The formation of the extensive peripheries occupied by low-income population in precarious settlements demanded new planning and management instruments. According to historian Leonardo Benevolo: “If we seriously want to face the problem of the historical centers and the human settlements in Latin America, we should be prepared to question all the conventional concepts that we are used to” ([1977] 2011b, p. 17). The charter linked the cultural heritage to economic and social aspects, conceiving it as a resource for local development, and established the necessity of incorporating the historical contexts into national tourism agendas and plans (CONTI, 2008).

It is a moment of reflection in which questions are posed for the future of the historical ensembles of the subcontinent in a critical and not only technical way, proposing solutions for the sustainability and feasibility of the heritage ensembles' recovery in accordance to the measures of the economic recovery of the cities. In these ensembles, there is always an emphasis on historical center, made up of religious and administrative buildings around the main square.

A decade after these two milestones, the 1972 Convention and the 1977 Colloquium², there was a change in the way of dealing with historical centers. In Latin America, the heritage ensembles were acquiring an essential role in local development through their touristic exploration, made possible by domestic investments – government budgets and national preservation organizations – and

external investments – UNESCO, UNDP, and international cooperation (SCHICCHI, 2014).

The instrumental use of heritage sets (LACARRIEU, 1998) for tourism in Latin American cities found a socioeconomic context different from that in Europe, as previously mentioned. According to Melé (1998), at that time in the Latin American countries, greater emphasis was given to the nominations of historical centers as a heritage of humanity. According to the author, at the end of the 1990s, practically half of the Latin American cultural properties registered worldwide were centers or historical central areas in capital cities, while in Europe, most of the cataloged areas were ensembles in small cities. In many countries, however, although worldwide recognition did not include most of the small and medium-sized cities, there was a stimulus for the creation of recovery programs and protection laws at other government levels (state, municipality, commune), resulting in advancement in terms of activities and investments in the historical centers focused on tourism.

Cuba was not uninvolved in this historical centers' appreciation process. In the first twenty-five years after the 1959 Revolution, the country invested in a Soviet model of urbanization and settlement creation dispersed in its territory, only preserving the residences in its historical centers, as Cardenas & Pietro ([1977] 2011) indicate. During the Special Period in the 1990s, after the dissolution of the Socialist bloc, the country proposed to solve the severe economic crisis with the exploration of international tourism in its historical centers, which began with the recovery of the center of Old Havana, listed a World Heritage Site in 1982, later followed by the centers of Trinidad (1988), Cienfuegos (2005) and Camaguey (2008), that also were given an *Oficina del Historiador* or *Conservador*. To aid the exchange among these diferente entities, in 2008 is created the *Red de Oficinas del Historiador y Conservador de Cuba*³, with support from the *Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional* (AECI). As Eusebio Leal Spengler of the *Oficina del Historiador* (Historian's Office) of Havana city stated:

The historical center of Cuba's capital pioneered the recuperation processes of the historical centers based on the leadership of the specialized authority. This action started in 1981 by the Havana City Historian's Office (...) In 1993, facing the economic crisis caused by the fall of the socialist bloc, Decree-law 143 of the State Council was enacted, launching the foundational basis of a new way of acting in the recuperation of Old Havana. (LEAL SPENGLER, 2012, p. XVII)

From this context, questions about the appropriation processes of central public spaces and cultural heritage during Carnival festivities are presented in this article. The approach is comparative, diachronic/synchronic, presenting a common phenomenon, the festival, taken from different social media. The similarities and differences between the cases and the effects generated on the spaces studied were considered.

Based on the context above, it begins with a brief description of the expansion of the concept of cultural heritage, which implied the recent recognition of immaterial heritage, which includes Carnival. Next, the article brings the trajectory of preservation actions in both countries, which enabled the valorization of popular festivals, passing on to the description of how these social practices occur in the public spaces of historical centers during the Carnival, seeking to reveal how the recovery of the historical centers, associated to tourism, transformed the form and content of cultural practices. The conclusion outlines the main aspects analyzed.

From expanding the concept of Cultural Heritage to a methodological perspective

Worldwide recognition of complex scopes such as the centers and historical cities represented the enlargement of the concept of heritage and the recognition of new categories, with repercussions for the management of national heritage. Since the previous period, when the Venice Charter in 1964 declared the centers' importance for social development, the Amsterdam Charter, in 1975, introduced the concept of integrated conservation, and ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) approved the International Charter for the Conservation of Historical Towns and Urban Areas in 1987, the image values of the cities, the urban forms defined by the layout, the historical allotment and the vernacular architecture were included, establishing the relationship between the heritage built and the public spaces. The latter charter also referred to several of the city's vocations acquired over the years, that is, it introduces intangible elements to the built ensembles (CONTI, 2008). Yet, in 2003, another document, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, pointed out the importance of immaterial components and sought, in a way, to mitigate the effects of globalization

processes and social transformation previously mentioned, among which the effects of “touristification” of the historical centers were included.⁴

Therefore, the twenty-first century opens an important field of discussion about the historical centers of Latin American cities and highlights the role of public spaces that, although being seldom directly addressed in the texts and heritage charters, have an important role as mediators between the built and the place, the gathering space which main characteristic is to host a diversity of social uses and practices, as indicated by Conti:

squares, streets, parks and gardens acted historically as aggregates of the community’s life, and, therefore, are essential references of its identity. If we take into consideration a public space and its boundaries, generally defined by architectural components, the value of the ensemble exceeds that of the parts considered as individual entities, to which are added the immaterial components focused on the diversity of social practices that have the public space as a scenario (CONTI, 2008, p. 29).

It is these scenarios constituted in public spaces that host the Carnival in several Latin American cities. In Barranquilla in Colombia, El Callao in Venezuela, Gualeguaychú, Buenos Aires in Argentina, Vera Cruz in Mexico, and cities in Uruguay, Bolivia, and Ecuador.

The historical centers of São Luiz do Paraitinga, in São Paulo, and Santiago de Cuba, in Cuba, receive Carnival celebrations and parades every year. This set of practices within the national territories of these cities, regardless of the coverage scale - local, regional, national or international - allows interaction between residents and tourists, who travel to attend or participate in these events annually. Both cities have the national heritage status granted by their respective preservation institutions. The festivity is also a factor of appreciation of the nature of the historical centers' public spaces, as much as it reaffirms routes and allows foreigners to interact in their public spaces; therefore, recovering the interaction among the physical, civil and symbolic dimensions of the centers (GARCÍA GARCÍA, 2008).

However, one may not ignore that throughout recent years, as a consequence of the use of the heritages as resources and in an instrumental way, as indicated by Lacarrieu, groups and associations participating in the Carnival compete for a place in the events, the result of the selection of various expressions and subjects in which “the power – as ambiguous as it sounds – guides and directs which version of Carnival should be legitimate, which components should be

displayed, and who the subjects and the groups worthy of presenting are” (LACARRIEU, 2013, p. 92).

The comparison between the Brazilian and Cuban contexts displays common elements and differences in symbol appropriation, in the themes of the rituals, the beliefs, and the mystic values involved. However, it is mainly the analysis of the routes on the territory that reveals similarities in the forms of appropriation and in the synergistic effects that are established in the cities' public spaces where these practices occur. It was also possible to see other values attributed to cultural heritage, such as cognitive, affective and ethical values (MENESES, 2012). In addition to the similarity between how Carnival festivities take place, the choice of the two cities as case studies was based on the identification of several ongoing social changes. Despite the differences in their historical paths and even concerning the demographic size between them⁵, that is the contrast of contexts, the effects on the territory are very similar, justifying the approximation between both. It is a procedure that does not propose to arrive at a general statement; rather, it allows to discover empirical relationships between specific variables (RODRÍGUEZ ZOYA, 2011).

Despite the maintenance of the integrity of its historical centers, the uncontrolled expansion of the surrounding areas has resulted in a contrasting landscape in recent years. The comparison between the two cities was the research premise in the scope of an international cooperation project by researchers from Pontificia Universidade Católica of Campinas (Brazil) and Universidad de Oriente (Cuba)⁶ which initially aimed to read public spaces and cultural heritage in the historical centers of both cities. Afterward, the analysis made it possible to understand how both cities, considered as national heritage, used their cultural heritage – material and immaterial – as references for the definition of the routes of their Carnival parades.

Carnivals, public spaces and Heritage

In Brazil, almost all cities celebrate Carnival. It is one of the busiest festivals among capital cities, attracting tourists from several countries, and causing massive internal displacement of population, with extensive tourism infrastructure and the support of public agencies of various government spheres. Generally, they are held in large public spaces that allow people to gather, except when there are

spaces projected exclusively for such purposes, such as the “sambódromos” of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The festival organization in large cities reached professional levels, involving large budgets and expertise at every stage, with teams that begin the preparatory works as soon as the preceding Carnival has ended, unlike what happens in small cities, where Carnival has its specificities. The parades are restricted to the central public spaces of cities, and despite being an undertaking aimed at national tourism, especially in historical cities, the organization is made by local communities.

In São Luiz do Paraitinga the festivities are permeated by legends and local cultural practices that are present in the costumes, props and symbols; they are visible in the costumes worn by the revelers, which are made of typical colorful light cotton fabrics, adorned with ribbons and flowers, and have as characters the werewolf, the *saci-pererê* (a mythical creature with one leg), the big snake, among others, which are linked to the mythical stories of the city.

The Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional - Iphan (National Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage), in Brazil, recognizes as cultural heritage the allegories, the street groups and the music floats, and keeps under its safeguard different expressions of music and dance such as Frevo, also declared an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2012, the *Nação Maracatu*, the *Maracatu do Baque Solto*, *Matrizes do Samba* and *Samba de Roda* of the *Recôncavo* region in the state of Bahia. The IPHAN is a federal autarchy, created in 1937, linked to the Ministry of Tourism. It has several regional headquarters in several states. Its attribution is to preserve the heritage of national interest, which is done through councils.

In Cuba, preservation institutions are distributed by provinces. In each of them, there is a preservation office. The main office is that of La Habana, a capital city declared World Heritage Site in 1982. The recovery of La Habana Vieja, under the responsibility of historian Eusebio Leal, became strategic during the Special Period, in the 1990s, for providing tourism as an economic alternative, whose management acquired autonomy in relation to the rest of the national territory. In the other provinces, the offices do not have budgetary autonomy and depend on state policy.

Santiago de Cuba receives several cultural manifestations in its public spaces, some of them related to immigrants from other Central American countries, Haitians and Jamaicans; others originating from religions of African origin; the

Catholic ones, with emphasis on the celebrations of the *Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre* (Our Lady of Charity of El Cobre), patron saint of Cuba, the *Festival del Caribe* (Caribbean Festival), an annual international event that takes place on the streets of the Historical Center, which has brought together cultural activities and the presentations of popular artistic movements since 1981; and the *Tumba Francesa* (French Drum)⁷, declared an Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by Unesco in 2003.

The preservation of São Luiz de Paraitinga's historical center

São Luiz do Paraitinga is situated in the Paraíba Valley, in the state of São Paulo, 180 km from the city of São Paulo. Founded in 1769, it was raised to the category of a city in 1857. As of 1830, the city's strategic location turned it into a supply outpost for cargo caravans in the coffee economy; with the agricultural decline, the city's economy underwent a period of reduction. From the 1930s until the 1980s, dairy farming prevailed (CAMPOS, 2011). Nowadays, the economic base is agriculture and tourism.

From the 1960s onwards, Brazilian conservation agencies became interested in the city. The architect Luís Saia⁸ and, later, also by the historian Jaelson Bitran Trindade, started studies where the perimeter of preservation was defined, which remains today as a basis for the formulation of public policies related to its heritage. This perimeter coincided with its original site, in 1769, determined by Morgado de Mateus, governor of the captaincy of São Paulo, whose actions were guided by the "Pombaline" project of founding orderly and regular settlements, or according to the "illustrated" city. The changes made in the layout, between 1769 and 1850, and the architectural legacy built up over time (IPHAN, 2010) were the basis for the delimitation of the heritage set in the city's downfall processes.

In 1982, Condephaat - Conselho de Defesa do Patrimônio Histórico, Arqueológico, Artístico e Turístico do Estado de São Paulo (Council for the Defense of Historical, Archeological, Artistic and Tourist Heritage of the State of São Paulo) listed the perimeter determined by the foundational core of the city and some surrounding blocks made up of vernacular buildings (CONDEPHAAT, 1982, p. 66). The process also indicated the importance of the "landscaped framework of remarkable beauty", resulting from the "privileged topography formed by the

Paraitinga riverbanks and the adjacent hills” (CONDEPHAAT, 1982, p. 62) (Figure 1).



Source: Research archive, 2017.

FIGURE 1

São Luiz do Paraitinga's Oswaldo Cruz Square. São Luís de Tolosa Church and Elpidio dos Santos Bandstand

In 2002, the city began to be officially inserted in the regional tourist circuit, like other historical Brazilian cities, when it was granted the name of Tourist Resort by the Tourist Office of the State of São Paulo. At that moment, for Santos (2006, p. 19) “by transforming the center of São Luiz do Paraitinga into heritage and, later, into State Tourist Resort, we have the beginning of a new form of relationship between society and this territory, now in a process of valorization with the development of tourism.”

In January 2010, the city was struck by a flood that destroyed a significant part of its built heritage, situated mainly in its Historical Center. The procedures to the declaration were reduced and finalized immediately after the flood. The listing perimeter followed the provisions of the previous State Decree of 1982 with few changes. However, the flood brought structural changes, and the spatial reconfiguration entailed displacements and readjustments of houses and residents, places of worship, celebrations, and festivities.

A visual preservation area has been established, recognizing the importance of the surrounding natural landscape, especially the “sea of hills”⁹ that encompass the city and form a green frame, which enhances its architectural ensemble,

according to the document. Thus, the city was also included in the Book of Archeological, Ethnographic and Landscape Listing as *Historical and Landscape Ensemble of São Luiz do Paraitinga*.

The Carnival of the city: resistances and changes

Besides Carnival, São Luiz do Paraitinga celebrates several festivities of religious and secular nature in its public spaces, which gives it the definition “the city of the thousand festivities”. The first festivities were based on the calendar introduced by the Catholic Church, and it included a few thematic cycles such as Christmas, Feast of the Three Kings, Carnival, Lent, Holy Week, Easter, Feast of the Divine Holy Spirit, *Festa Junina* (June Festival). In addition to these celebrations, there were traditional festivals based on the region’s *caipira* background¹⁰, the residents’ musical vocation, the dissemination of myths and legends, such as the *Festa do Saci e Seus Amigos* (Feast of Saci and His Friends).¹¹

Between the end of the 1770s and the beginning of the 1800s, Vale do Paraíba was the site of sugarcane crops and, later, of coffee, productions developed with the workforce of enslaved black Africans. In São Luiz do Paraitinga, in 1972, 15% of the population was slaves (MARCONDES, 2002, p. 58). These groups brought significant contributions to the local culture, with songs and dances, such as mozambiques and jongo, work songs, in devotion to São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosário, linked to religious practices of African origin and which were being embedded and merged with local elements. These cultural exchanges are present at the São Luiz do Paraitinga Carnival. But, little by little, they were overlaid for cultural activities associated with practices of official use in Brazil and a socioeconomic elite.

In the 1880s, the Carnival fantasy of the devil was prevalent in Carnivals like Rio de Janeiro, especially among young blacks and mestizos, in the last decade of slavery in Brazil, as an attempt to hide their civil status (NEPOMUCENO, 2013). In the press at the time, fantasy users were always related to crimes, occurrences of violence, or disorders during Carnival celebrations.

In the 1930s, in the Brazilian government of Getúlio Vargas, in his first term, interfered in some cultural manifestations, such as the use of Carnival *marchinhas* for electoral purposes, of which *Ge-Gê (Seu Getúlio)* stands out, by Lamartine Babo, in 1931 and declaration of samba as a symbol of the national rhythm with a decree

of 1937, which obliged samba schools to adopt civic or historical plots (ALLUCCI, 2020).

Nowadays, the city's two biggest festivals are Carnival and the Feast of the Divine Holy Spirit. However, Carnival was forbidden by the Catholic Church between the 1920s and 1980s in deference to the precepts of the Roman Reformation, or Ultramontane Reform (1850-1930), which, among other issues, impacted popular celebrations, religious or profane. (CÂMARA NETO, 2006).

This Reform fought the Protestantism, Spiritualism, anticlericalism, divorce, and party vices such as excessive eating and drinking. As a result, popular cultural practices underwent censorship and standardization. Elements such as dances, songs, masks began to be eliminated; processions and *folias* were taken off the streets. In São Luiz do Paraitinga, Priest Ignácio Gióia removed from the religious calendar the Feast of the Divine Holy Spirit - which resumed celebration in 1943 - and the Carnival.

Carnival returned to the streets of the city in 1981, and its return can be understood as political action, an effort against the old prohibitions of the Catholic Church, an institution that, in the following sixty years, has undergone several changes in their attitudes regarding festivals. This return was also an attempt by the population to take back their culture and to choose the public space as a territory of sociocultural practices and expressions (ALLUCCI, 2015).

Besides the cultural aspect, there are other interpretations of the return of Carnival; among them, that the financial difficulties of the municipality, with an economy based on small crops and dairy production, did not keep up with the growth of the industrialized cities in the region. This hardship caused the migration and consequent decrease of the population, mainly from rural areas, and caused changes in the format of the cultural manifestations hitherto performed. The return of the Carnival celebration represented an alternative for the generation of financial resources for the new public policies and the emerging tourism market.

At this time, the festivity was aimed at the residents only, while today, it aims at tourism. Despite being organized by the local communities, it prioritizes the tourist, and therefore, the parades are restricted to the central public spaces of the city, in a strategy to allow the visitor to immerse in the Carnival.

In a recent survey of residents of São Luiz do Paraitinga (JORDÃO, 2018), 48% of the 304 interviewed indicated the Divino Espírito Santo Festival (Divine Holy Spirit Festival) as the most popular of the 11 options, while Carnival came in

second place, with 16%; However, the same survey points out that 25% of the answers pointed to Carnival as the festivity with which the interviewees identified themselves the least. Those numbers show that the population resents and is aware that the Carnival is no longer a local festivity.

When Carnival began to be celebrated again as a small festival, the *marchinhas* (traditional music genre)¹² were recovered, as well as the traces of *caipira* (*bumpkin*) identity, valuing local characters and personalities, such as Maria Paulina and João Angu, the bailiff nicknamed Juca Teles, Barbosa, the bus driver for the only line of the city, as well as sacks, werewolves, snakes and others. There was little funding for its execution, and the media played an important role in its comeback, when the festival began to gain extra municipal dimensions at the end of the 1990s. From this period, external interferences and the local powers established in the definition of the type of festivals it should support and what should be favored and promoted.

The demands arising from the Carnival's growth increased the budget for its execution each year. The local festival became a national touristic event. Investments in the city's infrastructure could not meet the new demands. For the public authorities, Carnival caused significant expenditures, so every year, a private sponsor was sought.

Miguez (2014, p. 189) points out that the economic exploration of the festivals is an old practice, “although it does not come anywhere near the scale in which the market of this festival is set up today, the economic dimension has never ceased to be a part of the dynamics of the public festivals.”

In 2010, Iphan recognized the importance of using the cultural products as economic resources, which would even help to justify the approval of the listing process underway: “the cultural heritage, not only the assets of the urban nucleus but also the rural landscapes, natural assets, ways of life, knowledge and traditions represent today the community’s greatest resource, which confers unquestionable centrality to the preservation policy” (IPHAN, 2010b). This statement shows the importance of the Carnival as an appreciation of the urban architectural heritage of the city of São Luiz do Paraitinga, where the groups perform singing autochthonous *marchinhas* and march through public spaces on a route in which the Historical Center is the main territory. Music is the most prominent of all the Carnival elements: masks, costumes, and choreographies are based on the *marchinhas*’

lyrics, aiming to narrate facts and stories to keep memories, cultural traces, and living behaviors.

The Council for the Defense of the Cultural Heritage of São Luiz do Paraitinga, founded in 2011, declared the Carnival of the *Marchinhas* as a Historical and Cultural Immaterial Heritage.

In 2013, the AMBEV/SKOL¹³ company, which was already present in important Brazilian Carnival festivals in Olinda (PE), Recife (PE), Florianópolis (SC), Ouro Preto (MG) and Salvador (BA), made an offer to become involved in the event in São Luiz do Paraitinga. However, the company's projects included shows with artists that did not belong to the local traditional music circuit, in order to attract a more diversified regional audience that could guarantee a return on investment. Negative reactions of the residents were immediate, and the quick popular mobilization compelled the sponsor to step back the plans and the public authorities to take a stand (ALLUCCI, 2015). The sponsorship was dropped in the following years.

Breaking with local tradition, the City of São Luiz do Paraitinga announced in 2017 that it would not have a Carnival festival due to financial difficulties; instead, the city would use the budget estimated for the festival to pay public debts.

The cancellation was widely discussed by residents and merchants, as many depend on this festival to guarantee part of their financial income. However, the decision to prioritize the payment of debts contracted by the previous mayor was widely publicized, as well as the lack of infrastructure that would guarantee the safety of tourists and residents. The city's hospital, for example, had only one ambulance, lacking medical staff and medicines, a risky situation to welcome the commuting crowd, which is five times the number of residents. Residents and traders were divided over the cancellation as the festival moves much of the local economy. Thus, there was a consensus that the huge popularization of the festival resulted in the loss of some traditions of the city and that this break could be beneficial to rethink the direction of the celebration.¹⁴

The following year the Carnival was again held with municipal funds.

The urban routes of São Luiz de Paraitinga's Carnival

Figure 2 shows that São Luiz do Paraitinga's Carnival has two exit points for the groups: *Largo do Rosário* (Rosário Plaza), in front of *Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosário* (Nossa Senhora do Rosário Church), a space of sacred activities, and the *Mercado Municipal* (Municipal Market), functional space of everyday activities. The spaces are equally important because nowadays, the Market, besides trading food, also hosts several cultural activities and stalls that sell local craft. Both are within the foundational perimeter of the city, listed by Iphan in 2010.

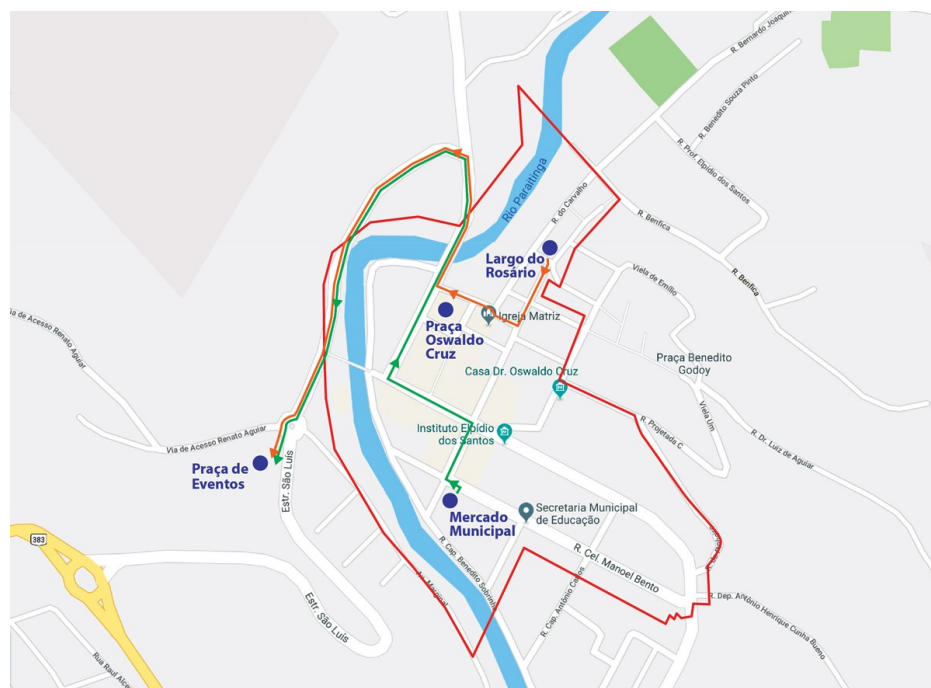


FIGURE 2

City map of São Luiz do Paraitinga with the routes of the Carnival Groups (in green and orange), and the listed perimeter of the Historical Center (in red) determined by Iphan in 2010

Praça Oswaldo Cruz (Oswaldo Cruz Square) is the intermediary point where the two routes meet on the way to the end of the parade. This square, which is part of the residents' daily lives, expresses the “intentional place of meeting, of permanence, of happenings, of social practices, of manifestation of urban and community life and prestige, and, therefore, of structuring functions and significant architectures” (LAMAS, 2004, p. 102). When they enter the square, the groups

incorporate even more revelers, boosting its function as a strategic meeting place. During this first part of the route, it is possible to walk through the historical center's main spaces and distinguish the landscape in different locations of the topography. The procession fills the streets and alters their daily uses (Figure 3).



Source: Research archive, 2012.

FIGURE 3

São Luiz do Paraitinga's Carnival in Oswaldo Cruz Square. Photo Degiovani Lopes da Silva

The music float is located on one of the streets that comprise the square. It also serves as a stage for musicians and singers of the groups, who move to carry out the second part of the itinerary. Then, they proceed through the street along Paraitinga River until they reach their final destination, the *Praça de Eventos* (Events Square), built after the flood in 2010, as part of the city's reconstruction works undertaken by several government levels (national, state and municipal). The Events Square, which is the final stop of the route, is located near, but outside of the Historical Center perimeter. It is the space that enables the final concentration of people and the circulation of buses and heavier vehicles (such as the music float), that had been prohibited in the historical center after the flood and listing. It also changed the route of the groups. The Events Square is located at the city's entrance, and it is merely an ample paved space. Unlike the historical center, it is comprised of big constructions such as the bus station, the *Ginásio Poliesportivo* (Multi-Sport Gymnasium) and the *Concha Acústica* (Acoustic Shell), and a statue in

honor of João Boy¹⁵, a local artist who greatly contributed to Carnival iconography. Thus, the festival starts at the foundational space of the city and ends at a functional contemporary space because the constructions that are located there neither reproduce the routes nor attract the inhabitants to remain there daily. There were also changes in the parade's logistics. Previously, the groups left and returned to Praça Oswaldo Cruz, accompanied by the float. Currently, the float remains parked on the bridge, waiting for each group to arrive and accompany them to the Events Square. The music float no longer travels the streets inside the Historical Center, and groups do not return to it.

Santiago de Cuba's historical center: squares as systems of centralities

Santiago de Cuba, port city, is on the eastern part of the island of Cuba, in the province of the same name. Sierra Maestra cuts a large part of its territory, and its settlement started in the background of a bay in the Caribbean Sea. Founded in 1515, it was granted the title of city in 1523. Like many Latin American cities, the process of conquest imposed a specific configuration scheme that resulted in its present Historical Center, which was developed starting from the foundational section and covers the area of urban expansion that occurred until the end of the nineteenth century. The location on a system of natural terraces provides qualities in its physical and formal expression, enhanced by the green of the mountains and the blue of the sea (CABRALES MUÑOZ, 2010a, p. 1) (Figure 4).

The territory expansion started at *Plaza de Armas*, currently Céspedes Park, from successive concentric rings adapted to the topography, creating a network of streets, alleys, and slopes. The layout resulted in a regular chessboard (Law of the Indies)¹⁶, even though it was not rigorously applied, with discontinuity points, very appealing for those who walk around the city. The constructions present architectural exponents from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, of Moorish influence, followed by baroque and neoclassical, up to different styles such as the eclectic and the rationalist (MORALES TEJEDA, 2015a, p. 137-138).

The city reached its economic peak in the eighteenth century with sugar production, copper mining extraction and the promotion of its port as an important Caribbean commercial intermediary; in the last quarter of that century, the city achieved great urban development (RODRÍGUEZ VALDÉS, n.d., p. 17).



Source: City Conservator's Office, 2012.

FIGURE 4

Aerial photo of the City of Santiago de Cuba

Between 1790 and 1804, many French and their slaves from Saint-Domingue, who were trying to flee the Haitian Revolution, arrived in Santiago de Cuba. They contributed to the transformation of part of the city's infrastructure and in its economic and cultural development (MORALES TEJEDA, 2015b, p. 33-34). In the expansion of the urban fabric, neighborhoods such as Quartier Francés and El Tivolí, the latter being a part of the Historical Center and the exponent of stories and traditions, became centers of Carnival festivities, “*congas*”¹⁷, “*passeos*”¹⁸ and “*comparsas*”¹⁹ (DÍAZ-SUÁREZ, 2016, p. 125).

The importance of the coffee culture arising from this migration, in mountainous areas, which until now were inaccessible to inhabitants of Santiago, has transcended national borders.

The centrality consists of Aguilera, Enramadas and Heredia streets in the East-West direction, and of Santo Tomás Street in the North-South direction, which form axes that are linked with the Squares System: *Plaza de Marte*, *Plaza de Dolores*, Céspedes Park (old *Plaza de Armas*), *Plaza del Mercado* and *La Alameda*.

In 1978, Santiago de Cuba's Historical Center was designated a National Monument by the *Consejo Nacional de Cuba* (Cuba's National Council). The city also has the titles of *Ciudad Héroe de La Republica de Cuba* and the *Antonio Maceo* Order.

The city played an important political and symbolic role in the independence wars and the Cuban Revolution. The balcony of the old City Hall, located in Céspedes Park, the heart of the city and its present Historical Center, was the place where Fidel Castro gave his speech on January 1st, 1959, announcing the victory of the revolution that he and his companions undertook (Figure 5).



Source: Research archive, 2018.

FIGURE 5

Santiago de Cuba's Parque Céspedes in the Historical Center. Catedral Basílica de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción (Cathedral Basilica of Our Lady of the Assumption), Diego Velázquez's House and Palacio del Gobierno Municipal

The city is constantly hit by weather events. Throughout its history, it was hit by several earthquakes of great intensity and Hurricane Sandy in 2012 that destroyed buildings all over the city and on the coastal zone. According to Chuy Rodríguez (2011, p. 1) “to make a point of view of geodynamic activity, a province of Santiago de Cuba, due to its proximity to an East seismic zone, presents a greater seismic hazard in the country”, causing countless local economic infrastructure conditions.

However, even though the hurricane Sandy destroyed the vegetation on the public spaces, they shelter the population during the earthquakes when the residents are forced to leave their houses.

In 2015, the *Consejo Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural* under Resolution number 25 declared Santiago de Cuba's Carnival and all its related heritage as

Cultural Heritage of the Nation. It was also included in the National Register of Cultural Properties to allow its safeguard as immaterial heritage (CNPIC, 2015).

The festivals and Carnivals of the city

The Carnival of Santiago de Cuba originates in the festivities of the colonial period, between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, when Christian saints like San Juan, San Pedro, Santa Cristina, Santa Ana, among others were celebrated (BREA LÓPEZ, 2015, p. 71). It was characterized by a set of festivities with multiple integrated artistic expressions: food, drinks, music, dance, mask parades, *congas*, *paseos*, *comparsas* that invade the urban public spaces of the city. It is considered the most popular expressions of the traditional culture of the *Santiagueros*. As a social product, its manifestations are a reflection of the successive milestones of Cuban history: political crises, revolutions and economic depressions resulted in direct consequences for the festivities.

Carnival takes place in July; the same month of Santiago Apostle's celebration, the local patron, on the 25th and the assault on the *Moncada* Barracks, on July 26, the most important day in the country's political calendar (SILVA PRADO, 2013), that is, three important events that allow aligning cultural (and tourist) manifestations, religious devotion and strengthening of the revolution.

As in São Luiz do Paraitinga, music is vital in Santiago de Cuba's Carnival; its main feature is the use of a china horn (Chinese *suona*), an instrument brought by the soldiers of the independence wars.

The Carnival was forbidden in some years of the colonial period, revealing constant confrontation between, on the one hand the Spanish, civilian, military and religious authorities, and on the other hand the festive culture of the *criollos*²⁰ (Figure 6).

Palacios Estrada (2017, p. 127) recounts that during the Ten Years' War, which began in 1868, Carnival became a means of communication between the city's residents and the combatants; the latter infiltrated in the festival in disguise to take and receive messages and news of strategic nature. Similar to what had occurred in other Latin American cities, Carnival choreographies and lyrics presented patriotic ideals, with phrases with double meaning that praised the Cubans and criticized the Spanish.



Source: Archive Office of the Conservator of the City of Santiago de Cuba, 2018.

FIGURE 6

Carnival in the Céspedes Park, Santiago de Cuba

Between 1895 and 1898, when the Cuban Independence War occurred, the *Santiaguera* population remained at the margins of the festivals, under the alert of conspirations and rebellions. With the end of the war, a United States provisional government was installed in Cuba. During this period of North American intervention, Cuban national identity was crystallized. At that time, the contradiction between the expressions of traditional popular culture and the ideas of rationality - which promoted governments in the service of the United States - became a conflict, since the role of the popular sectors and immigrant minorities, in the country's destiny, it was not recognized (VERGÉS MARTÍNEZ, 2014, p. 51).

As remembered by Rafael Brea López (2015), the second period of the Neocolonial Republic at the end of the 1940s was characterized by the manipulation of Carnival festivities by politicians and commercial companies, such as Ron Bacardí and Edén cigarettes, that were able to extend the festive period until the end of July to increase their financial gains. In other words, economic power defined how and when the festival should occur.

After the 1959 revolution, as in other places in Latin America in the 1960s, including Brazil²¹, folklore was recognized and valued by the government of Fidel Castro. As folklore, in this case, Afro-Cuban expressions were mainly included, whose presentations started to be paid or professionalized (OLIVEIRA, 2019).

In 1962, the National Flokloric Ensemble was founded, which became a national symbol and led to the creation of other regional ensembles. In the case of Santiago de Cuba, the *Conjunto Floklórico del Oriente* was founded before, in 1959, being one of the oldest in the country. This valorization on the part of the revolutionary government had the objective of rescuing the authentic Cuban expressions, which, at first, also extended to demonstrations such as the *Conga de Los Hoyos*²². They were in accordance with cultural policies that aimed to eliminate social inequalities, seeking a homogeneity of identity symbols. However, the institutionalization of popular demonstrations by the government was also a way of disciplining and controlling undesirable behaviors, since it was common for crimes to occur in these events, such as drinking and fighting in public (BODENHEIMER, 2013 apud OLIVEIRA, 2019).

From then on, cultural creation should be subordinated to state policies, which started promoting civic cults associated with large popular festivals, in the form of military bands and extensive speeches that preceded the events. These often competed with more traditional festivals, such as the anniversary of the revolution's triumph on January 1, which coincided with Christmas and Three Kings Day, and Victory Day against the invasion of the *Bahía de los Cochinos* in 19th April, which overlapped the celebrations of Holy Week (OLIVEIRA, 2019, p. 121).

Virtudes Feliú (2003), in a research that studied festivities before and after 1959 – the year of the victory of the Cuban Revolution –, points out that from 1957-1958 many traditional popular festivals began to disappear; in the post-war period, this process deepens: 703 festivities disappear, of which only 377 were revived to this day.

According to Vergés Martínez (2014), the revolution's profound socioeconomic transformations reflected on traditional cultural expressions. Despite the involvement of large popular sectors in festive activities, there was a tendency to copy models from out of the Cuban reality, which resulted in the homogenization of commemorative events to the detriment of cultural diversity.

The period from 1968 to 1983 was also marked by the “parameterization of Cuban culture”, with the establishment of ideological and moral principles that should guide the conduct of intellectuals and artists (MISKULIN, 2019, p. 545). The change in this process of distancing between cultural practices and policies occurred only after the beginning of the Special Period, in the 1990s, when cultural manifestations started to be less controlled.

It is also in this context that, in 1976, the National Plan for the Revitalization of Traditional Popular Manifestations began, promoting the resuscitation and artistic projection of the parties, songs, and dances linked to religions of African origin. However, in some provinces, the Carnival was interrupted, or its characteristics changed; however, this festival remained in Santiago de Cuba, due to its strength and prestige. These interruptions also started when some festivities lost their original traditions and became only occasions for excessive drinking in public areas, as already mentioned, with the presentation of varied music. In the case of Carnival, when the residents felt the festival no longer corresponded to what they knew or expected, they no longer organized it (FELIÚ, 2003).

Gradually, the Revolution also set free Carnival from its former mercantilist and political bias, allowing the government and provincial authorities to completely take over the funding of the Carnival festivals. The *comparsas* and *paseos*, for example, following the premises outlined by the regime, began to receive direct support from state institutions. The Department of Culture of the city of Santiago de Cuba established permanent headquarters for traditional cultural groups where a work of dissemination and preservation of the culture was carried out. With these institutional advances, research has also begun on the roots of Cuban art and culture. In Santiago de Cuba, study groups and the Carnival Museum, located on the Historical Center, were created (BREA LÓPEZ, 2015). The *Casa del Caribe*²³ and the *Casa de Africa Fernando Ortiz* are places of study and dissemination of *Santiaguera* festivals, notably the Carnival. However, the festivities that made up the new revolutionary calendar were selected, as they had the pedagogical objective of reshaping the cultural life of the new society.

In the first thirty years, the Cuban Revolution underwent several transformations, since the political-religious and military confrontations, in the early 1960s, followed by the economic difficulties resulting from the blockade of the countries of the western bloc.

From the “Special Period in Times of Peace”, as the period after the dissolution of the socialist camp is known, with the economic difficulties²⁴, the Cuban government reopened the economy for tourism again, transforming it into one of the main sources of income of the State. In addition, gradually, several other measures were taken, such as the decriminalization of the dollar and the authorization of self-employment. In this context, cultural and folk activities related to Carnival have become even more profitable.

Santiago de Cuba's Carnival parade: liminal space between the center and the city

At the end of the nineteenth century, urban fabric of the city of Santiago de Cuba expanded, as did the system of pathways that connected the city to the rest of the territory. Among them were perimetric pathways which led to the Historical Center: *Paseo de Martí* (Martí Promenade), *Avenida de Los Libertadores* (Libertadores Avenue), *Trocha* (*Avenida 24 de Febrero* - 24 de Febrero Avenue) and *Avenida Jesús Menéndez - La Alameda* (Jesús Menéndez Avenue). Each of them has a distinct origin and form; however, over time they acquired a functional continuity among themselves. Thus, a ring structure that surrounded the Historical Center denominated *Paseo de Circunvalación*—determined the limits of the city of Santiago de Cuba (CABRALES MUÑOZ, 2010a, p. 41-42).

According to Cabrales Muñoz (2010a), a large part of the manifestations of Santiago de Cuba's history and culture are represented in this integrating ring, whose route coincides with the route of the Carnival parades (Figure 7). The intersection between Martí Promenade and Libertadores Avenue has often been the place where the *Santiagoueiros* Carnival parades start, and then they cross Jesús Menéndez Avenue, proceed to Trocha and finish their route at Marte Plaza.

Martí Promenade, the city's main artery, forms a sector of this ring. This axis forms the northern limit of Santiago de Cuba since the end of the nineteenth century “where the traditional Carnival and verbena festivals (open air festivals), recognized throughout the city, marked the transcendence of the area from the urban, architectural, heritage, road, social, environmental and free spaces point of view” (CABRALES MUÑOZ, 2010a, p. 43).

Another important Carnival sector, Libertadores Avenue, located to the east of the Historical Center, lies in the so-called *Zona Monumental 26 de Julio*, and it embodies the main scenario of the assault on the Moncada Barracks, a historical episode which occurred in 1953. Throughout its extension, there are monuments raised in honor of different war generals of the independence wars, which gives it a strong patriotic character²⁵. It is an ample avenue with wide sidewalks, extensive green areas and buildings that are part of the city's history (SANTIAGO DE CUBA, 2006). As highlighted by Cabrales Muñoz (2010a, p. 43), one of its main attributes

is the scale of open spaces, in addition to its relationship with the bay and the rest of the territory due to its topographic situation.



Source: Authors' intervention on official city map. Havana: GEO Editions, 2018.

FIGURE 7

City map of Santiago de Cuba with the Carnival routes and the integrating ring (in blue) and the Historic Center limits (in red)

Avenida 24 de Febrero, better known by the name of “Trocha” delimits the Historic Center to the south and Avenida Jesús Menéndez, or La Alameda, the last section of the ring, it borders the Historical Center in the west. Since the beginning it has been the main area of concentration of the city’s recreational activities, “by becoming the only public place where the city acknowledges its bay” (CABRALES MUÑOZ, 2010a, p. 42). According to the Plan Maestro of 2006, the removal of port warehouses from the stretch known as *Paseo Marítimo* enabled the city’s interaction with the sea. Nowadays, the floats and *comparsas* parades take place in this area. It

is also there that *Paseo de La Alameda* is located, one of the public spaces that form Santiago de Cuba's main system of squares.

As Cabrales Muñoz summarizes (2010b), nowadays, this integrating ring is important because it connects different parts of the city and enables access to the industrial, port and railway zones. In addition to being one of the most important spaces for Carnival parties, the avenues that comprise it are located important buildings for the productive, social and cultural sectors, which shows its significance for the city of Santiago de Cuba.

Carnival and public spaces in the historic centers: a reflection

What festivals have in common is that they enhance the meaning of public spaces. going through designated routes suitable for residents and tourists. In a public space system, the spaces that will configure the festivals' territory are elected, giving them immediately a symbolic value. As Silva defines (2009, p. 6), "the word 'system' is not used here to describe something that has a closed, predicted, dimensioned, rationalized order. It serves to enhance the relation between urban spaces, constituted according to their physical characteristics, and by the actions and appropriations that take place there".

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The imprints of these routes fade away and are redone every year; just like the festivals, the use of these spaces during celebrations may be considered a temporary rupture from their daily use. The streets and sidewalks, which are quintessentially free urban spaces (CUSTÓDIO *et. al.*, 2011), to support the Carnival rites lose their characteristic functions and cease to be the object of dispute between pedestrians and vehicles (LAMAS, 2004), to support Carnival rites and express another dispute, that of groups.

In this context, every daily movement of commerce, mobility, silence, cleaning, water and energy supply, common religious practices, of the use of heritage and urban services need to be renegotiated. For this to occur, different government levels, commercial associations, schools, churches, residents among other interested entities, are mobilized.

The daily routine of the streets and slopes of both cities changes when the celebrations take place. The buildings collaborate in the formation of their ambiance, when the windows are used as supports for the props, as well as doors and facades. Along the paths, the facades become scenarios, that is, as established

by Rupf and Queiroga (2015, p. 143) “public spaces are not strictly public properties, and they are frequently set as a combination of spaces of private and public property”. These buildings are incorporated into the streets where the parade pass, opening to them and passers-by, reinforcing the symbols of each cultural manifestation. Visual artifacts help to understand the itinerary to be followed, a visual communication forming the paths that “will constitute a single territory - the territory of the celebration” (CORRÊA, 2008, p. 173).

According to Guy Di Méo,

From a geographic point of view, the celebration represents a first-order opportunity to understand the nature of the territorial link. It enables to guide spatial signs by which the social groups identify themselves with the specific geographical contexts that enhance its singularity. The festival effectively has the ability to produce territorial symbols, whose social use extends beyond their development. This symbolic festival qualifies and matches the places, the sites, and the landscapes, the monuments or the mere buildings. It associates them to the same scheme of identity significances. From this geographic combination of symbolic elements emerges a deep collective meaning (DI MÉO, 2012, p. 27).

As part of this territorial interlacing, the exit points of the Carnival blocs, the routes are taken and the final destination of the festival in São Luiz do Paraitinga may be highlighted, in the same way of the *comparsas* and *paseos* in Santiago de Cuba’s Carnival. The descriptions enable to foresee the strategy of recollection of each case, denaturalizing the built elements (streets, façades, windows, doors, thresholds, curbs, streetposts, benches, street lighting, monuments) and reconstructing them into new landscapes in the historical centers.

From the touristic use of events, there are differences in the way places and manifestations are defined. In the case of São Luiz do Paraitinga, economic power is the protagonist of the decisions because the parties depend on corporate sponsorship disputes and public budgets for tourism and development. In Santiago de Cuba, although the celebrations are sponsored only by the State, share the importance with selected national memorable facts, characteristic of official socialist propaganda. In both, in some way, there is an interference in the autonomy or spontaneity of practices.

In the two historical centers the parties reveal forms of dispute for the symbolic values – attributed to public spaces. In Santiago de Cuba, the parade of cronies and passers walks along the main avenues with the revolutionary political symbols as stage, besides a certain stigma about some manifestations, such as the

Invasion of the *Conga de los Hoyos*, which precedes the Carnival. In São Luiz do Paraitinga, the *marchinhas* and other popular manifestations, for many years, competed for space with concerts by artists who did not belong to the local traditional music circuit, promoted by the festivals' sponsors, as pointed out. There are also several other manifestations of rural origin that are not considered and that do not even dispute this space, segregated and invisible.

Although they may serve as supports for collective memory, as has been pointed out in this article, it would be more appropriate to speak of a reinvention of traditions, permeated by discourses constructed and shared by similar and restricted groups within a hierarchy of power (PRATS, 2005). And although the importance of taking into account the population's motivations and memories is increasingly discussed, promoting forums and other consultation tools, this is never the protagonist of decisions (POULOT, 2009).

An advance can be seen in relation to the concept of safeguard adopted by the 2003 Convention for the protection of intangible heritage such as Carnival, insofar as it goes beyond the concept of authenticity - proper to the discussion of material heritage - and that of historical continuity is valued (LACARRIEU, 2013), expanding the scale and comprehensiveness of elements that can be patrimonialized, ranging from artisanal knowledge to festivals, from vernacular construction to landscape.

Conversely, contradictorily, this advance, which is the “of the heritage’s social construction – due to a specific administration and to the progressive constitution of a *corpus* – sometimes coincides with a progressive detachment of the citizens in relation to their historic and natural heritages, which are transferred to the tourism domain” (POULOT, 2009, p. 227).

Final considerations

Questions were raised about the use and appropriation that luizenses and santiagueiros make of public spaces during their own Carnival parades. In particular, the importance of public spaces located in the historical centers in both cities was highlighted.

The recovery of the popular character of these festivals over time whether through official cultural policies or the resistance and resilience of the population in reinventing the forms of the parades, they have become an attraction for tourist

activities. They were explored by the private initiative and by media groups, in the Brazilian case and, in the Cuban case, by the tourist industry set up by the socialist government at different moments of the consolidation of the parameters of the Revolution, that is, shortly after the victory of the Revolution and, in the 1990s, in the special period.

Despite being a living culture that is remade, year by year, what maintains the strength of the festival/place connection, which allows the understanding of the importance of these public spaces and their buildings is their location in the Historical Centers. The festival is a bridge between times, witnessing the changes in values and customs in each of the contexts. As it was possible to show, through the marks left in the territory the festival traveled, it is possible to reread moments of the national history itself. However, today, the routes it develops also draw areas of commercial valorization.

Both historical centers were delimited from their core nuclei and have, in the surrounding landscapes, elements of valorization and formal expression. However, both in *São Luiz do Paraitinga* and *Santiago de Cuba*, the communities that participate in Carnival no longer reside in those centers, but in the surrounding neighborhoods. In the case of *São Luiz do Paraitinga*, *Morro do Cruzeiro*, located immediately behind the *Matriz*, is segregated by a wall and its streets are not part of the processions. Likewise, in the Cuban case, Afro-Cuban practices, which are acceptable at officially organized parades, are condemned when practiced on the outskirts of the city.

The governmental bodies for the protection of intangible heritage, a category in which the festivals in both cities fall into place, one at the municipal level, the other at the national level, present public policies that depend on technicians for the definition of their instruments and criteria, which, they often do not understand the complexity of contexts with the necessary depth. As a result, the processes of registering and registering cultural events do not include effective and effective measures to safeguard and maintain their continuity, in view of the difficulty of involving new generations.

The possibility of treating the historical center as part of city planning to make the territory and social relations inseparable is still a challenge in the cases of *São Luiz do Paraitinga* and *Santiago de Cuba*. After all, it is a matter of creating protection instruments that accompany the changes, of understanding that the

Carnival parties conciliate their own traditions with the unpredictable and the fortuitous as it is a living culture.

For tourism (in particular, international), heritage titles work as chancels and guarantee the uniqueness necessary to affirm the image of Carnival as a unique experience. For residents, festivals are undertakings that should ensure that the local heritage, first of all, is maintained as a resource for new identity and belonging policies. However, the appreciation of heritage through tourism brought changes in the perception of residents who, little by little, incorporated and materialized various elements of official speeches in the toponymy, in the imaginary, in the commemorative landmarks.

The 2010 flood was an event inducing actions aimed at the reconstruction of the city of São Luiz do Paraitinga. Much of its historical buildings have been partially destroyed, requiring decisions from the community and estate planning and management bodies. The same occurred after Hurricane Sandy's passage through Santiago de Cuba in 2012, when part of the city's buildings, many of them in the Historical Center area, suffered structural shocks or, in some cases, were damaged in their entirety.

Although these events are cyclical in *Santiago*, that is, the population is preparing to face them, whereas in *São Luiz do Paraitinga* it was an exceptional climatic event, due to the absence of environmental and land use policies in both areas. In the cities, the reconstructions had an effective mobilization of the population to recover the heritage and urban memory, represented by their public spaces, the first to be reconstructed. In both cases, the option for reconstitution is evidence that, in addition to the economic and technical aspects, other values - such as symbolic, affective and ethical were used for this. Thanks to the need to replenish the spaces for the festivities - key cultural elements of local economic and tourist policies - actions have been intensified to quickly restore the daily lives of residents and the tourist agenda, indicating that cultural activities can also be a resource for overcoming social issues. In this case, as pointed out by Meneses (2009), one could speak of pragmatic values - attributed to heritage, which would be use values - perceived as qualities.

From this perspective, it is possible to consider that the festivals are opportunities to generate income also for cities, in the most general sense, with the inclusion of their residents in the informal economy; both in the capitalist and

socialist political regimes, culture is a differentiated commodity and, as such, Carnivals have conditions for their international promotion.

Although tourism and the media are important agents of this process, both in the Brazilian and Cuban cases, it is the persistence of the population to constantly recreate manifestations such as Carnival that ensures that the local heritage can effectively constitute itself as a strategy and resource for new policies identity and social reach of cities.

NOTES

- ¹. The colloquium aimed to discuss the situation of the historical centers in Latin America and the Caribbean. Given the importance and representativeness of the theme, it generalized some issues and gained a regional political tone. In the following year, Quito would be the first city designated as World Heritage (PNUD/UNESCO, [1977] 2011).
- ². Besides the 1972 Convention, the Quito Colloquium had as preceding documents the Norms of Quito, which defend premises of compatibility between heritage preservation and tourism development, and the 1976 Nairobi Recommendations, which are more thorough and directly address the historical centers and their relation to the contemporary city, where the main issue is the need for a broad approach of these issues at national levels, drawing on studies and all of the city planning experiences. Nonetheless, the colloquium concludes that there are not enough elements in these two previous documents to solve the problems of Latin American cities.
- ³. This network, officially established in 2013 took proper legal personality with the Acuerdo n° 14 del Consejo de Estado de la República de Cuba.
- ⁴. Ten years ago at least, many international documents already indicated this change of focus: from the Nara Document (Unesco, Iccrom, Icomos, 1994); the Burra Letter (Icomos, [1999] 2006); Quebec Declaration (Icomos, 2008) until the Valletta Principles (Icomos, 2009) among others.
- ⁵. According to IBGE (2018), São Luiz do Paraitinga has 10,700 inhabitants, while Santiago de Cuba has approximately 420,000 inhabitants.
- ⁶. Renata Rendelucci Allucci, Maria Cristina da Silva Schicchi and Milene Soto Suárez.
- ⁷. The rich families of Saint-Domingue reproduced French dances and these, in their turn, were imitated by Haiti's poorer population accompanied by the play of the slaves' drums. On arrival in Cuba, the immigrants established coffee plantations where the *Tumba Francesa* was played and danced for the first time on the island. Gradually, the festivities left the coffee plantations and moved to the city where the tradition continued.
- ⁸. Luís Saia was director of the National Historical and Artistic Heritage Institute (Iphan) in his São Paulo regional office from 1938 until 1975. Saia also served on the Council for the Defense of Historical, Archeological, Artistic and Tourist Heritage of the State of São Paulo (Condephaat) between 1969 and 1975.
- ⁹. The expression used by geographer Aziz Nacib Ab'Sáber to describe the main characteristic of the landscape of São Luiz do Paraitinga, his hometown.
- ¹⁰. Antonio Candido (1971), uses the term *caipira* (country bumpkin) to designate cultural aspects and express a way of being, a type of life, not a racial type.

- ¹¹. In 2003, the Associação SoSaci – Sociedade dos Observadores de Saci (SoSaci Association – Saci Observers Society) was created in São Luiz do Paraitinga, and it declares as one of its aims the promotion of popular and *caipira* culture. Saci is a mythical character in Brazilian popular culture.
- ¹². The *marchinhas* are autochthonous because they are composed by the inhabitants of São Luiz do Paraitinga themselves and not by professional musicians. They represent a cultural manifestation deeply related to the local identity.
- ¹³. AMBEV - Companhia de Bebidas das Américas (American Beverage Company) – and SKOL – beer brand owned by *Carlsberg* – nowadays owned by the same beverage industrial group.
- ¹⁴. São Luiz residents talk about the cancellation of the Carnival. Cf.: <http://www.meon.com.br/noticias/regiao/moradores-de-sao-luiz-falam-sobre-o-cancelamento-do-carnaval>.
- ¹⁵. João Boy was a plastic and Carnival artist from São Luiz do Paraitinga who incorporated local costumes, usually made of “chita” (a typical colorful light cotton fabrics), props, masks, hats and new materials, surprising the revelers every year with his amazing fantasies. He died in 2007.
- ¹⁶. Edited in 1573 during the reign of Philip II of Spain.
- ¹⁷. The *conga* is one of the most famous traditional rhythms of the Santiago de Cuba Carnival. It is a group of musicians who plays typical instruments and walks the streets accompanied by people who dance in a way defined as an “*arrollar*” (OLIVEIRA, 2019, p. 284).
- ¹⁸. *Paseos*, which were groups founded at the same time, use percussion and wind instruments, and the songs they interpret are generally the trend of the year (BREA LÓPEZ, 2015).
- ¹⁹. *Comparsas* are musical groups with members that wear costumes and masks and create a planned exhibition with music composed for each year, rehearsed choreography and theme-related garments. They perform in front of a jury in a parade that takes place on the *Alameda*, an avenue along the sea of the bay (BREA LÓPEZ, 2015).
- ²⁰. Between 1544 and 1689, the Cuban population was heavily mixed; the *criollos* represented a new social type born in Cuba from Spanish parents, and together with the Africans and natives they began to constitute a new people, multicultural and transcultural.
- ²¹. In Brazil, the day of Folklore was instituted by Decree n. 56.747, of August 17, 1965, with the attribution of “ensuring the widest protection to the manifestations of popular creation” (BRASIL, 1965).
- ²². *Conga de los Hoyos* (*Hoyos* is a neighborhood in Santiago) is a pre-Carnival parade that draws thousands of people through the most important streets in Santiago. It has the massive participation of the black population. As it is a crowd event, it is known to cause fights between people who, in general, enter the parade drunk and armed (knives or other bladed weapons). Congas do not occur during Carnival. They start from their headquarters, traverse the territory and unite until they form the “Invasion”. Available at: <https://www.cubanet.org/destacados/la-violencia-arrolla-junto-la-conga-los-hoyos-santiago-cuba>. Accessed on 27 May 2020.
- ²³. One of the most important events held by *Casa do Caribe* is the Caribbean Festival, which has been taking place since 1981. As a rule, the first festivals paid homage to an event of the Revolution. The title, from 1982, became *Festival de la Cultura de Origen Caribeño*, in honor of the 21st Birthday of Victoria of Playa Girón and by *El Día del Miliciano*; in 1983, the tribute went to the Playa Girón attack and at the age of 30 from the assault on the *Moncada* Barracks in Santiago de Cuba. In other words, the cultural festival had an added political character (OLIVEIRA, 2019).

- ²⁴. As pointed out by Gott, 2006 (*Apud*. FEITOSA, 2010, P. 44), the country's import capacity dropped 70% from 1989 to 1992; the capital generated by the sale of sugar fell from \$ 4.3 billion in 1990 to \$ 1.2 billion in 1992 and to just \$ 757 million in 1993; GDP decreased by 2.9% in 1990, 10% in 1991, 11.6% in 1992 and 14.9% in 1993. In addition, external financing from the former USSR fell from \$ 3 billion in 1989 to zero in 1992.
- ²⁵. According to Turial (2018, p.129) “A new history of the country can be read through these fallen images in reference to the glorious moments of the Revolution, such as the Sitio Histórico del Descarrilamiento, acción y toma del Tren Blindado, erected in honor of the final battle Che Guevera in Santa Clara, the Granma Memorial, attached to the Museum of the Revolution, the Mausoleo de los Mártires de Artemisa, in honor of the martyrs of the assault on the Moncada Barracks, the Lenin Hill, among many others. There are also those erected in honor of the main leaders: Frank País, Che Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos are still the most frequently found statues. Besides, of course, the monuments to the independence heroes, considered in the official historical interpretation as precursors of the Revolution, the most common: Jose Martí, Antonio Maceo, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes and Máximo Gómez”.

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