

participação ou representação:
escolhas patrimoniais no
rio grande do sul
participation or representation:
heritage choices in
rio grande do sul

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How to quote this text: Meira, A. L. G., 2019. Participation or representation: heritage choices in Rio Grande do Sul. *Virus*, Sao Carlos, 18. [e-journal] [online] Available at: <<http://www.nomads.usp.br/virus/virus18/?sec=4&item=5&lang=en>>. [Accessed: 08 July 2019].

ARTICLE SUBMITTED ON AUGUST 28, 2018

Abstract

The field of cultural heritage preservation is built by choices about what will be protected for the enjoyment of current and future generations. It is discussed the need for participation of civil society in these choices, either directly or by means of representatives. It was revised landmarking processes at the national level regarding Rio Grande do Sul, the southernmost state in Brazil, and requests for municipal landmarking in the capital city, Porto Alegre. The research emphasis covered the end of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century. In both scopes, it is noticed that many manifestations for preservation of heritage were sent through participatory processes to public entities. However, it is suggested that there is a mismatch between the choices of technicians and those of social groups; the former is more easily legitimized by institutional preservation instruments and the latter, almost never. The results of the processes at the national and municipal levels are relevant and contribute to the reflection on the preservation of cultural heritage. The intention was to verify if society and its representatives participate or collaborate to build the idea of heritage preservation.

Keywords: Architectural heritage, Social participation, Heritage preservation, Participatory budgeting

1 Initial considerations on the subject

The cultural heritage preservation, which comprises material and immaterial assets as provided for in the Brazilian Constitution (Brasil, 1988), is permeated by the choices about what will be effectively protected for future Brazilian generations. These choices are based on values that vary according to the time and place. The need for direct participation of civil society or its representatives in this process has been a subject discussed for decades. One of the most known phrases from Aloísio Magalhães, during the period in which he directed the SPHAN/Pró-Memória system¹, in the 1980s, already stated that community is the best keeper of its heritage (IPHAN, 2015). Despite being repeated with variations over decades, this slogan failed to permeate the preservation actions in practice. The technicians and politicians continue to control the hegemony over the choices about what will become heritage, that is, over the assets that will be acknowledged and preserved by the state. This is the official designation referred to by Bourdieu (1989)². As a consequence, by exclusion,

they also determine which assets will not be acknowledged and, therefore, are subject to disappearance. Exposing these contradictions assist in the process of democratizing choices by allowing a more diversified selection of heritage assets.

The notes presented here were based on two researches carried out by the author: one on public policies and society participation in the preservation of the cultural heritage of Porto Alegre (Meira, 2004) and the other on federal actions to protect the historical and artistic heritage in Rio Grande do Sul (Meira, 2008), both aiming at the 20th century. Cross-referencing of data can provide indications to understand what has been established as a standard to the civil society participation in public heritage policies. The comparison between the processes in the two levels of government, even if it does not exhaust the subject, can serve as a contribution to reflections on the preservation background and its interfaces with the society mobilization.

In general, the cultural heritage preservation results from technical perspectives and political interests, disregarding and disqualifying the participation of citizens. These are often attributed to ignorance of and disregard for the importance of cultural assets. In this sense, one of the great issues related to the preservation of Brazilian cultural heritage is the search for participation in decisions about what, how and for whom to preserve. As well as actively listening to the population, not in the sense of simple dissemination, but rather as a dialog to jointly understand what are the cultural references of local, regional, state or national importance.

2 Participation or representation in the choices of heritage assets

Regarding the beginning of public policies for preservation of heritage in Brazil, it is worth mentioning that the Inspection of National Monuments operated as a National Historical Museum (MHN) department between 1934 and 1937. Gustavo Barroso was the first director of the Museum and monitored the execution of some works in the historical ensemble of Ouro Preto for the Inspection (Barroso, 1944).

In 1937, the National Historical and Artistic Heritage Service – currently IPHAN – was officially implemented and Decree-Law no. 25/37 – the federal landmarking law – was signed (Brasil, 1937). The new institute, responsible for the identification, documentation, protection and promotion of Brazilian cultural heritage, was built by the modern intellectual avant-garde movement. In the early years, writers and poets (such as Mário de Andrade, Manuel Bandeira and Carlos Drummond de Andrade), historians (such as Sérgio Buarque de Holanda), anthropologists (such as Gilberto Freyre), architects (such as Lucio Costa) and others contributed to the works. In Rio Grande do Sul, the first regional representative was the modernist writer Augusto Meyer.

The choices of assets that constitute the National Historical and Artistic Heritage, by means of landmarking³, were strategic for the construction of a national identity that was univocal in the *Estado Novo* (New State) political regime. After a few decades, the responsibilities to preserve the Brazilian cultural legacy were shared with states and cities due to the great extension of works to be performed. Laws and institutes were created at the municipal and state levels similar to the federal level structures. Occasionally, they resulted in joint work actions, such as the Historic Cities Program in the 1970s, the Monumenta Program in the late 1990s and the Growth Acceleration Program in Historic Cities (PAC) at the beginning of the 21st century. But in general, a collective work cannot be deemed to have been performed among preservation institutes in the three levels of government. There are many political, technical, financial and other differences that hamper collaboration in balanced conditions.

At the state level of Rio Grande do Sul, the responsibilities for preservation began to be exercised by the State Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage (IPHAE), an entity subordinated to the Department of Culture, Tourism, Sport and Leisure (Sedactel). At the municipal level, the Historical and Cultural Heritage Staff (EPAHC) was created and bonded to the Municipal Department of Culture of Porto Alegre. The comparison proposed in this document will analyze the federal actions of IPHAN in relation to Rio Grande do Sul and the actions of EPAHC in relation to Porto Alegre. In both cases, the emphasis will be on the participation of segments of civil society in the processes of architectural cultural heritage preservation.⁴

Usually, municipal actions related to the cultural heritage preservation in Brazil are restricted to the architectural and urban collections. Specific laws (such as landmarking and inventory) and urban planning instruments (such as master plans, land use laws and others) are applied. In Porto Alegre, municipal landmarking laws and urban planning have been applied since the 1970s.

In general, the public authorities allow the civil society participation by representatives in asset boards, which assess the relevance of the proposed assets for protection and have other responsibilities. In this regard, the boards operate at the end of the process, at a stage when the assets have already been chosen, studied and analyzed and the values have already been adjusted for each case and are ready to be legitimized as heritage by the vote of its board members. Is the board participation at the final stage of landmarking sufficient to ensure the preservation of the diversity of material cultural assets?

Pesci (1999) addresses three types of citizen participation with social agents: direct, indirect and experimental. The first comprises public meetings, workshops (group activities lasting longer than the previous ones) and opinion surveys. The second basically uses techniques of environmental perception and

recognition of environmental pattern languages. Experimental participation seeks to simulate the model to be constructed. Representation, on the other hand, is based on the manifestations of representatives of a segment or organization, whose opinions promote the visibility of their positions. They can be elected politicians or public policy advisors and are chosen by their peers (Ramos, 2018).

The Advisory Board operates at the national level and works with IPHAN since its establishment. It currently comprises twenty-three members and the President of the Institute is deemed a permanent member (Brasil, 2017). The proportion of institutional representatives and civil society representatives is shown in Figure 1. There are nine representatives of federal entities and associations (Ministries of Education, Tourism, Cities, Environment; National Institute of Museums; Institute of Architects of Brazil; International Council on Monuments and Sites; Brazilian Archeology Society; and Brazilian Association of Anthropology), as well as thirteen professionals of noteworthy knowledge in cultural heritage related areas, whose are assigned by the President of IPHAN.

Composition of Advisory Board of IPHAN

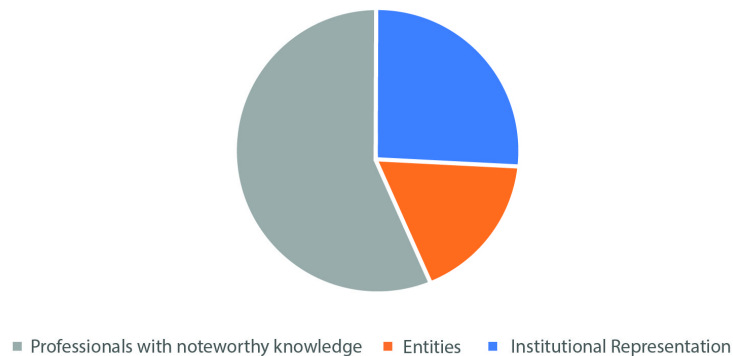


Fig. 1: Current distribution of members of the Advisory Board of IPHAN. Source: Prepared by the author, 2018.

The Council of Historical and Cultural Heritage (COMPAHC) operates at the municipal level and is articulated with the Municipal Department of Culture of Porto Alegre. It comprises fifteen members: eight representatives of the City Hall and seven representatives of entities (the Historical and Geographic Institute/Rio Grande do Sul, the Institute of Architects of Brazil/Rio Grande do Sul, the Engineering Society of Rio Grande do Sul, the Press Association of Rio Grande do Sul, IPHAN/Rio Grande do Sul, IPHAE and the Brazilian Bar Association/Rio Grande do Sul). For years, the composition of COMPAHC ignores the law that regulates the municipal boards of the city, which instituted the representation of community entities (Porto Alegre, 1992). And it contradicts the specific complementary law, which established its composition with seventeen members in 2010. To date, the two new representatives indicated in the law have not been convened: the Brazilian Association of Architecture Offices – ASBEA – and the Neighborhood Association of Porto Alegre – UAMPA (Porto Alegre, 2010). The proportion of institutional representatives and civil society representatives is shown in Figure 2.

Composition of COMPAHC

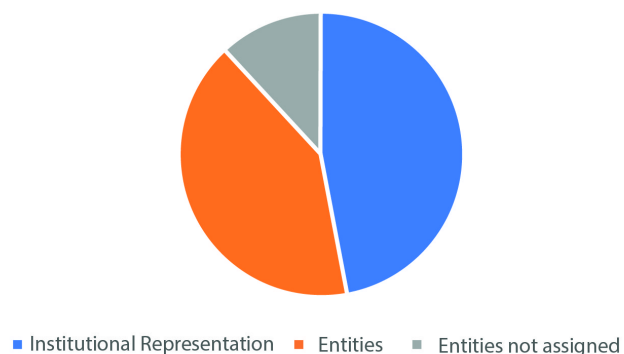


Fig. 2: Current distribution of members of COMPAHC of Porto Alegre. Source: Prepared by the author, 2018.

Regarding the composition of the two boards, there are two institutes that operate at the national and municipal levels: IAB and IPHAN itself. There is also a coincidence concerning the institutional representatives of the education and environmental areas at both levels. COMPAHC comprises: two representations of architects (although one position has not yet been filled) and no representation of areas such as archeology or anthropology. The emphasis is on built heritage, precisely where a field of dispute has been established between the members of the City Hall and other entities, which are outnumbered in the Board. In controversial cases, as in the projects related to the Jockey Club and Mauá Wharf, the position of the representatives is unified and ensures the votes of interest of the City Hall. Even if the interests of the city

were vetoed in the Board, these decisions would have no practical effect since it is a non-deliberative advisory council, that is, the Mayor may simply not abide by decisions.

3 Participation and representation in the choices of national heritage

In Rio Grande do Sul, there were changes in policies and players related to the preservation issue since the beginning of IPHAN activities in 1938. As mentioned in the research on Historical and Artistic Heritage in the state (Meira, 2008), most of the assets landmarked at the federal level in the 20th century is located in the Metropolitan Region of Porto Alegre and at the so-called "Gaúcho Highlands", which has a strong influence from Italian colonization. The assets in the regions of immigration were not attributed with artistic or historical values in isolated manner, but rather associated with ethnographic or landscape values. Regarding the Architectural and Urban Ensemble of Antônio Prado, in Figure 3, the values attributed were historical, ethnographic and landscape.



Fig. 3: Architectural and urban ensemble of Antônio Prado, landmarked in 1990. Source: IPHAN-RS archives, 1984.

Some landmarking cases also covered assets located in regions at the southern border of the country. Most of them were protected due to historical value, especially two referential episodes in the history of Rio Grande do Sul: the Jesuit-Guaraní Missions and the Ragamuffin War. Regarding the historical value,

[...] there seems to have been a dispute between several cities over who most defended the southern borders of Brazil, who was most deserving of recognition for pushing the Castilians back, defining the nationality, establishing the Republic, instituting the characteristics of the "brasilidade", defending the moral and civic character. They are always statements of reaffirmation of inclusion in Brazilian territory. Hence, it can be concluded that the heritage, as a strategy of the *Estado Novo* to build the nationality, had much repercussion in Rio Grande do Sul and it fulfilled this purpose in the Gaúcho territory (Meira, 2008, p.446, our translation).

Requests that suggest these disputes have been made by civil society or its representatives. The landmarking processes filed in the Noronha Santos Archive of IPHAN, in Rio de Janeiro, were investigated. They helped to elucidate the stages of these processes and verify their final results. Many processes initiated from the manifestations of entities, associations or institutes fit in the concept of representation. In other cases, such as the several citizens of Pelotas, the local journalists of Bagé and the students of UFSM, who made their manifestations by means of petitions, the participation was direct, according to the previous concept. Both cases can be deemed as manners of collaboration with the Institution, since they had the attributed values, the justifications and, often, the documentation to assist in the instruction of the processes. A list of these processes is shown in Table 1 below:

Requesters	Property to be protected	City	Landmarking year
Society of Friends of Bagé Municipal Tourism Commission Municipal Department of Tradition National Defense League/Bagé Local journalists	Church of Saint Sebastian and Fort of Saint Thecla	Bagé	1955 and 1970, respectively
Popular Union Society Lutheran Synod	German Settlers House	São Leopoldo	not landmarked
Bento Gonçalves Gaucho Tradition Center Municipal Library José de Alencar Theater Association	Prezewodzki Theater and Military Fort	Itaqui	not landmarked
Historical Institute of Freemasonry of Rio Grande do Sul Lions Club Rotary Club Masonic Lodge of Taquara Gaucho Tradition Center	House of Tristão José Monteiro	Taquara	not landmarked
Unesco Youth Club	Main Church	Triunfo	not landmarked
University of Caxias do Sul - UCS (community institute)	Architectural and urban ensemble *	Antônio Prado	1990
Several citizens of Pelotas	Sete de Abril Theater and Mansions at Col. Pedro Osório Square *	Pelotas	1972 and 1977, respectively
Association of Friends of Hamburgo Velho	Schmitt-Presser House	Novo Hamburgo	1985
Graduates in Philosophy and History from the Federal University of Santa Maria - UFSM	Sotéia House *	Santa Maria	not landmarked

* requests for landmarking that were also submitted by mayors (refer to Table 2).

Table 1: Direct requests and requests from representatives of civil society related to federal landmarking in Rio Grande do Sul. Source: Prepared by the author based on Meira (2008).

In Table 1, half of the assets which request for landmarking were sent directly or through representatives was not carried out⁵. In a given perspective of this universe, the petitions of the journalists of Bagé, the several citizens of Pelotas and the students of UFSM, which are direct requests, had the majority of requests accepted. Thus, they resulted in the landmarking of the Church and the Fort in Bagé and the Theater and the mansions in Pelotas. In the specific case of Bagé, some civil associations, representing specific groups of local society, also reinforced the campaign for the Church of Saint Sebastian and the Fort of Saint Thecla landmarking. In Novo Hamburgo, the Association of Friends of Hamburgo Velho requested the landmarking of the Schmitt-Presser House, which was made after the intervention of the Department of Culture of MEC (Scheffel, 2013)⁶. This process shows that external political pressures have also influenced the choices.

Some civil society initiatives have been reinforced by City Halls and City Councils which, in several regions of the state, have also submitted requests for landmarking, as shown in Table 2. In both cases, these representatives are appointed by electoral process.

Requesters	Property to be protected	City	Landmarking year
Santa Maria City Council	Sotéia House *	Santa Maria	not landmarked
Santana do Livramento City Council	David Canabarro House	Santana do Livramento	1953
Pelotas City Council	Republican Obelisk	Pelotas	1955
Alegrete City Council	Osvaldo Aranha House	Alegrete	not landmarked
Caxias do Sul City Council	Monument to the Immigrants	Caxias do Sul	not landmarked
Association of City Councils of the Southern Region	Main Church and Mansion that housed the emperors	São José do Norte	not landmarked
Municipal Department of Education and Culture of Porto Alegre/City Hall	Former headquarters of the Brazilian post authority	Porto Alegre	1981
Pelotas City Hall	Mansions at Col. Pedro Osório Square *	Pelotas	1977
Pelotas City Hall	Ferreira Viana and Domingos José de Almeida Houses	Pelotas	not landmarked
Antônio Prado City Hall	Architectural and urban ensemble *	Antônio Prado	1990

* requests that were also submitted by representatives of civil society (refer to Table 1).

Table 2: Requests from institutional representatives related to federal landmarking in Rio Grande do Sul. Source: Prepared by the author based on Meira (2008).

Table 2 shows a greater participation of the City Councils compared to City Halls for the heritage preservation in their territories. Today, there are virtually no initiatives from the Legislative Branch. It is noted that most of the requests made by the institutional representatives did not result in landmarking and that few met the civil society requests mentioned above. In two cases, joint requests from civil society and City Halls were accepted: the mansions in Pelotas and the ensemble of Antônio Prado. But the Sotéia House was not protected and a few years ago it ceased to exist, even though there were justifications from the City Council of Santa Maria and the students of UFSM (to which, over time, other groups joined). This case illustrates the importance of choices, because what is not selected is released for destruction.

One cannot generalize, with only these three cases, that collaboration between civil society and the public authorities would be more effective for landmarking. However, without doubt, joint requests give more peace of mind to the institution that will carry out the landmarking process, since there is evidence of broader support in the place where the protection act will be performed. The requests from civil society and institutional representatives covered several geographic regions of Rio Grande do Sul. But the remaining elements of the Jesuit-Guarani Missions (one of the most important phases in the history of the state) were ignored, both from the points of view of territory formation and symbolic meaning. It deserves a study to verify why civil society and the public authorities did not manifest themselves towards the protection of the remaining elements from these missions, which preservation had been object of attention since the 1920s.

4 Participation and representation in the choices of municipal heritage

The term "exceptional", which is found in article one of the federal law, was not include in the first municipal landmarking law of Porto Alegre, promulgated in 1979 and inspired by Decree-Law no. 25/37. The preservation background at municipal level was researched from this assumption. The reports on the municipal commissions that will be referred to below and about COMPAHC are situated in the Municipal Historical Archive Moysés Velhinho. The landmarking processes were located in EPAHC and interviews with representatives of the Participatory Budgeting were revisited by the author (Meira, 2004).

The preservation actions in the city occurred from 1970, when the City Council, by means of the Organic Law, assigned to the municipal executive branch the task of surveying the constructed assets of historical and cultural value (Porto Alegre, 1971). This initiative is aligned to the tradition of the City Councils of participating in the preservation processes in their cities, as shown in Table 2.

Initially, a commission comprising municipal employees made the first listing of architectural elements and assets, which was revised by another commission in 1974. The consolidation of listings emphasized, among other examples, modest and simple houses that represented the local buildings, such as the Venezianos Lane, shown in Figure 4. The selected items represented distinct social groups by means of their houses, shops, clubs, etc. According to Meira (2004, p.79, our translation), by comparing "the importance of the national historical and artistic heritage for the construction of national memory in the 1930s, one can say that the work of the municipal commissions sought to construct a local memory [in the 1970s in Porto Alegre]". It is worth emphasizing that there was no participation of civil society in the commissions that chose the first heritage assets of the city.



Fig. 4: Modest door-and-window houses at Venezianos Lane, listed in 1974 and landmarked in 1983 at the municipal level.
Source: Author, 2018.

Laws and decrees followed the listings of the commissions and the creation of administrative structures for heritage preservation: COMPAHC, the Historical and Cultural Heritage Fund (FUMPAHC), the Historical and Cultural Heritage Staff (EPAHC), and other initiatives. The assets that have been landmarked since then include elements from “a little house” and “a tenement” to the imposing headquarters of the City Hall (Meira, 2004).

The urban planning of the city assimilates the built heritage preservation in the Master Plan of Urban Development (PDDU) of 1979. The buildings previously listed were incorporated into the Plan and new ones were added. They received values in terms of architecture, traditional and/or evocative meaning, environment (in the sense of landscape), current use, accessibility, conservation, regional recurrence, formal rarity, functional rarity, risk of disappearance, time of existence and compatibility value with the urban structure (Curtis, 1979).

Twenty years later, in the detailing of the Master Plan of Urban and Environmental Development (PDDUA), the scope of values was diversified according to cultural, morphological, landscape and functional instances, valuing social practices, neighborhood relations, social meaning, historical reference and the existence of previous official acknowledgment. The study implied a great geographical extension of the areas to be preserved and, also, an amplification of concepts when incorporating the practices and meanings related to collective memory (Graeff, et al., 2003). However, the regulation of this detailing process has not yet been approved by the City Council to date.

Direct claims for preservation were gradually built at the municipal level. Citizen manifestations began to reverberate in the 1960s, according to Giovanaz (1999). Intellectuals expressed their opinions in the press for the preservation of several significant buildings, such as the old Carvalho Pharmacy, the Guarany Cinema, the Bom Fim Chapel, the Lopo Gonçalves Manor House, the Public Market and others. The buildings were depicted as simple or humble.

In the 1980s, the direct participation of society promoted a historic event: the embrace to the Gas Holder Plant, which was at risk of being demolished and today remains next to the requalified waterfront, as shown in Figure 5. At that time, a pioneer petition was promoted by architects and owners of the architectural ensemble at Félix da Cunha Street in order to protect it by landmarking. Gradually, other formal requests for landmarking were made by means of petitions.



Fig. 5: The Gas Holder Plant, preserved due to the embrace of the population. It was listed in 1971, landmarked by the city in 1982 and by the state in 1983. Source: Author, 2018.

Porto Alegre is one of the few cities which history allows to deepen the studies on the direct popular participation in favor of the collective cultural heritage. From 1989^Z, when the city began to expand the spaces of participation in municipal management by means of Participatory Budgeting (OP), it is noticed that there have been demands on the preservation of cultural heritage in several neighborhoods. These demands included requests for landmarking indicated in Table 3, as well as restoration of buildings. There were also dozens of requests to record the oral history of the communities, developed through a project named *Memória dos Bairros* (Memories from the Neighborhoods).

Requesters	Property to be protected	District	Landmarking year
Architects and owners	Group of houses at Félix da Cunha Street	Moinhos de Vento	1989
Musicians from the city	Old long-play records factory "A Elétrica"	Teresópolis	1996
1 st Municipal Conference of Culture	Esquina Democrática intersection	Historical Center	1997
Requirement of the Participatory Budgeting	Atacado do Nestor commercial establishment	Historical Center	not landmarked
Requirement of the Participatory Budgeting and the 1 st Municipal Conference of Culture	Terreira da Tribo cultural center	Cidade Baixa	not landmarked
Requirement of the Participatory Budgeting	Casino Hotel and Church	Belém Velho	not landmarked
Requirement of the Participatory Budgeting	Monteggia Mill	Vila Nova	not landmarked
Requirement of the Participatory Budgeting	Old train bridge	Vila Nova	not landmarked
Requirement of the Participatory Budgeting	Headquarters of Periquito Soccer Club ¹	Vila Nova	not landmarked
Requirement of the Participatory Budgeting	Stone house of Passuelo family	Vila Nova	not landmarked
Requirement of the Participatory Budgeting	Mansion known as "shed"	Vila Nova	not landmarked
Architects and architecture students	De Boni house	Auxiliadora	2001

Table 3: Direct requests and requests from assigned representatives related to municipal landmarking in Porto Alegre. Source: Prepared by the author, 2018.

Before analyzing the demands related to the proposed subject in this document, it is worth clarifying the type of participation that occurred in this period in Porto Alegre. The OP can be characterized as a co-management system, which involved the municipal administration and the population. The latter had direct participation in the open meetings, where the demands were discussed and voted by each person. At this early stage, the number of representatives and advisors for the instances of forums and councils was defined in proportion to the number of participants. It was characterized a delegative model of representation, in which the representatives had no freedom of decision and should only defend the expressed will of the parties represented (Fedozzi and Martins, 2015). Regarding the concepts established in the beginning, both the existence of direct participation and representation are identified, specifically in the delegative form in this case.

The spaces of participation began to present subjects related to material and immaterial cultural heritage. In the municipal public policies, the greatest concern has always been the built heritage. Two representatives of the OP, that operated as representatives of neighborhoods, were selected for the interviews (Meira, 2004). These neighborhoods, Parthenon and Vila Nova, stood out in the presentation of demands related to the preservation of the built heritage. Mazzo's statement (Meira, 2004, p.124-125, our translation) emphasizes the knowledge that was disseminated among the participants of the process as the demands on the subject were presented and discussed:

At first, we, as the [Neighborhood] Association [of Vila Nova], presented the demands – landmarking, landmarking, landmarking and acquisition [...]. When we submitted them to the forum of representatives, they said: We will not approve these demands of the Association [...]. Why do you want to landmark these buildings? The word landmark itself implies that they will go down [...]. This led to a discussion where people became aware of something that most did not know. In the following year, there were demands from this area, from other communities. I mean, I think this allowed people to be aware of public heritage, landmarking and that it must be preserved for humanity, for the whole everyday culture.

The statement of the Parthenon representative presents the same perception on the heritage subject, emphasizing that the population became more aware of the city and its history in the discussions of the OP. Thus, according to Marques (Meira, 2004, p.120, our translation), the meetings played an educational role that oxygenated the process:

This oxygenation was very important because it gave back to people the knowledge they should have absorbed earlier. So this interest in the historical-cultural issue of the city is due to the participation of the population in the process. [...] There is a convergence of thought that the issue of historical-cultural interest must be preserved and redeemed in general.

The representative referred in a comprehensive manner to the demand for preservation of the unknown milestones of Italian immigration in the south region of the capital city, such as the Stone House of Passuelo Family, shown in Figure 6, and the Monteggia Mill, built by the immigrant man who implemented the then Vila Nova colony.



Fig. 6: Stone house of Passuelo family – simple milestone that the neighborhood wanted to acknowledge by landmarking.
Source: Author, 2018.

Mazzo explains that the intention was to implement a center of multiple activities in this mill, as a way to return it to the community:

Heritage is an important issue because we are an old community, a centennial community [...]. But these producers and the people who came with them [the immigrants] have built beautiful buildings that also have a whole story – for example, the grain mill – that we would like to preserve [...]. Our intention was not only landmarking it – it was landmarking, restoring and developing a center of cultural, educational and leisure activities [...]. This is to ensure the memory, is to make this whole story alive (Meira, 2004, p.124, our translation).

According to these statements, the participation forums made it possible for popular demands on preservation to be socialized. "If there was no OP, it would not be possible to submit them with certainty. Should we consult the Department of Culture? Who would talk to us? What space would they give us?", says Mazzo (Meira, 2004, p.125, our translation). The statement of Marques (Meira, 2004, p.118, our translation) says that: "And this is a new work that we have to do in the OP – that each region indicates what it wants to preserve, what it wants to landmark for the city. The government will have to accept it". It is noted in this sentence that the government is not seen as a collaborative entity, at least in matters relating to the preservation of local heritage.

The cultural heritage subject was also discussed during the People Administration in the Municipal Cultural Conferences, created in order to democratize the formulation of public policies in the area. In these forums, there were demands for landmarking of the Esquina Democrática intersection and the Terreiro da Tribo cultural center. The Esquina Democrática intersection is located at the crossroad of two commercial routes of great importance to the city: Andradas street and Borges de Medeiros avenue in the center of the city. It is worth emphasizing that this was the only demand for landmarking that was carried out up to date. It was originated in a popular participation forum. An interesting fact is that the landmarking process occurred by decree of the Mayor, which is not usual when there is a municipal law available for the same purpose. It is worth analyzing the reason for this procedure.

The discussions in the participation forums encouraged the feeling of belonging to the city, according to the interviewees' statements, and led to demands related to the heritage references of the communities in the neighborhoods. These demands were not directed or fomented by publicity campaigns or heritage education

programs. They emerged spontaneously, but depended on a participatory process to be known and legitimized (Meira, 2004).

Table 3 also shows two demands related to petitions: the long-play records factory "A Elétrica" and the De Boni house. The document concerning the first request was sent by a group of musicians and citizens interested in preserving the factory. The other document was signed by architects and architecture students. Both were landmarked. It is worth asking why the demands of these groups were met and those intended to the protection of the architectural heritage of the districts were not successful, with the exception of the Esquina Democrática intersection.

Perhaps the same reasons of what happened at the federal level: some may not have met the established parameters by the technical instances of the city, others did not meet the criteria of municipal representativeness or perhaps processes that could be administratively processed have not been generated. Therefore, a participatory democratic process is essential to allow the occurrence of demands related to the preservation of cultural heritage. But it must be extended to the other stages of the process, that is, in the submission of the bureaucratic procedures of the process until the final landmarking of the assets proposed by the communities.

There is no doubt that not only the landmarked assets comprise the cultural heritage of a place. Even without the official designation, returning to the reference of Bourdieu (1989), the stone house of Passuelo Family, the Monteggia mill, the Terreiro da Tribo cultural center, the Casino Hotel and the Church of Belém Velho, the Atacado do Nestor commercial establishment, the old train bridge and the headquarters of Periquito Soccer Club in the south zone continue to be cultural references for their communities, that is, they continue to be cultural heritage. However, others do not continue to be. The Monteggia mill is disappearing, the train bridge has been demolished and the headquarters of the club where Ronaldinho Gaúcho made his name no longer exists. If they had been landmarked, perhaps their preservation for future generations of the neighborhoods would be ensured.

It is also worth mentioning that, in addition to the landmarking requests addressed in this document, there are several entities such as IAB and ICOMOS which regional representations collaborate intensely for the preservation of cultural heritage in Rio Grande do Sul. Neighborhood associations such as Petrópolis Vive and Moinhos Vive and movements such as the one that seeks the democratization of the Port Wharf are manifested by the preservation of the representative urban spaces of the city. Rallies, petitions, and social networks are current means of participation.

Finally, it is worth clarifying that landmarking alone does not ensure the preservation of an asset. There are dozens of opposite cases in Brazil, Rio Grande do Sul and Porto Alegre. The aforementioned old long-play records factory is in severe process of collapse and, despite being landmarked at the municipal level, it will not remain in the city in the future as a symbol of its history.

5 Final Considerations

The examples of participation, representation and collaboration mentioned in the text do not exhaust the subject. In the public sphere, all areas of administration – from federal to municipal level – consider the participation of civil society in the specific councils by means of its representatives as sufficient in terms of the public policies for preservation of cultural heritage. The councils assess, among other matters, processes on landmarking of material cultural assets which choices have already been made. If the landmarking processes that were initiated by the technicians of preservation institutions (in the case of this text, IPHAN and EPAHC) were studied, it could be hypothesized that all or most of them were accepted and resulted in the landmarking of assets. These are impositions on which citizens have to agree because, if they do not agree, it means they were not "aware" of the heritage.

In general, it is noticed that almost half of the manifestations in the sense of protecting architectural assets in their cities, shown in Tables 1 and 2 (the direct ones and those from institutional representatives and representatives of civil society), were not accepted by IPHAN. In Porto Alegre, on the other hand, requests by means of petitions for landmarking at municipal level, that is, with direct participation, were more effective than those submitted as popular demands by participants in the meetings and by representatives in the PB or the Cultural Conferences, out of which only one resulted in landmarking, as analyzed in Table 3. Curiously, this landmarking was carried out by decree of the Mayor and was not subject to the procedures of the landmarking law in force in the city.

One can say that the heritage assets chosen by technicians, on behalf of the administration, are embraced by all; the heritage assets chosen by popular communities are not embraced by anyone but themselves. However, both perspectives should coexist. Therefore, it is clear the importance of creating and ensuring democratic participation channels so that local demands can be submitted and subject to successful procedures. Marques (Meira, 2004, p.122, our translation) says with authority that technical and scientific knowledge and popular wisdom must be allies because "This is the only way to enrich the process".

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1 Between 1979 and 1982, Aloísio Magalhães was Secretary of the Department of National Historical and Artistic Heritage – SPHAN – and President of Pró-Memória Foundation – political and executive branches,

respectively, of the heritage preservation policies. His management was responsible for institutionally expanding the concept of cultural heritage, with emphasis on Brazilian cultural diversity.

2 The acknowledgment of a material cultural asset by the State, by means of landmarking or other legal instrument, does not ensure its preservation (there are hundreds of landmarked assets that have been mutilated or destroyed in Brazil). However, the failure to officially naming them means their condemnation to destruction, leaving them at the mercy of private interests that override collective interests.

3 Landmarking is the act of legal protection of a heritage asset that, after passing through the technical instances of IPHAN, is assessed by the Advisory Board and must be homologated by the Minister of Culture before being definitively enrolled in the record books. For the City Hall of Porto Alegre, after processing by EPAHC, the request for landmarking must be assessed by COMPAHC and submitted to the Mayor for sanction and subsequent enrollment in the record book.

4 IPHAE was not included in the comparison presented in this document (despite its important activities in the State) because its protection actions began only at the end of the 20th century (1980s) and covered mainly public assets in the first decades of operation and to date it does not have an advisory board specific to the area of cultural heritage.

5 It is not necessary to delve into the reasons of the assets that have not been landmarked by IPHAN. Perhaps some of them did not correspond to the artistic parameters of the Institution, others did not meet the criteria of exceptionality or national relevance, etc.

6 The request for landmarking the Schmitt-Presser House was effected by personal intervention of Prof. Marcos Vinícios Vilaça who, at the time of the request, held the position of Secretary of Culture of MEC. By a mutual friend, the painter Ernesto Frederico Scheffel, leader of the movement for preservation of the House, sent the documentation he had gathered about the place directly to the Secretary, in Brasilia. There was resistance on the part of IPHAN-Rio Grande do Sul representation, as the regional director, the architect Julio N. B. de Curtis, was not in favor of the landmarking process. The Department of Culture of MEC was hierarchically superior to IPHAN-Rio Grande do Sul.

7 From 1989 to 2004, the City Hall of Porto Alegre was managed by the Popular Front, which was led by the Workers' Party. The implementation of the Participatory Budgeting (OP) was the most known forum for citizen participation in the city's co-management. Initially, it was based on geographical division into regions and was mainly focused on the municipal budget definition. Thematic meetings – on Education, Culture and other subjects – were then introduced, as well as City Congresses and specific meetings in several areas, such as the Culture Conferences, allowing the development of various interfaces between the population and the municipal administration.