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redes, atores e governança  
na perspectiva do patrimônio  
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networks, actors and governance  
in the perspective of cultural  
heritage

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PT | EN

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### Abstract

This article debates the participative process related to cultural heritage focusing on the preservation of public policies scoping small cities, considering 68,4 of Brazilian cities have up to 20 thousand inhabitants (IBGE, Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, 2016). Using a relational approach of the main actors and their interdependent networks in the study of three cities that have declared national cultural heritage after 1988 and have installed municipal cultural policies: Antonio Prado (RS), Corumbá (GO) and São Félix (BA). In the perspective oriented towards the actors, it is approached the social capital in its structural form, and in collective action as the materialization of the social capital. Societies with high social capital have citizens highly participative who work collaboratively in favor of collective action. It is concluded that it is necessary not only the existence of structural social capital but also of the institutional arrangements and a new government based on the intersectoriality so that the development may be centered on the people and produce by the communities.

**Keywords:** Cultural heritage, Social capital, Intersectoriality, Actors, Network.

## 1 Introduction

How to foster participation and collaboration in processes involving historical and cultural heritage and the construction of collective memories? How does this process of collective construction go through public policies focused on participation and collaboration in small cities? In order to analyze this complexity and diversity, the base is on the relational approach of the main actors and their networks of interdependence. In small cities, there is an intricate social web called social capital, formed by informal, more flexible and agile communication networks, de-bureaucratizing decision-making processes and contacts between cultural agents in the formulation and implementation of public policies. In small cities, there is an intricate social web called social capital formed by informal, more flexible and agile communication networks, de-bureaucratizing decision-

making processes and contacts between cultural agents in the formulation and implementation of public policies (Abramovay, 1999). Thus, it concerns the listing of urban settlements in small towns IPHAN after the 1988 Constitution, when municipalities were empowered to act autonomously in matters of preservation of local heritage, and a more advanced formulation was introduced to urban policies. Only three cities out of the 44 urban settlements listed by IPHAN after the 1988 Constitution implemented municipal policies for the preservation of cultural heritage (municipal cultural protection law and participatory bodies, such as municipal council of culture), according to the Research of Basic Municipal Information, Supplement of Culture (IBGE, 2014): Antônio Prado (RS), Corumbá de Goiás (GO) and São Félix (BA), according to Figure 1. The valorization of the potential of small cities by IPHAN has relation to the initiatives of cultural heritage valorization, precisely because, in these cities, the architectural complexes remain due to economic stagnation and slower population growth.



**Fig. 1:** Map of the cities. Source: Author, 2018.

For analysis purposes, the concept of actor and agent will be used from the perspective of Méo and Buléon (2007). For the authors, in socio-spatial practice the actor is the one who acts reflexively, who is endowed with skills, has power and elaborates strategies and speeches. For example, the mayor, the president of a council, the CEO, etc. The actor may be one person, but also a collectivity whose actions have a broader range than an individual actor. In the case of this research, we will analyze the actors as organizations, that is, analyze how they arise, develop and function in a social self-organization pattern that goes beyond conscious intentions of the individuals involved. Organizations are formal institutions and represent what Uphoff (2003) calls structural social capital. But for a formal institution to be effective and efficient, it needs to have cognitive social capital, levels of trust and cooperation, intrinsic values to the informal rules that mark collective actions. These institutional arrangements are the materialization of social capital.

Based on these parameters, the perspective of multiple case studies (Yin, 2001) was adopted because it allows sharper analytical conclusions, which suits better to the purposes of this article, not seeking the generalization of the results, but rather the understanding and interpretation of facts and phenomena. A wide variety of evidences was analyzed, such as documents (implemented public policies, legislation, programs, etc.), interviews<sup>1</sup> (non-directives with questions related to formal organizations that had an active role in preservation policies) and on-site observations, seeking to comprehend its main actors and their speeches at the local level, which ultimately determine the implemented actions in the cultural heritage area. The collected results were confronted with existing academic researches that contribute to the cultural heritage analysis in the studied cities. Thus, the interviews, the documents and the on-site observations allow a triangulation supported by more than one source of evidence.

The three cities (see Figure 2) have different historical occupations, great diversity of urban dynamics, contradictions and inequalities produced by capitalist society. The city of Antônio Prado<sup>2</sup>, in Rio Grande do Sul, with 13,306 inhabitants (IBGE, 2017), was inscribed in the Historical Tombo Book in 1990, and Casa da Neni was also listed in 1983. The urban complex consists of 48 buildings, mostly in wood, which refer to the Italian immigration culture of in the south of Brazil that began the territory occupation in 1875. The city of Corumbá de Goiás, in Goiás, is located in one of the richest hydrography regions in the state and has the smallest contingent of these three cities, with only 11,024 inhabitants (IBGE, 2017). Exploited by the Bandeirantes from 1731, it is an important commercial warehouse of the Province of Goiás because of the fluvial gold exploration. It was listed in 2004 as an urban complex, which is constituted by the Mother Church of Our Lady of Penha of France and by the buildings that surround it. The city of São Félix, in Bahia, with 15,272 inhabitants (IBGE, 2017), was listed in 2010 as an urban and landscape complex and, among the three cities, has an older occupation history, dating back to the early days of Brazilian colonization. São Félix, hometown of Castro Alves, inserts itself in the economical history of Brazil with wood exploitation, later with sugar cane production and, in the eighteenth century, as an important land and river terminal, culminating, in the nineteenth century, with tobacco exportation.



**Fig. 2:** Antônio Prado (RS), Corumbá de Goiás (GO) and São Félix (BA). Source: Author, 2017.

This brief historical picture combines itself with different actors, scales, generating public preservation policies with better or worse results.

## 2 Networks, actors and governance

In order to understand how different actors influence the formulation and implementation of policies, it is adopted the notion of network in the approach known as actor-oriented perspective proposed by Norman Long and Jan Douwe van der Ploeg of the Wageningen School in the Netherlands (Long and Ploeg, 2011). The actor-oriented perspective assumes that many structural changes result from "external forces", such as the State. However, it is in the constructed experience in everyday life that is possible to evaluate "intricate and varied ways in which old and new forms of production, consumption, sustenance and identity intertwine and generate heterogeneous models of economic and cultural change" (Long, 2007, p.39 cited by Schmitt, 2011, p.92, our translation). It inserts in a constructivist perspective that, according to Paulo Freire (1987), involves "doing with" the people of the community and strengthening institutions and actors.

Actors are associated with the human capacity to know and act, and materialize themselves through nodal points of interpretation and interaction. Regarding the networks, they mobilize relations, resources and meanings and promote the interconnection between different worlds and knowledge forms, transcending specific institutional domains and interconnecting a great diversity of arenas, because "it is at the confluence between these multiple realities, and through processes of struggle, negotiation and accommodation, on different battlefields, that development is built" (Schmitt, 2011, p.92, our translation).

Putnam (1996) considers that trust among the actors is of utmost importance in the development of collective actions. The author affirms that trust, civic engagement, reciprocity norms and social interaction networks fulfill the function of facilitating the emergence of coordinated actions and, therefore, of increasing the efficiency of a given community, contributing to the development. Social capital, by fostering trust, encourages cooperation in favor of collective action, supporting problem resolutions. From an actor-oriented perspective, through its agency, this interferes development processes, not just being a recipient of public policies. The notion of agency, for Long (2007 cited by González, et al., 2014), gives the actor the ability to process social experience and to design ways of struggling with life, even in the most extreme forms of coercion. Within the limits of information, uncertainties and other constraints, social actors have a "capacity to know" and "ability to act" (Long, 2007, p.48 cited by González, et al., 2014, p.108). Social capital is social

network, in the perspective of Franco, understood as "multiple paths between individuals and groups [...] mobile configuration of the internal connections of a collective body of human beings" (2004, s.p., our translation). As a political concept, it reflects the patterns of organization and the way it regulates its life in society which depends on external and internal stimuli and interactions as a systemic phenomenon, since "the concept of social capital can only arise (and only makes sense) when we consider development as local, produced by communities" (Franco, 2004, s.p., our translation).

To better understand the dynamism and eventual differences in interaction (structure of relations) between actors, the approach of networks as a form of analysis will be adopted. A network is formed by a set of actors, which can be individuals or organizations that establish specific types of connections with each other. The composition of the network and the position of each actor allow us to understand aspects of the economic, social and political coexistence of those involved. This perspective focuses on the social relations between actors, on intra-organizational relations, evaluating how relationships occur and how they influence actors' lives (Powell and Smith-Doer, 2003 cited by Malagolli and Paulillo, 2013, p.928).

The network is the locus where there can be elaborated public policies and competition processes, strategic interaction of actors and organizations that are dependent on various resources such as financial, technological, organizational, political, legal and constitutional (Paulillo, 2001 cited by Malagolli and Paulillo, 2013, p.928). The network approach as a analysis form is based on the structure of relationships to understand a wide range of aspects in which the social environment can be seen as structures or regular relationships between those involved. Relationships are expressed through the bonds, connections or links between the units of analysis. Material and non-material resources, physical interaction of actors and formal relations of authority flows through linkages (Sacomano Neto, 2003; Wasserman and Faust, 1994 cited by Malagolli and Paulillo, 2013, p.928).

In this sense, Brito (2002 cited by Malagolli and Paulillo, 2013, p.928) states that a network is composed of four morphological elements: nodes, links, and flows. In this article, nodes are described as a set of actors which are state and civil society organizations. They are the nodes that make up the structure and can be considered focal points of the network. In the same way, the activities can be considered focal points of the arrangement. The positions define the location of the points in the network structure. The position of each point depends on the links between the actors. The articulations, connections and linkages determine the level of diffusion or density of the network actors. The flows, in turn, can be tangible (products) or intangible (information) and determine the structure of the network (Brito, 2002; Sacomano Neto, 2003 cited by Malagolli and Paulillo, 2013, p.992).

Actors, positions, connections and flows were defined considering the proposals of Malagolli and Paulillo (2013). It emphasizes that the position of centrality is extremely important for the identification of the actors who are key in the network. The centrality is related to the activity of an actor in the network and can be expressed by the number of connections that this actor has. The more centered the position of the actor in the network, the greater the shared relationship flows should be. Another measure of centrality is proximity: the smaller the number of "steps" for an actor to reach another, the greater the relations between them (Malagolli and Paulillo, 2013, p.932).

The intensity dimension is determined by the set of bonds established with other actors. That is, the denser the relations between the actors, the broader the line linking or connecting the nodal points, and thus, the greater the access to information, the use of resources, the power to influence decisions and collective actions related to cultural heritage. The different thicknesses correspond to the differences in the quality of the relations between the actors.

The purpose of this analysis is to understand how social actors' actions develop preservation practices and processes of social, political, economic and cultural interaction that influence, modify or transform local cultural heritage. The case studies were focused on the practices and experiences of actors working in the preservation area, highlighting how relationships are organized in this space and how they influence and generate new dynamics (see Table 1).

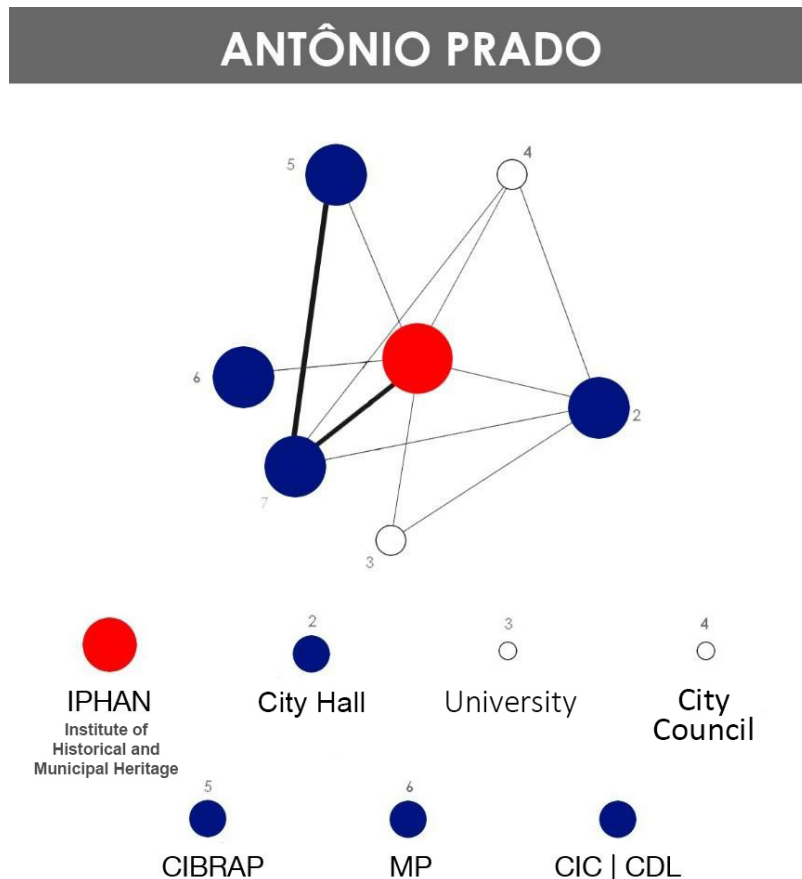
Dimensions	Representations	Descriptors
Actors	Nodal points	Types of interests and resources
Structure of relations	Distance between nodal points	Centrality Proximity
Intensity	Lines or connections connecting the nodal points	Frequency

**Table 01:** Actors, structures of relations and intensity. Source: Author, 2017.

In the case of Antônio Prado, the Italo-Brazilian Circle of Antônio Prado (CIBRAP) is an example of structural social capital because it is a civil society organization. However, the strong presence of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce (CIC), the Chamber of Shopkeepers (CDL), the university community, the Public Prosecutor's Office (MP) and more knowledgeable owners of their rights and duties gives Antônio Prado a very particular reality. It has been observed that the entities and owners are proud of their Italian ancestry, actively participating in everything that concerns the historic center. One example is the revitalization of Garibaldi Square and Antônio Prado's new Municipal Cultural Plan.

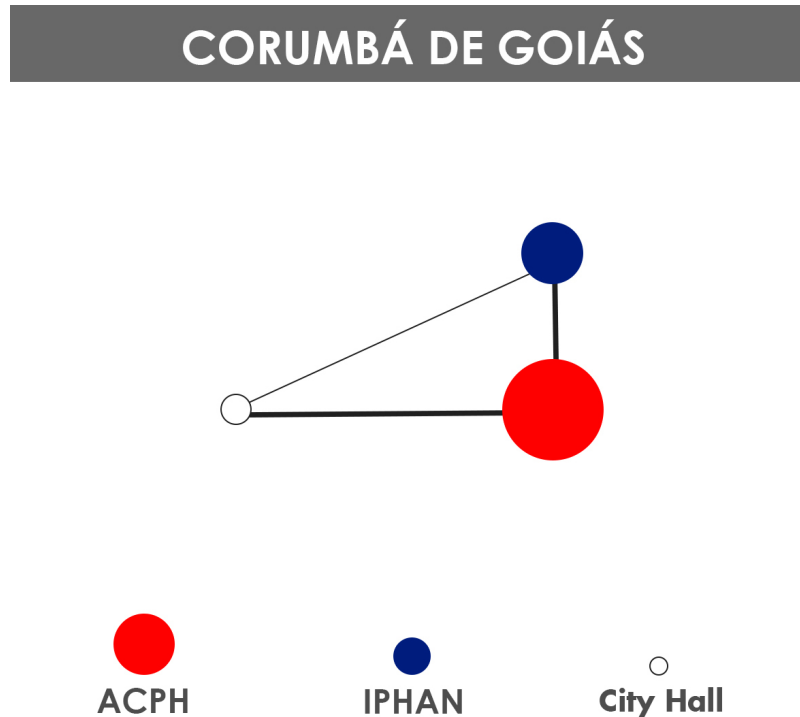
The Municipal Plan was built in October 2016 with the participation of several segments of society and it is integrated with the new Municipal Council of Culture and the Municipal Culture Fund, structured for the 10-year period and formalized by the Municipal Law No. 3.020, on December 15th, 2016 (Antônio Prado, 2016). In Antônio Prado, the investments of the Monumenta Program are still present in the association of artisans and in the patrimonial education actions of the local public power and the CIBRAP.

The centrality of this network lies in IPHAN, which technical office was settled when the city was listed as national cultural heritage in the late 1980s. The federal agency acted in built heritage due to the strong resistance of its owners after the city was listed as a national cultural heritage, but also acted in the intangible cultural heritage and in equity education. Although relationships exist, they are distant today, and the full mobilization potential could be optimized if there was greater dialogue among the actors, as Figure 3 shows.



**Fig. 3:** Antônio Prado's network. Source: Author, 2017.

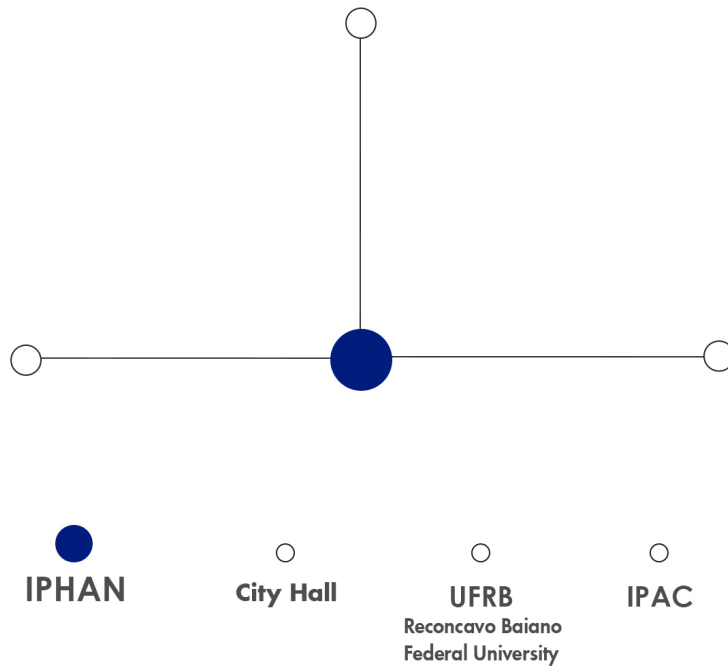
When analyzing the Corumbá de Goiás network, it is possible to observe the centrality on the Association of Culture and Defense of the Historical Heritage of Corumbá de Goiás (ACDPH), which has been working since 1986 to defend its cultural heritage. The testimony of the National Historical and Artistic Heritage Institute (IPHAN) reinforces the role of the ACDPH as an interlocutor between the preservation agency and the owners: "[...] is one of our main partners to oversee and guide the community, it is not only acting in the cultural heritage, but in the culture in general" (IPHAN, 2017, s.p., our translation). IPHAN does not have a technical office in Corumbá de Goiás, and the technical visits are biweekly. Therefore, the information flow is more fragile, including with the local public power. From the interviews and observations, the intensity of the connections is stronger from the ACDPH with the city hall and from ACDPH with the IPHAN, which reinforces its centrality (see Figure 4). During 13 years after Corumbá de Goiás became national cultural heritage, only two actions took place between the city hall and IPHAN: the restoration of the townhouse that houses the Municipality's Department of Education and Culture and the project *Portas e janelas vão se abrir*, (Doors and windows will open) which had only three issues.



**Fig. 4:** Corumbá de Goiás network. Source: Author, 2017.

São Félix does not have social capital in the structural form of the cultural heritage preservation area. According to Evans (1996), civic engagement networks among citizens can be promoted by public institutions as inducers and mobilizers of social capital, linking citizens and mobilizing institutions. The observations and interviews carried out in São Félix demonstrated the inefficiency of the local public power which, together with the lack of dialogue among the main actors, results in an extremely impoverished network, according to Figure 5. IPHAN develops actions in the municipality almost sole. Although the University of Recôncavo Baiano has a lot of ongoing researches that may revert to new knowledge and propositions for the community, these are not yet visible in the local context. The Institute of Cultural and Artistic Heritage of Bahia (IPAC) has two assets listed as state cultural heritage, but the dialogue between the federated entities does not happen. The distance between the actors represents the difficulties and the lack of flow of information and products, seriously compromising the network.

# SÃO FÉLIX



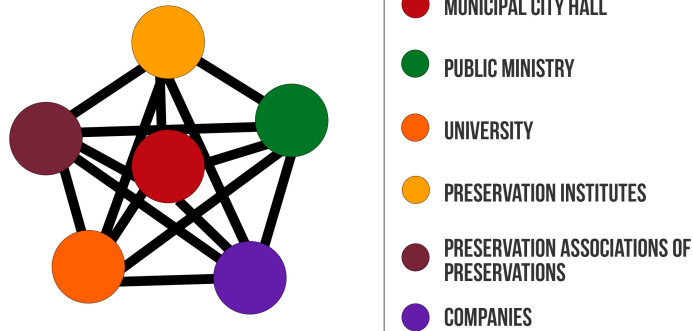
**Fig. 5:** São Félix network. Source: Author, 2017.

Besides the existence of social capital, it is necessary to establish institutional arrangements and a new governance with the aim of solving the problems in common:

- + the lack of a technical staff in the municipal city halls;
- + the lack of dialogue and actions of the public power in partnership with other federated entities, the local community, the private sector and preservation agencies;
- + focus on the product rather than the process;
- + the sectoriality of municipal public management;
- + the scarcity of financial resources; and
- + the lack of continuity in public policies.

An association, as a result of ties of trust and cooperation, plays an active role in pushing local public power, but only the public power has the force of law to execute (with optimized results when it happens intersectorally) and, together with IPHAN, has the ability to make decisions according to international criteria. Companies are also important in this process, because, through partnerships, they can invest in local assets and improve the life quality of the population. Here again, this association becomes relevant when it supervises these decisions in order to avoid cultural heritage to become "spectacular". The university as a transdisciplinary knowledge producer can approach the community in which it is inserted, recognizing, therefore, its knowledges and practices. It can also promote mediation between technicians and theory.

## MAIN ACTORS

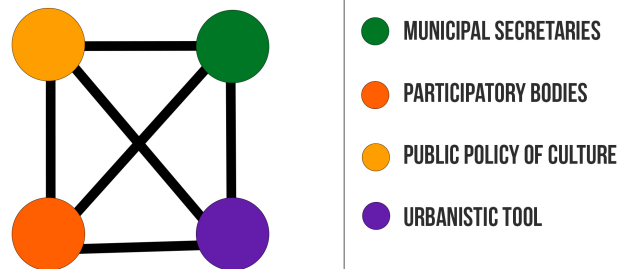


**Fig. 6:** Main actors in an ideal network. Source: Author, 2017.

It is not enough only social capital in its structural and cognitive form stimulating the participation and the involvement of different actors. It is necessary that municipalities organize themselves legally and administratively more efficiently in the implementation of urban development policies in cities with cultural heritage.

Involving key actors requires the prospect of new governance. Public power has components that are interdependent, form a structure linked by networks of relationships: in the technical administrative aspect of intersectoral policies, the municipal secretariats of education, culture, urban planning / works, health and tourism; in the participative instances, we have councils of culture and cultural heritage, municipal conference of culture; management tools such as the municipal culture plan and the municipal culture fund; instruments, such as the master plan.

## ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE



**Fig. 7:** New governance. Source: Author, 2017.

Institutional arrangements are also associated with the political dimension, including the inclusion of diverse actors, negotiation and conduction of shared decision-making processes involving conflict processing. Councils, conferences, public hearings, participatory budgeting and planning are examples of participatory forums fostered by the Federal Constitution of 1988 and implemented by public policies aiming a greater democratization of access. This articulation process between civil society, private initiative and the different governmental instances seeks to encourage social cooperation in the search of integrated responses to various problems.

Evans (1996) points out that from a synergy between the state and civil society, as a set of relations that goes beyond the public-private divide, the result is an increase in government effectiveness, fostering a virtuous context of institutional change. According to the author, synergy fails not because of the lack of social capital, but when public agencies do not engage with society. That is, the greater and more diversified the network of relations that fosters dialogue, the greater the positive results when it comes to preserving cultural heritage, including generating processes of self-regulation, as a learning organism. The studied cases presented very



different profiles regarding the participation of social actors and the role of the State, reinforcing the complexity and diversity of realities in the Brazilian context.

### **3 Intersectoriality: dimension of people and places**

According to Bronzo (2010), a healthy social infrastructure results from the combination of a formal infrastructure (services and facilities such as housing, health, culture, security) with social organization (values, norms, associativism). Thus, the existence of informal social networks (of control and norms) and changes in formal infrastructure are necessary conditions for significant changes that lead to development. Finally, creating an agenda, developing programs and actions, implementing and evaluating public preservation policies requires a synergy in public policies and services from the perspective of intersectoriality.

According to Inojosa (2001), it is necessary to articulate knowledge and experiences for the synergistic solution of complex problems. Preservation issues also need to be understood in a broader way, beyond legal and physical protection, making it necessary to promote actions for the identification of goods of cultural relevance and their appreciation for "uses and guarantees of social enjoyment" (Meneses, 2006, p.35, our translation). It is not useful having a historic center in good condition, as in the case of Corumbá de Goiás, if it is isolated from the rest of the city and people no longer live in the buildings. In the case of São Félix, the decay of the urban and landscape complex is a reflection of the economic decadence and the precarious conditions of life of its population, since it is not enough to restore buildings if cultural practices of immaterial nature are not safeguarded and if people continue in a social vulnerability situation, compromising any and all projects to be implemented. It was concluded that the government apparatus prioritizes policies that are considered of greater importance as sanitation, urbanism and housing. At the end, actions related to cultural heritage are included, in isolation, disregarding the dynamical character of urban space production.

At the same time, the evaluation of the results of the policies implemented focuses on the offered products. This process of valorization of the product occurs when one has, for example, the revitalization of a set of buildings of architectural value for the installation of new equipment and services. There is an area that receives a significant financial investment and aesthetically contributes to the image of the city. Therefore, there is a measurable product. However, in most cases, they generate gentrification processes, with the expulsion of the low-income population due to the valorization of this area and a radical transformation of the nature of the place, devaluing the cultural and craft activities that existed previously.

In small cities, due to its proximity to the population, it also occurs, what Scifoni (2015) called "adjustment of the cultural heritage", in order to confer legality where there is no such possibility, as occurred with the buildings that were municipal cultural heritage in Corumbá de Goiás and which were demolished. Although the cases analyzed by Scifoni (2015) are located in the metropolis of São Paulo, with large private enterprises and large public projects, in Antônio Prado, Corumbá de Goiás and São Félix, cultural heritage is also seen as an obstacle since its preservation makes new interventions impossible, according to common sense. This is a set of legal mechanisms within and through the State that eliminate the cultural heritage barrier to ensure profit in real estate production also occurs in the small city.

Also it is worthy to note the Monumenta Program on the Paraguaçu river bank in São Félix, where a very large amount of money has been invested, but a very small part of the population is aware of and is benefited by the project. How are the results of the Monumenta Program in Antônio Prado visible up to the present day, even though it came earlier than that of São Félix? Part of this answer is related to the created network, involving the Italo-Brazilian Circle of Antônio Prado (CIBRAP) and Serra Nordeste Tourism Association (ATUASERRA), municipal public authority, Ministry of Culture through Culture Points and IPHAN itself. It is known that the strengthening and mobilization of traditional cultures contribute to the integration of the populations improving the self-esteem and the creativity and contributing to a better life quality environment. That is, the permanence of these populations is fundamental for the weave of the city, but is not part of the evaluation of results.

Promoting life quality and fostering development is related to this more holistic life view in society (Schneider, 2015). A new governance is urgently needed, as it was found especially in the case of São Félix, although in all the studied cases there was a public power organized by government sectors in different phases of a policy cycle. As already pointed out by Inojosa (2001), it is not a matter of overlapping projects, sectors or, possibly, establishing some dialogue among the governmental segments in the formulation. The intersectoriality is broader, focused on the regional basis in segments of the population and on the concern with the results and impacts that these programs generate.

The example of the emptying of the architectural complex of Corumbá de Goiás requires solutions region-based and focused on its population. The answers to Corumbá de Goiás are not the same as for São Félix or Antônio Prado. All realities are very different historically, geographically and economically. This is why an

intersectorality perspective with a regional focus and the recognition of the singularities of the population groups was used instead of compensatory welfare policies (Schneider, 2017).

In order to overcome this hierarchical and sliced pyramid of the governmental structure, so present in the case studies, it is concluded, like Inojosa (2001), that it is necessary to adopt participatory planning in which the State acts in social commitment networks along with society. These actors, such as CIBRAP and ACDPH, are the first to be attracted and mobilized to seek local alternatives to the presented problems. However, the leaderships also remain very sectorial, both in the governmental structure and in the associations. Therefore, it is necessary a broader vision and the inclusion of new actors in this network (Schneider, 2017).

The greater the institutional arrangements and the networks resulted from the links between the actors, the greater the social capital, which can be increased when a synergy between civil society and the State occurs. Lotta and Favareto (2016) also corroborate these ideas by pointing to the weight of the sectoral culture that permeates managers and the behavior of social forces and the search for short-term results within an institutional framework of privileges. The authors also highlight the verticality of the processes among the federated entities. When analyzing the federal programs, such as Monumenta, Culture Points or even IPHAN actions, a more active insertion of state or municipal governments was not perceived and, as the actors have already verified, there is a depletion of the role of the state entity in the articulation of policies. Given this, the federal government ends up acting directly with the municipalities, greatly hindering the recognition of the heterogeneity and structural complexity of the territories, eventually standardizing the operationalization processes of the policies. The programs mentioned above promoted actions according to territorial specificities, but, as Lotta and Favareto (2016) have already pointed out, they did not absorb the social forces of the territories as carriers of these specificities. It is also verified that even when the actions are from the municipal entity, this conceives the planning still in the traditional form, only as an investment space, without articulation with local actors.

If social capital is produced in the communities, according to Franco (2004), development can only be seen as local development in which communities woven by networks and networks of communities are more conducive to development. Thus, Bronzo's (2010) conception of territory as the dimension of people and places articulated with the notion of networks (governmental, local and service) centers the dimension of the territory as a criterion of public power intervention through programs, services and facilities. So, it acts as a basis for the reconstruction of informal social networks of control and norms in the perspective of strengthening social infrastructure and, consequently, of increasing choice capacity of individuals, generating autonomy and empowerment.

#### **4 Conclusion**

The present article proposed a reflection on the contemporary process of collective construction of knowledge in the area of preservation of cultural heritage. It was seen that the cultural public policies identified in the three case studies emphasize the vertical nature of the programs and projects implemented, and which, added to the lack of institutional arrangements, generated few positive impacts in the area of cultural heritage preservation and, mainly, have weakened participatory and collaborative processes related to historical and cultural heritage and the construction of collective memories. Local public power has not stimulated the production or expansion of existing structural social capital, so that the two identified associations - CIBRAP and ACDPH - precede national heritage listing. These associations took advantage of existing social capital and practically acted since then without financial and technical support from the municipal entity.

In the case studies, the lack of knowledge permeated all interviews and became more latent in São Félix. As a popular saying very much applied to the cultural heritage area states: "We love what you know! Who loves, cares!". But the knowledge is found in the ACDPH and the CIBRAP, composed by liberal professionals with strong emotional ties to the place, therefore, endogenous actors who have the knowledge and the argumentative capacity and who, through the strength of the organized group, socialize to search for a common good. The knowledge is also promoted in patrimonial education actions, mainly in Antônio Prado and Corumbá de Goiás, and in the collective cultural practices in São Félix. In order to produce social capital, knowledge is also needed to trigger a social affectivity phenomenon. But we must go further. In the perspective of participatory actions, it is necessary that decisions about what and how it will be preserved are carried out jointly with the community, in the articulation of different actors. Without articulation with local actors, information flows that could identify failures or take advantage of better opportunities in the territories are not stimulated.

Also, the paralysis of the public power is evidenced by the "adjustment of the cultural heritage" (Scifoni, 2015), which allowed the overthrow of assets in the municipal level in Corumbá de Goiás, by freezing municipal councils of cultural heritage in all the studied cities and mainly by the *modus operandi* of the municipal government with public services cloistered in sectors, divided between the parties and with the verticality of the processes.

Something similar occurs in the statements of the associations studied. The CIBRAP and the ACDPH denounce, suggest and are active, but their ideas, although they are heard, are not implemented. In the interviews, in the documentary analysis and in the in loco observations carried out with the municipal public power, it is recognized that the legislation is obsolete, that the participatory instances, although they exist, do not happen in practice, that the operationalization is sectorized and that the culture is in the background in public policies.

Therefore, formulating and implementing public policies that respond to the complex contemporary society also requires actions of the State in the perspective of intersectoriality, stimulating synergy in policies (it is understood the participation of different actors) and public services. And that, in order to make preservation actions and policies feasible, both actions strongly anchored in material needs and basic demands, and actions geared to horizontal interactions and relations, with values such as cooperation, trust and solidarity, which contribute to the creation and / or strengthening of social capital. Also the participation and the information flow are fundamental elements for the creation of social capital. A society with a high stock of social capital has the advantage of having highly participative citizens, interested in the efficiency of government institutions, with autonomy for their own development and who work collectively in matters of collective interest. Small towns, by their proximity and horizontality ties, can be the privileged locus for thinking and doing different from the hegemonic actors, to propose creative exits from the intricate local social web. That is why it is necessary to have a new governance that speaks and thinks, that looks to the future with the mind on the lessons of the past, that stimulates fields of reflection and action capable of fostering participation and collaboration in order to connect people with places as possibilities of creation and experimentation of heterogeneous ways of conceiving, perceiving and living in cities.

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**1** Interviews were conducted with the municipal culture agency, the preservation associations and the IPHAN technical office. Non-directive interviews with IPHAN and municipal public authorities are due to Evans's (1996) observation that these are public institutions and therefore can foster civic engagement networks among citizens, occupying a relevant role of the State in the production of social capital, not as a regulator of social interaction, but as an inducer and mobilizer of social capital, linking citizens and mobilizing institutions. The municipal culture councils were not interviewed because, although there is legislation of creation, they are not active.

**2** The goods in Antônio Prado are listed individually, although they are part of a historic center / site.