TECENDO A CIDADE: WEAVING THE CITY: A QUEM A DECISÃO TO WHOM THE DECISION DE PRESERVAR? TO PRESERVE?

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Abstract

Patrimonial practices are processes that alter the urban fabric when choosing what to preserve and, consequently, what to destroy. Its actors weave the city and have the privilege of choosing what is worthy of belonging to the history, memory and identity of its people. In Brazil, the procedure of IPHAN (Institute of National Historical and Artistic Heritage) in its 80 years has been marked by the authoritative discourse formulated by the first generation of technicians who sought a unique national identity. In their majority modernist architects of portuguese ascendence, the technicians defined the national heritage according to its genealogy and formation. However, Brazilian population is not homogeneous and its multiculturalism is excluded from this heritage. This article aims to present and question excluding heritage practices in three instances: the choice of the heritage, the heritage itself and the registered city.

Keywords: Heritage; Preservation policies; Population; Exclusion.

Introduction

In 1937, Getúlio Vargas established the dictatorial government called Estado Novo [New state] and a month later signed the law-decree n°25 which founded the Brazilian Historic and Artistic Heritage Institute (IPHAN), introducing the concept of "historical and artistic heritage" and creating the registration tools. The project for the institution's foundation, elaborated by Mário de Andrade, understood the Brazilian Artistic Heritage as "[...] all works of pure art or applied art, popular or erudite [...]" (Andrade, 1936, p.55, our translation). The text was changed by Gustavo Capanema and determined national heritage as "[...] the set of existing movable and immovable assets in the country, whose preservation is of public interest, either because of its connection with memorable events of Brazil History, or because of its exceptional archaeological or ethnographic, bibliographic or artistic value" (Brazil, 1937, s.p., our translation). By eliminating the emphasis on inclusion of both popular and erudite art and conditioning heritage to the memorable and exceptional, the law-decree removed the concept of heritage from assets of Brazilian popular classes, prioritizing specific memory and urban compositions.

IPHAN's technicians, mostly architects of portuguese ascendence, reproduced their world view on registered national assets: the list is full of Baroque churches from Minas Gerais State. The choices were based on aesthetic appreciation and were justified by higher decision; the historical value was little analysed (Fonseca, 2005).

> '[...] immediately, the Traditionalism of José Mariano and the Neo-Colonial were repudiated, pretending to not reproduce the legitimate tradition. [...] In a slow conceptual elaboration, basically thought Dr Lúcio Costa and accepted by all, it was added to the popular and unleashed simplicity of the Portuguese architecture between 1919 and 1952 the tortured life of Aleijadinho, the dynamic and sensual conception of the Baroque, the balance and the serenity of the Neoclassical and the modernism from Niemeyer [...]' (Campofiorito, 1985, p.4, our translation).

According to Renata Cabral (2010, p.124, our translation):

> 'Not a few modernist buildings received an early register. In 1947 the Church São Francisco de Assis (Pampulha), in Belo Horizonte, was registered despite being unfinished [...]. At the time, it was threatened with abandonment by its owners. In 1948 the building of the Ministry of Education and Health, in Rio de Janeiro, was also registered. The building had been inaugurated a few years before. [...] In 1965, the Flamengo Park in Rio de Janeiro was registered when it had one-third of the project executed. [...]'

While some modernist edifications took a shortcut to the registered list, the path for popular assets is much harder because "the criteria of heritage choice given by SPHAN/IPHAN, since the 1930's, still impact the actions of three government spheres - federal, state and municipal [...]" (Marins, 2011, p.5, our translation). Even though the 1988 Brazilian Constitution gave every citizen the right to propose the register of a property there are still few examples, and those have little considerations of the institution when occur.

In order for the preservation of Brazilian heritage to reflect a history and identity in which the population may have a sense of belonging, the population must be included in the decision-making processes. The most coherent way would be for the State, with its methodological knowledge, and the people, who have knowledge and interest for the assets, to join forces to conduct inventories and make decisions together.

Excluded from choice

Laurajane Smith (2006) works on the concept of authorized heritage discourse: a set of historical, institutional and politically dominant social and cultural practices that exclude heritage that does not fit into its conception. According to her, this exclusion of the unofficial heritage has consequences on the expression of the social and cultural identity.

The definition of Brazilian cultural heritage conceived in the early days of IPHAN excludes a share of the population of diverse ethnic groups; a complex mixture, even for the vast territorial extension. "[...] we are a remarkable case of diversity within the unit [....] In this rich cultural diversity are found the varieties of mestizos that result from the many mixtures that have come from the beginning of colonization [...]" (Weffort, 1996, p.5, our translation).

This multiculturalism imposes to the state the ability to accept differences and integrate them through policies that are not institutionally imposed and pasteurized to fit the currently accepted pattern (Semprini, 1999 cited in Meneses, 2015). On the contrary, this scenario has unsuccessfully pressed the institution to a greater permeability to the popular yearnings and the participation of the society in the patrimonial decisions. The authoritative discourse of heritage preservation institutions intentionally creates "[...] significant barriers to active public negotiation on the meaning and nature of heritage, and the social and cultural roles it must play [...]" (Smith, 2005, p.44).

Several official documents show that popular participation has been discussed at the governmental level. The 1988 Constitution guaranteed popular participation in the indication of assets. IPHAN's internal meeting to reflect on the institution's actions, held in 2009, pointed to the need for several changes, including incorporating the definitions of the 1988 Constitution (twenty years after its promulgation). Among the strategic challenges presented in IPHAN's 2011 management report was "[...] broadening the dialogue with society through ways and means that allow the socialization of knowledge and information on cultural heritage[1]" (IPHAN, 2012, p.36, our translation). Therefore, the theme is in the institution's agenda, but it is not yet incorporated into its actions.

Popular requests for registering usually occur when the population see a threat to a property that is dear to them. In such cases, it is necessary "to recognize that preservation policies are often at the mercy of urban transformations, for the organs of cultural heritage are called upon to act on the imminence of disappearance when in theory they should anticipate any threat and protect property before the deed is done" (Scifoni, 2013, p.519, our translation).

In the city of São Paulo, there has recently been a popular uprising in favor of the Cinema Belas Artes. Founded in 1967, the space was closed in 2011 at the request of the owner of the property, who cancelled the lease. The population organized and collected more than 90 thousand signatures against the closure, but could not avoid it (Caixa, n.d., n.p.). Cine Belas Artes' application for overturning was sent by "Cultural Route: Institute of Research and Action for Culture" to the three instances of preservation.

At the municipal level, the process was initiated through Resolution No. 01/2011 of the Municipal Council for the Preservation of the Historical, Cultural and Environmental Heritage of the City of São Paulo (CONPRESP), which concluded that the property did not have an architectural value that justified its registration. Parliamentary Inquiry Commission (CPI) was set up to examine the matter in April 2012. In December of the same year, the CPI approved the nomination of Cine Belas Artes as a material and

immaterial cultural heritage of the city of São Paulo and pointed out that "[...] CONPRESP acted in total dissonance with the aspirations of an expressive part of the society of São Paulo who was frustrated and disappointed in the performance of his organ of protection of the historical and cultural heritage of the city [...]" (Secretaria, 2012, p.40, our translation). The reopening of Cine Belas Artes was carried out by the Municipal Secretary of Culture, who had to evaluate the budgetary possibilities.

At the state level, the process was treated in the Council of Defence of the Historical, Archaeological, Artistic and Tourist Heritage (*Conselho de Defesa do Patrimônio Histórico, Arqueológico, Artístico e Turístico* - CONDEPHAAT) under the number of process 65359/2011. According to the rapporteurs, Cine Belas Artes had merit for its preservation, but the main question became how to execute it (CONDEPHAAT, 2013, p.290). Because it was the preservation of a place of memory and not of the building itself, they asked CONDEPHAAT to propose a legal document that could "[...] overcome the pressing challenges, demonstrating that perhaps there are less rigid and plastered forms of working cultural preservation of memory places whose relevance is not tied to their architectural exceptionality." The owner filed a request for reconsideration since the intervention project of the building had already received a favourable opinion from the Department of Historic Heritage (DPH) and CONPRESP. In October 2012, the CONDEPHAAT registered the facade of the building and part of its interior (the first four meters from the facade), a very peculiar and controversial proposal.

At the national level, it proceeded in the building category under number 1649-T-12. After reviewing the documentation, IPHAN rejected the request and filed for archiving the process in May 2013, under the following justification:

> '[...] it is clear that what one wants to guarantee is the permanence of a certain function, that is, the preservation of the use of the building as the place of projection of films and cultural meetings. [...] It happens that the private property that housed Cine Belas Artes (since 1943), by judicial decision of December 30, 2010, was returned to the owner [...] we are here in front of another case where we are looking for - using the IPHAN instruments - solve problems of another order. [...] Registering is an Instrument and not a Preservation Policy. [...] being only an instrument, it will act only and exclusively on the good: on the building, and not on its function (what it really wants to preserve!) [...]' (IPHAN, 2011, p.114, our translation).

Note the discrepancy between the three instances: the National did not consider the popular request, the Municipal was obliged by the CPI instituting to revoke its first decision, and the State opted for a specific measure, never before used, due to conflicts between the place of memory and building. There is an "urban battle" in the field of heritage, "[...] federal competence runs counter to state competence and municipal competence in the various Councils and at various levels of administration [...]" (Conselho, 2006, p.9, our translation).

As Scifoni (2013) points out, the patrimonial struggles show the tension between the public and private spheres in the city's weaving, where the population tries to prevent the current capitalist logic from acting, for which the city is a commodity. In Brazil, legislation has not yet been able to reconcile these two spheres: assets are understood as national heritage and the owner has the right to refuse to give it to social use (CONDEPHAAT, 2013, p.284, our translation).

Excluded from Preservation

The consolidated routine of IPHAN's unquestionable methods (Motta, 1987) produced a list of assets that were found to be of undesired homogeneity. Composed of 88.61% of isolated assets or sets involving buildings (Table 1), of the 841 assets classified as "building" or "building and collection", 399 are of religious nature. Predominance that already existed in 1982[2]: 94% of the assets were architectonic, predominating churches in Rio de Janeiro, Bahia and Minas Gerais (states that, jointly, owned 25% of the listed assets).

In this list, the predominance of the bourgeois heritage is indisputable and the number of popular assets is insignificant. They are two sides of the authoritative discourse: the Brazil that one chooses to show and the one that one wishes to hide. Workers and immigrants are part of the second group, even though they were responsible for the constitution of the state and for the economic development of the nation.

Category		Registered Assets	
	Architectural Set	77	6.14%
	Rural Set	33	2.63%
	Urban Set	85	6.77%
Including built assets	Building	447	35.62%
	Building and its Collection	394	31.39%
	Urban Infrastructure or Equipment	47	3.75%
	Ruins	29	2.31%
	Subtotal	**1,112**	**88.61%**
	Movable or Integrated Asset	63	5.02%
	Archaeological Asset	1	0.08%
	Collection	30	2.39%
Others	Historic Garden	11	0.88%
	Natural Heritage	22	1.75%
	Quilombo[3]	1	0.08%
	Archaeological Site	6	0.48%
	Terreiro[4]	9	0,72%
	Subtotal	**143**	**11.39%**
	Total	**1,255**	**100,00%**

Tab. 1 [3] [4]: Assets listed by IPHAN (1938-2015). Source: The authors on IPHAN data (2016).

Brazilian multiculturalism was formed by taking aboriginal territory and the insertion (voluntary or involuntary) of foreigners: Spanish and Portuguese settlers, African slaves and immigrants of different nationalities[5] (Table 2). The number of foreigners and naturalized residents in Brazil is significant since the 1870s (Table 3), and between the years 1900 and 1980 there were more than one million people.

Nationality / Year	1884-1893	1894-1903	1904-1913	1914-1923	1924-1933	1945-1949	1950-1954	1955-1959
Germans	22,778	6,698	33,859	29,339	61,723	5,188	12,204	4,633
Spanish	113,116	102,142	224,672	94,779	52,405	4,092	53,357	38,819
Italians	510,533	537,784	196,521	86,320	70,177	15,312	59,785	31,263
Japanese	NaN	NaN	11,868	20,398	110,191	12	5,447	28,819
Portuguese	170,621	155,542	384,672	201,252	233,650	26,268	123,082	96,811
Syrians and Turks	96	7,124	45,803	20,40	20,400	NaN	NaN	NaN
Others	66,524	42,820	109,222	51,493	164,586	29,552	84,851	47,599
Total	883,668	852,110	1,006,617	503,981	717,223	80,424	338,726	247,944

Tab. 2: Immigration in Brazil, by nationality (1884-1959). Source: The authors on IBGE data (2000a, p. 226).

Nationality /Year	Foreign and naturalized	People born in Brazil	Total population	Percentage of foreigners
1872	383,329	9,547.149	9,930,478	3.86%
1890	351,312	13,982,603	14,333,915	2.45%
1900	1,074,511	16,159,371	17,438,434	6.16%
1920	1,565,961	29,045,227	30,635,605	5.11%
1940	1,406,568	39,822,487	41,236,315	3.41%
1950	1,214,184	50,727,113	51,944,397	2.34%
1960	1,400,480	68,790,890	70,191,370	2.00%
1970	1,229,128	91,909,909	93,139,037	1.32%
1980	1,110,910	117,900,142	119,002,706	0.93%
1991	767,780	146,048,027	146,825,475	0.52%
2000	592,569	168,998,124	169,590,693	0.35%
2010	683,830	190,071,969	190,755,799	0.36%

Tab. 3: Population residing in Brazil (1872-2010). Source: The authors on IBGE data (2000a, 2000b, 2016).

According to Schwartzman, Bomeny and Costa (1984, n.p., our translation),

> '[...] There was never, on the part of the diverse political currents of some significance in Brazilian history, one which defended the constitution of a culturally pluralistic society for the country that gave to each nationality here contributing and to the original inhabitants of the country the conditions to maintain and develop their own ethnic and cultural identity. [...]'

The strength of the authoritative discourse of heritage in Brazil succeeded in excluding the conflicts and slave labor that built and financed such buildings, as it was also the workforce of the economic systems in Brazil. It also caused an imbalance between the Brazilian regions and states (Fig. 1 and 2): Northeast and Southeast have a much larger number of assets , with Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais and Bahia accounting for 51.8% (650 assets).
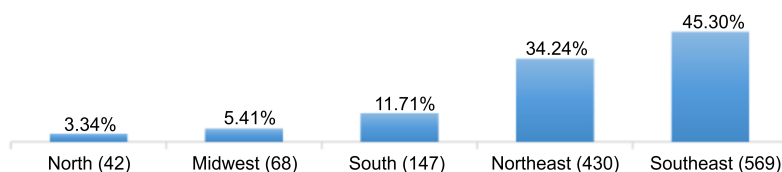

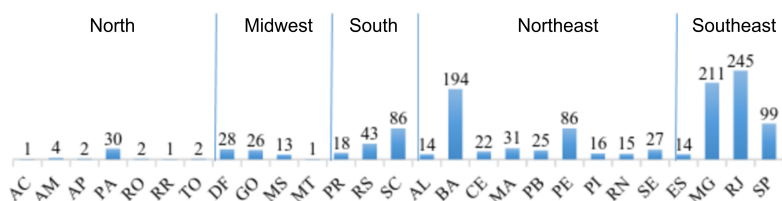**Fig. 1:** Assets registered by IPHAN, by region (2015). Source: The authors on IPHAN data (2016).

Fig. 2: Assets registered by IPHAN, by region (2015). Source: The authors on IPHAN data (2016).

According to Souza and Crippa (2009, p.213, our translation), "the indifference of the population to the cultural heritage is not due to the fact that it does not know the value of the works considered exceptional, [...] but to its lack of representativeness in the recorded works, linked only to elites and not to the whole nation. " In Brazil, this lack of representativeness is evident both in relation to the different resident nationalities and the geographical distribution. A historical construction of the country being woven under the elitist gaze.

Excluded from the city

In Brazil, from the 1990s, emulation of European and American heritage projects occurred: several Brazilian historic centres underwent urban requalification for economic use through culture and tourism, seeking to take advantage of the growth of

global leisure consumption (Including preservation of cultural heritage). In that decade, the government launched measures to expand the flow of foreigners in the country and stimulate economic development, especially in less developed regions.

In 1992, the National Tourism Policy (PNT) was established and, during the decade, high investments were made in the improvement of national infrastructure, including airport reform and paving of old dirt roads (Cruz, 2005). The revitalization actions of historical centres for tourism purposes were linked to intense publicity abroad. Nowadays, it is possible to analyse the economic and social effects of the actions carried out in this period of propulsion of tourism.

The Recovery Program of the Historical Centre of Salvador in the 1990s was a major intervention carried out by the state government for political marketing issues and focused on local culture as a possible added value to the tourism product to be offered abroad. During the initial process of the project, "The intervention removed and indemnified about 1,900 families, who moved to other distant neighbourhoods or settled in the vicinity, invading abandoned properties" (Rodrigues, 1995 cited in Sant'Anna, 2003, p.46, our translation). The 382 emptied houses hosted about four families and each of them received an average of US$1,709.21[6] (IPAC, 1997 cited in Sant'Anna, 2003, our translation).

Massive investments for the withdrawal of the population and for the restoration of historic buildings were aimed at revitalizing the area with the creation of an open-air shopping mall as a proposal of economic self-sufficiency for the region. A photogenic and joyous urban scene was created, a stronghold of an initial cultural upheaval to be sold publicity to Brazil and abroad as a representation of the beauty, joy and hospitality of the people of Bahia.

However, the intervention was marked by political favors in the choice of entrepreneurs and the complete exemption of taxes on commercial groups, such as maintenance, advertising, and services in the surrounding area. The exemption was initially thought to be attractive to the occupation of commercial spaces, along with cheap rents and access to credit lines, but the situation has extended to the present day. For Sant'Anna (2003, p.52, our translation), "The concept of the area as a mall, but without the commercial rules of this type of enterprise and without the adhesion of all involved, does also not allow the intervention to walk with its own feet [...]".

In addition, initial expectations of tourist flow have not been confirmed. A study commissioned by the State in 1996, carried out in the weeks before and after Carnival, counted about 30 thousand and 40 thousand people, respectively (Futura Research Institute, 1996 cited in Sant'Anna, 2003). Among them, on average, 8% were foreign tourists, 10% were national tourists and 80% of the visitors were residents of the city, 60% of which were from the outside of the centre and its neighbourhoods. In other words, the visitors were mainly the locals, despite high advertising spending directed abroad.

In view of the situation, the government carried out studies and invested for six years in the promotion of permanent cultural activities to maintain the flow of local visitors, at an average annual cost equivalent to current US$ 4,720,059.56[7]. Meanwhile, "[...] Real estate owners were passively waiting for a new investment from the government, and the surrounding poor population also awaited their reparations" (Sant'Anna, 2003, p.47, our translation). An extremely paternalistic government and popular passiveness transformed the revitalized historic centre into an economic burden for the state.

It is worth reflecting on the validity of projects that, like this, expel the resident population and later need to be responsible for the economic maintenance of embellished and emptied spaces, only to weave a photographic scene directed to a small tourist market and that needs to be stimulated constantly. What is the social result of a high public investment to create an embellished and empty area in a neighbourhood lacking basic assistance from the State?

Ulpiano Meneses (2015) states that this commodification of the city through tourism turns it into a commodity not only for the visitor but also for the resident. With the increase in the flow of tourists in the historical centre, its residents enjoy less of their own heritage, history, and culture, since they are planned and presented in a profitable format within the logic of capitalism, aimed at the tourist. In addition, they are often deprived of their social function for the purported integrity of local heritage for tourist use.

Another example of exclusion of the population from the tourist scenario to be sold abroad is the historical centre of the city of Paraty-RJ. The architectonic and landscaped set of the city was registered by IPHAN in 1958, named National Monument in 1966 and its surroundings were registered in 1974. Its patrimonial value is described by Lúcio Costa in 1960 in the publication "Architectural Prospectus of Paraty":

> '[...] from the point of view of civil architecture, Paraty is another testimony of that serene maturity to which the colony, prevented from any contact with the Portuguese world, was conducted, as an asylum child, and from which resulted this simple and peculiar way of being and of expressing, which, in architectural terms, translates into what is called our lifestyle' (cited in Campofiorito, 1985, p.9, our translation).

Recognized, therefore, as exemplary representative of the national historical heritage preached by the authorized discourse (that the very own Lucio Costa constructed), according to Carvalho (2009), the historical centre of Paraty was "chained" by the municipal government in 1948, with the purpose of preventing the circulation of vehicles to preserve pavements and buildings. The scenery limited by thick metal chains is illustrative of colonial Brazil and constitutes monetized space maintained for the tourist's use. The population itself lies outside the barrier, having in the historic centre its place of work and no longer a space of fruition.

The commercialization of the cultural heritage changes commercial and social practices, delimiting regions of cities in which the local population is deprived of its full relationship with the assets and spaces that tell its history, owning it also to the high prices practiced there. The city happens to be organized for the tourist, no longer for the local inhabitant. Chains are physical barriers that are easily transposable but delimit a portion of the urban space marked by the exclusionary dynamics of the tourist commercialization of the listed property.

In this scenario, the Cultural Landscape of Rio de Janeiro-RJ is a unique and intriguing case. Apparently, a recent international political manoeuvre used the cultural heritage as an economic promoter of the city. At the national level, the city of Rio de Janeiro has 162 assets listed by IPHAN: 64 buildings, 35 buildings with their collections, 14 integrated assets, 13 urban facilities, 11 natural heritage sites, 10 architectural complexes, 7 collections, 5 historic gardens , 2 rural complexes and one urban complex. Alone, the city has more assets listed by IPHAN than the entire southern region.

In the world scenario, a dossier about Rio de Janeiro was submitted to UNESCO in 2009 for candidacy in the category of Cultural Landscape (after attempted in the category of Mixed Heritage). According to Figueiredo (2014 cited in Chiuratto, 2015, p.237, our translation), the dossier "[...] has returned countless times for reworking it to solve or, more precisely, to avoid the inclusion of urban areas and the problem of development." According to Chiuratto (2015, p.237, our translation), "[...] It seems that UNESCO was responsible for the withdrawal of urban areas and 'noncompliant elements', such as the favelas [...]".

On July 1 2012, the city became the first in the world to receive the title of Cultural Landscape by UNESCO, with the dossier "Rio de Janeiro: Carioca Landscapes between mountain and sea". A document that intrigues by being composed almost exclusively of natural areas, excluding not only the population but the city itself from the recognized heritage. It also draws attention to the fact that assets are portrayed by illustrations rather than photographs (Fig. 3 and 4).

Fig. 3: Guanabara Bay and Cristo Redentor: drawings presented in the dossier. Source: Brazil (2011, p.65).

Fig. 4: Rio de Janeiro seen from the Bay of Guanabara: drawing presented in the dossier. Source: Brazil (2011, p.31).

The city is known for the beautiful landscape formed by the city-nature relationship, so it contradicts the non-use of photographs. However, when analysing the data presented by Figueiredo and Chiuratto on the alteration of the initial dossier, we can see that the illustrations allowed to minimize the city and to startle the nature. Most importantly, they managed to exclude the favelas, hiding an unwanted reality and weaving an idealized image of the city.

Campofiorito (1985, p.9, our translation) already raised the question within the context of the authoritative discourse of IPHAN's registered cultural heritage:

> '[...] And the appreciation of space in the collective expression of favelas, in what has of the creation of poverty and contemporary quilombos? Are there no traces, however tenuous and troubled, of any such thing to document, to register, and to preserve? Other things or other readings of the same things, but which do not merely demonstrate the "asylum child" and conducted by the colonial enterprise?'

To think about Rio de Janeiro is to remember beautiful landscapes, urban densification in the coastal areas and favelas in natural areas of hills, even close to great symbols of the city. So why hide something that is already known worldwide?

In 2007, the city was announced as the venue for the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics. It is perhaps no coincidence that in 2012, two years before the first event, the Cultural landscape of Rio de Janeiro was recognized by UNESCO. It is possible that the negotiation was facilitated so that the recognition was used for publicity purposes, seeking to increase the number of visitors during the period of world events, warming the national economy. According to the Ministry of Tourism, in 2014, more than 6.4 million foreigners visited Brazil, with the World Cup being the main responsible for this growth of 10.6% over the previous year (Júnior, 2015). Like the revitalization of historic centres in the 1990s, this would be yet another attempt to expand tourism to a country that has never been among the most visited destinations in Latin America and whose tourists come mostly from the neighbourhoods of South America.

Final considerations

Whose cultural heritage? In Brazil, the recognized cultural heritage is that established by the authoritative discourse built by IPHAN technicians, not the population. Elitization that is implicit in the principle of Brazilian patrimonial preservation: in the definition contained in Decree-Law no. 25, which conditions the heritage to the memorable and exceptional. Although every citizen has the right to propose the preservation of an asset the Constitution of 1988, IPHAN still needs to improve its policies of effective population participation so that the city can be woven through the hands of its most important actor.

As Miceli pointed out in 1987 (p. 47, our translation),

> *'The dilemmas which have been confronted by any heritage policy nowadays [...] refer almost all to the question of democratization. [...] it is a matter of democratizing the assortment, the methods of exposing the assortment, the means of access to the assortment, the areas for debate on the assortment; It is also a question of ensuring the representativeness of sectors of the community and of social movements affected by preservationist decisions. [...]'*

Even after 30 years, Miceli's criticism is still current in the Brazilian context. The perceived lack of representativeness of the population in the cultural heritage dictated by the State contributes to its little interest and involvement in the issues of safeguarding by the feeling of non-belonging. Which is amplified in a country like Brazil, where the population is formed by the most diverse immigrant background of its inhabitants.

As Campofiorito already stated in 1985 (p.10, our translation),

> *'[...] it is necessary to turn again the table of the dominant ideology and to choose for our culture a face, this time marked by plurality, by the Brazilian diversity of the various substances of the cultural assets and of its different social and regional origins. A clearly conflicting face of a developing country, for which cultural independence is an indispensable weapon to gain control of its own future'.*

To this end, preservation agencies, especially IPHAN, because of their national importance and worldwide recognition, must rethink not only the composition of the heritage but also the practices instituted so that the heritage recognized locally, regionally and nationally is woven by its Population and not by individuals allocated to public agencies.

Acknowledgment

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1 Apparently, this measure is unilateral: the institution would broaden the dissemination of the knowledge known by it, but would not be open to possible popular contributions. This would not be a dialogue, but it would still be an advance in the area.

2 More information in Campofiorito (1985).

3 Translator's Note: *Quilombo* is a Brazilian hinterland settlement founded mostly by slaves of African origin who escaped from coffee plantation farms.

4 Translator's Note: *Terreiro* is a religious place where the Afro-Brazilian ceremonial cults of *Candomblé* are held and offerings are made to the orixás.

5 According to Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo (2009, n.p., our translation), "In the last decade of the 19th century, Brazil occupied the 4th place in foreigners' entry in the American continent, with 3.8 million immigrants [...]".

6 At the time, according to IPAC (1997 cited in Sant'Anna, 2003), the average indemnity was R$ 1,222.00, which was converted to the current date's value using the General Market Price Index (IGP-M) through an online calculator available at: <http://calculoexato.com.br/parprima.aspx?codMenu=FinanAtualiza Indice> [Accessed 05 June 2017]. Then converted to US dollar in 30 June 2017.

7 At the time, according to IPAC (2001 cited in Sant'Anna, 2003), the total value spend between 1996 and 2001 was R$3,410,000.00, which were converted to the current date's value using the General Market Price Index (IGP-M) using an online calculator available at: <http://calculoexato.com.br/parprima.aspx?codMenu= FinanAtualizaIndice> [Accessed 05 June 2017]. Then converted to US dollar in 24 June 2017.