

1 Preserve for Whom? The Contradictions in the Preservation of
2 the Urban-Industrial Heritage in Campinas (SP)

3 Rafael Roxo

4 Received: 16 December 2019 Accepted: 2 January 2020 Published: 15 January 2020

5

6 **Abstract**

7 In this article, we analyze the notion of cultural heritage within the process of production and
8 restructuring of the city, understanding as historically urban and architectural interventions
9 " both those that aim at the renewal of urban forms and functions as well as those with
10 the purpose of preserving heritage and of the city's memory " are involved in the different
11 periods. In this sense, the projects and actions carried out by the agents that produce the
12 space in Campinas " the municipal government, businessmen (from the industrial, real
13 estate, cultural, popular trade, among others), residents (old and new), institutions and
14 political groups for the defense of heritage " show conflicts over the uses, functions and
15 material and symbolic appropriation of the city.

16

17 **Index terms**— urban-industrial restructuring; cultural heritage; urbanization.

18 Preserve for Whom? The Contradictions in the Preservation of the Urban-Industrial Heritage in Campinas
19 (SP)

20 Preservar Pra Quem? As Contradições Na Preservação Do Patrimônio Urbano-Industrial Em Campinas (SP)
21 Rafael Roxo

22 Resumo-Neste artigo, analisamos a noção de patrimônio cultural no interior do processo de produção e
23 reestruturação da cidade, compreendendo como historicamente as intervenções urbanísticas e arquitetônicas -
24 tanto aquelas que objetivam a renovação das formas e funções urbanas quanto aquelas com a finalidade da
25 preservação do patrimônio e da memória da cidade -estão implicadas, nos diferentes períodos. Nesse sentido, os
26 projetos e as ações impulsionadas pelos agentes produtores do espaço de Campinas -o poder público municipal, os
27 empresários (do ramo industrial, imobiliário, cultural, do comércio popular, dentre outros), os moradores (antigos
28 e novos), as instituições e os grupos políticos de defesa do patrimônio -evidenciam os conflitos pelos usos, funções
29 e apropriação material e simbólica da cidade.

30 Palavras-chave: reestruturação urbano-industrial; patrimônio cultural; urbanização. Abstract-In this article,
31 we analyze the notion of cultural heritage within the process of production and restructuring of the city,
32 understanding as historically urban and architectural interventions -both those that aim at the renewal of urban
33 forms and functions as well as those with the purpose of preserving heritage and of the city's memory -are involved
34 in the different periods. In this sense, the projects and actions carried out by the agents that produce the space
35 in Campinas -the municipal government, businessmen (from the industrial, real estate, cultural, popular trade,
36 among others), residents (old and new), institutions and political groups for the defense of heritage -show conflicts
37 over the uses, functions and material and symbolic appropriation of the city.

38 **1 Keywords: urban-industrial restructuring; cultural heritage;
39 urbanization. ¿Conservar para quién? Las contradicciones en
40 la preservación del patrimonio urbano-industrial en Campinas
41 (SP)**

42 Resumen-En este artículo, analizamos la noción de patrimonio cultural dentro del proceso de producción y
43 reestructuración de la ciudad, entendiendo como intervenciones urbanas y arquitectónicas, tanto aquellas que

44 apuntan a la renovación de formas y funciones urbanas como aquellas con el propósito de preservar el patrimonio
45 y de la memoria de la ciudad -están involucrados en los diferentes períodos. En este sentido, los proyectos y
46 acciones llevadas a cabo por los agentes que producen el espacio en Campinas: el gobierno municipal, empresarios
47 (del sector industrial, inmobiliario, cultural, popular, entre otros), residentes (antiguos y nuevos), instituciones
48 y grupos políticos para la defensa del patrimonio: muestran conflictos sobre los usos, funciones y apropiación
49 material y simbólica de la ciudad.

50 2 Introduction

51 he organization of a new urban morphology -with the growth of new closed lots divisions and consumption
52 equipment for the elites and the middle-class -, occurred combined to the former inhabitants taking off and the
53 appropriation of the historical centers by the low-income population, by informal and popular commerce. The
54 economical devaluation of the historical center is referred by the press and by the government as mere degradation;
55 when we may still consider that this devaluation situation is the one that allows its appropriation by low-budget
56 layers.

57 Treated under the sign of degradation, the historical areas of the city has been suffering from several urban
58 interventions in order to preserve their memories and their cultural heritage. In Campinas, the relative success of
59 the interventions upon the City Market and old buildings of the local aristocracy evidence the positive side of the
60 heritage preservation, associated to the cultural consumption of the city; on the other hand, the incorporation
61 of the so called urban industrial heritage: the old industrial and railways installments, the workmen villages,
62 among others, has evidenced the difficulties in attaining the preservation goals, such as the contradictions of such
63 practice.

64 In the same time, the exaggerated fear of losing the identity referrals, generalized and enhanced by the press,
65 the active action of the heritage managers and the attention of the real-estate and cultural entrepreneurs seem
66 to overlap the diversity of social demands, or at least seem to reproduce a fragmented view of the social space
67 processes, making it easy for the dominant ideologies dissemination.

68 Our text will be divided in two parts. In the first one, we search to deconstruct the cultural heritage concept
69 to the light of its historical interpretation, in order to point to its theoretical advances and practical limits. In the
70 second part, we propose to explore an empirical case, in order to analyze the formation process and the conflicts
71 in the preservation of the urban industrial heritage in Campinas -SP. And nowadays who wants to remember?
72 Who needs historical memory -the uprooted, the immigrant, the history-less. The one whose life had the meaning
73 of the duration of time taken away, of the after-life endurance. The one that lives the lack of history, such as need
74 and deprivation. Who? The elders and the young. The ones that do not have left whom to leave the fragment's
75 memories, therefore, meaningless. These, because they don't have what to inherit? Both doomed. One, to the
76 task that, in the end of the life, looks meaningless (the fruits of the labor are out of their hands and of their
77 lives; they are somewhere else). The remaining memory is not of the construction: it is of the products, as it
78 would say Lefebvre, of the tools, of the streets and of circulation paths. The other, doomed to the emptiness of
79 the lack of a job, of a place, of perspective remaining and prematurely excluded (MARTINS, 1992, p.17).

80 For whom to preserve? Is it a question that implies to enquire what is the local communities' involvement in
81 the preservation and what use do they do of the cultural heritage? In national scale, where it really happens
82 a "heritage democratization" or is it about more of the political decentralization and its fragmentation in new
83 heritage specialization? In what way listing representative properties of the industrial heritage has insured the
84 preservation of the memory of the workers? Having seen the current heritage models, is it possible to accomplish
85 the preservation without promoting the gentrification 1 Before going any further, it is necessary to understand that
86 the production of the social space regardless of the preservation policies, but, without a doubt, by them influenced
87 -, is marked by the renovations and permanence that express the dialectic of the processes among society and
88 space. In such perspective, the space-social distinctions and of the affected areas? 1 The gentrification process
89 promotes the "nobility" and the revaluation of the old urban areas. According to Smith (2007), the central urban
90 areas have transformed themselves in the last "frontier" of the urban economic restructuring, after decades of
91 metropolitan dispersion, the old urban centers have become urban experimentation laboratories. The notion of
92 frontier sends back to the capitalism advance primitive conditions over the wild areas of the West. In this way,
93 the construction of a new ideological plan, produced by the mainstream press, serves to justify the violence of
94 the interventions in the "historical" and "degraded" urban areas.

95 inequalities (the places) are the product (and the ways) of everyday practices, bounded to the labor and
96 leisure, which are permeated of symbolic references that compound the identity of the social groups. These
97 groups, however, are space production agents and, therefore, of the materiality and of the memory of the cities
98 (CARLOS, 2007).

99 Before this assumption, at least two views are imposed: one associated to the political economy of the city,
100 and another to the extent of the social memory and of the accumulated cultural heritage. The first contains the
101 games of the market forces and is associated to the action or omission from the government. The second may
102 be either inherited from the past or projected in the future. In this way, the urban landscape may or not be
103 preserved, as it may as well be constructed with a given symbolic function. (SANTOS, [1987] 2002).

104 In this way, we understand that the preservation of the heritage is disposed in a constant tension between the
105 social right and the social space increase in value dynamics, a deadlock immerse in contradictions.

106 The historian Madeleine Reberioux (1992), coming from the perspective that seeks to establish relations
107 between place and memory, dedicates herself to purpose a history reading from the outlook of workers, women,
108 farmers, immigrants, in the end, a history reading focused on the social groups that were threatened of extinction
109 by the intensified transformations of the 1970's. In her perspective, the worker memory places would condensate
110 the "scientific and technical culture, industrial and worker cultural heritage. In the end, it is where they occupy
111 in their imaginary and what such place, such memory, can teach us" (REBERIOUX, 1992, 49-50) 2 2 The author
112 purposed a classification of the places with worker memory, which are: the "worker solidarity places" (coffee
113 shops, bars, worker associations, unions); "working places" (workshop, factory, plant); and the "symbolical
114 places", "made symbolical by the will of winning the oblivion in which drowns not only the worker daily life, but
115 as well as the struggle of the dominated" (REBERIOUX, 1992, p. 53).

116 . The memory places would reveal, according to the author, the contradictions between pressure and resistance,
117 exploration and solidarity, hierarchy and insurrection contained in the direct relation between labor and capital.
118 The author seeks to highlight the militant aspect of the worker memory places, she does, however, state: "It
119 happens that there is only a proletarian past, when it is shared", what makes them interesting "is its presence
120 in the worker memory, is what the interrogated workers tell us about it. In sum, it is the place that they occupy
121 in their imaginary" (REBERIOUX, 1992, p. 49-50).

122 Simone Scifoni (2013, p. 5), when operationalizing the notion of worker memory places, argues:

123 In sum, comprehending the memory place from the outlook of the geographical analysis means to dialectically
124 articulate the next order/distant order, the place/worldwide, the greatness/misery of the daily life, the
125 individual/collective memory and, in the end, the voluntary and involuntary memory 3 It seems clear to us
126 that the numerous studies about the history of urban growth and of the worker villages in São Paulo, as well as
127 the inventories that deal with different architectures typologies of the factories and old inactive industrial spaces,
128 indicate a great advance in technical and theoretical terms . The notion of worker memory places in a direct
129 and indirect way, made their way to the current conceptions of heritage contributing with the conception of the
130 industrial heritage. Taken as the documents of the labor world and of the industrial production, they would
131 be in the same time representatives of the world architecture of the power and the struggles against the power
132 (REBERIOUX, 1992; SCIFONI, 2013). In this way, there is the notion of memory place important contribution,
133 for it seeks to overcome the material and immaterial duality, in the way that it operates the symbolical and the
134 functional, the memory and their social uses. 4 In this way, according to Jeudy (2005), this old about to fade
135 away have transformed itself into a living treasure, which activated a memory duty moved by a certain "heritage
136 fetish". The author highlights that the creation of industrial museums would also be marked by the progressive
137 scenario creation and the emptying of the industrial heritage content . These important studies are subsidies for
138 the seal of cultural wealth connected to the world of the industry and the labor.

139 Beatriz M. Kühl (2010), in national extent, signs how much the studies related to the industrial archeology and
140 to the industrial heritage were poor when related to the theoretical aspects of restoring. According to Rodrigues
141 (2012), in practical terms, it is about, in the end, of a hard dislocation of the exceptionality for the daily life, which
142 involves, once again, through our scope, questions related to the political economy of the city. To this author,
143 the success of the cultural heritage would come from the commercialization of certain culture aspects, process
144 that became generalized throughout the world. In his words (JEUDY, 2005, p.26), "The weapon of the heritage
145 flows through itself a universal humanist form that allows the government to attain the general assent" 6 Harvey
146 (2006) gives us some clues upon the contradictions in the current period when he mentions the importance of
147 the symbolic capitalism and the local cultures while important factors of space distinction to attract investments
148 . 7 . For Harvey, it is a new period, in which the urban governance and entrepreneurship would value from
149 cultural aspects to investments attraction, specially related to the "new economy", to tourism and to the cultural
150 consumption 8 In other words, it is about the denial of the heritage while space consumption and not the ways
151 to accomplish citizenship. The notion of vindictiveness brings us other dimensions of the patrimonialization. It
152 is understood from the idea of the retake of a threatened territory, starting from the idealization of the public
153 spaces, by a supposed degradation. In this way, "the patrimonialization marks spaces", "segregates users", .

154 **3 Volume XX Issue IX Version I**

155 **4 In**

156 Costa's (2008) interpretation, the patrimonialization is the condition and the product of a "dialectic of destructive
157 construction of the heritage", because it is about a "political action that subverts the 'spontaneous' preservation
158 of the space and of the social relations when transforming the cultural heritage in a 'cultural industry potential
159 product', that has the power to banalize by the progressive scenario creation" (COSTA, 2008, p. 162). Costa
160 and Scarlato (2009, p. 25-26) synthesize: "We cannot separate the consecration of the heritage from the 'space
161 evaluation' from the 'environmental evaluation' and from the 'territory formation'". 6 In the way attributed by
162 Henry-Pierre Jeudy (2005), the patrimonialization produces a ratification of the social space when reproducing
163 contradictory interests in the name of the right of memory. For Jeudy, the patrimonialization is a way for
164 the production of the esthetic image of the city, where the spectacularization would be the positive face of the
165 heritage preservation. On the other hand, by making such heritage attractive and desirable through the so called
166 revitalization policies, the expulsion of the local populations would end in the disappearing of the "living aspect of

167 the city", driving towards the petrification of the cities or turning them into museums. 7 Harvey (2006) analyzes
168 the production of the new "monopoly rents" that are attained by the uneven geographical development, opposed
169 to the homogenization promoted by the capital. The author mentions the cases of Barcelona, Rome, Berlin,
170 among others, where the election of the symbolic capital emerged among conflicts for the space appropriation.
171 8 In the Latin American countries, this process started on the early 1990s. And it seems like, again, was up to
172 us the incorporation of external models, that were transported to a social context in which the more immediate
173 demands, such as living, accessibility, security, culture, are still to be attended to. ("expels undesirable residents".
174 Such retake, in the name of preservation, does not stop the social classes removed from these areas to return
175 (process of counter vindictiveness), overall in virtue of the lack of continuity of the public policies (LEITE;
176 PEIXOTO, 2009).

177 In this way, among ideological contradictions and cultural heritage practices, revealed at least partially, we
178 will approach a specific case of preservation of the so called industrial heritage 9 III. Conflicts in the Preservation
179 of the Urban Industrial Heritage in Campinas -SP .

180 According to Francisco (2008), the formation of a preservationist group in the city, the Yellow Fever
181 Preservationist Group, led by Antonio da Costa Santos 10 , Luiz Cláudio Bittencourt and Sérgio Portella, is
182 a big mark in relation to the heritage preservation of Campinas 11 . The group promoted a vigil and promoted
183 a symbolic hug around one of the first factories of Campinas, the Lidgerwood Manufacturing Co. 12 A little
184 earlier, with the initiative of fourteen people and under the leadership of the french Patrick Dollinger, the Brazilian
185 Association of Railway Preservation (Associação Brasileira de Preservação Ferroviária -ABPF) was created in
186 the year of 1977. Under the context of the highway culture, of the low investments on the railway section and
187 of the scrapping of the railway heritage, the ABPF managed to, together with FEPASA, a deactivated railway
188 branch to initiate activities of restoration of locomotives and abandoned , stopping the demolition of the building
189 that was scheduled in the road network restructuring project of downtown (the construction of a tunnel that
190 connects downtown to the Industrial Village), during the administration of the mayor José Roberto Magalhães
191 Teixeira (1983-1988). 9 Even if Unesco, through its letters and recommendations, insists in the fragmentation
192 and specialization of the concept of the cultural heritage, we utilize the concept of industrial heritage (or urban
193 industrial) in a critical way, which means, in a way of restoring the unity of the concept. 10 Antônio da
194 Costa Santos was known as ToninhofromPartido dos Trabalhadores -PT. In his trajectory as architect, university
195 professor, and politician, he was the founding member of the Yellow Fever Preservationist Group, which took
196 effective participation in the defense of the town's heritage, keeping a critical posture to the first actions of the
197 CONDEPACC. Toninho was elected mayor in Campinas in the year of 2001 and was murdered months after
198 that. In his administration as a mayor, elaborated a rehabilitation plan of the heritage for the central area of
199 Campinas, that was not put into operation, but served to the succeeding projects. 11 The actions of the Yellow
200 Fever started in the end of the 1970's. The group produced the first inventory in the city and requested the first
201 registrations of value to the community protections to the state council of preservation, the CONDEPHAAAT.
202 12 In 1990, the building was registered as value to the community by the CONDEPACC, municipal organ of
203 preservation, and, after restoration, shelters the City Museum.

204 wagons. A heroic history, made with scarce resources and a lot of willpower of old employees and railway
205 enthusiasts. Aggregated efforts that culminated in the creation of the railway museum "ViaçãoFérrea Campinas-
206 Jaguariúna" in 1984 13 The CONDEPHAAAT, state organ of cultural heritage preservation, listed the railway
207 station of Campinas as a heritage site in the year of 1987 It is worth to highlight that the delimitation of the
208 Historical Center by the CONDEPACC, in 1991, was heavily criticized by members of the Yellow Fever Group,
209 because, according to opinions of their members printed in newspapers of the time, it did not correspond to
210 the historical phases of the city. In Francisco's (2008) interpretation, initially, the actions conducted by the
211 preservationist organ had a more punctual and emergency character, considering the risk of vanishing and
212 disfigurement of cultural property in the city. The intense rhythm of the urban growth of Campinas and the
213 pressure of the real estate speculators, in special in the center area of the town, demanded emergency measures
214 from the CONDEPACC. 14 . However with the privatization of the company in the 1990's, the discharge
215 warehouses, the workshops, the offices that served to the maintenance of the trains and of the railroad ended up
216 abandoned, leading to the deterioration of the constructions. 15 13 Besides influencing the railway preservation
217 in national scale, the big success of the ABPF was to manage to keep in activity a stretch of approximately
218 20 km between Campinas and Jaguariúna. Stretch that carries part of the coffee history, the railways and
219 beginning of the industrialization of Campinas. Cultural heritage that was rescued by the initiative and will of
220 the population. Visit: <http://www.abpf.org.br/> 14 The former station of the Paulista Company of Railroads is
221 part of a big railway complex that served as maneuver patio and sheltered diverse warehouses destined to the
222 railway maintenance workshop. The train station for passengers that worked until the year of 2001 was built
223 in the end of the century in the "Gothic-Victorian style, according to the British architecture standards", and
224 served as stop between Campinas and Jundiaí, and Campinas and the São Paulo State countryside. (According
225 to Resolution 9 of 82/4/15 of the CONDEPHAAAT).

226 . 15 Despite of listing the station and the complex as heritage sites, in very short time they would become
227 shelter of homeless, junk pickers, walkers, punks, drug addicts, etc. The entire railway complex of Campinas was
228 listed as heritage site by the Council of Defense of the Cultural Heritage of Campinas -CONDEPACC, in the

229 year of 1990 (according to the resolution 004/90 of 1990/11/27). Afterwards, a series of other complementary
230 listings, based on inventory and

231 The station reform, occurred in the year of 2003, allowed that the station gained new functions. Currently, the
232 Culture Station is the house of the Culture Secretary and shelters a professional forming center; has classes that
233 provide arts, music, dancing courses, etc. Beyond that, the space became the stage of shows and cultural events
234 in Campinas 16 However, the relative success in the preservation of the Culture Station and other mentioned
235 properties contrasts with the conflicts for the preservation of their immediate surroundings. Even the recovered
236 warehouses, that did not get a function, are deteriorating once again. On the top of all, listing the worker
237 homes in the Industrial Village neighborhood . According to the analysis of Paes-Luchiari (2006, p. 57), the
238 mentioned Culture Station, the 13 de Maio Street, the Palace of Tiles and the Cathedral, the defining marks of
239 the "historical center", worked as the "flag ship" of the revitalization of the center of Campinas. 17 as heritage
240 sites are considered fragmented initiatives and shortly contributed to the properties conservation 18 Figure 1 is
241 a synthesis of the current state of conservation of part of the architecture heritage of the Industrial Village.

242 . Listing the villages as heritage sites did not stop that some specimens become ruins or demolished. requests
243 from the technical organ of the Council of municipal preservation, were made. 16 As an example, in the Culture
244 Station, occurred in the year of 2011 the Campinas DECOR -event about architecture and design -and the
245 Cultural Turn Over in the years of 2008, 2013, 2015. 17 The Industrial Village neighborhood, the first industrial
246 worker neighborhood of Campinas, was formed in the back of the Railway Station of the city, in the surroundings
247 of two cemeteries, next to the Lazareto dos Morféticos and of the Hospital dos Variolos, of the Matadouro
248 Municipal and of the complex named Imigração. Since the end of the XIX century, the neighborhood has grown
249 as the place that would shelter the workers of the railway, industries and tanneries in a place considered an
250 unhealthy suburb of the town. According to our reading of the cartographic plants of the city, the installments of
251 these "urban equipment" in the far areas of the city already signed the production interests of a segregated city.
252 Later on, in this location to the south of the railway, other worker neighborhoods would raise: Fundão, Ponte
253 Preta, São Bernardo, Parque Industrial, among others. (See annex). 18 The opening of a listing process for the
254 Manoel Dias Village and the Manoel Freire Village (complexes of around 50 Gemini houses) in the year of 1985
255 by the CONDEPHAAT intensified the conflicts for the properties preservation. The villages had their demolition
256 decreed in a newspaper article and, despite of the emergency character of listing request, in 1990, the process was
257 still not defined. Due to the long time for the decision, the municipal council of preservation, CONDEPACC,
258 opened a listing process to the villages. According to the listing of the architecture complexes as heritage sites,
259 it is indicated the "recuperation and revitalization of the surrounds area of the complex", but nothing is said
260 about the existing utilization 19 . In this way, the relatively low rate cost of the real estate in the surrounding
261 area of the railway complex (which includes the popular center, the Industrial Village, Bonfim and Botafogo)
262 attracts a low budget population that finds in them economical advantage and the possibility of gazing upon the
263 proximity of the central area. 1797, 1842, 1878, 1900, 1916 and 1929. Map 2: Campinas: urban area formation
264 (1797-1929) These are important data, since we consider the hypothesis that is through the continuity of the use
265 that we manage to preserve the heritage. The maintenance performed by the local residents is what ensures to
266 the houses its current conditions. The exchange of the tiles and roof are the objective way to the preservation of
267 the listed properties. The new residents, northeastern migrants and their children, which nowadays inhabit the
268 houses of almost a century old, mended and anchored the walls, switched doors and windows, raised bathrooms
269 and knocked out walls, in order to guarantee the minimum dignity and well-being conditions.

270 5 Volume XX Issue IX Version I

271 In such scenery, about the listed complexes in the Industrial Village, we may name: the Architecture Complex
272 Industrial Village, located in the margin of the Railway Complex; the Alferes Raimundo Street Complex; the
273 Manoel Dias Village, the buildings of the called Immigration (and dozens of other real estates of historical value
274 not listed) present themselves relatively conserved, because; in them, the continuity of the use ensured their
275 current conditions.

276 However, in the year of 1995, there was the interdiction of the houses in the Manoel Freire Village (one of the
277 listed complexes in the Industrial Village neighborhood) by the Urbanism Department of the city ??0 Despite of
278 the listing study, there was the noncompliance to the law by the government, which demolished properties that
279 were under protection. What we realize in field is that there was the restoration of a few real estates of the old
280 demolished railway village, . The residents were removed from their houses due to the risk of landslides and for
281 the installation of a cultural center. The houses went through a long deterioration period, because they were
282 abandoned and suffered with invasions and depredations. Here, we have an example, despite of the controversial,
283 that it is through its use that the preservation of the heritage occurs; because the emptiness of the houses led to
284 the ruin of the listed village.

285 The destruction of the Riza Village, railway village located in the interior of the Railway Complex, is another
286 relevant case. The Riza Village, built in the 1940's, was demolished to give place to the new bus station and
287 urban terminal of the city, the Campinas Multimodal Terminal, completed in 2008. Five constructions were kept
288 and recovered to shelter services and commerce. According to the government speech in the printed newspapers,
289 the action was part of an urban revitalization of the area process.

290 but the same, without new function, were depreciated and are deteriorating once again. Besides that,

291 the relative isolation of the worker and railway villages, towards the urban surroundings, associated to the
292 stigmatization of the area, still impose limits of visibility and recognition of the heritage ??1 Recently, the
293 municipal preservation council, CONDEPACC, listed 33 railway heritage representative properties as heritage
294 sites in Campinas . A closer watch may find the railway houses inside the new bus station, but what do they
295 represent with their doors and windows closed? Our analysis of the conflicts for the preservation of the industrial
296 heritage serves to reveal the dispute for the production and appropriation of the spaces, from the material and
297 the symbolic viewpoint. ??2 . They are constructions, machinery, locomotives, wagons that are part of the
298 railway complex mentioned. According to the council resolution, in the polygon of the area now called "Railway
299 Cultural Park", was considered the old Lidgerwood factory (City Museum), but strangely the square in front to
300 the "park" or the listed villages that compound its surroundings are not mentioned, and that are part of the
301 same historical context of the city urbanization ??3 We verified that a few punctual acts are being implemented
302 by the government, but in a fragmented way.

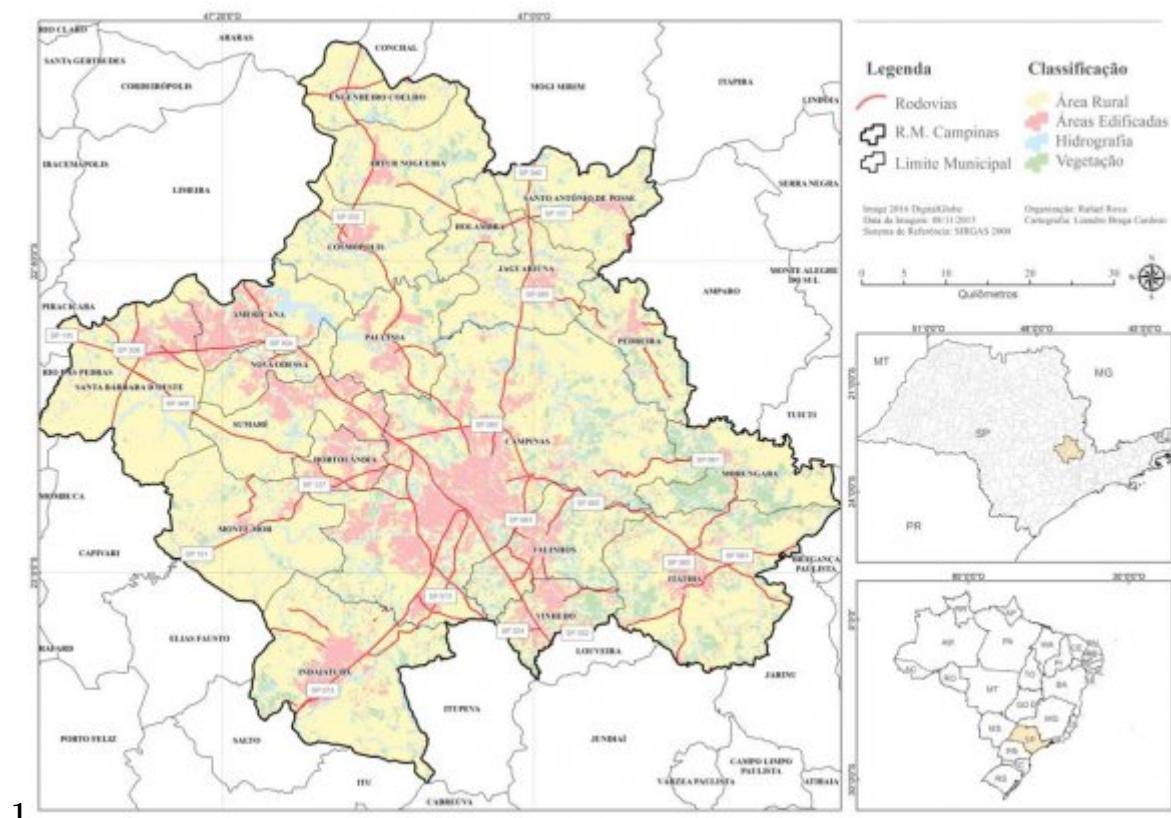
303 For illustration purposes, the "square reurbanization", that, besides their positive aspect for the residents of
304 the listed properties, it seemed to contribute even more to the increase in value of the new real estate ventures in
305 the surroundings. Besides that, associated to such practices, we had the implementation of the "Zero Tolerance"
306 program, which, since 2009, increased the police and the repression in the area. In a way that the appropriation
307 of the historical area by the poor antagonizes with the image that they seek to print of the city . 24 ??1 In
308 interview with the former residents of the Riza Village, we came to know that the privatizations of the railway
309 in the 1990's and the mass dismissals contributed for the real estate deterioration, because, beyond the exit of
310 the residents that gave their houses to relatives, many stopped receiving aid in the buildings maintenance. The
311 impoverishment of the residents put them in a vulnerability state. Despite the increase of the police repression
312 in the central neighborhoods, the area continue to be a way of surviving to the low budget population, beggars
313 and local real estate for the poor, travelers and migrants. ??2 According to the listing as heritage siteresolution
314 n° 129 of 2014 June, 12th. ??3 According to rectification of the resolution n° 130 of 2014 June, 12th, published
315 in the Official Diary of the city in 2014 June, 16th. ??4 The extensive area of the complex and its surroundings
316 generates expectations of the real estate and transport sectors. The restrictions of the listings generate disputes
317 and divide opinions. The projects of the High Speed Train -TAV Brazil and of the Intermetropolitan Train
318 predict the utilization of the complex space, but not before new expropriations.

319 . While the ennoblement redefines the social significance of a place specifically historical for a segment of the
320 real estate market, the decentralization redefines the real estate market in terms of a somewhere sense (ZUKIN,
321 1996, p. 209, highlights in the original).

322 In this way, the Complementary Law n° 2010 January 30th, created the Special Area of Reurbanization of the
323 Multimodal Terminal Surroundings of Campinas -AERTM ??5 It seems evident that the city projected by the
324 government is priority over the real city, practiced by the low. Overall, because the government and the local
325 press stigmatized the whole area, ignoring its origin and the multiplicity of uses in the area. The government
326 makes use of the speech of the heritage preservation according convenient interests, including the execution of
327 demolitions . The law predicts the restructuring of old warehouses of the railway complex, the reurbanization of
328 extensive living areas, besides promoting the removals of junk pickers and slums of the central region (Industrial
329 Village, Bonfim and Botafoogo neighborhoods).

330 **6 26**

331 The difficulties in the preservation of private properties also stop in the right of property that makes direct actions
332 over the listed properties difficult. The neglect of real estate owners that are listed as heritage sites demands that
333 the questions are resolved in other juridical stances. The preservation council possess the capability of surround
334 prescriptively the properties so they accomplish their cultural role towards the society, but have no power upon
335 the destination that the owner gives to his property. Beyond that, with the lack of information and non interest
336 of the owners, there were no requests of exemption of taxes, nor the request for the transference of constructive
337 potential of the real estates listed as heritage sites. The same may be . Still, the municipal council of preservation
338 itself seems to reproduce this fragmentation, either by the institution of listing only in urgency character, or in
339 the delimitation of the railway park without considering the worker villages. In this way, the train station has
340 been reopened to the city, but the Industrial Village continues separated by the walls of the railway complex.



1

Figure 1: Map 1 :



Figure 2: .

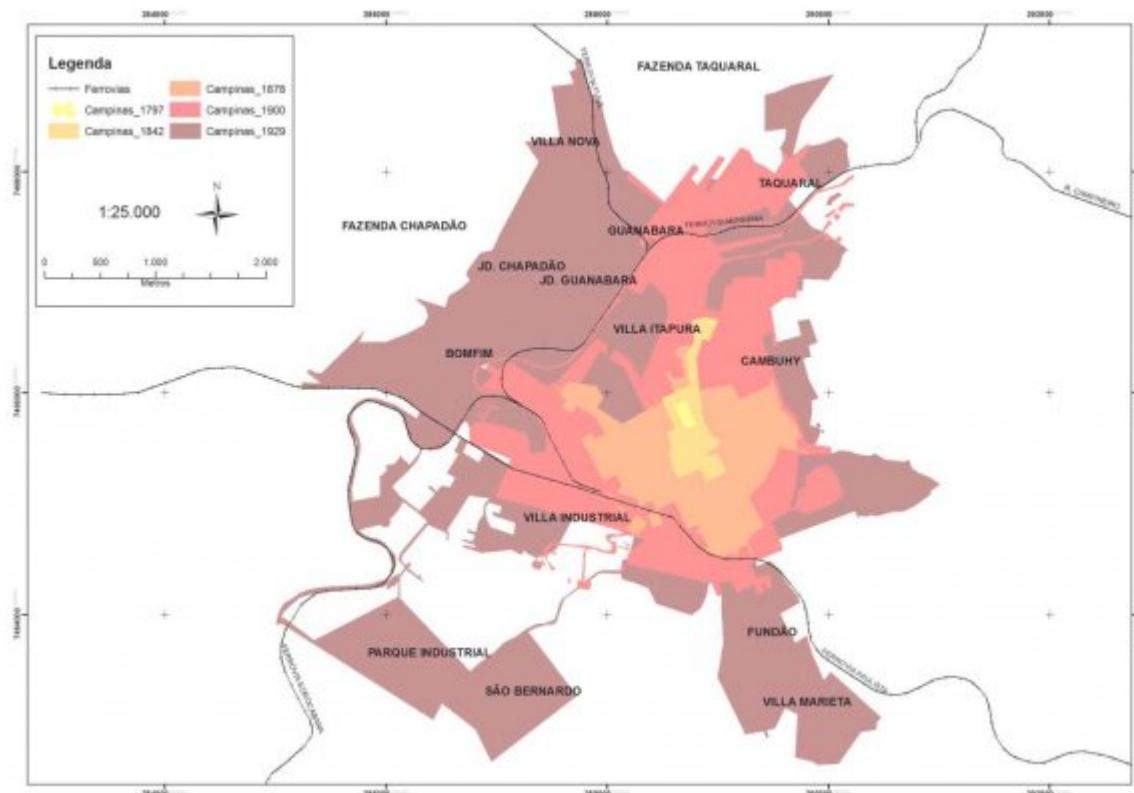


Figure 3:

Figure 4:

341 For the residents of the neighborhood, the railway complex is still an enclave that isolates and brings down the
342 value of the neighborhood. ^{1 2 3 4 5 6}

¹.Preserve for Whom? The Contradictions in the Preservation of the Urban-Industrial Heritage in Campinas (SP)

²In her proposal, defines: the places of worker struggle, the places of worker living, the work places, and the places of the daily life, looking to apply them to São Paulo reality.⁴ According to our analysis of content articles in the Anais do VI Colóquio Latino Americano about Recuperation and Preservation of the Industrial Heritage, promoted by the Brazilian Committee for the Preservation of the Industrial Heritage -TICCIHBrazil in 2012.⁵ The author analyzed the patrimonialization of cultural wealth associated to the textile worker world in Europe. The author speaks about the presence of the so called Ecomuseums, which recreated textile and mining environments. In these places, in the amusement park style, machines and robots would scene the old industrial working conditions.

³The listing resolution of the complex predicted that the surrounding area "should go through a process of recuperation, revitalization and visual planning, to allow its recognition and ambiance towards the central railway complex of FEPASA and the old Lidgerwood factory". The listing of the FEPASA Railway Complex as a heritage site in the year of 1990 defined a vast surrounding area -which included part of the Industrial Village neighborhood and of the historical area that grew in the surrounding of the train station. The surrounding area indicates the preservation of architecture specimens of the period between 1872 to 1929 considering the importance of the "historical context of the listed property". In the following years, other listings were placed. Since 2010, the municipal government instituted in this area the Multimodal Terminal Reurbanization Area -AERTM.Preserve for Whom? The Contradictions in the Preservation of the Urban-Industrial Heritage in Campinas (SP)© 2020 Global Journals

⁴Three projects were created for the Manoel Freire Village, but the misunderstanding between the heir owners, residents, entrepreneurs and investors stopped the success of the projects.

⁵© 2020 Global Journals

⁶The AERTM, is in the borders between the historical center and the railway complex, it is an area of the city that developed associated to the coffee cycle economy, starting in the XIX century, and nowadays is the most popular area of the Campinas center, possessing dozens of real estates listed as heritage sites.²⁶ Listing properties as heritage sites is as important as the other rules to discipline the transformations of the space (Director Plan of the City and the Zoning Law that indicate, among others, the possible uses,

343 .1 Year 2020

344 Year 2020 affirmed in regard to the penalties applied to the owners, because they were ignored and are accumulated
345 awaiting a judicial decision.

346 IV.

347 .2 Final Considerations

348 At each historical moment, each piece of the town evolves differently, being the historical center, for its persistence
349 as central spot, the space of the continuous changes and sometimes brutal changes of value.

350 The individual praxis reveals the impossibility of some to stay in the valued land, the incapacity for others to
351 leave the depreciated places. In this context, the comfort migrations are registered, the relaxed neighborhoods
352 being deserted by the more prosperous layers. What is left of history is much more the result of such individual
353 praxis inserted in a changing political economy; and much less the fruit of an official deliberation explicit in laws,
354 decrees, bearers (SANTOS, [1987] 2002, p. 24).

355 In different scales, the restructuring of the economic system and of the cities promoted new functions and
356 different appropriation ways of heritage accumulated by the societies. Meneses (1992; 2012), when discoursing
357 about the different kinds of value attributed to culture, points to the possibility of the preservation not becoming
358 excluding in its goals, as a way of the citizen to retake of the urban space.

359 The of the heritage, in this way, goes through a theoretical posture that finds a balance among distinct
360 values of the cultural heritage and their potential social uses. Evaluation that depends on the recognition that
361 the distinction of the cultural heritage in the categories historical, architecture, natural, intangible, mixed, etc.
362 occurs only in the analytical plan. In the lived plan it is right that all immaterial heritage, the "knowhow" the
363 "traditions", the individual and collective "memory", occurs over an appropriated territory for a given group or
364 class. The opposite is also true, since all material heritage, either a "cultural property" or a "natural property",
365 already possess a symbolic function and determined use by the social space structure.

366 In this way, beyond the listings, the inventories, the refunctionalization and the restoration techniques, we
367 should think about the relation between local society and cultural heritage. In the case of the industrial heritage,
368 is up to us to reflect what is the time space relation between the slums and the worker villages in the past
369 and the favelas and the closed allotments in the present, in the end, the relationship between the "center" and
370 the "outskirts" of the cities and how this relationship is rebuilt inside the urbanism and the Latin American
371 urbanization.

372 In front of this perspective, it is necessary to consider, even if it seems banal, that the cultural heritage occurs
373 in somewhere, a lived space, possessing, then, a "territory" that is used and appropriated by a social group, in
374 order to ensure that the emotional and pragmatical values (the usage values), are also ensured.

375 In a radical perspective, Monett (1996, p. 228) alerts that:

376 Acting in defense of the heritage is abusive power, legitimated by a myth. To abandon this reference would
377 lead the actors involved to found the urbanistic act in the old neighborhoods in demands and practices, exercising
378 their responsibilities in the administration of the contradictions not of the 'absolute' that hides the contradictions
379 and frees the 'responsible' of their responsibility.

380 In this case, we agree with the author, because listing worker houses as heritage sites seems insufficient,
381 especially when it is not followed by a public inter sectoral policy.

382 It seems to us that, besides the hard critics to the patrimonialization, we are still far from breaking with
383 the paradigm of the spectacle creation of the heritage for tourism and for cultural consumption. Despite of the
384 practical advances, we are still far of including the local communities in the benefits of the patrimonialization,
385 either in the rescue of the collective memory, or in protecting them of the risk of losing their identities.

386 Despite of that, by our optic, we believe that it is possible to bond preservation and urban restructuring, as
387 long as the basic aspects are respected, as suggested by Santos ([1987] 2002), being either the historical character
388 of the cities, the modernity demands or the resident rights.

389 [Diferenciação Socioespacial and Cidades] , Diferenciação Socioespacial , Cidades . 46 p. .

390 [Revista do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional. N°] , Revista do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Na-
391 cional. N° 24 p. .

392 [Carlos and Fani Alessandri ()] , Ana Carlos , Fani Alessandri . 2007.

393 [Costa and Batista Da ()] A dialética da construção destrutiva na consagração do Patrimônio Mundial, Everaldo
394 Costa , Batista Da . 2008. Rio Claro/SPI, Brasil -ano VIII. (OLAM -Ciência e Tecnologia)

395 [Bertinato and Valim ()] A história da preservação do patrimônio cultural em Campinas. Dissertação de Mestrado
396 em História, Wania Lucy Bertinato , Valim . 2012. Universidade Estadual de Campinas -Instituto de Filosofia
397 e Ciências Humanas. Campinas

398 [Rodrigues ()] 'A patrimonialização do cotidiano: desafio para as políticas públicas'. Fernanda Rodrigues . Revista
399 RUA 2012. 18.

400 [_____ ()] A reinvenção do patrimônio arquitetônico no consumo das cidades. GEOUSP -Espaço e
401 tempo, _____. 2005. São Paulo. 17 p. .

402 [Costa et al. ()] *As fases da reprodução do patrimônio cultural brasileiro: interpretação e valoração da paisagem*
403 *urbana da gênese colonial à mercantilização das cidades históricas no Brasil. OLAM -Ciéncia e Tecnologia,*
404 *Everaldo Costa , ; Batista Da , Francisco Scarlato , Capuano . 2009. Rio Claro/SPI, Brasil -ano IX. (v. 9,*
405 *n.1)*

406 [Smith ()] 'Gentrificação, a fronteira e a reestruturação do espaço urbano'. Neil Smith . *GEOUSP -Espaço e*
407 *Tempo* 2007. p. .

408 [Francisco and De Cássia ()] 'Inventário como ferramenta de preservação: a experiência da cidade de Camp-
409 *inas/SP'. Rita Francisco , De Cássia . Revista CPC. São Paulo* 2008. (6) p. .

410 [Kühl ()] Beatriz M Kühl . *Patrimônio industrial: algumas questões em aberto. USJT -ARQ.URBnúmero 3,*
411 *2010.*

412 [Scifoni ()] *Lugares de memória operária na metrópole paulista. GEOUSP -espaço e tempo*, Simone Scifoni . 2013.
413 p. 33.

414 [Meneses and Toledo Bezerra ()] Ulpiano Meneses , Toledo Bezerra . *O direito à memória: patrimônio histórico*
415 *e cidadania, (São Paulo) 1992. DPH.*

416 [Santos ()] 'Modernidade e memória'. Milton Santos . *O país distorcido: o Brasil*, (São Paulo) 2002. Publifolha.

417 [_____ ()] 'O campo do patrimônio cultural: uma revisão de premissas. I Fórum Nacional de Patrimônio
418 Cultural'. _____ . *Conferência Magna. IPHAN* 2009.

419 [Jeudy ()] *O espelho das cidades*, Henry-Pierre Jeudy . 2005. Rio de Janeiro: Casa da palavra.

420 [Monnet (ed.) ()] *O álibi do patrimônio: a crise da cidade, gestão urbana, nostalgia do passado*, Jérôme Monnet
421 . ARANTES, Antonio Augusto (ed.) 1996.

422 [Reberioux ()] 'Os lugares de memória operária'. Madaleine Reberioux . *O direito à memória: patrimônio*
423 *histórico e cidadania, (São Paulo) 1992. DPH.*

424 [Zukin ()] 'Paisagens urbanas pósmodernas: mapeando culturas e poder'. Sharon Zukin . ARANTES, Antonio
425 *Augusto (org.). Revista do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional. N° 1996. 24 p. .*

426 [Paes-Luchiari and Duarte ()] *Patrimônio cultural: uso público e privatização do espaço urbano*, Maria Tereza
427 *Paes-Luchiari , Duarte . 2006. Geografia, Rio Claro. p. 47. (60 jan./abr)*

428 [Leite et al. ()] 'Políticas urbanas de patrimonialização e contrarrevanchismo: o Recife Antigo e a Zona Histórica
429 *da Cidade do Porto'. Rogério Leite , ; Proença Leite , Paulo Peixoto . Cadernos da Metrópole* 2009. 21 p. .

430 [Martins and De Souza ()] *Vida cotidiana e história no subúrbio de São Paulo: São Caetano do fim do Império*
431 *ao fim da República Velha*, José Martins , De Souza . 1992. São Paulo: Hucitec. (Subúrbio)