

The Cultural Heritage of Small and Medium- Size Cities: A New Approach to Metropolitan Transformation in São Paulo, Brazil

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In response to the recent transformation of small and medium-size cities in the Metropolitan Region of Campinas, this article proposes a new theoretical and methodological approach to the preservation of cultural heritage in the state of São Paulo in Brazil. Given the interconnected nature of heritage sites in these cities, it is necessary to analyze all historic, structural and dynamic elements that characterize their territories. The approach thus presupposes a cross-scale analysis of processes and policies at a regional level. The objective is to elaborate concepts and methodologies that may be used to define and select heritage sites identified as “diachronic” and “dispersed.”

This article attempts to articulate a new theoretical and methodological approach to the preservation of cultural heritage in the Metropolitan Region of Campinas (MRC) in Brazil.¹ The MRC constitutes a significant set of cities in São Paulo state. In recent years, processes of urban transformation have greatly affected small and medium-size cities in the area. In part, this has been a consequence of economic growth, as national and international companies have established new facilities there. Technology companies, in particular, have been attracted by Campinas’s many research centers and universities. But the area also has a history of major investment in the petrochemical, agricultural, manufacturing, and service sectors.

Considering the broad, ongoing effect of urban transformation, the research sought to collect comprehensive historical, technical, empirical and socio-spatial data on the cultural heritage of the region. Its goal was to constitute a thorough understanding of its culture without defining a priori a new set of heritage or preservation parameters. Such an

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effort was not meant to ignore the previous seventy years of research and theory on historical preservation in Brazil. On the contrary, the challenge was to update these discussions to reflect pending or new issues.

Since the 1990s, and since the promulgation of a new constitution in 1988, urban territories in Brazil have changed significantly. In part this reflects a new autonomy with respect to local development. The pace of change has been most rapid in the country's metropolitan regions, where it has especially affected medium-sized cities. Here, according to Moura, change (as an extension of larger patterns of Latin American metropolization) has been characterized by "spatial arrangements in constant expansion"; "changes in the urban morphology supported by the predominance of cars and information technology, with territorial expansion of the field of metropolitan externalities"; and the development of distinct and distant locations for residence and work.²

This article is not primarily concerned with developing the underlying concept of "a new phase of capitalist modernization," which has been elaborated by others.³ Nor is it primarily concerned with the role of small and medium-size cities in facilitating this new condition — despite the fact that their development is in many ways inseparable from it.⁴ Rather, it is concerned with understanding the effect of the new economic regime on the values attributed to local heritage sites and assets and to related issues of memory and identity. This meant recognizing that existing literature on heritage preservation offers an inadequate or incomplete reading of territorial concerns. Evaluative criteria and implementation instruments have to date largely been based on a conception of heritage limited to individual buildings; to groups of buildings, spaces, and their surroundings (or frames); or to the protection of "historical" cities, whose management has been separated from more general concerns about the formation of urban territories.

Toward this end, the research sought to incorporate areas of knowledge related to urbanism and architecture, such as archaeology, geography, sociology and economics. These related disciplines provide a theoretical frame broad enough to identify aspects of built heritage not normally detected by traditional safeguarding practices (inventories), or even by literature dedicated to preservation (heritage letters and documents).

This expanded focus allowed the identification of several new concerns with regard to heritage preservation. Among these is the importance of combining identification, appraisal and management tasks across contexts — since issues related to the identity and authenticity of heritage frequently imply connections between cultural elements that are present in more than one city, yet that are derived from the same cultural, political and legal conditions. It includes the identification of means of action and intervention over a larger territory through instruments created by multiple management bodies rather than single municipalities. It involves developing new appraisal criteria that facilitate the participation of different agents, and that broaden concepts — from preserving

"heritage surroundings" to identifying "cultural territories." Finally, it involves a need to adopt or create new methods of preservation derived from a critical analysis of traditional instruments of heritage identification, appreciation and management. The primary issue here is that the existing instruments have usually been developed for big cities and capitals and may not be applicable to small and medium-size ones.

THE METROPOLITAN REGION OF CAMPINAS

As the historic nucleus of coffee production in São Paulo state, the region around the city of Campinas inherited a legacy of agricultural dynamism, transportation infrastructure, and urban quality. This condition was emphasized by the opening of the Anhanguera Highway during the 1950s and the Bandeirantes Highway at the end of the 1970s.

In terms of population, in the decade of the 1970s, 60 percent of the absolute growth of the present metropolitan population came from migration. In the following decade, this number stood at 48 percent; and from 1991 to 1996 it stood at 43 percent, a period during which the MRC received 83,884 migrants from other states. The intensity of this trend was such that, during the 1990s, migration represented 70 percent of absolute population growth in the municipalities of Artur Nogueira, Engenheiro Coelho, Holambra, and Pedreira.⁵

Historically, government policies played a major role in the development of the interior of São Paulo state. Among these, the industrial-development Programa de Metas (1956–1960) and the Proálcool ethanol initiative of the 1970s and 80s contributed greatly to the development of Campinas and its surroundings. Large public investments were also made in transportation infrastructure, communication facilities, and institutions supporting science and technology. This included government support for universities such as Unicamp, business and industrial centers such as the Paulínia refinery (Replan⁶), and technology initiatives such as the Center for Research and Development (CPQD⁷) and the Center for Information Technology Renato Archer (CTI⁸).

These investments in turn allowed the region to attract large private companies from outside and to expand its network of small and medium-size ones, intensifying the relationships with the agricultural and service sectors. Economic development has also brought new residents, who have largely been accommodated through urban sprawl, leading to the present conurbation along the major highway axes of Anhanguera, Santos-Dumont, Dom Pedro I, Campinas-Paulínia, and Campinas-Mogi-Mirim.

The recent development of the MRC has occurred within the main urban-industrial center of Brazil. Yet, according to Cano and Brandão, it has increased the complexity of urban centers in São Paulo state. Among its effects have been to generate peripheral processes that have led to new extremes of wealth and poverty, to diminish the strength of traditional urban centers, and to create a polynucleated urban system.⁹

These conditions have disrupted the territories of existing cities and endangered their built cultural heritage. This has included competition to attract new resources for economic growth, usually associated with the location of high-technology centers. It has meant the creation of urban marketing campaigns to overcome deficiencies in local infrastructure. And it has brought an increase in the value of land, especially at the perimeter of existing cities, which has led to a depletion of natural and environmental resources.

At the same time, opposing urban growth patterns have created a situation of uninterrupted spatial development. On the one hand, developed areas now extend out along major highways from the centers of existing municipalities, creating large conurbations. On the other, new urbanized areas have unfolded through the successive division of land at the periphery of such nuclei. This double movement has led to a pattern of gated residential and industrial communities, a loss of older rural means of production and living, the regionalization of activities, and a pattern of intense population movement along highway corridors. The main drivers of daily movement in the MRC are related to education (1,379,126 journeys) and work in the service sector (840,182 journeys). A typical morning or evening rush hour sees some 480,000 journeys, of which around 230,000 are work motivated and around 250,000 are related to education.¹⁰

New urban policies and instruments have also emerged since the end of the 1990s, including the mandating of municipal master plans. Such governance practices have established new roles for public and private agents in the construction and management of the territory. Recently, these initiatives have included applications to national and international agencies to help finance the development of central areas or new centralities to international standards; a recentralization of decision-making; a new pragmatism in procedures for public participation; and the transposition of competences among secretariats, departments, and municipalities to optimize financial resources.

THE INITIAL RESEARCH

Two cities in the Metropolitan Region of Campinas were initially chosen as case-study sites for the development of a new approach to heritage preservation in the area: Valinhos and Paulínia. Both cities have around 100,000 inhabitants, half of whom are nonnative (FIG. 1).

In both cities recent in-migration has induced new forms of identification with the city center and a dissolution of its particularity. Meanwhile, the rise of gated communities has created a new, confined way of life that has diluted the formation of communities. The dissolution of older social relationships has, for example, led to changes in the appropriation and use of public spaces. On the one hand, older spaces have lost significance to new sites of leisure such as shopping malls along the Dom Pedro I highway axis. On the



FIGURE 1. Territorial division of municipalities in the Metropolitan Region of Campinas, showing the eight recognized vectors of expansion. In light gray, the city of Campinas; in dark gray, Paulínia and Valinhos. Source: elaboration by the research group, 2012.

other, these spaces have acquired new functions as they have undergone displacement in relation to new axes of production and consumption.

These conditions are clearly evident in Valinhos. Because of its strategic location — 85 km. from São Paulo and 9 km. from Campinas, and cut through by both the Anhanguera and D. Pedro I highways — the city has undergone intense growth in the last three decades. This has been especially true with regard to the arrival of new industries.¹¹ The city center of Valinhos has also become a major crossroads, with young people congregating in and around malls and frequenting sites of “fast” consumption such as convenience stores, gas stations, and supermarkets. Meanwhile, the city’s older central squares, while still used, are occupied in a much more sequential manner — that is, without the previous pattern of interaction between different groups.

The city of Paulínia was also originally part of Campinas’s territory, and only became a separate municipality in 1964.¹² Nowadays, however, its local tax revenues are among the highest of any city in Brazil. This is because it has become an important industrial and petrochemical hub for Latin America. This and related development has contributed to the extension of its urban perimeter to include 99 percent of its territory. This territory was once part of a Portuguese crown concession that, when divided, became several large farms. These were later subdivided, giving rise to a pattern of farms, second “country” homes, and small land plots.

The initial proposal for new heritage evaluation criteria imagined a selection of private and public spaces chosen from

FIGURE 2. Settlements on old roads in Valinhos. Left: walls of a residential condominium. Right: main house of the São Bento de Cacutá Farm (nineteenth century). In 1973 the farm was divided into separate plots, and the main house was turned into the Campo Vale Verde Club. Source: group's research archives, 2013.



an evaluative framework divided into four general groups: buildings and other isolated constructions (monuments, facilities, etc.); building ensembles; public spaces; and units of landscape value (old farmhouses, parks, etc.) or typical neighborhoods. A field survey of potential heritage sites in the pilot cities, however, verified that these categories required alteration.

The research then turned to a survey of public archive documents, plans, programs, and projects proposed and carried out in the cities of the MRC. And a second phase of archival work delved into the history of the region's municipalities in a transverse way — that is, by starting concurrently to document the history/route of major development vectors to understand the construction of the entire metropolitan territory. This included mapping the location and development of railroads, major travel routes, farm circuits, sugar mills, and factories, as well as centers of immigrant colonization, the first urban nuclei, and new urbanized areas.

The conclusion of the field and document surveys of the two initial pilot cities enabled identification of “dispersed cultural references.” These included activities diffused throughout their territories and those of nearby cities. In Valinhos, examples of such cultural references included the development of potteries, the conversion of several country clubs to private plots or gated communities, and the location both of old travel routes once connecting other cities of the region to Campinas through Valinhos and of railroads once connecting Campinas to the state capital, São Paulo. The locations

of the main farms that gave rise to the present pattern of consolidated neighborhoods were also mapped and documented (FIG. 2). Most important, the surveys highlighted the diversity of cultural assets that could potentially be seen as important to the construction of heritage in the territory.

In many cases these cultural references were expressions without national relevance — that is, they largely reflected local ethnographic concerns. An example is the *feita do figo* (fig feast) in Valinhos. Its importance was reflected by its shifting location: at first, in a public space in the old downtown (São Sebastião Square); then at another public space in an upper-class residential area in the expanded downtown (Washington Luis Square); and finally in a public area along a major access road used by residents of contemporary gated communities (FIG. 3).

Against the backdrop of present-day economic and territorial transformation, the research revealed that the existing definition of heritage in Valinhos and Paulínia expressed symbolic structures with a clear cultural and economic bias. As Mesentier has pointed out, this involves “an overvaluation of the heritage’s cultural-artistic nature, which allows urban interventions to neglect the supporting nature of the social memory of urban areas with heritage value.”¹³

With regard to the Valinhos fig feast (as well as to other typical celebrations in cities in the MRC), it also became apparent that a venue might be reinvented or displaced according to ideological, cultural or functional prerogatives. In particular,



FIGURE 3. Three public spaces in Valinhos that have been used for its fig festival. From left to right: São Sebastião Square, Washington Luis Square, and Brasil 500 Anos Square, which connects to the Municipal Park where the festival now takes place. Source: elaboration by the research group, 2012.

an event might be reorganized to reflect the changing interests of a specific group (generally a local elite).¹⁴ In an abstract way, therefore, an event like the feast is a tradition in the sense presented by Hobsbawm and Ranger.¹⁵ However, when associated with other elements, such as the genesis of the fig culture in the region, forms of cultivation, family structures that have maintained the activity, the reiteration of rituals involved in it (including regional advertising), the event might also be conceived of as a “place of memory.”¹⁶ Thus, although it takes place at an invented and changing location, it may be understood as an active scenario (resulting from real appropriation by its participants), which allows the preservation of material, symbolic and functional dimensions of collective experience.

After reflecting on cities that could be added to the study to further elaborate heritage criteria, the conclusion (which also constituted a new hypothesis) was that no additional cities would be chosen for their specific characteristics. Rather, the area of study would be expanded by emphasizing a group of cities whose formation bore an intrinsic relationship to one another based on elements/routes that catalyzed the formation of a broader metropolitan territory. It was further determined that such elements themselves constituted a cultural heritage (regional and not municipal) that might warrant preservation. It therefore became possible to add at least two new definitions of heritage resource to the older list: dispersed cultural references disseminated from underlying heritage structures, and the resulting cultural landscape that interacted with them.¹⁷

The model resource that was chosen to explore these new approaches and criteria was Ester Mill (Usina Ester). Located in the municipality of Cosmópolis, this enterprise was involved in the formation of a vast territory which was later dismembered into at least three other municipalities: Paulínia, Artur Nogueira, and Engenheiro Coelho.

ESTER MILL: A HERITAGE OF SEVERAL CITIES

Ester Mill is today comprised of a complex group of heritage assets including a large sugar and ethanol producing unit, related workers’ villages, railroads, farms, nuclei of immigrant settlement, and a rich immaterial heritage (FIGS. 4–7). This century-old enterprise, owned by the Nogueira family, was responsible for the emergence of several settlements and villages, which in turn originated districts and municipalities in the interior of São Paulo state. Among these were the cities of Paulínia, Cosmópolis, Artur Nogueira, Engenheiro Coelho, Conchal, and the District of Martinho Prado Júnior in Mogi Guaçu.

The sugar mill, built from an existing distillery in the Funil region, was established in 1903 with the purchase and incorporation of the Funil, Três Barras, Boa Vista, and São Bento farms. The Nogueira brothers (José Paulino, Arthur, and Sidrack) bought these vast properties in association

with Paulo de Almeida Nogueira and Antônio Carlos da Silva Telles. However, the transformation of the small distillery into a large enterprise also required the development of a railroad affording rapid access to urban centers. This was provided by the Companhia Carril Agrícola Funilense (Funilense Agricultural Track Company), also referred to as the Estrada de Ferro Funilense (Funilense Railroad). And it required the importation of a new labor supply from Europe to replace the region’s former reliance on African slaves. This was in large part a project of the Núcleos Coloniais Campos Salles and Conchal (Campos Salles and Conchal Colonial Nuclei), a cooperative effort between the government and private landowners to establish new settlements for workers on the region’s growing sugar and coffee plantations.¹⁸

The process of occupying and developing Funil took place through familial, financial and political liaisons that spanned the private and public sectors. It eventually contributed to the diversification of the economy of outlying areas of São Paulo state — a need that became acute following the coffee crisis of the 1930s (when the price of coffee collapsed as a result of worldwide decline in demand and excess growing capacity created in the 1920s). It was thus part of a more general effort to bring industrialization to São Paulo state and initiate a new pattern of economic and technological investment. This culminated in, among other things, the establishment of a network of new cities in the interior of the state.

According to Atique, Ester Mill can be considered a “modernizing project of familial nature that [shows] the influence of private enterprise in the economic and urban dynamics of São Paulo state.”¹⁹ But architecture and urbanism were also major endeavors of big entrepreneurs at the time. They built tall buildings and factories across the territory, created new cities, and founded immigrant colonies centered on textile production. These enterprises were modern because they pursued economic viability through efficiency. They typically brought together big landowners (who had the ideas and the capital) and politicians (who guaranteed a legal framework). Such alliances facilitated the use of capital derived from coffee, railroads, and colonization projects.

The importation of a new labor force from Europe was crucial to the success of nearly all these enterprises, and the establishment of colonial nuclei in São Paulo province significantly changed the configuration of the region. Landowners and the government had several main objectives in the effort: to attach new immigrants to the land to populate the interior of São Paulo and make the best use of the land; to create new population nuclei (in addition to developing and modernizing existing ones); to produce food for expanding new urban centers; and eventually to resolve the national financial crisis brought about by overreliance on coffee exports.

Today it is the heritage of these immigrants — as well as of other local populations — that can be read in the dispersed cultural traces throughout the territory once dominated by Ester Mill and its surrounding plantations.

FIGURE 4. The layout of Ester Mill on the former Funil Farm. Principal features and remaining areas of interest: 1) workers village; 2) São Paulo church; 3) workers village; 4) mill; 5) warehouse; 6) old bridge and railroad station; 7) workers village; 8) stable and storage; 9) iron bridge over the Jaguari River; 10) dam and lake. Source: scheme elaborated by the research group, 2013.



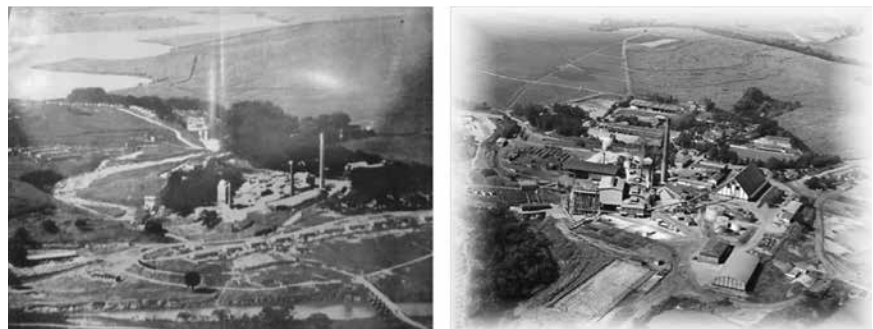
FIGURE 5. Views of remaining buildings at Ester Mill. Left: the warehouse. Right: the mill school. Source: group's research archives, 2013.



FIGURE 6. Views of remaining structures at Ester Mill. Left: workers village. Right: mill equipment. Source: group's research archives, 2013.



FIGURE 7. Views of the mill at two times. Left: in the 1950s. Source: P.A. Nogueira, *Minha Vida* (São Paulo: s/ed., 1955). Right: via Google Earth, 2003.



THE FUNILENSE RAILROAD

The construction of the Funilense Railroad was essential to and intertwined with the establishment of colonization nuclei. Indeed, the Funilense, whose tracks no longer exist, provides the structural element that today makes a historic reading of the territory possible. Tracing its path allowed the research to reestablish a sense of connection among remaining cultural references in the region: stations, urban structures, farms, workers villages, mills, industries, institutional buildings, recreational sites, potteries, traces of colonial nuclei, etc. It also illustrated the rationale behind the proposed new approach to heritage preservation, which involves multiple aspects and scales, extending beyond the administrative boundaries of single municipalities.

The Funilense Railroad left its mark at several locations within the municipal territory of Campinas. Its terminus was commonly known as Estação do Mercado (Market Station). However, officially, it was also named for Carlos Botelho, the Agriculture Secretary and a friend of Major Arthur Nogueira. As the name indicates, the terminus was located at the Mercado Municipal (Municipal Market), a strategic site for the sale of products from the entire Funil area. It was operational from 1908 to 1924.²⁰

Departing from the Market station, the line continued to Guanabara station, which belonged to another regional railroad, the Companhia Mogiana. This station served as the Funilense line's terminus before the opening of Market station (FIG. 8). Funilense trains followed this route from 1899 to 1924.

The next station was Bonfim, or Instituto, built as a switching point on the grounds of the Santa Eliza farm of Barão Geraldo de Rezende, inside the Instituto Agrônômico de Campinas. It was operational until the 1960s. Barão Geraldo station was also inaugurated as an access switch point to Santa Genebra farm in 1899. Its structure still exists near Barão Geraldo Terminal (FIG. 9).²¹

From here the Funilense tracks followed the path of one of the MRC's current settlement vectors, vector 3 (REFER TO FIG. 1). Indeed, they were largely responsible for its origin.



FIGURE 8. Map showing the alignment of the former Funilense Railroad. Source: elaborated by the research group, 2014.



FIGURE 9. Santa Genebra Station, Barão Geraldo, 1950 (left) and 2011 (right). Source: www.estacoesferroviarias.com.br.

This vector passes through the municipalities of Paulínia, Cosmópolis, Artur Nogueira, and Engenheiro Coelho. A description of its impact in each of these present municipalities follows.

Paulínia. At the end of the nineteenth century, the São Paulo state government encouraged the immigration of many Italians from the Veneto region to Paulínia. Fleeing extreme poverty, these migrants came to work on the region's farms, substituting their paid labor for that of the region's former slaves, and in doing so they changed the socioeconomic profile of the region. Together with the Funilense Railroad, the establishment of a Núcleo Colonial Campos Salles (Campo Salles Colonial Nucleus) was fundamental to Paulínia's development (FIG. 10). It was located at an existing village founded around São Bento church (now the present downtown area of the municipality). This was on lands belonging to a farm of the same name, owned by Commander Francisco de Paula Camargo (FIG. 11).

The Funilense line entered Paulínia in 1899 through present-day Betel. Its first stop was Betel station (old Capão Fresco), inaugurated initially as a switch point. The present station here was built in 1924, and today houses a health clinic. The next stop was at Santa Terezinha station (old Deserto, or Estiva), which was also opened initially as a switch point. This building has since been demolished (FIG. 12). The route followed by this section of track now serves as the route of Getúlio Vargas avenue.²²

From here, the line continued along the present José Paulino Avenue (old Comércio Street), passing through the station with the same name. This was later changed into a bus station, before being demolished in the 1960s. Located near São Bento church, this structure was very important for the nucleus, which was redesignated Distrito de Paz de Paulínia (Peace District of Paulínia) in 1944.²³

Cosmópolis. Situated in the old region of Funil, the origins of Cosmópolis were directly associated with the enterprise of the Nogueira family. It was developed from Ester Mill and from Campos Salles Colonial Nucleus. Funilense had two stations along this section of the line: Usina Ester

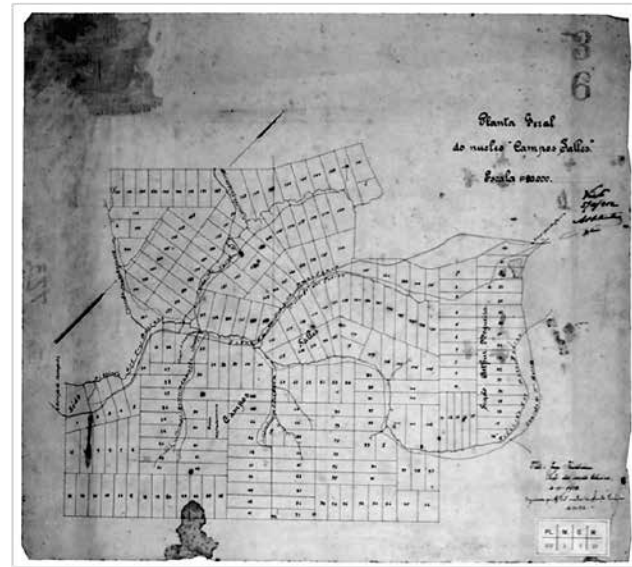


FIGURE 10. General Plan of the Campos Salles Nucleus, by Germano Vert, 1912. Scale: 1:20,000. Source: Immigration Museum digital archives, São Paulo.

(inaugurated in 1903), and Cosmópolis (1899). The latter lent its name to the village eventually created there. The city also provided a location for a depot of the Sorocabana Railroad, where its locomotives were repaired and revised and where wooden wagons were even built (FIG. 13).

Previously called Burgo, or Barão Geraldo de Rezende, the city received its present name in 1905. Its definition, “universe city,” derives from the great number of immigrants who arrived there from various nations. The Distrito de Paz de Cosmópolis (Peace District of Cosmópolis) was established in 1906, and the village was created from the “emancipation” (administrative autonomy) of the colonial nucleus in 1915. As a city, it acquired political autonomy in 1944, with territory separated from the municipalities of Campinas, Mogi Mirim, and Limeira.²⁴

FIGURE 11. Views of significant buildings in the city of Paulínia. Left: São Bento Church, with the Municipal Museum at the rear. Right: remaining chapel on the old path that is now Botasso Avenue (Betel, Paulínia). Source: group's research archive, 2012.



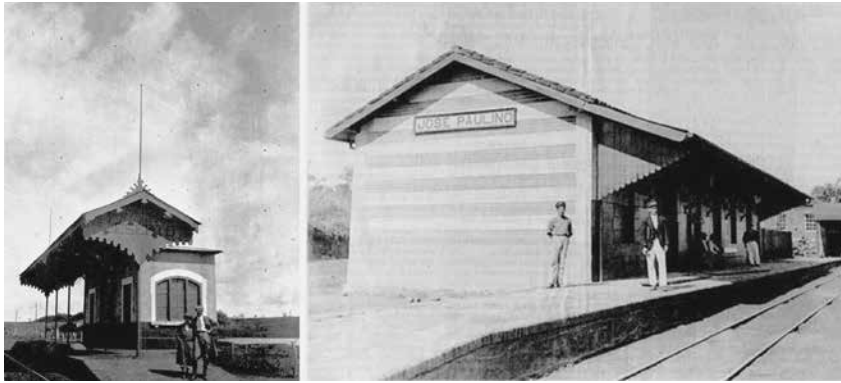


FIGURE 12. Views of significant station buildings in Paulínia. Left: Santa Terezinha Station, or Deserto, 1922. Source: www.estacoesferroviarias.com.br, Paulo Castagnet Collection. Right: José Paulino Station, unknown date. Source: www.estacoesferroviarias.com.br, photo by Paulo Filomeno.



FIGURE 13. The Cosmópolis station in the 1960s. Source: Archive of the Centro de Memória de Cosmópolis.

Its initial population, before the establishment of the colonial nucleus, was comprised of former farm settlers, former slaves, descendants of indigenous people, and free local laborers. It began as a nucleus with typical rural characteristics, but was gradually transformed into an urban settlement, and later into a city, through a complex process of adaptation and reorganization of the way of life (FIG. 14). When the District

of Cosmópolis was created in 1906, its roads were named after the capital cities of some of the settlers' countries of origin. In the 1940s, however, the municipal government changed these names to those of local personalities.²⁵

Artur Nogueira. Previously called Lagoa Seca (Dry Lake), the territory of the present municipality was originally part of the municipality of Mogi Mirim. Its present name derives from that of the Funilense line's station there. This honored Major Arthur Nogueira, one of the railway's founders. The only railroad stop in this city, it was built in 1907 (during the first extension of the line). It was located in an area where a small nucleus of houses already existed on São Bento farm, which belonged to Nogueira. The station was renovated in 1938, but then demolished in 1976. The local government built a replica in 2010 (FIG. 15).²⁶

Engenheiro Coelho. The site chosen in 1913 for the construction of this Funilense station was on Guaiquica farm (or São Pedro), and originally bore that name (FIG. 16). Today the old station building houses a health clinic. The area around the station was originally called Distrito de Paz (Peace District), and was included in the Mogi Mirim municipality until 1990, when it achieved separate status. Its present name, Engenheiro Coelho, honors the engineer José Luiz Coelho, a Sorocabana Railroad inspector who was responsible for construction of the station.



FIGURE 14. Remaining cultural references in Cosmópolis. Left: the German school. Right: Paulo Nogueira Square, with his statue. Source: group's research archive, 2013.

FIGURE 15. Two images of the Artur Nogueira station. Left: as newly built in 1907–1908 (the original structure was demolished in 1976). Right: the replica, built in 2010, which is today the Municipal Museum. Source: Fromberg et al., Cosmópolis, and group's research archive, 2014.



FIGURE 16. The old building of the Guaiquica Farm in 2014. Source: group's research archive.

The present highway from Engenheiro Coelho to Conchal (which is not part of the MRC) was built over an old Funilense track bed. Farther along this route, Tujuguaba station was built to provide access to the Núcleo Colonial Conde de Parnaíba (Conde de Parnaíba Colonial Nucleus) in 1913. It was, however, demolished after the railroad was decommissioned (FIG. 17).²⁷

Conchal. Pádua Salles station, or Conchal, which gave the municipality its name, was inaugurated along the banks of the Mogi Guaçu river in 1912.²⁸ Its initial purpose was to service the Visconde de Indaiatuba and Martinho Prado Junior Colonial Nuclei on lands of the Conchal farm (belonging to Alfredo Eduardo de Oliveira) in Mogi Mirim (FIG. 18). Decommissioned in 1960 along with the line, the station still exists, but it has been transformed into a school. At the time of its renovation the station platform's roofing was removed.²⁹

FIGURE 17. Left: Engenheiro Coelho station, 2014. Source: group's research archive. Right: Tujuguaba station, 1978. Source: www.estacoesferroviarias.com.br, photo by Ettore Gaspar.



NEW APPROACHES AND CRITERIA

It is impossible to understand the relationships of identity and memory related to the formation and appropriation of public spaces and important buildings in the cities of the MRC without considering changes in these cities' urban structure, population constitution, and forms of management. In many cases these have been the result of their location in developing metropolitan territories. These municipal-level influences have in turn been subject to external factors, such as regionalization of activities and physical conurbation. In the last decades of the twentieth century in Brazil, this has included a reversal of older migratory flows into big urban centers. Population migration today tends to emphasize the growth of medium-sized cities, with consequences for small ones.

There is no single explanation for this process. Many studies have attempted to explain it as the result of a change in patterns of capital accumulation. But, based on the mainly empirical study of the mentioned cities, it appears it is not necessarily related to globalization. Instead, it may be more related to a logic internal to each region, in which new forms of socio-spatial organization are coming to coexist with older forms of urbanization. This situation, however, hampers any chronological periodization or valorization by antiquity of heritage elements.

As Oliveira and Oliveira have pointed out, a population's different practices, activities, actions and journeys typically correspond to multiple social realities.³⁰ These may include relationships of belonging with many underlying origins: public and private concerns, cycle-of-life issues, new work-home relationships, habitat conditions, processes of spatial



FIGURE 18. Reproduction of “Conchal Nuclei Blueprint,” by G. Hert, 1913. Source: Ferrari, Os núcleos coloniais do Conchal.

appropriation and socio-spatial segregation, changing social networks, etc. That is, territory must be understood not only according to its physical dimensions but also as an articulation of relationships among spaces, policies and identities.

It is therefore important to recognize there are many reasons for the present changes in the cities of the MRC, and that these are related to both social and productive organization. Change has, however, resulted in distinct new uses of space and time that create different cultural and physical-spatial qualities that may alter the value attributed to memory and to heritage objects. Neither can one exclude areas of environmental preservation from an analysis of the historic constitution of the territory of Campinas. In many cases these coexist with established urban and rural sectors, and frequently establish limits to their development.

The above concerns indicated that potential heritage qualities had to be expanded to include ethnographic data. This meant consideration of almost all cultural manifestations, objects, places and practices that might be included in the identification of an associative cultural landscape. According to Araújo, the identification of cultural references can precede the definition of cultural landscapes. Indeed, it is the association of symbolic importance to landscape elements that determines their ethnographic value.³¹

According to Londres, cultural references are what shape a region’s identity in the eyes of its inhabitants. This involves simultaneous reference to the landscape; its constructions

and objects; and “doings,” knowledge, beliefs, habits, etc.³² Cultural reference is thus not related to the value of objects themselves, but to the references to them. Significant elements may be seen differently by different social groups, who relate them to a collective representation in which each member somehow identifies him- or herself. Ultimately, such a perspective restates the relativity of any process of value attribution. Therefore, an inventory of references is mainly an instrument of knowledge, and it presupposes the inclusion of a social perspective and the use of interpretive criteria.

As Arantes has stated, in each case these issues demand reflection based on empirical research.³³ Instead of pursuing homogeneous solutions, a diversity of problems should also be considered a cultural value of fundamental importance. This is particularly true, Arantes has written, since the “practice of preservation does not simply legitimize feelings socially attributed to common and everyday culture to certain cultural aspects, but puts into practice criteria, concepts and values that are defended by technicians and experts.” Too often as a consequence, decisions made by preservation institutes are in disagreement with present local values.

Nonetheless, as Poulot has pointed out, “. . . there is no contradiction between the two aspects when the attachment to the hamlet [*petite patrie*] leads to the education of the nation [*grand patrie*]. Visiting his domain — the objects of his *petite patrie* — becomes a political act for the citizen.”³⁴ According to this argument, it may not be possible to determine the relative value of heritage from its representativeness. Rather, its value derives from its role in fixing collective memory in place through its concrete existence. This attribute may be more a matter of difference from other artifacts than the ability to include it in previously established categories.

On the other hand, in the case of the cities of the MRC, many emblematic buildings that once provided such heritage value have now disappeared. As a result, what is understood to constitute the “surroundings” of heritage (often without specific qualities to justify its study or registration) can sometimes constitute the only cohesive or group element that allows for understanding and preservation of the urban memory. Thus, the creation of “heritage zones” or “areas of urban preservation,” registered in urban plans, would be an appropriate way of preserving these qualities.

Once demarcated, such areas might prefigure another level of preservation: the cultural landscape. This concept was introduced by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in a 1995 document entitled “On the Integrated Conservation of Cultural Landscape Areas as Part of Landscape Policies.” In its Article 1 it defined such a landscape as

. . . the formal expression of the numerous relationships existing in a given period between the individual or a society and a topographically defined territory, the appearance of which is the result of the action, over time, of natural and human factors and of a combination of both.³⁵

READING THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

According to the definition above, the MRC is a cultural territory constituted from consecutive identity landmarks that consolidated over time as an answer to the vital needs of its inhabitants. The natural invariants of the territory (ground, topography, climate, regional location, etc.) defined a genetics or a group of physical characteristics which determined, to a certain extent, human efforts to modify it (through such actions as agricultural exploration, land division and subdivision, and the development of routes of travel). This took place according to a reiterative process of occupation, transformation and development — that is, according to a continuous cultural model.³⁶

Within the MRC, vector three, formed from Ester Mill and the Funilense route, is not the only manifestation of cultural landscape principles that can be analyzed according to these premises. The region includes seven more vectors of recognized occupation and population expansion (REFER TO FIG. 1). Vector one is directed into the municipality of Monte Mor. Vector two aggregates the municipalities of Hortolândia, Nova Odessa, Americana, and Santa Bárbara d'Oeste. Vector four encompasses the municipalities of Holambra, Jaguariúna, Santo Antônio de Posse, and Pedreira. Vector five extends in the direction of Itatiba and Morungaba. Vector six includes the municipality of Valinhos and Vinhedo. Vector seven is directed into the municipality of Indaiatuba. And vector eight corresponds to the expansion of the Campinas city center.³⁷

By analyzing each territorial axis as a heritage unit, it is possible to recognize, according to Gómez Rodríguez, the diachronic character of their cultural references.³⁸ The study of anthropic interventions in each space over time allows the establishment of new guidelines for its preservation.

Such definition is in line with the Brazilian federal government's Ordinance No.127, of April 30, 2009. In Article 1 this defines the "Brazilian Cultural Landscape [as] the peculiar portion of the national territory representative of the interaction process between man and the natural environment, in which life and human science have made their mark or appraised." In Article 3 it specifies that, "The Brazilian Cultural Landscape seal takes into consideration the dynamic nature of culture and human activity over the territorial parts to which it applies, coexists with the transformation inherent to sustainable economic and social development, and values the motivation responsible for heritage preservation." And in Article 4 it further specifies that the seal implies "the establishment of an agreement that may involve the public authorities, civil society and private sector aiming for shared management of the national territorial part so recognized."³⁹

The federal regulation thus broadens the concept of cultural heritage by making it indivisible from territory. It also introduces a shared management mechanism.

The Quebec Declaration (2008) corroborates this view of preservation by territorial reading and population recogni-

tion. The declaration emerged from the Sixteenth General Assembly of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), which reflected on "the relationships between tangible and intangible heritage and the mechanisms that regulate the spirit of place." The latter, it explained, is constituted by "a group of tangible (sites, landscapes, buildings, objects) and intangible elements (memories, narratives, written documents, rituals, festivals, official letters, techniques, values, odors), physical and spiritual, that give meaning, value, emotion and mystery to place."

According to the definition established by the Quebec Declaration:

The spirit of place offers a more comprehensive understanding of the living and, at the same time, permanent character of monuments, sites and cultural landscapes. It provides a richer, more dynamic, and inclusive vision of cultural heritage. The spirit of place exists, in one form or another, in practically all the cultures of the world, and is constructed by human beings in response to their social needs. The communities that inhabit place, especially when they are traditional societies, should be intimately associated in the safeguarding of its memory, vitality, continuity and spirituality.⁴⁰

The Ester Mill and Funilense Railroad complex was chosen, therefore, as an object of study because it provided an example of how to understand the relationship between material and immaterial references in the configuration of a region. Even today some 80 percent of the mill's employees are the sons or relatives of former employees. Moreover, these people live in municipalities formed by the mill's historic influence, who still commute along routes established by the Funilense tracks.

Mirroring this condition, vector two, comprised of the cities of Americana, Santa Bárbara d'Oeste, and Nova Odessa, was formed from nuclei created by the immigration of North Americans, Italians, Russian Jews, and (later) Latvians. These cities likewise developed based on the construction of a railroad — in this case the Companhia Paulista de Estrada de Ferro (1875). In the same year as the railroad's founding, the Carioba textile factory was opened by the brothers Antônio and Augusto de Souza Queiroz and their American engineer partner William Pultney Ralston to make fabric for slave clothes and for coffee and cereal sacks. In 1907, expanding the influence of this installation in the region, the factory's new owner, Comendador Franz Müller, bought the Salto Grande farm where he built a hydroelectric plant on the Atibaia River. By 1911 the plant supplied energy for a region that included the Carioba nucleus and the cities of Americana, Santa Barbara D'Oeste, Cosmópolis, and Sumaré.⁴¹

In parallel fashion, in vector four, the municipality of Holambra was formed by Dutch immigrants, who arrived in 1948, following World War II. They started to produce ornamental flowers and plants on soils that originally belonged to

the municipalities of Jaguariúna, Artur Nogueira, Santo Antônio de Posse, and Cosmópolis (from which Holambra was finally separated in 1991).⁴²

Indeed, it is possible to recognize in every vector of the MRC a similarity of processes in the physical constitution of the territory, the social tissue, and the current dynamics of cities (dismemberment, annexation). These intertwine in a complex and diachronic form at the same time that they resemble each other in their variety of references (material and immaterial). In almost all cases, these cultural ties include great fairs and festivals with regional impact. These events reinforce the thesis that processes of reiteration are needed to establish the “places of memory” or “active scenarios” where these events occur.

These factors together may define the “spirit of place,” which emerges from a common genetics and is present in the physical and social structure of the region — even as it may be constituted of distinct cultural landscapes. Such a concept is of interest to the present research because it enables the recognition and framing of the group of dispersed cultural references identified in relation to urban growth and resultant processes of social transformation and rupture. In other words, it allows a rethinking of instruments of cultural heritage protection that preserve not only the past and present, but also allow the incorporation of new challenges imposed by changes in territorial management.

VALUE OF THE RESEARCH

The research was initiated as a result of the recognition that new forms of population movement resulting from a variety of factors were having an impact on the condition, significance, and meaning of heritage assets in the Metropolitan

Region of Campinas. The cities of Paulínia and Valinhos were initially selected as case study sites to examine the influence of these movements on issues of identity, and on the ability of contemporary heritage approaches to properly identify and appraise sites throughout the region.

The main premise of the research was that it is becoming increasingly difficult to read the significance of heritage sites, because an inversion of older migratory flows is taking place in the region. As people move from the big centers to medium-size and small cities, development is ceasing to be an exclusively metropolitan phenomenon. These new patterns of population movement, related to both social and productive organization, are thus making it necessary to devise new processes for appraising and acknowledging cultural heritage, especially in terms of the value of memory.

Each city must be seen as the site of separate processes that must be understood before reviewing and revising heritage criteria. Among these are the genesis of territorial occupation; the urbanization and formation of nuclei or main centers; the intensity, alternation and shifting location of uses and appropriations of public space; and the uses and interventions/subtractions made in the urban layout, along the paths, and in buildings that remain from a number of historic periods.

It was only with this knowledge that an object — in this case, the Ester Mill and Funilense complex — was identified as a structuring element around which to articulate all the periods, memories and traces involved in the constitution of a territory. This is the main contribution of this research to highlight with regard to the improvement of heritage identification and selection methods in Brazil.

Such a finding reiterates the importance in producing evidence of these movements from surveys and empirical analyses of the territory. It also demonstrates the limitation of using traditional identification criteria and preservation approaches.

REFERENCE NOTES

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