PERCEIVING AND PARTICIPATING IN CULTURAL HERITAGE : AN ETHNOGRAPHY ABOUT THE PROCESS OF PRESERVATION OF OURO PRETO, BRAZIL

Andreza Aruska de Souza Santos

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**

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Perceiving and participating in cultural heritage: an ethnography about the process of preservation of Ouro Preto, Brazil

Andreza Aruska de Souza Santos
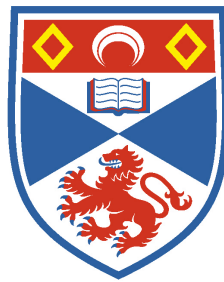
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Abstract

This thesis discusses the promises and pitfalls of city preservation in Ouro Preto, a Brazilian city preserved nationally and hailed as a UNESCO World Heritage site. Using interviews, archival material, ethnographic observations, and the analysis of public meetings on city preservation in Ouro Preto in 2013, I study how the city's legacy as a national treasure of monumental architecture has endured until now, despite different coexisting standards of living, perceptions and uses of the city, and views of the past. In Ouro Preto, while fluctuating populations of tourists and students live mainly in the historic city centre, permanent residents often build their homes in underprivileged and marginalised areas and benefit little from their cultural heritage. Spatial exclusion and preservation policies, allegedly favouring outsiders, boost the divide between residents and newcomers, echoing the colonial past of the city. Disputes around the preservation of the cityscape invited widespread participation. One expectation of increased grassroots participation in cultural heritage sites is that it could expose varied and fluid perspectives of the city, and consequently allow for corresponding, more inclusive uses. However, when looking at local participatory practices in heritage policies, I consider the challenge for grassroots meetings to include different citizens and viewpoints, when the ability to disagree in public debates and participation are restricted by socio-economic conditions. The ethnographic character of this research offers a platform to investigate anthropological questions regarding the role, limits and expectations around cultural heritage and participatory practices in a context of varied socio-economic levels and fluid perceptions of aesthetics, history, and everyday uses of public spaces in a fragmented city.

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INTRODUCTION

Having been born and having grown up in Brasilia, a city designated a UNESCO[1] World Heritage Site less than thirty years after its construction, the idea of a town that is prevented from growing and adapting to its citizens' needs has puzzled me as a resident and as scholar. What I have learned through my own (De Souza Santos 2009, 2013) and others' work on Brasilia is that in preserving buildings, "the spirit of Brasilia", a spirit of innovation, improvisation and experimentalism, is adrift (Holston 2010:I). The city, where new visions for Brazil were dreamt up, precludes later generations from re-thinking or modifying their urban space. Nevertheless, my lived experience in the city also shows that *Brasilienses*, my neighbours, my family, myself, when precluded from housing in the central Plano Piloto, will not necessarily turn against the preservation of the city. The symbolism of Brasilia's monumental buildings, the open spaces in the Esplanade, and the dreamed equality materialised in the sameness of the residential blocks, promote pride amongst residents and visitors. The discrepancy between the plan (order, functionality and equality) and reality (inequality, urban sprawl, violence) cannot be reduced to a dualistic narrative in everyday experiences. Thus, when deciding to study Ouro Preto, preserved as a monumental city in Brazil and also a UNESCO World Heritage Site, I did not start from the typical exploratory anthropological work which involves studying a reality from an outside perspective with the motto "to make the strange familiar and the familiar strange". Rather, I started with my lived experience and decided to investigate preserved cityscapes with an applied interest in how cities diverge from the stated intentions of planning/preservation, and if they all share this fate. Could Ouro Preto's vernacular architecture, city centre with cultural offerings, and grassroots opportunities for city preservation offer a model to other urban spaces in Brazil? Or have theorists romanticised the notion of planning and urban living? If so, how could I offer an ethnography of a living city which neither fails nor succeeds in fulfilling static plans, as it is always in the making – with new citizens, new demands, and new problems? How could I at the

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[1] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

same time be critical of the inequality in the making and use of urban spaces in Brazil?

All over the world, a growing number of cities, monuments, traditions, are hailed as cultural heritage. This thesis discusses mechanisms that decide when a heritage site turns into a mummification of the past, lifelessly displaying long-gone splendour, or a living, breathing treasure for today's heirs. It thereby contributes to anthropological discussions on how heritage is defined and narrated, how conflicts about different interpretations of heritage sites have been solved, and how (un)successful civil participation is implemented.

Though not an easy undertaking, this examination is urgently needed. The anxiety in Brazil, prior to hosting the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games, centred on cities and their inability to offer public security, public transportation, accessible cultural choices, and touristic prospects. From this perspective, the historic city of Ouro Preto offers an idealistic view of an urban centre, consistent with the national and international interest in historicising, restoring, re-making, and romanticising cities, rather than in building technical solutions from scratch (Ellin 1996:13,18). The city's historic and cultural centre, with museums, open musical festivals, a large university, and low rates of crime, stands out in the country, where cities are always in the making, not often corresponding to plans, and looking for a cultural and educational identity for the centre. Ouro Preto's Baroque cityscape is unquestionably nationally and internationally acclaimed.

Image I: Ouro Preto, March 13, 2013
Source: own collection

Ouro Preto has maintained its city centre in a relatively preserved state since its designation as a national monument in the 1930s. This was especially so after the city was made a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1980 for its aesthetic and creative architecture. The city also remains a centre for higher education (universities) and culture (music, painting, soapstone art craft, amongst others) and the downtown area is used in multiple ways – commerce, housing, open festivals. However, how does such a regular cityscape survive intense demographic flows, as is the case in Ouro Preto? Secondly, to whom is the city catering when higher education and refined cultural activities are mainly directed towards a Brazilian upper-class? Thirdly, which past are we celebrating or evoking when looking at Ouro Preto? When examining these questions, above all, it is the possibility of assigning urban spaces with specific civic meanings – through new architectural forms or through new explanations (such as national historic importance) to old forms – that I address, at a time when restoring, preserving, imagining the past, are ways to promote a future for deteriorated urban centres in Brazil.

The year I started my doctoral studies, 2011, the city centre of São Paulo (and those in other Brazilian capitals) was undergoing urban restoration. The area in São Paulo called Luz (a hub for commerce, low-budget and often irregular housing, and transportation), also known as *Crackland* because of the prevalence of drug use in the area, was in the spotlight of urban discussions. The prefecture prepared the Nova Luz Project, an ambitious programme to restore the area. Dominant expectations in urban projects for São Paulo's centre related to the making (or remaking) of the area as a historic and cultural centre for middle-class or cross-class living. The project drew from (more imagined than real) memories of São Paulo's past – fine arts, education, and hybrid living in the city centre – in order to design future hopes for the area, despite a then-current reality of middle-class suburbs and lower-class use of central areas.

Image II: The Nova Luz Project - Opening Webpage pictures (n.d.)
Source: www.novaluzsp.com.br/

The image of the old building on the right still looks ageless, pointing at São Paulo's cultural heritage as its urban future. The image on the left, however, though showing a more contemporary building, epitomises a view of the past.

The Nova Luz Project did not prosper, political and economic controversies were far reaching, and the new mayor stopped it in early 2013. However, the struggle of São Paulo and other capitals in Brazil to assign an area as historic city centre adds value to cities such as Ouro Preto, that could preserve previous architectural buildings in the centre, yet allow for dynamism in its use.

The experience of cultural heritage in Ouro Preto is thus a model for Brazil. Most large cities in the country, like São Paulo, but also medium-sized ones, like Congonhas, could not preserve vast urban areas in the face of fast urbanisation in the 1950s and 1960s, but mainly single monuments. In those cities, as briefly explained above, a general feeling of nostalgia about replaced or decayed buildings is manifest in new urban plans. There are also other cities that could preserve large areas, but face controversies related to gentrification, such as Recife or Salvador (as I will address below). Some smaller historic cities became mainly tourist destinations; those are Paraty, Cidade de Goiás, Penedo or Tiradentes. Finally, there are cities that are preserved, yet have attracted few tourists, such as Cachoeira in Bahia, or Laranjeiras in Sergipe, and they have looked at Ouro Preto as a model that combines tourism, education, and industrial activities (mining), and promises city growth as a result. The administration of Cachoeira and Laranjeiras recently struggled to establish university campuses.[2] The hope is that in combining economic activities, these cities can develop new economic opportunities for permanent residents. Multiple economic activities can avoid the danger of isolation for those cities. However, there is more to explore regarding how permanent residents perceive newcomers such as students, and how those different users make sense of cultural heritage. Ethnographic studies about Ouro Preto are timely, before the city inspires others without sufficient analytical considerations for the dynamics of heritage.

What is often overlooked when examining Ouro Preto, and what this thesis hopes to correct, is everyday life in the city, the local (political and residential) costs of maintaining a place in spite of population growth and technological changes. More than a city of red colonial roofs and green mountains offering a frame for a heroic past, what I will share in this thesis is that the historic centre has varied and competing narratives (of past and present) and expectations of city use.

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[2] I am thankful for the conversation with Robson, from IPHAN – National Institute for Historic and Artistic Patrimony – on November 13, 2013.

Cultural heritage and anthropological theory

While many concepts are specific to certain chapters of this thesis and will be discussed in detail there, others do reoccur frequently, and I will use this introduction to place my research within the field of anthropology. My research about Ouro Preto is part of a broad anthropological literature on cultural heritage, cities, citizenship, and the dynamics between them that fuel discussions about the legitimacy of cultural and natural heritage sites all over the world. The singularity and grandeur of natural landmarks and human endeavours have inspired the preservation of locations globally. The ambition to hail sites as places of universal value and protect them for coming generations fostered the creation of the title of Human Patrimony, initiated by UNESCO in 1972 (Canclini 2012:69). Under this umbrella, monuments, entire cityscapes, or more recently rituals and oral stories – immaterial heritage – are preserved because of exceptional historic and aesthetic values, amongst others.

In this thesis I focus on one city, Ouro Preto, and its historic and aesthetic cultural heritage, which privileges the Baroque architecture of the city. Ouro Preto's tangible heritage – central preserved areas – is the focus of my analysis (I will discuss the hailing of Ouro Preto as a heritage site in detail in chapter 1). Heritage sites like Ouro Preto may commemorate a proud moment in history, or a creative artistic conception of national or global significance. However, while the World Heritage title is sought after by many cities and countries to boost tourism and gain special attention, once the title is awarded, restrictions apply that can stifle growth and increase political divisions. The classification and maintenance of locations as cultural heritage can lead to tensions between dynamic social contexts and established cityscapes (Canclini 2012:68). What does it mean to maintain a city as a monument? Does it mean it can no longer grow, change, be individually interpreted? More importantly, when do such questions about uses and meanings arise, and who is allowed to ask them? The shared acceptance of aesthetic values or historic interpretations is contingent on social dynamics (Canclini 2012:71): To understand the definition of norms, values,

maintenance, or change in a preserved location is to understand the disputes over dominance between groups (or hegemonic narratives) across time and space. For example, World Heritage sites are unequally distributed across the globe, with most UNESCO sites located in Europe (Canclini 2012:72-73). Similarly, the distribution of monuments within a city (in the city centre or in the outskirts) shows inequalities in the possibility to hail diversified locations as artistic or historic (ibid:73). Taking the discussion forward, Herzfeld (2010) states that a Eurocentric view does not come only from a predominant presence of European cities in a world list of heritage sites, but already the very concept of heritage is grounded on "Western notions of inheritance and kinship," which becomes clearer in the Latin root of the word "patrimony" (ibid:262).[3] One may then wonder about countries or small communities, with different ways of thinking about kinship, inheritance, and materiality and how or why to represent those as cultural heritage. Why would societies, especially in the developing world, strive to be included in a list of tangible cultural heritage sites, when such a designation comes at local cost, such as conflict and delay in answering the demand for housing and new buildings?

One answer to this comes from urban anthropology, where authors have been aware that "political authority took shape in stone", as Metcalf (1989:xi) discusses in the case of British architecture in colonial India. City structures can create an experience of order and the use of non-material tactics, such as education, can internalise such appearance and homogenise perceptions (Mitchell 1991). In Brazil, city preservation and planning has been used to foster specific social values, such as development, national worth and independence. Preserving a site as heritage, far from being just a tool to maintain something of outstanding historical value, can therefore become a mechanism to reinforce, alter or create social values, a reoccurring theme of this thesis.

Ouro Preto is a city that expresses the Brazilian Baroque architecture like no other in the country. That architectonic style was selected as the image for Brazilian national history at the dawn of Getúlio Vargas' first government

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[3] Considering the patrilineal Western norms grounded in the concept of heritage, I use the words heritage and patrimony as interchangeable in this thesis, as does Collins (2009).

(1930-1945). He was a president concerned with the formation of a national unity and nationalistic feeling through education (including a broad cultural reach) and labour to overcome a system of regional oligarchies (Fausto 1999:202). To this political momentum, which socially also included a middle-class thirst for educational credentials (Owensby 1999), the Baroque architectonic expression offered a Brazilian "cultural synthesis" – art, religion and creativity, materially expressed (Underwood 2001:528), and offered a cityscape appealing for those in search for refined art. To Chuva (2003:313), the making of a Brazilian nation in the years before and after national independence in 1822 inspired the search for a common ancestry. In a country with a large number of former slaves and slave owners, Europeans, mixed-race Brazilian-born and indigenous communities, this common ancestry was not a common ethnicity, and a focus on a common enemy (colonisers) had much to offer in the search of a national identity (Chasteen 2003:xviii). Ouro Preto and its plots for independence and national heroes, represented in stone, mortar, plaster, offered national images to the country. While I address the importance of a national identity as a political project in the early 20th century in Brazil (chapter 1), what I am interested throughout this thesis is to whom Ouro Preto offered a material memory and more importantly, what those materials now mean to *ouro-pretanos* (the people of Ouro Preto) of different socio-economic backgrounds.

My discussion encompass the idea that governments often look for a particular cultural order, materialised and preserved through cultural heritage, to found their continuation (Borneman 1992:5). All too often though, this "national order of things" may be incompatible with international or sub-national dynamics (ibid:5), and governments or cultural expressions change. In Ouro Preto, the colonial architecture, wrought in national historic importance, remains nationally and internationally acclaimed, with little discussion about the standard interpretation of its past and present value. In the city itself, however, there are ambiguities on what people make of the monumental city. Residents at times mirror the national values assigned to the city, feeling pride about its history of revolution against the Portuguese and its unique architecture, but often their own stories and narratives diverge

from this one-sided positive account. The past residents communicate is not only that of heroism, but also of entrenched economic injustice across colonial and post-colonial times. When observing varied narratives, I consider that on one hand permanent residents as well as temporary visitors "endow with meaning what [t]he[y] see" (Lynch 1960:6). On the other hand, meaning – the significance and purpose of cultural heritage – is not only learnt from normative (national, government-led) accounts, but also context-based. When using the idea of meaning as significance and purpose I borrow from Mitchell (1991:149), who also discusses values inscribed in architectural buildings. Thinking about heritage in terms of purpose is common in Brazil (where preservation had a national-development agenda) and implies to look at it in the context of employment, housing, social inclusion and exclusion in everyday interactions with the city.

Taking those points into account, I consider anthropological theories that allow for a discussion of cultural heritage in Ouro Preto that moves beyond a successful national model for preservation, but points at antagonisms when looking at how residents may relate with the established patrimony.

Latour and Yaneva (2008) state that, for buildings that look "desperately static" (ibid:80), we need the opposite of a camera (that converts moments into material), as we need to convert materials into moments, memories. This device, they clarify, is theory (ibid:81), in our case anthropological theory. It would allow buildings to be brought to life, to breach with a strict object-subject dualism by assessing the creative dimension that underlies the creation of every building, the endurance or ageing of materials, as well as the contested interpretations and uses of edifices (ibid:86). The latter is my focus throughout this thesis. Rather than focussing on the buildings themselves (see Ingold 2007), and any inherent creative or artistic value, which in Ouro Preto is not contested, I will portray how people disagree over the stories associated with and the use of the monumental city.

Herzfeld (2010), investigating contested interpretations and uses of built space, alerts any hasty scholar on cultural heritage to the fact that though conservation is a biased process (ibid:259), inhabitants seem to navigate open-eyed in the realm of city preservation. Some may profit from their

"historic" residences, turning them into guesthouses (ibid:260). Others may be unable to pray in a local church when it becomes a tourist destination that charges admission. More importantly, such churches, villages or cities may only stand still when deemed of historic or aesthetic value. This stasis may be appreciated by historians, archaeologists, conservationists and anthropologists, but that can take the life-blood out of a community. Looking at everyday conflicts and conventions,

> [t]he task before us [anthropologists] is both clear and urgent. It is to make such complexities accessible and interesting to multiple publics at a time when they are being cynically targeted for the seductive and perhaps irreversible addiction of false simplicities (Herzfeld 2010:267).

With this approach, I move beyond an apparent opposition between an often backward-looking and static meaning of history and preserved architecture, and an open-ended, fluid existence – the city as a place where life happens. Instead, cultural heritage is a means to understand the complexity of permanence and transformations in everyday experiences in the city. Thus, I investigate Ouro Preto in its everyday disputes over changes and regularities in city design. I make it my task to guide the reader through Ouro Preto as a city marked by contraventions; a city that is alive and interprets, contests as well as consents to the uses and meanings it has been given and reinvents for itself.

Concerned with locating everyday experiences in the city throughout the thesis, I do not discuss Ouro Preto in terms of gentrification. This term was never used by any of my informants. It is understood, however, that cultural heritage can force housing prices to rise and in more dramatic situations it can lead to eviction (Herzfeld 2010:259-260). In Brazil, such cases are mainly reported in the cities of Salvador and Recife, where the term gentrification is broadly used (Frugoli & Sklair 2009:121). One example is the Pelourinho in Salvador, where spaces were adapted to increase opportunity for leisure, consumerism, and tourism, and some people were evicted (Collins 2011:683). In Ouro Preto, there is a selective use of central areas for housing; but there is no enforced eviction. One complexity in the case of Ouro Preto is that,

when preserved, the city was facing depopulation; there has been a movement of re-population, which is not always related to the cultural heritage status of the city. The term gentrification in Ouro Preto could reduce urban and demographic intricacies as well as local understandings of patrimony and the gains and losses that follow.

This thesis

This thesis at first addresses the preservation values inscribed in Ouro Preto and the political and social context. I then discuss demographic changes in the city and the pressure on preserved sites that followed. In the second half of the thesis, I am mainly concerned with ideals of local participation in preservation policies. I centre this thesis on four main guiding questions:

1. In preserving a cityscape, whose perceptions are maintained and which others are produced?

2. Which expectations of a city centre were preserved in Ouro Preto, why and by what means?

3. How have interpretations of the city varied across time and which experiences are associated with Ouro Preto's city centre nowadays?

4. What is the impact of local participatory politics on cultural heritage? Could it reach flexible compromises between permanent and temporary publics in preserved areas?

When looking at participatory practices in contemporary Ouro Preto, I consider a common criticism directed at Ouro Preto, that its process of preservation in the 1930s was imbued with personal relationships and state-centred momentum (Chuva 2009:115), which did not encompass then-varied

forms of living in the city. The preservation of cities like Ouro Preto took place during the state-centred period of Brazilian modernist urban planning. That period encompassed the preservation of Ouro Preto in the 1930s and Brasilia's inauguration in the 1960s, and was characterised by the belief that new urban forms or new ways of seeing older constructions would precipitate the birth of new city uses, following the modernist formula of technical solutions for urban spaces (Chuva 2003:320).[4] Some cities from this time (Brasilia is a key example) did not live up to the expectation and the movement increasingly lost strength. Discrepancies between national goals in preservation/building and local experiences led to residents having political rights in the making of the city. In Brazil, local possibilities for civilian participation in city governance include participatory budgeting, participatory master plans, public audiences, city conferences, and municipal councils (which often bring together technicians, politicians and community leaders). I will focus on councils, as I explain below. However, because preservation is a political theme that is highly controversial, patrimony runs through political meetings and everyday talk. That means I not only look at council meetings and politics in Ouro Preto, and how those interrelate, but I also observe everyday perspectives, practices, and scepticisms in the city that form o resist participatory meetings (see Goldman 2013:15).

The combination of words "patrimony and citizenship" is easy to come by in city laws and reports in Ouro Preto. What is important to address is what power do public spheres of local participation have, if the city is to stay unchanged? Or how do different ways of living and voicing city experiences assemble in grassroots meetings? In grappling with these questions, I analyse participatory practices as either "means of deflecting pressing political and social concerns, given its preoccupation with the (…) medium rather than the

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[4] While Brasilia offered the world a prime example of modernist architecture, under the same doctrine, to impact social transformation with state-centred planning (Holston 2010:101), cities were also preserved (Chuva 2003:320). Building new cities or selecting a past (narrative) to existing ones, both offered residents de-contextualised experiences, when top-down models did not seek popular consultation. This suggests that the experience of alienating city planning does not come only from a lack of historicism, whose history or history to whom, are questions that contribute to the urban debate. (I will discuss more about the national-development agenda in the preservation of Ouro Preto in chapter 1).

message" (Ellin 1996:137) or as opportunities for residents to direct the scope of preservation in their vicinity.

Methodology

I started my fieldwork in Brazil in September 2012. I lived in São Paulo for 5 months, where I learned more about the conflicts over restoring the city centre. This period informed some of my guiding questions in Ouro Preto, the focus of this thesis. I moved to Ouro Preto in March 2013. I first lived in a central Bed and Breakfast for two months. This enabled me to meet guests and the staff, collecting insights about the significance of Ouro Preto for people from different regions of the world and Brazil. More importantly, by living in a B&B, I had the singular opportunity to experience the feeling of being a resident in a place where so many people are visitors. Subsequently, I lived with two *ouro-pretano* families, in a lower middle-class suburb and in the city centre. My first contacts with *ouro-pretanos* was through hospitality staff and tour guides. Because my informants were also my friends and hosts in this context, they placed a lot of trust in me when letting me into their private and professional lives. While I rarely changed my informants' names, dates, events, locations, professions, or any other information, I am at all times aware of the trusting nature of our relationship, and I reflected upon their collaboration following ethical guidelines throughout this thesis. The perspectives I cite here are a representation of my interpretation of my informants' opinions (the memories and experiences they recounted in different contexts) during the study period (March-December 2013); it is possible that some of these have not remained the same. I reflected upon my informants' perspectives of the city in combination with theory and my own lived experience. In the following, I will explain choices I made about the appropriate methodology to answer my research questions, and about including or excluding information in this thesis. I am very grateful to all subjects who enabled me to study their views on the city and its status as a heritage site.

When arriving at the city, I visited the municipal secretariat dealing with patrimony and there I learned about the City Council for the Preservation of Natural and Cultural Heritage, the Council, as I call it throughout this thesis. This collegiate group, formed by politicians, technicians, and community leaders – almost all of them residents in Ouro Preto – was the institution which made most decisions regarding the reach of cultural heritage in town, such as how to maintain preserved sites or how far the preservation area extends. This group usually met once a month and had a controversial agenda in 2013 regarding the preservation of tangible cultural heritage, which is the focus of this work. By following meetings (there were 15 of them in 2013, including ordinary and extraordinary meetings, and technical visits) and by interviewing members, I could understand the everyday challenges involved in maintaining material forms despite varied uses and interpretations. When I present members of the Council, I look at the human element of preservation, not only by seeing the impact of preservation on residents, but on the residents who participate in preservation policies. My position as ethnographer when introducing Council meetings is at times less conflicting, as meetings are publicised. However, I do not assign every argument in meetings to a member to avoid identifying people with particular arguments, out of respect for their privacy and my ethnographic responsibility. Moreover, I am more interested on what lies behind discussions and hesitations in open public political meetings, than on ascribing statements to individuals. It is with this same rationale that a few times I have anonymised names in interviews with permanent residents. When individuals are not immediately identifiable and statements could be damaging to the positions people occupied, I viewed the context and profession as more important than the identity of those speaking. Finally, learning from other political ethnographies in Brazil, when my informants or I considered information contentious (inadequate, "embarrassing"), I did not include the data (Goldman 2013:25), I also called/wrote to some of them to confirm my interpretation of their contributions.

I used personal, semi-structured interviews both with city residents and council members. Participation was entirely voluntary, and participants were

aware of the purpose of the study, consented to their data being used, and were aware they could ask me to stop recording or taking notes at any time. Especially amongst Council members, I used interviews to ask about how they felt about their voluntary participation in the Council. These interviews are important as self-reflections on their work, but I also offer my own observations and reflections about Council meetings. For non-members of the Council, I adapted the interview questions to the position of the subject and the issues most relevant for them. Often, conversations would develop organically, and I would guide the interviewee based on information they revealed. For interviews with students and permanent residents in the city, I used a spontaneous snowball method: every subject indicated others to me and I would contact them. In general, I received a lot of positive feedback and support from most of my participants, and I made friends and I met friends of friends. In total, I collected 50 semi-structured interviews from different subjects, of which 11 were council members. Half of my interviews were recorded, a total of approx. 28 hours. Interviews were conducted and transcribed in Portuguese. For the sake of this thesis, I translated certain excerpts into English. To select which interviews or which parts of interviews I would use, I first analysed common topics in interviews and then those who best described those topics. When I considered the Portuguese meaning key for the discussion, I offer both versions. In addition, I held various informal conversations with those interviewees or other subjects, accounting for a number of field notes, which have been included to complement the data.

I completed my data collection by including guided sight-seeing tours of the city, visit to museums, churches, mines and other preserved sites, as well as using the archives in Ouro Preto, Rio de Janeiro, and Brasilia to acquire more historical knowledge about the town's past. I also collected daily notes on my everyday views of the city, the activities I could join like local festivities, walks in the city, art craft courses, amongst others. And I built an archive of 6,535 photos and videos that I used to back up some of my experiences in the field.

Finally, I familiarised myself with existing literature about Ouro Preto. I learned from the recent work of some architects and urban planners that have

addressed the Baroque characteristic of the city and its maintenance (Reis da Silva 2006, Freitas 2009, Batista da Costa 2011, Santana 2012). Other scholars have looked at some aspects of city experience, such as student life (Martins de Araujo 2013, Lemos 2013). There is also a vast literature on the city's past; some historians' perspectives that looked at the city colonial period were pivotal in my work (Maxwell 1973, Romeiro 2008). This thesis adds to this literature by analysing city preservation and the value of the city's history and architectural design. At the same time, I add an important anthropological viewpoint by looking at city experience and addressing the everyday life of residents, including those in charge of maintaining Ouro Preto's cityscape. I agree with Holston (2010:18) that, when one does ethnography without considering the field site as part of historic process, one does ethnography like some modernist architects do architecture, with a temporal de-contextualisation, something I criticise in the coming pages. Thus, I examine colonial Ouro Preto, and the intellectuals who preserved the city in the 1930s, key moments in understanding the city as a cultural heritage site. I also offer a contemporary account of heritage makers and residents, who affect city preservation and are, at the same time, affected by the built environment around them. I avoid focussing only on the city's past or architectural elements (characteristic of previous analyses of Ouro Preto) and the temptation to do ethnography as an "eternal present".

Looking at perceptions of the city and engaging with different eras is also a limitation in this thesis. My ethnographic account does not aim to substitute wide-ranging historic or architectonic views of the city; my reference list may be a starting point for those who would like to delve into more thorough descriptions of specific aspects.

Ouro Preto

Located in the southeast region of Brazil, in the state of Minas Gerais, Ouro Preto was founded in 1698, connected to the search for gold and accompanied by slavery. When gold exploration ceased (the second half of the 1700s), Ouro Preto's population diminished, but the city experienced

greater de-population after its role as Minas Gerais' capital shifted to another city, Belo Horizonte, in 1897. I provide a detailed account of the city's history in chapter 1.

Nowadays, the city has almost the same number of inhabitants that it had during the height of gold extraction. However, the distribution of people in the territory is very different than it was then. Most colonial cities in Brazil reflected the hierarchy amongst residents inside houses (slaves, domestic staff, and house owners), divided by floor, and the city's population was dense in the core area (Gledhill 2013:123). Class differentiation in Ouro Preto is now visible in segregated city areas rather than in the domestic space. Moving further from the city centre, socio-economic resources decrease.
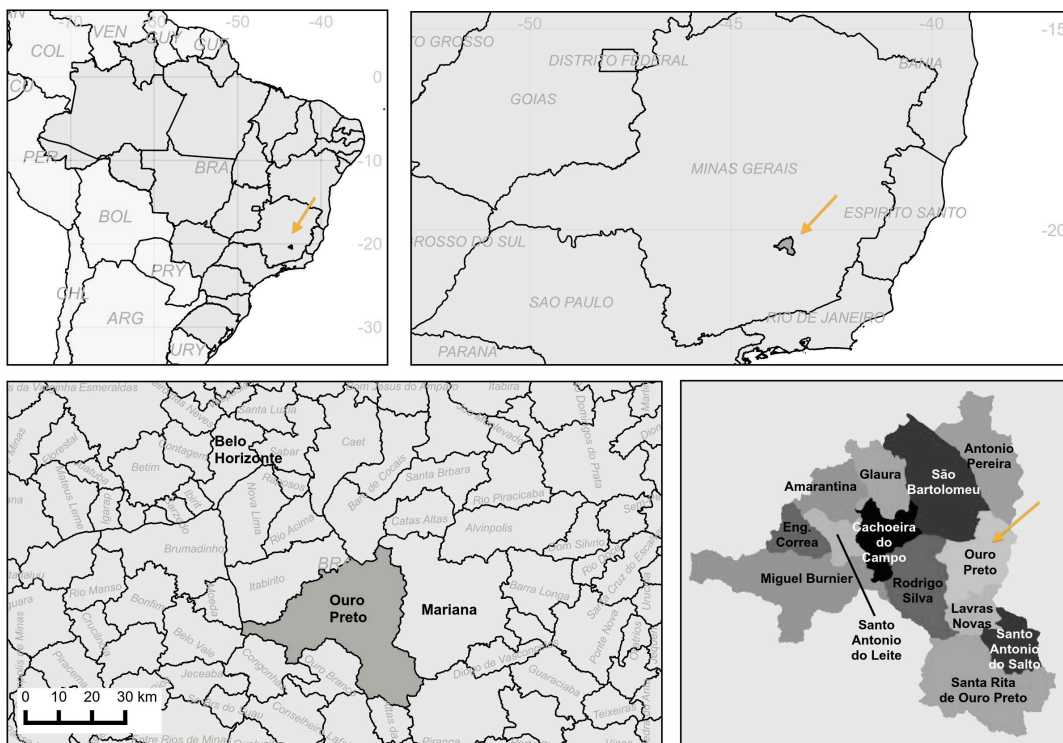
Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Ouro Preto (n.d.), with adaptation

Map I: (Clockwise) Ouro Preto in Brazil; in the state of Minas Gerais; Ouro Preto as composed by 13 districts; a close-up of Ouro Preto in relation to the neighbouring cities of Mariana and Belo Horizonte.

Ouro Preto has 74,036 inhabitants (IBGE[5] 2015) distributed over 13 districts: Ouro Preto (the main urban area with about 60% of the population) and twelve adjoining areas (see Map I). Usually, the name Ouro Preto refers only to the main urban nucleus. In this thesis, I follow the same approach and refer to Ouro Preto as the main urban area and not the totality of districts. Only in chapter 6 I discuss a district, Miguel Burnier, as that location was at the heart of one of the Council's examinations. In Map II, the area in red is Ouro Preto's preserved perimeter.
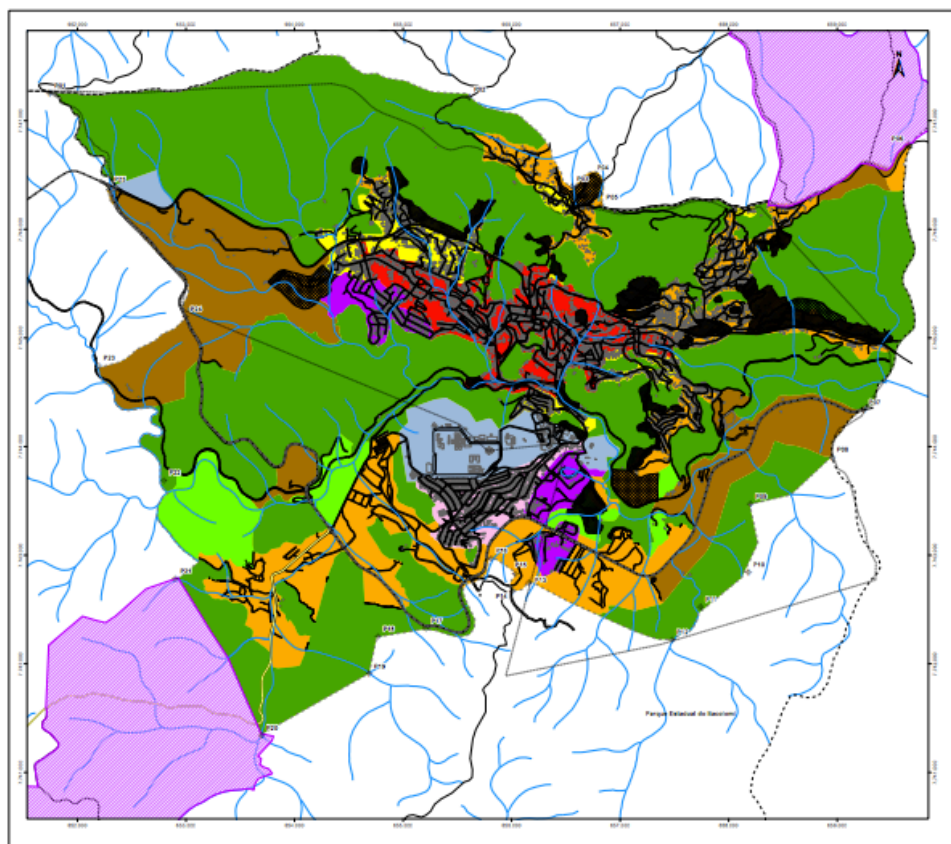
Map II: Ouro Preto, September 2010
Source: Secretaria Municipal de Patrimônio e Desenvolvimento Urbano 2010

The area in red is the Zone of special protection – where most buildings follow strict preservation rules. Each other colour translate different hierarchies of norms for building or restoring, with areas in purple and pink zones allowing for urban growth.

With more than 70,000 inhabitants, Ouro Preto is classified as a medium-sized municipality in Brazil, though this classification is generic, as

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[5] Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics.

large municipalities could be as large as having few hundred thousand to several million inhabitants.[6] However, in terms of territorial extension, Ouro Preto has a territory of 1,245,865 km^2. The city of São Paulo for example, while having only marginally more territory (1,521,101 km^2), sustains a population density 130 times that of Ouro Preto (IBGE 2015). Ouro Preto has a large number of temporary public groups. Students number around 15,000, but they often come from other areas and tend to move out when they finish their studies. The city also attracts approximately 500,000 visitors a year, according to the Secretariat of Tourism.[7] However, in terms of economic importance, industrial activities, especially mining, is the economic engine in town (IBGE 2015).

Owing to those multiple roles held by cities like Ouro Preto, city theorists have moved away from numeric or vocational definitions and have offered different lenses through which one can "read" a city. Metaphors to understand the city are commonly explored and cities have been discussed as a person (Sennett 1996, Reed 2002), in terms of images (Lynch 1960, Olson 1994, Augé & Conley 2002), and in the light of colonial and postcolonial theories (Metcalf 1989, Mitchell 1991, Rabinow 1989, Rama 1996) or kinship (Borneman 1992). The list of theorists and theories is far-reaching. I start with reflections by Carvalho (2013) when he points out that,

> [i]n the city as organism, what is the lifeblood? People, cars, capital, dreams? Who diagnoses 'ailments' and administers a 'cure'? In the city as text, who reads, what gets to be read, how do we agree upon a 'language'? And in the city as Mystic Writing Pad or palimpsest, what does it mean for things past to resurface? How do we listen to a 'trace'? Which practices persist because they adapt, and which vanish because they cannot change? (Carvalho 2013:6)

Communicated perceptions of the city indeed vary, and narratives are often controversial. This is not to say we should not offer understandings of

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[6] I am thankful for the conversation with the technician Eduardo Stranz, from the Brazilian Confederation of Municipalities, on December 1, 2015, about the complexity of Brazilian municipalities in regard to population.
[7] Secretary of Tourism of Ouro Preto, visited at September 25, 2013. Though the functionaries presented some details of the number of visitors. The number of tourists who visit the city is calculated through the number of guests visiting museums, usually 500,000 every year, but they explained that not all tourists go to museums and that the number may be much higher.

the city, indeed we should and much of current anthropology looks at cities, the place where the ethnographer may live permanently and not provisionally. However, in offering ethnographic city reflections and learning from existing ones, contradictions and irregularities are as important as consistencies. Ouro Preto's preserved cityscape surprised me with twisting ideas of permanence and mutability in meanings and materials and to reflect upon this sense of movement is my endeavour.

Thesis structure

This thesis offers an ethnographic narrative of critical events in Ouro Preto. I offer an account of critical events (Council meetings, festivities, stories) related to cultural heritage. I also offer a view of laws and newspapers to engage with the "official" history and mediums of opinion-making in the city. Stating the reasons to single out Ouro Preto as a heritage site and the multiple perspectives involved in the city (prefecture, Council, permanent and temporary residents), I bring to the forefront disputes around cultural heritage in Ouro Preto in 2013 and conclude with thoughts about the place of patrimony in cities. In contemporary events and stories about Ouro Preto, the past of the city is often present, moving the reader back and forth in time. As much as possible, I offer a historic background to the city and its characters, but some historic events may emerge in later chapters only, while other ones may be repeated across chapters. There are two key parts in this thesis. The first three chapters explore the expectations and disillusionments of city users around cultural heritage. The final three chapters look chiefly at democratic solutions in the resolution of problems associated with preservation.

Chapter 1 will offer a roadmap of the construction of Ouro Preto's cultural heritage status and the local controversies that followed. In chapter 2, I offer a view of the day-to-day conflicts about city spaces and the groups that make up the city. Local policies aiming at bridging city separations with pedagogic programmes is the theme of chapter 3. In chapter 4 I look at political participation in cultural heritage. In chapters 5 and 6 I look at the limits of public participation and discuss the future of cultural heritage. My main

concern throughout the thesis is to address the possibilities and limitations of urban transformation (perceptions, uses, interactions) in a context of physical endurance, a topic that awaits careful analysis, especially in countries such as Brazil and others with developing economies that are constantly building, un-building, and rebuilding cities that have not responded to social problems.

CHAPTER 1

Locating national memories

Expressing the nation through planning and architecture

The discovery of gold in Ouro Preto, I don't know if you know the story, the men came here from São Paulo (…) and in 1698 began to inhabit Ouro Preto. There were many different camps (arraiais). Two of the most important ones were Antonio Dias and Pilar. When the Crown saw the camps were growing too much they came here and installed its administration in town (…) exactly in between the two main camps, this was already in 1711. So the crown came and was installed in town, and the "Imperial City of Ouro Preto" began. The history of Vila Rica starts then.[8] There was gold (...) but the gold ran out one day. As the gold ran out, the political importance remained because Ouro Preto was the capital of Minas Gerais for almost one hundred years. When the republican years started [November 15, 1889] its first act was to show that there was a new administration and one of the resolutions was to transform provinces into states and change the capitals (…). This had a strong effect here because this was the "Imperial City of Ouro Preto" and the idea of Dom Pedro was very strong here (…). So in 1889 rumours about changing the capital from Ouro Preto began

(Flavio, May 8, 2013)

I will often mention Flavio in this thesis, just as he is very popular in the city. A member of the Council,[9] former vice-mayor and a former member of the local parliament, Flavio became a friend and is engaged with the city's

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[8] The first settlements in Ouro Preto (*arraiais*), dating from June 1696-98, grew to the category of Vila in 1711, and the city was named Vila Rica (Rich Village). After Independence (1822), the city was named The Imperial City of Ouro Preto (Ouro Preto means Black Gold in Portuguese). After 1889, when Brazil became a Republic, the city was called Ouro Preto (Martins de Araujo 2013:14-17). Nowadays some people in town still refer to Ouro Preto as Vila Rica.

[9] The Council – Municipal Council for the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Patrimony – is a collegiate group formed by politicians, technicians, and community leaders to discuss local heritage policies; decisions by the Council may be suggestive or binding. I will discuss the Council in chapter 4.

cultural heritage. He told me the history of Ouro Preto, from a colonial city of gold production to a political centre, until the city (in late 1800s) was no longer the capital of Minas Gerais. The reason for removing the political centre to another city, according to Flavio, was that changing the location of the administrative headquarters was intended to show that the political administration itself had changed.

In cities in Latin America, both colonial rule and later projects connected to independence took a material form. New buildings conveyed the information that a new political order had come to power. Ouro Preto, however, remained mainly unspoiled when the country shifted from colonial rule to an independent government. But existing buildings assumed new narratives and roles when politics changed. A new republican administration removed Ouro Preto's political function. But the future of Ouro Preto did not linger connected to an imperial history only. Changes in the narrative of its colonial expression took place a few years later, allowing a new administration under President Vargas to redefine this "imperial town" as a material expression of an independent and republican Brazil. This chapter will look at the process of re-signifying Ouro Preto's architecture and the controversies associated with these changes. I start by exploring the centrality of architecture and planning in colonial and post-colonial cities by focussing mainly on Rama's (1996) work on Latin America. I then discuss the centrality of Ouro Preto in expressing the idea of nation and nationalism in Brazil since the early 20th century, mainly focussing on the work of Chuva (2009) and on Ouro Preto's archival material. To consider the limits of such national expression locally, I employ conversations with Flavio and João Carlos, who both work on city preservation in Ouro Preto.[10] Across the chapter, I highlight how Ouro Preto's cityscape is an entry point to discuss its past and future, and how its colonial design offers a present of tension between heritage goals and priorities of town's residents.

Other cities like Athens, as presented by Faubion (1993), instigate the discussion about Ouro Preto. In such cities, the past has a material privilege

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[10] In chapter 4 I will discuss the work of city preservation and will introduce more of the biographies of Flavio, João Carlos and others who direct city preservation in Ouro Preto.

and mediates citizens' narratives, because the past is "literally and figuratively, a presence" (ibid:88). However, as Faubion highlights, the past may be "more serviceable or onerous from one situation to the next" (ibid:86). In the case of Ouro Preto, there is a gap between normative narratives expressing a nationalist past and their possibilities to foster on residents specific experiences identity and belonging. Cultural heritage is often situated between perceptions of continuous inequality and imageries of nationality. As Rama (1996) puts it, "[a] dream of the past, a dream of the future – and only words and images to steer the dreaming" (ibid:72). This chapter offers a road map from the point of hailing Ouro Preto as a monument to nowadays, to discuss how the dream past and dream future are challenged in residents' everyday context and how preservation tactics have changed from a state-centred to a participative domain.

Plots, punishment and patriotism

Ouro Preto is a great example of Brazilian colonial Baroque architecture. According to Rama (1996), Baroque architecture is the result of European absolutism in the 17th and 18th centuries, which combined religion and rigorous political administration (ibid:2), as was the case in Vila Rica, this absolutism was expressed in a radial city (ibid:5), where buildings of political and religious importance radiated outward from the centre of the city. The governor's palace and one of the most important churches (for the political and trade nobility) were built in the main square and residential houses for affluent families surrounded these core political buildings and churches. The radial layout of Vila Rica made hierarchies of political and religious orders visible and colonist administration reverberated in labyrinthine rings that contained more churches and sites of political control.[11]

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[11] Castriota (2009) explains that the main difference between the radial city of Spanish colonies and Portuguese ones lies in a less defined contour and multiple centres. In Ouro Preto more specifically, its hilly topography and fast growth did not favour a well-defined plan preceding habitation and the political administration was installed within existing camps (ibid:131-135). Nevertheless, later, urban planning included the construction of various churches working as urban centres for religion, recreation and art, while the Main Square remained a centre for political administration.

Administrative authority, however, did not happen in a socio-economic vacuum. Rama reminds us that mining towns were locations of "conspicuous consumption" (ibid:12) and that the thirst for commodities and economic ostentation gave rise to a town of black slaves, traders, artisans, slave and mine owners, religious personnel, and political administrators. Maxwell (1973) describes society in Minas Gerais as

> a complicated mosaic of groups and races, of new white immigrants and second and third generation native Americans, of new slaves and native born captives (…). Race consciousness was a powerful, even a predominant element in social relationships. African influence was powerful, especially in the subcultures of fetishism, folklore, and dance. Moreover, the *pardo* offspring of the early miscegenation had rapidly ascended into municipal and judicial office (Maxwell 1973:92).

The diversity of groups and interests and above all the greed in a land of gold (and soon enough the collapse of gold production) led to upheavals despite the architectural exhibition of political and religious control. Anti-colonial rebellions in Vila Rica explain why the city, after having lost its gold and residents, was central for the development of national pride in early Republican years.

The Inconfidência Mineira (1789) was a plot hatched and led by Vila Rica's most affluent men, who wanted an independent Brazil. Although the plot failed, the conspiracy nonetheless gave the country a national hero when the political system changed in 1822.

The decline in gold production in the second half of the 18th century and the crown's insistence on taxing the now less wealthy local elite led conspirators (Brazilian-born wealthy intellectuals) to wait for the feared tax collection (*derrama*, mid-February 1789) as the moment for a coup d'état (Maxwell 1973:116). Sure that people would be outraged by the exploitative collections, the conspirators hoped a national bourgeoisie and the rest of Brazil would rise with them in their quest for independence. However, as Maxwell (1973) writes, "greed was greater than nationalism" (ibid:152). It was easy for the administration to buy betrayal in exchange for debt forgiveness amongst conspirators who worried about their own debts. The conspiracy was

uncovered, the *derrama* did not take place, and Brazil remained a colony. However, the movement brought with it a sea-change. Other independence movements followed, carrying with them Vila Rica's new thoughts of nationalism and adding to them movements against slavery and for increasingly complex notions of social justice (ibid:218). Finally, one of the most important legacies of the movement was the death of its scapegoat and martyr, Silva Xavier, or Tiradentes (as he was known because of his part-time job extracting teeth).

Unlike his companions in the plot, Tiradentes had no European education. He was not a man of property, nor did he have an influential family. He alone claimed "sole responsibility for the plot" (Maxwell 1973:191). He "was no angel. No man is. Yet in a history singularly lacking in noble men, Joaquim José da Silva Xavier remains an exception" (ibid:199). Being the least economically fortunate of the conspirators in Vila Rica's rebellious movement, Tiradentes assumed leadership of the conspiracy and met his death on April 21, 1792, while the others faced exile (ibid:199). He was hanged, drawn, and quartered, pieces of his body displayed on the road between Rio de Janeiro and Vila Rica. He was a martyr for an independent Brazil.

A monument for Tiradentes was erected in Ouro Preto in celebration of the 100th anniversary of his death. Law 3, from September 25, 1891,[12] authorised the government to build a column in marble topped with his statue in the centre of the Independence Square, currently known as Tiradentes Square, where his head was displayed after the failure of the Inconfidência. A local newspaper from April 21, 1892 conveys the sentiment regarding Tiradentes and the monument that marked the 100th anniversary of his death (see images below).

> *And therefore today's date constitutes to us a sacred day; and because Tiradentes is a saint, sanctified by the great pontiff – the people* (Jornal Minas Geraes 1892:4, my translation).[13]

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[12] Lei 3 from September 25, 1891 in *Coleção das Leis de Minas Gerais – 1891, Imprensa Official do Estado de Minas* Gerais, Ouro Preto. From a visit to the Municipal Archive of Ouro Preto on December 4, 2013.

[13] From a visit to the Municipal Archive of Ouro Preto on July 4, 2013 (newspaper article published on April 21, 1892).

Image 1.1 and 1.2: Tiradentes Square without and with Tiradentes monument
Source: (on the left) Riedel 1868-1869
(on the right) own collection, July 1, 2013.

Image 1.3 Tiradentes statue, July 11, 2013.
Source: own collection

A square of colonial power, that had hosted the Governor's palace, the jail, and one of the most exclusive religious brotherhoods, was later named the Square of Independence and a statue for Tiradentes was erected where his head had been displayed (and was stolen soon after). However, the symbolism of Tiradentes and the Inconfidência Mineira were not enough to prevent the demographic haemorrhage that followed when Belo Horizonte was inaugurated as the new capital of Minas Gerais in 1897.

Change of capitals

> Belo Horizonte 12 – today, with all solemnity, the city of Minas is inaugurated. The President of the State signed the decree that changes the capital, on a grandstand especially prepared to that end. The crowd was considerable, with ecstatic cheers by the population. Great popular festivities, the enthusiasm is complete.
>
> (Jornal do Brasil 1897, my translation)[14]

In a fever, people welcomed the new capital, Belo Horizonte – a capital that owed its name to the horizon created by the mountains and blue sky as well as to the horizon of organisation, development, and exemplar planning (Zweig 1942:238-9). Meanwhile, the houses and furniture left behind in Ouro Preto gathered dust. Political speeches and propositions at the time in the House of Representatives for the city of Ouro Preto (*Câmara de Vereadores*) demonstrate concern for a city that had lost 40% of its population in the three decades between 1890 and 1920 (Marques 2013:251). Minutes from the House of Representatives between 1901 and 1905 detail proposals for reducing housing taxes, as houses left abandoned increased public debts. Properties were reported to be in hazardous condition and in need of attention so as to avoid their complete destruction.[15] About that period, Flavio says that

nobody believed this would happen one day (...) but things went ahead and in 1897 the capital moved away to the city of Belo Horizonte. This, Andreza, I did research on it, I listened to people's stories (…) everybody thought that Ouro Preto would die. There were only bureaucrats here; there was no industry, there was nothing (…) Some people say residents left the keys in the door and left because the city would die (...) some say more than half of Ouro Preto got on the train and left. This was a break in the history of Ouro Preto; from day to night our history broke apart in terms of families, in terms of behaviour, in terms of employment, in terms of economy, in terms of culture,

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[14] From a visit to the Acervo de Periódico da Câmara dos Deputados, Centro de Documentação e Informação – CEDI, on June 20, 2013; (newspaper article published on December 13, 1897).
[15] Registro de Atas de Sessões da Câmara 1901 a 1905; from a visit to the Municipal Archive of Ouro Preto, on December 12, 2013.

society, community (…) until some modernists came here in 1926 (...) and said "man, this is a cultural heritage, this is a national reference, our history is here".

<div align="right">(Flavio, May 8, 2013)</div>

Flavio continued his description of the history of Ouro Preto and before he spoke about the "re-discovery" of Ouro Preto as a "place of national memory", as he puts it, he mentioned how the city became meaningless, economically, politically, and demographically. Ouro Preto, previously named Vila Rica, the Rich Village of Brazil, used to be one of the "wealthiest and most famous towns during the eighteenth century, (...) at the time when New York, Rio de Janeiro, and Buenos Aires were still insignificant settlements" (Zweig 1942: 233). Population decline was pronounced in the early 1900s, with no new houses built and no attempts to change the old ones (Figure1.1). As a result of such little change, Ouro Preto could be preserved a few years later as an architectural expression of colonial times.
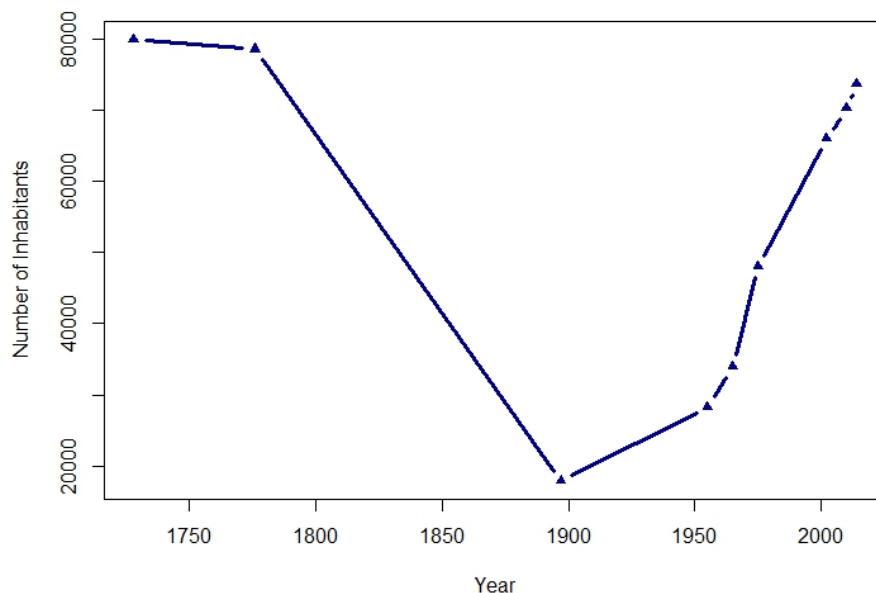
Figure 1.1: Ouro Preto's population graph
Sources: Batista da Costa 2011:33, Castriota 2009:137, IBGE 2015,
Martins de Araujo 2013:14, Maxwell 1973:263,

New narratives for old constructions: national memory

> It was here, on these high rocks,
> That seem to interrupt the firmament
> That dawned radiant the thought
> Of the freedom that the Messiah preached
>
> It was here! Says the gale;
> It was here! Says the old monument;
> It was here! Says everything with sentiment,
> Telling the stories of the past days.
>
> Save! Legendary and unharmed city!
> If today the modern generation despises you
> Your past of glory and sound
>
> My soul kneels moved in tears
> Kiss your core generous and sainted
> Where the heart of heroes have pulsed.
>
> (Pires 1902, my translation)[16]

The city's history and heroes were at the heart of laments during the change of capital, but they would soon distinguish Ouro Preto to become a national cultural heritage site – a location perceived to be of national value. The new status of the old city produced a distinctive story of the past for the city and brought hope that it would enjoy a different future.

The creation of a national memory was an important aspect in intellectual and political production at the beginning of the 20th century. Chuva (2009) reminds us that efforts to produce a national history focussed on a tangible representation of Brazil (ibid:31). Around 40% of all the monuments preserved in Brazil until the 2000s were protected during Vargas' first period of rule (1930-1945) (ibid:31).

The 1930s in Brazil were a period associated with the search for national unity to replace regional oligarchies. Vargas focussed on education as a means to reach national control, a "better trained elite" and modernisation (Fausto 1999:201). This focus is translated in material cultural heritage. Architectonic projects, such as the building of a pioneering modernist edifice

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[16] From a visit to the Municipal Archive of Ouro Preto, on July 4, 2013 (newspaper article published on June 30, 1902).

to serve the Education Ministry, expressed his intentions (ibid:202). Moreover, under that educational and nationalist impulse, the network of mainly Minas Gerais-born intellectuals working under his mandate selected and justified their choice of places and monuments that became part of the national patrimony.[17]

Colonial Baroque architecture was selected as representing the image of the nation. However, when selecting locations and monuments to materialise events of national importance, the elements chosen could not contradict the then-contemporary idea of patriotism. To correct any thought of colonial imperative in cities such as Ouro Preto, retrospectively historicising sites and events of national interest meant focussing on historical events such as conspiracies against Portuguese rule. This placed Ouro Preto at the centre of preservation efforts as the site of the Inconfidência Mineira. The city where the scapegoat of the insurgency had his head displayed as punishment was a key location in the celebration of independence, as the Decree signed by President Getúlio Vargas testifies:

> Decree N. 22.928 – July 12, 1933.
>
> Hails the city of Ouro Preto as a national monument
>
> (…)
>
> Considering that it is a duty of the Public Administration to defend the artistic patrimony of the nation and that the places where great historical events took place are part of a people's tradition;
>
> **Considering that the city of Ouro Preto, former capital of the State of Minas Gerais, was a theatre of events of great historical relevance in the formation of our nationality and that it possesses old monuments, edifices and temples of colonial architecture, true art pieces that deserve defence and conservation**;
>
> Resolves:
>
> Art 1. The City Of Ouro Preto is hailed as a National Monument without charge to the Federal Union (…)

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[17] During Vargas' 15-year mandate and more strongly during his dictatorship (1937-45 *Ditadura do Estado Novo*), he "created a State-sponsored citizenship" (Holston 2008:186), through "new rituals of national identification" (ibid:191) that included labour laws, cinema, radio, and historic and artistic patrimony.

> Art 2. The monuments (…) that constítute the historic and artistic patrimony of the City of Ouro Preto are under the watch and protection of the Government of Minas Gerais and of the Municipality of Ouro Preto (…)
>
> Rio de Janeiro, July 12, 1933, 112th Independence and 45th Republic
>
> Getúlio Vargas
> Washington F. Pires
> (Decree 22.928, July 12, 1933, my translation and emphasis)[18]

Hailing colonial towns as an expression of Brazilian nationalism was remarkable, as it made materials the commemoration of national heroism. Retrospectively historicising Ouro Preto meant that the very foundation of the city was signified in terms of nationalism. The *paulistas*, or *bandeirantes*, the Brazilian-born men who explored the hinterlands (*sertões*) of Brazil in the late 1600s are contrasted with "the invaders from the coast", the Portuguese (Zweig 1942:59). The gold *paulistas* discovered made Brazil the most precious gem in the Portuguese crown, and made the *paulistas* enemies of the crown soon after. *Paulistas* or *bandeirantes* and the Portuguese (*emboabas*) began a conflict known as the Emboabas War 1708-9 (Fausto 1999:51). This was either one of the first Brazilian uprisings against the Portuguese rule or a war marked by a similar thirst for control and affluence through the collection of taxes and possession of gold mines and slaves (Romeiro 2008). This discussion will be addressed in length elsewhere, as the disputes between "natives" and "outsiders" are relevant in Ouro Preto, where the terms natives, *emboabas*, *forasteiros* are still in use. Despite different possible interpretations of the Emboabas War, when colonial towns in Minas Gerais were given new significance as a theatre of great historical relevance, the vanguard of Minas Gerais intellectuals part of Vargas' government (like the Education Minister Gustavo Capanema) were associated with the discovery of a new gem of Minas Gerais, its tangible cultural heritage, and as such with previous Brazilian explorers – *bandeirantes* (Chuva 2009:101).

Nevertheless, the idea that cities can work as "open museums" [19] or even that objects should be safely placed in museums as treasures of a time

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[18] From a visit to IPHAN Noronha Santos, in Rio de Janeiro on April 24, 2013 (SPHAN n.d. *Processo de Tombamento Conjunto Arquitetônico e urbanístico da cidade de Ouro Preto*).

past does not explain how "reading" history through materials can be done effectively. Clearly, material expressions have different meanings for different people or different meanings for the same people across different contexts (temporal, economic, political). Moreover, if places and monuments tell a story, who is the author of such account, the architect or sculptor of the material or the observer "reading" the story? Finally, if interpretations of materials change, how can materials be maintained untouched? I engage with these questions, addressing first the issue of authorship. The way monuments and monumental cities were interpreted allowed their preservation as material expressions of nationalism. Chuva (2009) refers to intellectuals working in the selection of material patrimony in Brazil during the 1930s and 1940s as "architects of memory". These "architects of memory" were the ones to establish buildings and cities as monuments through historic narratives, though they were neither architects nor experienced in erecting monuments.

"Architects of memory"

The selection of Baroque form as national patrimony was justified through artistic and historic elements. The "architects of memory" (Chuva 2009) repeatedly wrote about, studied, and documented a past of heroes and nationalism. Studies were published in official bulletins and magazines, informing the population about the values observed in the selection process. Hence, a historic and artistic past is not necessarily invented, in the sense of being "off-the-record", but is certainly imaginative in regards to what is selected to be recounted, forgotten, or preserved.

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[19] The idea of preserving monuments and objects of "national interest" is mainly attributed to France, as it was already classifying national monuments in 1830. Brazil only began legislation in the area, together with other countries that also followed a nationalist impulse in monumental preservation (such Mexico and United States), in the early 20th century. However while most countries mainly selected isolated buildings and objects, in Brazil large city perimeters were protected, supported by an encompassing law: Decree 25 from 1937 (Chuva 2009:50-54), which endorsed the capacity of places and materials to narrate facts of a past without further examination on the materiality of national memories (Chuva 2009:49).

One such publication, the magazine *Revista do Patrimônio*, was printed yearly beginning in 1937.[20] In the period between 1937 and 1947, key years in the protection and regulations of Brazilian patrimony, most articles published focussed on the need to study art and architecture in Brazil (emphasising the lack of existing literature). They presented the biographies of selected artists – especially the sculptor and architect Antonio Francisco Lisboa (known as *Aleijadinho,* or Little Cripple)[21] and his prolific production in Ouro Preto (Chuva 2009:253). Articles also collected information on churches, chapels, and paintings across various colonial cities in Brazil. When reading the lengthy editions of this magazine, it is possible to see the development of a historical approach supporting actions in the protection of material forms in the foundational years of the process of compiling a national patrimony. Buildings were documented considering their authorship, date of creation, and creative solutions for building those edifices in a town with limited resources.[22]

Lastly, the importance of a narrative in defining a material expression for Brazil is also noticeable when looking at the profession of those working at the Service of Historic and Artistic National Patrimony (SPHAN).[23] Historians and writers played a fundamental role in the establishment of the organisation (Chuva 2009:198). As Rama puts it in the context of other countries in Latin America,

> the written word designed the foundations of national identity and constructed a version of it in people's minds, all in the service of a particular political project (Rama 1996:70).

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[20] Eleven editions of *Revista do Patrimônio* were printed without interruption from 1937 until 1947. After 1947, the production becomes more irregular. The centrality of Minas Gerais in general, and Ouro Preto in particular, is noticeable. Several essays on the contribution of Aleijadinho were presented in the first editions as well as on *Inconfidentes*. Later editions also focussed on Ouro Preto (1955, 1956, 1969, 1978, 1997) and there are various articles on Baroque style in general. Controversies about patrimony and the city, the immateriality of cultural expression amongst other topics were not privileged in the first set of publications being emphasised much later. Editions of the magazine are available online: http://portal.iphan.gov.br/publicacoes/lista?categoria=23&busca=, accessed August 5, 2015.

[21] I will discuss more about the work of Aleijadinho in Ouro Preto in chapter 3.

[22] The fact that Brazilian Baroque had its "original and intrinsic breadth" (Avila 2001:116) when erected by an isolated society having to find unique materials and forms to assemble the European influence with local possibilities, makes Minas' Baroque central when modernists look for the roots of national architecture (Castriota 2009:138).

[23] The current acronym is IPHAN: Institute for Historic and Artistic Patrimony. In this thesis, SPHAN refers to the early organisation and IPHAN to the current form of the organisation.

Here, the political project under Vargas' rule was the formation of the nation from a patriotic perspective.

Those written practices reinforced a "standard of art and architecture dominated by Minas Gerais' colonial production" that oriented (and still orients) patrimonial practices in the country (Chuva 2009:63). The intellectuals of Minas Gerais formally worked for SPHAN, created in 1937 (Law 378, January 13, 1937), "to promote in the entire country and permanently, the protection, conservation, enrichment and knowledge of the national historic and artistic patrimony".[24] However, despite this aim, the protection and conservation of artistic and historic patrimony did not happen equally throughout the country.

This group of intellectuals mainly understood historic and artistic as associated with Brazilian Baroque and consequently, their work was mainly concentrated in regions where this style was prominent – "Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, Bahia, Pernambuco, Paraíba, Sergipe, Alagoas, Espirito Santo, and Goiás" (Chuva 2009:61). Looking at a contemporary map of historic sites in Brazil it is still possible to see the influence of that period:

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[24] Law 378, January 13, 1937 (available on-line:
http://portal.iphan.gov.br/uploads/legislacao/Lei_n_378_de_13_de_janeiro_de_1937.pdf.
Accessed July 31, 2015).

Map 1.1: Preserved sites in Brazil
Source: IPHAN 2015, with adaption[25]

The degree of openness within the process of choosing and compiling Brazil's national patrimony was possible through Decree 25, November 30, 1937,[26] which organised the protection of the historic and artistic patrimony identified by SPHAN. The law classified goods of "public interest" (to be preserved) as those associated with memorable national historical facts or those having exceptional archaeological, ethnographic, bibliographic, and

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[25] The definitions of historic and artistic then interpreted were consolidated over time. Nowadays, from the 77 urban sites that are protected by IPHAN (the map 1.1. list some), more than 60% are located in the southeast and northeast regions, places with a colonial Baroque legacy (up to date data on protected urban sets are available on-line: http://portal.iphan.gov.br/pagina/detalhes/123, accessed August 5, 2015). The repercussions of these choices are still noticeable nowadays. For example, Gilberto Velho recounts his experience in the Historic and Artistic Patrimonial Council, in 1984, when Afro-Brazilian candomblé tradition was for the first time subject to protection. The controversies in that case were due to the simplicity of the location where practices took place, notwithstanding more than 150 years of rituals in the area (Velho 2006). The conclusion is that even when intangible cultural heritage is considered (see decree 3551, August 4, 2000), it is often associated with the locations where practices occur.
[26] Decree 25, November 30, 1937 is still valid today (available on-line http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto-lei/Del0025.htm, accessed on August 9, 2015).

artistic value; in other words, sites of "notable expression" produced by nature or humans. That openness of terms in the law allowed for the subjective selection of forms and images that made up sites for preservation.

In addition, sites selected as national patrimony had also to be classed in at least one of four different categories: Archaeological, Ethnographic and Landscaping; Historic; Fine Arts; Applied Arts. Most of the sites and monuments protected by SPHAN in the 1930s and 1940s fell either under the category of Fine Arts or Historic, or in both (Chuva 2009:214). International movements, such as the Conference of Athens in 1931,[27] also supported the national focus on historic and artistic monuments in the formation of a national past. The conference did not only focus on construction (reconstruction of monuments post-World War I), but also on the historic and artistic features of these monuments (Choay 2011:156-7).

In sum, the political project to unify and give form to the country's past prompted the creation of such organisations as SPHAN. To condense the most diverse forms of Brazil and Brazilians, articles explained artistic forms and national heroes, hence Baroque colonial cities gained the narrative of "theatres of events of great historical relevance in the formation of our nationality" (Decree 22.928, 1933) and shaped national patrimony. Historic and artistic relevance was associated with the formation of nationality. It follows that the meaning of historic and artistic patrimony can also assume a contemporaneous façade, if the same formula – importance in the formation of nationality – is met. With the same 1930s and 1940s national impulse, modernist lines were preserved concomitantly to colonial constructions. Both Baroque preservation and modernist constructions expressed a Brazilian architecture, serving the nation in its unifying project (Chuva 2009:100). Underwood (2001) explains the connection between the two styles as a

> spiritual quest for cultural identity rooted in an aesthetic exploration of the tropical landscape and the colonial Baroque condition. (…) Architecture, the monumental extension of the flesh of the body into the

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[27] See The Athens Charter for the restoration of historic monuments 1931 (available on-line: http://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/167-the-athens-charter-for-the-restoration-of-historic-monuments,   accessed November 12, 2015).

flesh of the world, has been for Niemeyer a means to incorporate (literally and metaphysically) a vision of the Brazilian soul and achieve a sense of cultural identity (…) His work is thus important for understanding Modern Brazilian art because it has forged a conceptual and historical link between the colonial Baroque and Modernism (Underwood 2001:526).

One example of the combination between Baroque and modernist architecture in the search for a Brazilian nationality is the construction of a modernist hotel in Ouro Preto's centre. Tourists used to visit Ouro Preto as the city was often called "the Toledo, the Venice, the Salzburg, the Aigues-Mortes of Brazil" (Zweig 1942:243), as this newspaper article from 1935 demonstrates:

> Among all pressing needs in our land, urgent is the construction of a hotel that satisfies the exigencies of our progress and the intensity of the tourism that grows day by day, promising for the next tourist season of 1936, an intense movement in our city (Jornal Voz de Ouro Preto, November 10, 1935, my translation).[28]

Efforts to build a hotel for the monumental city followed and the Grande Hotel de Ouro Preto was finally built. The construction crowned years of intense investment in the city's cultural heritage, including the opening of the city's largest museum (Museu da Inconfidência), the conservation of house façades, and the safeguarding of churches. A young Oscar Niemeyer designed the hotel building, which was constructed between 1940 and 1944, and Burle Marx conceived the gardens. The hotel was formally opened in 1945. [29]

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[28] From a visit to the Municipal Archive of Ouro Preto on July 4, 2013.
[29] Prefeitura Municipal de Ouro Preto (2012), accessed through official request September 13, 2013, brigs detailed information about the hotel construction.

Image 1.4: Grande Hotel Ouro Preto (blue façade and straight rooflines), April 4, 2013
Source: own collection

Even though the hotel is connected to tourism (and tourism associated with the city's tangible heritage), the building's construction stands out in the colonial landscape with its pillars and open spaces on the ground floor and straight lines on the roof typical of a modernist design. As much as the hotel façade awakened hopes of economic development with its novel design, the same design provoked local suspicion and controversy. Nevertheless, in the explanations of the construction, the hotel stood as an example of "beautiful and genuine" architecture, in the words of the architect Lucio Costa (Chuva 2009:209). For those defending the hotel, many SPHAN officials amongst them, the harmony of a modernist project inside a colonial setting was explained through principles of a "good architecture" being as artistic as the colonial houses surrounding (Leonidio 2007:203). The construction of the hotel marked a period when explanations (on Brazilian creativity, harmony, art) would be retrospectively assigned to projects. With such explanations, technical knowledge also grew in importance and cultural heritage soon became an architects' matter.

From Baroque to Brasilia: ambivalence in cities and nationalism

Along the lines of terms as open as "good architecture", various examples of modernist buildings were integrated into the surrounding colonial architecture through the aspect of building with a plan and maintaining an idea of harmony and "simplicity", words often used to refer to colonial and modernist constructions (Chuva 2009:209). It follows that modernist projects when built were almost immediately protected. One remarkable example is the preservation of the city of Brasilia a few decades after its inauguration.

Brasilia was inaugurated on the April 21, 1960 on the anniversary of the death of Tiradentes. This date was not a coincidence and was stated in Law 3273, October 1, 1957 (Kubitschek 2010:108).[30] The meaning of Brasilia's modernist architecture, often associated with ideas of innovation, is also underpinned by the push to occupy the interior of the country and materialise ideas of national development. Supporting the making of national imagery, there was no other day for the launch of Brasilia than the anniversary of the death of the martyr of Brazilian Independence.

A few years later, however, Lucio Costa, Brasilia's urban planner, needed to defend the city's project. He supported the city's preservation despite [31]

> the coexistence, side by side, of the architecture and the anti-architecture (…) the development bog in under-development; the facilities and relative well-being of one part, and the difficulties and the chronic uneasiness of the majority (Costa 1990:4, my translation).

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[30] President Juscelino Kubitschek described the new city as a meta-synthesis for Brazilian citizenship. Its location in the middle of Brazil would unify the country by crossing it with roads from side to side (Kubitschek 2010:101) and the design of residential sameness would develop Brazilian unity. However, even from its earliest days, Brasilia became famous for its socio-spatial inequality (Holston 2010).

[31] The Director of Pro-Memoria, Italo Campofiorito, wrote to Lucio Costa on November 24, 1989 asking for a letter to support the preservation of the urban setting of Brasilia. The letter in reply was written on January 1, 1990 and both the documents are the first pages of the process of "tombamento" N. 1.305-T-90 Vol. 1 "Conjunto Urbanistico (Plano Piloto), Brasilia/ Distrito Federal. Accessed in visit to Noronha Santos Archive, Rio de Janeiro on April 24, 2013.

Notwithstanding Brasilia's increasing urban sprawl in the form of unplanned satellite cities – already after its inauguration – locations lacking almost every urban amenity from asphalt to hospital facilities, Costa asserts that the city testifies to "our lively and latent strength (…) a rational gesture of courage in the direction of a definitive Brazil" (ibid:2). The autonomy in the city's architecture and the UNESCO recognition of its artistic elements in 1987, Costa maintains, express that the right choices were made. He continues explaining that a

> universal tendency (…) is that everybody will become at least middle-class and the so called Plano Piloto can be considered an anticipation. Therefore, in the future reality, when we arrive there, we all instinctively will feel home in the old and condign outline of the "old capital" (Costa 1990:2, my translation). [32]

The building of a distinctive modern façade in the middle of the preserved colonial layout of Ouro Preto and the preservation of Brasilia show that the definitions of historic and artistic were wrapped in ideals of nationality. The importance given to a material political order is, controversially, a trace of continuity from the colonial system that Brazil aimed to unfasten from. When writing about the colonisation of Egypt, Mitchell (1991) asserts that colonialism is not restricted to "the establishing of a European presence but also to the spread of a political order that inscribes in the social world a new conception of space" (ibid:ix). Rama (1996), when examining cities in Latin America over colonial and early post-colonial periods, maintains that from spaces formed at the very start of colonial ruling to the creation of cities such as Brasilia in the 1960s, Latin American cities have expressed a "rationalizing view of an urban future" (Rama 1996:1). The view of an urban future for cities like Brasilia or Ouro Preto may be analysed as a controversial trace of colonial continuity, because their planning and/or preservation had little to do with the cities' current realities. While in Brasilia the city planners hoped for

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[32] Brasilia is today preserved and Portaria 314, October 8, 1992 (available on-line: http://portal.iphan.gov.br/uploads/legislacao/Portaria_n_314_de_8_de_outubro_de_1992.pdf, accessed December 16, 2015), establishes the definitions and criteria for the preservation of the city, focussing on the maintenance of the urban conception of the city in its four main scales: monumental, residential, communitarian and leisure.

socio-economic fairness, a notion far from Brazil's reality, Ouro Preto's preservation promoted tourism opportunities, yet local residents did not feel included in city spaces or new economic activities. Hence, when looking for new concepts for cities through the lens of nationalism, Brazilian modernist architecture promoted colonist forms of city thinking, strange as it might seem.

Local laws clear any doubts that Ouro Preto's preservation aimed at catering for tourists. Local residents are only cited in such regulations regarding possible fines they may receive. For example, Ouro Preto's mayor in the years 1931-36, João Velloso, established preservation regulations even before Vargas' decree in 1933 (mentioned above). One of the laws that aimed at preserving the façade of buildings in Ouro Preto is translated below. In Decree 13, from September 19, 1931, Velloso emphasised the importance of preserving colonial buildings

> **considering that great interest from the tourists** that frequently come to visit the city and its surroundings springs from the colonial expression of its edifices, its buildings, its squares; **considering that the buildings that destroy the appearance, I mean, the colonial appearance, painfully damages the sensibility of tourists**, I decree:
>
> 1st the construction of buildings and edifices that do not harmonise with the colonial style of the city is not permitted within the urban perimeter.
>
> 2nd existing buildings in the urban perimeter that do not adhere to the article above should be modified on the facades when they need reparation (…)"
>
> (Decree 13, September 19, 1931, my translation and emphasis)

A little less than a year later (through Decree 25, September 3, 1932), [33] the same mayor detailed how restorations and even the cleaning of buildings had to avoid modifications on colonial buildings and imposed fines where the law was not followed. Not only was the city to cater for tourists, but buildings

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[33] Decree 25, September 3, 1932 and Decree 13, September 19, 1931, in: Livro de Transcrição Decretos e Leis 1931-1942. Book. Visit to the Municipal Archive of Ouro Preto on November 28, 2013.

created for that group could de-harmonise with the colonial setting (as in the case of the Hotel). However, residents could not run the risk to "painfully damage[s] the sensibility of tourists" (Decree 13, September 19, 1931) without punishment – fines or re-construction.

The imagery of Brazil's nationality in Ouro Preto is then ambivalent: in preserving forms that recall a heroic past, an undemocratic procedure of urban living is maintained. The ambiguity in Ouro Preto's preservation can be summarised with a guiding research question: in preserving forms, which symbolic meanings are maintained? I grapple with this question with ethnographic material throughout this thesis to see how residents make sense of preserved forms. I also analyse how a narrative of national meaning (and technical expertise) is slowly replaced by one of social participation in city planning. Whether participation will support or contest preservation and why, is a second key question at the heart of this thesis.

Participation in city planning and city preservation is a discussion I tackle in chapter 4. However, it is important at this point to discuss the challenges that Ouro Preto faced in preserving a cityscape that led to a change in ways of governing its cultural heritage. As Abram and Weszkalnys (2013) assert, "the temporality invoked by planning may thus be inherently irregular, and its outcomes continually deferred" (ibid:14). The postponed and contentious results in Ouro Preto's preservation are discussed below.

Demographic growth and city preservation

In 1933 the mayor writes a decree that establishes the importance of Ouro Preto (…) then Getúlio Vargas preserves it here as national patrimony and from there onwards that was the way, they rescued Ouro Preto but that rescue is not yet economic (…) it did not generate employment and Ouro Preto continued more or less unstable, until the aluminium business started. Already in the 1940s (…) what is today Novelis [aluminium company] had started (…) and that was the economic pillar of Ouro Preto for many decades, but Ouro Preto was still very small. Until the 1970s when Novelis had a period

of very intense growth and a lot of people came here (…) a man would come, register at the company, and would fence off a piece of land on the hill and the prefecture would find a way for the man to build his house there. So the periphery you see today in Ouro Preto, the "other Ouro Preto" is from that time more or less. And that brought some problems, an urban sprawl without any planning, (…) and problems with people who have no connection with Ouro Preto, with its meaning as cultural patrimony.

(Flavio, May 8, 2013)

The preservation of Ouro Preto raised expectations for the economy (mainly focussing on tourism and education), but as Flavio describes, an economic solution did not come with the designation of the city as national patrimony. When Zweig (1942) reports his visit to Ouro Preto around 1940, it is possible to imagine that the city was still small, without a sound economic base even after the heritage declarations. Zweig described a former economically and politically important city, where houses looked so

> tired that they must needs lean against one another for support. Their paint is old and grey, peeling off, and wrinkled like the face of an old man. (…) Late in the evening one has the ghostly feeling that the people one sees are still those of the past, or their shadows. One is surprised sometimes to hear the church bells strike the hours, for why count them when time itself stands still? (Zweig 1942:242).

Despite the severe economic decay of the city, its ghostly houses were meant to showcase previous heroism, and the modernist hotel construction raised expectations for a vibrant future. Nevertheless, the idea of heroes, heritage, and tourism bringing economic growth or re-population was deferred. When the city's economic and demographic development finally occurred, it was unrelated to its preservation. On the contrary, as Flavio explained, the aluminium industry brought migrant workers to town, adding to the city (visible) irregular constructions in the outskirts.

One way to sense concerns regarding city change, despite the patrimonial titles, arises when reading UNESCO reports on Ouro Preto in the

years 1990, 1993, 2003 and 2004. In 1980, the World Heritage Committee decided that the Historic Town of Ouro Preto, alongside other places, such as the Historic Centre of Rome, would be added to the World Heritage list. Ever since then, "State of Conservation Reports" have been produced. The 1990 Report states that the number of people living in Ouro Preto has grown and expresses concern because the permanent character of the city layout (protected locally [34], nationally [35] and also internationally [36]) cannot accommodate new residents who, as a result, have built entirely new areas on hillsides, despite the risk of landslides. To address the aspect of house occupation on city hills, one action that is mentioned is "to shore up the slopes of the hills because of heavy rainfall" which can endanger monuments (UNESCO 1990). It is important to underline that Ouro Preto was preserved as artistic and historical evidence and it is the whole setting – a landscape scale that embraces the surroundings of the historic site[37] – that is taken into account for entitlements. New houses in surrounding areas matter because they "distort the original urban landscape" (UNESCO 2003).

Ouro Preto grew beyond the number of residences available, and its national importance is discussed instead of its local and immediate housing demands. João Carlos, the head of the IPHAN office in Ouro Preto, explained to me during a recorded interview that the controversies of population growth and city preservation now invite society to direct preservation.

A great deal of the preservation of cultural patrimony was deeply connected to periods of economic decay, now imagine me as the head of an office in a super active economy, in a society where everybody wants asphalt, in a society where everybody wants bathrooms with tiles, where everybody wants a second floor, nobody wants wall of wattle and daub, everybody wants to live

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[34] Decree 13, September 19, 1931 (see also Decree 25, September 3, 1932). Visit to the Municipal Archive of Ouro Preto on November 28, 2013.

[35] Ouro Preto was inscribed in the Brazilian heritage book as a Fine Art in Brazil (Livro do tombo 3, de Belas Artes) on April 20, 1938, later on September 15,1986 it was also inscribed for its Archaeological, Ethnographic and Landscaping values (Livro do tombo 1, Arqueológico, Etnográfico e Paisagístico) and Historical values (Livro do tombo 2, Histórico) visit to Noronha Santos Archive, Rio de Janeiro April 24, 2013.

[36] Included in the UNESCO World Heritage List in September 1980.

[37] A discussion on surrounding areas and preservation limits will be presented in chapter 5, when I analyse the transformation of local roads.

modern, you know, everybody wants solar heating, and at the same time I have to preserve this city that is here, and I have to take it to the 21st century, you see. So there is a failure in the Brazilian architecture discourse, it does not give me an answer to that. Therefore I have to be discussing that with society.

(João Carlos, August 22, 2013)

It is worth highlighting that when the city faces material concerns – narrow streets for vehicles, house owners who want to renovate buildings to accommodate new needs – the architectural discourse does not offer answers. Before architecture can look at new solutions to accommodate an 18th century city in the 21st century, it has to first find a discourse, a narrative that allows for change, or that justifies maintenance. João supports the notion that such discourse should involve society. Whether participation is a discourse to allow for the continuity of preservation norms, or a chance to modify the city according to multi-layered claims is a discussion that pertains this thesis and especially chapters 5 and 6. For the purpose of this chapter, it is relevant to consider that inviting society to define patrimonial parameters is already very different from previous practices in IPHAN (SPHAN), which mainly worked closely with selected intellectuals and a body of technical experts (mainly architects), hence detaching that institution from local patrimonial concerns, a mark that lasted for many years. Moreover, Flavio described that besides a perception of distance, there was also a conflict where residents did not know what they could do in the city or how to find out information because

the mayor administers the city but not entirely because he has a parallel duty with IPHAN, which is a national organisation, and that led to conflicts. It always led to problems because how can the city grow? I will expand my house (fazer um puxadinho), I will build a second floor, but how will I do that? Whom do I ask for authorisation? Is it to the prefecture or to IPHAN? In reality it should be the two of them, but they did not talk to each other. And the prefecture always took the position of "washing its hands" [to not assume responsibility] 'Ah, let the patrimony [IPHAN] say no because I depend on

your vote, I am not the one who will say no, this patrimony (…), this evil patrimony, this patrimony that belongs to rich people from Belo Horizonte, from Brasilia, they are not letting you build your house'. So that went on for many years, generated problems for the city, unplanned growth, and infrastructure deficit.

(Flavio, May 8, 2013)

As Flavio explained, the production of policies nationally implied local effects (mainly economic costs) to the prefecture or civil society in maintaining or restoring buildings. As the decree that hails Ouro Preto as a national monument exemplifies, no charge to the Federal Union resulted from that decision and the guardianship of the city was a municipal and regional duty. Hence, heritage decisions were associated with faraway offices in capitals and the costs – economic and political – were localised. It is important to remember that another reason for the unpopularity of policies has to do with the fact that

> [i]n Brazil, Decree 25, from November 30, 1937, that organised the protection of the national historic and artistic patrimony, was the first Brazilian judicial norm to mention an administrative limit to the right of property, by creating the institute of preservation [tombamento]. This is an administrative act that originated the national guardianship on historic and artistic patrimony due to the cultural value attributed by SPHAN. *Tombamento* has as function to impose delimitation in properties, public or privates, without promoting removal or alienation (Chuva 2009:147, my translation).

Therefore, as innovative and restrictive, protection policies were contested amongst those directly affected. Disputes in Ouro Preto grew beyond the legitimacy brought by political discourse focussed on public interest or technical terms when the city experienced economic and demographic growth unrelated to its historic and artistic symbolism.

Protected materials in changing times

In Ouro Preto, intellectuals re-signified sites through history and heroes. However, such "pen power" (Rama 1996:125) to historicise and create technical rules to organise and preserve could no longer provide satisfactory answers to residents. New houses were built when industries began to expand operations in town. The city faced population growth beyond the capacity of its existing constructions. Not necessarily directly opposing to a political project of national imagery, house dwellers needed to build houses so that they could stop paying rent, provide for growing families, and commute to work at aluminium companies expanding around Ouro Preto. The prefecture on the other hand collected taxes from companies and facilitated arrival for newcomers. The divorce between national and local interests took place in the form of a dualism between a cultural and touristic city centre, and "non-cultural" and "non-historic" outskirts. According to Flavio, the political disputes in Ouro Preto reflect the conflicts regarding city growth (periphery) and city preservation (city centre):

We had two Ouro Preto's, the Ouro Preto of the centre, and the Ouro Preto of the periphery. The Ouro Preto of the rich and the Ouro Preto of the poor. The Ouro Preto of the guy that worked (...) and the Ouro Preto of the tourist. So the elections begun to articulate that, the man that is the mayor today for example, Zé Leandro, he called the other one, Ângelo [his opposition], "the tourist". Ângelo was a mayor three times and has a strong cultural identity (...) today he is the president of the Brazilian Institute of Museums. So these two men since the 1980s polarise politics in Ouro Preto in speeches about the good against the evil, the tourist against the native, progress against preservation, the truck against the carriage (…) the Baroque against the "barraco" (shed, in Portuguese).

(Flavio, May 8, 2013)

Batista da Costa (2011), in his thesis on Ouro Preto and Diamantina in the face of global tourism, shares numbers that reveal the intense

demographic growth of Ouro Preto's urban areas. In the 1960s, the city had a total of 28,229 inhabitants and in 1980 the number was already 48,088 (ibid:331). Following an ascending curve, in 2015 the estimated population is 74,036.[38] Unsurprisingly, the preserved urban centre of Ouro Preto could not accommodate new families. Most new residents were used to houses that are neither a monument nor simply an object, but a "process, an inseparable part of life that grows, flourishes, decays and is reborn", as are houses elsewhere as Mitchell describes in his study about Egypt (Mitchell 1991:53). It follows that most newcomers, as Flavio reported, erected new houses in nearby areas and commuted to the historical centre for banking, commerce, and many other activities that remained there. Central areas endured largely unchanged, and cater mainly to groups who can adapt to its stiff regulations, such as smaller families, richer segments who can cope with rising prices in a city of growing housing speculation, single residents (students), and short-stay guests (tourists). The images below exemplify the maintenance of central areas.

Images 1.5 and 1.6: São Francisco Church in Ouro Preto's city centre[39]
Source: Ferrez 1880 (on the left), own collection (on the right), December 3, 2013.

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[38] For up-to-date population information, see: IBGE 2015.
[39] Even though Sao Francisco's churchyard shows the maintenance of main architectural lines, some authors, such as Castriota (2009) highlight the change in the use of its frontal area from a local grocery trade area to a touristic one focussing on art craft. This is not the only change that occurred, but from that churchyard it is possible to see some new housing areas emerge on the slope of hills (ibid:144-5). Nevertheless, the preservation of one of the most important Baroque churches in Brazil exemplifies preservation efforts in the city to maintain central constructions.

Image 1.7 and 1.8: The Pilar area and contemporary neighbourhoods in the background
Source: (on the left) Fontana (1936), own collection (on the right), July 11, 2013.

Images 1.7 and 1.8 show Pillar neighbourhood, part of Ouro Preto's central area, and on the hill in the background a new housing settlement. Neighbourhoods in areas outside the protected perimeter are often visible from protected areas. Hence they distort the colonial characteristic of Ouro Preto, without being necessarily illegal in their existence, as the regulations in the non-protected perimeters follow different principles.[40] The conflict between the reach of the colonial city (a defined perimeter in length or visibility) is a debate that will feature in chapter 5, which deals with street modifications in town.

The School of Pharmacy (1839) and the School of Mining (1876) unsuccessfully invested resources to attract students, as Ouro Preto was not as popular for studies as were larger cities. The Schools enjoyed significant growth only when a new road was built in 1953 to connect Belo Horizonte to the old capital (Martins de Araujo 2013:41) and when the two Schools fused in 1969, creating the Federal University of Ouro Preto (UFOP). The growth in the student population in Ouro Preto then happened at the same time as industries expanded, but students mainly enjoyed central housing. Alongside some public buildings that used to accommodate administrative staff at the time Ouro Preto was Minas' capital and afterwards accommodated University buildings, private houses that used to lodge public servants were made into

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[40] A local law, Lei Complementar 93, January 20, 2001, establishes norms and conditions to use and subdivide Ouro Preto's urban area. The law regulates construction parameters for protected areas in detail and for other areas, rather than defining conditions, it sets how conditions will be decided on a case-by-case basis. (available on-line: http://www.ouropreto.mg.gov.br/uploads/prefeitura_ouro_preto_2015/arquivos_veja_tambem/lei-complementar-93-parcelamento-uso-e-ocupa-o-do-solo.pdf, accessed December 9, 2015).

university halls for new-coming students. The population of students in Ouro Preto has risen ever since, with students mainly coming from nearby cities of Minas Gerais or from the southeast region of Brazil. Central houses available to students were unable to accommodate the growing number (in 2013 the University had 15,508 students, ca. 20% of Ouro Preto's total population).[41] More recently, some neighbourhoods expanded to accommodate that public, especially in areas nearby the main University campus.

Image 1.9: Buildings in Bauxita, near the main University campus, September 1, 2013
Source: own collection

Most urban facilities (banks, commerce, medical offices, hotels, restaurants and cultural centres) are concentrated in the preserved centre, mainly occupied by wealthier residents, students, and tourists. The centre is a place of work for many residents living elsewhere without those amenities. It also has most of the buildings that are preserved and resources for restoration and maintenance of public areas and private properties are placed there, making the gap between central (colonial) and periphery (contemporary) visible in terms of public facilities. When Ouro Preto attracts

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[41] Number of students detailed during conversation with the University Principal, Professor Dr Marcone Souza on September 30, 2013.

resources through programmes that focus on historic cities, such as *Monumenta*[42] (starting in 2000) and *PAC Cidades Históricas*[43] (2009 and 2013), the controversy between city "borders" is very noticeable. The speech by President Dilma Rousseff when launching *PAC Cidades Históricas* in the city of São João Del Rei, Minas Gerais, and the conversation with the head of the local IPHAN office in Ouro Preto, exemplify well the disengagement between some national aims and resulting local conflicts:

> This event is for me a celebration of our culture, to the memory of our people (…) Therefore I am very happy to be here today, in this beautiful region of my country, to put into practice the PAC Historic Cities, which will support the restoration and recovery of edifices, public squares, and public spaces of great historic relevance in all of Brazil. The historic cities of our country (…) are a sort of inaugural point of Brazilian nationality. These locations are the lively proof of the environment where our people were formed. It is still alive and pulse in those cities, part of the scenery where our identity as people and as a nation was forged, where we learned the meaning of freedom, the meaning of development, of sovereignty and of social justice.
>
> In the old streets of our historic cities, the monuments, the churches are locations where the founders went and where is our origin, the core of our nationality. To get to know, respect and preserve that past is a requisite to build our future as a democratic nation, as a civilised nation (…) we need to invest in the preservation of our historic cities because by doing that we are investing on ourselves (Rousseff 2013, my translation). [44]

Resources for historic cities are associated with the maintenance and restoration of monuments of national importance. However, surrounding areas "modify" the centre indirectly through new buildings visible from the centre and the appeal of those areas to also feature in programmes for historic cities has gained traction, as explains João Carlos:

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[42]Monumenta was a national project led by the Brazilian Ministry of Culture in association with Inter-American Development Bank that contemplated 26 cities to finance maintenance and restoration of preserved areas, aiming at boosting the commercial and touristic appeal of those areas (Batista da Costa 2011: 269, 272).

[43] PAC is an acronym for Programme to Accelerate Growth, national development policies targeted historic cities in its two versions in 2009 and 2013.

[44] Speech by Brazil's President Dilma Rousseff, in the city of São João-del-Rei, in the state of Minas Gerais, August 20, 2013.

You know, I am very concerned, (...) that they are investing 36 million Reais on edifices. You know I think we should have at least 10 million Reais for public transport, improvement of streets, if we will make underground cabling or not, if we will create new public squares, if we will no longer use certain roads (...) this discussion can no longer be postponed, it is no longer the discussion of buildings and the façades, if Ouro Preto is white or not, you see. That is why I tell you, I can no longer do this as the head of IPHAN office. Firstly, I do not have enough staff for that, [secondly] for public policies the prefecture has to be participating with me, you know, I can be discussing, I can be an instrument for discussion (...) an instrument for policies, technique (…) of discussion with society.

(João Carlos, August 22, 2013)

The complex relationship between "non-historic" and "historic" areas in town will be discussed in detail in coming chapters. In short, the colonial city depends on what it excludes; on a practical level, the monumental city depends on its periphery for its industrial activities and residential supply; and many residents in the periphery depend on a preserved centre for jobs related to tourism and city conservation. Secondly, the value given to colonial constructions stems from their rarity. Ouro Preto's town centre is one of a few in Brazil that maintained a colonial layout. Most cities in the country have only individual buildings or small areas preserved. New constructions figure as material support and are also a symbolic threat to central Ouro Preto. Carvalho (2013), when writing about Rio, is insightful in discussing a "porous" city rather than a "divided" city, as the city is interrelated in its many areas, "like the different sides of a coin", despite excessive social inequality (ibid:12). In Ouro Preto, the described interdependency between different areas and social groups in town does not diminish the rigour with which borders are preserved, and perceptions of a divided city will be discussed in chapter 2.

Due to complex economic, political, technical, and social effects, the definition of cultural heritage increasingly invites answers that intermingle those realms. The political basis for the launch of preservation procedures in the country dealt mainly with cities that were decaying in population and

materials. The technical impulse that defined materials and forms (as genuine, authentic, creative) and set professions to take care of buildings and monuments (mainly architects and engineers) faced severe opposition when the economic and demographic situation of cities such as Ouro Preto changed. Preserved cities have pressed for a definition of the role, the limit and the function of heritage, to be now discussed by society.

Conclusion

Ouro Preto's first settlements in late 1600s inaugurated a period of gold rush and power disputes. The central administration radiated rigorous control, supported by the church. Looking at the central square, it is possible to see not only how urban planning and architecture was chief in colonial administration, but also how it remained key in independence projects. When times changed, from colonial to independent Brazil, Ouro Preto's main square did not change in its material elements, but it was named differently, becoming Independence Square, and currently, Tiradentes Square. A centre for colonial administration, for Minas' administration, for national symbolism, and presently for tourism and education, the Tiradentes Square shows the different meanings and functions that the same urban space can have if buildings are to remain. The square is a good framework to discuss the city.

Different narratives for Ouro Preto's main squares and many others for locations in different sites in Brazil exemplify that the network of intellectuals in the 1930s and 1940s enjoyed the autonomy granted by imprecise laws to select, document and historicise locations of national interest during Vargas' rule. Another support to heritage regulations came from the demographic development of some colonial cities, emptied after decades of economic decline. Specific regulations on materials, forms, and fines could guarantee the maintenance of selected constructions. Nevertheless, in cities such as Ouro Preto, growing mainly due to industries that prompted (irregular) house construction, the relationship between residents, the prefecture, and preservation bodies (such as SPHAN/IPHAN) had intricate arrangements, which continue to this day and will be at the centre of the following chapters.

While the prefecture often benefited from the expansion of the mineral industry and facilitated city growth against preservation efforts, it also had the duty to maintain the preserved areas. That organ often passed on the preservation duty to IPHAN, making the relationship between that organisation and residents a difficult one. Similarly, students and tourists, who can afford to live in central areas, have become unpopular amongst long-term residents who feel excluded from the facilities those groups enjoy. Finally, the idea of stiff urban regulation is not always politically effective (especially when those who benefit more directly from it, such as tourists, do not vote in town), and elections in Ouro Preto present a dichotomy expressed as preservation versus development, rich versus poor, centre versus periphery, represented by opposing candidates that take turn governing the city. Such dichotomy however does not prevail when the economic aspect of the city is taken into account, where the city outskirts pays most of the taxes (as minerals are extracted there), and houses most of the work force that maintains the "centre" and the tourism sector.[45] Nevertheless, city areas are divided into zones that either follow preservation regulations or not.

Inserted in a complex urban reality marked by a historic and artistic perimeter (that emphasise socio-economic fissures), the Municipal Council on the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Patrimony is an idealised sphere where society – politicians, technicians and community leaders – can discuss and direct cultural heritage in town. In early preservation efforts, the "pen power" to define heritage often enjoyed a certain distance from conflict. Not only were intellectuals and technicians largely based in political capitals, but they hid behind a "technical" language with words such as "genuine", "authentic", "national", pedagogically explained in written sources that sought to support a heroic past (or utopian future). When the Council brings together local technicians, politicians, and community leaders, one thing those representatives will not have is the comfort of ruling from afar. Meetings are open to the public and concerned with present-day (and controversial) topics that technical or legal clarifications cannot resolve.

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[45] Following recent scholarship on Ouro Preto, I use the terms city outskirts or periphery in this thesis to talk about areas of precarious and irregular house conditions, distant from the commercial, historic, artistic and touristic city centre (Batista da Costa 2011:325).

Before analysing how the Council directs heritage in meetings – the choice of members, themes, and outcomes – I address the idea of heritage from the perspective of residents of Ouro Preto. As discussed previously, material expressions can have different meanings for different people or different meanings for the same people across different contexts (temporal, economic, political). I will hone in on this assertion by analysing how different groups of people (residents, students and tourist guides) make sense of Ouro Preto's monuments and commemorations across multifaceted contexts of opposition and inter-dependency. By doing so, I discuss how symbols face the "risk" of multiple interpretations and how national meanings have diverse everyday perceptions locally, challenging buildings and "architects" to endure in their representative roles.

CHAPTER 2

Fault lines in a fragmented city

In this chapter I discuss how permanent residents and students in Ouro Preto perceive and communicate socio-spatial relationships in the city. Discussing social and spatial interactions reinforces aspects already examined in chapter 1, namely that Ouro Preto's inhabitants do not experience the housing, cultural, or economic opportunities of the preserved cityscape evenly. More importantly for this thesis, this inequality means that not all residents perceive the city in terms of national heroism or shared identity. Rather, to some residents, preserved downtown areas express on-going social inequalities through materials and commemorative celebrations.

How cultural heritage privileges some people and ideas over others in Ouro Preto is a question that occupied me throughout my fieldwork. To start this chapter, just as I finished the previous one, I bring to the fore Tiradentes Square, a central location of the efforts to relate Ouro Preto to Brazil's national heroes. On one side of the square, the building that used to be the jail and the House of Representatives in colonial days became the Museum of Inconfidência, where the remains of the heroes of that conspiracy rest in a mausoleum. On the other side, the old Governor's Palace (that lost function when political authority shifted to Belo Horizonte) is now a university building and hosts a museum for science and technology. In the centre of the square, facing the Museum of Inconfidência, a statue of Tiradentes was erected, as detailed elsewhere. However, when looking at the square, residents do not always relate it to Independence and heroism. Rather, the square is often used to portray a continuation of colonial circumstances. Tiradentes' statue reminds some residents that those in wealthier positions have always dominated the city and that someone who disputes power relations faces personal costs. Moreover, the buildings on each side cater mainly for outsiders, including the association with the university, an institution with few local students.

With Brazil being a society so strongly divided and spatially segregated, authors such as DaMatta (1991a) argue that it is not surprising that the country is known for its festivities, a potential opportunity to bridge social divides (ibid:113). In Ouro Preto, people share the use of the city centre in commemorative events, celebrating the city and its heritage in open festivals. However, many inhabitants tell stories of events, meant to bring together different socio-economic groups, as places of social fragmentation. This chapter showcases how segregation arises.

Because of segregating experiences in the city, Ouro Preto is mainly presented in terms of groups. Amongst permanent residents prevails a perception of economic and housing privileges for "those coming from elsewhere" (*quem vem de fora* – tourists and students) leading to the socio-spatial exclusion of *ouro-pretanos*. Marginalised residents have reasons to cooperate in a network of daily relationships that involve informal jobs and provisional housing. However, the instability that affects some residents also leads to interim competition within as well as interactions between groups. Having to share a common space while at times having diverging or overlapping interests, how do the different populaces of the city navigate perceived fault lines?

This situation of competing interests over the same space is similar to that described by Simone (2004) in the context of Johannesburg, South Africa. The author suggests that "practic[ing] ways of seeing and engaging urban spaces that are characterised simultaneously by regularity and provisionality" as a challenge for those involved in urban planning (ibid:408). In the case of Ouro Preto, the challenge for those involved in urban preservation is similar and includes maintaining the city, yet having to take into consideration the diverse oppositions and collaborations between individuals that occur in response to preserved sites or beyond historic and aesthetic appraisals. Thus, this chapter focuses ethnographically on the rivalries over the city's past and present between different groups of city users, and how these rivalries can affect heritage policies and preservation goals.

A tale of two cities: students and residents

Everyday accounts about Ouro Preto are usually centred on inhabitants' disputes. As Angela, one of my informants, explained, the city has an enduring legacy as a place that excludes its own citizens and privileges impermanent or temporary residents and visitors. Angela offered me a remarkable story about the conflict between students and residents in town and how this difficult relationship was exacerbated by the commemoration of the anniversary of the School of Mining.

Angela is a resident in the city centre of Ouro Preto. As a writer and storyteller, she delved into residents' accounts about the city to find inspiration for her book about the treasures, ghosts and folklore of Ouro Preto (Xavier 2009). This book is filled with the events surrounding disputes between Ouro Preto's groups: colonisers and the colonised, slaves and foremen; and the feeling that these groups did not cease to exist, but remain in the city shaping the "energy of the place". Angela illustrates this through the conflicts of some permanent residents who live close to student halls (Repúblicas)[46] and are faced with loud student parties, often feeling disrespected by those temporary house occupants. She says:

From what I read, from what the elderly have told me, before, imagine the situation in the city, the capital changed in the Republican years, in 1897. The capital left. The population too, the majority left. Everybody who had a business left to live in Belo Horizonte, everybody who was connected to public administration (…) you see, 'Ah we will live in the new capital, an entirely neoclassic city, beautiful, let's leave this thing here where so much disgrace

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[46] There are different types of student accommodation in Ouro Preto. In Repúblicas students select colleagues to be part of the house; they have flags, rituals, and a hierarchy amongst house members. There are Federal Repúblicas, the university owning the houses and charging no accommodation fees and Private Repúblicas, where students rent a house and share the costs. In both cases, students rather than the university, manage the houses, making it different from other university accommodations. Repúblicas are divided by gender. The system of rituals found in Repúblicas in Ouro Preto is similar to what other universities call societies or fraternities. This is mainly inspired by the University of Coimbra, as Ouro Preto has sent its students to there since the 18th century; Maxwell (1973) clarifies that "[b]etween 1772 and 1785 300 Brazilian-born students had matriculated at the University of Coimbra" (ibid:82).

took place: slaves, death, Tiradentes, a colonial place that represents a lot of things we want to forget (…)'. Everybody left. Those who didn't were those who had no money to leave. (…) And who came here? The people from the districts (…) So, as the population who re-populated Ouro Preto came after 1897 (…) from that date onwards it is another history and today we have the third generation of adults from those who came after the change of capitals. So the university, it inherited what? It got the Government Palace and installed the School of Mining. It got the headquarters where the Legislative Assembly was and installed the School of Pharmacy, and the best houses in the city became student halls. So they [the university] ruled the city (…)

The university grew too much, but I moved to live here, I am not from here, I am from the West of Minas, but I really like antiques and ended up coming here to work in schools (…) I came here and was crazy for this city, in love (…) and I realised that Ouro Preto had three separated nuclei; one is the university, the professors and students have a world apart. The artists, today this part no longer exists, there is a bit, before there were many artists, people connected to culture, historical patrimony, the museum, visual arts, who spent seasons in Ouro Preto, like the university. And there is the Ouro Preto population that I met because I married an ouro-pretano and that is why I wrote that book, because I wanted to pay a tribute to the people of Ouro Preto. A city that has such a sizeable university, that has various multinationals and mining companies that explore this region (…) and the museums are all administered by people who are not from here; ouro-pretanos are usually secretaries, porters, you see. These people are a fantastic people. I wanted to write a book about Ouro Preto's struggle.

(...) This is a very strange place. There are a lot of people from elsewhere here and the people from Ouro Preto have a dispute, envy and they want you to get nowhere too, instead of getting together and trying to do something together, they want you to go wrong. 'I cannot do it so you cannot do it either', something like that.

<div align="right">(Angela, November 4, 2013)</div>

As Angela explained, the conflict between students and residents is not a recent one; it dates back to the change of capitals, when students occupied the main central buildings while non-students – who were also migrating to a vacant town – were prevented from taking up those central houses. This notorious privilege of students (as well as mining companies and museum directors) echoes conflicts in the city's past. The historical injustice suffered by the city at the hands of those coming from elsewhere was often brought up throughout my fieldwork, indicated by the use of the terms *forasteiros* or *emboabas* (colonisers) for those coming from elsewhere, as opposed to *nativos*, non-students who have lived or moved to town three generations ago. Residents spoke of how the city favoured students in housing and job opportunities. However, these accusations and their correlations with the past also invite reflection. As Angela described, Ouro Preto is "a very strange place", where residents did not get together to combat the oppression they described. Rather, they "have a dispute, envy and they want you to get nowhere too", as she phrased it, illustrating it with an incident that happened to a downtown family some time ago. In the example, though it centres on a dispute between students and residents, it also brings to the fore a lack of collective action from residents.

They [the family] were always struggling because of noise. It was impossible to sleep, these Repúblicas here they put everything on at the loudest volume (…) and they had kids, very small when they moved here, who would say, 'mom how will we sleep with this noise?' It was impossible, something absurd. In the university traditions (trotes) they made people walk around naked while others made noise with pots on the window up to midnight, 1 am any day of the week, you see, there was no respect. They started to have conflicts (…) the husband would go to public telephones to call the police (…) but when the police left the noise would come back. It was something absurd. They travelled on the Doze, October 12, when they celebrate the anniversary of the School of Mining [Angela begins to speak quietly as if telling a secret] and when they came home you would not believe it; what they did to their house; they wrote on the garage: 'native gay bollocks' (…) [and she returns to her normal voice] they sued them but nothing happened, students blamed a

Bolivian fellow who had already left the country (…) The husband refused to repaint the gate 'we will leave it, when the hangover is over they will see what they did' (…). The prefecture told them to paint it white, but the gate remained that way. One of the kids was in the second year [at school] and the teacher asked the kids to paint a picture of their houses, he painted the house and on the gate he wrote 'native gay bollocks'. The teacher called the family to go to the school. They told the teacher 'he painted a picture of our house, pass by and you will see'.

(…) So there is a relationship of arrogance, you see, an oppression of the people of the city. (…) But everybody is afraid to talk, (…) or call the police. (…) to me the change of capital and the population that came here [explains the oppression], some even became rich in Ouro Preto, but they came here very humble and oppressed, you see. Who were the most important people? The people from the university (…)

I personally believe that in a place where so many terrible tragedies happened there is a bad energy that remains, because there are many stories, I have to believe that.

(Angela, November 4, 2013)

The conversation with Angela revealed how fragmented the city is: an artistic community (that no longer features in most narratives), a student group, and permanent residents. The conflicts that arise between students and residents, however, do not always lead to cooperation within each individual group. From the perspective of a resident, Angela explained that, economically oppressed, envious of those in better positions, and afraid of disputes, residents have coped with the students' abusive behaviour alone and have not responded as a group. The "energy" that endures in Ouro Preto is then that of conflicts between city dwellers, mainly perceived as part of groups (with students and permanent residents recognised as the main groups) as well as that of the envy, betrayal, and fear within such groups. Events such as *Doze* exemplify such a situation in Angela's recollections of

local stories. When examining my field notes from October 12, 2013, similar to Angela's account, I took note of an event that brought together students from Ouro Preto and other cities, while isolating non-student local residents who could not cross the threshold.

The *Doze* in 2013

Each year October 12 is celebrated in Ouro Preto as it marks the founding of the School of Mining on October 12, 1876. The event known as *Doze*, meaning the twelfth, is celebrated by almost every República in town. On October 12, 2013, already during the day, fireworks burst in the sky incessantly, streets were packed with cars, and music could be heard coming from all directions. The celebrations being held in various Repúblicas usually start early in the afternoon with a barbecue for current and former students and the most established Repúblicas host parties that last all night long. I missed the barbecues in the early afternoon as I met an honorary guest visiting town to launch a book, and I was unaware of the number of people that would try to attend house parties that evening.

Gaining access to some of the Repúblicas was very challenging. The parties charge no entrance fee, but the most distinguished Repúblicas (usually larger and older) have security at the entrance as well as a student (usually a first year student, called in town *calouro* or *bicho*) deciding who enters. In my case, at the door of a well-established República I was asked whom I knew in that hall. I said the name my friends had told me to say, but that person was a friend of a friend and I was not allowed inside. Like me, there were many people waiting outside who did not know the "right people". At some point the door opened, a few people left and I made my way inside, not being seen by the *bicho* or security. The República was a mansion. There were maybe five hundred people in a basement turned into a disco and in the backyard, where there was a band playing samba.

Various students and alumni attended the party. As usually former students subsidise drinks or a music group, parties charge no entrance fee

and offer the beverages and music for free to guests. Some of the people inside the house were also visitors from other cities and for commuters, there were mattresses for overnight stays. As I met people from other parts of Brazil in the house, I could not stop thinking about the first people I met outside, would they be residents who knew no students?

Despite its popularity and frequency, the traditional party is still unknown to those who have never entered a República and who are left to imagine (often negatively) what happens inside. Many permanent residents resent Repúblicas because they have to build their houses informally in the periphery, while students live and party in mansions located centrally. Those who live beside students, such as Angela described, hate such parties because they disturb the neighbourhood. Narratives of conflict over noise are present in discussions about *Doze* and about the students in general, marking students' behaviour as abusive.

The association of students with noise has even prompted the creation of a Municipal Law, *Lei do Silencio,*[47] which was provoked by disruptions to the Easter celebrations in 2006. During that event, the religious procession was interrupted by noise coming from a private students' party. Though the law now determines parameters for sonic nuisance and sets fines for those who violate these limits, student festivities still lead to police interventions and residents depart the town in anticipation of events such as *Doze*. However, events cannot always be anticipated.

One example of an unexpected event was a movie shot in Ouro Preto in October 2013. That occasion brought together fireworks, music, and people walking up and down the streets at night. The unexpectedly noisy night could not be blamed on any particular group, as no one had been informed. Apart from some cameras being set on a main street during the daytime, shops operated normally and the usual signs indicating an event failed to materialise on the streets. However, at night a band started to play while people danced and walked up and down the hill as if during carnival. Taken by surprise,

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[47] Silence law; Lei Complementar 16, created on July 17, 2006 and modified in 2011 by Lei Complementar 111, created on December 23, 2011 (available on-line http://www.sistemasigla.org/arquivos/sisnorm/NJ_img(12680).pdf, accessed December 4, 2015).

residents arriving by car could not park or drive along that street. The shooting was part of a publicity campaign of a major international brand, but similar to any other noisy event, the residents automatically blamed the disrespect on the students, though no one really knew who danced that night.

Students and permanent residents have different interests in terms of which things to celebrate, how and where; and events in Ouro Preto such as *Doze*, Easter, or the occasional movie shooting demonstrate such differences. However, conflicts between permanent residents and students, often narrated in terms of noise nuisance, are mainly grounded in ideas of economic and spatial prerogatives.[48]

The university principal, Dr Marcone, explained to me that offering houses free of charge to students increases the negative image of the institution amongst residents. However, he said, the university student body was changing, from students mainly from other cities to those from local areas. Until 2005 only 10% of all students at the Federal University of Ouro Preto were from Ouro Preto and according to him that number was close to 30% at the time of our interview on September 30, 2013.

Although the number of local residents registered as students is increasing, the perception of the university as a space for privilege remains and residents, mainly living on the periphery and working low-paid jobs, have little chance of becoming students.[49] Economically privileged students who come from elsewhere predominate in Ouro Preto, especially in prestigious courses such as engineering. For these students, in 2013, the university also

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[48] Feld (1984) writes about sound structure as social structure. Though the author examines another region of the world and is more focussed on socio-musicology, a lesson I learned from Feld when looking at Ouro Preto was to hear social structures when listening to the soundscape.

[49] In short, the public university system in Brazil is as follows: public schools that focus on the three final years preceding university (Ensino Médio) often lack material and human resources, and students coming from public schools have a lower chance of entering the federal universities (accessible through a very competitive entrance exam). This is a perverse inversion; free of change, federal universities often select students who could afford the best and most expensive schools. However, recent national policies (offering differentiated allocation to unprivileged students) have made change possible. In Ouro Preto, the university has welcomed more local residents (about 30%, according to the principal), but remains viewed as a university for students from outside the local area.

offered some studentships,[50] including 900 rooms in Federal Repúblicas that charge no accommodation fees.

Permanent residents have never approved the offer of centrally located historic houses to students and have voiced their discontent through noise complaints. Other negative stories associated with Repúblicas are frequent, despite often being based on assumptions made by residents who have never entered any of the houses. The consequence of the division between students and residents for cultural heritage is considerable. The conflict frames perceptions of colonial abuses as continuous, the "energy of the city", and places the uses of central housing and the related soundscape of the town at the core of complaints, hence compromising the maintenance of some buildings and functions.

Students' houses

As inscrições ao vestibular encerram-se dia 16 de abril
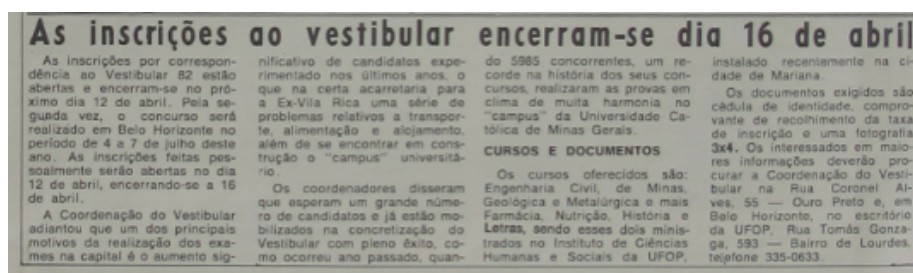
Image 2.1: UFOP's *Vestibular* in Belo Horizonte
Source: Extracted from printed material (Imprensa Universitaria da UFOP 1982)[51]

The above article from 1982 states that the entrance exam for candidates hoping to become students at the Federal University of Ouro Preto (UFOP) was to take place in Belo Horizonte. That was the second time the exam took place in the capital to avoid the chaotic traffic brought by too many

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[50]According to Dr Marcone, the university has 11087 students on-campus and 4421 off-campus, and for students it offers: 2815 on-campus meal programmes and 2447 maintenance bursaries (varying from full or partial). Another 784 students receive a transportation bursary. He also detailed salaries paid to students who are tutors, and those in university extension projects and research projects. In addition, there are 900 accommodation opportunities in Federal Repúblicas, that charge no accommodation fees, and the university restaurant offers subsidised meals at R$2 [£0.49] per person (for those who pay for it).
[51]From a visit to the Municipal Archive of Ouro Preto, on July 4, 2013. (Newspaper article from April 2, 1982).

travellers in the small historic city. The university has continually expanded since its creation in 1969 and the short article, noting the high number of commuters arriving in the city to take the exam in the 1980s, would not be out-of-date these days because many candidates for a place at UFOP still come from other cities, especially from the southeast region of Brazil.

Camelia, who works for the Dean on Communitarian and Students' Affairs, explained that approximately 85% of students come from other municipalities and will look for accommodation in town.[52] The options for students who will not live with their own families vary from university-organized houses and apartments (the university select residents); Federal República (when the university owns the house and does not charge accommodation fees nor regulates the choice of occupants) or Private República (students will look for a house and share rental costs); and private accommodation (a more costly option). The choice of residence will result in different forms of being in the city. Repúblicas are at the centre of residents' complaints about noise, while other residences are not so noticeable. Camelia explained the popularity of Repúblicas, and students usually get to know each other through these shared houses and not through their classes. As an example, she mentioned the recent struggle to establish a student union. Finding a representative for the community of students proved difficult, because Repúblicas have their own traditions and festivities, as well as closely bonded groups of current students and alumni. This also means that Repúblicas do not only separate the student population from permanent residents, but also divide the community of students according to residence type.

There is, however, a reason to keep up the present system of Repúblicas, and Camelia offered Federal Repúblicas as an example. She explained that those houses are free to host festivities and select students because this system of self-management is successful in comparison with

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[52] The data offered by Camelia or the principal about the student population coming from other areas are slightly different. Published studies clarify that in 2010 nearly 70% of undergraduate students did not come from the regions where UFOP has a campus. They make up the main population that look for accommodation in town. Repúblicas (private or federal) hosts 52% of students, being the preferred type of residency (Universidade Federal de Ouro Preto 2010:14-15).

other properties, where the university regulates admission and needs to mediate internal conflicts, a problem that rarely occurs in Repúblicas. Finally, students meet costs of house maintenance. Expensive to maintain, central houses hosting students are well kept. However, there was a need to review that system, because of abuses found in the process of selecting newcomers, who often go through a system of "tests" (trotes) before they become official residents in a República. "The university had to interfere because people were avoiding going to Repúblicas. Frequently, new students were scared of those houses" (Camelia, September 30, 2013).

Understanding students' misgivings about joining Repúblicas is important, as it adds "grey areas" to the so far dual relationship between students and residents. The student community is not a cohesive group opposed to permanent residents, but a diversified cluster.

Visiting one of the many Repúblicas in town, I spoke to some residents who organise tests for newcomers, a source of scepticism for both new students and permanent residents. These challenges, as described before, are usually loud and neighbours of Repúblicas dislike them especially for that reason. New students fear their time as *bicho* (animal), when they undergo the tests, a probation period of 6-12 months called *batalha* (struggle). During this time, they have to wait on others at parties. They may face *vento* (wind), when residents mess up their room by tying up clothes or turning the bed upside down. Some students are woken up with a bucket of cold water, and do all household chores. If the newcomer is approved in the *batalha*, the house hosts a party for them and they receive a nickname. In 2012, during such a party, two *bichos* died from alcohol poisoning. This was also a year that sparked an increased politicisation in Repúblicas, which had to defend themselves in the form of student representatives and paid lawyers to explain the use of houses for parties and the process of selecting new students.

Victor, the President of the Association of Federal Repúblicas of Ouro Preto in 2013, explained that the deaths in 2012 laid bare the commonly held image of the parties and alcohol abuse associated with Repúblicas. Since the deaths, the university has begun to increasingly regulate the students' conduct, linking membership in a Federal República to academic

performance. In addition, the university follows the process of *batalha* to ensure the candidates are not exploited. Finally, he explained that, to reduce the negative perceptions of Repúblicas held by many people, students organise volunteer activities, such as to visiting nursing homes and collecting food for donation. Those are attempts to demystify life in Repúblicas and promote changes as "there is a myth about what happens to new students when they come to Federal Repúblicas. My mum didn't want me to come to Ouro Preto" (Victor, October 30, 2013). Similarly, for Octavio, the President of the Association of Private Repúblicas, to whom I spoke on November 4, 2013, the student life in Ouro Preto was negatively portrayed in the media and the death of the students in 2012 added to that.[53]

Representatives like Victor and Octavio, however, argued that what is often left out when life in Repúblicas is assessed is the fact that they offer an opportunity not only to share bills but also to share university life. Victor for example mentioned that when the university assigns students to houses, they do not always get along, something Camelia also highlighted. Many people get jobs and internships in their future careers through the houses they lived in as students, as is the case in fraternities in Anglo-American universities. Nevertheless, because some of the challenges given to enter a house are still maintained, despite growing university regulation, new students are often wary about the house system. Some students start up their own Private Repúblicas as a result and develop different entrance rules, while others may give up on that system altogether and look for other housing options. In the case of Octavio's house (a Private República), they are struggling to find new residents. Repúblicas such as his often compete against each other to find new students. When they are faced with high rent and fewer students to share costs, parties are viewed as an economic solution. Although parties have helped the houses meet living expenses, they also diminish the chances of finding new residents, as two students who moved from Repúblicas to university-administrated accommodations explained to me.

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[53] More recently, Repúblicas in Ouro Preto were targeted in the media regarding accommodation and student performance (Simões 2013), hosting visitors during carnival (Do Vale 2013); and regarding incidents of rape at student parties (Faria 2014).

Sometimes there were no parties in my República, but there was one in the neighbouring ones, so for the four days I lived in a República there was a party every day and it was practically impossible to sleep. On the last day there was a meeting and 'bicho' cannot participate in the meetings, so I came back from my classes and it rained that day and I was all wet and I was left outside until the end of the meeting. I said, this is not for me and looked for a house to rent.

(Isis, November 8, 2013)

Another student also talked about her attempt to live in Repúblicas:

It [batalha] was very psychological (…) like nobody would talk to you in the house or would be rude to you (…) it is really bad to arrive home and nobody looks at you. (…) It was to see if you can bear it, I did not find it too bad, for example if one day you have a bad boss you already experienced that (…) you will not be so easily irritated (…) but as I had just left home and had never lived alone it was very difficult for me and I decided to leave. I tried four federal Repúblicas I could not bear it (…) I had to clean the house, (…) search for house appliances online, I had to do all those things (…) Nowadays it is very different, it [batalha] changed a lot.

(Jessica, November 8, 2013)

Jessica concluded by pointing out that she came to know Ouro Preto after she left Repúblicas, "[before leaving] I knew nothing, I had never visited a museum or anything (…) it is like a bubble and you are inside of it".

The use of centrally located houses for student accommodation and celebrations leads to the local use of terms such as *forasteiros* (colonisers) to refer to students, who come from elsewhere, take advantage of local facilities for a short period of time, and do not sympathise with the place or the people (living in a "bubble"). For example, students pay fines and lawyers rather than follow noise restrictions. Even what students refer to as a positive aspect, creating networks of jobs and internships, is locally viewed as a perpetuation of privilege. Equally, charitable activities targeting local residents are not

always positively perceived, and the recipients of those projects mention that when the semester is over, activities stop.[54] Finally, because of the various parties thrown by students, there is little time left to join other activities in town, and many students reported never visiting museums or other local cultural events (a point I discuss in chapter 3). Local commerce complains as larger events such as *Doze*, which could increase local trade, extends to a point beverages often have to come from neighbouring towns. Moreover, students host their guests and hotel owners dispute their right to do so.

Nevertheless, for Marcelo, a resident living close to the main campus in Bauxita,[55] a neighbourhood that hosts a growing number of students, the idea of a dualism between oppressed residents and abusing students does not exhaust local controversies. Residents also have beneficial relationships with students. Marcelo explained that some residents have rented their houses to students, charging a price much higher than what a family would pay, and have moved to a town with less real estate speculation.[56] Those residents, however, know that to meet costs, students would share that space with a number of others (up to 40) and organise socials, hence compromising public services in the area (sewage system as well as the Silence Law). Neighbours then either cope with crowded student houses nearby or offer to contribute to the rental fees so that a family can occupy the space. Adding to that, the university creates jobs for the city, a point that the principal[57] clarified by

[54] Student representatives have mentioned some small-scale charity projects to change negative perceptions about student-life in town and the university too has a series of cooperation programmes, as detailed by Professor Rogerio on October 1, 2013. Staff and students of the university lead programmes that focus on the community in eight main areas: communication, culture, human rights, education, environment, health, technology, and employment. These programmes include for example, teaching English to the community or offering pharmaceutical consultation. Aimed at integrating the community and the university, Professor Rogerio explains that such programmes still lack publicity and the possibility of being initiated by the community and continued beyond the university calendar.

[55] Marcelo explained on August 28, 2013 that Bauxita started as an industrial neighbourhood in the 1930's and hosted approximately 3500 employees. In 1983 another 169 houses were built through the BNH (National Bank for Residential Policies), and in 1989, some residents moved to the area after a strong rain that destroyed parts of the city. However, after 2006, he lost track of residential growth, when the university expanded. The number of residents reached a peak. Marcelo estimates that ten thousand people live in Bauxita now, and about 60% of them are students, but the number of houses did not grow proportionally.

[56] Various articles in the local press addressed real estate speculation in Ouro Preto during the time of my fieldwork, such as in the article by Moreira (2013:12-15), which indicated the rise in the number of students as a key factor in the rise in rental prices.

[57] Conversation on September 30, 2013.

stating that when there is a university vacation, the city is empty and local businesses lose income.

The discussion above allows for understanding the relationship between (and within) groups of students and permanent residents as neither absolutely negative nor positive, and these groups are not always polarised against each other, nor do they cooperate within each individual group. Thus, it is necessary to enquire what creates regular perceptions of separation between groups in a context where relationships unwrap fluid practices. Souza (2001) states that it is important to look at which values are perceived as privilege and why; in other words, to look at values as part of everyday life that defines ideas and use of power (ibid:54).

Looking at Ouro Preto and preservation values associated to it, educational and cultural activities are pivotal in the city. Not only the preservation of the town offers a stimulus for education and cultural opportunities, but also refined cultural activities and formal education relate to ideals of middle-class in Brazil (Owensby 1999). Focussing on the first half of the 20th century, Owensby (1999) discusses the making of middle-class life in Brazil. The author explores meritocracy, professionalization, and the obsession with a social hierarchy as part of middle-class standards. The years that Owensby (1999) analyses are important because they were the years of the preservation of Ouro Preto as a national monument. Thus the city, more than an image of Brazil, offered a self-image for the Brazilian middle-class and the importance of educational and cultural urban centres. This image did not embrace residents living in the city then, mainly the poor and uneducated coming from the countryside, nor the ones of today, who do not always find a place at the university or agree with the status of the institution in town. However, residents do not feel solely frustrated with educational activities. As discussed above, some may enjoy financial benefits. Finally, as I discuss below, wealthy permanent residents enjoy cultural events. Events such as the Jazz Festival give some insight. The Jazz Festival highlights more than the typical division between students and permanent residents, but the event separated publics according to class.

Class perception in Ouro Preto

The 2013 Jazz Festival – *Tudo é Jazz* – started on a Friday in a local museum. From there, a band would depart, leading the crowd to the festival's venue. However, before this procession occurred, the museum first hosted a reception for a select group of people. There was a guest list and security guards at the entrance checked who could enter. At the venue, after the invitation-only reception and music procession, the space in front of a church had a reserved area with chairs and an open area for the public. The reserved chairs, as a friend later explained, were for government authorities and for the sponsors of the event and their guests.

The event was mainly popular for those working at the prefecture, at the local art school (Art Foundation of Ouro Preto), and amongst some of the local restaurant and bar owners (the local upper-class). There were a couple of students, but as it was also a weekend of graduation celebrations, most Repúblicas were hosting parties for students, former students, and families. There were also a few tourists. On my walk home, I realized that while the Festival and some Repúblicas were packed with people, so was Rua Direita, the main street in town, crowded with its own public, mainly poor residents from the hills, *morros*, drinking at local bars.

The Jazz Festival on a Friday night was different from many other events in town because it physically separated parts of the public using guest lists, security guards, and a fenced-off area.[58] However, even without these instruments of division, clusters seemed to be separated in town: students at their parties, some residents in Rua Direita, and other residents attending concerts.

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[58] Despite the separations during the Jazz Festival, having the event in an open space charging no entrance fee was already a positive shift, a resident remarked soon after the event, for that festival used to be indoors and charge for entrance.

Image 2.2: The Jazz Festival (area with controlled access in front of the stage),
September 14, 2013
Source: own collection

Image 2.3: Students in Repúblicas, next to Festival's venue, September 14, 2013
Source: own collection

This separation of people into groups also occurs when other events take place in town. Even without physical barriers, people may be together in the city centre, but they do not mix, as Teko explained. Teko is a local hip-hop artist, broadcaster of a daily radio programme called *Fala Favela*, and a resident in the *morros*. He explained the dynamics of "finding your place" (*achar o seu lugar*) in Ouro Preto to me:

Ouro Preto is like three cities. There is the city of Ouro Preto with the hills (morros); if you get the flag [See Image 2.4] *of the city you will see that there are three hills there (...), so there is that Ouro Preto that is ours, that is about the 'morros' where the working force is [the Ouro Preto that was in Rua Direita]. There is the Ouro Preto city for tourists, that is the city of cultural heritage [the Ouro Preto that was at the Jazz Festival]. And there is also the Ouro Preto university town [the Ouro Preto that was in the Repúblicas]. So those are Ouro Pretos that do not mix together. (…) And the community takes more what belongs to it. Those events in the Tiradentes Square (...), they do not have a lot of attendance from the ouro-pretano, there was the Mimo Festival, there was the Jazz Festival, this weekend they are organising another event there, and so on, and the community does not participate. So what happens, people get to the centre, see what is happening on the square and go to Rua Direita. It has always been like that... Because people do not see themselves, I don't know how to put it, they do not see themselves as part of that. (…)*

There are three cities, it seems each person is in his own place (cada um na sua) (…) From afar you see the houses are all the same, as if it was all the same (…)

(Teko, October 18, 2013)

But it is not all the same and even in the selection of music style or music performers, differences become noticeable. For example, Teko asserts that "everything is difficult when you live in Ouro Preto, when you are a resident of the city of Ouro Preto" and he mentions his hip-hop movement that

tried to present at the Winter Festival in 2008. Teko explained that the community would be more likely to visit the centre for the Festival if a music style such as hip-hop were included in the programme, but he was told hip-hop did not suit the event.[59] Later, Teko and his colleagues saw other rappers from elsewhere in the programme. "It looks as if what is possible is possible, but you have to come from outside Ouro Preto", Teko said. Local hip-hop groups usually sing songs about an Ouro Preto that never changes.

Image 2.4: Ouro Preto, "the three cities that get together but do not mix".
Source: Extracted from printed material.[60]

Teko used the emblem of Ouro Preto (Image 2.4) to depict three cities: "the city of cultural heritage", "the city of the working class who live in the hills", and "the city of students" – three groups that may attend the same events without mixing. The use of the expression "finding your place" (or "know your place", "putting one in one's place"), in the conversation with Teko, recalls the examination by Sheriff (2001:69) when describing racial separation in Brazilian society. Though Teko did not mention aspects of race, this is not to be neglected, as it pervades social interactions. The hip-hop movement in Ouro Preto is mainly connected to the black community (FIROP – Forum for Racial Equality of Ouro Preto) and the residents celebrating in Rua Direita

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[59] In chapter 3, I discuss further aspects of local cultural programmes and the reception by residents.
[60] Extracted from Prefeitura Municipal de Ouro Preto 2012, accessed through official request, September 13, 2013. The emblem originally represents three main housing settlements in Ouro Preto during the 18th Century.

during events are often from the poorer, peripheral parts of the city, and commonly dark-skinned.

The separation between races in Brazil, however, is framed silently and through meta-discourse. Silence and euphemisms pertaining to racial prejudices prevail in ethnographies about urban Brazil (Sheriff 2001:62), and in my case this was not different.[61] However, to understand the silence about race in Brazil, some elements need to be considered. For example, a light-skinned Brazilian living in a poor and black-dominated neighbourhood may be socially identified as black – not to be confused with a dark-skinned Brazilian living in an upper-class, white dominated neighbourhood. Context is a determining factor. A collective understanding of social location "meu lugar" (my place) is created in the face of a differentiating system, and Sheriff (2001) perceives race as a category based on self-appearance (ibid:72-73), which is what some would call aesthetic racism (Souza 2010:188). Ways of dressing and hairstyles, for example, offer the possibility of altering colour perceptions in Brazilian society. It is thus possible to conclude that self-presentation is a key racial element in Brazil and associated with social bonds and intra-class perceptions. Therefore, divisions that occur in Ouro Preto are also connected to self-appearance and class-perceptions.[62]

In sum, during the Jazz Festival, some residents may join together with tourists to enjoy the festivities; these are mainly restaurant and hotel owners who are not opposed to tourists in everyday accounts or in spatial dynamics. Residents, especially the upper-class, can profit from tourists and, as discussed above, they privilege music, theatre, fine art, and other refined cultural activities to assert a hierarchical status (Owensby 1999). Residents who live in the hills, "the community", do not have the same cultural opportunities in their neighbourhoods and when they are in the city centre, whenever an event takes place, they are usually separated from students and from those that enjoy the events offered – "the city of cultural heritage" – as Teko described. However, though Teko described three social groups in events, when he talks about the refusal to allow his hip-hop group's

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[61] I will continue the discussion about race in chapter 3, then looking at it also historically.
[62] I discuss in chapter 5 how residents perceive socio-economic class through appearance, more specifically, through mud on shoes, relating to housing in non-urbanised areas.

presentation, he sees a separation between those coming from elsewhere against *ouro-pretanos* as pivotal. City separations are therefore complex in definitions, as class separations at times may also be summarised in the separation between *ouro-pretanos* and those coming from elsewhere*.*

Finally, those residents, who may not "find their place" in centrally located festivals, do however find opportunities for work at city events and in hotels, and restaurants, making their relationship with tourists and the upper-class owners of hotels and restaurants one of social exclusion and economic dependency.

Residents working in the tourism industry

Ana works in a local hotel downtown and has lived in Ouro Preto almost all her life. Although because of this she knows about most of the events taking place in town, she does not attend any of them. According to her, "April 21 is terrible [the anniversary of the death of Tiradentes], you need a badge to walk in the city [areas with restricted access]. The people from Ouro Preto cannot even see the festivity, it complicates everybody's lives, it is very bad for the city". Because of these difficulties, many people in town refer to the festivities on April 21 or September 7 (Brazilian Independence Day) as "Doctor April 21" or "Doctor September 7", hinting at the celebrations' segregation and exclusivity. Such a way of communicating about events again emphasizes how, despite efforts to promote the heritage in town, the format that is selected cements socio-economic divisions.

Ana added that the city lacks leisure activities and that she would move out if she could. Before I could underline a list of leisure options, she continued: "people do not get together even in leisure time, we [residents] do not feel comfortable in the middle of tourists". Talking in terms of us (residents) and those from elsewhere (elite families, tourists, and students) was a strong feature in her narrative. She explained that residents could not visit a restaurant, as it would be too expensive. To Ana, "those who come from other cities have more power here", and she mentions the students'

advantage of living in the city centre for free. In contrast, Ana's house is in the periphery, an adjunct house built in a hurry on the top of her mother-in-law's house. She also discusses the privilege of wealthier families who often come from other places in Brazil or from abroad to establish businesses in town. "Some families have always had everything and that is perpetuated, unless a [less privileged] person goes elsewhere, saves money and comes back". Ana described Ouro Preto ultimately as a city of patronage (*apadrinhamento*): "those who command do so because they can; those who obey do so because they are sensible".[63] People in Ouro Preto do not dispute with others in a privileged position, "when the bus tariff rose recently nobody said a thing".

Supporting Ana's statement, Martins, another long-term resident who works in a Bed & Breakfast downtown (she currently lives in a temporary government housing provision, having lost her previous house to a landslide), mentions the Tiradentes Square as a good frame for the city. The square has in its centre the building that used to be a Palace next to the one that was the jail. Despite being close together, they conveyed worlds apart. Just as the prison was geographically close to the palace but socially far, Martins and Ana worked close to events, knew them, and yet felt detached from them.

Events in Ouro Preto (see Table 2.1) have segregations that are unveiled across time, conversations, and observations of street dynamics. The calendar below shows some of the festivals that take place in town annually. Though there are many celebrations, those working in tourism talk about boredom, as they "do not feel comfortable in the middle of tourists" and cannot afford restaurants or shops that cater mainly for "those coming from elsewhere". The city's status as cultural heritage, increasing the need to stage events to satisfy tourists, and the accompanying lack of opportunities to change the dynamics of space use, amplify this feeling of detachment in the work force in town.

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[63] My interview partners in Ouro Preto often repeated this expression, which in Portuguese is *manda quem pode, obedece quem tem juízo*. There are probably different ways one could translate this expression to English. In my ethnography I will use the translation that Goldman (2013:54) uses in his book about politics in Brazil. Though I do not quote the book every time I use this common saying, I am using the same translation throughout my thesis.

January	February	March	April
Religious Celebrations to Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Carnival (One of the most well-known carnivals in Brazil, behind only Rio, Salvador and Olinda).	Guava festival in the district of São Bartolomeu	Easter Processions Anniversary of Tiradentes' death on April 21 Anniversary of the founding of the Pharmacy school (April 4, 1839)

May	June	July	August
Religious celebrations (In town the month is known as Maria's Month)	Corpus Christi celebrations Cinema Festival	Ouro Preto's anniversary Winter Festival (music, dance, art, and workshops)	Religious fests in Ouro Preto's Districts MIMO festival (concerts, films, and workshops)

September	October	November	December
Nation's week (celebrations for the Independence of Brazil). Jazz, Museum and Theatre Festivals	Anniversary of the founding of the School of Mining (October 12, 1876)	Aleijadinho's week (when awards are given to those engaged in preservation activities)	Religious festivities

Table 2.1: Main events in Ouro Preto

The calendar excluded events that are transient, such as the Confederations Cup in 2013, when Ouro Preto prepared gastronomic tasting experiences for tourists. There are also other activities in the districts of Ouro Preto (mainly in the second half of the year) and various shows in Tiradentes Square that happen as unexpectedly as the movie shooting I described above. Events have been mainly reported as occasions for socio-spatial distinction, as described by Teko in the dynamics of "finding your place". Further, in addition to discomfort around tourists, jobs in the tourism industry are poorly paid, preventing those residents employed in these sectors from using local attractions.

The functionaries in the Secretariat of Tourism[64] explained that in tourism, salaries are low, usually the minimum wage allowed by law (which in 2013 was R$678 per month, approximately £167). Many of the positions in restaurants are filled with temporary workers rather than employees with permanent contracts. This suggested to those from the Secretariat of Tourism that a lot of people working in the tourism sector earn a small share of what tourists leave in town. In addition, during many of the city events the food, for example, is twice as expensive. [65] Consequently, residents, although depending on tourism, at times say bad things about the city to tourists. In other words, many hospitality employees do not work to create a good impression of the city for outsiders. When a visitor compliments the city, the answer from a staff member is often that "the city is a good stepmother but an awful mother". This is an expression I heard throughout my stay in town, indicating that the city is good to those who are not her offspring, but treats her own progeny badly. All this leads to it being hard to instil pride for the city's cultural heritage in residents, which makes it difficult to get them to participate in preservation efforts.

As they are paid directly by tourists, tour guides are among those who attempt to give a good impression of the city. They take the "bunny from the hat", as phrased by an informant, to make sure tourists return home and say good things about Ouro Preto. Tourist guides created an association in the 1970s to regulate their work, as Nelson, the president of the Tourism Association, explained. "But today it is difficult, there are no more tourists (…) so the money you make here is not enough to pay the bills," said Nelson, glancing at the horizon hopelessly on November 8, 2013. I contested, "the city is full of people, you see tourists every day. How come there are no tourists?" He explained that the city is busy but many tourists come for specific festivals, and though packing hotels and restaurants, festivals often mean tourists will

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[64] I am thankful to Marcia and Fabiana for explaining to me some aspects of tourism in Ouro Preto on September 25, 2013.

[65] Because of this, many prefer jobs with mining companies than in hospitality. However, the number of placements in mining has diminished and companies usually hire people from neighbouring cities (Ouro Preto's territory is very comprehensive and neighbouring cities may have a geographic advantage in commuting to mining areas).

not visit the city's main attractions (churches, museums, mines). As a result, the profit is concentrated in the hands of the hotel and restaurant owners.

Both tourist guides and employees in hotels and restaurants seem to be affected negatively by cultural events. Even in rare cases when these residents attend festivities, they do not "mix together" with other groups and instead stay close by, in Rua Direita. Additionally, events directly affect the work of tour guides who have fewer tours, as tourists may prefer to attend festivities. However, while all similarly affected, those working in the tourism industry offer a good example of what Angela referred to when she said that "the people from Ouro Preto have a dispute, envy and they want you to get nowhere too, instead of getting together and trying to do something together, they want you to go wrong. 'I cannot do it so you cannot do it either'". A relationship characterised by dispute between workers in Ouro Preto was central in conversations when I lived for a month with a family that works as tour guides and owns two shops in town.

Disputes between residents

In Silva's family, his wife used to work in their shop next to Tiradentes Square. She described her days there as "hell", because of the competition between tour guides and shop clerks to lead tourists. "The clients enter the shop and the others [other shop clerks] keep an eye on them, they do not want you to sell anything so that they can sell something. The guide is the 'owner' of the tourist; he wants to take him [the tourist] where he decides [usually tour guides earn commission from shop owners when they bring tourists to shop]. One day my husband got a tourist on Tiradentes Square that already had an 'owner'. After he finished the sale, the 'owner' almost beat him. They had to call the police and everything". The wife seemed traumatised by the everyday disputes between traders and guides in Tiradentes Square and avoided visiting the place at all costs, having recently decided to work only from home. However, her husband had a different account, as his greatest life shift occurred in the square.

The husband told me about his poor childhood as a tourist guide in Tiradentes Square with excitement. From a young age he learned the value of precious stones and how to tell the city's story of gold and mines. He quickly became a tour guide, until the day he was standing in Tiradentes Square when a man in a luxurious car approached him, showed him a big gem, and asked where he could get more. He showed the man – and soon many other people – where to find gems. In a few years he was travelling abroad selling gems. "People would never think I had gems, look at me, do I look like somebody who has money?" He did not. Mr Silva looked old beyond his years. He had stories of child labour that had marked his body, as well as stories of the extreme poverty that he and friends experienced, but he now owned two jewellery shops in the city centre. His house, like himself, showed signs of his economic flows, just like many others in town.[66] Large, with a big garden, two kitchens, a swimming pool, a billiard table, and memories of the many parties that took place there, the house was a sign of the development of a good life. On the other hand, parts of the house were in need of renovation or unfurnished, confirming narratives of difficult times. The wife mentioned owing the supermarket, where they had a tab for their shopping. That bill was to be paid when things got better. "Thank God we have a name, someone who has a 'name' has everything", referring to the fact they are reliable in town and people know they would eventually pay their bills.

The degree of informality for residents in the economy of Ouro Preto is noteworthy. Similar to other preserved and touristic cities in Brazil, like Olinda, many young people spend time in the main square and work as tour guides, hoping to find a better opportunity, as happened to some people like Silva. These young people promptly explain the city to anyone interested. Whether they have training or are affiliated with Nelson's association is often

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[66] Holston's analyses of houses in the periphery of Brazil are valid to express the situation of house projects outside the preserved areas in Ouro Preto, where houses often show "the process of becoming something else, always being improved at such great sacrifice of energy and income, they are a staple of conversation: people are constantly making inventories of changes, and these inventories become the measure of many things. Their very incompleteness provides people with a model of change itself and with a model of thinking about past experiences, present circumstances, and imagined futures. In this way, houses are both concrete embodiment and imaginary representations of people's relations to their conditions of existence" (Holston 1991:456).

questionable. Other residents rent out rooms in their houses or become artisans, musicians, photographers, storytellers, or other professions directly dependent on demand. This, however, does not mean residents who depend on tourists may defend the current focus on cultural stimuli for tourists. With the exception of those owning well-established hotels and restaurants, most residents working in tourism describe a situation typified by low and unstable salaries, and continually live with a degree of informality in shopping, house construction, and employability. In addition, there is strong competition amongst residents, who depend on acquaintances to find work, and at the same time need to distinguish themselves from others through the services they offer. My interview partners often reported that "men are envious of other men", and that "successful businesses are immediately copied". In a more metaphoric way, "an ugly child does not have parents, but everybody wants to be the parents of the beautiful ones", which means that when a person has a good idea, many people in the city immediately claim it. This speaks to a relationship of coveting that typically results from the competition of offering similar services to a limited number of customers.

Stories and expressions of residents' disputes are abundant, as are stories of people who found valuable gems or opened successful short-term businesses. Sudden wealth and misfortune escalate feelings of envy, and such economic instability is not always easy to depict when looking at a central landscape that supposedly transmits permanence. Despite well-maintained façades, due to heritage policies, the insides of houses, especially in those outside central areas, are often unfurnished and unfinished. Houses, people's biographies, and stories of people's disputes reveal great social complexity. One aspect, however, predominates in conversations. This is that the city is viewed through conflict, especially the dispute between students and residents. The narratives during the June Protests 2013 in Brazil[67] will

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[67] Millions of protesters occupied streets in Brazil in June 2013 protesting against expensive and inefficient transport services. What started in the city of São Paulo soon spread to different cities in Brazil, a movement known as *June Protests*. The complexities of *June Protests*, the different agendas of protests, and the format of these protests took in different cities surely call for a case-by-case analysis rather than generalisations. Here I focus on attendance at some of the protests in Ouro Preto.

show that even when sharing a common agenda – lower bus fares – these two groups did not act together.

Protests in Ouro Preto

On June 26, 2013, some 40 students blocked streets to press for lower bus fares, closing one of the access roads to Ouro Preto. They were drumming and holding posters, and every time a car or motorcycle tried to force its way through, the students would block them, sometimes lying on the asphalt and singing: "if we do not disturb, it will not change".

On the sidewalk nearby, while observing the students, three men wearing the uniforms of their respective companies (a driver, a fireman, and a third one that I could not identify) commented that students do not do anything, but

drink beer all day long, nobody there woke up at 6 am to protest. They are disturbing the workers! I spent the night working and stopped to buy food for my fish and now they will not let me through. Those vagabonds that spent the night drinking beer, partying in Repúblicas, only those who know the life in Repúblicas know how it is, consuming cocaine and smoking grass. If they do not have money to live here, they should go back home. Nobody in this protest is from here.

When I later talked to students about the lack of support from local residents, one rationalized:

We protest for them [residents] too, when the tariff gets cheaper everybody will be happy; residents either have no political consciousness or are at work, but they will be happy if it gets cheaper.

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Image 2.5: Students demonstrate in Ouro Preto, June 26, 2013
Source: own collection

Protests also included camping outside the prefecture and when the camp was set up, I heard an elderly lady talking to another after glancing at the protest against high bus fares: "these rich students can afford to camp outside the prefecture to diminish bus fares, when I was their age and had no money for the bus, I walked".

Image 2.6: Student protest in front of the prefecture, July 2, 2013
Source: own collection

The statements from the men in uniform as well as the woman surprised me. Ana had told me a few months before the protests that transportation fares rose and nobody did anything, because people in Ouro Preto usually do not fight those in power, such as the government authorities who raised the price of transportation. I thought that when people from elsewhere, in this case students, demonstrated, residents would support them. However, residents did not sympathise with the actions taking place and for them, the students were spoiled. Students, on the other hand, looked down on residents politically and justified their lack of support as a lack of social consciousness. The two groups kept a sense of "otherness", drawing conclusions about each other – those protesting (thought to have ample time and financial means) and those not taking part (because of a perceived lack of political and social

engagement). Further bolstering of the polarisation between the groups despite a shared agenda creates a relationship that reflects and perpetuates memories of previous oppositions in a contemporary scene of inequality.

There are complexities in relationships involving permanent residents and students in Ouro Preto. However, the idea of a standard relationships between "us" and "others" or *ouro-pretanos* and *forasteiros* remains. This aspect brings us back to the start of the chapter and the need to understand which values are associated with the preservation of the city. The normative experience of Ouro Preto relates to refined cultural activities and formal education, leading to a perception amongst residents that the city centre is often a place for tourists and the upper class. Even when directly profiting from students or tourists, most residents do not share a self-perception of association with those perceived as an upper-class. For Ribeiro (2000), one of the primary aspects which has prevailed in Brazil since its colonial period is its ruling class, which is "exogenous and unfaithful to its people" (ibid:32). Like Angela said, some people who migrated to Ouro Preto at the time of the change of capitals, when the city was vacant, even made money, but they arrived in town very humble and felt oppressed by the university that inherited the most important buildings. Thus the "energy of the place", of power and powerlessness, ever since colonialism is further nourished in a present-day scene.

Conclusion

In Ouro Preto one puzzling relationship is that of geographical proximity and social distance. Some residents live near students, but though they are geographically close, they live "worlds apart", as expressed through conflicts mainly caused by noise and privilege. Teko, one of my informants, also explored this apparent entanglement of geographical proximity, but social distance. For him, sharing the same location did not mean mixing. The separation of the public is subtle – events that take place in Tiradentes Square are mainly for tourists and upper-class residents while just beside the

Square, poorer residents gather in Rua Direita to socialise; and students gather in their own parties. The festivities do not necessarily aim to divide and select particular groups, but groups seem to find themselves already in "their own places" (cada um na sua), in "distinct cities".

Everyday accounts unwrap the opposition not only between distinct groups, but also within individual groups, which are crossed through with a spiralling sense of disputes. Students have organised themselves through representatives, but not all Repúblicas share the same values. Their students often rely on parties for house maintenance, which though successful in raising income, heightens the chasm between students from Repúblicas and those wary of those houses. On the other side, some residents report a degree of informality in the economy and often they rely on "having a name"; that is, having friends in town to postpone payments in a context of an unstable local economy and informal employment. However, those residents may often rely on acquaintances who offer similar services to a limited target group, tourists, leading to internal competitions and envy.

Despite controversial descriptions of groups, disputes between city dwellers are at the centre of narratives. The system of quarrels in Ouro Preto is notorious in the city's history. Accumulated knowledge about the local history encourages an understanding of the place as composed of dualities (colonisers and the colonised), and a traditional focus on the rivalry between groups based on a violent history of conflicts (Moreira 2012:215). When the antagonism of colonisers and the colonised was replaced in politics, the system of oppositions did not change, as a resident of Ouro Preto explained, "but evolved, in the sense that the problems of today have contemporary narratives, but are similar to those from the past: a resentment about those who come from outside against those who are from here; and the main blame falls on students, who are the most visible group of *forasteiros"* (Jorge, April 9, 2013).

The term *forasteiro*, often used in town, means outsider and derives from the conflict between those who first settled in Ouro Preto to extract gold, *paulistas* (also known as *bandeirantes*) and those who arrived later, *forasteiro/ emboaba* (Portuguese). However, who were the oppressors in a

mining economy that usurped lives and minerals? While the use of history today brings forth interpretations of the 18th century in a search for a national spirit, founded in sentiments against the *forasteiros,* oppressor colonisers, that rebellion challenges national heroism. The group of *forasteiros* included not only the Portuguese but also other Brazilian-born groups fighting to access mining areas *paulistas* controlled. *Paulistas*, on the other hand, if considered natives because they disputed (also) against colonisers, arrived in the area first because land expansion and enslaving indigenous groups also benefited the crown (Fausto 1999:47-51). The conflict reveals not only disputes, but also similarities among the different groups in their search for gold and regional control (Romeiro 2008).

> This cultural approach allows us to break with the most common mistake in the traditional analysis about the Emboabas War: the anachronism expressed in the tendency to reduce the event to a rationality of our time. From there comes the strange feeling that everything seems to chain logically, as if paulistas and emboabas shared our view of the world and were driven by the same values and ambitions. There is no place for surprise, estrangement, or for history. The naturalisation of the past conducts inexorably to the suppressing of history as difference, replacing it with obviousness, where there are no questions or problems to be faced (Romeiro 2008:27, my translation).

Reducing events to express "a rationality of our time" was part of the strategy when selecting places and monuments to include in the hall of national patrimony. The focus on Ouro Preto highlighted national martyrs such, as Tiradentes, but disregarded other interpretations of the Inconfidência as "fundamentally a movement made by oligarchs in the interest of oligarchs, where the name of people would be evoked merely in justification" (Maxwell 1973:139). Complexity in Minas' society, its insurgencies in the past, and the diverse interpretations of city dynamics today seem to give a way to a perception of groups in terms of "otherness". As Brumann (2009) reminds us, the

> [p]ublic recognition of things and practices as heritage produces pressure to fix those things and practices in time. Not only are they seen as unchanged survivals from an earlier day but they also may no

longer evolve freely, being effectively placed under a glass case (Brumann 2009:277).

When cultural heritage focussed on the symbolism of national uprisings that took place in Ouro Preto, not only were locations enshrined under a glass case, but so too was a perception that the struggles from the past were a dualism (colonisers and the colonised) that did not change. Instead, it evolved a constant sense of dispute between groups and the threat of betrayal within, as expressed through the use of previous terminology to name groups, or through narratives about "the energy of the place".

Negative perceptions of preserved areas and commemorative ceremonies convey ideas not of heroism, but uninterrupted inequality. Ouro Preto's cultural heritage is then not only a "theatre of happenings of great historical relevance in the formation of our [Brazil's] nationality" as stated by President Vargas (Decree 22928, 1933), but also a stage for continuing spatial and social disputes. If all of the conflicts today are a continuation of the past, then preserving the past through heritage may preserve the conflicts as well. Thus, despite eventual (and controversial) profits associated with city maintenance, for most residents the city leads to an enduring socio-economic division, it is then not surprising many permanent residents do not favour city maintenance. The authorities linked with cultural heritage think this apathy is a disinterest in culture and think they have to educate them (as I discuss in chapter 3). However, there is a deep seated detachment from the town itself, because permanent residents perceive it as a place of conflict and unfairness and locate themselves as *ouro-pretanos*, victimised by a (coloniser) upper-class. Making the city attractive in its heritage, is also de-mystifying the past as one of a dual conflict, or else how can residents see themselves, the city, and everyday life as part of a mutual and open-ended (and not maintained and polarised) conflict?

CHAPTER 3

Perceptions of Ouro Preto
Sightseeing and instruction

Local stories of privilege and dispute in Ouro Preto speak of a city where not all groups can appreciate cultural activities and the central preserved buildings equally. As discussed previously, students often live centrally, but have their own celebrations – often inside their student halls – and many residents in Ouro Preto cannot afford houses in the centre and have moved to the outskirts. For this latter group, the enduring city is a privilege for the temporary public, such as students and tourists. Other permanent residents, however, may profit from the influx of students and tourists. Departing from previous discussions, that complex everyday interactions in the city are often communicated as a dual opposition, in this chapter I discuss through sightseeing diverse narratives about the past that do not always find a representation in cultural heritage. This lack of representation about varied stories also leads to a perception of residents' exclusion both materially and symbolically.

Tour guides seem to be caught between privilege and dispute in regards to the preservation of Ouro Preto, and I look at them as ethnographic subjects in the first part of this chapter. Guides strive to give sightseers a good impression of the city, but as residents, they are often excluded from the city's cultural events and live outside the main touristic, commercial and cultural zone. Looking at the interpretations guides have about the city, I discuss some stories and locations they favour in city tours. Do tour guides express the ambiguity of their lives in a city where residents have maintained a narrative about social and spatial divides since colonial times, or do they narrate a story that satisfies tourists' preconceptions about the place?

Guides' narratives are not the only ones to offer explanations about the city's heritage. For residents, there are government projects that create city interpretations. In the second part of the chapter, I look at programmes in Ouro Preto that hoped to familiarise residents with what the city offers for

"those coming from elsewhere" and thus alter perceptions of socio-economic unfairness and detachment from the city's sights. Directed at educating residents, especially those who articulate a perception of exclusion, programmes aim to create affective memories and joyful experiences in the city, mainly through cultural opportunities, such as pedagogic city tours and actions across museums and art galleries. Through those projects it is possible to locate theoretical debates discussing the limits of education and culture in the face of urban inequalities.

Mitchell (1991), already discussed previously, states that material (architectonic) control also has a non-material side, making "the education of the individual suddenly imperative", because the power of city structures over individuals also aims to work from "'the inside out' – by shaping the individual mind" (ibid:93-94). However, other authors such as Canclini (2012) argue that the promotion of pedagogic tools to "translate" the city often epitomises the lack of a shared perception of space and stories (ibid:164). To insist in finding a common narrative for patrimony through culture and education is also to ignore that learning in schools, museums or art galleries, is not an equal process for all individuals. Supporting his argumentation with the work of authors such as Bourdieu, in his studies about social distinction, Canclini (2012) discusses the appropriation of cultural capital according to socio-economic inequalities (ibid:210).[68] In combining theories exposed by Mitchell (1991) and Canclini (2012) with my discussion about Ouro Preto, the material expression of the city does not on its own lead to a shared social meaning, thus pedagogic tools are important if cityscapes are to shape common city perceptions. However, not all individuals equally absorb cultural projects.

Finally, in the final part of this chapter, I offer a discussion about historical gold mines as a way to offer an alternative to polarised socio-spatial relationships (and normative pedagogic tools). Mines privilege more than a key focus on heroes and nationalism. Tours in mines offer non-official accounts of slavery as well as non-physical spaces, such as spiritual worlds. Could gold mines offer an alternative to geographies of exclusion with their

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[68] In his volume *Distinction: a social critique of the judgment of taste*, Bourdieu (2010) discusses the illusion of personal preferences and explain "taste" based on socio-economic determinants (ibid:93-95).

metaphysical accounts and a history that challenges national contexts? This question guides the final section of the chapter.

Sightseeing in the city centre

Tour guides are generally residents who delve into the city's history for money or because of personal interest, and do not have much in common with each other (as mentioned in chapter 2, they may compete with each other for clients, or have additional jobs unrelated to tourism). I met tour guides from different city tours and they all seemed to be guides for different reasons and had different ways of making money to live. For example, while Nelson is the president of the Tourism Association and dedicates his working hours to planning and leading tours and dealing with other guides belonging to his organisation, Silva is a guide for convenience. I had time to understand Silva's work and motivation when living in his house for a month (as I described already in chapter 2). The work of leading visitors through the city has been part of his routine since childhood and now, owning shops in town, he continues to guide for pleasure and to attract customers to his shops. The different biographies and diverse commitments guides have when leading tours mean that talking about them as a group obscures the intricacies of their personal abilities and time budget, amongst other particularities that impact their narrative of the city. As guides, however, they have in common an "interpretative activity" (Reed 2002:128), they offer more than the "city's shell", as they say, but the essence of 18th century stories. Tours in town then reflect both of these aspects. Despite emphasizing diverse corners of the city, street names, or local biographies, when explaining the city, guides view the city today through the same lenses most residents and tourists do: through the 18th century. The same lenses however do not mean they see the same picture – tourists look for a romantic city, residents often focus on conflicts – and I look at guides as ethnographic subjects and briefly discuss how they communicate colonial memories.

To start, Ouro Preto was founded on June 24, 1698, but it is interesting to notice that it was founded twice. This side here, for example, Antonio Dias arrived through Itacolomi and founded the city and other people that came from down there also founded it. So we had people from Pilar and the people from Antonio Dias. People from the two groups met in this Square [Tiradentes Square] in 1711, Santa Quiteria hill at the time, and the meeting did not work out, because people from one side did not want to mix with people from the other side, and so they made an imaginary line in the middle of the Square dividing the two groups. So it was the people of Antonio Dias on that side and the people from Pilar in here. When the Crown had to create villages, instead of creating two, the Governor created only one and the village was growing and growing with this division between two groups; and so this is the only city that has two main cathedrals, we have the Cathedral Our Lady of Pilar on this side and Cathedral Our Lady of Conceição on that side. All the children that were born on either side would be baptized in the respective cathedral, and that continues up until now. During the Holy Week, as Easter is the biggest celebration of catholicism, they agreed that each year one of them would promote the event, and so on even years it would be Pilar Cathedral and odd years it would be Our Lady of Conceição Cathedral (...) and so the city has always been divided.

(City tour with Nelson, November 25, 2013)

Nelson started explaining two important city landmarks – the two cathedrals – by portraying their association with the two distinct city groups that founded Vila Rica. Similar to Flavio (chapter 1), he described the first residential settlements to later explain divisions that took shape in Tiradentes Square. The explanation finishes with the conclusion that "the city has always been divided". He explained that the divisions one sees today during Easter, such as that between students' parties and religious processions, are not the only ones, as there are divisions within religious groups. During another city walk, Silva also referred to Ouro Preto's cathedrals in terms of social

separations, but this time, when mentioning Pilar Cathedral, he focussed on its interior artwork to describe the division between slaves and freemen:

Francisco Xavier de Brito made the pulpit on the right as the Portuguese Crown requested, but he died and the Crown then hired a slave and said they would grant him freedom (carta de alforria) if he made the second pulpit. But the slave already knew no freedom would follow so he moulded a similar piece on the left side but took the opportunity to expose the different ways of life in town for whites and blacks. If you notice, angels on the right are better-dressed, stronger, paler; on the left side angels are poorly dressed, slimmer, darker.

(City tour with Silva, June 29, 2013)

Images 3.1 and 3.2: Angels in Pilar Cathedral, August 26, 2013[69]
Source: own collection

Throughout the city's churches and chapels, guides such as Nelson or Silva usually explain how each church focussed on distinct city groups (mine

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[69] I am thankful to the administration of Pilar Cathedral for allowing me to visit the temple outside the opening hours to take pictures. I am especially thankful to Mr Carlos José for the communication and welcome.

owners, local traders, black slaves) that lived in the city in the 18th century. Religious brotherhoods in Ouro Preto and their architectural forms, religious syncretism, music, dance, racial consciousness, and ostentation are then described when temples are visited, sometimes clarifying city economic divisions and racial exclusion and sometimes focussing on racial miscegenation and social complexity, like separations within religious groups. Nelson for instance explains that when black slaves were excluded from main churches, they created their own temples. He then mocks São Francisco de Assis Church, named after a saint that preached poverty and humility, as a temple that was popular amongst mine owners and refused to allow blacks in its fraternity. On the other hand, Nelson talks with pride about churches like Lady of the Rosary of Blacks (Image 3.3), in its magnificent smooth-edged architecture, created by and for black people.

Image 3.3: Church Lady of the Rosary of Blacks, March 13, 2013
Source: own collection

Bridging racial issues, architectural astuteness, history and imagination, Aleijadinho, The Little Cripple, is a key individual in Silva's description.

Aleijadinho was the son of a black slave woman and a white Portuguese man, Manuel Francisco Lisboa, who was the greatest Portuguese architect and so the King sent him here to build city projects, churches, everything, but he made a slave pregnant. When they found out the 'mulato' boy was born, the father's punishment was to work for free for the crown the rest of his life and never see his son. Another architect, Francisco Xavier de Brito, baptised the boy and brought him up. The boy's first architectural work was at the age of nine years old (...) and he became the greatest Brazilian sculptor (…). In all his images of Christ, he adds a hanging scar on the neck to pay a tribute to Tiradentes, and this is also a way to sign his work, because he had no fingers on his hands.

(City tour with Silva, June 29, 2013)

Aleijadinho, the illegitimate son of a Portuguese man and a black slave woman, was more than the first well-known Brazilian artist; he was one of the greatest. Crippled and talented, he is hailed during tours as the product of a Brazilian miscegenation ideal, in Freyre's (1963)[70] sense: creative, brown, overcoming through education and talent all the odds resulting from his deformed body and difficult family circumstances. In a short walk around São Francisco church, one can easily perceive how Aleijadinho sculpted more than the saints' images, encouraging and sparking ambition in generations to come. The city has a medal named after him, which is given annually to those

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[70] In Ouro Preto, narratives about Aleijadinho idealise his Brazilian creativity, reminding the listener of Gilberto Freyre's sociology of a hybrid and unique Brazilian culture that goes beyond its racial roots (Souza 2000:79). In *The mansions and the shanties* (1963), Freyre presents the *mulato*, the 'type' that had access to culture and was capable of rising socially (Souza 2000:91). Freyre's work could consecrate miscegenation as a positive value and his theory was valuable in the construction of Brazilian nationality (Nascimento 2003:44). Aleijadinho, both in his biography and artistic work, express ideals of Brazilian nationalism – racial miscegenation and values associated to work and education towards economic ascension. However, as I will discuss later, there are negative aspects on what became discussed as a myth of racial democracy in Brazil (Sheriff 2001:218).

who contribute in ground-breaking ways to the field of art.[71] When pointing out Aleijadinho's work, Silva emphasises a long list of his creative solutions in representing animals, saints, and historic moments in soapstone and wood.[72]

Aleijadinho did not know the animals, and when he portrayed Jonah's life, that one that was eaten by a whale, he could not make a whale because he had never left Minas Gerais to see the sea, so he imagined a duck and he made the whale with a beak and wings of a duck, can you see it there?

Narratives about Aleijadinho's creations give room for guides' and sightseers' imagination, who start to see resemblances of diverse animals when looking at the sculptures. Aleijadinho's intentionality in designing unconventional figures has different narratives, starting from the need to make his work distinctive (since he could not sign his pieces), his ignorance about certain animals, to his personal beliefs that would lead him to avoid certain forms.[73]

Lastly, not only Aleijadinho gains centrality in São Francisco de Assis Church, but also Athaide, the painter of the temples' interior. The painter is as famous locally as is Aleijadinho, and one cannot move beyond the church's atrium without being caught by Athaide's 'Virgin Mary'. The ceiling, looking like the hull of a ship, makes Mary emerge from the clouds of the sky as a

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[71] Aleijadinho's Medal was created in 1974 to recognise the work and dedication to the city of up to 25 nominees. The medals are given on the November 18, the death anniversary of Aleijadinho, at São Francisco Church. (Decree 27/1974, available on-line: http://www.sistemasigla.org/arquivos/sisnorm/NJ_img(7366).pdf, accessed December, 4 2015). Nationally, Aleijadinho was declared the patron of art in Brazil on December 12, 1973 (Law 5984, available on-line: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/1970-1979/L5984.htm, accessed December 4, 2015).

[72] Maxwell (1973) describes the production of the artist as "some of the world's finest rococo churches" and the design of Sao Francisco Church as "where the extraordinary development of the Minas Baroque was most clearly demonstrated (…) [as it] proposed new solutions of plan and façade and produced a unified whole which Germain Bazin has numbered among 'the most perfect monuments of Luso-Brazilian art' (ibid:94).

[73] Writing in 1964, at the time of the 150th anniversary of Aleijadinho's death, Rezende (1965) comments on a week of celebrations for the artist who left sculptures and temples erected in the cities of Ouro Preto, Congonhas, Mariana, and other towns in Minas Gerais. The author refers to a newspaper article that compares Aleijadinho to Shakespeare, in the sense that there has been doubt about both Shakespeare and Aleijadinho's list of works. Doubts about Aleijadinho's work remain in Ouro Preto today and controversy surrounds the artist regarding his portfolio, the disease that afflicted him and how he could create without hands but tools strapped to him. His art, however, is celebrated regardless.

ship does from the waves of the sea. Her presence, floating on clouds surrounded by musician angels is even more eye-catching as she has features of a mixed-race Brazilian. Black (or mixed-race) saints in churches are uncommon in Brazil, especially in a church built exclusively for white people, and that image was praised as a symbol of "miscegenation and nationalism, already in colonial Brazil!", explained my tour guide with excitement.

Image 3.4: The ceiling in São Francisco Church, December 9, 2013,
Source: own collection
(included under use exemption and restricted from further use) [74]

Unfortunately, obtaining the image of the ceiling I share above involved signing a very restrictive contract. Restrictions are imposed because of the success of the artwork and, on a smaller scale, other temples in town also limit access or photography.[75] Because of the image restrictions and the admission fee, São Francisco Church is an exclusive location. On my visits to the Church I did not see people praying, priests, nor candles, and there was no smell of incense left. Guides explain that learning the details of the church remains a privilege and while black people could not enter São Francisco Church in the past, many local residents today do not visit the temple, nor can they access the diverse interpretations of its interior.[76]

Embracing the interior and exterior of temples, interpretations of the city through tours with Nelson, Silva and others, referred to religious buildings to express both social exclusiveness and creative forms of inclusion (through saints, or statues that denounce unequal ways of living). Nevertheless, tours often depicted a city of privilege, when describing restricted visits to city sights (by residents) and limited interest on tours (by tourists). The work of tour guides, as they describe it, is often undervalued and not all tourists are concerned with understanding the city as they detail it. Instead, usually tourists are concerned with consuming mainstream colonial images; "the façade of the city",[77] and the city skyline suffices for them. This leads to a narrative of enduring separations. Tours, on one hand exalted the creativity of artists, and did not only focus on a past of power and powerlessness.

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[75] A robbery of 17 sacred pieces in Pilar Church in 1973 led to restrictions being imposed so that photographs can now only be taken when authorised in advance. During my fieldwork a newspaper article recalled the 40th anniversary of the robbery and the various rumours of a case that remains unsolved (Werneck 2013).

[76] There are locations in Ouro Preto that offer entrance fee waiver for residents on specific dates or they offer a reduced price. However, in a conversation with a local politician and musician, Chiquinho de Assis, he explained that the importance of São Francisco temple often makes permanent residents, coming from poorer areas to visit the church, self-conscious about clothing and some might attend services from the door or seated at the back.

[77] The term "façade" often has a negative connotation in Brazil when employed to describe someone; "a person of façade" means someone that has an exterior attitude different from his or her interior intention. When tour guides say that many tourists prefer to see only the city in its façade, they mean people are not interested in accounts of the meaning or process of an artwork but only in its main visual aspects. Therefore, those guides explain, many house owners have rebuilt the interior of their houses (demolishing walls, floor, ceiling, and repainting the interior) and have maintained only the façade for tourists' photographs.

However, on the other hand, tours also finished with reflections upon guides' work, and how they celebrate the city for only a few people. When guides interpret a city for few people, then they seem to agree with mainstream *ouro-pretanos'* complaint; the city (and themselves) mainly caters for a few people "coming from elsewhere".

Nelson says that the exclusiveness of city attractions explains why many local residents do not praise tourists and the city, "they do not feel they belong to it". Residents have never entered some tourist attractions, and they do not eat in restaurants, he explains, and to them to work in the fields of city preservation or tourism means working for the satisfaction of others only. Feeling apart, he maintained, changed their relationship to tourism and to the city. But guides such as Nelson, who likes tourists and believe tourism is important for the city, does understand residents' segregation, and believes this situation could change.

One suggestion I gave in the 1980s is that we needed to go to schools to make a programme where everybody could get involved. At least everybody who depends on tourism should get involved, the prefecture, the House of Representatives, the university, the restaurants, the commerce in general; so that we could have a project at schools. So every week we would take one group of students from one school, and it would be a serious thing, take the kids from the school and make a tour as we do with people who come from elsewhere. So take them to the churches, show them what the churches have, take them to the city sights and take them to have lunch in a restaurant where tourists also eat, so that they have one day as a tourist that come to see Ouro Preto. And hence we would show them tourists need respect. So that they would learn, because that would be a wonderful day, it would be a great novelty, and they would learn to see Ouro Preto with other eyes. They would start helping with the preservation; they would respect the tourists, and would teach their parents to do the same.

(Nelson, November 8, 2013)

What seemed to have lacked in Nelson's account was a sense of the programmes that already exist and go in a similar direction to what he suggested. Those programmes, however, are not led by tour guides. The diversity of details in tours – evoking sightseers' imaginations – is often negatively articulated locally. The vice-mayor of Ouro Preto, in a conversation on November 21, 2013, explained that because guides each narrate different versions of city sights and often without historic accuracy, their work does not have a shared credibility. The Tourism Association, though trying to build guidelines, does not have many affiliates. Therefore, to solve the problem of local exclusion from touristic routes, regional and local governments are involved in pedagogic projects, mainly directed by the local art school, that encompass sightseeing. However, there are several difficulties with explaining the city to excluded publics.

Firstly, learning about the past may not necessarily lead to preservation, when buildings express not only the continuation of material forms, but of privileges and discriminations. Secondly, learning about the city does not change the reality of the geographic and social distance between some residents' and the city's main attractions; in fact, it can make it more pronounced. Below I explore some methods used in Ouro Preto to allow poorer residential groups to develop a sense of the value of their city and how those methods compete with existing perceptions of the city.

Art for the community

The steep Alvarenga Street leads to a neighbourhood called Cabeças ('Heads', a place where the severed heads of convicts were displayed in the 1800s). This location hosts one of the campuses of Ouro Preto's art school, with a gallery focussed mainly on local residents. On April 9, 2013, I visited the gallery and spoke to the curator. "Art for the community" is how she explained the focus of the gallery and the reason why it stands outside the city centre at the top of a steep street. While accessing that gallery may be difficult

if visitors are staying in the city centre, the location resonates with a focus on residents living far away from downtown cultural attractions.

The curator runs an educative programme at the local art school directed at children from public schools.[78] Children are usually from the fifth or sixth class, and the age of the children (about 12 years old) is not selected by chance, as the fifth and sixth school years are associated with a large number of dropouts. The idea is to mediate their art appreciation without the social bias that conditions seeing art. The curator explained that children's impressions of art are impoverished, they do not visit central cultural locations (monuments, museums, art galleries), and do not feel a sense of belonging even in galleries closer to them, such as the one in which we stood. There is a "distance", a social distance, and they walk past the door but do not enter. When they enter, they do not look at paintings, and are mainly relieved not to be attending school classes, she added. Mediating that distance with regular visits and engagement with artists and artwork faced the immediate disinterest of children as well as some lack of organisation from schools. The city, she concluded, "is for the English to see" (for the tourists and *republicanos* – students who live in Repúblicas). The curator seemed to feel alone there, and on the desk at the entrance there was a computer, for she needed to do some work during times when no one was visiting the gallery.

The conversation at the art gallery illustrates what authors such as Souza (2011) discuss. To Souza (2011), the pupils from a poor background that give up school at a young age, such as the pupils the above-mentioned art project invites for visits, do so because the school is a "first experience that there is a world to which he simply was not invited" (ibid:414, my translation). In other words, schools or art galleries offer a world distinct from the one these poor pupils live in. Fine arts and formal schooling have little to do with the everyday life that often takes place in houses without books, paintings and far away from fine cultural opportunities. Having access to school and visits to art galleries may increase rather than correct social distances. When

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[78] The Art Foundation of Ouro Preto has various courses in visual arts, music, and restoration. Some activities are especially developed for communities living in some of Ouro Preto's districts and poorer neighbourhoods (far from the centre) or for children from those areas; visits to the art gallery are part of those focussed actions.

individuals are offered educational and cultural opportunities, but give up on them, what follows is often blame for their lack of interest, for example. Such blame on individuals harms a discussion about social circumstances that conditions seeing art, as the curator explained (see also Canclini 2012:210). More importantly, local programmes like the one described focus on consequences (lack of attachment to cultural heritage), rather than on determinants, socio-economic conditions tainting cultural experiences.

Considering the conversation in the gallery and theoretical discussions, the lack of success of school visits to art galleries is not surprising. However programmes focussing on educating the population about the local cultural heritage – projects on patrimonial education – advance trying to smooth perceptions of inequality despite different forms of being in the city. One of the coordinators explained the controversies and limits of such programmes to me.[79]

"I am from the hill, I am also patrimony"

The programme "I am from the hill, I am also patrimony" (*Sou do morro eu também sou patrimônio*), caught my attention when I moved to the town. When I first heard that name of the programme I immediately thought of Ouro Preto's flag, the motto on which read since 1931: "Precious although black" (*Precioso ainda que negro*). The gold found in the city was black because it was covered in other minerals and the idea of a saying "precious although black" was racist according to FIROP (Forum for Racial Equality of Ouro Preto). In 2005, the motto on the flag changed to "Precious black gold" (*Precioso ouro negro*).[80] Houses on the hill are immediately associated with a threat to Ouro Preto's cultural heritage entitlements (as discussed in chapter

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[79] I analyse projects on patrimonial education mainly through brochures, official reports and interviews with coordinators and not recipients of such projects. Amongst those on the receiving side there were many children and my ethnographic training and ethical approval did not include research with children.

[80] Proposition 02/2001 (available on-line: http://www.sistemasigla.org/arquivos/sismat/00000000271.pdf, accessed December 4, 2015) suggested changing the motto in Latin on Ouro Preto's flag because of its racist connotation, and this became law in 2005, as reported in the Brazilian Newspaper Folha de Sao Paulo, November 18, 2005 (Guimaraes 2005).

1). The name of the programme suggests that these residents are part of patrimony, despite the fact they are from the hill, recalling the segregation between centre and periphery even though the project hopes to bridge such separation.

To understand more about the programme, I visited one of its designers and executors in September 2013. Simone explained the aims and results of the programme to me in a long conversation.[81] She said that in her understanding, the majority of the local poor population thought that what the city offers was not for them, and that they would always cater for tourists. "Ever since the city became a heritage site, the local population has not been valued". Therefore, the cultural reference for residents in their neighbourhoods is the church, a local landmark that resembles those in the city centre, and so is worth valuing. Simone also explained that, for different reasons, university students are detached from the monumental city. University students, she said, "spend five years here and visit the city centre only to go to CAEM [the local student union where parties take place at night]".

One project she coordinated was directed at university students called "Urban senses: patrimony and citizenship," (*Sentidos urbanos: patrimônio e cidadania*). The programme offered a tour through the city to small groups of first-year students, so they could sense a different city from the one they would see every day. The idea was that by exploring city sounds, smell, textures, uses, students would perceive and interact differently with the city. This interaction would lead to co-responsibility in city preservation.[82] But the programme also had to offer university credits to students to make it attractive. Students are mainly absorbed in their private realms, the life in Repúblicas, as discussed in chapter 2, hence the need to offer course credits. Despite a shortage in results with that community, Simone explained that in 2010, the programme expanded to encompass children from the periphery,

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and she mentioned the project named *Sou do morro eu também sou patrimônio.*

Schoolteachers in Morro Santana (a housing location mainly for poor residents) had the idea to design a project similar to that university students had in the city centre. The challenge was to create a route that would be attractive to pupils and hosted outside the city centre. Simone explained that teachers wanted to amplify ideas of patrimony to reach out to their location too, because children were often ashamed of living there. That, however, meant understanding cultural heritage beyond the colonial buildings in the centre. The idea was to encompass the memories and identities related to their location. One result was that they could find a brook where local women in the past washed clothes for their clients. Memories of the women's social gatherings led pupils to ask the local government for better maintenance of the brook, which is clean today.

Simone explained that projects like these mean they were "eating from the borders" (taking small steps) to bridge rooted experiences of detachment. When going to the *morros*, Simone explained, it was possible to sense the expectations created in the community, who would wonder if projects would offer physical changes in that location. Thus, she added, their presence could only advance step by step. She concluded by saying that "the programme is positively accepted, but is not magic, I would not say it transforms", but it addresses a historical dilemma of segregation between the centre and the rest of the city.

The programme *I am from the hill, I am also patrimony* is based on the idea that amplifying local patrimony to also include non-consecrated cultural goods can lead to affection, identification, social inclusion and finally the preservation of those goods and the ones centrally located (Secretaria Municipal de Patrimônio e Desenvolvimento Urbano 2012:6-7). Lynch (1960) presents a similar idea in his well-known study on city images. According to the author, it is possible to improve the image of the city

> by training the observer, by teaching him to *look* at his city, to observe its manifold forms and how they mesh with one another. Citizens could

be taken into the street, classes could be held in the schools and the universities, the city could be made an animated museum of our society and its hopes (Lynch 1960:117).

Lynch however also states that pedagogical projects go hand-in-hand with physical reforms and need to be thought through continuously (ibid:117). The association of improving the image of the city and physically changing the environment, however, is not the focus in Ouro Preto.

In Ouro Preto, the methods used in *I am from the hill, I am also patrimony* focus on learning about cultural heritage through projects that allow for exploring the school and the neighbourhood, sparking interest in finding out more about students' family history, learning about the school locality in relation to downtown Ouro Preto. The project may connect the pupil to the city centre (Secretaria Municipal de Patrimônio e Desenvolvimento Urbano 2012). However, some of the programme's complexity stems from the focus on the pupils' potential to perceive and preserve their immediate environment through memory, information, and affection. Many of the pupils, however, come from contexts where families are constantly improving the condition of the house and changing house location, because most houses are illegal and many have been built in a hurry. Improvised and temporary, houses may not evoke a relationship of identity, affection, memory and preservation. Finally, focussing on the individual to insert values of city preservation sets individuals in an "existential dilemma of autonomy and dependency (…) having to act while being powerless" (Dalsgaard 2004:25-26), in other words, pupils are encouraged to look for their own monuments – the locations, memories, objects that they value as a way to challenge the dualism centre and periphery. But socially, those pupils are part of a system that excludes them from the main patrimonial reference, the city centre. These individuals are also perceived by residents in downtown neighbourhoods as sources of endangerment, for the mere existence of a periphery on hill slopes threatens the city's preservation status. If individuals can learn to value and preserve their vicinity, it does not mean their houses will become legal, or that the city in general will share ideas of value and preservation to encompass those locations. It is then not surprising that the programme has developed

sophisticated methods (such as building maps, photography, collecting favourite family objects) to encourage participants to sense and reflect about Ouro Preto, but has still achieved little results.[83]

Executors of programmes that focus on offering a new perception of the city, when everything else remains the same, explain projects do not achieve much, but address rooted perceptions of segregation. However, programmes that address segregation by focussing on individuals and not on socio-economic circumstances run the risk of both maintaining the status quo and denying the production of inequality (Souza 2011:20).

Nevertheless, the discussion would not be complete without considering former gold mines. Visits to gold mines do not change the paradigm of working towards city inclusion through cultural and touristic activities. Former gold mines are a touristic attraction in town. However, mines are located outside the city centre and they convey the idea that central buildings only existed because of the gold extracted in those areas. Mines then could be seen to break with the dichotomy of centre and the *morros*. Moreover, mines tell stories not officially accounted for, such as the biographies of black slaves, hence offering the possibility of permanent residents (often black or mixed-race, *pardo*) to be included not only in city tours, but in city history. As Collins asserts, when involved in a popular context, patrimony "becomes part of everyday, popular historical experience rather than simply one aspect of top-down state policies" (Collins 2009:293). Finally, socio-economic hierarchies are metaphysically challenged in those spaces, when black slave spirits control the location.

Gold Mines

Tours through gold mines in Ouro Preto offer an opportunity to learn about slavery through the recreation of the working conditions in mines and

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[83] Results from the Programme *Sou do morro e também sou patrimônio* in December 2012 were assessed through the Secretaria Municipal de Cultura e Patrimônio, September 4, 2013. The conclusion of the document indicates that though pupils could engage with the project and enjoy activities, pupils remain geographically distant from the city centre, their main cultural reference.

through the accounts of slaves' spirits that act upon visitors' bodies. Through tours, the history of slavery gains a "memory" in the form of spiritually (and bodily) experienced past. Before exemplifying how mining visits work, I briefly discuss slavery and spirits, relating my analysis of Ouro Preto to other ethnographies.

In his ethnography about rituals of spiritual possession in Cuba, Routon (2008) shares the explanation offered by a local medium that "the spirits of runaway slaves are always out of breath (…) they always come running in order to escape from the overseer and his dogs" (ibid:633). Cuban slavery in that case "becomes real for present generations through ritually stylised forms of social mimesis" (Routon 2008:633). In the case of Ouro Preto's mine tours, it is unlikely that visitors witness moments of spiritual possession; at least, I did not come across any such descriptions. The history of slavery is represented there through the recreation of earlier working conditions – including sounds, sights, and sensations – while slaves' spirits are narrated, expressed in detailed accounts rather than in rituals of spiritual possession. However, although taking narrative form, this does not mean spiritual discursive practices are not physically manifested; indeed they are. When visitors describe physical pain or have an accident in the mines, they are said to be victims of slave spirits. Spirits then act directly upon visitors' bodies through negative experiences.

The association between colonial slavery and spirits is not uncommon (Roudon 2008; Hale 1997; Stoller 1994). In this chapter, the analysis of the "phantom of slavery" is two-fold. Firstly, ghostlike memories of slavery illustrate that slaves are found in narratives about Ouro Preto through mystical oral tales rather than through local statues, statistics, or biographies.[84] Off-the-record spiritual or imagined remembrances by residents enact a history overlooked by official accounts. Hale (1997) observes that slavery in Brazil is

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[84] Some studies about slavery gained prominence during the time of my fieldwork. Marcia Valadares, member in the Forum for Racial Equality of Ouro Preto, explained her research in town to me, which was about the alternative literacies of slaves. Projects such as hers have been minimal in Brazil, where the issue of racism is silenced or intermingled in discussions about class, education, and culture (Souza 2010:188). It is then not surprising that residents in Ouro Preto refer to city groups in terms of house location and education and rarely refer to race as an indicator of divisions, despite the local history of slavery, as discussed in chapter 2.

usually portrayed in museums, with great emphasis on its violent occurrence – in exhibitions of torture objects for example (ibid:396) – rather than focussing on its cultural or biographic legacies. This is the case in Ouro Preto. Goldman (2013), drawing on his own and others' research in the region of Ilhéus, Bahia, narrates that there is a "dominant version of cacao-based economy was founded in the small estates and work of the landowners, almost without any intervention from the slave labourers" (ibid:114). This "dominant version" he clarifies, is far from what documents say about the participation of slaves in the local economy. In sum, in mines' tours one can move beyond the typical torture-tools recollection or the nonexistence or denial of black memory.[85]

Secondly, the "spiritualisation" of slavery allows previous occurrences to have a phenomenological manifestation. Visitors learn about slavery in mines both by revisiting the working conditions, and when sensing the spirits that are said to reside in the mines. Stoller (1994), writing about spirits, the body, and colonialism in Niger, explains that spiritual possession is a bodily practice and that it allows for colonial memories to have a phenomenological arena (ibid:637). A phenomenological arena, other authors such as Harris (2007) support, offers the possibility of knowing "the world as it is lived and experienced" (ibid:2). Spiritual manifestation in Ouro Preto (though not occurring in the form of spiritual possession rituals) fosters a "living past". In short, in gold mines, previous events are physically experienced in the present, mining settings provoke bodily sensations and the "energy" of mine spirits, as tour guides narrate, equally affects the body.

Below, I share a brief account of a tour through gold mines in Ouro Preto before engaging further in the analysis of spirits, past and present in town.

November 25, 2013, a drizzly rain persisted all morning before we arrived at the first gold mine. Big J., who guided me through the dark, cold and wet mine, greeted my city guide and me before starting my tour. While leading me to crouch in narrow and low corridors he would say: "Imagine if time went

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[85] See Sheriff (2001:61) on the topic race and memory in Brazil.

back by 200 years and you were a twenty-year-old man, a black man working in mines, poor", Big J. insisted I should imagine that to release my fears.

As we walked through the mine, Big J. and my city guide stopped walking and I had to set the pace on my own, for I was the one who was there to "learn the past through sensations". I kept on walking; it was very dark, and I could still hear the voices of the two men, though the voices became more distant, "You need this to understand what the slaves went through back in those days", they said, while I moved through the unknown in a narrow corridor. The ceiling would get lower and lower as I walked. I had to squat in a very uncomfortable and claustrophobic position, and I wondered if I could still move forward or how I would move backwards to leave the place, at which point Big J. yelled: "Can you imagine if we both would go away and you would have to stay for two or three days here?" No, I could not imagine that and wanted to return, but Big J. started to hammer against the wall, producing a sharp and repetitive sound "men died from the noise; while digging stones some particles would reach their eyes making some men blind, while others would have their lungs turned into stone when breathing the powder day after day". The noise continued for a short while until it became irritating, at which moment I tried to make my way back to the exit, but I fell down while moving backwards. It was very slippery.

(Field notes, November 25, 2013)

Experiencing humidity, darkness, noise, and the claustrophobic feeling in the low and narrow corridor in the mine illustrated how Ouro Preto's slaves lived back in the 18th century.

In addition to bodily sensations included in the tour, Big J. offered me a glossary of expressions and facts connecting slavery and suffering in the gold mines. One example is the explanation given about how the low, narrow corridors of the mines led slaves to be short. To stop male growth, many mine owners would castrate young slaves before they reached puberty. Additionally, death in the low corridors of the mine as a result of a lack of oxygen or an inability to navigate the labyrinths quickly led to the development

of some habits that are still in use today in town. As another guide explained, slave miners would bring a bird to work with them in the mine. When the bird stopped singing, they would take it as a sign that the oxygen had almost completely been consumed by the torches and the men, and when the bird died, that they only had a few minutes to get out of the mine. The guide explained how local families believe that having a bird at home is a lifesaver and keeping it at home remains customary in Ouro Preto (and in other places that faced a similar context).

While stories of violence against slaves are told in mines, Routon (2008) points out that there are "paradoxical colonial attributions of power"; and the same people who were enslaved, whipped, and chained, were also believed to have the power of sorcery (ibid:638). In Ouro Preto, the power of slaves as sorcerers is indeed common in local stories. But this power did not cease with acts of sorcery in the past, for nowadays the spirits of slaves, rather than those of mine owners, dominate mining territories. Spirits may not allow entrance to mines, explains the guide of another mine.

You need to be approved by the spirit from the people there; otherwise you do not enter the mine. There are people who arrive here and ask me to enter, but I arrive at the entrance and I fall down, they beat me up, throw me on the floor, 'with that person you do not enter'. But when the person has a clean soul, a person with the mysticism (mediunidade) and the sensibility that matches theirs and mine, we can enter the mine.

(Guide in a gold mine, November 25, 2013)

The "people there", the guide explained, are the people who worked as slaves in the mine in the past. When they do not want a sightseer to enter the mine, they beat the person up by making the visitor or the guide fall down, or hit their heads against the ceiling or the walls, or by inflicting headaches after visits. Those are seen as the typical signs that the spirits had not granted permission to enter. Local stories involving the spiritual infliction of pain in mines are so common that guides report offering tours for people across the

world and Brazil, while the local population is usually afraid of the mines and do not visit them.

In my case, when I arrived home and told my *ouro-pretana* landlady of my tour through local mines, she not only thought me brave in my expedition, but when I reported feeling a headache and sore throat, she also immediately attributed the symptoms to the "negative energy of mines". While I thought my headache and tonsillitis were a product of the humidity and a long day crouching in dark spaces with limited oxygen, my host disagreed and said in a short visit such as mine, my illness was the product of "the energy of the place". Instead of taking medicine, I was told to light a candle for the oppressed spirits of the enslaved, as many residents in Ouro Preto do. Candles are a visual expression of reports about physical pain caused by spirits. Spirits bother residents who report hearing noises, seeing figures, or having revealing nightmares.[86]

Image 3.5: Candles and *Preto Velho* inside a gold mine, November 25, 2013[87]
Source: own collection

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[86] For a record about local narratives about spiritual haunting in Ouro Preto, see Xavier (2009).

[87] *Preto Velho*, Old Black Slave, resembles submission or resistance in power and powerlessness master-slave relationships in Candomblé rituals (Hale 1997:393). Images of *Preto Velho* in mines, combined with explanations and scenery of violent domination, give form to narratives that speak of cruelty.

During my tour, Big J. told me a dream he had had the previous night. In his report, the dream, like his stories while awake, explained relationships of power and violence during the days of slavery.

I went to bed and when I went to bed I had a nightmare as never before. It felt as if my spirit was imprisoned there [in the mine] and there were people there beating me, and I tried to leave but I could not. I felt that affliction that you felt there [when I was left alone in the dark in the mine] and I felt I was going to die of that affliction. Suddenly when I least expected a Preto Velho [black old slave] appears saying 'you will leave this place and I will help you'. And he helped me to leave, but he was cursing me all the way out. When we got out I saw a lot of people working inside the mine and my spirit leaving it (…). Do you know why I had this dream? Enemy groups from the 18th century, enemies there and enemies here, and the blacks did not get along, that is why there was never a rebellion. The majority of the afro-descendent here [of Ouro Preto], they do not like entering the mines. A lot of the time the problem is not you, you are white, it is with another black like me.

(Big J. November 25, 2013)

Society in Minas, as I described elsewhere, has demonstrated great social complexity since the 18th century. More than a society of slaves and masters, "numerous skilled musicians, painters, sculptors (many of them of [mixed race] *pardos*) formed an urban artisan class which stood between the slaves and the white minority" (Maxwell 1973:94-5). Likewise, the complexities in diverse social groups, within groups of slaves, as Big J. reported, meant there was often no common ground for relationships. While some slaves would look for their own personal fortune smuggling gold, others would try to escape in small groups, leaving no space for rebellion.[88]

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[88] The black population in Ouro Preto in 1776 was four times larger that than that of whites (Maxwell 1973:263). It is common as a result to hear people ponder the lack of rebellion from slaves in Ouro Preto. In mine tours, explanations abound, focussing on the violence and oppression of the masters as well as language barriers and internal disputes amongst slaves.

In sum, ghostly mine tours fill gaps in the official history when they show where slaves worked, address the lack of a revolution led by slaves, and connect the wealth one sees in churches and central constructions with the gold that cost human lives. Mine tours also present the biography of notable black residents, such as Chico Rei. The story of Chico Rei summarises the limits of a power relationship inversion in town as a result of mining.

While crouching in the mine where Chico Rei worked, Nelson explained the story of a black slave who used to be a king in his tribe in Africa until he was forced to work as a slave in Brazil. In my own words, I summarise the explanation offered that afternoon.

Chico arrived in Ouro Preto and worked in an unproductive gold mine, until his master became ill and offered the mine to him. Chico knew about mining and knew that one had given no gold yet, and he would not be able to pay for the mine if there was no gold inside it. Nevertheless the slave accepted the offer. When he started exploring the mine, mysteriously, he finally found gold there. Chico paid for the mine, bought his freedom and that of those who were part of his former tribe. He started a new tribe in Vila Rica and was king once again. He became very rich and the Crown said 'look at it, in Vila Rica there is a slave that owns a mine, freed his people, and is today the king of the slaves'. Portugal, afraid of a rebellion, offered Chico Rei all he needed to return to Africa and he could take with him all the wealth he had accumulated. Chico accepted the offer because there he would be free; while in Ouro Preto, though he was king, he was a "nobody". Nobody respected him, he was black in the eyes of the whites and so he never had freedom; he was no longer a slave, but he was always seen as inferior and so he left.

(Nelson, November 25, 2013, with adaptions)

Concluding the tour with the story of Chico Rei, who became free and rich, yet remained chained the social organisation of the colonial society, seems to suggest that the city, material or immaterial, official or non-registered cultural heritage, excludes rather than brings groups closer. In mines, the dualism of oppressed and oppressors gains a new contour, when

stories of black slaves' spirits express the power of the oppressed. The power of the excluded, however, does not go beyond mining territories. In the city, there is no statue for black slaves and the one museum that dedicates a room to slavery only exhibits instruments of torture. Additionally, only a few residents visit mines, partly to avoid encounters with the spirits and partly because mines, like other tourist attractions, cater mainly to tourists. Similar to city tours, mine tours finish with narratives of enduring separations and privileges.

We are sad because I think the prefecture or the regional government should grant residents the right to visit mines, so they would know their history. The majority of the children do not know it; they do not know about the mines. If I were a millionaire, you know what I would like to do? I would like to get some thirty kids, some five or ten from Morro Santana, five from Morro São Sebastião, those black and poor kids and would take them to São Geronimo Museum in Portugal, so they could see what was taken from here. They do not know. We do not know. Have you been to Europe, Nelson? Nelson shook his head.

(Conversation between a mine guide and Nelson, November 25, 2013)

Conclusion

When Ouro Preto was nominated "a theatre of happenings of great historical relevance" (Decree 22928 1933), the preservation of its colonial constructions followed. However, as the number of inhabitants in the city grew, only the façades of some colonial houses were maintained, as the interiors of many of those structures were changed to support the needs of contemporary families. Similarly, the use of hills changed to house the growing population. The local saying that Ouro Preto is a city of façades is then justified by the split between the outside and inside of the houses, between the preserved centre and improvised periphery, and between the national symbolism of heroism and revolution and a local narrative that

speaks the maintenance of privileges and prejudices. Not surprisingly, city accounts focus on a "negative energy of the place".

Tour guides are often amongst the residents who are spatially excluded from the cultural opportunities of the centre, yet profit from the existence of a preserved city centre that attracts tourists. Nevertheless, because mainly a few tourists hire guides, they speak of a city that has never changed and benefits a small elite. According to those guides, however, offering tours to local residents could be used to change their historically negative perceptions of the city. They maintain that if residents could experience the city centre, they would feel part of it. Such offering of cultural experiences exists through pedagogic projects that invite pupils from poor areas and university students to experience the city. Pedagogic programmes are however limited. The programme *urban senses patrimony and citizenship* offers university students the opportunity to sense the city, but dialogues little with students' domestic sphere, which seems to dominate their university life, as described in chapter 2. Other projects such as *I am from the hill, I am also patrimony*, must be applied in a context of unequal socio-economic situations. Poorer residents maintain the opinion that they will always cater for tourists and students and hence be poorly paid and materially excluded from the city. To those residents, programmes on patrimonial education offer cultural moments in their immediate location and in central ones. But this inclusion in the city is unpromising when it disregards the social and material separations between poorer residents and the other residents of the city. Consequently, local inequalities have not been altered, nor centrally attended through such programmes. The importance of such pedagogic tools, that address how one can think differently about a location when the location and the position of the individual in the city (socially and economically) remains the same, will be discussed again in chapter 6.

Yet, when visiting the touristic gold mines, a change of perspective gains traction. In mines, colonial memories are "stored (…) in flesh" (Stoller 1994: 641); visitors can physically experience the 18th century from the perspective of mining slaves. Moreover, in mines one can hear about some slaves' biographies and perceive the centre as a result of the work of the periphery

(the slaves in the past, the poor habitants today) and begin to break down the juxtaposition that predominates in town between the centre and "the rest". However, the use of mines as historic and cultural centres remains mainly connected to tourists (especially foreign tourists) and the stories of black slaves linger in folklore and remain undocumented. Hence, prevailing ideas of racial consciousness in town privilege miscegenation and characters such as Aleijadinho, who shows the ascension of the Brazilian *mulato* through education. Aleijadinho's work, however, shows more – black inclusion in discriminatory temples, tribute to rebellion against colonial injustice – but the many stories around him that tour guides narrate are only attended by few people, and often have their credibility diminished by the lack of factual information given by guides.

The problem with a predominant narrative of artists such as Aleijadinho, focussing on artistic creativity rooted in racial miscegenation, is that it taints the discussion of racism in Brazil. Sheriff (2001) discusses the echo of Freyre's work – suggesting a hybrid making of the Brazilian urban culture – and as opposed to Freyre, the author identifies racial democracy as myth yet a dream (ibid:220). Adding to the work of Sheriff (2001), mines show that race is a point to discuss inequalities rather than a harmonious country.

In sum, sightseeing in the city figures as a "baby step" towards making local cultural patrimony of equal significance for the city's diverse residents. While most residents would not seriously contest the importance of maintaining the Tiradentes statue, São Francisco Church, or the many other local sights, relationships with those monuments and commemorative celebrations are diverse. To mediate disputes over the meaning of city spaces, there is participation, as a way to diminish exclusion after patrimonial education failed. In that context, the Municipal Council for the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Patrimony – a collegiate group that brings together technicians, politicians and civil society – gains importance as a platform that offers a new sort of heritage inclusion: participatory politics.

In the following chapter I will discuss how this group struggles with a shared local perception of patrimony as prohibitive and excluding, and disputes over the scope of its influence. When at a crossroads, those working

in the Council are both involved in directing preservation efforts and directly affected by it; they are residents and professionals related to that area. To examine the Council is therefore to examine the politics of patrimonial preservation under various prisms: how the process of hailing mundane objects as monuments takes place, with what purposes and results, the people involved, and how cultural heritage affects residents and policy makers, or policy makers that are also residents. The Council, better than any other group in town, analyses questions pertaining to a sociological and anthropological discussion on cities and citizenship (Holston & Appadurai 1996). Looking at the Council, my discussion in the second half of this thesis addresses the following questions: Is the participation of civil society in the work of cultural heritage an opportunity to reduce perceptions of exclusion by offering a platform for participation? Could participation allow for varied and fluid interpretations and uses of the city's past and present? Or does participation feature as a process to give credibility to a pre-set national narrative of the aesthetic and historic symbolism of Ouro Preto's monuments?

I will address some of the challenges for the Council, especially in attracting contributors in the face of the local association of cultural heritage with socio-economic inequalities, and of local misgivings in disputing with people in privileged positions. In doing so, my challenge is to invite the reader to consider democratic innovations in the governance of urban spaces in Brazil, while demonstrating ethnographically the limits of political participation locally.

CHAPTER 4

Opportunities for participation in cultural heritage

The bus station in Ouro Preto, a hub for local and regional buses, greets passengers with a poster that says: *Bem-Vindo a Ouro Preto – Patrimônio Cidadão* (Welcome to Ouro Preto – Citizen Patrimony). While it is common to see a welcoming slogan upon arrival in a city, the lower part of the poster puts together the words "patrimony" and "citizen" in a way that does not make sense in Portuguese. But in Ouro Preto, during the period of my fieldwork in 2013, the words "citizen" or "citizenship" and "patrimony" often came together in city slogans (see Images 4.1 and 4.2).

Image 4.1: Welcome to Ouro Preto Citizen Patrimony, April 26, 2014
Source: own collection
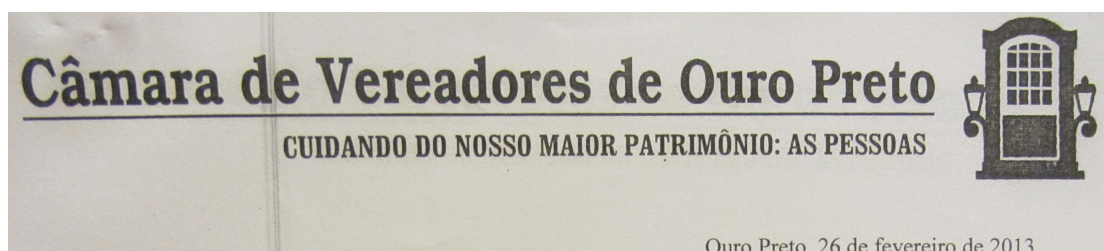
Image 4.2: House of Representatives for the city of Ouro Preto:
Taking care of our greatest patrimony: the people
Source: extracted from printed material

The combination of words, often spotted in public institutions, reflects the government's attempt to view citizens as part of patrimony, as fostered through projects related to pedagogic and cultural inclusion (chapter 3), and to allow non-state actors to participate in heritage policies and urban governance. In this chapter, I will discuss participation: how politicians, technical experts (urban planners, environmentalists, engineers) and community representatives come together, especially in municipal councils, to direct cultural heritage. Secondly, I explore the search for the meaning of, and the limits to, cultural patrimony in these forums.

Initially, I focus on concepts for bottom-up approaches in urban administration and how Brazilian laws have made local participation central to these processes. My analysis takes into account arguments I presented in previous chapters (especially chapter 2). It investigates civil input in urban governance in a context where residents perceive themselves as victimised by – but are invited to take responsibility for – cultural patrimony. The patrimonial legacy, representing both pride in history and aesthetics as well as exclusion and inequality (now and in the past), makes the Municipal Council for the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Patrimony (known in town by the acronym COMPATRI and in this thesis simply as "the Council") an extraordinary place to ground a discussion on the process and results of the politics of cultural heritage. Considering the stories about the enduring "energy of the place" of injustice and oppression, when looking at civilian participation in a topic as controversial as cultural heritage, I explore aspects of everyday and unavoidable economic interdependency and social conflicts, to discuss the likelihood that residents will voice demands and take part in heritage decisions. Lastly, this chapter offers the theoretical background to the Council, and introduces the Council's work and the controversies surrounding it, which follow in chapters 5 and 6.

The bottom line in bottom-up governance

Community associations, municipal councils, city conferences, public audiences, and other spheres where non-state members participate in public

administration have grown in number in Brazil. Caldeira and Holston (2005) have reasoned that the strong decline in modernist central planning and the strong base encouraging civilian participation arose with the 1988 Constitution. [89] In other words, the modernist state-centred design and execution that dominated in Brazil in the 1950s and 1960s could not foster the social transformations envisioned in the modernist city-planning blueprints, subsequently weakening this model for top-down urban planning. New norms helped develop new ways in which non-state actors could participate in city governance. However, the results and process of these new city planning practices, especially those focussing on popular participation, are still indeterminate and contested.

To locate the new practices in city planning in Ouro Preto is to encounter several paradoxes. As discussed in chapter 1, in Brazil, modernist city planning (leading to cities such as Brasilia) and city preservation (preserving cities as Ouro Preto) are interrelated projects. In creating urban spaces and preserving others, building and maintenance sought to express national development and unity. However, "the general dissatisfaction" with modernist architecture is usually correlated to the product, to the cities that did not correspond to the designs (Ellin 1996). This sense of failure can also stem from a sense of nostalgia within the population, which eschews the complexities of a modern architectural city (and the life that comes with it) and yearns for the cities of the past, which represent for them a simpler life. Ouro Preto is one of these "cities of the past", preserved at a time when modernist city planning was at its height. Despite this, residents do not feel a sense of belonging to it, as might be expected from the idea that modernist plans fail because of a lack of attachment from their citizens. Preserving Ouro Preto

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[89] Brazil held several constitutions since its independence in 1822. Under monarchist or republican (democratic or dictatorial) administrations, citizens had restricted rights to elect representatives (in terms of gender, income, literacy) and elections were known for corruption (See Holston 2008:92,103). The 1988 Constitution is considered a citizens' constitution because suffrage rights were unrestricted, municipalities gained more political autonomy in relation to the national state and the politics of urban development (detailed in article 182) looked for the social function of the city (properties and land could not be underused or misused) and cities with more than 20,000 inhabitants needed to write a master plan to determine their urban development. Those elements about citizens and citizens' rights in the city later culminated with the creation of the City Statute (2001) that regulated civilian participation in the democratic making of the city (See Andrade dos Passos 2010:85).

has not preserved or created the link between residents and the city, and a heroic past supposedly treasured. Instead, residents want what modernist cities purportedly offer – paved roads, modern conveniences, etc. Part of the solution for this problem could be local participation, but what good is this when nothing can change?

The appeal and uncertainty of process and outcome in recent changes towards broader public engagement and participation in public administration can be seen in other parts of the world and in other spheres than urban planning. For example, Marks and Bonnin (2010) investigate community safety groups and policing in South Africa and conclude that "policing functions are being carried out by agents other than the police (…) and instead of trying to be all things to all people (…) the state police should hone in on their core functions and intervene when communities request interventions" (ibid:56). To Altbeker (2007), participative theories draw from convictions that "the 'professional model of policing' resulted in policing that was too remote, too isolated from the community to deal with the social problems that gave rise to crime" (ibid:27). However, there has been on the one hand more democratic participation, while on the other more incidences of criminality, thus raising questions about process and outcomes (ibid:31). Moreover, it remains unclear how "community and belonging" (Hughes 1998:7), as a replacement to an inefficient state, may still look to the state to guarantee interconnection among citizens.

In Brazil, the 1988 Constitution established new norms in the administration of urban development, granting key functions to local administration. More specifically, in the management of cultural patrimony, the community was included in promoting protection.[90] Some years later, in 2001, Law 10257, known as the City Statute, structured ideas of local governance and community duties. However, Caldeira and Holston (2005) remind the reader that in giving form to social participation in the city, the Statute "imagines a society of citizens who are active, organized, and well informed…" (ibid:406). Different from modernist planning, "the social is not

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[90] 1988 Constitution (Constituição da Republica Federativa do Brasil 1988) Articles 182 and 216.

imagined as something for the plan to produce but is, rather, something that already exists" (ibid:407). Presumptions about "the social" are slowly being replaced by studies, usually made on a case-by-case basis, that look at the dynamics of new spheres of participation – how communities organise themselves to address common problems and how they may cooperate with the state. What requires investigation is who the involved actors are, how they may cooperate in communicating problems and solutions, and if their ideas are taken into account by the government. In the protection of cultural heritage, participatory instruments can include collegiate groups, debates and public audiences, conferences, and popular initiatives for legislation. The investigation I offer examines how one of these instruments, collegiate groups – the Council – resonates with existing ways of being in the city and governing the city in the case of Ouro Preto.

Finally, the growth of democratic participation increases in the face of escalating urban problems. As discussed by Caldeira and Holston (2005), in the 1980s and 1990s Brazil faced "on the one hand democratic citizenship; and, on the other, economic crisis, privatisation, and violence…" (ibid:404). This point brings us back to the comparison between Brazil and South Africa. In post-dictatorship Brazil as in post-apartheid South Africa, urban centres have encountered both more access to participation in city governance and a context of more urban violence (Altbeker 2007:31). The question that follows is whether people could transfer blame for failure from the state to the individuals who direct communitarian discussions. The difference between blaming "the state" and blaming civilian associations is strong. Participants in civilian associations, especially in Ouro Preto, where the economic and commercial activities are concentrated in the city-centre, are known, visible, and accountable. Secondly, participation processes may be inclusive, in that they open the ground for participants, but those who participate are not always equally equipped with information about the economic and social scope of the negotiations (as I will discuss with a case-study in chapter 6). Finally, participants may not share the same goal. When plans are faulty and city planning is localised, individuals in charge of representing segments of society can be identified as the authors of perceived failures, or there might

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be disagreement about "who 'really' speaks for the community" or is to be responsible. Hence, "the community is so absorbed in itself that it is deaf to the outside, or exhausted, or fragmented" (Sennett 1976:310). Seeing it from the frame of community policing, Marks and Bonnin (2010) state that "while non-state actors are encouraged to participate (…) they are not always adequately supported in their attempts. Nodal actors may even compete with one another" (ibid:59). Taking the issue further, Gledhill (2013) adds that "we need to ask whether 'participation' (…) plays an exceptionally important role in *urban* governance" (ibid:120). I will also address this question in my investigation.

Participation as a preservation process

Everyday experiences in Ouro Preto, described throughout this thesis, demonstrate that preserved areas do not enjoy shared local engagement. Places and stories did not live up to their reputations as celebrated heroic spaces, but rather were often viewed as echoing colonial injustices. On a practical level, the lack of local acceptance discourages local politicians from maintaining the preservation of contested locations. Local residents, who might be negatively affected by preservation, are invited to participate in making decisions relating to it. Contrary to the desires of the residents however, this process of participation may solidify preservation and prevent change. To understand how participation can turn into a process for preservation, rather than offering participants open possibilities, I offer a brief theoretical consideration.

Abram and Weszkalnys (2013) discuss credibility in the work of urban planning. The authors suggest that planning can be "expectation, an instruction, a policy, a project, an exercise of democracy, a blueprint, a law", but all plans need to produce conviction (Abram & Weszkalnys 2013:12). Focussing on ideas of conviction, the authors refer to self-representation – "when the plan may be presented as a personalised product" – or when planning is non-representational, such as when it is turned into law and the

focus on the personality of the planner is removed (ibid:13). The struggle in Ouro Preto refers to the fact that residents do not equally engage with their surroundings and have different reasons to maintain the cityscape as it is or change it. This gap between "flesh and stone" (Sennett 1996), when individuals feel detached from their surroundings and one another, means that the historic and aesthetic appeal for the development of a national bond is de-contextualised along local fault lines (as discussed in chapter 2). Self-representation – preservation discussed with local residents – might be a promising way to encourage residents' belief in the value of preserving the city, rather than being an opportunity to contest preservation.

However, there is little evidence to conclude that residents are willing to take part in the work of preservation, when they often shy away from "patrimony people", afraid of embargoes on and fines levied for house construction. Those who participate may perceive the city differently from each other, according to personal, economic, and professional ties, and may be in favour or against preservation. Thus, even if participation could produce belief in the value of preserving the city, there are limits to participate in Ouro Preto and opposing interests for participants. The only way to see how local forums for participation decide is to follow up cases and see which citizens participate, which perspectives accounted for decisions, and why. Below I analyse difficulties in publicly voicing opinions in heritage quarrels in Ouro Preto, to then discuss who those taking up the responsibility are and how these individuals view their positions in town.

Avoiding confrontations

Holston's (2008) discussion on citizenship in Brazil proposes two basic premises: one, that citizenship is wrapped in inclusionary national membership and unequal distribution of rights – inegalitarian citizenship – and two, that inequality is contested, however still entrenched. To describe ideas of contention, the author looks at the city of São Paulo and residents' demands for social rights, political participation, and access to house

ownership and consumption. The author begins his discussion with an ethnographic example from São Paulo that, when compared with a similar event in Ouro Preto, I find inviting for reflection on public involvement.

Reflecting on bureaucratic interactions in Brazil and its privileges for the rich and humiliations for the poor, Holston describes the number of ways to avoid long queues, typically for public institutions, available for those in fortunate positions (ibid:17). For example, with a higher income, one possesses a differentiated bank account and avoids nightmarish banking queues in Brazil. Lining up for banking service in São Paulo, together with all of those who need to wait for attention, the author was inspired to discuss insurgency in the context of persisting inequalities. He saw a young man jump ahead of everyone in the queue, but a manicurist he knew

> stepped forward and objected: "You cannot cut the line." (…) then the man in the tie and jacket turned to the manicurist and announced: 'I authorize it' (…) the man had used the language, tone, and gesture of power and privilege. His was a predictable response to achieve what he assumed would be the predictable outcome of this classic encounter of Brazilian social identities in public space. Without retreating a step, however, the manicurist turned this world of assumptions upside-down: "This is a public space" she asserted, "and I have my rights. Here you do not authorize anything. You don't rule" (ibid:17)

To contrast the manicurist in São Paulo, whose "performance indicates the force of a new conviction about citizenship among the working class" (ibid:17), I present a similar story of a social encounter I experienced in a public space in Ouro Preto.

In the afternoon of October 15, 2013, I arrived at a public building and waited for my appointment. In the same waiting hall and sitting opposite of me, there was a woman smoking quietly. After a long waiting time, and annoyed by the smoke clouding in the hall, I asked the receptionist if it was permitted to smoke inside public buildings and he replied, to my surprise, "no problem." The smoker heard my question, but continued smoking, however, now looking intensely at me. The staring was threatening and I read on my phone to avoid

eye contact. I looked up smoking laws to find out smoking was forbidden where we were. A few minutes later the receptionist went outside to smoke. I asked him "if you allowed that person to smoke inside, why did you come outside?" His answer was short, "of course it is not legal to smoke inside, except if you are the prosecutor."

(Field notes, October 15, 2013)

I find this example emblematic because here the receptionist followed the law, while the smoking prosecutor broke it shamelessly, with facial and bodily expressions of someone who is unmoved by my outrage. More interestingly, she broke the law while being a professional in charge of enforcing it.[91] For the receptionist the choice to retreat rather than dispute with the prosecutor was obvious, as she was his boss. However, I saw myself in the position of the manicurist described by Holston (2008). In that social encounter, the result of long hours waiting in public buildings, the well-dressed woman did not control me. However I was silent against that inequality and law breaking.

At this point, as I write, I put myself as an ethnographic subject rather than the ethnographer and reflect on my own experience as a resident in Ouro Preto. In a city with about 80,000 inhabitants, and with only a small number of those working in public administration, I would probably see that woman again. My work in town relied to a great extent on my social relationships and I wondered how a dispute would affect my social interactions in the short-run, when I went to a meeting upstairs, or in the long run, living and working in a place where everybody knows everyone else. Moreover, after learning she was a prosecutor, to whom would I complain if the episode happened in the place one goes to seek justice? I was discouraged by the potential social consequences and a lack of hope in achieving any result, a situation that I summarise as hopeless and hostile. I

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[91] Holston (2008) discusses "rights as privilege" in Brazil (ibid:254). The author explains that "people desist pursuing their rights (…) in the context of differentiated citizenship, the poor often get the phrase 'go find your rights' thrown in their faces as a cynical threat when they accuse others of violating or neglecting their rights. The message is clear: the search for rights will be in vain; therefore don't bother and either accept what happened or try an extra-legal resolution" (ibid:257).

understood the saying my informants had shared with me a few times, "those who command do so because they can; those who obey do so because they are sensible". That saying, to my personal frustration, made sense to me.

Many of my informants depended on friends and kinship ties for employment and housing; to some extent, everyone does in Ouro Preto, and if a conflict does not affect one directly, it may affect in-laws or friends. Going back to Holston (2008), the author recognises difference in social encounters between "anonymous others" and people who "know each other in a variety of employment and servant relations" (ibid:276). In such encounters, disputes about rights then may not happen through a "direct verbal confrontation" (ibid:277). When silence suddenly becomes an important variable, it brings complexity into anthropological research. As much as I look at Council members' participation, I also noted moments when members avoided making decisions. Finally, as much as it is important to know who Council members are, it is equally important to consider why many other residents may not be willing to take up such positions (or those participating might leave after some time). One's view about city change or preservation – a hot topic – may not always be unswervingly broadcasted. A significant number of Council participants are not *ouro-pretanos* and the Council has more seats available than participants discussing.

Municipal councils in Ouro Preto

Municipal councils are collegiate groups that exist to advise or direct public administration in diverse areas, such as social assistance, health, or transportation. In the case of cultural heritage, most decisions discussed in the Council are binding and not merely suggestive; that is to say, the Council directs most policies concerning preservation. However, what defines a work of preservation (or renovation) or alteration, or what areas are to be preserved (for example, what defines the surrounding area of a monument), are questions that come first and the work of the Council is limited (or disputed) according to the prefecture's understanding of preservation or interpretation of

the law.

In Ouro Preto, there are 24 listed councils, but only 15 of them were in operation in 2013.[92] However, the number of Councils in 2013 was still large, compared to the number in 2005, when only five councils were in operation. The first municipal council to exist in town was on health, created in 1991, to respond to a nationwide demand to supervise the transfer of national funds to the municipality (on health councils see: Cornwall & Shankland 2013, Cornwall 2008). Likewise, most of the councils created at the time in Ouro Preto, or elsewhere in Brazil, were related to the local duty to control public spending. However, a few are more recent, and Silvana, the coordinator of Ouro Preto's councils from 2005 until 2012, explained some of the problems in the process of forming/maintaining councils in town during an interview with me.

People don't find out about ways they could participate in public governance (...) and one way to do so is through municipal councils (...)

Many councils will need popular movement to be formed, society, because if society is not mobilised then the council does not need to exist, does it? Why would we have a council if society were not articulated? (…) So in 2005 (…) five councils worked, of course other ones were created by law, because the law says we need to create municipal councils, but they did not work. So I started them (…), and those councils started to work again and I began other ones and many others I tried to start but these attempts were frustrated because society was not ready, mobilised.

(Silvana, July 11, 2013)

Silvana explained the importance of civil society's mobilisation to have municipal councils. Also focussing on social engagement, Meira (2004) discusses popular participation in cultural heritage in the city of Porto Alegre.

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[92] I am thankful to the functionaries in *Casa dos Conselhos* (the local institution that administers municipal councils), with whom I spoke various times, including during a long visit on November 8, 2013, when I obtained consolidated numbers on the functioning of councils in town in 2013.

The author, an architect at IPHAN, asserts that some protection petitions approved by the municipality were initiated by residents, who were neither owners nor professionals associated with planning and architecture, suggesting "that, in a context of increasing public participation in local governance, citizens approached heritage as a democratic right and tool to control their city-scape" (Meira 2004, as cited in Collins 2009:293). Thus, society has been organised in the discussion of cultural patrimony locally, but in some locations it is possible to have a municipal council regardless of local eagerness. In the case of municipal councils on patrimonial preservation in Minas Gerais, a regional law known as ICMS Cultural establishes conditions for municipalities to access cultural funds, such as having patrimonial education and a municipal council. Therefore, about 70% of the 853 municipalities in Minas possess a municipal council for patrimonial preservation. In comparison, in the southern region of Brazil, where Porto Alegre is located, only approximately 8% of municipalities have such a forum. In the map below, the areas in blue represent the municipalities in Brazil that have a city council on patrimonial preservation.[93]

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[93] The 1988 Constitution establishes that a percentage of taxes collected through the circulation of goods and services should be transferred to municipalities. In Minas Gerais, municipalities need to attend to their obligations regarding the preservation of cultural heritage in order to receive their share. Projects on patrimonial education and having a council on cultural heritage are amongst practices that municipalities should follow (See: 1988 Federal Constitution, articles 158, 159 and 161; Minas Gerais State Law 18.030, from January 12, 2009, available on-line: http://www.fazenda.mg.gov.br/governo/assuntos_municipais/legislacao/repasse_legislacao.htm, accessed December 10, 2015).
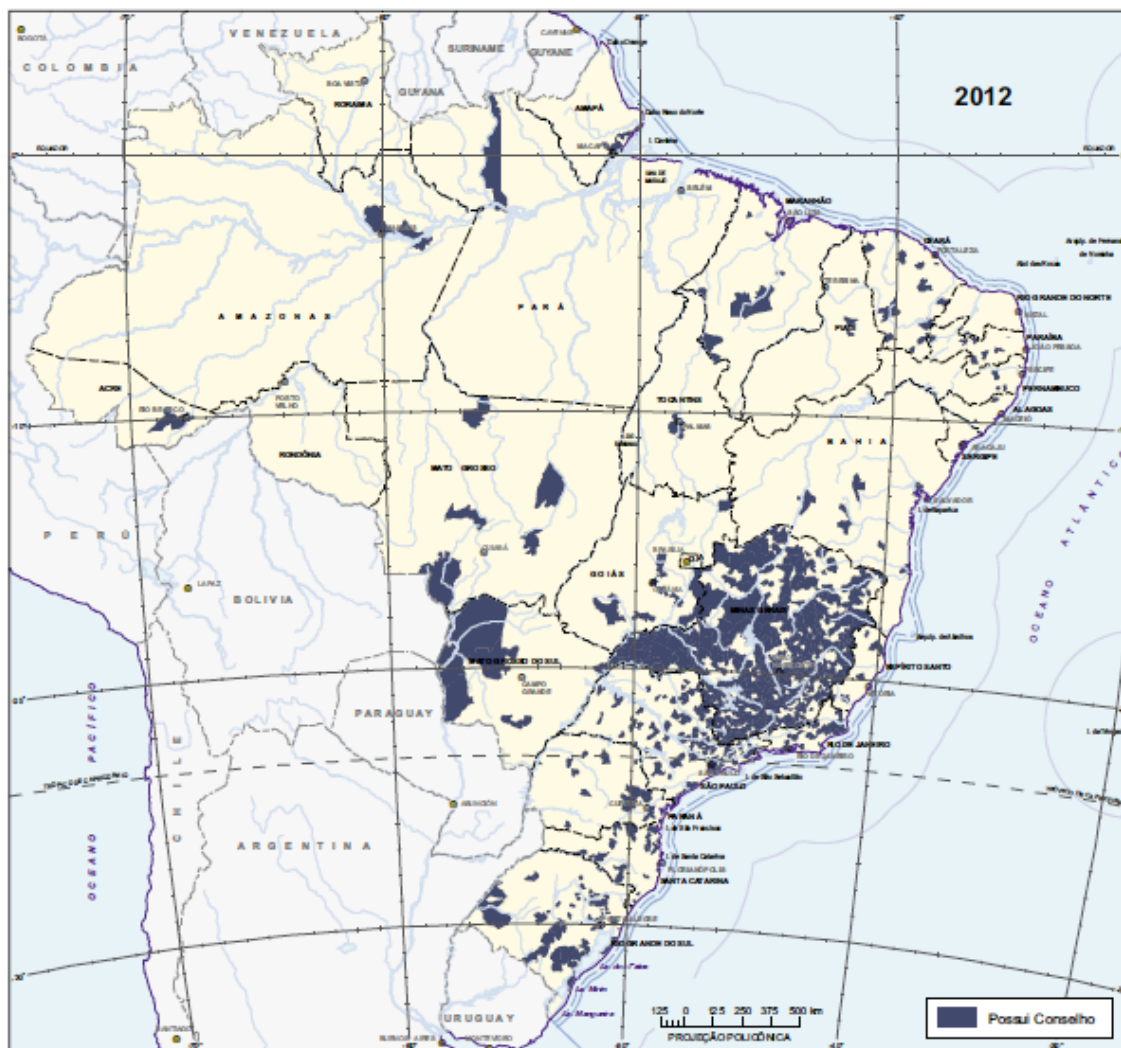
Map 4.1: Municipalities possessing a municipal council for patrimonial preservation
(Areas in blue are those possessing a council)
Source: IBGE (2012:83) *Perfil dos Municipios Brasileiros*.

In the case of Ouro Preto, the Municipal Council for the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Patrimony is viewed as a necessary tool for budget transfer, rather than a local initiative. The right of residents to be involved in changes to the cityscape in that sphere, however, exist to an extent. The struggle for that domain, as explained earlier, refers to limited local participation. Some members in the Council were born outside of Ouro Preto or live outside of town, and the setup and required knowledge of that institution favours certain academic and occupational backgrounds, further limits participation. Finally, there is a push to limit the scope of cultural heritage, as I will explain below.

The Council in Ouro Preto

When Decree 25 from November 30, 1937, organised the historic and artistic national patrimony, the idea of a national council was already established. That law prescribed a consultation group to decide in cases of disputes. For example, when house owners disagreed with a protection status, they could appeal to the consultation council. The consulting group, however, was not diverse in membership. The national organisation for artistic and historic patrimony selected locations of aesthetic or historic value, and the President of Brazil selected council members. Chuva (2009) writes that the nominees were mainly those working in national museums and were well-known for their political and intellectual activities. These nominees worked to establish the legitimacy of the state in its preservation actions, rather than as casting vote in the populaces' disputes (Chuva 2009:224). In addition, council meetings were rare, as from 1938 until 1946 (a period of great preservation efforts and numerous controversies), there were only thirteen meetings (ibid:227).

Ouro Preto's municipal archive reveals two periods when the municipality featured consulting councils in its contemporary history. First, from 1931 to 1936, when municipal governments were reorganized through the creation of consulting councils, members of the councils were the greatest tax contributors in the municipality, while others were chosen directly by the administrator. The consulting group in Ouro Preto offered advice about construction, demolition, street repair, public lighting, and local budget. In a second period, minutes reveal a consulting council in 1971 (military dictatorship in Brazil). In that case members were selected regardless of economic status, which did not mean the group was not exclusive. The mayor was the president of the council, the vice-mayor the vice-president, and some of the individuals composing the group in the 1970s were from the same families as in the council in the 1930s.[94] Consulting councils thus do not always lead to increased public participation and are not always related to

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[94] Livro de Atas do Conselho Consultivo Municipal – Registro de Atas de Sessões 1931-1948, and Atas do Conselho Consultivo 1971. Visit to the Arquivo Municipal de Ouro Preto, November 28 and 29, 2013.

democratic governance. In the national council concerning patrimonial issues, or in local ones supporting an embracing agenda on public administration, the selection of members epitomised exclusivity.

Currently, municipal councils in Ouro Preto work in parallel to other spheres of public administration, such as the prefecture and the House of Representatives (*Câmara de Vereadores*). They have greater autonomy than in the past in relation to the mayor, who does not directly select members. However, members in the Council are usually technical experts, and as such work in the municipal administration in one of the thematic secretariats. In addition, some of the council members are *vereadores* (local representatives). Therefore, when looking at the municipal council on patrimonial preservation, membership remains exclusive. Lastly, though the Council was already mentioned in the local law that organises the municipal administration in 1990, and planned in 2002, it only started functioning in its current format in 2003.[95]

In its current format, the Council is composed of eight volunteer members from public administration, including representatives from the following areas: cultural patrimony, urban development, tourism, environment, two representatives in the national and state level of the Institute for the Historic and Artistic Patrimony (IPHAN), one representative of the university, and one representative of the local art school. The Council also has another eight volunteer representatives from civil society, including two representatives from preservation associations, two representatives from the federation of residents associations, two representatives from cultural associations, a tourist guide representative and one representative of a commercial association.[96] However there are usually more places available than people involved; for example, the representatives of civil society in 2013

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[95] Lei Orgânica Municipal, March 28, 1990 – that organises the local administration, mentioned 22 councils in town, including one on patrimonial preservation (available on-line: http://www.sistemasigla.org/arquivos/sisnorm/NJ_txt(13038).html, accessed December 11, 2013). Law 17, April 26, 2002 regulated the attributions of the Council (available on-line: http://www.sistemasigla.org/arquivos/sisnorm/NJ_img(1142).pdf, accessed December 11, 2013), which is presently structured by Law 708, September 27, 2011 and by the Council's internal statute from June 23, 2010 that details procedures for meetings, voting process, among others (available on-line: http://www.ouropreto.mg.gov.br/veja/31/23/compatri, accessed December 11, 2015).

[96] Law 708, September 27, 2011 – that organises the Municipal Council for the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Patrimony.

were mainly those from residents' associations. Reasons for low participation are various, including that meetings take place during working hours and that many residents prefer to avoid public confrontations. In this chapter, I discuss some of the limits of direct participation for those who participate. Before engaging with its composition and controversies, I explain the Council's role in public administration.

The function of the Council

The main actions of the Council relate to laying out the basis of the preservation policies. It disseminates advice in cases of the protection or cancellation of a previous protection status, oversees the process of maintenance and restoration of preserved goods, issues licenses for works in protected areas or their surroundings (or areas examined for protection), and approves or revokes urban projects if they interfere in the aesthetic "integrity" of protected goods or their surrounds.[97] Therefore, house owners, the local government, or local companies may eventually need the approval of the Council to carry out construction, demolition, or renovation. The Council has to examine and deliberate on proposals and study the impact of the proposed activities, aiming to protect the cultural patrimony and the urban landscape.

Considering the Council's responsibility to approve the preservation or remove the preservation status of a certain cultural patrimony, its agenda is based on discussions that may justify preservation or change. However, such a process is complex when applied on a specific case, because it involves deciding on "notable features" or on a reference for memory and identity.[98] How can we define the identity and memory of the people of Ouro Preto? Which changes constitute an act of restoration or end up being an action of destruction? It follows that deciding on the aesthetic, historical, or landscaping value of a certain building or area to justify preservation requires long discussions.

[97] Law 17, April 26, 2002 – that regulates the preservation of cultural heritage, and Law 708, September 27, 2011 – that organises the Municipal Council for the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Patrimony.
[98] Law 17, April 26, 2002.

Architects working for the prefecture commonly apply for the Council's advice when unsure if projects of construction, renovation, or demolition will affect the existing patrimony. Members on the Council also suggest topics for discussion based on their experience living in town or in their respective positions at work or in the community. Usually meetings start with a technical appraisal of the issue (*parecer técnico* – often stating technical limits) and discussions follow. I summarise meetings in four stages: presentation of problems, discussion, negotiation, and decision.

After a local architect or Council member presented problems, the analysis takes place. The discussion is participatory, meaning that any member can tackle the problem from his or her own perspective and numerous times, as long as there is still time. Non-council members can also participate in the discussion, but they cannot vote. One limiting issue for the participation of short-term participants in the Council is the language used in meetings. Often, to refer to locations, policies, or institutions, members use acronyms or technical terms common to areas such as urbanism or architecture. The Council meets every first Tuesday of the month and usually meetings take three to four hours, generally from 9:30 am to 1:00 pm. This choice of day and time already limits broad participation. Extraordinary meetings are common, and in 2013 there were 15 meetings, including ordinary and extraordinary meetings, and joint meetings with the Council for Environment, and there was also one technical visit to a district. There were two cancelled meetings – one due to the low number of members attending and another cancelled for internal reasons. The Secretariat of Patrimony and Culture provides administrative support for the meetings. The process of negotiation usually happens during the meetings, but can also start before or after these. The interested parties often propose amending controversial projects depending on how likely it is that projects will be approved. Some matters discussed are not to be approved or denied and the Council can simply offer suggestions or express a position because it is both a forum for consultation and deliberation. Decisions are made through open vote and simple majority.

Although the details provided above regarding the composition and

function of the Council hint at its power, one only realizes how powerful the Council really is when following its agenda. Most topics discussed in 2013 related to surrounding areas, imaginary borders, and perimeters – what is inside the protected perimeter or in the surrounding. Maps and terms such as "visibility" are central in such discussions. Also of primary concern were the construction, renovation, and demolition of houses, churches, streets, supermarkets, and bridges, among others, which were all scrutinised by the Council in terms of the material used, and other factors which might interfere with the perception of cultural patrimony. Almost any building in town could be within the Council's purview. However, the Council is constantly discussing its own competence. Assuming that there will be no aesthetic impact, that a certain construction will not interfere with the ambiance of an area or may not be within the protected perimeter or a surrounding area is to declare that the Council cannot decide the matter.

In 2013, the mayor introduced a project limiting ideas of cultural heritage to the city's preserved perimeter, thus assuming the position to decide on the limits of patrimony. Such a project showed how city preservation is politically and socially disputed and how the Council is placed at a crossroads between being a social hub in a fragmented city on a complex topic.

First Council meetings in 2013: setting borders

Cultural patrimony in Ouro Preto, as discussed before, has been strongly associated with tourism and education as key economic activities. Some residents express apprehension about catering for better-off tourists and students, while they remain precluded from central housing and educational and cultural activities. Other residents, however, defend the importance of cultural heritage historically, aesthetically and economically. As Flavio explained, and I quoted in chapter 1, municipal mayors have polarised such perceptions politically, the candidate for progress against the one for preservation.

In early 2013, the mayor Zé Leandro proposed to change the Secretariat

of Patrimony and Urban Development and created two organisations instead: the Secretariat of Patrimony and Culture and the Secretariat of Urban Development and Constructions. By doing so, the mayor clearly stated his position in the local political polarisation. While he upheld the importance of the city's preservation, city preservation and urban development were not to be conflated. Areas for preservation were to be limited to the city centre and the city could grow outside its preserved setting through the Secretariat of Constructions, a popular proposition.

By observing the work of the Council in that moment of change in municipal administration in early 2013, it was clear to me that they were the "architects of memory" (Chuva 2009) in Ouro Preto, while some residents and politicians tried to limit the scope of cultural heritage. However, different from the "architects of memory" who defined and promoted Ouro Preto as a place to be preserved in Brazil in early 1930s, the "architects" of today defended the existing protected status and needed to reflect on political ideas of national interest and the economic impact on housing and industrialisation while being at the same time residents in the city. The members of the Council each faced the conflicts of a fragmented city explored in the first three chapters, residents' scepticism about cultural heritage. In short, there were clear personal costs to their participation. Moreover, when the relationship with preservation is so controversial, and only few people participate in meetings, the Council is viewed as a preservation instrument rather than a sphere for discussion. The mayor's proposition set the Council at the forefront for preservation and the prefecture on the side of loosening stiff regulations (at least when those could be reviewed), thus making the Council even less popular locally. The project to define the borders of patrimonial preservation was a moment of conflict within the Council. I describe the development of this moment of conflict focussing on the mayor's project, the discussion, and the decision, to then engage in the work of Council members in town by looking at their biographies.

Understanding this conflict is comprehending that those who control the limits of heritage regulate businesses, the socio-economic relationships in town. Much of the discussions in 2013 were a result of this search to establish

limits to heritage. Favouring restrictions (prefecture) or holding a holistic view on heritage (Council) were neither permanent, nor always popular positions.

The mayor's project:

The new mayor announced the structural change as soon as he took power in January 2013. By changing the Secretariat of Patrimony and Urban Development into the Secretariat of Patrimony and Culture, and placing urban development under the Secretariat of Constructions, the reach of the Secretariat of Patrimony was restricted to constructions within the preserved perimeter. The project was popular within various sectors of the city. The mayor explained his project[99] in a letter to the House of Representatives. He clarified that the then-current structure was time-consuming, when constructions inside or outside the preserved perimeter are viewed through the same lens of patrimonial preservation.[100]

The Council's discussion:

The Council also expressed its view of the project. On March 8, 2013,[101] the Council met and the administrative change was on the top of the list. To begin, the new Administrator for Patrimony and Urban Development (to become Patrimony and Culture) stated that in the preserved perimeter, 2275 properties were under examination for possible irregularities[102] and with that

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[99] Projeto de Lei Complementar 01/2013, available on-line: http://www.sistemasigla.org/arquivos/sismat/00000020161.pdf, accessed December 11, 2013).

[100] Letter (Oficio Gab 007 2013) sent on February 1, 2013 by Ouro Preto's Mayor, Jose Leandro Filho, to the President of the House of Representatives, Vereador Leonardo Edson Barbosa. Accessed at the House of Representatives of Ouro Preto.

[101] Livro de Atas 2 do Conselho Municipal de Preservacao do Patrimonio Cultural e Natural de Ouro Preto, accessed at the Secretariat of Patrimony and Culture on November 29, 2013.

[102] One should remain sceptical about consolidated numbers on irregular housing in Ouro Preto. In conversation with an official at the *Procuradoria Jurídica de Ouro Preto* (municipal attorney), I learned of a fire in in the local registry that made detailing with any certainty which houses are regular, and which ones are irregularly occupied, very difficult. However, he estimated that half of Ouro Preto's houses (including the ones in the city centre) are irregularly occupied, meaning that residents do not have a legal house ownership). The reason for this varies from aspects of inheritance, construction in areas of landslide risk, or houses built against local regulations. Because of the issue of "house use without papers", laws that could help to alter buildings in accordance to preservation policies are useless, for

number in mind, he argued that the new model of administration would increase the speed to examine irregularities. Most members of the Council expressed disagreement and showed scepticism about such a change. Reservations about the project included possible confusion for residents, who would need to know if the house was within the preserved perimeter before they could seek approval for construction, and reinforced a position against the fragmentation of city areas.[103] To advance the discussion, members agreed to hold an extraordinary meeting on March 12, 2013.

Tuesday morning, March 12, 2013, the meeting began and the shared view in the Council was to oppose to the mayor's project. The general opinion was that patrimony extends beyond a preserved area, so that heritage policies should also include housing, urban mobility, and the quality of life throughout the city because, as an architect and Council member said, "patrimonial preservation happens within everyday life". Despite opposing the project, the Council did not hold much hope, as they were certain the project would be approved later in the evening in the House of Representatives. Their goal at the meeting was simply to voice opposition.

Council members discussed sending a letter to the House of Representatives to highlight their opposition to the project, and all members decided on the text of the letter that was to be presented to the president of that institution. The letter suggested that the division of functions should not be approved, because the new attributions of the two secretariats were not clearly defined. The letter went on to say that the number of buildings facing legal problems pointed to the conflicting situation between patrimony and urban planning, and that having two institutions to analyse projects would

one needs to have house papers (*registro, escritura, contrato de compra e venda*) in order to take advantage of programmes that offer accessible house projects. When flagging numbers and demand for house regulation, the mayor certainly focussed on the "heavy hand" in patrimonial policies, but there are reasons that preclude legal housing that go beyond ideas of cultural heritage (See Gledhill 2013:117).

[103] The then-current structure of the Secretariat had received the *Rodrigo Melo Franco Award*, a distinction given by the Brazilian Ministry of Culture to municipalities since 1987 in recognition to preservation actions. In October 2011, Ouro Preto was awarded 20,000 Brazilian Reais in recognition to the model of administration launched in 2005, where the Secretariat of Patrimony and Urban Development augmented its structure in order to analyse more restoration or construction projects, and to register patrimonial objects and sites for potential preservation both within the city centre and in the surrounding districts (Prefeitura Municipal de Ouro Preto 2011 – accessed in April 2013 at Secretariat of Patrimony and Culture).

amplify existing conflict. The imaginary lines that define a preserved site, the Council argued, were not meant to isolate the area from non-preserved regions. It was necessary for both spaces to be seen as a whole by the same municipal organization. Members of the Council signed the letter and sent it to the House of Representatives.

The decision

The decision was made in the evening of March 12, 2013. The plenary in the House of Representatives was full of residents interested in the decision. Before the discussion of the project began, one of the political speeches that night was about *forasteiros*, the people from outside Ouro Preto, who come to the city and take the jobs and houses that should belong to residents, as the discussant explained. Such speeches only strengthened the mayor's project and the need to limit the impact of cultural heritage across the city. Local politicians said that approving the project would be an improvement for residents. They argued that "the patrimony" was "that thing that does not allow us to do anything", and highlighted the fact that residents of Ouro Preto do not feel part of cultural patrimony and do not feel included in the city's "legacy". As a result, restricting the scope of the Secretariat of Patrimony to the preserved perimeter was seen as a way to speed up the analysis of projects and to avoid the many embargoes applied to people's buildings. There were also those who argued against the project, but the reason for this opposition was mainly connected to the impact the creation of new posts would have on the local budget. Defending cultural heritage was undoubtedly politically unpopular.[104] The letter from the Council was read in plenary, but voted against and the division of functions took place.

The idea of establishing borders that sparked political discussion in 2013

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[104] In Ouro Preto, as discussed in chapter 1, there is strong pressure to govern in favour of *ouro-pretanos*, as opposed to students and tourists. This dichotomous view does not always prevail, for there is also the position that what is good for tourists is good for ouro-pretanos because tourism generates jobs. In 2013, the prevailing political view was that opposing permanent residents to "others". Council members however are not democratically elected. Usually they participate because of their employment position or they volunteer. Free from the pressure coming from popular vote, Council members have other reasons to fear opposing key government policies, however, as I discuss.

moved forward with two projects – one to asphalt cobblestoned streets just outside the preserved perimeter and one addressing mining on the edges of one of Ouro Preto's district (topics in the coming chapters). Clearly, setting a border for preservation was important for the government, in that it allowed for the development of infrastructure and new businesses. To the Council, the project would not directly impact much of its work. Meetings would still take place at the same location. The agenda of the Council would not be necessarily constrained, because legislation for cultural heritage encompassed not only preserved areas but also their surroundings. In addition, laws defined who should decide in controversial cases: the Council. However, the administrative change that took place that early March increasingly politicised cultural heritage boundaries. What became central in my investigation was to see how the Council would deal with the pressure to set borders for heritage.

Finally, in the case of the mayor's project, the opposition of the Council was to be expected. Members are mainly associated with architecture, tourism, culture, and education (as I will detail below) and the project was administratively reducing the scope of some works in those areas. However, a clear defence of cultural heritage can be associated with self-defence, when some professionals may directly benefit from the city maintenance. For example, architects would be one of the groups to benefit from stiff regulations, being necessary for those who need construction projects. This aspect means that the position of the Council may be disliked in town. In addition, as highlighted before, some members work for the municipal administration and though they may have their (private, professional, community) interests, they cannot always voice those when directly opposed to the prefecture. Below, I look at Council members as residents and technical experts for the municipal administration (when that is the case), to discuss how political, economic and social ties may blur city viewpoints.

Council members

By following a group of people throughout the year, I got to know them as friends or colleagues. In either case, it took some time to gain their trust. I explained my research a few times and I waited until my note-taking or voice recorder did not represent a discomfort to them anymore. With some of them I had various conversations, with others fewer. The interviews I use to present this group of people started two months after my arrival and the last one just a few days before my departure. Especially towards the end of the year, after various complex decisions made by the Council, interviews revealed the dilemma faced by Council members, whose personal and professional roles intertwined when making decisions. Most of them invited me to their homes, to local cafés or offices, where we could talk privately. When we set meetings in local cafés, before our conversation, they would first check who was seated nearby or if a less visible table was available, for example. It was also usual that they would lower their tone of voice every time they engaged in a controversial topic, regardless of whether we were talking in a place packed with tourists, or in a house where there were only the two of us. I offered to switch off my voice recorder and stopped taking notes a number of times to avoid the feeling of apprehension that I sensed. But it was not my presence that threatened them, but a constant feeling of being watched in a city where people recognise their positions in embargoing or allowing local constructions. As a Council member told me, I was the least of their concerns, and they were willing to contribute to my research and were aware their positions were not anonymous because meetings are public, publicised, and of interest for most residents and businesses. Nonetheless, it seemed difficult for them to get used to being constantly exposed. And despite a sense that their actions are public, they continued to look over my shoulders before responding to my questions. Such a concern proved correct when one member was fired from her work placement and another changed jobs to avoid the same fate. In both cases, according to them, their roles on the Council motivated professional changes. Before sharing information about their biographies, I offer an outline of members and affiliation. I do not present all of the members, but those who

participated in most meetings during the year 2013. Mainly because of a blurring of private, professional, and participative roles, I decided to introduce the members of the Council as they introduced themselves to me in the interviews, but when I address their arguments in the meetings, I do not disclose their names. I understand most Council meetings have minutes and the data I present is not confidential. But as my notes may be more detailed than the minutes available, I am careful when using them to discuss controversial decisions that took place in 2013 to protect my informants.

Member	Main Occupation	Represent in the Council
Deolinda	Folklorist	Folklore Commission
Flavio	Politician	Residents Association
João	Historian	Secretariat of Culture and Patrimony
Gabriela	Art teacher	Art Foundation of Ouro Preto
João Carlos	Architect	IPHAN
Marcelo	Pensioner	Residents Association
Roninho	Environmentalist	Environmental NGO
Marilia	Architect	IEPHA - Minas Institute of Historic and Artistic Patrimony
Guilherme	Forest Engineer	Secretariat of Environment
Gabriela	Museology Professor	Federal University of Ouro Preto
Debora	Architect	Secretariat of Culture and Patrimony

Table 4.1: Council members

Deolinda was the first person to talk to me in my first Council meeting and the first person I interviewed in a semi-structured and non-recorded interview on May 8, 2013. She is part of Ouro Preto's Folklore Commission and has sound knowledge about Ouro Preto's history and traditions. In our conversation she mentioned the many changes the city faced, being first a mining town, later a political capital, and afterwards a "city of alcoholics and widows". During the city's ups and downs, she said, it was all about economic interests. To her, the Council also exists because of economic interests: "the external funds can only enter the municipality if there is a council", and one of the main challenges of the Council relates to the pressure to decide on issues

that may compromise lucrative businesses. She also mentioned a problem of representation, as the Council did not always consist of people directly experiencing the problem. Instead of experiencing the problem or engaging with those who do, the Council tries to "guess the problem". "Technical experts are talking about problems when taxi drivers are the ones who really know about them," she says. Deolinda pointed to the scheduling of the meetings as an issue. "Tuesdays mornings, which people can go there?" Besides mentioning Council problems, she supported the group. Though I met Deolinda various other times in museums, in town, and in Council meetings, I did not have the chance to have more extensive conversations with her. She participated in the Council for nearly half of the meetings in 2013.

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Flavio was one of the first Council members to become a friend because of his charismatic and friendly personality. Being easy to talk to and very knowledgeable about the city and its transformations, he is popular in town and, not surprisingly, he was always busy greeting and meeting people. In our two recorded interviews (May 8 and June 27, 2013) and in numerous other conversations, I came to understand why he was such a prominent figure in town: Flavio had already held three mandates at the House of Representatives and ran for mayor and vice-mayor. In each of these roles, he declared that his roots are in community associations. In the Council, he represents the Federation of Residents' Association (according to him, around 55 residential associations are amalgamated in the Federation).

Flavio affirmed his belief in councils and was proud to have helped in the creation and running of many. However, he mentioned that the majority of people do not engage with councils or with what they do. He added that this distance exists not only because people lacked information, but also, in the case of the Council for Patrimonial Preservation, because people felt excluded from heritage concerns. People approached him to say, "You do not like people like us because we are not historic". To Flavio, this sort of differentiation had marked his living experience. Recalling memories from

when his father was director of patrimony in the city, he said that since then (in the 1950s) people would build houses on the weekend, during vacation periods, or overnight to avoid an embargo by the authorities. The difficulty is to make people understand that inside the preserved perimeter or not, houses need an architectural plan. However, the idea of a separation between centre and periphery is such that a man who lives outside the city centre thinks he can build what and how he wants, and when he goes to the centre, he says he goes to Ouro Preto, as if Ouro Preto consisted of the centre only.

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I met **João** when he was the Council president for half of 2013, when Council elections were held. Our conversation on July 12, 2013 started with João emphasising he was from another city and how that puts him in a position to explain his interests without being always seen as a *forasteiro*. One of the challenges faced by the Council according to João was that the city was plagued by the problem of channelling "everything to the centre; they invest more in the roof of a church than on sewage system." In another example, he said, "I thought people would not know what patrimony is, but everybody had an idea: 'patrimony arrives and does not let us do anything'." For João, there was a cycle to fulfil: "to make people use the city centre and at the same time take the idea of patrimony outside the centre." And he mentioned how immaterial patrimony offered the chance to stretch the boundaries of patrimony outside the colonial nucleus of the city. On the other hand, he asserted that there was no established practice to work on ideas of city inclusion through cultural heritage and as a result, tension remained between the centre and periphery. Finally, another challenge for the Council had to do with members' performances. For example, working as a technical expert and at the same time representing the prefecture could be conflicting activities.

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Gabriela represented the local art school at meetings and our semi-structured and non-recorded conversation was held on August 26, 2013. In the talk Gabriela explained, like others did, that people in Ouro Preto think that patrimony is a prohibitive "entity". She clarified this by saying that it was not prohibitive, but rather it was about setting some regulations. The challenge was to alter the view of "patrimony" as immoral and excessive and to change the perception that people from elsewhere have more opportunities in the city. She added that the Council provided the opportunity to work on ideas of patrimony collectively, as it could show that people from diverse areas could be represented.

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I met **João Carlos** in Council meetings and had the chance to visit his office for a recorded interview on August 22, 2013. Talking about the Council, João Carlos explained with various examples how his institution – IPHAN – was still associated with the preservation of cultural heritage as a top-down actor and few residents understood that the protection of cultural heritage is at the hands of the municipal administration, composed by the prefecture, a local House of Representatives, and municipal councils. He explained that the local IPHAN office was as a facilitator between the different spheres of discussion. However, he said that often IPHAN was expected to play this role saying "yes" or "no", mainly because spaces for local participation, such as the Council, were not yet so accessible to residents and because the executors of a project were not always willing to spend time discussing projects with people directly affected or the Council. In other words, often there was an aspect of convenience in centralising decisions in the hands of IPHAN. This, João Carlos perceived as wrong ("You can no longer imagine in the 21st century this imposing IPHAN") and stated that most demands needed to be discussed with society, making councils fundamental. João Carlos, however, saw that the Council needed to mature in its role in town, and explained that following the 1988 Constitution and the 2001 City Statute, it was not possible to imagine how cities were suddenly to know how to engage in the preservation of cultural patrimony. One of the problems regarding local

participation that he offered as an example was the fact that "people cannot detach IPHAN from João Carlos (…) there is a personification of public positions (…) and you cannot go to the bakery, have a pizza, a beer, your private life is always mixed with your public one, I find this a great mistake." For that reason, João opted to live in a different city and commute to Ouro Preto.

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Marcelo previously worked for a local company until his retirement. In the Council he represented the Residents' Associations (a second seat was occupied by Flavio). We often had a chance to talk about the city before meetings commenced, during technical visits, and in a long recorded interview on August 28, 2013. On that occasion, Marcelo explained his evaluation of councils to me. To him, they were strong forums, with qualified members and the problem arose when large companies were involved in the decisions, "then interests may change". Like Deolinda, Marcelo saw the pressure money puts on the decision-making processes. But he asserted his position: "if it bothered the community [it bothered him] I represent the community, you see? I am always in the middle of people, I know their problems." What Marcelo stated about representing the community was easy to see by walking around his neighbourhood with him. In our conversation in Bauxita, a neighbourhood in constant transformation in Ouro Preto, Marcelo explained the problems of the location and constantly stopped to greet people or to pick up litter.

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Roninho is a father of six children, a son of an old family in Belo Horizonte, and the husband of a local teacher. He runs an organic agriculture business, served as an environmental administrator in the past, and worked for an environmental NGO. He combined all these roles with the one of being a member of the Council where he represented a NGO focussed on water resources. Our recorded talk was on September 13, 2013, when he explained

how he moved from Belo Horizonte to Ouro Preto and became involved with city governance. Roninho lived in São Bartolomeu, one of Ouro Preto's districts, with a few hundred inhabitants. He explained that the difficulty in engaging politically in a community like São Bartolomeu has to do with the small size of the district, affecting residents' willingness to get involved in any common discussion for fear it would spark conflicts with neighbours. He described the situation by saying that "here the bank manager knows all your life, in a larger city you are one more client (...) this exposes us, we endure more pressure."

Roninho described how he had to endure pressure in the political positions he held. But he said he did not mind that much, and his anxiety instead came from that lack of results from the community's efforts. On one hand Roninho explained that participating in the Council already offered a broader and more successful perspective than in his district. However, the Council also faced the political "energy" of the city and there was a lack of synergy; people often made decisions without communicating with spheres they represented or with others that could be affected, which he associated with a lack of social bonds, entrenched in the city's history:

So I was very distressed because the processes would take decades (…) and you see the political relationships typical of this city. Ouro Preto is a city that existed because of mining. The gold mining happened also along rivers. How this works is that if someone is searching in an area and finds gold, I have less chance of finding anything. The success of another is my failure, so I hope for the other's failure. My success depends on that. I see the city has a lot of that.

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Marilia was an architect and in the Council she represented the Minas Institute of Historic and Artistic Patrimony. Our talk was on October 23, in her place of work in Belo Horizonte. Marilia hosted me in an informal atmosphere, where I could also talk about my research and we could chat about our

shared reading interests and our expectations in the field of urbanism. In her institution, Marilia dealt with patrimonial councils for the entire region and spoke of efforts to strengthen these councils. Investing in preserved monuments is financially costly, time-consuming and politically ineffective. In cultural matters, most politicians would rather invest in a cultural event, because it could be socially and politically more influential and less costly than a church repair. Having a municipal council helped to balance priorities, she added.

Marilia explained some of the minimum requirements for councils, such as meeting at least every two months and having written minutes. She stated that the composition of the Council was well thought-through, but she pointed out some of its shortcomings. She was mainly concerned with the very concept of patrimony and its impact on people's lives. She mentioned how residents in Ouro Preto were frustrated by the idea of preservation and how they perceived tourists as being in a position of advantage, and there was a lot of resistance to patrimony. Finally, Marilia made a comparison with the conservation of nature. Nature searched for its balance alone, and she mentioned natural catastrophes, but in the case of patrimony, it was through people that a balance was achieved and patrimony would only have importance if it was part of one's life structure. Hence, Marilia's hopes for the governance of cultural heritage were with people, the people in the Council.

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I had a semi-structured interview with **Guilherme** on October 28, 2013. Guilherme is a forest engineer and represented the Secretariat of Environment in the Council. However, he clarified that he was a technical expert and a citizen, and his decisions might not echo an institutional position. Guilherme explained that meetings on patrimony were controversial because participants needed to decide on aspects of rightfulness based on concepts as open as "ambiance". He added that the Council says "yes" or "no" to city projects grounded on technical concepts as much as possible, hence its interdisciplinary make-up, but usually a project is forwarded to the Council

exactly because there was no clear technical or legal argument. It was the Council's job to fill such gaps and the group could deny projects without clear legal objection. Guilherme explained the importance of imagining and anticipating impacts because the future of the city is uncertain (a lesson he explained by looking at the city's past). The city, he explained, had some mining business that could last another fifty years and after that the city would live off of the university and tourism. Without urban policy, the same socio-economic collapse that happened at the end of the "gold era" or when capital was transferred to another city would be repeated.

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Gabriela was the head of the Museology department at the Federal University of Ouro Preto. I did not have many chances to talk to her until we met for a semi-structured and recorded interview on November 12, 2013. Gabriela was from Belo Horizonte and, like other Council members, she shared her perspectives on being "an outsider". She had participated in the Council since the end of 2010 and explained how she saw some challenges for the group. To start with, she mentioned a chasm between the management of the city, the residents, and the university. Such fragmentation created disputes, which would affect the Council. Secondly, Council members were expected to decide where norms or technical scope could not offer clear answers, and their interpretations implied a sort of intrepidness, as "they cannot decide on something as technical experts without impacting their future." Her statement referred to the fact members had a technical role in parallel with their role in the Council. Technical experts would often work in institutions addressed in meetings; hence, participants may be judging a project that was previously agreed upon by their bosses.

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Of all the Council members, **Debora** was the one I had most contact with. She was from Rio de Janeiro and often spent holidays and weekends in town, when many people were gathering with their families in the city or

nearby. Debora and I would often meet on these occasions for lunch or a coffee and would discuss about urbanism in Brazil and Ouro Preto. In the Council, Debora represented the Secretariat for Patrimony and Culture and she became the Council president in August 2013. Because her place of work is where all the information on preservation is stored, I often visited the location, learned about her job, and met other architects and clerks. We had a long semi-structured and recorded interview in her house on December 8, 2013. She explained that, as a municipal architect, she started going to Council meetings to present some cases for consideration, until she became a Council member and later president. However, the move from member to president she says brought enormous change.

I had no idea about the political impact of being the president of the Council in Ouro Preto. (…) then I learned about the political impact (…) the newspapers call you, the prosecutor asks for you, everything taking place, man, I could not anticipate it. If I knew the impact it had I don't know if I would have made that decision, perhaps I still would have.

Debora mentioned the burden of looking for solutions, the impact of decisions on people's lives, and the difficulty of dealing with all the members who, like any resident, have their own trajectories and interests. She explained that the projects sent to the Council are controversial. She said that technical experts might be afraid of deciding on complex cases of house construction, restoration, demolition, altering landscapes, amongst other topics so sensitive in Ouro Preto. Hence, instead of deciding and signing a document alone, they would forward it to the Council. She saw a need for improving how patrimony is viewed in town, and explained that a lot of people only see the burdens of patrimony. Residents needed to see that if their location became preserved, it did not only mean that the renovation of their houses would be more costly. For Debora, it was also important to include instruments that would directly benefit residents.

Council members' roles and identities

Throughout the year 2013, there were various controversial Council meetings, some of which will be addressed in coming chapters. Decisions are controversial, as Deolinda and Marcelo pointed out, because some will have great economic impact. Moreover, as most Council members agreed, residents share a perception of patrimony as something prohibitive and forced upon them from the outside. This means members make decisions that might be unpopular with most residents. For those reasons, as Debora explained, technical experts prefer to have the Council's assessment, rather than making decisions alone. Finally, as Guilherme explained, meetings are controversial because participants need to decide on contentious topics that fall outside legal and technical limits. Guilherme saw the lack of legal mandate as positive, because often the Council needed to avoid damage and minimise effects and the law cannot always regulate this in each different case. He praised the opportunity to discuss and the "subjective criteria" that are also rooted in technical knowledge.[105] What this approach does not consider is how decision-makers are affected.

Roninho identified local pressure in small communities, and members such as João Paulo, João Carlos, and Professor Gabriela said that such local pressure affected personal and professional relationships. This refers back to the discussion Holston (2008) offered about public encounters in Sao Paulo, and my observation in Ouro Preto, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Council decisions are subjective and members are identifiable subjects. While many residents may not attend meetings, they known the work of Council members and their association with the preservation of patrimony, as Flavio explained. Even when members vote consensually, hence removing culpability from the individual, the group is small enough to make participants

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[105] This is an argument similar to the one used by the local prosecutor. According to Dr Domingos, who worked on various cases regarding cultural heritage in town, the advantage of discussing controversial cases in the Council, rather than through norms, is because a norm may be open to whatever it does not strictly forbid, but a decision process allows for projects to be decided on a case-by-case basis. Throughout several conversations with the local prosecutor, the approach towards a solid process, rather than a well-defined law, was repeatedly emphasised, as I exemplify on chapter 5.

distinctive. Moreover, a consensual decision is not always the outcome of discussion. When singled out as stakeholders of specific decisions or discussions, a member may not be detached from her professional role and may suffer consequences at work. To avoid confusion, however, members often announce in what capacity they are voicing an opinion: the technical expert, the resident, or the Council member in a volunteer political role. Professor Gabriela for instance noticed this in some members' participation, who would start a speech by introducing themselves as a technical expert to then shift to being a Council representative. By positioning themselves as different entities, members do not only voice multiple roles in the city, but also hope to avoid being seen as an employee when they speak as a resident. The few sentences below shall give the reader an idea of how participants introduce themselves before engaging in Council discussions. In the same meeting, the same person may make different remarks on who is talking, some of them are controversial, sometimes the identification may be narrowed down, such as speaking as a professional of an area, or as embracing as talking in the name of society:

- "I am talking as a member of the Council and not as a technical expert" (July 2, 2013).
- "We, the prefecture (…) as a member of the council (…) as a technical expert (…) as the civil society (…) I talk as a professional" (July 2, 2013).
- "As part of the Secretariat of Patrimony, (…) as part of the prefecture" (July 12, 2013).
- "As part of the Council (…) I speak as a citizen, I am nothing else" (July 12, 2013).
- "My role as a technical expert (…) my role in the prefecture" (September 24, 2013).

In sum, there are different views in Ouro Preto about the preservation of the colonial cityscape. People disagree on what goes preserved when buildings are maintained, and to some people not only materials are kept, but

also privileges and prejudices. To voice different views in the Council, members usually use different perspectives, and announce their various roles in the city, some that will support preservation, and others that point to limits and challenges. The Council could potentially offer "a more comprehensive understanding of the social life of cultural heritage," that is, to listen what different people "have to say about their heritage and their own motives for keeping it up" (Brumann 2009: 295). However, that opportunity will need to encompass the perspectives of different citizens, but these different perspectives on the city have not yet been incorporated through widening participation. Not only are there few members and those are mainly connected to cultural, educational, and touristic areas, but Council members can also not always express multiple views on the city without being perceived, addressed, and affected as if holding a single role. As McGranahan (2010) asserts talking about narrative dispossession, "[p]ossessing one's own life story, however is not a given (…) it involves social processes and conventions operative well beyond individual processes of reflection and experience" (ibid:768). In other words, regardless of the announcement of who is voicing the opinion, Council members cannot control how their representation is perceived. Nevertheless, this collegiate group is the one that analyses materials and areas, minimises impacts, and considers the preservation of constructions. As challenging as it might be, the Council plays a key local role in the process, the results, and the participative possibilities within the cultural heritage of Ouro Preto.

Conclusion

Local practices in cultural heritage more recently started to include ideas of citizenship and patrimony. The combination of these words is two-fold. It means residents are the patrimony, and it means patrimony should be directed by residents. The idea that residents are patrimony was discussed in previous chapters and refers to the projects that hope to alter the notion of socio-spatial exclusion from city's main sights by focussing on cultural and pedagogic inclusion, as well as by expanding ideas of historic and artistic to

locations beyond the city centre. In this chapter the focus has been on the idea that patrimony is participative, and I looked at the municipal council that deals with cultural heritage.

Locally, patrimonial preservation has been controversial and not all politicians endorse city preservation. Many residents view the investment in cultural heritage with scepticism, as the outskirts of the city lack infrastructure. In addition, an embracing concept of preserved areas or surrounding areas of preserved sites may lead to concerns regarding housing – such as building irregularities – that affect many households. These aspects were used by the mayor in 2013 to justify restricting preservation efforts to the city centre, as opposed to the previous mayor who tried to combine urban development with patrimonial preservation in Ouro Preto. However, the mayor does not govern alone and the House of Representatives voted after listening to both sides: to the Council stating that the project would increase existing perceptions of polarisation between centre and periphery, and to the mayor who argued the idea would allow the outskirts of the city to grow in housing and business opportunities. The project was approved.

The mayor's project was intended to limit the scope of patrimonial preservation to preserved areas. However, this does not mean the Council only discusses the city centre. There are intricacies in the governance of cultural heritage that relate to the surrounding areas of a preserved site, making the boundaries and terminology associated with preservation constantly disputed. As a result, the mayor's project did not diminish the importance of this collegiate group. The new policy did not affect the Council directly, for it created another secretariat and not another Council. The Council remained the principle forum in which to discuss aspects of preservation. However, a self-perception that I sensed amongst Council members was that it was up to them to "save" the patrimony, a word often used in meetings, while the prefecture would restrict cultural heritage (at least administratively).

However, when a sensitive topic like housing is discussed through the lens of aesthetics and historic importance, patrimony generates local indignation. It concentrates resources in the hands of hotel and restaurant

owners, it excludes residents spatially, and it may even privilege a future generation for whom the city is to be maintained at the cost of the present one. If viewed that way, there is something selfish about the preservation of the city. In other words, the Council exists in a context of social inequality wrapped in social responsibility, and those are aspects that limit broad participation, as I will address in chapter 5 and 6.

Nevertheless, local controversies call for strategies and Council participants have multiple voices in their capacities as residents, technical experts, or members of the government. But there is no guarantee that it is possible to distinguish between those multiple roles in town. What some Council members highlighted about a blurring between their personal, professional and political relationships will also be discussed in the coming chapters. In council meetings, there seemed to be a chasm between a national call for local representatives and a local possibility to represent different everyday roles.

In sum, the local encumbrance of preservation, which the municipality often passed on to national organisations such as IPHAN, is now in the hands of local residents who make up the Council. Far from representing all sectors of a fragmented city, the composition mainly unites sectors that support patrimony. However, Council members have personal and professional roles which connect with this decision-making and their support to preservation or modification is open-ended. Members' participation vary according to whether they represent "an expert, a citizen, a resident, a council member." However, by engaging in Council discussions in specific cases, I hope to demonstrate in the coming chapters that granting the right to participate in city governance does not mean participants will necessarily voice different perspectives, nor that local participation is necessarily to a participant's gain.

CHAPTER 5

Ambiguous materials, meanings, mapping: Cultural heritage as process

Image 5.1: Asphalt on the road leading to Museum Casa dos Inconfidentes, November 5
Source: Jornal Estado de Minas 2013[106]

> One of the most polemic points of PROMOVA Ouro Preto,[107] with a total cost of 25 million [Brazilian Reais], is the use of asphalt in the street Engenheiro Correa, access to the Museum Casa dos Inconfidentes, in Vila Aparecida, where asphalt pavers covered cobbles without consulting the Municipal Council for the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Patrimony.
>
> (Do Vale 2013a, my translation)

This chapter addresses streets as places of both permanence and passage, and looks at narratives on street materials in terms of forms and uses. Using road material, I discuss concepts, processes, and limits to the governance of cultural heritage. I investigate how residents perceive road surfaces of dust, asphalt and cobblestones and discuss the physical (transportation, trepidation) and symbolic (oral stories and class stigmata)

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[106] Newspaper article published on November 5, 2013 (Jornal Estado de Minas 2013).
[107] PROMOVA (*Programa Gestor das Ações de Revitalização de Ouro Preto* or in English Administrative Programme of Actions to Revitalise Ouro Preto) is a local key public policy originated in 2013. It focuses on urban mobility, infrastructure, health, and education and became pivotal in local discussions when the street layouts were changed.

values associated with these materials. Describing inconsistencies in perceiving and communicating road material across different situations and locations in and around Ouro Preto, I analyse how the local administration decided on road layout.[108] In 2013, the prefecture tarred with asphalt some streets previously covered with cobblestones. Based outside the main preserved area, some of those streets, however, had historic importance. The Council was never consulted about the use of asphalt in such locations before changes took place. In response, the Council wanted legal intervention by local prosecutors on the matter. For prosecutors, as the newspaper excerpt above indicates, one of the greatest controversies in the use of asphalt was not the use of cobbles (the previous material) or asphalt (the material being applied) in themselves, but the decision process that left out key players. This chapter thus engages with cultural heritage as process – Council participation. I discuss how aspects directly related to cultural heritage, such as history, aesthetics, and the importance of buildings or what surround them were "erratic" and "inconsistent" (Canclini 2012:97) to inform decisions on the use of asphalt, to then discuss how popular participation is sought to correct the ambiguity of imprecise terms.

At the beginning of the preservation practices in Brazil, intellectuals framed Ouro Preto's spaces in relation to their historic and aesthetic national value, hoping values would be shared and locations maintained (chapter 1). This plan did not come to fruition. Some locations changed and residents were divided about historic and aesthetic meanings and uses attributed to the city (chapter 2). A pedagogic cultural inclusion is not able to bridge disconnections (chapter 3) and popular participation is now sought (chapter 4). Moving from a state-centred to a participative process, the problematic nature of local disputes related to cultural heritage persists.

Establishing a process based on local consultation – through the Council – is central in Ouro Preto in deciding which buildings are to be maintained or modified (and what constitutes maintenance or modification). However,

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[108] I use the term governance "in the broad sense of techniques and procedures for directing human behaviour" (Foucault 1997:82, as cited in Ghertner 2010:186). In this case, the governance of cultural heritage in Ouro Preto is a shared task between the prefecture, the Council, and the local IPHAN office and is mediated also by local prosecutors. When I talk about the decision over heritage practices and policies, I will refer to these institutions.

ambiguities associated with materials and locations can go as far as raising questions on when local participation is necessary. This chapter considers the case of asphalt (especially in supposedly historic streets in Ouro Preto), when the prevalent understanding in town was that Council participation should be considered in every process that modifies the city. In chapter 6, however, I will argue that listening to many voices is not always assembling diversified viewpoints and flexible solutions. Thus, chapters 5 and 6 together point out limits to participation in cultural heritage, focussing on the perspective of the Council. Finally, in this chapter I will not analyse the results of the making and remaking of roads in Ouro Preto, as this is to be observed over the coming years. Instead, I mainly focus on how people perceived and discussed the transformations or potential transformations taking place.

The (un)making of streets

PROMOVA Ouro Preto is a local policy initiated by the prefecture in 2013. Though the project encompassed various areas, in this chapter I focus on one aspect, that of urban mobility through the paving of Ouro Preto's streets with either cobblestones or asphalt.[109] The project generated local controversy. Evidence of some of these disagreements can be found in the prefecture's promotional material, a 12-page government bulletin freely distributed in town, that connected together the ideas of "[s]eeing and living in a new Ouro Preto" (Assessoria de Comunicação Social 2013:5, my translation). Road improvements were controversial interventions, because they were visible modifications in a city preserved aesthetically. According to material about the project, some roads connecting remote areas to the city centre were paved with asphalt and some cobblestoned streets in locations closer to the centre had been altered or examined with a view to altering them. The controversy about the use of asphalt in a historic city such as Ouro Preto, paved with cobbles in the city centre, lies in the fact that there are

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[109] There are different types of routes in Ouro Preto. Local Law 93 (from January 20, 2001) distinguishes regional, arterial, collector, and local roads according to their functions. In this chapter my main concern are the lanes of local use (streets used for public and private transportation within Ouro Preto's main residential areas) and I refer to them as either streets or roads interchangeably.

different preserved perimeters (local and national), but there are areas of historic interest outside such perimeters. Thus borders for intervention or maintenance are disputed (some disputes were already discussed in chapter 4). While a participative process through the Council is a possible solution when rules are unclear, this lack of clarity can also mean the Council may not be included in discussions. This was the case in Ouro Preto, when discussion followed the use of asphalt just outside main preserved areas.

Even though asphalt heightened local disputes about aesthetic and historic areas, the programme to modify streets was aimed exactly at bridging perceptions of social disconnection. The prefecture of Ouro Preto invested in urban mobility – mainly through the use of asphalt – to overcome socio-spatial divides, as indicated by the mayor's letter informing local politicians about the modification of street material. The letter, sent to the House of Representatives on September 10, 2013, justified the importance of PROMOVA by emphasising the need to bridge the perceived divide between local residents and visitors. In the official communication, the mayor explained how the programme was considered important as it was to

> maintain the city as Cultural Patrimony of Humanity and at the same time be the city dreamed about and expected by *ouro-pretanos* (…) the project now submitted for consideration (…) will prompt the revitalization of public spaces and as consequence, greater integration with the population and visitors.

> (Oficio Mensagem 61 2013, my translation)[110]

What I saw in Ouro Preto during my fieldwork, however, was that modifying existing lanes did not ultimately change the perception of a disconnect between residents and visitors. If anything, the polarisation that resulted from the positive and negative perceptions of the road interventions heightened the already existent social distances. This was principally because streets were not only viewed as avenues of access to a historic site, but were also perceived as a historic destination in themselves, an element of another time, which made being in Ouro Preto a unique experience. On the other

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[110] Oficio Mensagem 061, from September 10, 2013, collected at House of Representatives for the city of Ouro Preto, on November 6, 2013.

hand, the same lanes that lead people to another time also lead residents to their everyday home and work. "Plain" or "fancy" streets sharpened an existing disagreement about cultural heritage and everyday activities and were a particularly central feature in the discussion about the boundaries of preservation.

The boundaries of preservation had already been controversial in other local urban projects encompassing changes in visible elements. As discussed in chapter 1, the preservation of the city was justified and regulated through its appearance.[111] Nevertheless, ideas of national development also underpinned the declaration of Ouro Preto as cultural heritage. With this in mind, the preserved perimeter has not been entirely static. For example, the construction of the Grande Hotel by Oscar Niemeyer in the 1940s was a controversial architectural intervention, but one also related to tourism and thus to economic aspects of the preservation of the city. An urban change wrought within ideas of maintenance of the city's architectural importance was also the vice-mayor's rationale when explaining asphalt interventions to me. In the conversation we had, I asked the vice-mayor about asphalt and Chiquinho explained as follows:

Already in our government the problem of urban mobility is very pertinent and in the long term, it will be even more pertinent. Ouro Preto, because of its colonial history, has very narrow streets, very unstable terrain, the geological formation is very bad, and that already concerns us. So we are investing so as to have a higher quality of life in the long term. It will be a nuisance now, because we are altering the location of things, we want to decentralize the administration, to remove it from the historic city centre and put it in the neighbourhoods, improve the mobility of the people. Transform the touristic centre to be really for the tourist and have better traffic circulation. (…) Abroad it is a bit different, because you go for example to Paris, the historic centre

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[111] In the first municipal decrees to preserve the city, the idea was to maintain the façades (portals, sills, columns) of buildings according to the prevalent colonial architecture (Decree 25, September 3, 1932). In 1938, the attention to buildings extended to include the architectural urban setting of Ouro Preto, and the city was included in the National Heritage Book of Fine Arts. In 1949, a blueprint of the area to be maintained was added to the process (Conjunto Arquitetonico e Urbanistico da Cidade de Ouro Preto, Volume 1).

has asphalt, with the concept that trembling, the movement of cars on irregular pavement, harms the buildings. In Ouro Preto it is exactly the contrary, here we preserve the patrimony and the very pavement. So we want to have fewer factors that could spoil the patrimony we are trying to preserve. Removing traffic from the centre, it's a way to help in the preservation of the patrimony. (…) Ouro Preto is very unique (…) the public transport in other cities is very different than that in Ouro Preto. If you ask a public transport company they will tell you that the costs are much higher here, and they are. Because the pavement is not good, the topography is not good, you see. This is also a university city, which generates a different kind of transportation. (…) So this is my concern, (…) in 20 or 30 years the population that comes to live in Ouro Preto will have a good quality of life.

(Chiquinho, vice-mayor, November 21, 2013)

The argument made by the vice-mayor suggests that patrimony and pavement are related, but distinct. They are related because the choice of pavement can affect the preservation of buildings, implying that these should be maintained, but that the pavement itself does not have to. The choice of pavement can influence how visitors and residents will move around in the city and how transport can be made more efficient, especially given the hilly nature of Ouro Preto.

Despite the explanation that asphalt can help maintain buildings by reducing the vibrations that harm the structures, some urban changes are more difficult to explain. Even in the case of the hotel project mentioned above, this work by a nationally acclaimed architect was controversial then and remains divisive. Equally, it was far from agreed whether changing road layout (though outside the city centre) equated to destruction or preservation.[112] It thus seemed reasonable when the vice-mayor suggested

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[112] Castriota (2009) states that in 1938, there were 1000 buildings in the area urbanised in the 18th century, and from 1938 to 1985 another 2000 buildings were erected in the area (Castriota 2009:146, discussed in Santana 2012:34). Though constructions altered the availability of empty spaces in the preserved area, because most of them followed the colonial layout, not all projects were controversial. However, interventions that did not follow

that his policy might find approval in 20 or 30 years. Why would one not give a chance to the future to mediate present disputes over architectural forms? Even in a city where the past is central in most citizens' stories, such as Ouro Preto, it is the future that offers a prospect for optimism about life quality, or for greater interaction between tourists and residents. In Ouro Preto, as in Athens and other cities framed across a hierarchy of time and space, architectural symbolism can often be problematic, and the advantage of the past over present architecture does not always find a space (Faubion 1993:86). In the disputes between city aesthetics and city uses, the future becomes a ruling alternative.

This controversy of an everyday intervention in a visible feature and the relation with the future is stated in the front-page of the prefecture's promotional material, the headline of which reads "preserving the past, guaranteeing the future" (*preservar o passado, garantir o futuro*, Assessoria de Comunicação Social 2013:1). The transformations in the city – explained through preservation – envisioned a future of better urban mobility, or perhaps a future that would understand such transformations. Nevertheless, rather than the future, what directed arguments in deciding for or against asphalt and its many ambiguities was local consultation, the Council.

The Council in the discussion about asphalt

As discussed in chapter 4, at the beginning of 2013 the prefecture changed the administration of the city and cultural heritage was no longer associated with urban development. As a result, various urban projects took place in 2013 without the Council's initiative or consultation, such as the road maintenance (and change) project. The prefecture's decision to use asphalt in cobblestone streets exemplifies the conflicting interpretations of cultural heritage in town and, as a consequence, the scope of the Council's work.

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colonial form were in some cases destroyed and in other cases remain divisive (the Grande Hotel by Oscar Niemeyer for example).

A great focus of dispute in Ouro Preto (and in the Council) was the street leading to the Museum Casa dos Inconfidentes – the one mentioned in the newspaper article that opened this chapter (Image 5.1). That street, previously paved with cobbles and in 2013 tarred with asphalt, is located in an area intersecting different preservation perimeters, as I will discuss. It also leads to a building of historic interest. When the Council met on October 22, 2013 to discuss that case and the case of other streets also tarred with asphalt, the argument was significantly different from the prefecture's explanations – that asphalt may preserve buildings, or connect both visitors and residents to the city.

The discussion in the case of the museum highlighted the different laws and decrees that defined preservation perimeters. For example, the museum falls under the perimeter defined nationally and regulated by IPHAN, which authorised the intervention. However, locally the museum was outside the preserved perimeter, but it was inside a location for environmental protection. Members of the Council were then unsure if their analysis was mandatory. Though unsure if their discussion was mandatory according to different city zones and maps that create a hierarchy for city protection, to the Council, above of all, the application of asphalt constituted a modification of the cityscape without Council consultation. As I describe below from edited field notes, after listing positive and negative aspects of the material itself, the process of decision-making gained centrality.

"But the community finds it [asphalt] wonderful; it is the end of the dust". While another member highlighted "the modification is a crime against cultural heritage, and fines and prison terms apply". Another member pointed out: "asphalt increases the speed of water, there is no water absorption, and it is an irreversible loss". When they discussed an area outside a preserved perimeter a member highlighted that "the idea is to discuss preservation in an embracing procedure and we should write a letter to show we are being disrespected in many ways".

(Field notes, October 22, 2013)

Council members spoke of the use of asphalt as a negative intervention because of its impact on the city aesthetics, the inability of roads to absorb rainwater, or the lack of discussions. However, Council members also highlighted the fact that residents may support asphalt because the material meant the end of dust on roads. I use the following four appraisals of asphalt in town to structure this chapter and discuss the ambivalence of road materials: the end of dust, a crime against cultural heritage, the policy-making process, and geological concerns.

There is also a fifth focus, the importance of roads in town regarding socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion. This will play a role throughout the chapter. The asphalt project divided opinions in the city. Even though people normally associate tangible heritage with specific buildings, the environment in which these buildings are located, including the roads leading up to them, also have a significant impact on their perception. However, to many residents, roads as cultural heritage was a discussion disconnected from local use. The visual and functional importance of streets allowed residents to enquire: are streets to be preserved in their form or improved in their commuting function? Turmoil about the use and form of roads reached a peak in Ouro Preto in the third quarter of 2013. The opposition between residents who perceived asphalt as an urban improvement and those for whom the new component destroyed the composition of the 18th century city sparked a discussion about what is to be considered cultural heritage, who should define such concepts, and what the local consequences of such judgements are. As a result, a main challenge to Council members in looking at preserving the layout of roads related to the common local complaint that preservation worked for the interests of "those coming from elsewhere".

The importance of asphalt locally could be sensed at that same October meeting. The Council decided to write a letter addressed to the Public Prosecutor's Office, [113] demanding the Council should be heard before

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[113] The Public Prosecutor's Office (Ministério Publico), according to the 1988 Constitution Article 127, is an organisation in charge of "the defence of judicial order, of the democratic regime and of social and individual interests". As such, it works autonomously in relation to

changes such as tarring roads with asphalt take place. However, despite a long morning discussing local urban changes that ignored the Council, signing the letter was far from consensual. Members pointed to the danger in opposing such a key local urban policy for those working directly or indirectly in the prefecture. In the end, only one person – who worked for the municipality – signed the letter and not without professional consequences, because this was a key municipal project. To understand the social and political pressures at work that morning, I briefly address the importance of both cobblestones and asphalt ethnographically.

Ambiguities in the use of cobblestones

Cobblestones are an important element in residents' conversations in Ouro Preto. While some people complain about the width of the streets, it is the paving material that is central in local conversation. The sound of cars screeching on cobblestones and the unmistakable smell of burned tyres when a car forces its way up a cobblestoned street are typical for Ouro Preto, disrupting the historical experience of visitors and upsetting residents. Together, vehicles lacking road traction, pedestrians falling in the street on rainy days, and the smell and sounds of the street, fuel narratives about the cobblestoned pavement downtown.[114] On the other hand, some of the same people who may fall on cobblestones on rainy days defended the importance of these same cobblestones passionately as part of the make-up of the historic city. One of the terms of endearment for the city used by some residents is *cidade de pedra,* the city of stones. This term encompasses the streets paved with cobblestones, the gold from which the name of the city was drawn, the gems found and traded in the area, and the soap stone art popular

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the three traditional spheres of power: judicial, legislative and executive. The prosecutor's office has branches in states and municipalities. In this case, the Council sent the letter to the office in Ouro Preto, which acts, in addition to other areas, in the defence of the environment and the cultural and historic patrimony.

[114] Stoller (1997) argues that "[i]n anthropology, for example, it is especially important to incorporate into ethnographic works the sensuous body – its smells, tastes, textures, and sensations" (ibid:xv). Smells, textures and sensations affecting the body in the city have to do with street material in Ouro Preto. Stone, dust, and asphalt were materials easily noticed throughout my fieldwork and especially when road changes began to take shape.

with tourists. Stones work as a powerful reminder of Ouro Preto's economic aspects and heritage. More than just a feature of the space people reside and work in, many professions are directly involved with the stone aspect of the city. For artisans, architects, engineers, historians, storytellers, archaeologists, tourist guides, and those working in the tourism industry, the maintenance of the city's design is economically essential. Thus in Ouro Preto, the colour of the houses, the colonial roofs, the careful choice of window material, and the colonial façades of buildings, among other elements, are carefully maintained and are points of much discussion in cases of intervention. However, when the idea of city preservation is related to the appearance of the city, what are the limits of the reach of the colonial site? Does it encompass the city as a whole, or only certain aspects or areas? Put another way, should roads that lead to a historic monument also lead a visitor into another time?

What we see in some historic cities is the attempt to combine different components that connect ancient buildings with equally old-fashioned modes of transportation, public illumination, and road layout to increase the experience of historicity. Examples of this are the gondolas in Venice or the *fiakers* in Vienna. Even though there are no carriages in Ouro Preto, city centre streets and roads leading to it are paved with cobblestones. Altering this feature by replacing the stones with asphalt is immediately visible and might interfere with the perception of the town as a heritage site. However, modifying the layout of roads could potentially "increase the speed of travel, cutting journey times …" (Knox & Harvey 2011:144), and might also "mitigate some of the dangers of underdevelopment and economic isolation" (ibid:143). As a result, paved roads could arguably be seen as bringing people together.

In Ouro Preto, as the population grows, people move further away from the city centre, where most working opportunities are located, and narratives about distances within the city abound in everyday conversations. Transportation is locally important and is expensive (as discussed in the case of protests for bus fares in chapter 2). To commute from the periphery to the city centre is not always easy, due to the hilly landscape of the city and the material of streets. One resident I talked to, a domestic worker who commutes

from the city's outskirts to the centre daily, was in favour of the use of asphalt because asphalt would allow vehicles to drive faster and reach remote locations that were otherwise unreachable by bus. She explained that the lack of grip offered by the cobblestones, especially when it rains, made transportation particularly expensive and inefficient.

One example which highlights the ambiguities associated with the use of asphalt or cobblestones for different residents is the modification that took place in Rua Engenheiro Correa, leading to Museum Casa dos Inconfidentes. This street, as explained, is outside the preserved perimeter, but leads to a monument. For some residents, asphalt on that street and in the neighbourhood facilitated transport and leisure. For others (mainly non-residents of that area), asphalt destroyed the historic experience leading up to the museum. This is reflected in the comments of readers in reference to a regional newspaper's headlines mentioning the use of asphalt in the road leading up to the museum.

> Historic cities have to be preserved in their original architecture, as well as the sidewalks, streets and the typical illumination of that time. Asphalt does not suit Ouro Preto or other historic cities. The asphalt already installed should be removed and the mayor should be criminally charged.
>
> (Di Paula 2013:8, my translation)[115]

Multiple uses of Rua Engenheiro Correa

During a shared cab ride, a popular mode of transportation from the city centre to the main university campus, a student mentioned the road changes while we drove through Vila Aparecida, a neighbourhood near central Ouro Preto: "Since I came to Ouro Preto, laying asphalt on this road is the best improvement I have seen and reaching the campus has become much faster". The road he was referring to is the main thoroughfare in Vila. That neighbourhood, located on a hilly area between the city centre and the main university campus, is a key site in town. It is located on a geographic zone

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[115] Jornal Estado de Minas 2013a:8.

where modern constructions have existed since the early 1960s and reach the eye of those who are in the historic city centre, making Vila's skyline controversial (Santana 2012:6). Driving the recently paved roads in Vila Aparecida makes users remember how cobblestones would make the car shake, necessitating costly car maintenance and making reaching destinations time-consuming. But others complained that the recent plain asphalt laid by the prefecture altered the historicity of Ouro Preto, chiefly in the proximity of the Museum Casa dos Inconfidentes, Rua Engenheiro Correa.

Placed on the top of a hill, the museum offers a great view of the city centre and is also very visible from there (Image 5.2). Tour guides had already pointed this museum out to me and explained the building was the house where the *inconfidentes* met. What a perfect place to plan a coup, I thought, as it offered a very good view of the centre, but was not easily reachable from there.

Image 5.2: Panorama view of the city centre and the museum in detail, July 11, 2013
source: own collection

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Image 5.3: View from the museum, October 25, 2013
Source: own collection

To know more about the controversies on the use of asphalt in the proximity of the museum, I visited the site. I arrived at the museum on a Friday and had a conversation with the staff and with the curator, Claudia. Our conversation was informal and she explained the purpose of the museum and how it came to exist. Here is the conversation, which I recount in my own words.

The curator started by repeating the local belief that some of the *inconfidentes* met in the house to plan their coup, the Inconfidência Mineira. The house was owned by an *inconfidente*'s family member, which makes it possible that the *inconfidentes* met in the house and there are elements in the construction – the walls made of wattle and daub, for example – that indicate it is from the 18th century. There used to be a path leading to the museum through the mountains, which was the route used in the past. The street Engenheiro Correa, which is now used and had been tarred with asphalt, is more recent, although just how recent was not specified. The house was donated to the municipality in 1925, but it was only in 2010 that the former mayor, Angelo Oswaldo, transformed it into a museum. Before, it was a government guesthouse. When the house became a museum, some of the guesthouse furniture was incompatible with the new use and other furniture was sought. Some objects are peculiar. Calling my attention during the visit

were two beautiful oratories and some books from the period of the Inconfidência. In general, the museum tries to represent what a house in that time might have looked like, but is actually a collection of elements from different periods of time.

Claudia also explained the museum focuses mainly on the local community, which I could understand, as it is located in a residential area, outside the city centre, making it different from the majority of other museums in town. Focussing on the local community means organising local activities, such as workshops. The idea is to make the most of its geographic proximity to residents and to avoid being just another museum for tourists only. Considering the proximity staff has with the local community, I asked about the local perceptions regarding the changes to the road, and we started talking about the use of asphalt in proximity to the museum.

What I understood from that conversation is that the museum is not legally preserved, and that how the surroundings of a monument should be maintained is still debatable.[116] Most people do not comment much on the use of asphalt in Vila Aparecida in general, but the path leading to the museum drew most of the complaints. However, Claudia explained, the street leading to the museum is the only flat ground in Vila. Children can cycle there, they build soapbox cars, and people use the area for walking. In the absence of leisure spaces, asphalt fills that gap. She mentioned a woman who uses a wheelchair and lives nearby. This woman was never able to visit the museum previously but could now finally manage. In contrast, Claudia also expressed a concern about the lack of water absorption, which accompanies the use of asphalt. As the museum is on a lower level than the rest of the street, when the rainy season starts, there could be floods in some areas of the city, including at the museum.

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[116] The area surrounding a monument or preserved site is not clearly defined in terms of a precise perimeter. In Brazil, the reference to maintain a preserved site is often its visibility and not a specific radius. Motta and Thompson (2010) remark that the surrounding of a preserved good offers to municipalities the possibility to define the scope and use of the area (ibid:95-96).

Images 5.4 and 5.5: Reaching the museum in the past and currently
Source: Fontana n.d. (left), own collection, October 25, 2013 (right)

After a pleasant afternoon, I left thinking about the use of asphalt near the museum for leisure activities. I had not thought about this light-hearted use of asphalt, but on my way I saw people walking dogs, cycling, and jogging in the area. But even more thought-provoking was the idea of the composition and local role of that museum.

The Museum Casa dos Inconfidentes is a house that perhaps hosted some of the heroes of Brazilian history. Conceivably, one of the *inconfidentes*, a few or all them spent time there. On the other hand, one can only say the house is possibly from the 18th century. Its furniture is part of a mosaic – pieces selected by different people and from different epochs – and information about the use and origin of such objects is still being traced. However, the romanticism and importance of *Inconfidência* appears in narratives in town. The museum itself, for example, tries to construct a romantic view of the uprising. To start, there is the representation of Marilia and Dirceu,[117] the couple separated by Dirceu's exile after the collapse of Inconfidência. Where *inconfidentes* slept, how they could have conspired against the Portuguese, and how they lived are some of the questions people try to find answers to when visiting the museum and these are the imageries

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[117] The 18th century writings of Thomas Antonio Gonzaga to his love, Marilia, as he called Maria Doroteia Joaquina de Seixas, are celebrated in Ouro Preto. Sons and daughters in the city as well as landmarks are named after them. The couple were to marry in May 1792, but in that same month Gonzaga was imprisoned after the fiasco of *Inconfidência*. After many months confined, he was sent into exile to Mozambique (Lapa 1961). From its impossibility lives the romance to date; Marilia eternised in the beauty of her youth, and her lover in verses of eulogy. While rumours say without his love Gonzaga lost his mind, others, such as Lapa (1961) suggest he married an affluent woman and became one of the most important men in Mozambique (ibid:XXIV).

the museum tries to evoke. There are papers lying on the tables, books in bookcases, oratories, and other elements to give form to the imagination in this improvised scenery. Objects that used to serve a guesthouse are now, together with other antiques, framing the house of the Inconfidência. The museum staff describe how they came to the format of the museum, the role of romanticism, and the importance of the house for imagining another period, rather than representing it. Not everyone however views what the museum offers as a way to spark the imagination. Rather, for some, what the museum offers is an accurate portrayal of that particular period of time. The morning immediately after my visit to the museum, a resident of central Ouro Preto told me:

They can't use asphalt in a street where Tiradentes walked. He did not walk on asphalt. Well, it is true that he might not have walked on cobblestones either, but a more irregular stone pavement.

I asked if asphalt could be used if he had not walked on that road, if the street was not related to a historic event.

Yes, of course. Some areas are no problem. But this "inferior people" (gentinha) has no understanding of historic value.

(Conversation with a downtown resident in Ouro Preto, October 26, 2013).

However, the original route to the museum was a green trail through the hill and there was a bridge connecting the area to the city centre in the past (see images 5.4 and 5.5). Additionally, I looked for dates regarding the street leading to the museum, which was created and paved with cobbles in the 1970s (Santana 2012:79). Lastly, my conversation partner, who believed the street should be maintained and believed people who thought otherwise were "inferior", was an upper-class resident living in the city centre and not in Vila Aparecida or further out. For her and other residents, support for asphalt was associated to a lack of cultural or historic understanding. Most of the people in

Vila, or in other non-central neighbourhoods, supported the use of asphalt. For them, it facilitated transportation and leisure. Thus, I discuss the role of imagining the past as a "social practice" and its consequences (Appadurai 2002:34).

As the museum curator said, the idea of the house is to give form to an image of how the *inconfidentes* lived. Some residents will also imagine the route Tiradentes walked when visiting the museum by seeing a path made of cobbles, but not everybody is equally affected by the work of imagination and the materialisation of the past.

As discussed throughout this thesis, the past and its material forms in Ouro Preto do not only have different interpretations but also different socio-economic consequences for residents who face a variety of everyday circumstances. By attaching forms to romanticised interpretations of the past, the interpretations of events can be detached from their authors to become factual representations (Olson 1994:196) and may no longer be freely changed. The route Tiradentes possibly used and a house that may have hosted members of Brazil's most famous conspiracy against Portugal, now means that the house and the street no longer offer an idea, but a materialisation of the past and should be maintained in a presumably "original" from, which in that case cannot be tracked. In addition, when binding together locations and imagination, not all people are equally given "the privilege (…) to participate in the work of imagination" (Appadurai 2002:46). It follows that, despite the importance of national heroes locally, as Collins (2011) asserts, the value of history, its objectification and reference shall not be taken for granted and relations with the past, or with representations of the past, may assume different discourses (ibid:684).

In the case of Rua Engenheiro Correa, despite the importance of Tiradentes locally, there was little consensus in the narratives revolving around that local street. I do not claim that local residents did not value the importance of Tiradentes, the coup and the route; indeed I believe they did. However, to them the road was not only Tiradents' (imaginary) path, but also an everyday route used for leisure or commuting. Moreover, to understand the value of asphalt in Vila Aparecida it is important to point out that the location

developed from an informal settlement in the 1960s. Like most such settlements in Brazil, it lacked pavement on streets, having dirt roads (Santana 2012:78). Dust and mud on streets and on residents' feet is stigmatising and associated to poverty and grime. It is then not surprising that Vila's residents support asphalt locally, as Claudia suggested.[118]

In the next section, I take the reader to a location that faces the same issues that featured in Vila some years earlier, and discuss the value of asphalt for those encountering mud on a daily basis. As members of the Council mentioned in the meeting in October detailed above, some residents praise asphalt because it means an end to dust. What was missing in the meeting was a broader sense of the impact of dust on residents.

Asphalt: the end of dust

Andreza, did you hear how noisy the street was last night?

No, I didn't. When I arrived things were calm.

We called the police; there was loud music all night. It was all about songs that tell you to shake your ass and the like. It was only the 'muddy shoes' here, from Morro Santana and beyond.

(Conversation with a neighbour in Rua Direita, October 27, 2013)

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[118] It was not possible to make a broad census about residents' assessment on the road construction in Vila at the time of my fieldwork. There was great suspicion associated with talking about preferences because the topic was controversial and divisive. Therefore I use Alto do Rosario as an area for comparison.

Image 5.6: Rua Direita during the day, July 11, 2013
Source: own collection

The local youth likes to gather in one of the most central streets of Ouro Preto – Rua Direita – on Saturday nights. The dynamics on this street change according to the time of day and day of the week. Usually, during the daytime, one sees tourists visiting museums, walking to or from their hotels, or visiting one of the many restaurants and shops on the street. Students, residents and workers share the space with tourists on the narrow sidewalks. Most of the houses have both commercial and residential uses. Many are used as shared student accommodation (Repúblicas), and others serve as hotels and guesthouses. For the majority of the other houses, the common pattern is to rent the basement and the ground floor for commercial use and have the level above occupied by families. Therefore, this street, the place I chose to live in Ouro Preto for most of my fieldwork, attracts visitors, residents, students, and the people working in the shops, restaurants, and hotels. While Rua Direita is a conventional space most days of the week, it is common to see students or wealthier residents avoiding Rua Direita on Saturday night because it becomes the favourite place for poorer people, those commuting to the city centre to celebrate.

Some wealthier residents and students refer to those who go to Rua Direita on Saturday nights is as *pés vermelhos*, "red feet", or *pés de barro*, "muddy feet". The term "red feet" relates to the dry season, when the walk through unpaved roads in unauthorized settlements that many inhabitants call home makes shoes red because of the dust, while shoes get muddy during the rainy season. When residents from such areas go to the city centre, they are identified as coming from underprivileged economic zones by their shoes. Residents from these areas often cover their footwear with a plastic bag on the way to the town centre, to keep their shoes clean and avoid being stigmatised as "muddy feet". With asphalt, there is no mud or dust and so one's place of residence cannot be immediately identified from one's shoes.

O'Dougherty (2002), looking at Brazil during the 1990s, demonstrated that class statuses are ubiquitous and organised by principles of "social separateness" (ibid:2). This separation can take different forms. In Brasilia, for example, there are few places that allow for social encounters amongst residents from different economic backgrounds, and classes are spatially distant (Holston 2001:552-553). In São Paulo, the upper-class has moved to condominiums close to locations that previously only catered to the poor. Although next to one another, classes are divided by walls (Caldeira 2000). In Ouro Preto, one's appearance, such as the mud the poor carry on shoes, announces one's place of residence in non-urbanised areas and serves to identify and distinguish residents from one another. When different groups of people may gather in the city's public spaces, they do not mix (chapter 2).

What one sees in Ouro Preto, as in many other Brazilian cities, is that many residential arrangements start from illegal occupations. Land irregularly occupied for housing is rarely accompanied by the provisions enjoyed in other areas: sealed roads, street lights and signs, a sewage system, electricity, treated water, postal delivery, and garbage collection, to name a few. Sealing the roads is one of the main priorities for residents, because asphalt, or the lack of it, can be communicated in terms of social inclusion or exclusion.

On June 28, 2013, I travelled to the city of Mariana, located 11 km from Ouro Preto, and talked to a resident and community leader who lives in one such irregular housing settlement in Alto do Rosário. I learned of this location

because of the community's effort to improve the area and access land regulation.[119] Mapping the streets, learning the number of residents, tracing the socio-economic profile of the area, among other data, were viewed by community leaders as important in pressing for urban public policies, such as asphalt and legal house ownership. The community leader, who is a student at the Federal University of Ouro Preto, mobilised other colleagues and professors and soon students of geography, history, social work, and statistics, under the direction of professors, designed and implemented questionnaires and interviewed residents living in Alto do Rosário. Questionnaire interviews usually happened on weekends, one such event was on July 7, 2013, when I participated.[120]

The neighbourhood resembled many other locations in Brazil, which begin informally with residents building their own houses, opening spaces for vehicles (or not), and creating sidewalks. Living in houses without any documents, walking along streets with no names, having no garbage collection or postal delivery, and wondering about water, electricity, and sewage systems was a shared experience in Alto do Rosário. Despite this, I saw trucks filled with bricks for the construction of permanent houses, making temporary occupation seem unlikely. What I saw was the hope for legal house ownership and infrastructure for the families that settled there.

What is thought-provoking is the fact that buying a house or land is completely separate from the notion of owning either. Though people buy the land and build on it, or buy a house already built, they do not possess the place. There is no guarantee the location will not eventually become a legal neighbourhood. This explains why residents were sceptical about the

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[119] As Holston (1991) states, "[t]he poor confront material and legal difficulties in autoconstruction that motivate them to undertake organized political action. The most common difficulties involve the fraudulent sale of house lots, which invalidates their titles, and the lack of basic urban services, such as water, sewers, asphalt, schools, and health clinics. Everywhere, residents form into voluntary associations to demand the regularization of their deeds and the delivery of the services to which they are legally entitled as residents" (ibid:453).

[120] I am thankful to Flavio, Katia, and Andreia who talked to me about the area and explained the projects taking place. UFOP students and professors involved in the urbanisation of Alto do Rosário also welcomed me in the group, and I am especially thankful to Professor Clecio, Professor Adriano, and Juan. The results from questionnaires were released in Alto do Rosário on October 3, 2013 and can be accessed through NEASPOC (Núcleo de Estudos Aplicados e Sociopolíticos Comparados, UFOP).

questionnaires and first thought forms could serve as instruments to later expel them. Having a local resident in the group, who could explain that the idea was exactly the contrary, was key, and residents cooperated hoping the results of the interviews and questionnaires would eventually mean land regulation.

Image 5.7: Questionnaire interviews in Alto do Rosário, July 7, 2013
Source: own collection

While at first the census of the area – the data collection and mapping – generated a general feeling of insecurity and people were afraid they could be removed, the urban services that followed signalled the possibility of housing regulation. Briefly engaging with that area allowed me to participate in the very moment when residents expected infrastructure interventions and especially asphalt.

I visited the location again on December 6, 2013, when infrastructural improvements had already started. That afternoon, one of the community leaders and I drove through the uneven streets. During the drive, other drivers or pedestrians would stop us to ask about the conditions of lanes, which was

the only way to know if one could walk or drive ahead without being stuck in the mud. Andreia, a local community leader with a degree in History from UFOP and a mother of two children, told me

(…) my kids, one is three years old and the other one is five years old, how do I explain to them when they see me taking pictures [of the area] and they ask me: mom, will my house have a number like grandma's house? Because my mom lives in an urbanised area, you see (…) Mom, what is the name of that thing there? I find it cute and reply, it is called lamppost, and they ask; will my street have a lamppost? Why is there no lamppost in my street? Then you see, the children also have their impressions, they see the difference. (…) For example you see here [in the car] *it is full of boots, the boots stay in the car.*

(Andreia, December 6, 2013)

I certainly understood from her words and the boots in the car that asphalt meant cleanliness, which makes one's place of residence less identifiable through mud. When one carries the "mark of dust" (Borges 2003:121), the person not only announces that he or she lives in a new urban area, but also is almost automatically stigmatised as poor and violent,[121] as such areas are viewed as impoverished and dangerous. After my day in the area, I left carrying "the mark of dust" on me. I had mud on my trousers and on my shoes, and the category of "muddy shoes" would certainly apply to me. How could I not be self-conscious of how I looked on my way back home, especially when home was in the most vibrant street of Ouro Preto?

Asphalt, or the "black carpet" (Borges 2003:121), more than allowing buses or private cars to reach places such as the one I visited, would give pedestrians freedom from the dust, associated with illegality, poverty, and violence. Furthermore, infrastructure such as asphalt usually precedes other services like postal delivery and garbage collection. As a result, when asphalt comes, it generates expectations about other services. House ownership

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[121] Teko, whom I interviewed on October 18, 2013, and already introduced in chapter 2, mentioned that often residents from criminalised areas are stigmatised as criminals, instead of potential victims. Holston (2008) also discusses the criminalisation of the poor and the use of police violence in poor areas (ibid:281).

would be the most expected result of a neighbourhood that is now "looking right". However, I was struck by other anxieties brought by asphalt, and even in an area of dust and mud, the "black carpet" brings some ambiguities.

The same conversation with Andreia that highlighted the value of road pavement, also revealed the concern that asphalt communicates a sense of "job done". The fear is that other infrastructure services will not follow and that the community will stop pressing for urban services and house ownership, settling for only asphalt. The importance of the asphalt in these areas justifies its title, *Senhor Asfalto*, or Mr Asphalt, as some people referred to it in Ouro Preto by the end of 2013.

"Mr Asphalt" is a term that marks the importance the material has for many people in Brazil, especially those confronted with its contrast: dirt roads leading to "muddy shoes". However, in Ouro Preto, Mr Asphalt is not only contrasted with dusty or muddy roads, but also with cobblestoned streets. Thus in Ouro Preto, streets, usually serving as connectors between places, have, controversially, separated locations through its material: the mark of illegality and poverty associated to "red shoes" or "muddy shoes" in dirt streets and the boundaries of preservation and change represented by cobblestone or asphalt.

Residents in Vila Aparecida, in the past considered muddy, in 2013 featured amongst central residents as "gentinha", inferior non-historic and uneducated people lacking cultural interest because of their acceptance of asphalt. Perhaps because of local controversies, in the decisions regarding the use of asphalt in town, the local prosecutor's office was invited by the Council to voice its opinion but did not discuss road materials. To the local prosecutors, the main problem of asphalt was the lack of public participation.

Preservation: from aesthetic to participatory importance

In urban design theory, as depicted by Ellin (1996), there is a movement called townscape, which "in reaction to modernism's 'architectural objects' (…) emphasized the relationship between buildings and all that surrounds

them" (ibid:61). The author reminds us, that this "holistic view of the city" (ibid:61), however, could extend disputes about gains and losses in preserving areas to spaces previously not viewed as patrimony. When Ouro Preto's mayor took power in 2013, he tried to diminish the holistic view of cultural heritage by separating the work of cultural preservation from that of urban development. However, some other spheres of governance, such as the Council, tried to uphold the holistic view of the city. To maintain the importance of a holistic analysis of the city, the Council often used some terms, such as "ambiance".

In Brazil, ambiance is usually articulated as a synonym for the environment or setting of a preserved area, "the natural or man-made setting which influences the static or dynamic way these [historic] areas are perceived or which is directly linked to them in space or by social, economic or cultural ties" (UNESCO 1976).[122] Though the term is only broadly defined, this concept, together with the idea that a "historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting" (Choay 2011:168, my translation),[123] inspired the expansion of preserved areas in Brazil to encompass areas visible from preserved sites (see Ribeiro 2007:92).

In Ouro Preto, the above-mentioned ideas, together with the unanticipated growth of the city since the 1950s, encouraged the development of a broader protected perimeter so as to encompass the locales observable from the already-preserved site. The perimeter was altered in 1989.[124] Local laws, issued both by the municipality and the local IPHAN office, regulate the preservation of the city. Laws observe concepts such as "ambiance", encouraging the Council to embrace the city as a whole, and not in terms of a limited perimeter.

Nevertheless, despite embracing maps and legal efforts, asphalt in Rua Engenheiro Correa was not, in consensual terms, a crime against cultural

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[122] This definition of the "environment" of a preserved area was translated in Brazil as "ambiance" (Ribeiro 2007:40).

[123] The author comments on the *Venice Charter 1964* (International charter for the conservation and restoration of monuments and sites), published by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (available on-line: http://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf, accessed October 13, 2015).

[124] From a visit to IPHAN Noronha Santos, in Rio de Janeiro on April 24, 2013 (SPHAN (n.d.) *Processo de Tombamento Conjunto Arquitetônico e urbanístico da cidade de Ouro Preto*).

heritage. Deciding on that area was particularly difficult because of its location, intersecting areas protected under different national and local regulations (see map 5.1). According to the local prosecutor's office, the use of asphalt in Rua Engenheiro Correa was chiefly problematic because it was not discussed in the Council, the institution that should decide the reach of terms such as "ambiance".

Anexo I-A: Planta de Macro-Setorização
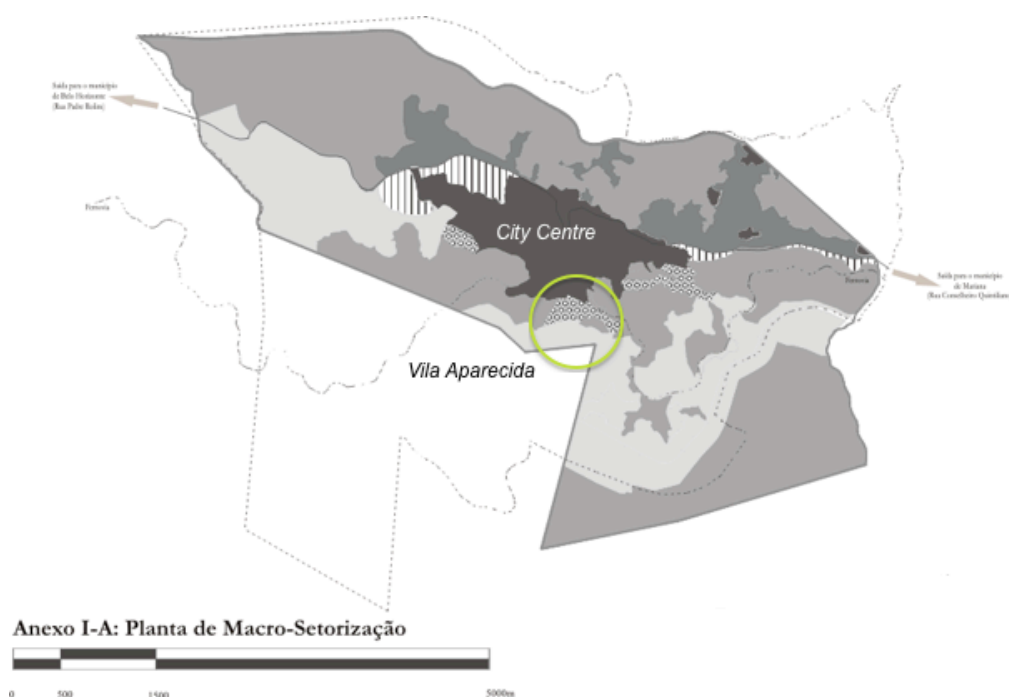
Map 5.1: Ouro Preto's assorted preservation areas (Vila Aparecida intersecting zones)
Map by: IPHAN (2010:18), modified by the author, based on Santana (2012:66) and Laudo de vistoria (2013:12). [125]

The study presented by the prosecutor's office (Laudo de vistoria 2013), taken into account in future judicial process to regulate the use of asphalt in town, concluded that asphalt is not an acceptable part of the ambiance of that particular area. It should not have been used and is only appropriate for the rest of the neighbourhood. Further, the document discusses the lack of

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[125] Laudo de Vistoria 78, from October 2, 2013. The document from the Ministerio Publico do Estado de Minas Gerais – Promotoria Estadual de Defesa do Patrimonio Cultural e Turistico, was written by an architect and offers considerations about the use of asphalt near the Museum Casa dos Inconfidentes. I obtained the document through electronic communication with Dr Domingos, on November 1, 2013.

studies on water drainage and the lack of public consultation before the intervention. The study suggests, and the prosecutors enforced the suggestion, amongst other measures, the removal of asphalt on that specific street and the construction of sidewalks to correct aspects of accessibility (Laudo de vistoria 2013:18-19).

That study viewed asphalt as a negative intervention for the location's ambiance, an assessment that did not extend to sidewalks nor to the main road in Vila, which was tarred with asphalt although it leads to Rua Engenheiro Correa. The idea of ambiance is not clear, there are elements considered destructive, while others are seen to renovate an area. Making the asphalt on Rua Engenheiro Correa problematic was not only its appearance, but the difficulties associated with water absorption and the fact there was little public participation in the decision process as the Prefecture did not consult the Council.

In the case of asphalt, in the abscence of clear maps or a clear definition of ambiance, the decision-making process was central to stop the use of asphalt, as demonstrated in the newspaper excerpt opening this chapter. Different from the participative resolution in the case of asphalt in Ouro Preto, in Ghertner's (2010) study in Delhi an aesthetic order was effective in the absence of secure mapping. The author studied slums in Delhi and stated that mapping those areas or knowing residents' profiles through statistics became unmanageable around the 1990s. The Delhi government thus managed this "increasingly complex and unruly ground situation" (ibid:196) through "the dissemination of aesthetic norms" (ibid:187). By aesthetic norm, the author means an "ability to provide a normative dimension to seeing, to cultivate an aesthetic normativity in the population" (ibid:208). In other words, in the face of the Commonwealth games in 2010 and the "postcolonial anxiety to catch up" (ibid:211), the vision of a "world-class city" (ibid:199) was opposed to the filthy appearance of the slums. Hence, improving the city was articulated as a necessary improvement not only for the city and the country, but also for residents themselves, who were to be relocated (ibid:204). Ashamed by the visibility of their unkempt homes, residents acknowledged their nuisance for the city and voluntarily moved. The author discusses the resignation of (most)

residents using the work of Foucault, and assesses aesthetic governance operating from the inside, modifying the perceptions of residents about themselves.

In contrast to Delhi, in Ouro Preto, an aesthetic norm has not successfully offered a clear instrument for ruling. Unmistakably, heritage practices in town (and in the country) were based on appearance. The reading of the basis for Ouro Preto's polygonal perimeter for preservation clears any doubt, as the lines are based on viewpoints aimed at offering a panoramic view of the city.[126] Nevertheless, Ouro Preto's residents have built houses across city hills, some of them part of the preserved perimeter and others visible from the preserved area.

As discussed across previous chapters, the idealised singularity of city spaces, anchored on parameters of appearance and historic value, presupposes shared values (Canclini 2012:71). Canclini states that sometimes cultural patrimony meets the expectations of groups of people who feel represented by monuments or practices preserved, calling it a "social complicity" (ibid:71). However, more often,

> the historic and symbolic prestige of certain goods, almost always, incur a simulation: pretending to ignore that society is not divided into classes, genders, ethnicities and regions, or suggesting that those perceptions are not important in the face of the grandiosity and respect for the protected works (ibid:71, my translation).

The exclusion of residents from central areas, the perception of social separation during cultural events, the impossibility of eating in expensive restaurants that cater only for "those from elsewhere," and the hopelessness of cultural projects in bridging those divides, mean that the monumental city of Ouro Preto does not belong to all. More precisely, it belongs less to some residents than to short-term visitors – tourists and students. To shame residents as a visual nuisance or to reaffirm promises of the importance of the city are thus not politically effective and the promises of tourism and historic

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[126] See: SPHAN (n.d.) *Processo de Tombamento Conjunto arquitetônico e urbanístico da cidade de Ouro Preto*). From a visit to IPHAN Noronha Santos, in Rio de Janeiro on April 24, 2013.

and cultural values mainly serve to stir up local socio-economic and spatial inequalities. Thus, politically, an aesthetic order is a controversial burden. The Council, having participants with a background in architecture, holds on to a holistic view of cultural heritage in the city. But even there, such view is socially difficult to sustain. In Ouro Preto, as in Pelourinho, Salvador, residents stood up against patrimony not so much because they built some sort of collective resistance against "objectified culture" (Collins 2011:695), rather, in those cities, patrimony is where people live.

Therefore, often the prefecture left the preservation task to IPHAN technicians. The technical experts from IPHAN, however, stated that preservation is not technical, but a political action. Many experts have invited local politicians, civil society, and lawmakers – the Council – to discuss the limits to and processes of heritage, as explored in chapter 1 and 4. When I talked to a director for historic cities in the IPHAN headquarters in Brasilia, Robson explained the organisation's limits in regards to defining what should be preserved and how ideas such as ambiance made work at heritage sites heated, the architect clarified that,

[t]he preserved areas from 1938, when great preservations began (…) were like 'be preserved', and [ever since then] it is very difficult to have institutional or personal control. (…) Later you have delimitations, perimeters, surrounding areas, in the last years, how can I put it, in the last five years or so, you start to see that we need to have more defined norms, a person needs to know when she buys or when she lives in that place what she can do in that place, because we had a lot of that problem in IPHAN (…) every office, every head of office would think in a different way and it would be so because the norms were not clear.

(...) We have been saying that IPHAN is not there to say no. IPHAN is there to say how to say yes. We have to make comfort, housing, and living possible in these places [heritage sites] so we are there to say yes and if no, then how it could be yes. But that goes through clear norms, norms that we have been working on. Ouro Preto is one of the first cities where we developed a norm

that became a municipal law.[127] *(...) Does it have problems? It does. Does it have to be discussed? It does. (...) What is ambiance? It is very subjective. (…) there are studies but not an objective concept (...) that is why there has to be a norm (...) If I have a house, what is ambiance? What can I make? I want to know if I can open the door, build in the entire extension of my property, how many floors I can build, what is the height I can reach. That is what we have to say to citizens and that is what we have been working on at high costs.*

(…) The decree [25/1937] was very well written. It was very well written because it simply says: if it is not approved by IPHAN then it is wrong. Secondly, it says that if it diminishes how the place looks, mutilates, which are subjective terms that can be interpreted in various ways. What has been happening for a few years now is that judges began to say 'I find this argument subjective, I think about it differently, so I...' and the judges would give the cause to property owners or the interested party and not to the institution. Therefore, it started to press the institution to have clear rules.

(Robson, November 13, 2013)

Robson brought to the fore the importance of defined laws. He saw laws as a way to diminish the vulnerability and uncertainty of decision-makers. However, on the side of those working to enforce the law, a normative dimension for cultural heritage has its shortcomings. I spoke to the two prosecutors working on cultural heritage that appealed in the case of the use

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[127] The laws and decrees that Robson refers to which coordinate the preservation in Ouro Preto are: The local IPHAN guidance (*Portaria 312, October 20, 2010*, available on-line: http://portal.iphan.gov.br/uploads/legislacao/Portaria_n_312_de_20_de_outubro_de_2010.pdf , accessed October 23, 2015); Law that that establishes norms and conditions to use and subdivide the urban area (*Lei Complementar 93, January 20, 2001*, available on-line: http://www.ouropreto.mg.gov.br/uploads/prefeitura_ouro_preto_2015/arquivos_veja_tambem/lei-complementar-93-parcelamento-uso-e-ocupa-o-do-solo.pdf, accessed October 23, 2015). The local Master Plan (*Lei Complementar 29, December 28, 2006*, available online: http://www.sistemasigla.org/arquivos/sisnorm/NJ_txt(5073).html, accessed October 23, 2015) and the *Decree 25, November 30, 1937* (mentioned in chapter 1). Together these are the main urban norms guiding the work of city conservation in Ouro Preto. More specifically about the term ambiance, though the word is mentioned, for example in case of Portaria 312, it is not defined and is mainly associated with the maintenance of the appearance of the urban and architectural set of Ouro Preto and the immediate area around chapels.

of asphalt in Rua Engenheiro Correa. I spoke with the local prosecutor, Dr Domingos, about the case on October 31, 2013 and what I gleaned from that conversation is that there were uncertainties in the prevalent judicial understanding in the case of the use of asphalt. To fill legal gaps, he looked for interdisciplinary studies and relied on a team of architects and urban planners. To Dr Marcos Paulo, the regional prosecutor on cultural heritage with whom I spoke on November 5, 2013, not only was technical knowledge gathered from different disciplines important, but the knowledge from civil society also needed to be employed. Municipal councils, he highlighted, should be capable of combining the technical knowledge and social meaning in order to inform decision-making. However, he added that the greater the level of subjectivism in law interpretation, the lower judicial reassurance. Besides community discussions, it is important to establish effective laws (as envisioned by Robson). But effective laws in this case should come from community councils and technical studies. And in the case of asphalt, effective studies should include geological impacts, based on the principle of precaution, he added.

Combined, these conversations show an understanding that the interpretation of law and the law itself are as necessary as they are uncertain. As a result, a decision should involve various areas of knowledge and civil society, and the Council's importance was greatly emphasised. The involvement of various areas of knowledge, however, was not part of the asphalt project in Ouro Preto in 2013. The prefecture started the project without further consultation, the Council intervened without assessing residents directly affected, and local geologists, despite concerns about rain and land mentioned by the prefecture, the Council, and the prosecutors, did not take up a central position in the decision-making process.

Water absorption ambivalence

It was already December 2013 and the controversies surrounding asphalt had escalated in town. December is rainy season and conversations

detailing previous heavy rains and geological concerns were easy to come by.[128] The fire fighters, involved in rescuing people from landslides, would be involved in the discussion aimed at changing street forms, I thought, given that water absorption was a main factor in these incidents. However, when I arrived on December 12, 2013 at the fire brigade office, the lieutenant was surprised I wanted to talk about the road situation in the city, as I was the first one to approach him. He explained that Ouro Preto did not have the geological conditions to be a city, but a mining area. Besides, its intense population growth associated with real estate speculation meant the city had expanded to areas with high risks of landslides. He added that in the case of asphalt, there seemed to be an experimental way of planning, first tarring streets to then see if it is beneficial and in which ways (which he phrased as a common way of urban interventions). The sealed roads on hills, he asserted, would certainly give vehicles and pedestrians more grip and would diminish the risk of worsening victims' injuries as a result of car accidents, which could justify the change of pavement in some lanes. However, asphalt could alter the local climate (such as a rise in temperature locally), and could compromise the city aesthetically, and such considerations should invite technical studies.

After a short conversation, the lieutenant and I visited a geologist who dealt with landslide risk and prevention. The geologist explained the relationship between asphalt and water absorption to me. He said that asphalt and lack of water penetrability is not necessarily a negative association, to my surprise given some of the above-mentioned discussions. On the contrary, what he explained was the challenge local geologists face in trying to diminish the amount of water absorbed in areas with greater landslide risk. The problem is where the water will then go. If the water runs over a road covered with asphalt and not cobblestones, there will be more volume and the speed of the water will be greater. He explained other services would need to follow, like a drainage system. Finally, to him, the correlation between changing the roads and exposing families to the dangers of landslides was not simple. Most

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[128] The main rain episodes that occurred in Ouro Preto were in the years 1989, 1992, 1995, 1997, 1998, and because of landslides a total of twenty-one people died, twelve of them in 1997 (Prefeitura Municipal de Ouro Preto 2012a:8)

families cannot avoid the risk, considering 60% of Ouro Preto's residential areas are located in locations of geological risk or great risk and they each have their own strategies to address the problem. Thus, the conversation pointed out the need for an interdisciplinary group to examine the positive and negative aspects of asphalt, one that could consider the possible benefits of street impenetrability, and address the varied perceptions of asphalt as a threat. Once again, the conversation lead to spheres of multiple assessments such as the Council. However, as discussed, the Council met without sound geological engagement or risk assessments and was absorbed by its own (in)ability to discuss the case.

Obviously, the disagreements over what may or not interfere with the visual appraisal of an area may be endless. For this reason, Canclini (2012) states that "aesthetics survives not as a normative field, but as an open scope where we look for *forms* not radically detached of all types of functions" (ibid:43, my translation). For example, to the prefecture, asphalt was preservation, to local prosecutors or geologists, it was an invitation for discussion, and to the Council, it was the end of dust, a crime against cultural heritage, a threat regarding landslides, and above all a necessary topic for discussion. It seems that the Council, the prosecutors, IPHAN, and the prefecture have all realised the inconsistency and the scope for disputes brought by cultural heritage. This openness in concepts theoretically privileges the Council in solving conflicts, which not always happens, as was the case in the use of asphalt. However, my critique of channels for local input, more specifically the Council, as discussed in chapter 4, rests on the fact that only few individuals are invited to participate. In addition, although members could voice different perspectives, as indeed they can as residents, technical experts, or policy-makers, that possibility is hampered by strong pressure – professional misgivings when opposing a key political, social, economic project for example – which pushes members into an anonymous consensus or unresponsiveness. It follows that the uncertainty of terms and mapping, which invite participation in the first place, is also echoed in the Council's intervention, fragmenting members in a dispute over their role in each case.

Conclusion

Streets made of cobblestones, asphalt, or dirt in Ouro Preto revealed the ambiguity of the senses, oral history, economic and everyday uses of routes, spatial and aesthetic segregation, laws and negotiations of law, and perceptions of landslide risk. Ultimately, the modification of the roads challenged any easy assessment of what preservation or change consists of and divided opinions in town.

Outlining the events surrounding the location where the use of asphalt reached greatest disagreement in Ouro Preto, Rua Engenheiro Correa, I discussed the controversies involved in defining the historic and aesthetic importance of that area. The museum framed a perception of history and nationalism, which was not equally shared across the city. Some residents valued the imagined moments of the Inconfidência and Tiradentes' footsteps. However, for residents nearby, everyday footsteps matter. Moreover, making a comparison with roads without pavement, such as those in Alto do Rosário (that has similarities with Vila Aparecida's past and is similar to many other residential areas in Ouro Preto), dirt roads are stigmatising for residents. Asphalt is associated with the end of dust, the end of stigmata associated with poverty and violence. This is because Brazil is home to an unequal and segregated society, where poverty is inconsistent with life in city centres; it is as anomalous as it is visible.

It is then not surprising that many residents in Ouro Preto and beyond, who experienced muddy shoes, support the use of "Mr Asphalt". Nevertheless, the same residents that support such material also fear that its visibility may harm the discussion of less visible aspects, such as water absorption and drainage systems. This is a shared concern, especially because of the heavy rain that falls in Ouro Preto and the occurrences of landslides. Asphalt, however, is not automatically responsible for unstable terrain and ultimately can prevent some land instability. The list of ambiguities on the perception of roads is indeed far-reaching. While the prefecture considered asphalt an aspect of city preservation and social bonding, the Council, prosecutors and geologists saw the need for greater discussion. In

the end, for the local prosecutors, who intervened in the project by stopping the use of asphalt in some city areas, it was chiefly the non-observance of the process in decision-making that formed the rationale for their decision.

The discussion of road material demonstrated that the maps and meanings directly related to cultural heritage were uncertain as instruments for ruling heritage sites. In Ouro Preto, residents have not articulated a self-perception of nuisance, in contrast to the case of the residents of Delhi's slums. Rather, nuisance to many residents is to have an aesthetic imperative that mainly benefits "those coming for elsewhere" or a local elite. "Ambiance" was not a key authority for decision. Public participation and interdisciplinary studies gained traction as a means to decide on and implement preservation. However, in the Council, where such discussions have space, participants were unsure of their role.

I conclude that while ambivalences in the work of cultural heritage prompted the creation of municipal councils, the opportunity to participate is not always clear. Secondly, more participants may not mean varied perceptions. This is especially so if the groups do not represent the varied socio-economic realities of the place or if areas of knowledge involved are not broadly represented. The Council in Ouro Preto has a limited range of participants as discussed in chapter 4. Finally, in the case of the use of asphalt, the local controversy certainly discouraged members from assuming a key role. Voicing concerns more than a representative duty can be a personal burden, a topic I discuss in greater depth in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

Preservation or mummification in Miguel Burnier

This chapter examines the place of cultural heritage in cities facing decay. By looking at Miguel Burnier, a district in Ouro Preto, I discuss patrimony, taking into account the role of different participants in the work of city preservation. As we have seen in previous analyses in this thesis, the preservation of Ouro Preto did not lead to shared social meanings of material heritage. Thus, I discuss the role of social participation in forums such as the Council. If participation is a condition in urban policies (as discussed in Chapter 5), grounding cultural heritage in grassroots meetings, rather than in state-centred intellectual solutions, as was the previous practice, may lead to the shaping of ideas of city preservation according to local demands and hence to the abandonment of the ideal of imposing a meaning on the city (Ellin 1996:209). In this case, perhaps preservation could connect with varied and conflicting social arrangements (Canclini 2012:120).

Miguel Burnier is a district in the municipality of Ouro Preto that has been falling into a state of decay in recent years. Having lost most of its inhabitants since the middle of the 1990s, those left live in inhospitable conditions, sharing the local streets and landscape with heavy machinery from a mining company, and face a shortage of jobs and public services. However, the same mining company that endangers living conditions also supports the preservation of cultural heritage. Sites and documents have been restored or examined, using preservation as an offset to obtain mining permits. This investment in cultural goods contrasts with the residents' notions of improvements that could be made to their town, which would involve reducing the level of dust and noise and finding a solution to water problems caused by mining activities. Some residents consider leaving the location and selling their houses to the company a good option, an alternative that could allow for the expansion of mining activities, but does not synchronise with cultural investments and the need to maintain the urban nucleus that exists. Mining

company's and residents' interests were mediated by the Council, which had its own interests in the preserved buildings in the area.

I describe in this chapter how negotiations took place in 2013, when the company, residents, and Council members held several meetings to discuss a future mining expansion. This chapter offers the Council's perspective in heritage discussions, which differs from the one discussed in the previous chapter. While in the case of asphalt (chapter 5), Council members complained they were not heard before changes took place, in the case of Miguel Burnier, the Council was at the forefront of discussions. Hence, I consider the possibilities for cooperation amongst participants, despite different goals, which include the development of mining activities, improvements to living conditions, and the preservation of cultural goods. Interests were competing throughout the negotiation process and participants voiced different opinions representing different social hierarchies (technical knowledge, economic and political dissimilarities).

This chapter thus offers an ethnographic account of different participants with conflicting interests interacting at Council meetings, as well as of the opportunities to them to participate and shape decisions. My analysis contributes to broader anthropological theories that look at the varied and competing meanings of cultural heritage (Brumann 2009, Canclini 2012), as I will discuss later in the chapter. It asks whether looking for different viewpoints through popular participation is enough to secure multiple understandings or outcomes in preserved urban sights. Looking ethnographically at participative meetings is then to look at how cultural heritage exists through public participation and/or for public participants. This chapter further develops the discussion of cultural heritage in its execution and results in Ouro Preto and beyond.

Miguel Burnier

Miguel Burnier is one of the thirteen districts that compose the municipality of Ouro Preto. It is located about 50 km away from Ouro Preto's

main region, in the south of an area known as the Iron Quadrangle, one of the most important mineral provinces in the world (Penha 2012:13).
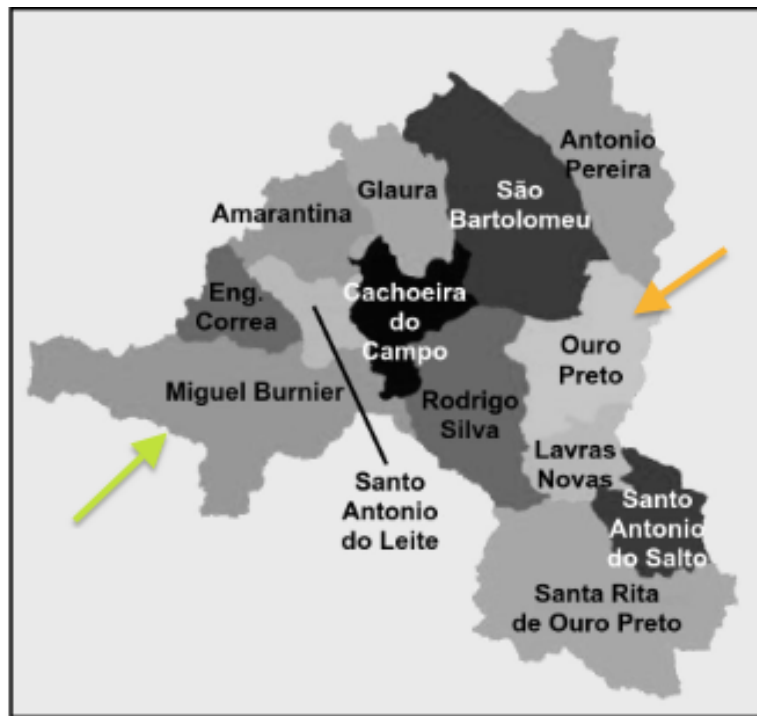
Map 6.1: Ouro Preto's districts (in detail Ouro Preto's main district and Miguel Burnier)
Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Ouro Preto (n.d.), with adaptation

Located in a place renowned for its mineral deposits, the area has seen a number of different companies extracting iron ore for steel production since the early 19th century. In the beginning of the 20th century, a train station was opened in the district and later a road leading to Belo Horizonte crossed Miguel Burnier, thus altering its role from a hub for extractive industries to one of people and product transportation, although mining remained the main economic activity (Penha 2012:13). The companies that occupied the area challenged the rural-city migration, and residents from Miguel Burnier (mainly workers in local industries) did not move to Belo Horizonte or downtown Ouro Preto. Instead, when companies flourished, the little village attracted new residents.

The companies that occupied the area allowed for the growth of the local economy, providing services such as house construction and shops, and building monumental churches. These buildings are important in that they offer a depiction of the district; the construction and opening of these various

buildings reflect the vigour of the businesses in the area. However, the pattern was different in 2013, because a new mining company had started in the district, but rather than adding structures to the urban nucleus, the new company aimed at demolishing some of the existing ones. Between 1996 and 2004, there was no mining company functioning in the area. Train services had been discontinued. Depopulation and deterioration were the result. When a new company, Gerdau, acquired the rights to exploit the area in 2004, it was difficult to imagine that this area had once been one of the most important transportation hubs in the region.
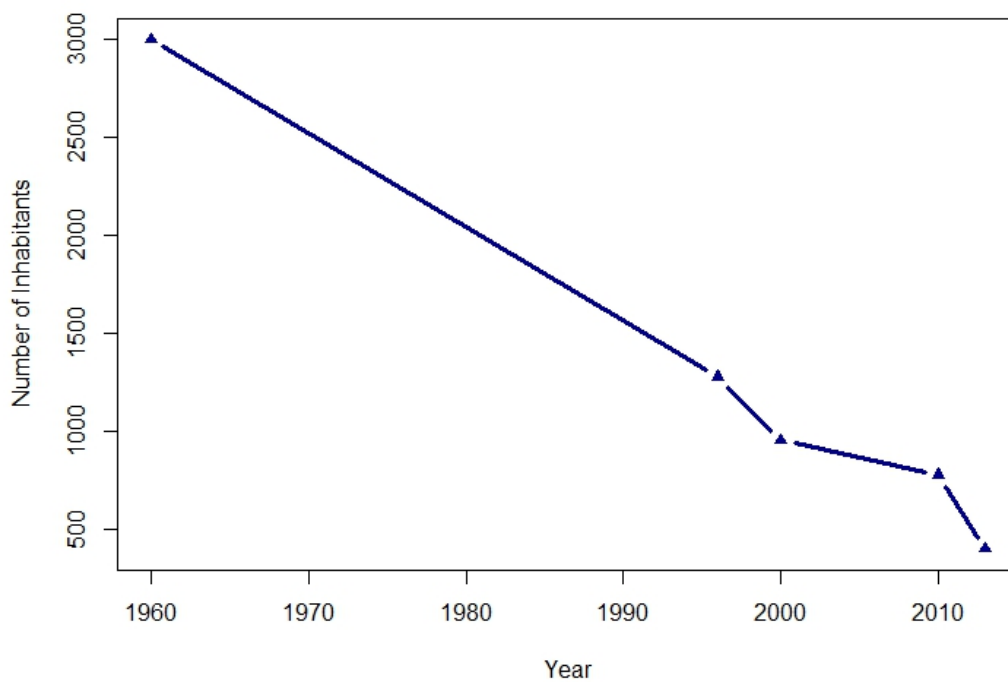
Figure 6.1: Population in Miguel Burnier
Source: Batista da Costa (2011:331), Prefeitura Municipal de Ouro Preto (2007:27), Portal do Turismo (2014). In 2013, residents estimated that no more than 380 people lived in the area.

Marco Antonio, a community leader in the region, active in the district despite not residing there, illustrated in a conversation with me that buildings were falling into ruin while others, though not yet decaying, belied the role the district had once had.

At the end of 2006, at the beginning of 2007, I was there in the district and witnessed a mother with her son removing a window from the train station to burn in their wood stove.

This decay moved Marco Antonio to study the area and engage in a project that resulted in the train station's restoration in 2012. That the train station was falling to pieces while a company had just started in the area did not correspond to the trajectory of the district, which had previously experienced progress when companies arrived. According to Marco Antonio, when Gerdau started to work in the area in 2004, the expectations of residents peaked, and when it begun to explore in 2006,

I saw an opportunity, a partnership, I saw a big mining company. That means, it will bring progress to the district, employment (…) but it was the contrary. The company arrived really very aggressive (…) they arrived a bit inexperienced, concerned only with exploring. [And the company] continues indifferent to the community, there is no effective compensation. What happens are "counter negotiations" (negociações de balcão) where a person goes there and asks for a bit of construction material to renovate the house and Gerdau gives them the material (…). Today the community is at that impasse, will the company remove everybody, reimburse everybody (…) A lot of people want to leave because it is not easy to live in a place that does not have infrastructure, but a lot of people want to stay because they built their lives there (…). But if there is infrastructure, a good quality of life, I am sure people would like to remain, but if you walk around, you will see the shortage clearly, the social reality in the community, the unfinished houses that a lot of people do not renovate because they are in that doubt (…) why spend money to then receive an incentive to leave.

Despite Marco Antonio's belief that if infrastructure investments follow, residents would stay and enjoy a better life, he was still very concerned. He explained his misgivings, that his association mainly looks at cultural investments (the restoration of the train station, cultural festivals, the library)

and some residents criticised his work because the recently restored train station, for example, looked ageless, while houses were rundown. Some buildings and festivals, part of Ouro Preto's cultural heritage, then contrasted with a landscape of deteriorated houses and relegated individuals. In contrast to Marco Antonio, many residents did not envision a future for themselves in the area and doubted that the cultural investment would lead to higher self-esteem, civic pride and better services in town, which was then struggling with dust, noise, and depopulation. Marco Antonio's had reservations about the upcoming negotiations with the company, aimed at improving services and infrastructure in the area, as he worried about

creat[ing] an illusion for the people of Miguel Burnier while a delusion is created on the backstage, I mean (…) there might be a point when it will not be good to live there, there will be no treated water, the dust will be tremendous, the living conditions will be impossible (…) and I will hear 'everybody moved out and I stayed because I believed you'.

(Marco Antonio, July 10, 2013)

I talked to Marco Antonio over a coffee in downtown Ouro Preto and at the time, I had never been to Miguel Burnier and had just started to gather information about the location, as the topic emerged in the Council. The prefecture had to decide on the company's license to expand mining activity around the town. As part of the municipality's decision about the licence, however, the Municipal Council for Environmental Development had to offer an assessment. This institution tied its decision to the one by the Council (for the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Patrimony), because the district has preserved buildings.[129] Thus, it was up to the Council to decide on the future steps with the company. As already mentioned, residents had diverse

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[129] Report CODEMA (Municipal Council for Environmental Development) *Conselho Municipal de Desenvolvimento Ambiental,* 01/2013 (June 19, 2013) tied the approval for the company's expansion to a favourable assessment by the Municipal Secretariat of Culture and Patrimony (that Secretariat analysed the matter through the Council for the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Patrimony). This document was distributed electronically to all participants in Council meetings on September 26, 2013.

expectations and interests (to stay or to leave the district), and they were invited for a meeting to voice their concerns. The Council had constructions to protect in the area (in this case singular buildings and surrounding areas, not a large perimeter like in downtown Ouro Preto); however, the cultural focus was not a daily priority for residents, and the prospect of attracting tourists to visit the protected sites in the near future was low (as I will explain below). In sum, the second half of 2013 saw great residential, political, cultural and economic interests playing out in Miguel Burnier, tying together the company, the Council and the community, all with diversified and often competing interests.

The Council's involvement in the negotiation is my starting point for delving into Miguel Burnier. Taking this perspective means that I focus on Council meetings, and the people and documents that were a part of these meetings. Therefore, I mainly portray the company by analysing its contributions during meetings. Looking into public spheres of participation is perhaps seeing things not as they are in all shades, but as they were presented. I agree with Goldman (2013:34) that looking at the public display of opinions and decisions can allow for the study of how individuals can assume different positions. That individuals may change viewpoints during negotiations is an invitation to discuss power relations, yet also a limit if considering the motives underlying performances. I understand that company personnel, individuals in the community, as well as Council members may assume different and even opposing positions than those presented in public meetings. Studying the motives underlying performances requires a longer period of fieldwork and closer access than was available and I left the field with unanswered questions, as I will describe later on. Moreover, how negotiations or opinions played out outside of official channels (e.g. under-the-table offers) is not the focus of this ethnography, neither have I looked for or noted any indication of this. I focus on Council meetings and on the work of cultural heritage in the context of grassroots meetings.

Residents' dilemma

A community-company discussion (*audiência publica*) [130] about the expansion of local mining activities took place on July 12, 2013 in a classroom in Miguel Burnier's only school. Around 7 pm, the classroom was filled with residents on chairs; these were mainly located in the middle of the room. Mixed with residents were members of the Municipal Council for Environmental Development and members of the Council for the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Patrimony. The representatives of the prefecture (the vice-mayor among them) took up positions on the side of the room and remained together, while the mining company representatives were standing in front, leading the meeting.

The company began its presentation, talking about initiatives to improve the quality of life in the community. Representatives outlined the company's offers to the community: renovating the school, improving access to the church, setting a green belt to separate industrial activities from residential activities, creating a football field and renovating the sports centre, improving the facilities at the health centre, and providing some professional courses to train tailors, painters, carpenters, and manicurists. After the presentation of possible upcoming improvements, the vice-mayor said a few words and mentioned he was looking forward to a partnership to improve the community.

The optimistic presentation highlighted various controversies, which were promptly pointed out by the community, mainly represented by its leader, Paulinho: "There were trees at the back of Teresa's house, they were felled, and you now talk about a green belt?" Additionally, Paulinho and others mentioned that the green belt could please the eye and even diminish dust problems, but it would not suffice to diminish noise. Another controversy was the fact that the community was diminishing in size and having a football field was a reminder of the challenge face in finding enough adults to play. The improvement of the health centre was also discussed and connected to the

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[130] Public audience is an instrument described in the City Statute (Law 10257/2001, available on-line: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/LEIS_2001/L10257.htm, accessed December 7, 2015). The law states that, amongst other methods, debates, audiences, and public consultations should be used to generate the democratic management of cities (Art. 43).

lack of people – in this case, local staff. Similarly, the school needed improvements, such as a coat of paint on the walls, but problems ran deeper. For example, new computers had been installed, but there were not enough information technology teachers and the school lacked Internet connection. Regarding the professional courses, the company demanded a minimum number of about 20 people per class, which raised concerns. Also, to whom would the manicurists, painters, or house builders cater in a shrinking community? Lastly, a woman pointed out that though she would like to learn a profession and work, there was no nursery in which to leave her children.

The controversies showed that though some improvements could be made, they were at odds with the district's main problem: population decline. Depopulation became an even greater threat when the company released the results of a census, which amongst other questions asked if residents wanted to leave their homes. The questionnaire found that 64% of residents wanted to leave Miguel Burnier, around 30% wanted to remain, and the others did not know or did not want to respond. Releasing those numbers generated great bewilderment. Paulinho remarked that, when the company announced they would conduct a census, they had declared that if 55% of respondents wanted to leave their houses, the company would try to buy their properties. The company, however, denied this; the census was only to get to know the population and their demands. But Paulinho replied that if the questionnaire was created to get to know the population better, the company could also release other results to understand why people replied they wanted to leave:

For example, this was asked at my house: the girl asked my mum what bothered her about the company. Before she answered, the girl was already ticking nothing, 'right?' Then I said, let me explain to you mum, when the dirty water in the rainy season prevents you from washing the clothes that are mud coloured, this is caused by Gerdau. When you go out in the middle of the trucks with dust and mud and noise, these are caused by Gerdau (…) if the company wants to release the results, let's release the whole questionnaire to see the reason why people would like to leave.

(Paulinho, July 12, 2013)

Another man complemented what Paulinho said by explaining that asking if people would like to go to heaven was different than asking if people would like to die, and continued by saying that the results were announced just as if people "wanted to die", when in fact they were asked if they wanted to go to heaven. I find this man's explanation particularly interesting because it suggests that people do not simply want to leave the area (they want to die), they want to live in a better area (they want to go to heaven). But "to go to heaven, they have to die", that is, to live in a better area, they need to leave their city, as most of them did not feel hopeful that a good life in the middle of mining activities was possible. The discussion was intense and though people reaffirmed their interest in leaving, they made the reasoning behind this interest clear. However, the solution to their complaints was opaque, as improvements were offered, but did not target various inconveniences such as heavy vehicle traffic or issues revolving around the dirty and smelly water in the area, with the company's expansion potentially further increasing such problems. In addition, the release of the number of people willing to sell their properties affected residents' will to bargain for improvements. The company tried to diminish expectations that it would buy houses, but did not deny the possibility of buying a few, and some properties were already under negotiation (houses close to a main road area).

This context of uncertainty, where conflicting ideas of improvement were affected by the diminishing number of residents and the unpredictability of the impact of mining expansion, may be better understood when viewing the residents' situation in terms of a prisoners' dilemma. The remarkable feature of the prisoners' dilemma (a recurrent instrument in game theory, used to analyse decision-making of individuals in situations where cooperation would yield the highest outcome for two players but is still avoided), "is that both sides play their dominant strategy, thus maximiz[ing] their payoff, and yet the outcome is jointly worse than if both followed the strategy of minimising their payoff" (Dixit & Nalebuff 1991:91). This way, it is possible to identify the conditions that have to be met in a conflict for both sides to give up their individual preferred solution to instead commit themselves to a common

agreement with an inferior outcome individually, but a better one collectively (ibid:91). Representing the situation for residents in Miguel Burnier through the prisoners' dilemma we can imagine that:

A and B are residents of Miguel Burnier, part of the 64% who would prefer to leave the area; when A or B follow their goal of selling their properties, their risk is to be unable to sell as the company cannot legally buy the district out and spark a mass removal (and it may not be interested, scenario 4). Pursuing one's individual interest could thus lead to missing out chances to negotiate local improvements. The best development would be when residents do not pursue their own best individual interests, but rather think collectively of better ways to stay in the area (scenario 1). However, residents are scared of fighting for improvements while their neighbours may be successful in leaving the area (scenario 2 and 3) and the amenities (if they come) would be useless in an emptier town; as a result, it is hard to act collectively (scenario 1).

	B stays	B leaves
A stays	They negotiate improvement (1)	A stays in an emptier city (2)
A leaves	B stays in an emptier the city (3)	A and B cannot sell the house at the same time as the company may buy some but not all houses and they miss the opportunity to negotiate improvements to stay (4)

Table 6.1: Prisoners' dilemma

The community leader is a great example of the prisoners' dilemma faced by the community. Being part of those residents who would like to leave the district, Paulinho is nevertheless negotiating improvements. He explained his torment during the negotiations to me, as he is uncertain about persuading his neighbours to stay while he personally might not and would like to leave (which would make him a traitor). He is equally uncertain about staying and fighting for improvements, as his neighbours may be the ones leaving. Finally, improvements may be delayed or never come (or be insufficient) and he and his fellow residents may feel foolish about false hopes and lost opportunities if

they all stay.

The prisoners' dilemma helps in understanding the importance of the Council. One of the solutions for the prisoners' dilemma is "the emergence of trust" (Dixit & Nalebuff 1991:102). For example, when residents do not see a future for the district, why would they not try to move out? However, when envisioning a hope (that amenities can be negotiated according to the residents' claim and that improvements will follow), then it might make more sense to stay and negotiate developments. The Council could increase the likelihood that the company's promises would both meet residents' expectations and take concrete form. The Council carries with it the credential of representing civil society, an endorsed potential as discussed in the previous chapter. The Council could also remedy power asymmetries between the company (and prefecture) and residents (the company pays high taxes to the prefecture and residents perceived company and government on the same side). However, the Council centres efforts on cultural heritage. Investments in cultural heritage (the restoration of buildings and archival investment in the district) had already been offered by the company to the district to obtain mining licenses in the recent past and these did not satisfy the community. Therefore, on one hand, the Council could alter the residents' perception of hopelessness in regards to the future of the town, but on the other hand, there were reasons for residents' mistrust of a Council dealing with patrimony. But the Council still had the opportunity to balance power inequality in discussions, and moving back to the meeting may help understanding how residents were sceptical about negotiations up to that point.

Many residents (mainly elderly, children, unemployed and unskilled adults) lacked the knowledge about what was at stake. For example, expanding the mining business was not explained in terms of how many years this activity would last, nor in terms of financial gain for the company (or the municipality in tax collection). This prevented residents from understanding the scope of the negotiations, which would have allowed them to maximise their own outcomes. The communication between the company and residents, which had never been praiseworthy, gained a new tool that night, when

members of the company announced a call centre, a toll-free number that residents could use to place their complaints and would receive a reply within a few days. Such a scheme was not greatly acclaimed, as it seemed a one-way channel that would tell the company what the main complaints were, but would deprive the community leadership from knowing which problems were affecting residents as a whole and if those had been solved, when and how. For example, house removal negotiations could happen behind other residents' backs. In sum, residents faced incomplete information and self-detrimental offers. Nevertheless, during the public hearing a background noise could be heard throughout, and that was whispers saying: "it is the time, your chance to negotiate, voice your demands, what do you want?" In other words, the company's desire to expand the business was a good moment for residents to place their demands. The idea of "this is the time", but the discouragement brought by uncertainties, was visible in residents' faces throughout the negotiation.

Image 6.1: Negotiations in Miguel Burnier, July 12, 2013.
Source: own collection

The negotiation in the Council

On July 23, 2013 a Council meeting followed up what was discussed at the School in Miguel Burnier. Members of the Council who were unable to attend the meeting learned about the mining expansion and the community's struggle with noise and dust, amongst other industry-related problems. While some members in the Council restated their opinion that it was unacceptable to have to live in a place where one cannot sleep for truck traffic, to others, the community-company relationship was already addressed through a list of amenities under negotiation between the prefecture and the company (the list the community contested). For them, the Council should stick to observing if expanding activities would affect the urban nucleus, and members agreed to focus on a narrower mandate.[131]

On September 24, 2013 another Council meeting on the case of Miguel Burnier began, but the start was unusual as it opened with a last minute delivery of a correspondence from the local prosecutor's office.[132] This correspondence, read in the meeting, recommended that all Council members delay a decision on the mining expansion in Miguel Burnier, given that the company's activities would take place very close to the centre of the village and could "suffocate" the community living there even more. In short, the prosecutor felt that it would be premature to decide at that moment and advised waiting until the company had released its assessment of the cultural and human risks of their expansion and presented a master plan for the area.

The intervention that morning generated mixed feelings amongst those in the meeting. While the representatives of the company expected to finally know the answer about the expansion and were frustrated, for some Council members the recommendation was either unneeded, as they did not feel ready to decide and would discuss longer, or disturbing as it challenged the autonomy of their sphere of decision. Local prosecutors however have a

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[131] I briefly offered my summary of that meeting, minutes are also available on-line: http://www.ouropreto.mg.gov.br/diario-oficial, accessed November 9, 2015.
[132] Recomendação 10 (2013), Oficio 800/2013 - Promotoria de Justiça da Comarca de Ouro Preto, September 23, 2013. This document was read in the meeting and distributed electronically to all participants in Council meetings on September 26, 2013.

broad legal mandate that includes cultural heritage and environmental conservation and if the intervention in the Council was surprising at that point, in others, such as in the case of asphalt, the prosecutors' intervention was requested.

In the midst of comments, complaints, or support of that recommendation, the company hurried to say that the amenities to be offered to the community were a priority and immediately described the renovation of the sports court, the churches, and the school, the new football field, the improvement of health provisions, the green belt, and courses (sewing, masonry, plumbing, electrics, carpentry, painting). The description of the amenities seemed well-established and a timeframe in which the development was to be executed was also provided with some of them. But some Council members enquired about other amenities also demanded by the community and not considered. "Should the company provide all public services for the community?", enquired a company representative. Although the controversy about the list of amenities and who should deliver public services in the area gained impulse, another letter, even more controversial, interrupted it.

The content of this other letter, addressing the company, was shared with participants, but differed from the previous recommendation. This time, the chief administrator in charge of culture and patrimony acknowledged the possible cultural, environmental, and social impacts that mining activities have, but emphasised the economic importance of the project and expressed the approval of it.[133]

A Council member enquired if that letter was in accordance to the Secretariat of Culture and Patrimony's technical analysis and found it was not. In fact the architect in charge of that assessment wrote that the mining expansion was concerning, especially because one of the three mines, if

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[133] Letter communication by the *Secretario municipal de cultura e patrimônio*, September 23, 2013. This document was read in the meeting and distributed electronically to all participants in Council meetings on September 26, 2013. The Secretary explained in a Council meeting on February 25, 2014 that he did not mean to influence any Council decision and his letter was wrongly interpreted (Ata da 114 Reunião do COMPATRI 2014, available on-line: http://www.ouropreto.mg.gov.br/diario/pesquisa?page=3&q_diario=compatri&categoria_id=18 &data_inicial=&data_final=, accessed November 4, 2015).

expanded, would reach the edges of the community. [134] Therefore, the professional had initially opposed to the expansion of that mine, which meant the company would need to re-design the proposed expansion. For Council members, it became clear that others were influencing the meeting and the different forces contradicted each other. These letters are not a simple interference, but meant decisions were far-reaching and would be observed in legal, political, social, and economic spheres.

Being pushed in the decision-making process, along with having a variety of documents to analyse, was a shared concern amongst Council participants. Those participants had to decide on a polemical project, with limited technical expertise on a topic of great environmental, social, and economic importance, and with limited information about the project itself. Therefore, the more the letters, the proposals for cooperation, and the details of the expansion were known, the more questions arose, but the answers were not straightforward. For example, to understand the location of the mines still necessitated "creativity", as a Council member indicated. Seeing the centre of the district in relation to the mines on maps was an exercise that involved looking at coloured areas, dots, and lines but also imagining mines, churches, houses, roads, dust, noise, and road traffic. Not everyone could understand graphically the social nature of that expansion. "Where is the district? Where is the mine? Is that a hill? Will the hill change? Will the climate be affected? Will the direction of the winds change?" Slide after slide during the presentations, more questions arose. For example, the company could not define the duration of mining activities as those depended on changing technology. However, equally changing was the number of people living in the district and/or the number willing to live there because of the area's changeability. Perhaps the vagueness of the discussion explains the opaque recommendations: improving the district's quality of life and recovering the self-esteem of its residents. However open, those terms were repeated by the company or Council members. As a Council member stated on that September 24, "we are here to guarantee life quality for that community."

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[134] Parecer técnico 001/2013, September 24, 2013. This document was read in the meeting and distributed electronically to all participants in Council meetings on September 26, 2013.

Some political programmes intended to increase self-esteem of specific groups have been discussed in anthropological literature that focusses on Brazil (Gledhill 2013), because the link between Brazilian public policies and self-esteem is not new. In the case of Ouro Preto (and other cities with cultural appeal, such as Salvador or Olinda), the connection between self-esteem and cultural heritage is strongly fostered in order to create a sense of identity and belonging, as discussed in this thesis. Standards of "culture" are thus normative. The population in Ouro Preto, for example, did not decide on the themes of museums or local festivities or the sites to be preserved, but rather were invited to participate in cultural projects to feel "integrated" and improve the quality of their lives. The problem with the combination of such normative standards of self-esteem and culture with participative meetings, as Gledhill (2013) states, is that "rituals of participation have more power than top-down measures alone to create a sense of grassroots 'ownership' of policies" (ibid:121). Thus, self-esteem may remain connected to normative cultural standards, and far removed from what participants perceive as necessary for a better life, yet self-esteem may be discussed in grassroots meetings.

In Miguel Burnier, the list of improvements in the area, which grew in terms of cultural activities (art projects in the community) to increase residents' quality of life and self-esteem, is at odds with the reality of dust, noise and depopulation. However, along with the company and Council representatives, residents would use the terms "life quality" or "self-esteem" when discussing the area, too.

The use of the terms "self-esteem" and "life quality" by residents to negotiate improvements for the community made it seem at first as if the proposed cultural standards for a better life in Miguel Burnier had gained ground locally. However, to residents, "quality of life" and "self-esteem" were often associated with infrastructure and not solely cultural heritage. Hence, the ways participants learn to navigate in the realm of argument and debate, and how they may absorb top-down living standards need further examination. Other meetings would discuss different standards of a better life in Miguel Burnier.

At other meetings, life quality and self-esteem again featured as the company's deal for the community. The Council meeting on October 1, 2013 started with the company listing key social investments in the area. Company representatives started by explaining how they monitored air quality, noise, and dust and how they studied the local environment (fauna and flora), as well as how some social activities were directed at improving life quality for the community. To begin with, the deal to improve the quality of life included supporting the Winter Festival, a two-week cultural festival taking place mainly in downtown Ouro Preto, which recently also included a visit to the district. A museum in downtown Ouro Preto was also mentioned, as it would extend its activities by restoring historical documents in Miguel Burnier. A programme yet to start called "Community plus Art" (*Comunidade mais Arte*), would bring art activities to Miguel Burnier, aiming at "rescuing the self-esteem (…) the pride to be Burnierense by understanding the community as a cultural reference". The company also explained that they sponsored the 5th Cultural Festival in Miguel Burnier that was held in the restored train station. That station also housed the local library, recently stocked with furniture and books donated by the company. Alongside a few more actions listed, the company mentioned the set of improvements discussed with (and contested by) the community, which had now taken the form of a cooperation agreement with the prefecture.[135]

Paulinho, who was at that meeting, reacted to the list of "social investments" by saying that more than 1 million Brazilian Reais (about £230,000) were spent restoring the train station to improve the "quality of life" for residents, but the station, though furnished and equipped with books, was closed due to a lack of staff. A Council member added that fragmented actions, such as restoring a train station, making some cultural festivals, or even creating a health centre would lead to nothing because the city was a place to live. One needed places to shop and to meet people, a health system, a sewage system and ways to move in, out, and around the city.

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[135]Termo de Cooperação n.094/2013: cooperation agreement between the prefecture and the company because of the amplification of operations in the mines of Miguel Burnier. This document was distributed electronically to all participants in Council meetings on September 26, 2013 (points such as precise deadlines may have changed until its signature later in 2013).

Otherwise, fragmented actions, important as they might be, would not restore the city, she stated. Another Council member pointed out that the investments were principally focussed on the cultural aspects of the city, which was paradoxical, given the data presented by the company that suggested most residents would prefer to leave the area. Would they now stay despite the unfriendly conditions brought by the mining activities for the sake of their pride in being part of that cultural heritage? Or in her words, "it is very easy to say: 'look how beautiful your church is, but around the church there is dust and noise and a series of social problems." The paradox for that Council member was not the cultural and pedagogic actions to change the existing negative outlook, but having those "social investments" while living conditions remained practically the same or chanced becoming worse if the expansion was approved.[136]

Another meeting finished without concrete ideas of how expanding mines could reach the village, how long such activities would last, if the Council would approve the expansion, and how normative standards of life quality and self-esteem – in the minds of the company's participants strongly related to cultural projects – could meet residents' daily concern about the noise and the dust. However, the Council still had a technical visit to make, a one-day trip to Miguel Burnier by a commission formed by three members from different backgrounds: architecture, community representation, and environmental work. The idea was to see what the dots and lines on maps represented in real life and to experience rather than hear about the challenges faced by the community. The visit took place on October 4, 2013 and I accompanied the group.

Visiting the district

Arriving in Miguel Burnier, or at the Mine of Miguel Burnier – as announced by the welcoming billboard we saw reaching the town – a member of the company greeted us at a security gate, but this start did not make us

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[136] Minutes available on-line: http://www.ouropreto.mg.gov.br/diario-oficial, accessed 9 November 2015.

feel welcome. "Should a gate be installed right at the district's entrance?" "Can you decide who enters and who leaves the area?" The controversies about the road, its ownership and the right to request our identifications at the entrance generated tension. We had to fill out a registry form which included our names, documentation, and institution. Only then could we enter the district. The commission was upset about this unexpected start.

We finally arrived in the centre of Miguel Burnier. Standing out from a landscape of ruins was the train station, a newly restored building looking ageless in the middle of old houses in the city centre.[137] Its restoration in an environment of decay, but also its silence without passengers or trains, and its cultural centre that remained closed due to a lack of staff, added to the unreal atmosphere.

Image 6.2: Miguel Burnier's train station (restored in 2012), October 4, 2013.
Source: own collection

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[137] The District of Miguel Burnier was first known as Rodeio, later Sao Juliao and became Miguel Burnier in 1948, a name inspired by the Station's engineer and rail director Miguel Noel Nascentes Burnier (Prefeitura Municipal de Ouro Preto 2007:15, 23).

Images 6.3 and 6.4: Woman and children on the train rail lacking trains, October 4, 2013.
Source: own collection

Image 6.5: Ruins of the local hotel near Miguel Burnier's train station, October 4, 2013.
Source: own collection

Paulinho, the leader of the district's community association, explained that, to many residents, the restoration of the train station was controversial. Rather than bringing self-esteem, it reminded residents that only some buildings were praiseworthy, granting a sense of worthiness they did not feel in their own lives. He then guided me through the district, showed me some houses, and introduced me to their owners and their stories. I felt welcome in

the little urban nucleus and immediately familiarised myself with its geography of a few houses, streets, and the various green mountains surrounding them. Time passed quickly and soon it was lunchtime. I had nearly forgotten the identification event at our arrival when, during lunch, the commission members and I had to identify ourselves to eat at the company's restaurant, the only one in town. An atmosphere of tension pervaded our lunch break, as being controlled, checked, in order to then be allowed inside did not feel hospitable and soon I was aware of the vigilance in that town. When I left the restaurant to continue my conversation with Paulinho, he also warned me about my camera and how I should be discreet when taking photos.

That community leader started explaining his agony as we sat down at one of the empty desks in the library (inside the train station). He explained that while the current negotiation focussed on amenities for the community, the company had already bought eleven houses and most of the families living in them moved to other cities. Those houses were located near a road used for mining traffic and the safety of the residents had justified the purchase. However, he stated that the company created the risk (the heavy trucks on that road) and safety meant removing the people, rather than removing the cause of the danger. In addition, the departure of a few families in a location of only 380 residents brought great uncertainty.

Paulinho explained the local situation by moving back to the past when a previous company occupied the area, which at the time had 1600 voters (this number excludes those residents 15 years old and younger who are not eligible to vote). When that company left in 1996, various families left the area too, because they were dependent on the company. Often people's rents along with their grocery, electricity or pharmacy bills were deduced from their salaries as the company owned all services in the district. When the company left, there was a community exodus, and even suicides.

The conversation with Paulinho made clear the sense of loss of residents when businesses departed. I wondered if reports like his could clarify residents' expectations of a better life as related to work and the social and economic structure around it; rather than the standard of life quality as cultural heritage. Moreover, although the company is not at the centre of the

district's life as it once was and so inhabitants appear not to rely on it as much as they once did, it remains difficult for the inhabitants to argue aggressively with the company for improvements. The institution still provides work for a few residents and holds out the promise of work for a few others. As a result, although the company's offers do not meet the expectations of the residents, they have little choice but to take what is offered. Paulinho reported his sense of reservation during the negotiations:

They make the community fight and the community fights against itself. Some people want to leave, while others would rather stay. So they give us the rope and with that we hang ourselves. Some do not want to fight because their kids work for the company, some people want to leave the area, some people want to stay and improve the area, the community association works for whose interest?

(Paulinho October 4, 2013)

The conversation with Paulinho was long and above I have transcribed what I wrote down during our meeting. When Paulinho said "they make the community fight", this is an unspecific "they", representing the government in a broad sense, community associations and local meetings. In those meetings, what community leaders receive is a "rope" for "hanging" themselves. The meaning implied, as I understand it, is that they have tools for negotiating, such as meetings with the company, but in meetings the community has varied and competing interests, lacks complete information, and has a minimal range of options open to them.

At this point in the conversation, the rest of the commission, who had been in other parts of the district, joined us and one mentioned that it was legally impossible to buy all of the residents out, as there were protected monuments in the area whose surroundings should be kept. However, he mentioned the company could let the district come to an end by itself, meaning that residents could leave of their own accord, but would not all be able to sell their houses to the company.

The statement that the current population could leave of their own accord reminded me of what some of my interview partners told me about downtown Ouro Preto, when the capital was transferred to Belo Horizonte. Residents moved out. There was no sort of financial compensation. However, the emptiness of the city allowed for Ouro Preto's future as a heritage site and a number of my interviewees said the city would have never been made cultural heritage site had it remained a capital, growing and changing as capitals do. I wondered if the emptiness of Miguel Burnier could allow for a future made of past, in other words, turning the place into a larger heritage site, as suggested by investments in the restoration of some buildings and documents.

However, despite the correlation I could make with Ouro Preto's downtown area, tourists did not seem interested in Miguel Burnier. To access the district, one had to enter the "mine of Miguel Burnier", passing through areas of heavy machinery and erosion. Its touristic appeal was minimal. Nevertheless, investments in material and immaterial cultural activities gained ground in that district. I could only wonder why anyone would think it was a good idea to invest in cultural heritage in the area, and made Paulinho's concern my own. How could a restored train station without a train or passengers be deemed a way to increase people's self-esteem? I found no answer on that tiresome daytrip. However, at the end of the journey and back in downtown Ouro Preto, the commission was both concerned with depopulation and at the same time impressed by the churches and other buildings from the past.

In reflecting on the diverse perspectives concerning Miguel Burnier, or Ouro Preto in general, I believe that looking at decay and seeing potential for cultural heritage, tourism, and re-population is above all the privilege of those who do not live in the area. As Souza (2010) puts it, "the future is a class privilege and not a universal resource" (ibid:52, my translation). When the author talks about the poor in Brazil, he mentions the "eternised present" and how the poor lack the chance to plan for the future when busy with the everyday tormenting needs (ibid:51). Similarly, Appadurai (2013) states that,

> [t]he poor, no less than any other group in society, do express horizons in choices made and choices voiced, often in terms of specific goods and outcomes, often material and proximate (ibid:188).

Perhaps it is true that preserving important buildings might grant the district a future. But for residents, the "less immediate objects of aspiration" (Appadurai 2013:188) – envisioning Miguel Burnier re-urbanised, perhaps touristic, or certainly culturally equipped – were of less concern. This was less a matter of a lack of the cognitive capacity to see beyond an immediate situation, and more a question of the residents' need to meet demands for surviving on an everyday basis (ibid). Therefore, I agree with Souza (2010) and Appadurai (2013) that the future is not a universal resource.

However, a body of anthropological literature exists which foregrounds the use of a future time to transform a troublesome present (Nielsen 2014, Baxstrom 2013). In a discussion about house building in the outskirts of Mozambique, Nielsen (2014) contends that,

> [a]lthough prefigured as a failure at the end-point on a linear scale, the future asserts itself by opening up the present moment and establishes temporal differentiations without indicating a progressing trajectory. In a peculiar inversion of conventional linearity, the present becomes the effect of the future rather than vice-versa (ibid:166).

Baxstrom (2013), in his study of Kuala Lumpur, states that "the creation and use of plans as a vehicle of action in the present remains an effective mode for, at least in part, domesticating this seemingly uncontrolled and uncontrollable present" (ibid:151). By grappling with the perspectives presented above, we have some strands of theories to discuss in regards to the case of Miguel Burnier. We have theorists such as Souza (2010) and Appadurai (2013), who associate the ability to plan for the future with socio-economic conditions, and there are also theorists such as Baxstrom (2013) who look at planning, ineffective as a plan might be, as an instrument with which to control conflicts in the present.

By combining these theories in relation to Miguel Burnier, I ask whether imagining Miguel Burnier's future or looking at its glorious past is possible not

only for those at a distance from the district's dust and noise, but also for residents, through plans and participation in the Council. I will suggest an answer to this question by examining reactions to the Council's final decisions. First, however, I look at a few of the obstacles to making these decisions.

Obstacles for the decision

Deciding on the expansion of the mine, Council members felt pressured to address the immediate quality of life and the recovery of residents' self-esteem associated with controversial cultural projects and urban plans in town during a semester of meetings in 2013. In general, Council members often introduced themselves through the institution they represented on the Council or through their professional background. Similarly, company representatives often spoke in the third person, as the company. The letters from outside institutions included in meetings symbolise how outside observers took a strong interest in the meetings, and perhaps explains why representatives of the company and the Council introduced themselves as delegates rather than individuals. In addition, various Council members worked for the prefecture – connected to the company through taxes – while others worked for institutions that were directly or indirectly affiliated either with the prefecture or the company. This is to say that Council members had to work within a context of incomplete information, dissatisfied residents, and professional ambiguity. To understand the professional dilemma in decision-making I return to previous discussions (especially in chapter 4) that detailed the network of professional and social ties in the city.

On the other side of the negotiation, residents were very personally exposed. They were immediately affected by the results of the negotiations, both negatively and positively. In the case of Paulinho, for example, not only was his interest in moving away from the town known, but so too were his address and his family. His father owned the only bar in town, his kids studied at the local school, and he was the head of the community association. There

were also residents who worked or hoped to work for the company. Their financial interests were clear and affected the willingness of some residents to take part in the negotiation, as Paulinho described.[138]

During the community meeting on July 12, 2013, political and economic pressures had already become clear. When residents and members of the Council were discussing the proposed list of improvements and house removal, they knew negotiations could go against their bosses' interests. It did not take long until I heard some people saying: "Andreza, you should make a point, bargain, you are the only one free here". Free in that context meant I was not in a "fragile" situation in having a position that would be threatened by demonstrating an opposing viewpoint, nor would I immediately benefit or suffer harm from the negotiations.

My "freedom" to voice an opinion in a negotiation with limited information and varied interests was referred to again when Paulinho called me in November and asked what I would do in his place. In his view, my lack of direct connection to any of the parties involved meant I could see things from an unbiased perspective. He mentioned that the company kept saying they would not remove residents, but had bought eleven houses and those families were planning to depart. And he continued by saying that the "heritage people" want to preserve the train station, the school, "but how will you have a school with two students?" He finished by saying he wanted to leave. I listened. He asked me what I would do in his place. I took a long breath. I would try to leave, I thought.

Assuming the perspective of a resident was an action not only I was asked to perform. It was also a common perspective assumed by Council members during meetings: "I would not live there with dust either", "I invite you to live there for some months if you think the dust and noise are under controlled parameters", "let's make a reality show and live there for three months". The invitation to live in Miguel Burnier came from all sides: the

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[138] Paulinho said seven people worked directly for the company, and the company mentioned forty-four. Other residents explained that there are seven residents working directly for the company, while forty-four included those indirectly working for the institution. The number of residents working in the company may be the result of its geographic location. Miguel Burnier is close to the city of Congonhas (20km) and Ouro Branco (27km), making it possible for workers to commute rather than live in Miguel Burnier.

company, the Council, and residents. Because most people who actually lived there wanted to leave the area, the suggestion that others should try living in the town was a provocative taunt. Despite the fact that the representatives of the company and the Council did not (want to) live there, they had to find ways to improve living conditions in the area. However, even when not living in the district, the decisions made could still directly affect some representatives' jobs.

Returning to my phone conversation with Paulinho, for example, I did not tell him what I would have done in his position. It is true that I was sure I would try to leave, but knowing housing conditions in Brazil, I hesitated to offer that opinion, because perhaps selling a house in Miguel Burnier would not buy one anywhere else. Secondly, although he wished to leave, Paulinho was to negotiate for changes that would assure the residents would stay rather than for a deal that would see the sale of houses and the removal of residents. If he followed his own interests, he could be seen as double dealing by his neighbours. Perhaps because of this difficult position, Paulinho mentioned during the call that he would resign from the community association. Unfortunately, on the same day Paulinho called me, I learned a Council member had lost her work position and consequently, a few weeks later, the Council seat. This professional loss was referred to in relation to controversial Council discussions that year. Also on the same day, November 7, 2013, one of my interviewees decided to speak to me about all of the changes happening in the city, but from a neighbouring city to avoid calling the attention of his opponents. To me, it became clear that taking part in the decisions made by the Council in 2013 had personal costs. I was relieved I had not taken the risk of offering Paulinho any advice. Directly affecting another's life choice felt not only arbitrary, but also threatening and I wondered how Council members, some of them pressured by their professional positions, made their choices.

The decision

It was on December 3, 2013 that the Council finally had to reach a decision on the company's expansion. That morning they had two decisions to make: they had to decide about the demolition of the houses bought by the company (eleven houses close to a road) and they had to approve or deny the expansion of the mines. On demolishing houses, a Council member started by asking why it was their decision to make, as those houses were not important for cultural heritage. Another member explained that sometimes the technical experts (the architects in the prefecture) did not feel confident about their assessment and wanted the Council's opinion. This Council member stated that heritage was an "elastic" concept and another may not share the values one sees and that justified the Council's involvement. A third member analysed the matter: the company bought eleven houses because of the danger imposed to the residents by the heavy vehicles traveling near those houses. Instead, the member argued, it could have offered to shift the road away from the families. Finally, a community representative supported by a fourth member pointed out that the community faced a situation of uncertainty and as only about forty families live in the area, to negotiate with eleven threatened the existence of all others. The company pushed the legal side of the matter, pointing out that for them, the Council was not in a position to approve or deny the demolition of the houses, because the locality was outside a zone of preservation interest. Finally, other Council members pointed out that the technical experts' reasoning in bringing the matter to the Council was poor. In the end, the Council did not vote on the demolition of the houses, but instead on whether it was up to them to decide on the matter. The result was that the Council should not resolve the matter. That decision had one abstention while all others agreed.

The agreement, when compared with the discussions about asphalt that had taken place not long before, shows how discretionary assessments revolving around the preservation perimeter and cultural values are. When discussing the use of asphalt, preservation zones lost their relevance and the discussion about urban changes should have included the Council. In this

case, the Council was invited into a discussion outside a preserved perimeter, but opted not to offer a position. This point further emphasises that concepts, maps, and perimeters are far from objective or restrictive measures (Canclini 2012:122) and that Council members have the power (or burden) of interpretation.

Additionally, when the Council started to discuss its role and found, though members still nearly voted as a consensual group, that it disagreed, some specific members' positions were more exposed than others. The company, on the other hand, sent different representatives each time. It was difficult to get to know each representative by name, as they took shifts and always spoke as the company. Speaking as a group or "as though one's personality were a passive recipient of the bureaucratic functioning" (Sennett 1976:331), or speaking as a person, had consequences for participants.

The company was always addressed as a company (*a empresa, a Gerdau*) rather than by the names of the functionaries present, which is the reason I call them "the company" throughout this chapter. In fact, it was even difficult to remember the faces, names, and functions of each person as they changed so frequently. In contrast, towards the end of a semester of meetings, Council members were viewed as individuals (as were members of the community). The unwillingness by the Council to decide on the demolition of the houses and to debate the controversial list of "improvements" was also connected with members' perception of themselves as being known in the community and possibly labelled a nuisance for the company in its plans for expansion. In final meetings, for example, Council members assumed an apologetic position and postponed decisions. Through personal involvement with the long-running negotiation, Council members accumulated knowledge about the community and its actions, along with awareness of economic and political disputes and interests. This explains why, just as technical experts had hesitated deciding on the demolition of houses and sent the matter to the Council, Council members, despite internal disagreements, forwarded the decision on the house demolition promptly back to technical experts and without their appraisal on the matter.

Finally, in regards to the mining expansion, the discussion started with two ground-based reports. The first report, shared with Council members, was the result of a technical visit by a sociologist and a historian to the district on September 12, 2013. The document described the vulnerability of the community in their relationship with the company by mentioning dust, noise, cracks in house walls, and house removal, connected to heavy vehicles on local roads. The study also mentioned a diminished accessibility to some city sites, such as the cemetery. Problems with the quality of the water and communication with the company were also discussed, as well as the uncertainty of the near future of the town, exemplified by the residents' reticence to renovate or make improvements to their houses given their uncertainty about remaining in the area.[139]

The second assessment was the report by the commission formed by three Council members from different areas (architecture, environment, community engagement). The text listed changes in the local topography, deforestation, the ruin of some buildings, the emptiness of some areas, the lack of public services, the consequences of heavy vehicles using the area (noise and dust), as well as the inappropriate use of public spaces by the company, such as entrance control on the main road giving access to the district. The report also stated a lack of precise information about the planned expansion of the mines. It pointed out the eminent danger of expanding one of them to within only about 500m from some residences, an act which could amplify existing noise and dust problems, especially given the direction of the wind in the location as it blows from the mine to the village.[140]

The two reports mainly confirmed on paper what residents had previously exclaimed. However, it was much easier for Council members to vote after reading the ground-based summaries encompassing diverse areas of knowledge production. All Council members approved the conclusion by

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[139]Technical Report by CIMOS (2013) - Coordenadoria de inclusão e mobilização sociais do Ministério Publico de Minas Gerais (Minas Gerais Public Prosecutors' Coordination of inclusion and social mobilization) - referring to a technical visit to Miguel Burnier on September 12, 2013, motivated by the Prosecutor of Ouro Preto (Oficio 0650/2013/PJOP). Documents accessed in a visit to the Coordenadoria de inclusão e mobilização sociais, Belo Horizonte October 23, 2013.
[140] Commission formed on September 24, 2013 and they visited the District on October 4, 2013.

the Commission that the mine closer to the urban nucleus should not be expanded and the company did not contest this decision (at least not at that meeting). The meeting finished with joy and a sense of achievement, though discussions on how to improve the quality of life in the community carried on. Council suggestions encompassed making an open contest inviting multi-disciplinary groups to offer ideas on how to best revitalise the urban centre of Miguel Burnier.

After that meeting, Miguel Burnier's cityscape still only included a few houses (even fewer, as the Council did not intervene in up-coming demolitions), few residents, a contested list for urban improvement in development, and some protected monuments. Still hovering in the background was the fact that the dust and noise could possibly worsen, given the mines were to expand (though not as extensively as the company had hoped). These points show that, as much as "life quality" was valued in Council meetings and in the production of reports, the current living conditions in Miguel Burnier were not fully appreciated and contemplated.

The list of improvements was communicated to residents in December 2013, together with Council's decision to approve, with reservation, the expansion of the mines. That follow up from the Council meetings about Miguel Burnier happened on December 5, 2013 in Miguel Burnier's only school. On that day Paulinho resigned from the community association and organised a social for residents, some members of the prefecture, and the company. At the event, he announced results of his mandate (mainly some festivities and renewal in key constructions almost invariably supported by the company) and mentioned the compromise reached regarding the company's expansion. Though this was intended to be a cheerful moment, it did not take long before a resident interrupted the celebration to complain about the dirty water around her house. "I am tired of drinking dirty water", she said. The woman did not get a reply then and soon we all went for dinner. But while eating at the very same school I visited months before, I was struggling to sense the idea of process and outcomes between the company, the Council and the community. There certainly was a sense of a job done, Paulinho had completed his mandate, and another leader would start. However, as the

woman reminded everyone, the water was still dirty. I struggled to understand a feeling of contentment amongst Council members that was transmitted in the final Council meeting and that community gathering, but offer some thoughts.

Taking into account previous analyses about the ability of a plan, at least minimally, to mediate the present (Baxstrom 2013), I am unable to conclude that this was the case in Miguel Burnier. There is little indication to suggest that a list of upcoming "improvements" created a sense of hope, when the list itself was hardly convincing in terms of effects for the community facing depopulation. Moreover, imagining future positive prospects was hardly possible for the residents. The future did not include a time when there is no mining; no mining in Miguel Burnier would also have meant the "death" of the district, just as did its present form. The idea of a future for the town was based on cultural heritage, which for residents did not offer substantial changes in the face of dirty water and noise. Yet, there was a sense of an end, which perhaps was not the end of the district's problems, but the end of an intimidating negotiation.

The Council as well as residents were absorbed in the negotiation. My hypothesis, that the Council could remedy power imbalances between a large mining company and a few residents who lacked everything from education to sports opportunities, was not confirmed. Members in the Council worked directly or indirectly for the company or the municipality. Residents, equally, though jeopardised by the results of mining activity, saw in the company possibilities for employment or for small improvements to local buildings and social needs. Residents' (competing) interests featured more in the process than in the outcomes of negotiations, which did not offer flexible solutions for a community with diversified and pressing concerns. In the final meeting, some Council members debated possible improvements for the area that could possibly allow for multiple uses of the city and the maintenance of buildings, by imagining a broad re-urbanisation scheme. The company was allowed to proceed with its expansion (with limitations), but residents were left exactly where they had been at the start of negotiations. Therefore, I agree with Souza (2010) and Appadurai (2013) that the future is not a universal

resource. To include residents in the work of cultural heritage is also to include residents in the work of conceiving the past and imagining a future for the place. However, what I observed in Miguel Burnier was not a social construction of its future, but the use of grassroots meetings as a procedure in local politics.

Conclusion

I came to know the district of Miguel Burnier at a time when residents, a mining company, the prefecture, and the Council gathered together in a school classroom to decide how to improve the quality of life in the area. The demand for improvements for the region was a condition for future mine expansion. However, proposed amendments (if assembled) seemed unpromising to residents, who faced extensive mining close to their homes. Mining activities had so far caused shared concerns about noise, dust, water quality, and de-population amongst residents. Six months later and at the same school, the negotiations in the district had finished and Paulinho had to convey to his fellow residents the news that the list of "improvements" they had fought against in the past had been signed and was to be implemented. In addition, two out of three mines would expand (not the one closest to their houses and monuments). The list of "improvements" could potentially mean Paulinho or his neighbours could not negotiate their removal. Secondly, though providing some amenities, the list would not prevent a potential worsening in noise, dust and water problems, as well as in heavy vehicle traffic with expanding businesses. More certainly, the town was shrinking and some houses were being demolished.

In the case of Miguel Burnier, multi-layered participation was more visible as a procedure than as an outcome. In other words, decisions did not favour participants and participants were not necessarily favoured in the process of contributing. In Miguel Burnier, residents in the district could voice their problems and were consulted during ground-based evaluations, but their main claims did not directly feature in final decisions. In addition, residents

who were not Council members could not vote on the mine expansion. Lastly, the members of the Council, who did have a vote, could not address the needs of all of perspectives involved in the discussion (residential, patrimonial, economic) and focussed on key ideas of preserving the main urban nucleus. Members in the Council were directly or indirectly connected to the company or the prefecture. Similarly, residents did not want to confront the company despite everyday struggles related to industrial activities, because the company is still a job provider to some, and offers one-to-one solutions in housing concerns or general benefits for the community.

The Council's decision favoured the urban nucleus and its monuments disproportionally in relation to grassroots' concerns. To put it differently, mining activities would not advance in the main urbanised area and buildings would be kept, but there was no guarantee that residents would benefit in the short- or long-term given the possibility of the continuing or worsening conditions already described as problems. Hence, I provocatively call this the "mummification" of Miguel Burnier, bearing in mind that the historic urban nucleus offered limited advantages to residents in the present, but shall stand up for the future.

The decision in Miguel Burnier reinforces the mismatch between the value assigned to buildings and the value perceived by people. The train station in the district offers a good opportunity to discuss contradictions involving cultural heritage, as discussed through chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis. The train station, restored to enhance self-esteem and attachment to the district amongst residents, had the opposite effect. To residents, the station represented in material form the fact that some buildings were valued more than them and this visually reinforced the inequalities they experienced.

The discussion presented leads us to enquire whether participation and cultural heritage are dystopias. The answer to such enquiry is multifaceted. On patrimony, I agree with Ellin (1996) that, in order to evaluate architectural enterprises, it is necessary to "isolate flaws in the design logic" (ibid:224), to understand where the problems are. Isolating the flaws will not mean rejecting a gap between preservation plans (to materialise a national identity) and reality (disputed local perceptions about monuments and their economic and

social development). Indeed, I believe there is such a failure and the state or individuals cannot regulate varied and open-ended city experiences. But this distance between preservation plans and outcomes does not mean sites should not be preserved; rather it should allow for the understanding that preserving forms is not the same as freezing a certain cultural, aesthetic or historic expression or experience. Hence, preservation in Ouro Preto or Miguel Burnier is not a dystopia of itself, but a mismatch of values, leaving little hope that buildings preserved could have local uses and that current residents will be given a future (and past) that they feel part of.

Thinking about such a gap between preserved forms and cultural meanings, Brumann (2009) discusses the social life of cultural heritage, the transformations in experiencing sites and monuments, and concludes that the work in this field should thus encompass "listening to what a wide range of informants – and not just the professional interpreters and established spokespeople – have to say about their heritage and their own motives for keeping it up" (ibid:295). I agree with Brumann that experiencing locations is not a cumulative experience. However, in the context presented, listening to various interpretations about a preserved location was not the same as creating varied uses, an expectation that Canclini (2012) summarises as,

> [t]he task to store and protect could be amplified to translate and allow for the formation of flexible publics, capable of valuing different goods that represent assorted cultures. The patrimony would then be reconceptualised: beyond a repertory of goods, it would be recognised as a repertory of adaptable uses, performances or functioning, not always compatible (ibid:120, my translation).

In the case of Miguel Burnier, members in the Council, already restricted in number and technical knowledge (as discussed in chapters 4 and 5), had personal and professional reasons to vote as a group, rather than speak from assorted perspectives and retreated in key discussions for the district. I conclude that people facing economic and social inequalities will not necessarily correct such inequalities by partaking in the process of patrimonial participation. Obviously, social, economic, and educational inequality cannot

feature in solutions for urban preservation by featuring only in the process, and plans may remain socially detached, however collectively built.

So what is the place of cultural heritage in cities such as Miguel Burnier? Considering the work of preservation entails participation (Brumann 2009) and that multiple perspectives are not yet secured by creating spheres for popular discussion, cultural heritage works piecemeal and cannot for that reason be disregarded as a failure. Cultural heritage could indeed be an enduring option in cities that are otherwise faced with contested industrial activities. Yet when cultural heritage is an offset for the same contested industries, participation an instrument of limited discussions, and tourism, education, and even imagining the past or future remains restricted as class privilege (Souza 2010, Appadurai 2013), then city preservation shapes social segregation in mortar and stone, remounting an "energy" of endured socio-economic oppression. The challenge for this thesis' conclusion is to offer some ideas of how to bring a prospect to *ouro-pretanos* through its tangible heritage, which presents the past(s) while at once giving the city a future.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I examined the preservation of tangible cultural heritage in Ouro Preto, Brazil. By chronicling perceptions and practices of city preservation in Ouro Preto, my thesis contributes to anthropological knowledge on cultural heritage, locating fluid meanings for monuments and sites and everyday disputes on city use. When looking at attempts to bridge local disputes through public participation, I analysed the tensions between private interests and public representation. Hence, this thesis offers a political ethnography about patrimony in the sphere of daily interactions and the public realm.

Investigating the practices used to select and maintain a location as historic and cultural, I considered both the time when cities in Brazil were hailed as monuments and, later, when new methods of popular participation gained traction in the discussion of strategies for safeguarding established patrimony. The country's preservation impulse in the 1930s selected Brazilian Baroque as the materialisation of a national past of heroes and artistic architecture. Brazilian intellectuals working on cultural heritage at the time were supported by both the interventionist and national-idealist rule of President Vargas, and the depopulation of historic cities, which explains why houses lingered unchanged before they were preserved. However, residents developed opposing narratives for locations and commemorative events and disputed the dictated use of the city. After the 1950s, Ouro Preto's population increased continuously. New inhabitants were not attracted by the colonial cityscape, but by new industrial activities in the outskirts. To account for the variety of city uses (tourism, education, industrial employment, housing), the "architects of memory" (those involved in preservation efforts, Chuva 2009) were no longer capital-based intellectuals, but locals with personal involvement in the disputed issues. In 2013, the Municipal Council for the Preservation of the Cultural and Natural Patrimony (the Council), encompassing representatives of residents' associations, technical experts and politicians, was the main local sphere in which to discuss the practices and limits of cultural heritage. In such meetings, local perceptions and

solutions for heritage gained expression. The idea was that public participation could mend the conceptualisation of patrimony as excluding.

The importance of preserved city sites in Brazil has garnered much attention recently. Contemporary Brazilian inner cities are marked by segregation and violence. Large metropolises in the country have witnessed the emigration of middle-class families from central urban areas to gated condominium complexes in the suburbs. This phenomenon, more pronounced since the 1980s, is clearly visible in cities like São Paulo. Wealthier families prefer fortified enclaves, while the urban poor occupy central areas (Caldeira 2000). Poverty, irregular housing, drug abuse, and crime mark the city centre of São Paulo. Such visible destitution defies local urban programs. Especially at the moment of my fieldwork, just preceding the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Rio Olympic Games, Brazil faced the challenge of having destitute city centres in most of its major cities that were neither culturally refined nor touristic.

City centres defined by crime, poverty, and squalor lead many Brazilians to feel nostalgic towards an idealised past (Holston 2008:283). This phenomenon of nostalgia in the face of violence, crime, or abrupt city transformations, is not restricted to Brazil. Ellin (1996) describes the obsession with the past as a "larger search for meaning and security in a world that appears increasingly meaningless and scary" (ibid:124). The same author states that the past could "compensate for the sense of estrangement in an increasingly mechanized and segmented world" (ibid:124). In Brazilian cities, the past is consumed through a general recollection of images. In São Paulo, for example, postcards sell the view of the city centre in the past as a vibrant cultural centre, in stark contrast to today's situation. Such images inspired urban policies that looked at a condensed city centre, a location featuring different social groups around a lively cultural centre (with art galleries and concert halls), despite a present of homelessness and drug abuse. Projects aiming at designing a new appearance for city centres, based on an image of a past of harmony between different classes, races, and city uses, abounded in Brazilian major cities in the 2000s. This expectation set cities such as Ouro Preto at the forefront. Thus, when studying the disputes

surrounding the preservation of Ouro Preto's cultural heritage, it is the Brazilian national imagery of social harmony (past and present) through cityscapes, nostalgia, and hope for a culturally hybrid society that I address.

Ouro Preto is a city that has a cultural city centre, where residents of varied backgrounds gather at open events, and the centre is a hub for housing, commerce, tourism, education, and transportation. To look at Ouro Preto is to look at first sight at an urban utopia in a Brazilian contemporary context. The association of the city centre with higher education, cultural events, and middle-class living is enduring in Ouro Preto. During the 1930s, when the city had lost most of its inhabitants to the new state capital, Belo Horizonte, the local and the Brazilian national governments launched a package to stimulate fine arts (museums, galleries, art schools), education (universities), and tourism (building hotels) as a way to promote re-population and to attract a new population of upper-class residents. As discussed throughout this thesis, Ouro Preto's cultural city centre at the time of preservation and in the present represents a social hierarchy of what is considered cultural, historic, and worth preserving.

The image of Brazil as represented in Ouro Preto, from heroism and nationalism to a cultural and educational city centre, was my starting point to examine heritage policies in the city. In a country constantly changing and growing, I enquired about the process of maintaining a landscape despite the discontent of many users. Local disputes regarding the maintenance of Ouro Preto's preserved areas were summarised in a main guiding research question: In preserving the form of a place, which symbolic meanings are maintained and which others are produced? I answered this question with ethnographic material, looking both at existing diverse and fluid cultural meanings, which are not always accounted for in a preserved landscape, and at existing coping mechanisms to uphold or change locations, such as public participation.

To address my research questions, I organised each sub-section of this thesis thematically. In chapter 1, I examined the expectations held for Ouro Preto's city centre when preservation practices were first established, and the outcomes in the present. I mainly focussed on the guiding question: Which

expectations of a city centre were preserved in Ouro Preto, why and by what means? Looking at newspaper articles and local laws and decrees, it became clear that the preservation of the city was strongly connected to a narrative of the past that highlighted national heroes, especially those who conspired against Portuguese rule during the colonial years. Nevertheless, other interpretations than that of heroism also exist for that rebellion. A movement led by and for a Brazilian-born elite (Maxwell 1973). The past has varied narratives, but to privilege one over others was part of a political movement of nationalism expressed through selective city forms. From Ouro Preto to Brasilia, Aleijadinho to Niemeyer, Baroque architecture or modernist façades were intended to promote Brazilian sovereignty and national pride through city design. Nevertheless, selecting forms to promote experiences does not only establish ideas of national independence. Authors such as Rama (1996), who looked at Latin American cities at the time of colonialism and during independence movements, saw that in colonial and in some post-colonial cities, locations were first imagined on paper before construction. Between plan and uses of these locations in Latin American cities, there was a gap, as the expectations of the local users were not accounted for. The preservation of Ouro Preto for example privileged higher education, hotel constructions, and fine arts, looking at new publics for the city, while local residents (mainly migrants from rural districts) found little space in the monumental city. This gap between plan and reality is often mediated through the plan itself, the promises (in this case of inclusion and identity) still being made (Rama 1996). However, how long can the outcome of the promises underlying city preservation be delayed before the effect of the promises wears off? Ouro Preto's permanent residents did not find sufficient economic opportunities in tourism, or a place in higher education institutions. The well-kept city centre mainly hosts short-term visitors – tourists and students. From a city dynamic that privileges some publics – especially those not born in the city – follows a perception of enduring social segregation. Instead of a town of national heroism, many local residents see in the city an enduring relationship of power and powerlessness that has prevailed throughout the colonial and post-colonial years.

In chapter 2, I described residents' interpretations of and experiences in the city. The relationship of city spaces and colonial perpetuity gained traction through local narratives. Most permanent residents hold that the city privileges mainly students and tourists, the *forasteiros*, the people from outside, who have priority in central housing and do not sympathise with the local population. Students are often epitomised as the main group of *forasteiros*, associated with breaking existing norms for noise and enjoying privileged housing. However, when listening to the narratives of students and permanent residents, the relationship between the two perceived main groups in town is not simply one of dichotomous rivalry. There are conflicts within groups and cooperation between. Permanent residents look to each other for job opportunities – mainly through informal employment – and at the same time compete against each other in provisory means of earning money. Students also cooperate in their residence halls and organise their own hierarchy amongst house residents. However, students who live in other types of residence feel alienated or scared of a prevalent student system associated with outlandish rules and parties. Some houses already lack residents, raising maintenance prices, which ultimately leads to more parties and more division from non-student neighbours and other students. Relationships in Ouro Preto are complex, irregular and temporary. Looking at the past, social relationships in Ouro Preto have always been complex and multi-layered. Authors such as Romeiro (2008) write about the complexity of the Emboabas War, looking at a similar interest between Brazilian-born men and the invaders from the coast (Portuguese, *emboabas*) in the search for gold. Others such as Maxwell (1973) look at the Inconfidência, depicting a Brazilian movement aimed at changing the political, not the social system. Certainly, Ouro Preto is inviting the study of religious syncretism, inter- and intra-class/race relationships that existed, and, currently, the mechanism of disputes and cooperation between residents, students, and tourists. Nevertheless, the past, represented through national heroes and Portuguese invaders, favours a narrative of enduring negative 'energy' of the city, a city that never changes in excluding its own offspring.

With residents seeing local events or higher education opportunities as excluding natives and privileging *forasteiros,* narratives focus on the preserved landscape as a continuation of a relationship of powerful "others" and a powerless majority. Tour guides often have a positive relationship with tourists and the city. But, they are excluded in housing/study opportunities. They usually demonstrate such ambiguities in tours that praise the city, but epitomise the location as a "good stepmother but an awful mother", catering mainly for those who are not directly its progeny. While maintaining the cityscape, local preservation policies have therefore attempted to change residents' perceptions of exclusion through pedagogic projects aimed at mending the divide between residents and "others", the topic of chapter 3.

The projects I present in chapter 3 centred on both students and poor permanent residents, groups that for different reasons are mainly perceived as not enjoying what the city has to offer. Students were invited to have city walks; permanent residents joined galleries or looked for locations to be preserved in their own surroundings in the city's outskirts. In investigating those projects, it became clear that one of the projects' main limitations is that the cultural opportunities they offer do not relate to existing ways of living and perceiving the city. Projects tried to change city perceptions without addressing the underlying conditions, such as the situation of students in their houses or the socio-economic exclusion of permanent residents. Finally, I looked at gold mines as historic sites and as a possible alternative in mediating the narratives of exclusion. Gold mines breach the centre/periphery dualism, as they show the city centre as a result of mining activities taking place elsewhere. Tours through mines present the biographies of local non-elite heroes, such as Chico Rei, and religions other than catholicism. Finally, ideas of power and powerlessness gain a new contour in spiritualistic narratives, when oppressed slave spirits are powerful in mining territories. The metaphysical power-space relations of mines differ from main local narratives in including the majority rather than the elite. However, as mainly tourists, and especially foreign tourists, visit mines, I concluded that sightseeing in the city and instruction did not alter perceptions of a "negative energy of the city".

The discussion in the first half of the thesis shows previous and existing conflicts in cultural heritage in Ouro Preto and how they remained unresolved. In the second part of the thesis, I investigated public participation in cultural heritage as a means to resolve local disputes. When a static concept of cultural heritage – selecting a narrative and defining historic and cultural perimeters – failed, and pedagogic instruments to smooth city perceptions could not efficiently mediate disputes, spheres for popular participation gained importance in the city. I analysed one such inclusive methods – Council meetings. Could it reach flexible compromises (different meanings and uses for cultural heritage) for assorted publics?

In chapter 4, I looked at countries like Brazil and South Africa and discussed how the growth of urban problems like housing and security, mainly after the 1980s and 1990s, discouraged state-centred urban governance. In the case of Brazil, state-centred planning and preservation strategy pursued from the 1930s until the 1960s subsequently lost impetus. Especially after the 1988 Constitution and the 2001 City Statute, Brazilian urban policies have looked at new methods for popular participation in urban governance. However, possibilities for local participation have various challenges and I discussed some in the context of grassroots meetings to address cultural heritage in Ouro Preto. The Council, a collegiate group to discuss cultural heritage, consists mainly of residents: representatives of housing associations, technical experts, and politicians. However, inviting residents to discuss preservation issues in public meetings is challenging. Residents, though being directly affected by heritage decisions in their everyday life (housing, employment, entertainment), do not often debate with those in power: "those who command do so because they can; those who obey do so because they are sensible". Social relationships in town are far from anonymous, as they tend to be in larger cities. To disagree with local policies is to disagree with local politicians, and/or technicians, possibly directly affecting one's personal or professional contacts. Thus, the number of people willing to, or able to, participate in Council meetings is limited; and those who participate cannot broadly share all possible perspectives involved in the negotiation. Discussions may reach minimalist solutions to avoid conflicts. It

follows that, given social restrictions, cultural heritage may be established as a participative process, yet it may not offer hands-on impartial solutions. The following chapters look at case studies of this.

In chapter 5, I examined the modification of road material in Ouro Preto and nearby areas. Changing roads exemplified the limits in defining terms and areas associated with cultural heritage. Strictly defined perimeters of a preserved area were challenged by words such as "ambiance", the environment where a monument is located. Hence, looking at preserved areas, one could also include access roads as part of a cultural experience. Adding to the complexity of mapping sites of historic and aesthetic interest, the discussion of materials themselves proved to be complex. Asphalt could at the same time preserve Baroque buildings by diminishing the vibration caused by vehicles, or diminish the aesthetic and historic appreciation of the city by modernising a colonial layout. In terms of water absorption, road material is important, inviting studies about how and where roads should become less permeable through the use of asphalt to protect buildings and people. In terms of functions, road material was also ambiguous. Roads may be locations of permanence that already enhance aspects of history, such as a road a hero potentially walked on (favouring a cobblestone pavement). On the other hand, roads may be locations for leisure or commuting (supporting asphalt). In Ouro Preto, road materials were involved in defining the edges of historic and non-historic, cultural and non-cultural spaces. Moreover, asphalt in Brazil is an important element in urban policies, as it diminishes the association of poor locations with illegality and dirt. When tarring a street, one cleans up the mud the poor carry on their shoes, making social distinction less visible, and peripheral places accessible. In Ouro Preto, asphalt contrasts with dirt as well as stone material. Roads therefore made visible class differentiation and cultural heritage's segregating function, already present in narratives in the city. In this context, lacking clear maps, precise terms, and in the face of great social impact, the controversies around roads were solved through legal procedures. The use of asphalt was judged irregular because the prefecture implemented it, but the Council did not discuss it. However, the same lack of clear rules, which cast doubt on when the consideration of the

Council should be invited, also meant that decisions in the Council are based on subjective assessments of members. But the people deciding on blurred legal terms are not anonymous but rather are known to everyone. As residents and professionals who work in the city, interfering in such a controversial public policy created tension for individual Council members who had their misgivings when signing a petition for the intervention of local prosecutors in the matter. Cultural heritage's open terms and boundless impact invite discussions of the limits and benefits of patrimony, but local discussions are harmed by the openness of terms in a context of pronounced (political and economic) impact.

The reservations of participants in grassroots meetings were a central aspect discussed in chapter 6. In that chapter I offered an analysis of disputes between a mining company, residents directly affected by mining activities, and Council members looking at preserved buildings in the urban area next to mining activities and having to decide on the mine's possible expansion. In discussions about mining, it became clear that some residents worked for the company, others hoped to do so in the future, and in general, the company provided some improvements for local residents when requested. In the Council it was not very different. The company paid taxes to the prefecture, where many Council members worked. Directly or indirectly, mining activities pervaded economic and professional ties in town and all interested parties observed the work of Council members. Participating in meetings with multiple goals goes hand in hand with the misgivings associated with operating in a context of political, economic and technical imbalances. The future of Miguel Burnier was broadly discussed, but limited in catering to all discussants, mainly ignoring the residents, who finished the negotiations not far from where they started.

I concluded the second half of my thesis with an understanding that participants are a means in the process of preservation, rather than contemplated as part of heritage outcomes. Participation lends an air of legitimacy to the process, but its influence might be limited. To wrap up my argument, and discuss the future of cultural heritage and participation in Ouro Preto and beyond, I ask, as Berlant (2011) does in her introduction to *Cruel*

Optimism: "What happens when those fantasies [of cultural heritage and political participation] start to fray? – Depression, dissociation, pragmatism, cynicism, optimism, activism, or an incoherent mash?" (Berlant 2011:2).

I started this thesis with a lived and perhaps common sense understanding that Ouro Preto differs from other Brazilian cities in the use and maintenance of central public spaces. I was wrong in my first assumptions in many ways. The city centre of Ouro Preto, though maintained and not run-down like that in São Paulo or in many other large Brazilian cities, is not a city centre of hybrid and harmonious conviviality. People who use the city centre have varied (and often frustrated) expectations regarding its uses. Preserved buildings in the area usually foster permanent residents' negative interpretations about the past. Ideas of national and local belonging are far from the reality of residents who communicate everyday inequalities in the city. While social dynamics challenge preserved spaces, citizens are invited to voice their varied experiences in participatory meetings for city preservation. My second assumption then, and a guiding research question, was that the Council was a location for residents to discuss the existing variety of meanings and city uses, which could then explain why the city centre of Ouro Preto remains unchanged; the function of buildings might change while the form remains that same, I thought. However, while city dwellers differ in their understanding of city spaces and events, the process of directing city preservation is restrictive both in number of participants and in part-takers' perspectives towards cultural heritage. In Ouro Preto, the centre is not preserved through the contemplation of different and often conflicting uses in the present and images of the past. Rather, it remains mainly associated with a standard historic account and middle-class publics in search of refined arts or educational opportunities. This association flies in the face of local residents, their everyday claims and narratives. Thus, this approach to cultural heritage is ineffective. Even though all over the world cultural heritage is often a means of expressing a particular history, not one but various pasts can gain expression. Heritage can attract and speak to tourists, but if the majority of permanent residents share a sense of exclusion, politicians may profit from such perception by pandering to residents and passing laws that are

detrimental to cultural heritage. More interesting would be an approach that allows cultural heritage to evoke varied and often conflicting meanings, uses, and experiences. These could then lead to the engagement of residents with the city in multiple ways.

The practical failures in the approach of cultural heritage should then not lead to a simplistic dismissal of preserved locations as sketches of dystopia. What we are left with is a patrimony that on one hand evokes a variety of local meanings, but on the other hand does not overcome a political agenda looking for a shared meaning. Both through national policies, anxious to anchor Brazilians with a material past and normative ways of urban living, and through local participation, unable to equally present coexisting perspectives and backgrounds, cultural heritage falls short in its multiple meanings and uses. It is thus politics that needs consideration when discussing some of the immediate shortcomings of cultural heritage. Below, I offer two suggestions on how to take the discussion of this thesis further on a theoretical level and in local public policies in town, to avoid the idealisations of both heritage and grassroots participation and instead recognise their real faults and possibilities.

Cities such as Ouro Preto, facing a fluctuating population and complex and temporary uses of preserved areas, cannot connect notions of national history, a key premise associated with cultural heritage, to territories and materials without excluding many versions of history and living from such locations. Cityscapes thus cannot, on their own, anticipate individuals' perceptions, experiences, memories, or forgetfulness; these are associated with individual experiences in the city with all that these entail (gender, class, day or night uses, etc). Pedagogically instructing people how to use or understand the city denies such everyday intricacies. Ultimately, this may ignore a main image associated with Ouro Preto, that of defiance against injustice and colonialism, if people who feel excluded from their monuments and museums preserve them because they are instructed to do so. Other scholars have addressed expectations about national belonging in relation to cities in other developing economies, such as South Africa. Simone (2004), when writing about Johannesburg, discusses the importance of studies and

government policies that allow for understanding relationships amongst residents, and between residents and the city, as irregular. Most of the time, complexities and temporalities in everyday relationships in the city are considered as failure. Looking at individuals as infrastructure, the paper suggests that often people – in their everyday flows – are the core of the city, they cooperate, improvise, make life possible (ibid:407). Urban ethnographies in countries such as Brazil and South Africa may allow for a discussion of cultural heritage as diverse in both storytelling and uses. In such countries the city structure – streets, houses, and monuments – and the human element – how houses are built, streets used, and monuments narrated – are always changing in a context of informal employment, uncertain housing conditions, and growing families.

A more feasible discussion for the preservation of cultural heritage in Ouro Preto is one that allows monuments and sites to convey imageries of dissent, thus keeping the material heritage, but with the multiple meanings it entails. Canclini (2012) suggests that cultural heritage, in its manifold interpretations, invites flexible compromises regarding the use of preserved sites (ibid:132). The city could then reinvent itself while keeping the stage setting as the background before which life plays out, not the other way round. The "architects of memory" (Chuva 2009) would then need to engage at the same time with provisional city meanings, uses, and pasts, as well as physical and metaphysical spaces, official and imagined biographies, to maintain a steady cityscape. Gold mines in Ouro Preto could provide a lesson in this respect. Appadurai (2013) adds that cultural heritage, rather than offering a view of a past, could "bring the future back in" (ibid:183). The author states that often culture (patrimony among other cultural expressions) remains associated with the past, thus often dissociated from future-oriented economics and developments (ibid:180). In the context of Ouro Preto, however, the idea of heritage was developed not only with history in mind, but also tourism and education as economic strategies. But the promised results (economic boost and population growth) were delayed and subsequently came to fruition through other industrial means; the financial and social gains of tourism and education proved disputable. Cultural heritage then lost its

future-oriented spark and (inefficiently) maintained mainly the narrative of heroism and national memory to keep up its forms. Looking at Appadurai's and Canclini's theories, bringing the future back into Ouro Preto means discussing a city ever re-interpreted and as such renewed, both in meanings and uses. This may include re-thinking the use of central houses for students, for example, as a reversible solution for current housing demands (student halls could be built on campus, a non-preserved area).

Nonetheless, to account for fast-changing meanings and uses (economic and social) and suggest more flexible compromises, we need to discuss possibilities for civilian participation in preservation policies. But participation in Ouro Preto often proved detrimental for the participant. The final political point in this discussion looks at how to make participation and heritage policies more encompassing.

As discussed in the second part of this thesis, the participation of individuals in Council meetings was constrained, and looking at the conditions underlying restriction (and suggesting new possibilities) is one of the contributions of this thesis. Commonplace in the literature that discusses politics in Brazil is the association of shortcomings in Brazilian democracy with a denigrating reading of Brazilian political culture. Classic theoretical analyses about Brazilian politics often echo Holanda (2006), who portrays the "cordial Brazilian man" as a man moulded by the family, applying personal relationships to all spheres of public life. Or DaMatta (1991), who exposes Brazilian "practices of 'bending' legal codes and the impersonal norms of public life" (ibid:133) (see: Souza 2011:415, Souza 2001, for a broader discussion on DaMatta). However, there is more to Ouro Preto's local political problems than a mere system of residents who are preoccupied with their own personal relationships, bending the law subjectively. Non-participation in public meetings or, for those who participate, silence in meetings, retreat from city events, the violation of public rules for city preservation, amongst other social practices in town, are all part of the ways ordinary people have to cope with the struggle for housing and employment. Retreating from political participation is not a simple disdain – people reflect about the city and their position on it tirelessly – but socio-economic dynamics also force people to

withdraw because "those who command do so because they can; those who obey do so because they are sensible". Understanding retreat in this case addresses the rationale of residents with competing interests and in socio-economically unequal positions in relation to other participants. The assumption that compromises that arise in grassroots meetings are inclusive and democratic is therefore naïve. More realistic is the view that, as discussed in chapter 6, people receive a "rope to hang themselves" in meetings that are not participative (restricted in the number of participants and in the possibilities to reveal multiple views) and bring little opportunity for the development of inclusive compromises, yet give legitimacy to unrepresentative decisions. The Council, as a participative political space, needs to confront this perception of being inefficient if it is to be a centre for political participation and make heritage a popular endeavour. One way to do so is to understand aspects of everyday cooperation, silence, and non-compliance to local rules, which often take place in neighbourhoods, rather than voiced discussions in public meetings. This reinforces the importance of urban ethnographies in bringing everyday accounts into a political and social discussion, such as Appadurai (2013) does when addressing refusal – "asceticism, abnegation, abstinence […] civil disobedience" – as forms of political action in his examination of Gandhian legacy in contemporary India (ibid:79). Future studies could also examine the role of the Internet, radio, and printed media in replacing or adding to civilian opportunities for political participation in Ouro Preto. With the aid of such instruments, residents could indirectly participate and ease the perception of threat that taints local political practices. Participation would then not be a class privilege. Future investigations could address the advantages and disadvantages of having participative local governance without physical meetings, and the reasons underlining such practice.

Finally, some important points could only briefly be discussed in this thesis, and I list them for future studies. First, the role of the Brazilian justice system in cultural heritage (especially the work of local prosecutors) could be investigated further. Secondly, a comparative study looking at cities with a large campus-based population of students in contrast to universities that are

spread across and integrated into a city can advance the debate about how permanent residents and students perceive their relationship with each other and the city. Finally, Ouro Preto and other preserved cities are inviting for broad comparative analysis. Many heritage sites recreate old industries using their former vocation (like pottery or porcelain in Meissen, Germany or lace making in Bruges) to improve the economic opportunities of their residents. Revitalising cities through their pasts bring us back to the beginning of this conclusion. In São Paulo, Ouro Preto and other heritage cities around the world, images of the past shape hopes to remedy run-down or depopulated urban areas. Which factors influence the success of such policies, in terms of preservation, popular acceptance, and economic survival, are still unclear. Historic factors, national idiosyncrasies, socio-economic dynamics, legal aspects and political goodwill, all are bound to change the perception and experience of a heritage site by its inhabitants.

What we know is that a dominant narrative based on "exceptional value", suppressing all other understandings, cannot sustain heritage sites in the long run (Canclini 2012:70). Public participation cannot be the end goal, but a method to reach optimal compromises for everyone involved. At the same time, the people involved in the participation process cannot remain a means to gain legitimacy. The improvement of their lives has to become the goal of participatory discussions, if cultural heritage is to become more accepted by residents. Unless heritage is locally valuable (diverse, useful, future-oriented), a presumed universal significance is insufficient. Not only are monuments in danger if it is politically more efficient to bring them down, but the positive messages they represent (of human creativity, for example) may become overshadowed if their standard interpretation suppresses rather than includes citizens. If mainly expressing unfairness, ultimately, such cultural heritage sites may be locally meaningless or show that inequality and colonialism persist in new ways, leaving little space for new imaginations of citizenship, contrary to what was hoped in the case of Brazil.

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