

INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE AS A TOURISM POSSIBILITY

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the uses of industrial heritage as a possibility for tourism. The theme is new and offers a range of alternatives for tourism as it includes, in this field, demonstrations of industry histories and their relationship between the city's past and future. The tourist possibility focused on industrial heritage shows the construction of historical heritage, its memory and identity. The object of study chosen is a former metallurgist founded one of the main industries in Brazil, located in the northeast of the state of Rio Grande do Sul and that had a strong influence on the economic development of this region. The methodological approach is descriptive and used to support the theoretical studies about heritage, memory and identity, as well as cultural tourism. The discussion about industrial heritage opens the possibility of knowing and understanding how the productive processes that collaborated for the industrial development of regions that had technologies and workforce needed to make the transformation that has occurred. Thus, it is verified that the governmental recognition of heritage can be an instrument for stimulating cultural tourism, through new uses to the industrial heritage collections.

Keywords: Industrial Heritage, Cultural Heritage, Historical Heritage, Cultural Tourism, Memory and Identity, Material and Intangible Heritage.

JEL Classification: Z32

1. INTRODUCTION

In the post-industrial context, there is an accelerated change in production mode by generating wealth and jobs compared to earlier periods when the Fordist mode was predominant. The factory - the basic unit of these achievements - was located in the heart of cities and, from these changes, gave way to other means of generating goods and services to meet social demands. Thus, urban trends indicate the transformation of what already exists (Viaña, 2006). Thereby, in many cases, numerous factory buildings and their obsolete equipment, regarding their use in the production process, have been preserved as a historical industrial heritage, by their representativeness in the economic evolution of many localities, being requalified in their uses.

These new uses, while preserving the material heritage, also preserve their memory and identity, becoming the immaterial sociocultural historical legacy of such buildings. According to Henriques (2003), throughout the 1980s, there was a process of economic restructuring, both in Europe and America, and at the same time, a "reinventing" of cities, seeking to adapt to new demands of a globalized and urban world. Under this new approach, tourism, as a

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cultural, social, economic and political phenomenon conquers spaces in the postmodern urban dynamics through the “imaginary requalification and functional valorization of the city (...)” (Henriques, 2003: 39).

The requalification thus allows the story to be retold and reinserted in the routine of the locality, in the form of a memory that remains permanently in the present moment. (Halbwachs, 1990). On the other hand, many recovery attempts involve economic, political and social aspects which expose conflicting interests regarding access to groups that participate in the daily lives of cities.

In this context, there is the specific case of the municipality of Caxias do Sul, one of the most important industrial cities of the state of Rio Grande do Sul-Brazil, where the urban nucleus expands from its Italian colonization started in the late 19th century⁴. In its origin, agricultural activity was a pioneer, producing to ensure the survival of the settlers and generating surpluses that enabled trade and, in parallel, profits that were invested in the city’s manufacturing and industrial activities. Seventy years after the initial colonization, the municipality already stood out for its industrial activities in the state and in the country.

In 1875 was created the Colony Caxias, and due to its favorable conditions, became a municipality in 1890, supplying the entire region of Italian colonization in the state, considered one of the main commercial and manufacturing warehouses. In 1896, an immigrant named Abramo Eberle and his father bought a small metalwork that became the Metallurgical Industry Abramo Eberle, one of the largest metallurgists in the country and an icon of local industry, intertwining his trajectory with the municipality’s own growth. (Herédia & Machado, 2001).

This large industry contributed to the development of the country and was recognized for its product diversification. It produced equipment for agricultural activities such as boilers, stills, and industrial equipment, as well as household and decorative utensils. As the industry grew, many of its units were built outside the urban perimeter, making some of its buildings idle. In this context, in 2015, factory 2 of the former Metallurgical Abramo Eberle SA - Maesa factory complex was considered, by municipal law, as a historical heritage (Caxias do Sul, 2015) and, at the beginning of 2016, the transfer of its possession from the state to the municipality of Caxias do Sul was officialized (Rio Grande do Sul, 2016a).

This historic patrimony is composed of approximately 53,000 m² of factory buildings. Italian designer and builder Silvio Toigo author the complete design of the machine factory that dates from 1945. Four blocks integrate the total area of the factory complex, leaving a large green space and some internal access streets, which are distributed warehouses, one to two storey buildings with an influence of English industrial architecture. (Costa, 2013; Rio Grande do Sul, 2016b).

Given the transfer of this industrial patrimony to the public sector responsibility, the need arose to give new uses to the referred historical heritage, requalifying its facilities. This process must follow the prerogatives of Law 14.617 (Municipal Law), which determines the property for “special public use for cultural purposes, the installation of public facilities and the operation of public agencies, in which must be guaranteed the sustainable management of the historical, architectural and cultural heritage” (Rio Grande do Sul, 2014).

From these initial considerations, the present analysis aims to discuss the uses of this heritage that show the strength of the industry in the past and establish a relationship between the present and the future of the city. In this sense, it considers the possibility of new uses of these goods, as historical heritage of Caxias do Sul, from the perspective of cultural tourism, as memory and identity of a part of its history. The theoretical studies of Halbwachs (1990), Nora (1993), Choay (2001), Vinuesa (2002), Henriques (2003), Viaña (2006), Candau

⁴ Since the creation of the Caxias colony, it stands out for its craft vocation, later transformed into an industrial vocation. The baggage of Europeans facilitated the economic development of the colony, turning it into a colonial entrepot and later industrial.

(2011) and Abreu (2015) support the analysis. The authors Choay and Abreu collaborate to discuss the importance of historical and industrial heritage, and Halbwachs, Candau and Nora on the relationship between memory, identity and culture, while Henriques, Viaña and Vinuesa address the relationship of historical heritage, requalification and cultural tourism. The discussion about industrial heritage, as historical heritage, opens the possibility of knowing and understanding how occurred the productive processes that collaborated for the industrial development of regions that had the technologies and workforce necessary to make their transformation.

Industrial heritage expresses the power of a collective memory that was built by the work of many and which remained in their memories, not wanting to be forgotten or erased. A memory that became a sense of identity for those who experienced the construction of the factory and those who remember it through the memories of their predecessors. (Herédia & Fontana, 2018: 2).

Thus, the study shows the possibility of transforming an industrial heritage into a tourist attraction with the intention of opening a space for understanding the role of cultural tourism. Understanding historical heritage as a resource for cultural tourism can open spaces for the growth of this activity, as well as the appreciation of its history and memory.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Understanding the Concept of Historical heritage and its Controversies

The term patrimony refers to the idea of possession, property, and belonging. When associated with the historical term, it establishes the relationship with everything that holds meaning for someone, a group or the community; what preserves the memory of this reference group (Choay, 2001). In the Brazilian context, since the Decree of 1937, heritage is understood as the set of movable and immovable property existing in the country and whose conservation is of public interest, either by its link to memorable facts of the history of Brazil, or by its exceptional archaeological or ethnographic, bibliographic or artistic value (IPHAN, 2016). However, in the 1988 Constitution, this concept is changed in order to clarify and explain which goods are involved and what the legislation defines as Brazilian cultural heritage (IPHAN, 2016).

In the understanding of Possamai (2000), to be considered as heritage it is necessary to assign certain values, such as artistic, architectural, landscape, affective among others and thus worthy of preservation. She adds that the value of an architectural object, for example, goes beyond its physical characteristics, but lies in what it represents as identity to a group, locality or historical period to which it belonged. Heritage must have “symbolic value deriving from the importance it attaches to collective memory” (Camargo, 2002: 30-31). In Barreto’s (2002) interpretation, the word heritage has several meanings and it can be classified by two major divisions: nature and culture.

Therefore, as Henriques (2003: 32) explains, heritage constitutes a reflection of the cultural values of a given community. In other words: “it is the objectified image of the values that a human community pursues and consecrates as the basis of its identity, which is in short its greatest good”.

For Choay (2001: 11) the term historical heritage “designates a good intended for the enjoyment of a community (...)”. The author explains that this expression has been used as a substitute for the terms monument and historical monument. In this sense, she clarifies that monuments are buildings that are purposely conceived by a community to remind, touch emotions, and maintain a living, organic, and affective memory of its members, people,

events, beliefs, rites, or social rules that constitute your identity. Already the historical monument is constituted a posteriori, from a set of pre-existing buildings, for its historical value and / or its aesthetic value. Therefore, “every object of the past can be converted into historical testimony without having originally a memorial destination” (Choay, 2001: 25-26).

Thus, it is taken from Ibarlucea (2015: 376) that heritage is “the set of meanings and interpretations that emerge from the media relationship between object and individuals”. The author complements that, by turning a good into heritage, it acquires a new status and new ways of use and new meanings that, in turn, determine a change in the conduct imposed on the subject in relation to the good.

In this sense, patrimony “is less a content than a memory practice, obeying a project of affirmation of itself (...)” (Candau, 2011: 163-164). Yet, heritage functions as an “ideological apparatus of memory (...)” serving “(...) as a reservoir to feed the fictions of history that are built about the past” (Candau, 2011: 158-159).

As stated earlier, the Brazilian Constitution of 1988, in Article 216, expanded the concept of heritage by replacing the naming of historical and artistic heritage⁵ by Brazilian Cultural Heritage, understood “as goods of a material and immaterial nature, taken individually or together, bearers of reference to the identity, action, memory of the different groups that form Brazilian society” (IPHAN, 2016). This definition includes forms of expression, ways of creating, living and doing, scientific, artistic and technological creations, works, objects, documents, buildings and other spaces intended for artistic and cultural manifestations, the urban complexes and sites of historical, landscape, artistic, archaeological, paleontological, ecological and scientific value (IPHAN, 2016).

Thus, it has been verified that in the last decades the debate about this theme, the patrimonialization and the mechanisms that lead to this process has been expanded. Santos (2015), presents it as the act of creating and institutionalizing cultural heritage, whether material or intangible heritage that begins with the institutionalization of this heritage. This practice has become the object of specific public policies. “Patrimonialization came to mean a process of choosing certain goods or artifacts capable of symbolizing or metaphorically representing the abstract idea of nation and its corollaries as the idea of humanity” (Abreu, 2015: 34).

However, Choay (2001: 11) clarifies that the expression historical heritage, from the 1960s, became “one of the keywords of the media tribe that refers to an institution and a mentality”. The author also points out that the present cult of historical heritage requires a questioning, because it constitutes a revealing element of a society’s condition and the issues that it contains. She develops an argument showing that there are controversies about the desire to preserve, as well as what should be preserved; about the right to diversity of styles and the free disposal of goods; questioning the fact that spaces should not be fixed in order to maintain “intransigent conservation, but rather to maintain their dynamic” (Choay, 2001: 16). Still, she concludes that the permanent threats to heritage do not preclude a broad consensus in favor of their conservation, which is officially defended in the name of the scientific, aesthetic, memorial, social, and urban values represented by this heritage to advanced industrial societies. (Choay, 2001: 17).

In Candau’s argument (2011: 166), “this patrimonial fever reveals a certain inability to live in the present tense (...)”, and, as such, responds to a demand from society that, in disagreement with the present tense, seeks to escape to the past by researching, creating and valuing the traits that establish the relationship with it. Therefore, according to Choay (2001), there is a risk that, in the desire to preserve, the ability to discriminate what is being conserved get lost, losing the differences and heterogeneity.

⁵ This nomination was adopted by Decree-Law No. 30, from November 1937.

According to Azevedo and Andrade (2014), the material cultural heritage, of stone and lime, was privileged for decades, preserving the constructions linked to the dominant social institutions such as the State and the Church or the families that stood out in politics or economics, especially during the colonial period or the empire. In this sense, they clarify that by privileging some goods over others, it is chosen to preserve culture, ideology of groups, according to power interests. "Therefore, the selection of a patrimonial property is a political action oriented towards specific ends, as is the forgetting of other cultural goods and practices" (Azevedo & Andrade, 2014: 194). Emphasizing this aspect, Prats (1997) states that no patrimonial definition is neutral or innocent.

What is suggested is that preserved historical artifacts fulfil the mission of telling and preserving memory from the interest of the groups that are in power in a certain period.

2.2 Historical Heritage and Cultural Tourism

Heritage, cities and tourism form a complex relationship, since most of the cultural heritage is in cities and is being used as a tourist resource, resulting in a fruitful combination. Similarly, in many cases, cultural tourism generates resources that are used for heritage maintenance (Viaña, 2006).

In approaching the term cultural tourism, it is not easy to synthesize its meaning in a single definition. However, the elements common to the theme must necessarily include: i) tourism; ii) use of cultural heritage goods; iii) consumption of experiences and products; and iv) the tourist (McKercher & DuCros, 2002).

In this perspective, the historical heritages that are part of a city's cultural heritage can be used strategically to ensure the continuity of the culture of those who were ahead of their registration as patrimony. At the same time, they become assets with value-added and can be used as cultural and tourist resources and thus generate economic value for the city in question. For this, it will be necessary to situate the theme of the recovery of historical heritage so that it will become a tourist attraction. In Vinuesa's (2002) approach, the integration of economic and cultural dimensions is challenging and creates opportunities, while sustainability should be the central reference point for securing the future, integrating tourism and society with the economy and the cultural heritage. "During the last decades (...), the territory is being rediscovered as a tourist resource and also the culture for its decisive role in the formation of new identities" (Vinuesa, 2002: 10).

Thus, Vinuesa (2002) warns that the architectural and urban heritage must challenge tourism strategies, with future projects that develop tourism. This must be integrated with production processes, technological innovation and wealth generation, as well as the transformation into tourism resource must have a global strategy that considers the different dimensions: economic, urban, social and environmental. In the field of public policy, these initiatives are becoming more and more frequent as tourism becomes focused on the economic perspective as a source for income and employment generation, absorbing part of the labour force freed up by the traditional industry that loses space in value chains.

This understanding is shared by Henriques (2003), noting that in many cities industrial buildings have already been converted into new spaces for consumption, entertainment and commercial and cultural activities, as well as a new landscape presentation. She emphasizes the new functions that old industrial areas and obsolete buildings execute from the appropriation of these urban spaces for tourism. In this case, it is evident that tourism and requalification are two elements that establish close bonds.

By incorporating new elements into the historical heritage, recreating their functionality and giving them new uses, without, however, misrepresent the space and depriving it of the essential elements that marked its importance, taking advantage of the immaterial value

preserved in memory, it becomes a commodity with value-added. In this understanding, the appreciation of cultural heritage, in many situations, establishes a competitive advantage for the city over other places (Henriques, 2003). Thus, tourism serves the objectives of urban requalification and brings the tourist or the resident, as city users, to the historical heritage. According to Vaquero (2002), the fastest growing tourism modalities include urban tourism and cultural tourism.

In the interpretation of Carvalho and Simões (2012) the cultural tourism segment that used to address the icons or scenarios of the great historical events, starts to privilege the history of the place from the perspective of different memories and memories impregnated with traditional knowledge and practices. They add that the transformation of places of popular memory into its multiple variations as a product or commodity of cultural consumption presents a justification that goes beyond the economics; tourism planning of these places should consider their symbolic meaning as a reference element for the construction and affirmation of identities, in order to contribute to a greater intercultural understanding and to provide meaningful experiences for both the local community and visitors. Along the same lines, tourism generates several benefits, according to Henriques (2003), when cities can retain their inhabitants and still attract visitors, creating the basis for their transformation into tourist destinations.

3. METHODOLOGY

This article takes a descriptive methodological approach. Initially, a discussion rescues fundamental and contemporary values about the concept of heritage. In its formulation, through bibliographic references, it seeks to portray, mainly, its values related to the identity construction of a social group.

This theoretical construction contrasts with a practical concrete role: a recognized industrial building with preservation status. “Constantly reworked and appropriated by different social actors, [with] traditions [that] update the links between **identity and place**” (Leite, 2004: 37). Thus, its legal / institutional formulation is raised as a patrimonial object recognized by local authorities and specific groups. This situation even changes its domain of ownership to the scale of the municipality.

The article presents a strong essayistic appeal of free reflection. However, certain methodological references are adopted when confronting a theoretical formulation and its understanding on a specific object. In it, it is observed how specific groups determine a building as a symbolic representation that refers to their historical and cultural legacy.

In this formulation, it is pointed to the possibility of appropriation of this industrial patrimony. Its identification has in mind the interpretation of the researchers. After all “it is no longer acceptable to assume that position of omniscient and distanced qualitative narrator” (Creswell, 2014: 172). In this condition, Caxias do Sul is recognized as a tourist locality with possibilities for its appropriation as new values for this activity.

4. REFLECTION ON THE OBJECT OF STUDY FROM THE THEORETICAL APPROACH

4.1 Two Forces that Converge and Reflect Heritage Issues: Caxias do Sul and Maesa

A city trajectory brings in its core facts that, as such, are understood and interpreted according to the look of the narrator, the angle of the looker, among other possibilities. Therefore, as an embroidery, which consists of thousands of stitches, knots, threads and colors, needs

distancing to be understood. The city is also the result of macramés, built by multiple hands, each with different and inaccurate intentions, but which together create a unique shape. As presented by Argan (2005), the value of a city is a collective attribution and this value is not formed by a society treated abstractly, but recognized by each of its components.

In this context, Caxias do Sul had its origin as the nucleus of Italian colonization, resulting from the imperial government's immigration policy to the vacant lands (Herédia, 2002; Giron & Bergamaschi, 2004). It became an industrial city as a result of political, economic and social decisions, taken by a group of interests that articulated in defense of the city, through class associations, which established relations with the representative entities of the municipal and regional power, participating in the construction of the local and regional economic trajectory (Herédia & Machado, 2001; Machado, 2001).

At the same time, individual and collective initiatives in favor of technical improvement and qualification of the workforce, the search for new markets and the expansion of production, among other actions, paved the industrial path through which Caxias do Sul became an industrial centre.

Thus, in the context of industrial progress, the municipality of Caxias do Sul achieved the objectives proposed by the pioneers of local metallurgy. The city is the second highest GDP in the state (FEE, 2017) and is often heralded as the country's second metalworking hub (Caxias do Sul, 2014). It participates in the global economy through the internationalization of local companies and it is a reference in the state in terms of exporting high technological value products, among many other indicators (Brasil, 2017).

These characteristic aspects of the city's economic trajectory also mark the history of families - whether immigrants or those who have long since come and appropriated the city and its way of being. Therefore, the discourse, from both the public and private sectors, shows the city as a development model based on work and the entrepreneurial saga that characterizes this region.

In the city's history, Metallurgical Abramo Eberle was one of the pillars to make it a pole of the metalworking industry, nationally and internationally recognized, and was also pioneer in the formation of a craft (metallurgy) that later became a specialty of the region. Thus, it contributed to the industrial ADN of Caxias do Sul (Herédia & Machado, 2001; Machado, 2001; Bergamaschi, 2004), a fact that is highlighted in the work of Franco and Franco (1946): "(...) it is 50 years since young Abramo Eberle began to erect the monumental building of his metallurgist. These 50 years of fruitful work summarize the history and life of the city of Caxias do Sul".

According to Bergamaschi (2004: 87), in 1945, "Abramo Eberle dies and initiates the myth of the tinkerman that became entrepreneur (...). Abramo's success becomes the region's guarantee of success." The historian assures that "the history of this company is deeply related to the history of the city and the region, that blends with the very history of the economic development of Rio Grande do Sul and Brazil" (Bergamaschi, 2004: 133).

Thus, when analyzing the aspects related to the institutionalization of Maesa's industrial complex as a historical heritage, in light of memory and identity theme, it is necessary to understand the trajectory of this enterprise and its representativeness in the development of Caxias do Sul, once that the history of Maesa intertwines with the history of the city itself. Therefore, it is necessary to present the social framework that serves as a frame for the unfolding of events, being incorporated into individual memories in a unique way. (Halbwachs, 1990).

Bergamaschi (2004)⁶ presents the saga of immigrant Abramo Eberle and his small metallurgist that evolved following the city's growth, becoming one of the main economic forces of Rio Grande do Sul. The identification of time and space and the characteristic elements of each social framework, according to Halbwachs (1990), although collective, punctuate the memories and mark the trajectory of each one in a particular way.

Although the metallurgical started modestly in a 100m² wooden house (Bergamaschi, 2004), it enjoyed a prime location early on - in the center of the city, a block from the main square where the metalwork sold the utensils it produced, on Sundays, when a fair was set up in front of the church to sell colonial products, utensils and animals. It was a place of great concentration of people that allowed to combine commercial and industrial activities (Machado, 2001: 83). Therefore, since the beginning, the Eberle Company has been closely linked to the city's labor and social activities.

The history of Maesa shows that the company has made uninterrupted progress for almost eight decades under the command of the Eberle family: five decades with Abramo leading the business, and another three decades under the direction of his two sons - Beppin and Julius.

Over this period, the company experienced significant expansion: it built four manufacturing complexes, each with a different specialization; invested in the diversification of its products; created brands that became a symbol of perfect finishing and quality of the material used; invested in the qualification of the workforce; it sought specialized knowledge and innovation in the field of metallurgy and steelmaking in international centers, such as the city of Leipzig, Germany, considered the benchmark for innovation in the field of industrial machinery (Franco & Franco, 1946). Initiatives like these exemplify some of the reasons for Abramo Eberle's success, which turned a metalwork into one of the largest companies of its time.

By the late 1920s, the company had a variety of over 15,000 items. In the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of Metallurgical (1946), the company's main building was built, with six floors and a built area of 21,261m². The following year, the company became a corporation - Metalúrgica Abramo Eberle S.A - Maesa.

In the late 1950s, Eberle further strengthened its relationship with the community by opening a large retail store that became an attraction for the beauty and creativity of its showcases (Caxias do Sul, 1996). In 1971, when the company celebrated its 75th anniversary, the construction of factory No. 4 began, with an estimated area of 14,000 m².

In 1975, Caxias do Sul had a defined industrial park, where the metal-mechanical industries predominated, with the manufacture of metallurgical products and auto parts. (Herédia, 2003). It can be considered that from 1960 to 1975 the period of expansion and consolidation of the caxiense industry was constituted.

Thus, Maesa came to the 1970s with changes in both its productive structure and its administration. Júlio João Eberle, son of the founder and third successor of the company, left the position of CEO, configuring the power struggle between shareholders who change the company's bylaws: "Júlio João Eberle finds himself removed from a position that 77 years ago belongs to Abramo Eberle and his direct descendants." (Bergamaschi, 1997: 33-34). The author also adds that the company as a family extension started with Abramo and ended with Julio Eberle.

In 1982, the name of the company was renamed Eberle S.A, and in 1985 it was sold to the ZIVI group. Thus, the company started in 1896 by Abramo Eberle, completed 100 years no longer belonging to the family core of its founder.

⁶ In the work "Abramo e seus filhos", by Bergamaschi (2004), there is the chapter called A COMPANY AND A REGION, in which the author analyzes the trajectory of Colony Caxias in a municipality and, concomitantly, presents the trajectory of the Abramo Eberle company, started in 1896, by Abramo, until the 1940s. On page 39, it is stated that Caxias should not have the title "Pearl of the Colonies", but "Little Manchester", referring to its industrial development.

4.2 Maesa: Historical Heritage, Memory and Identity

The Maesa Company, from the 1980s, became part of the group Zivi- Hercules. In 2003, it was acquired entirely by the company Mundial SA, which was the holder of the main set of buildings until 2010, when, by Award and Official Letter, transferred the ownership of such buildings to the State of Rio Grande do Sul (RS) (Rio Grande do Sul, 2016b). However, later, in 2014, due to the popular mobilization of different local interest groups, the State of RS decided to donate the property to the Municipality of Caxias do Sul, through Law No. 14.617 of December 2014 (Rio Grande do Sul, 2016b).

Parallel to the nations in favor of donating the property to the municipality, the local initiatives, represented by the Union of Neighborhood Associations (UAB, in Portuguese), together with representatives of the municipal legislative power, proposed, in the process filed in 2011, under No. 201116677, that buildings belonging to the former Maesa - Factory 2, were officially considered as municipal historical heritage. This process was forwarded to the Municipal Secretariat of Culture for analysis by the Municipal Council of Historical and Cultural Heritage, starting the mobilization of different groups of society in favor of the protection of Maesa, which occurred in 2015. Thus, at that time, the complex of the former Metallurgical Abramo Eberle SA - Maesa, was considered a historical patrimony of the Municipality of Caxias do Sul (Caxias do Sul, 2015).

Therefore, from this introduction, the reflection on the process of registration of Maesa as patrimony and the recognition of this space as a “place of memory” (Nora, 1993) implies the analysis of the reasons why the cultural identity of manpower is constituted in the region.

Places of memory are characterized by being simultaneously material, symbolic and functional; because they are spaces of interaction, loaded with feelings of territoriality, appropriated physically and spiritually by a particular social group. Places of memory make reference to the trajectory of the community, establish a roll between memory and history in which one determines the other, staying alive in the subjectivities and daily practices that permanently (re)build them (Nora, 1993). That is, the places of memory are dynamic and remain in the present tense.

Halbwachs (1990) draws attention to the fact that the urban group has no intention to change until its surroundings change, that is, as long as the streets and buildings remain identical. This permanent aspect of materiality creates a sense of stability and security. In the specific case of Maesa preservation, it is important to reflect from Halbwachs. “It is not so easy to change the relationships that are established between stones and men. When a human group lives a long time in a place adapted to their habits, not only their movements, but also their thoughts are regulated by the succession of images that represent their external objects” (Halbwachs, 1990: 137).

Regarding the spatial framework, the author adds that “the bonds that linked the group to the place became clearer at the moment they were breaking” (Halbwachs, 1990: 133), which justifies the force of social manifestations in favor of Maesa.

Therefore, Halbwachs (1990) explains that when buildings, factories or other material goods of the city are demolished, some material traces of them survive, such as: the name, the facade, part of the wall or the door, in order to maintain tradition by safeguarding part of the material good, which is often the support of some specific groups, as well as safeguarding their memory.

The heritage protection therefore creates a kind of stability, when the material environment keeps the individual and collective marks and reminds the groups that participate in a certain social framework. (Halbwachs, 1990).

Maesa personifies a time, a legacy, a history that is common to the different social groups represented in the city, although each group has a different experience, memory and relationship with it and its representativeness.

Beyond the formation of social groups by the spatial proximity relationship, this formation can occur from other perspectives and natures, in which the qualities or attributes are related to the individual and not to locality, like economic, religious or legal groups, which in turn overlap local societies. In this case, Halbwachs (1990: 139) warns that “it is not enough to consider that men are together in one place, and to keep in memory the image of that place to discover and remember to which society they attach themselves”. On the other hand, the author emphasizes that even if the place is not decisive for the group to which the individual belongs, it is still difficult to describe it by distancing the whole spatial image.

In this case, the conservation of Maesa, rather than guaranteeing a space for public use from which the community can benefit, guarantees the perpetuity and maintenance of the collective memory of the different groups - whether from workers, especially the metallurgist who, despite not having worked at Maesa, may have the understanding and the feeling of belonging to the social group of metallurgists and be recognized in the history of metallurgy in Caxias do Sul, whose genesis is due to the metallurgical Abramo Eberle. Similarly, entrepreneurs, represented by the Chamber of Industry, Commerce and Services, also recognize themselves in the entrepreneurial Abramo saga.

Maesa has been able to mobilize different groups of different natures that overlap in the context of local society: workers, businessmen, academics, professionals, class associations, public and private entities. In another way, Maesa portrays labor and capital. Although these productive factors have symbolized the main representation of two historically and ideologically antagonistic classes, in this particular space it is possible that both classes recognize each other. However, at this moment, it is not possible to affirm that the interests defended by such groups, regarding the patrimonial preservation, are the same.

In order to understand the relationship between heritage, memory and identity, it is important to broaden the understanding of the social game of memory (Candau, 2011) and to resort to the textual narrative contained in the Maesa Protection Certificate. It refers initially to the fact that such a set of buildings marked the expansion of the main metallurgical plant of Caxias do Sul, which emerged in 1896 under the command of Abramo Eberle and emphasizes that the architectural conception adopted for the construction of Maesa innovated the industrial architecture of Caxias do Sul (Caxias do Sul, 2015). The certificate also describes its main features such as the modular structure in reinforced concrete, the exposed brick walls, the tilting and symmetrical panes, the high ceilings, the open spaces inside with gardens and pavement access roads and draws attention to the fact that the construction establishes reference with the avant-garde English industrial architecture of the early 20th century.

Following, it explains the uses of the buildings and the diversity of the products manufactured in each section, as well as their destination, and also the artistic and sculptural works like the casting of the bronze doors of the Basílica de Nossa Senhora de Nazaré, in Belém do Pará (Caxias do Sul, 2015). Thus, the analysis of this document presents the aspects of collective memory that are being considered relevant: what social transmission wishes to conserve, how to conserve, as well as to transmit, and what are the motivations for transmitting, in the social game of memory, as elucidates Candau (2011: 106).

In addition to the material aspects of buildings and their uses as material heritage, it draws attention to the immaterial aspects that involve this analysis, related to the Eberle legacy. The name ‘Eberle’ invokes industry, work and entrepreneurial spirit and has a strong symbolism in the city’s labor history. Metallurgical Abramo Eberle was responsible for training the skilled workforce - generations of metallurgists who had, in addition to the

opportunity to learn a trade, also to obtain a lasting job and, in many cases the opportunity to undertake their own business, “multiplying small and medium-sized companies in the metalworking industry, which consolidated Caxias do Sul as the main hub of Rio Grande do Sul in this segment” (Caxias do Sul, 2015: s.p.).

“The labour constituted one of the axes on which the life of the immigrant gravitated, either under the mild form of occupying a leisure time, or as the hard effort of daily work.” (Ribeiro, 2005: 15). Therefore, the term labour is evidenced, rescuing the epic of Italian immigration, as a differentiating element in the formation of the virtuous man, who builds his own history, creating a characteristic that is shared by the group - in this case, the immigrant settlers. Thus, an identity is created, as Halbwachs (1990: 28) explains, “when we are part of a particular group and think in some ways in common, we remain in contact with that group and are still able to identify with it and confuse our past with its”.

Thus, it is clear that the labour, considered as a local characteristic that began with the immigrant settlers, was consolidated as an identity phenomenon through the reproduction of the immigrant culture, or the memory built and perpetuated from fragmented and idealized memories.

The content of the Maesa Protection Certificate shows, as Candau (2011) explains, the strength of memory that underlies Caxias do Sul’s identity of faith and work; builds the narrative plot of a memory ordered and structured by tradition and institutions, giving direction, order and continuity to the “corpus memorial” (Candau 2011: 182), while justifying the results obtained by the collectivity (individual and collective progress), providing elements for the group to remain cohesive and valued.

On the other hand, the protection of this heritage precipitated the need for its requalification, aiming to destine its facilities for different uses, which should consider the prerogatives of Law 14.617 (Rio Grande do Sul, 2014).

In this sense, the protection regulation generated expectations in the local community regarding the destination of the heritage complex. According to Pozenato⁷, it is a dream of the city, transforming the space of Maesa into a public place of coexistence, recovering the history of the worker, while creating an environment to receive people who come to visit the city. “It is a dream to make Maesa a collective heritage” (TV Caxias, 2016).

Pozenato adds that to be a place of coexistence there must be attractions that motivate the displacement of people. He emphasizes that there should be discussions about the uses of space and suggests that Maesa, for example, could have a public market and value local produce, cuisine and wines; also could be a space for cultural activities and to live together. He also suggests that the space could host a collective auditorium for events of all kinds and concludes by stating that it is not yet possible to imagine everything that the Maesa space could hold (TV Caxias, 2016).

For Fernandes, president of the Union of Neighborhood Association (UAB) of Caxias do Sul, the protection of Maesa heritage is an aggregating factor for the possibility of its transformation into cultural and community area and to rescue the history of Caxias do Sul. (TV Caxias, 2016).

Also in the understanding of Troian, cultural producer, the heritage regulation seeks to give the public authorities an understanding of the real value of Maesa equipment for the community, both socially and culturally. He also adds that traditional cultural facilities are addicted to the same people attending them, leaving out so many other groups of people. In Troian’s words, “Maesa is absolutely neutral and allows the community to get closer.” (TV Caxias, 2016).

In the view of architect Romanini, a member of the group “Make Part of Maesa” (Faça Parte da Maesa, in Portuguese), Brazil has an example that serves as a parameter. It is the

⁷ Writer and resident of Caxias do Sul.

case of SESC Pompeia, located in the city of São Paulo, consisting of buildings in the same style⁸ as Maesa, being used for several cultural, sporting and leisure activities, in which the community appropriates the space. According to him, this is what is expected of Maesa (TV Câmara Caxias, 2014).

From these reports and the meanings and interpretations that each social actor manifests, it can perceive multiple intentionalities, but with common elements such as the desire to break the capital / work paradigm, transforming the Maesa space from a place of production into a place of leisure and culture.

From this point of view, it may wonder: could requalification of Maesa break with the dominant memory and give rise to a living, dynamic memory with multiple interpretations by incorporating new and original significant elements? Is it possible to open way for “multiple guardians of memory and multiple identities”? (Candau, 2011: 192-193).

Therefore, thinking about Caxias do Sul and the requalification of Maesa means understanding the steps that marked its trajectory and the causality in the threads that brought it here; understand the urban context, which incorporates the contradictions of the contemporary world in the space that performs the multiplicity of functions: work and leisure space; space to produce and also to consume; space that houses and stimulates the new, the technological, the future, but also preserves and values the historical heritage, memory and identity of its people.

5. CONCLUSION

5.1 Moving towards Cultural Tourism

Caxias do Sul emerges as one of the inducing destinations of national tourism (Brasil, 2019). This statement, however, which can be observed in numbers, does not match the expectations of its social and economic activities. Some vectors that qualify the municipality and its productive complexity reinforce this scenario: as an economic characterization, the metalworking sector highlights the locality and region (César, 2018). In addition, other sectors such as textiles and fashion, wine and several services are added. The first is justified by housing a Serra Gaucha Metal-Mechanical and Automotive Local Productive Arrangement (APL, in Portuguese), as well as a fashionable APL. It also adds to its status as one of the largest grape producers in the country, as well as its role as a regional centrality, which emerges in the public administration, education and health sectors (Ganzer, 2013). All sectors with driving potential for visitors to come to the locality.

Thus, this panorama determines and qualifies the movement of people to the municipality. Although, without a strong initial appeal to leisure, hundreds of thousands of people appropriate tourism facilities, such as hosting and the gastronomic networks (Brasil, 2019). On the other hand, punctually, changes are observed in this panorama. It is highlighted the structures and possibilities of entertainment in Carnival week, in increasing attractiveness, when the city gathers more than 100.000 people who participate in specific street blocks. In addition to the many contemporary and traditional cultural events related to the migratory legacy, such as the Grape Festival (Festa da Uva), with national prominence, and the Mississippi Delta Blues Festival, an international event (Corá, Tronca & César, 2018). However, all events that reinforce visitation, leisure and cultural tourism are punctual and seasonal.

In this study, a reflection is made by confronting the factory equipment with the proposal presented by Chistaller (Azzoni, 1982), and contemporaneously in Sassen (2008).

⁸ In the interview, Romanini uses the term “Manchester style”, referring to the apparent brick buildings adopted by industries in the city of Manchester in the late 19th century and which in this study is adopted as English industrial style.

In this understanding, it can be defined that the current industrial sector presents numerous opportunities of national and international interest. This condition confronts leisure facilities with a hierarchical position between the place and its immediate surroundings.

Thus, it is emphasized the centrality provided to the local industry over specific actions directed at leisure, fundamentally cultural. At the same time, the industrial sector in the world, and Caxias do Sul does not differ, needs new aggregate arrangements, such as the incorporation of brand values, new technologies, new market expectations and other issues. This condition can be achieved by incorporating new positions into its cultural heritage. Therefore, in the contemporary city, it is possible to identify some spatially specific forms of consumption with regard to tourism and leisure as activities that coexist in juxtaposition with other productive activities (Ashworth & Page, 2011). To the entertainment industry, it is expected to give new perspectives by adding leisure to both resident and visitor. "The tourist is only the holiday resident; the resident is only the tourist between trips" (Ashworth & Page, 2011: 7).

In this way, the question of tourism in Caxias do Sul and its surroundings is reinforced. Among the tourist regions of Uva e Vinho and Hortênsias, leisure tourism and recreational events have a prominent occupation in its territorial composition, which results in economic consolidation for the sector. This scenario even provides strong support as a productive sector in the municipalities of Gramado, Canela and Bento Gonçalves (Brasil, 2019), all located near the municipality.

In this context, it is hoped to recognize the municipality's Industrial Heritage, to contribute to the strengthening of its cultural tourism offer. Caxias do Sul has a cultural and artistic heritage that deserves to be rescued and combined with its industrial heritage, aiming at the construction of new bases to enable urban cultural tourism (Corá, César & Schvastzhaupt, 2017). The political and economic sectors of the municipality seek new business opportunities, as well as adding new leisure activities. The cultural legacy confronts with new contemporary trends, which can create an environment of diverse artistic production, as well as harboring traveling collections from other places with the appreciation of the Maesa complex.

Therefore, the possibility of using the spaces and infrastructures of Maesa is envisaged, in order to allocate them to tourist, leisure and cultural activities that meet the demands of both residents and visitors who arrive in Caxias do Sul. In this context, public and private initiatives are highlighted and justified, given the need to complement local economic activities, now focused on the industrial sector and thus improve the quality of life and the attractiveness of the city.

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