



Railway memory in question: reflections on the possibility of recognition of an intangible railway heritage in Law no. 11483 of 2007

Memória ferroviária em questão: reflexões sobre a possibilidade do reconhecimento de um patrimônio ferroviário imaterial à luz da Lei nº 11.483 de 2007

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ABSTRACT

The present study is a reflection on the potentialities of the interpretation of the expression "railway memory" present in the Brazilian Federal Law no. 11,483 of 2007. Based on an analysis of the legal discourse contained in legislative devices such as the aforementioned law, IPHAN's Decree no. 407 of 2010 and article 216 of the Federal Constitution of 1988, the expression "railway memory" was intended to unveil its possible meanings in the context of railway patrimonialization in Brazil. With the dismantling of the railway modal and, later, with the government's decision to privatize it, the need to protect and preserve railway assets, often scrapped, became evident. This interesting piece of legislation, Law no. 11.483 of 2007, passed the competence for the protection and preservation of railway heritage to IPHAN and, highlighted in its 9th article, the expression "railway memory". However, according to IPHAN itself, through Decree n. 407 of 2010, the railway memory highlights the already consolidated railway heritage in a material perspective. In this sense, we bet on the possibility of a broader interpretation of these provisions, in light of the Federal Constitution itself, to encompass the recognition of intangible railway heritage, unveiling other dimensions such as the knowledge, the doings and the memory of men and women who make up the railway modal, highlighting even more its importance in Brazilian history.

Keywords: Cultural heritage, railway heritage, memory.

1 INTRODUCTION

The present article intends to discuss the possibility of recognizing an intangible railway heritage related to the "railway memory", based on the reading of Federal Law No. 11,483 of 2007, which provides for the "revitalization of the railway sector, modifies provisions of Law No.⁹



10,233, of June 5, 2001, and makes other provisions", especially its Article 9, quoted below *in verbis*:

Art. 9º The Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional - IPHAN (Institute of National Historical and Artistic Heritage) will be in charge of receiving and managing the movable and immovable assets of artistic, historical and cultural value from the former RFFSA, as well as watching over their safekeeping and maintenance.

§ 1º If the property is classified as operational, IPHAN must guarantee its sharing for railway use.

§ 2º The preservation and dissemination of the Railway Memory consisting of the artistic, cultural and historical heritage of the railway sector will be promoted through:

I - construction, formation, organization, maintenance, expansion and equipping of museums, libraries, archives and other cultural organizations, as well as their collections and holdings;

II - conservation and restoration of buildings, monuments, sites, and other spaces originating from the extinct RFFSA.

According to the legislative provision, IPHAN would be responsible for the role of guardian and janitor of the assets received from the extinct Rêde Ferroviária Federal Sociedade Anônima (R.F.F.S.A.), which, next, received the label of artistic, historical and cultural value. However, the focus of this study goes beyond the mentioned *caput* of this article, turning its eyes to the 2nd paragraph, whose highlight is the role of "preservation and diffusion of the Railroad Memory". In this sense, it is important to us the possible meanings of the expression "railway memory". The article, in the subsequent clauses, lists in a linear way some museum, collection and material goods aspects that would compose the railway memory to be promoted by IPHAN. But could it represent something more, highlighting the possibility of recognition of immaterial aspects for the Brazilian railway heritage? Thus, this recognition would compose another essential aspect for the need of effective preservation of the national railway heritage, expanding its discussion on protection and promotion in the unveiling of new agents, subjects and faces, bearers of unique knowledge and doings of a railway memory, sometimes silenced by the dismantling and privatization of the national railway system. Let's discuss.

2 FEDERAL RAILWAY COMPANY (R.F.F.S.A.): PATHWAYS BETWEEN ITS CREATION TO PRESERVATION

Law No. 3115 of March 16, 1957 was responsible for bringing together or unifying the railroads owned or managed by the Union, creating the Rêde Ferroviária Federal Sociedade Anônima (R.F.F.S.A.). However, this process was marked by deep divergences, either by the disagreement with the internal economic policy of the time, which already valued the expansionist discourse of the road network, or by logistical difficulties such as the differences between the



various types of gauge used on the railroads, which sometimes prevented the flow between them(2),

Along these lines, it may seem that the creation of RFFSA went against the meanings attributed to the railway modal by the Brazilian government, headed by then president Juscelino Kubitschek, which did not include expanding railroad investments, but rather road investments by attracting investors from the automobile industry to the country. The automobile industry would follow a cascading effect, as it would attract companies specialized in auto parts, lubricating oils, and electronic components, following the trend of being an economic hub. All these factors contributed to the Brazilian railroad becoming a second plank, starting the decline of this type of transportation, causing several deactivations throughout the country. Despite this, RFFSA, headquartered in Rio de Janeiro, operated for 40 years in 19 states. Thus, it corroborates:

In the 1960s, the process of stagnation of the railroad modal began and the uneconomical branches were eradicated. From this period until the 1990s, RFFSA, based on studies and efforts by the Brazilian government, underwent administrative reforms for its decentralization, originating the Regional Superintendencies. (PROCHNOW, 2014, p.21)

With the decline of the strategic importance of the railway modal, a process of scrapping was unleashed that drew the attention of authorities and intellectuals. Already in the 80's, the need to preserve the material goods and documents related to the railway modal in Brazil was discussed. After denunciations of the deterioration of documents and buildings, the Ministry of Transportation created the PRESERVE - Historic Heritage Preservation Program, with the objective of preserving the history of transport in the country. In this program, the DNER - National Highway Department would be in charge of the highways and the railroads would be the responsibility of RFFSA. Later, RFFSA, in continuation/ramification of the program created by the Ministry of Transportation, structured the PRESERFE - Program for the Preservation of the Railroad Historical Patrimony, with the idea of preserving the railroad architectonic patrimony. Thus,

In 1986, RFFSA created the Railway Historical Heritage Preservation Sector - PRESERFE, linked to the Heritage Superintendence and later transformed into a Management. The PRESERFE, based on the guidelines established by the initial program, was responsible for the maintenance and guidance of the preservation work in the company, with a team of architects and museologists, as well as trainees from various areas. (MINISTRY OF TRANSPORTES, 1991)

As established by the Manual for Preservation of Old Railway Buildings, launched in 1991 by the Ministry of Transportation, PRESERFE's attribution was to guarantee the integrity of the railway heritage, but restricted to buildings. In some passages it is possible to feel the praise of the



"stone and whitewash" character, in which the train stations are taken as a remarkable reference of the Brazilian urban landscape from the mid-nineteenth century. In this sense, highlights Matos, that during the PRESERFE's preservationist activities:

The buildings and stations served as bases for the installation of museums, document centers and for educational and cultural activities. The documents fed both the exhibits and the production of research on the development of railroads and their relationship with regional history and territory, a guideline designed by Preserve's Executive Secretariat. It was important to link the new railroad spaces with the population and the city, producing sense and meaning, triggering the symbolic character of the railroad and the contribution of transportation to the local development of yesteryear. In this sense, it was equally important to develop cultural, educational and recreational activities for children, creating an identity with the future consumers of the railway tradition. (2015, p.102)

The culmination of the dismantling of rail transport was marked by the signing of Law 8.031/90, commonly known as the "Privatization Law", in which the then president Fernando Collor de Mello opened the doors of public administration to investment from private capital, seeking an economic adjustment for the country, which was facing growth difficulties. In 1992, through Decree 473, RFFSA was included in the National Privatization Plan - PND, starting the privatization process with a 30-year concession, which could be extended for the same period.

PRESERFE was responsible for railroad preservation until the end of the 1990s when the privatization process was completed and the railroad was privatized. With the privatization, the mission of guaranteeing the preservation was transferred to IPHAN, the competent organ administratively, with preservation responsibilities spread around the country in different segments, which, in fact, makes it difficult to preserve the railroad assets in a concrete way.

2.1 LEGAL ISSUES ON RAILWAY PRESERVATION

In 2003, the International Committee for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage prepared the Nizhny Tagil letter, in which the importance of industrialization was presented and, consequently, the need to study and preserve its legacy was presented. In this sense,

the buildings and structures built for industrial activities, the processes and tools used, **the localities and landscapes in which they were located, and all other manifestations, tangible and intangible**, are of fundamental importance. They must all be studied, their history must be taught, their purpose and meaning explored and clarified in order to be made known to the general public. (TICCIH, 2003, p.2, emphasis added)

We can see how this Committee was attuned to the preservation of tangible and intangible manifestations, in addition to corroborating the criteria for valuing the property as a universal value and not its singularity (unlike the criteria used in other preservation processes). The social value



of the property is important in this context, since it was part of the lives of men and women who at some point had a sense of identity. As for its legal protection, the Charter considers industrial assets as cultural heritage, but with the need for specific protection.

Another important legal milestone was Provisional Measure No. 353, January 2007, subsequently reverted to Law No. 11,483 the same year. When the privatization process was closed, there was a categorization of the railway assets and the indication of the responsible entities. Thus, through the above-mentioned law, the following division was made among railway assets: movable (3), immovable (4), operational (5) and non-operational (6). It was also determined that the real estate assets would be incorporated to the Union, except the operational ones which would be under the responsibility of the National Department of Transport Infrastructure - DNIT - as well as the non-operational real estate assets with the purpose of technical reserve.

However, regardless of the transfer of property of the extinct RFFSA to the Union and DNIT, the responsibility for the administration of the assets of cultural nature became IPHAN, as stated in the caput of Article 9 of Law 11,483 of 2007, already mentioned: "The Institute of National Historic and Artistic Heritage - IPHAN will be responsible for receiving and administering the movable and immovable assets of artistic, historic and cultural value, from the extinct RFFSA, as well as ensuring their safekeeping and maintenance".

Thus, it was only in 2007 that the railway assets considered of cultural value started to be officially administered by IPHAN, which takes on the mission of caring for thousands of cultural assets distributed throughout the country.

The inventories were conducted by companies hired by the state superintendencies that own the former RFFSA's network, revealing a diverse range of real estate assets such as stations, workshops, sheds, superstructures such as water tanks, bridges and tunnels, residential buildings, administrative buildings, workshops, traffic circles, maintenance areas, wagon depots, locomotives, among others (CAVALCANTI, CARNEIRO, GIANNECCHINI, 2012. Pg.11).

Due to the large amount of railway assets, it is believed that IPHAN has faced several difficulties in carrying out the inventory of the assets, as well as their proper preservation. One more attribution for an organ already responsible for analyzing several heritage processes of public and private initiative. The contingent that would compose such railway patrimonial group is vast as mentioned below:

Preliminary data from the Inventory of the former RFFSA presented to IPHAN in 2007 stated that this universe is composed of 52,000 pieces of real estate, 15,000 pieces classified by RFFSA as historic, 31,400 linear meters of documental collection, 118,000 technical drawings, 74,000 bibliographic items, and an incalculable number of movable assets scattered around RFFSA's regional offices, in warehouses, deposits, and yards.



Besides these, IPHAN also analyzes and evaluates the assets granted during RFFSA's privatization program. (CAVALCANTI, CARNEIRO, GIANNECCHINI, 2012. Pg.4).

3 A GAP IN THE TRAIL: THE RECOGNITION OF IMMATERIALITY

That being said, we would like to highlight the gap existing in the recognition of the immaterial aspects in the railway heritage. Following the trajectory specified by Law 11.483, the material railway heritage is well delimited, and its declaration and protection instrument, tombamento, is an act established by Law. In a different situation, we find the possibility of reflecting on the immaterial aspects of this heritage, in line with the description of the Federal Constitution of 1988, in its article 216 (7).

From the reading of the expression "railway memory", there are some restlessness regarding the employability of the term by the rapporteurs of the Law, since if the immaterial is not contemplated, what would be the meaning attributed to the term? Just a confusion, in which the "railway memory" would be a complement to the materiality of the railway heritage, limiting itself only to conservation, restoration of railway assets?

IPHAN, explains the use of the term as follows:

Formulated within the Brazilian parliament with the intervention of railwaymen associations, the category railway memory was applied by means of public policy to act in the preservation of railway heritage. As stated in the aforementioned Law, the legislator equated the category railway memory to railway heritage, according to the historical practices of value attribution and protection that formed the institution's field of knowledge.(MATOS, 2015, p.62)

This quote is an indication of the use of the term in which the category "railway memory" was inserted by the parliament equating memory to heritage, which in a way, distanced itself from a discussion about immateriality. However, its use in the text of the Law sought, at first sight, to ease the tensions between government and preservationist entities of the railway legacy unhappy with the privatization of the modal.

The use of the expression "railway memory", prior to the Law, according to Matos:

It is in the context of preservationist ebullition that the first uses of the expression "railway memory" are inaugurated. Initially, the periodicals used the word "memory" in articles that paid posthumous tribute to illustrious railroad workers, whose contributions to the development of railway transport were recovered. The use of the expression "railroad memory" started to be identified firstly in Revista Ferrovia (year 43, n° 69, nov./dez. 1979, p.22)" (MATOS, 2015, p.62)

Until 2007, there was a legal protection over the railway heritage, since the law 10.413 of 2002 had already decreed the protection of cultural assets belonging to the privatization process,



where RFFSA was included since 1992. We see here the use of tumbling as a mechanism to protect the asset, but once again the intangible was not considered a cultural asset, since the referred law used the parameters of Article 1 of Decree 25 of 1937 to establish the valuation criteria for tumbling. However, this law was rarely applied as provided in its paragraph 2, almost becoming a kind of "dead letter" due to its little effectiveness.

It was in 2010 that IPHAN, in accordance with the law No. 11,483 of 2007, established the Ordinance No. 407, which deals with the parameters of valuation and procedures for registration on the List of Railway Cultural Heritage. Among its initial considerations, the Ordinance states that it needs to take actions to disseminate the Railway Memory as established by law no. 11,483 of 2007, in addition to considering the recognition of the cultural value of material and immaterial assets in accordance with the 1988 Constitution.

Ordinance No. 407 could represent the instrumentalization of the "Railway Memory Law", as it would define the guidelines and parameters for this recognition. It also innovates by establishing administrative procedures parallel to the traditional model of submitting the assets to the Advisory Council for appreciation. In the case of the railway typology, with the creation of the Evaluation Commission and of the List, another instrument was instituted to protect movable and immovable assets, distinct from the preservation. (MATOS, 160-161)

However, the description of Article 4 of the Ordinance is clear as to the type of goods (movable and immovable), highlighting the prevalence of materiality in the railway modal.

Art. 4 The **movable and immovable** goods from the former RFFSA are susceptible to inclusion in the Railway Cultural Heritage List:

I - That present a correlation with relevant historical or cultural facts and contexts, including economic cycles, social movements and events, occupation and development processes of the Country, its States or Regions, as well as with its outstanding social agents;

II - Bearers of artistic, technological, or scientific value, especially those directly related to technological evolution or to the main typologies employed in Brazil from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1970s;

III - Whose intention of cultural valuation is object of individual or collective manifestation of an individual or legal entity, public or private, as long as it is duly justified, and may also be motivated by its symbolic value.

Sole paragraph. The goods susceptible to valuation will be analyzed and evaluated, separately or together, by means of an administrative process. (IPHAN, 2010, p.2, our emphasis)

The referred administrative rule states that the railway cultural heritage is integrated by movable goods, such as rolling stock, parts, documents in general, files, books, paintings, photos, plants, maps, decorative objects, railroad equipment, among others; and real estate, such as yards,



stations, warehouses, workshops, water tanks, among others - taken as a whole or separately, as long as they have artistic, historic, and cultural value.

Thus, this Ordinance conflicts with article 216 of the Federal Constitution, *in verbis*:

Brazilian Cultural Heritage is constituted by material and immaterial assets, taken individually or as a whole, which refer to the identity, action, and memory of the different groups that make up Brazilian society:

- I - the forms of expression;
- II - the ways of creating, doing and living;
- III - scientific, artistic, and technological creations;
- IV - the works, objects, documents, buildings, and other spaces destined for artistic and cultural manifestations;
- V - urban complexes and sites of historical, landscape, artistic, archaeological, paleontological, ecological and scientific value. (BRASIL, 1988, our emphasis)

In this sense, the Ordinance presents a gap between the understanding of the Magna Carta written in 1988 and the legislation that seeks to protect the cultural heritage of this segment, making, in a way, invisible, a fertile discussion about the recognition of immateriality, considering that the railway workers were part of the country's identity formation due to their significance for the Brazilian transportation from the 19th century until nowadays, besides being bearers of knowledge and actions that make up part of the national history.

This gap is felt by exclusively valuing the importance and, undoubtedly, the unique trajectory of the material set of the Brazilian railway modal. But by highlighting, by means of a legal instrument, the existence and the recognition of a "railway memory", it would enable the expansion of discussions and actions that would focus on the unveiling of narratives, subjectivities, knowledge and actions, men and women, knowledge and experiences, in short, a set of lives that are components of an immateriality that means, beyond iron, machinery and grease, a remarkable moment in Brazilian history.

Thus, we agree with MATOS, in his statement about the importance of Ordinance no. 407 as a "Railway Memory Law", however, such memory needs to go beyond the materiality of the railroad, reflecting the knowledge, the manifestations of a labor, personal and historical category, which since the inauguration of the first Brazilian railroad in 1854 is present in the lives and trajectories of hundreds of people in the country.



3.1 MEMORY STATION: WHAT IS RAILWAY MEMORY

The interpretation concerns that arose from the use of the expression "Railway Memory" in Federal Law 11.483 of 2007, which provides for the "revitalization of the railway sector", made us rethink the meaning of such expression.

As Pesavento (2000, p. 90) points out, "[...] memory represents, in the time of the present, an experience and sensibility that took place in another moment. Thomson makes us think about the layers of memory, composed of various versions, where

We compose our reminiscences to make sense of our past and present lives. *Composition* is a process of 'constructing' reminiscence. In a sense, we compose or construct them using the known languages and meanings of our culture (THOMSON, 1997, p.56).

Memories related to the railway trajectory are present in Brazilian society since 1854, such reminiscences cross. Thus, the Railway Memory is old, however, the legal recognition of the Railway Memory is extremely recent: the expression was first used legally in 2007 by Law No. 11,483 of that year.

The Railway Memory goes beyond the memories of the employees. In this sense, for Halbwachs (2006, p. 39):

This reconstruction must work on the basis of data or common notions that are in our minds and also in the minds of others, because they are always passing from these to those and vice versa, which is only possible if they have been part and continue to be part of the same society, of the same group.

The Railway Memory comes in the relationship of the person with the good through the group in which it is inserted, in the exchange of experience, experiences, knowledge, anguish and other representations around the theme. In other words, it is necessary to be part of the railway group, whether as a worker, a family member, or society in general. About this, Halbwachs states

In the foreground of a group's memory are the memories of events and experiences that concern most of its members and that result from its own life or from its relations with the closest groups, those who were most often in contact with it (HALBWACHS, 2006, p.51).

Following the author's line of collective memory, we understand Railway Memory as a set of symbolic representations regarding railway heritage, transiting between the raw and the knowledge, ways of doing and railway experiences.

In this dialogue, about memory Nora (1993, p.9) states that:

Memory is life, always carried by living groups and, in this sense, it is in permanent evolution, open to the dialectics of remembering and forgetting, unaware of its successive



deformations, vulnerable to all uses and manipulations, susceptible to long latencies and sudden revitalizations. [...] Memory is rooted in the concrete, in space, in gesture, in image, in object.

3.2 RAILWAY MEMORY IN MAFRA - SC

Located in the north of Santa Catarina, the city of Mafra covers two of the three Santa Catarina railroads, being the Mafra - Lages section and the Contestado railroad (through the Porto União - São Francisco branch line, an active section only from Mafra to São Francisco).

Mafra belongs to a railroad junction responsible for connections between the coasts of Santa Catarina and Paraná, as well as Paraná's north and Santa Catarina's highlands, which connect to other regions of the country. Thus, in a city of approximately 53,000 inhabitants it is commonplace to meet railroad workers and/or their relatives, which facilitated the exploration of the Mafra railroad field.

We point out that Mafra has no institutionalized railway heritage; however, there are several assets that stand out as heritage, according to interviews carried out.

In the search for understanding the meanings of social relations, incorporated to the diversity of the subjects' points of view, we used the oral history methodology as a useful instrument in the unveiling of the complexity and social dynamics, with necessary reflections on memory and history, in which past and present can seem subjective according to testimonies.

To understand the transformation of a city, it is appropriate to listen to these voices weakened by time and society. The Mafra railway workers are witnesses of a time that, if they are not given the opportunity to narrate, will remain locked in the webs of individual memory.

A social world that possesses a richness and diversity that we do not know can reach us through the memory of the old. Moments of this lost world can be understood by those who did not live them and even humanize the present (BOSI, 1994, p.85).

Bosi (1994, p. 77) navigates on the abandonment of the memories of the old. Society rejects the old man and offers no survival to his work. Losing his labor power he is no longer a producer, nor a reproducer. "If possession, property, constitute, according to Sartre, a defense against the other, the old man of a favored class defends himself by the accumulation of property. His properties defend him from the devaluation of his person [...]".

This rejection is linked to the lack of reciprocity between generations, making us tolerant to the experiences of the elderly, a tolerance that goes through the abdication of dialogue so that the individual is not given the opportunity to narrate his or her life experiences, discriminating the other's view.



Seeking to understand what the railroad meant to the railroad class and their families, they were interviewed during the course of 2017.

Railway work did not happen in the same way in all Brazilian cities, each place is unique, endowed with meanings, with individuals with divergent characteristics among themselves, which generates life experiences that are different and close at the same time. Being a railroad worker, just like any other job, meant encountering difficulties along the way.

All experiences contain similarities, common aspects that generate similar dispositions in the consciousness. In this case, we can speak of structured events, or structures of events, that produce common configurations of consciousness (KOSELLECK, 2014, p. 248).

During the conversations each railroad worker recalled different percauses, according to the area in which he worked on the railroad. Mr. Antônio Jungles, who worked for years in the workshop as a metallurgist, tells that the noise was great inside the workshop and that, even though the company offered protective equipment, many colleagues refused to use it. The use of biocides to avoid the rapid deterioration of the wooden sleepers was common. During the conversation, the railroad worker shows a photo of himself in front of a creosote wagon and tells how the process of cleaning the wagons used to happen:

We were working in a poison wagon called creosote, but we didn't know it. There was one underneath, one on top, and one inside, and one day I was inside and I felt that when I moved the clay to get it out, my face was burning, so the others were also complaining. I went to wash my face and it got worse. I went to talk to the supervisor and he called the doctor, then the doctor went there and said it was poison *to* use on the sleepers. They sent us to Curitiba to take X-rays of the lungs (JUNGLES, 2017).

Pedro Moreira Benedito also narrates his trajectory and the activities he developed in each of his functions:

I started as a charcoal burner, then I became a stoker, I worked for a long time as a stoker, then I became a machinist. The charcoal burner comes to be a stoker's helper, so they travel in two in a machine, or if he is working stopped at the warehouse his job is to clean the machine, to supply the machine with firewood, coal or pine knots, to supply the machine. The stoker's service is travel service, traveling, making fire, keeping enough pressure for the locomotive. The engineer works as the pilot of the locomotive (BENEDITO, 2014).

The urban imaginary referring to the profession of train driver takes us back to one of the most prominent functions within the railroad. Contrary to popular thought, João Paulo Kovalski recounts the mishaps he went through on the stretches during his trips.

In fact, sometimes you had to sleep in an old wagon or in a ranch that the battalion gave you *to* sleep in because there were no conditions, but it wasn't only in Lages, it was in



several places and the problem was the cold. Some people say that it is good, it is not good, it is a mistake! There are people who say that train drivers don't do anything, nothing, because they have never sat in a remote control! You have to work with your feet, look at how the engines are working on the panel (KOVALSKI, 2014).

Seu Pedro remembers how difficult it was to eat on the stretch.

The train driver would bring food from home. Sometimes, when it was to work day and night, then the stoker and driver's relatives would send with the passenger train a bowl of food or bread. Then it would go with the passenger, when the passenger train reached the freight train, then it would be delivered (BENEDITO, 2014).

With the development of rail transportation, steam engines were gradually replaced by diesel locomotives. About this change in the way of working, Benedict states:

It was a big change, because the fire engine is a sacrifice, it's heat, dirt, and the diesel is not, the diesel engine the guy works sitting down, just controlling the buttons on the little "levers" to control forward gear, reverse gear, reverse gear, so it is easier to work in two, but one is only for [in case] the driver has any problems, any illness, then there is an auxiliary there to help. [When we started working with diesel locomotives we had to work in uniform, blue suit, white shirt and black tie, everything "x", well polished shoes. In the days of the fire engine, you could do it any way you wanted! But you had to wear a cap, because you couldn't wear a hat or no hat, it was a cap. You were a machinist, a foguista, [with] a cap on your head. If you didn't follow the rules, you would be called attention, you would be punished. When I started to work with the diesel company, the demands were doubled, because we had to go as the boss wanted, uniformed, cap, well dressed, with a beard, everything in order. You could not go in any way (BENEDITO, 2014).

For Koselleck (2014, p. 253), "Many things are forgotten, others remain stuck in consciousness like a thorn. Many things are repressed, others are glorified." The dismissal of a railwayman after years of dedication, in this case, was one of the topics addressed in conversations with the interviewees, so that they could tell what this life experience was like.

In the 1990s, RFFSA started a voluntary dismissal program to encourage its employees to break their labor contracts, since the privatization negotiations were already underway and the dismissals would happen anyway. João Maria Moreira, who worked in the workshop, recalls: "After privatization, the Network lost everything. I remember that I was called to demolish new wagons to sell them for scrap; it hurt my heart.

As a consequence of privatization, the companies that administered the concession deactivated stretches of track, laid off employees, cancelled passenger transportation and closed stations, generating grief and anger among the population. It was the end of the golden railway days. In 1997, the administration of rail transport in Mafra was taken over by the ALL company. For Maria Juracy (2017), "The time of the railroad was good, now this ALL has ended everything. In an emotional speech, she externalizes her sorrow:



I really miss the train [...] I think it's a sin, they privatized the Network and now there is no truck that comes, but they are over. My old man even cried, when, after he retired, he would go for his walks and see the bush on the line (MARIA JURACY).

João Maria Moreira also states: "I have been retired for twenty-two years, even today I wake up at the same time I used to get up to work".

Antunes (2009, p.143) states: "The search for a meaningful life from work allows us to explore the decisive connections between work and freedom. And it was in the search for meaning from work that the functional life of Mr. Pedroso was based, a man who early on worked on the railroad and sought the opportunity for advancement within the company: "I also worked in the mechanized machine until the Network was finished, and I thought: 'I still haven't been promoted'. I did tests for foreman, *for* machinist, and nothing! We can see that he tried several opportunities to rise, but without success.

One day I took about six papers and wrote them down, put them in a cup and put them under my pillow. In one paper it said: I stay in the Network and I do well, in the other: I stay in the Network and I do badly, I ask for resignation and I do well, I ask for resignation and I do badly. I took out two papers that said: stay in the Network and do well, don't resign. In short, I didn't ask for the account and I didn't win (PEDROSO, 2017).

With the privatization he remained on the railroad for some time, and it was at this moment, after years dedicated to the railroad, that the promotion he had always dreamed of happened. I remember that during our conversation he was emotional about this moment, which was a moment of recognition for him. However, some time after this achievement Pedroso receives a 'trick' from life, he, then maintenance leader, is fired. About this moment, he relates:

The Network ended, everyone left and I stayed, then ALL kicked me out[...]. Then when ALL gave me the bill I cried, I was very upset, I only realized I was fired when a psychologist from the company came to talk to us. He said: 'Mr. Pedroso, you will retire with R\$960.00 per month! Now ALL will be outsourced, the salary will fall, nobody will earn this salary anymore. The money the company pays you is enough *to* pay five men. Then I realized that it was not only me who needed it (PEDROSO, 2017).

Even after accepting that the time had come to leave the railroad, he didn't give up on returning. Pedroso has already taken a resume at the current concessionaire to return to work and is looking forward to his return.

It is noted through the speeches of workers that there are indications that there is "Railway Memory" in the city of Mafra that goes beyond the material character, their memories of knowledge, ways of doing reflect a heritage that transcends. These are memories of proud



moments of being a railroad worker that are linked to the grease of the developed activities and the present pain with the railroad privatization.

4 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The railway preservation issues have been discussed since 1954, when the first Brazilian railroad was declared a national monument. After the unification of the Brazilian railroads, by law 3.115 of 1957, and the creation of RFFSA, the theme of preservation of the railway modal is in question, either by its historical importance for the country, or by the beginning of the dismantling of this modal as a means of transportation, replaced by the road system.

The subsequent scrapping of this modal gave rise to preservation programs such as PRESERFE, which supported heritage policies until the end of the privatization process. It was in 2007, through the law 11.483, that IPHAN became responsible for the preservation of railway assets and the diffusion of the Railway Memory, a term that, due to the understanding of the Ordinance no. 407, refers to a railway memory that, unfortunately, does not meet the recognition of an intangible railway heritage. In this sense, during the studies that sustain this work, a questioning arose in the light of the reading of Law 11. 483 of 2007, IPHAN Ordinance no. 407 of 2010 and the Federal Constitution of 1988, thus, would it be possible to discuss actions to preserve a railway immateriality from the recognition of the "railway memory"? In this sense, we believe that although present, the discussion about the "railway memory" still takes place within the materiality of the railway modal, leaving, to some extent, invisible the possibility of work and actions that favor the immateriality of the Brazilian railway heritage.

Recognizing that the material and immaterial heritage correspond to complementary and essential aspects for the preservation, protection and safeguarding of cultural, historic, artistic, archaeological and natural assets, the interpretation of this mentioned legal set, far from being conclusive, presupposes a possibility: the expansion of the discussion on intangible heritage in the country, especially the discussions on memory, highlighting the contribution of men and women beyond machineries and buildings, completing life stories as well as the history produced by documents, comprising finally, a complete cultural heritage that effectively translates the Brazilian population.

5 NOTES

(1) The crisis of the Brazilian railway system started in the 1920s when the United States (the largest producer of vehicles in that period) provided the Brazilian government with loans to



invest in highways. Two decades later Brazil was already investing heavily in highways and shifting its financial dependence from England to the United States. Highways held the promise of fast and effective national integration. During the government of Juscelino Kubitschek, the automobile industry was opened to foreign capital, increasing even more the need for highways. The abandonment of rail transport is justified by Brazil's need to satisfy the interests of international capital, in this case the North American automobile industry.

(2) This is the name used to indicate the width determined by the distance measured between the inner faces of the heads of two rails on a railway track.

(3) According to the ordinance no. 407/2010 movable assets are: rolling stock, parts, documents in general, files, books, paintings, photos, plants, maps, decorative objects, railroad equipment, among others.

(4) Real estate includes yards, stations, warehouses, workshops, and water tanks, among others.

(5) In use by the concession companies

(6) Assets that are not part of the concession contract

(7) Art. 216. Brazilian cultural heritage comprises assets of a tangible and intangible nature, taken individually or as a whole, which bear reference to the identity, action, and memory of the different groups that make up Brazilian society, [...].



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