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ENTRE AS BARRIADAS LIMEÑAS E AS OCUPAÇÕES BELORIZONTINAS
BETWEEN THE BARRIADAS OF LIMA AND THE OCCUPATIONS OF BELO HORIZONTE
LETICIA NOTINI, TIAGO LOURENÇO

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Leticia Araujo Notini is an Architect and Urban Planner. She is currently a researcher for the UNSCORRE group at the Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil, a member of the Architects without Borders Association (ASF Brazil), and a militant of the Fight in Neighborhoods, Vilas and Favelas Movement (MLB).
leticianotini@gmail.com
<http://lattes.cnpq.br/8440918392186724>

Tiago Castelo Branco Lourenço is a model maker, has a bachelor's degree, a master's degree, and is a doctoral candidate in Architecture and Urbanism. He currently teaches at the Department of Architecture and Urbanism at the Catholic University of Minas Gerais and at the Department of Architectural Design at the School of Architecture at the Federal University of Minas Gerais. He is a researcher for the Morar de Outros Maneiras group, coordinator of the UNSCORRE group, and a member of the Architects without Borders Association (ASF Brazil).
tcblourenco@gmail.com
<http://lattes.cnpq.br/6553218842188216>

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Abstract

Urban occupations in Belo Horizonte, a city in southern Brazil, are very similar to the processes concerning the *barriadas* in Lima, Peru, since the 1940's. Exploring the similarities between Belo Horizonte's occupation and other kinds of social struggles in Latin America, we are able to see that this is not a local movement; they are an expression of a broader social resistance. Analyzing such self-production and self-building experiences in Latin America means weaving a complex fabric of social resistance strategies particularly related to the Latin-American context. This bond highlights the fact that such developments in Belo Horizonte are similar to situations experienced by other latinamerican countries concerning the questioning of the condition of exclusion of broader sections of their populations. The comparison of these experiences helps to enlighten and underline the spatial and temporal continuities and discontinuities regarding the struggle for urban land and social struggles in Latin America.

Keywords: Popular resistance, Social production of space, Housing; Latin America.

1 Introduction

In 2009, the creation of the Dandara Occupation, in Belo Horizonte, implied an immediate comparison to the *barriadas limeñas*. That gathering of houses made with tarpaulin seemed like the beginning of a *barriada* in Minas Gerais state. The comparison occurred due to the description provided by a Peruvian friend who lived in Lima in his childhood. He said there was an empty lot next to his house that became filled with mat tents overnight. They were organized in a rigid orthogonal layout, which indicated an orientation guided by an urban plan. The *barriadas* – or *pueblos jóvenes*, as he calls – were like an organized Brazilian *favela*. Comparing Belo Horizonte's occupations and the *barriadas limeñas* is an attempt to interpret them as urban resistance movements engaged with the construction of strategies for the Latin-American struggle. These strategies welcome poor populations across different territories and countries whose ways of living resist in sites that are built and recreated on a daily basis. They are not definitive. These are experiences of space production in which emergence and exception are the normality.

Belo Horizonte and Lima are examples of Latin-American cities whose landscapes present marks left by the trajectories of exclusion. Created in 1897, Belo Horizonte was celebrated as a symbol of the Brazilian Republic. Since then, it was conceived as a city that disregards poor people as part of its citizens. Lima was created in colonial times as the capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru, a symbol of the *criolla*¹ city. Since its beginning, it has not bothered to include the poor people, who lived mainly in rural areas until the first half of the twentieth century. Since then, these groups have been pressuring the territory to find job opportunities. In the process of accessing both cities, the poor sections of society are left to chance as they are criminalized for their attempts to construct houses, whether through *favelas* and urban occupations in Belo Horizonte or *barriadas* in Lima.

We are going to present spatial and temporal continuities and discontinuities among the *barriadas*, that take place in Lima since the 1940's, and the occupations that occur since the end of the 2000's in Belo Horizonte. The perception and analysis of resistance that rises from Latin-American popular sectors require an assessment over a long period of time. This comprehension justifies the time frame presented in this article, which covers almost a century and involves affinities among the strategies of resistance and struggle for urban land across different countries. The hypothesis we work on refers to a sense of continuance concerning resistance strategies among the *barriadas* in Lima and the occupations in Belo Horizonte. Such popular manifestations in Latin America are contrary to the exclusion known by Latin-American cities, for which we shall indicate evidence here.

2 The *barriadas* and the squats

Lima coexists since 1940 with a strong urbanization process of its surroundings due to peasant migration, which, according to Jean-Claude Driant (1991), occurred since the end of the 1920's. The process was accelerated by the earthquake in the 1940's, when the occupation of hills and hillsides started to conform large neighborhoods with informal and self-built constructions. According to Zibechi (2015), these camps, the so-called *barriadas*, were like "islands" that were born in the interstices of the traditional city: in 1957, there were 56 settlements, which corresponded to 9.5% of the population. They turned into 408 settlements in 1981 and, in 2004, they corresponded to 59% of the population. The first *barriadas* started in lots situated in the periphery and near urban centers through a process similar to the ones experienced by other cities in the continent. The experiences of the *barriadas* were brought to discussion in the architecture field by the English architect John Turner, who reflected on socio-spatial organizations in the city of Arequipa, after having worked in its reconstruction due to a previous struck by an earthquake in 1958 (Veiga de Castro, Botas, 2015). Supported by Turner's work, self-building gains notoriety and becomes a possibility for managing space in accord with the autonomy of the inhabitants and their own decisions.

Turner takes a specific case: the settlement of Pampa de Coma in Lima has a population of around 30 thousand inhabitants [...]. He said they belonged to working class families who had very low wages, and he was surprised by how people who had no professional qualification nor the necessary know-how were able to plan big housing areas in an urban scale and build thousands of houses with minimum acceptable structures. In the aerial shot of the neighborhood [...] Turner presents an idea of this popular regulation of the territory, drawing attention to the orthogonal layout followed in the streets and lots on the flattest portion of the land (Veiga de Castro, Botas, 2015, p. 83, our translation).

The occupation was initiated by the construction of *chozas* (temporary habitations with carpets and bamboo). As time went by, the increase in investment transformed the *chozas*, whose consolidation was expressed by the use of new materials. Space was then produced in a long-lasting process that took years. The absence of

the State and its technicians instigated Turner's reflections on the autonomy and creativity of these organized communities.

Urban occupations in Belo Horizonte are part of the processes of re-democratization in Brazil that happened after the military dictatorship (1964-1985). Since the end of the 1970's, movements within civil society have demanded the State's participation in different sectors, amongst which the movements for housing and access to urban land. After the elaboration of the 1988 Constitution and, later, the 2001 City Statute, housing and social function of property became important aspects for the formulation of public policies as well as duties and rights of Brazilian citizens.

The concurrence of re-democratization with the advent of neoliberal politics conducted by the State is one of the great contradictions of this period. Housing policy was one of the most affected spheres, whose historical recklessness was maintained. This contradiction was expressed by urban occupations in Belo Horizonte. Some of them were created during the decade of 1990, such as the Corumbiara Occupation in 1996. Several occupations have been conceived in the city since 2006. At first, there were one or two new squattings each year. In 2016, this number jumped to almost ten. They took place in empty lots in the periphery but also in buildings downtown, revealing an absence of housing politics in the city. The occupations are carried out by political organizations and people who reclaim housing in the city but do not have access to it by institutionalized means. Almost every squatting has the support of technicians related to the social production of space, like architects, urban planners, engineers, and geographers.

3 Allegedly dominated

In regard to the popular sectors of Latin America, Zibechi (2015) highlights the difference in their performance as dominated. These sectors do not plan their trajectory of struggle and resistance; on the contrary, their historical project is built through the living experience. Such condition is observed in the strategies used to gain access to land despite state institutions, when these groups affirm themselves as citizens and not as manipulated subordinates. Practices of power relations that mark life in the province, like favor exchanges and paternalism, are retaken by the creation of the *barriadas*. The project of conquest of urban territories demands tenacity from these social agents and also the long-term elaboration of strategies dedicated to the recognition of these places and the assurance of their ownerships.

Migrants had to adapt to the context offered by the city and to find solutions among the possibilities given by their previous experience. They had two options: to obey the current legal system and accept the lack of housing, or to infringe the limits of the established system. Their origin, as well as their situation, faced to the urban social structure and to the existing mechanisms of the "Legal City", which are linked to a power system expressed in political, social, and economic terms, forced them to choose the second option, that is to say, the invasion of marginal areas that could be urbanized. From that point forward, migrants as well as natives that compose the urban popular sectors transformed into invaders of territories and reached the point of appropriating them by force. In most cases, they have increased their efficiency by appealing to the standard peasant favor exchange and to the paternalism of authority: they used, thus, the names of public influential people of that time and the names of saints, religious symbols, or patriotic emblems like Peru's red and white flags, which were able to evoke a real or psychological endorsement. But the best ally to the invaders was time, because of its tenacity, the forces of order got tired and, despite the land ownership not being legally assured, they undertook the construction of their houses, the same ones that would gradually grow more complex from mat to brick (Matos Mar, 1986, p. 77-78, our translation)².

The environment of exclusion and resistance of the Peruvian popular sectors described by Matos Mar is also observed in occupations in Belo Horizonte. Its inhabitants promote practices that, at a first moment, seem to be expressions of submission. However, once we observe them for a longer period of time, we find, through this exercise of patience, the conquest of space in an exclusionary city. As Peru entered modernity, anchored on popular pressure, the urbanization that took place since the 1940's presented one of the most important aspects: territories that represented the State and its official ideas since Spanish colonization moved on to express the country's cultural diversity, grounded on a landscape in constant change. Once these territories are formed, this popular *desborde* draws attention to recurrent cooperative and communitarian practices that value collective living and are less individualistic. As time goes by, this condition is altered by the assimilation of urban habits that exacerbates individualism (Matos Mar, 1983).

We may also find this cooperation within popular struggles related to Belo Horizonte's squattings, according to the statement of a resident from Eliana Silva Occupation after having witnessed the resistance of the inhabitants of a neighboring occupation, Nelson Mandela, which gave its first steps in 2014. The squatter has also reminded the support they had from the inhabitants of Camilo Torres squat when they were first evicted:

From up here, we saw a bunch of people. City guard and police cars. We are part of the movement and felt compelled to go down there and help. We had a lot of support from people from outside, from people we had never even seen in our lives, they came, they left their homes to be here. For example, when we were evicted from here the first time, people from Camilo Torres Occupation supported a lot of people, resisting, making coffee, food. Those who had their belongings inside, blanket, so people can warm themselves. Inside the movement we feel obligated to help when we see someone in this same situation (MLB Activist, 2014, our translation).

4 The action

The moments of land takeover have common features that get mixed inside their own narratives, as we can see in the statement given by Hernando Soto in the 1980's about the organization of a *barriada*. It is very similar to the organization of an occupation in Belo Horizonte. De Soto highlights its beginnings, in which a group of people from the same neighborhood or region gathered in a series of meetings and assemblies incited by the common interest in the search for housing (De Soto, 1987, p. 54). A resident at Eliana Silva Occupation in Belo Horizonte tells how she learned about MLB – Movimento de Luta nos Bairros, Vilas e Favelas (Movement for Struggle in Districts, Vilas and Favelas), the political organization that organized the occupation in 2012:

[...] I caught a little mosquito that said: "Fight for your own home, you, who live on a rented place or at someone else's, come and check the movement". It was MLB, it never said anything about squatting, I went there because it said "Fight for your own home". I said: "Man, I need to fight for my own place"; actually, it wasn't even for me, my first thought wasn't about myself, and I said "I'm going to go and check what that is; perhaps it's a path for me to get my mother's house". My mother said it was probably an event from the city hall and I said: "No, I don't think so. Let's go there cause it seems they know another path", and so we did. Once we got there, people had already started to mobilize, it was the final stretch to set up the first Eliana occupation (MLB Activist, 2014, our translation).

Once the base is grounded, the action of occupying the lot occurs. The political organizations assess the viability of such action so there are no surprises. They do it especially through the observation of the conditions to enter and consolidate the lot by the family groups set to occupy. According to De Soto (1987), the choice for public or private lots is also a condition for the assessment of the action's success. In the historical background of Peruvian developments, about 90% of the land occupations occurred in State lots, especially the vacant or abandoned ones. "This means that it is simpler to invade the State property than private property because once no one is being specifically affected there is less encouragement for a reaction" (De Soto, 1987, p.54). This situation concerning lot property is different from Belo Horizonte's situation, in which there is always a bigger mobilization of public agents to repress these actions once they occur in public lots. A public agent, while talking about Dandara Occupation, states that when it comes to actions in private lots, the public power becomes ommissive and conniving with the situation, affirming its lack of conditions to solve the housing demands in other ways (Public Agent, 2009).

Entering the lot is one of the most important moments, and it must be done thoroughly, avoiding immediate repossession. De Soto describes the strategy used for the *barriadas* of Lima, and so do other activists involved in occupations in Belo Horizonte:

Once these preparatory actions are done, it is time to occupy, which happens on evenings or nights, on a previously approved date that usually matches a civic holiday, so the chances of a quick police response are none to few. Whether there are a hundred invaders or 40.000, they arrive in rented trucks or mini-buses in the settled location, bringing sticks, mats and everything else needed to raise their first habitation. They get inside the lot and hoist a huge number of Peruvian flags, indicating they are not committing a crime, but a patriotic act of reclaim and "social justice" (De Soto, 1987, p. 55, our translation).

On the action day, it is also a matter of strategy, we do not socialize with almost anyone so there is no risk of leaking information. You should be cautious about writing that too, because that is an important tactic element, it is an almost military strategy, few people have privileged information so there is no risk of leaking and sabotaging the whole mission (Brigadas Populares Activist, 2013, our translation).



Fig. 1: Beginning of Eliana Silva Squat, 2012. Source: MLB Archive, 2012.

Picking names for the *barriadas* between the 1940s and the 1980s or for the occupations is also another continuity process that moves across time and space. This strategy affirms the creation of a positive image of urban resistance as well as a precaution to avoid possible repression in the Peruvian case. De Soto (1987) describes the various situations in which names of renowned figures are used to baptize the settlements, in an attempt to commit them to the struggle in favor of the squatters. There are famous examples from the *barriadas* named after presidents currently in power, like Juan Velasco Alvarado, and after first ladies and congressmen's wives, like the María Delgado de Odría settlement. In occupations from Rio de Janeiro, in the 2000s, Marcelo Lopes de Souza and Eduardo Tomazine have also observed this strategy, drawing attention to the camp named by the squatters after Rosa Luxemburgo (Souza, Teixeira, 2009). Souza and Teixeira pointed out the contradiction of negatively calling such actions a commotion and paying homage to important historical symbols stemming from their names. In this sense, choosing a name shows there is "a story behind" this action (Souza, Teixeira, 2009, p. 57). After these initial moments (Figure 1), political organizations and residents remain mobilized, building momentum for other demands that involve the daily life of the territories occupied.

5 Technicians

The support from technicians related to the social production of space occurred in the *barriadas* and in the occupations. In Peru, their participation is an important aspect that contributed with the Law 13.517, enacted in 1961, during Fernando Belaúnde Terry's first government, which traced mechanisms to improve and regularize informal settlements.

The biggest difference in *barriadas* before and after 1961 comes from Law 13.517 and its regulations [...] Even if the invasion happens on empty lots of unknown ownership, families knew that one of the conditions for the squat to be recognized consisted of presenting a settlement plan according to the current and valid

legislation. So in the sixties people said families “invaded with the plan”, which, being an exaggeration, is so revealing of the urban order that prevailed in the “spontaneous” or informal urbanization processes in the sixties and seventies (Ramírez Corzo, Riofrío, 2006, p. 12, our translation)³.

The example of Villa El Salvador is paradigmatic to understand the presence of the State and the consolidation of the national project of *barriadas planificadas e asistidas* (Martin Bocanegra, 2009). It was a proposition from Juan Velasco’s government for an *invasión* organized by migrants. According to Burt (2003), the initial squatting occurred in a state lot and it was organized by 200 families who became over 9000 in a few days, taking over private lots on its surroundings. “Pressured to show his commitment to the poor sector his government promised to benefit, Velasco decided to re-allocate the invaders to a big, desertic area 26 kilometers from the south of Lima” (Burt, 2003, our translation). Villa El Salvador was one of the first models of self-regulated territory in Peru. Technicians responsible for its urban planning were part of CUAVES, Comunidad Urbana Autogestionaria de Villa El Salvador (Urban Self-regulated Community of Villa El Salvador), which supervised the development and expansion of the territory and represented the community to state organs (Burt, 2003). They were also in charge of monitoring communal initiatives through SINAMOS, Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Mobilización Social (National Social Mobilization Support System).

During Alfonso Barrantes’ government in 1984, Huaycán *barriada* project gains distinction for the families’ presence and their partnership with Technical Teams of the city, seeking the development of the community’s urban project, through Programa Especial de Habitación Urbana Progresiva (Special Program of Urban Progressive Habilitation):

The plan considered economic and communitarian solutions of housing, the active participation of residents in the final draft as well as in the execution of construction works, and the creation of a residents’ association that could guarantee the continuation of the political participative organization on the new location (Calderón, Oliveira, 1989). The residents’ association has developed and today is called *Comunidad Urbana Autogestionaria de Huaycán* or CUAH (Urban Self-Regulated Community of Huaycán) (Navarro, 2011, p. 96, our translation)⁴.

The experiences in Lima had two fronts: i. the one with an organized population which produced its own spaces; and ii. the institutional one, in which the State had the role of direct intervenor and mediator through technical teams. Self-organization gained distinction due to the articulation of *comités barriales* and built forms of active organization and decision making. The presence of architects has also been important for the political struggle of occupations in Belo Horizonte. The alliance of these professionals with residents and political organizations contributes to the strategy regarding institutional dispute. It attests the legitimacy of the occupation through technical arguments, which were used only by state agents. It also legitimates the physical-spatial situation itself. Firstly, occupations are seen by external instances simply as new *favelas*, but when they introduce their urban plan, elaborated by architects and formatted by institutional codes, this argument loses its strength.

A place with a project, one that is not chaotic, puts you in good terms to deal with the public power. People already know we are not there to mess around. The police are not going to get there tearing everything apart. [...] If the community remains there to this day, engaging people in social struggle, it is because of architecture. Because if the occupation had grown with no planning, with no street tracing, like it did, if the alleys were left, I think the community would have left long ago. The project was really good and it is very respected (Occupation Resident, 2014, our translation).

These technicians are mostly linked to theoretical and practical research groups from universities and civil society organizations. They offer technical assistance to squats in Belo Horizonte on two fronts. The first one responds to urgent demands from the social movement or from the occupation’s families, such as in the case of Dandara Occupation (Figure 2). Dandara’s urban plan making was used as a technical instrument during negotiations and as guidelines to distribute the families in the blocks (Lourenço, 2014). The second one proposes actions along with the territories, such as in the case of the project Parque das Ocupações do Barreiro (2017), which aims at the environmental requalification and integration of housing/nature on a valley territory that brings together seven urban occupations. The presence of architects in the occupation broadens indirect supporters. It surpasses immediate political dispute and celebrates an action that supposedly infringes this society’s rules. Most people understand squatting a lot as stealing. The support of respected institutions, like universities, helps to raise doubts and expanding possibilities of breaking paradigms.



Fig. 2: Dandara Occupation, 2011. Source: COAU Archive, 2011. Available at: <https://www.coau.com.br/portfolio/comunidade-dandara/>. Accessed 8 May 2021

6 The institutions

Such informality becomes resistance by inclusion and it is experienced in the *barriada's* and the occupations involves the way institutionalized ideas are incorporated or denied during the production of the space. To Mario Vargas Llosa (1987), informality is something that happens due to the difficulties in integrating the excluded population:

“Informality” is a response from most people to this system that turned them into a traditional victim of some kind of legal and economic apartheid. In this system, laws seemed to be designed to stop them from having access to very elementary rights like having a job or a roof over their heads (Vargas Llosa, 1987, p. 21, our translation).

Such informality becomes resistance by inclusion and it is experienced in the *barriada's* pragmatism and also in the Brazilian lower sectors that form Belo Horizonte’s occupations. Contrary to Brazilian middle class sectors, who are deeply worried about corruption, the immediate issues of daily life are main concerns of the lower sections of society (Souza, 2010). Since the 1960’s, there were important transformations in Peru concerning the relationship between institutions and migrant people that left the countryside to go to the cities. Matos Mar (1990) considers that these changes are due to people’s mobilization that have happened since the first *barriadas* in the 1950’s. Another reason is the workers mobilization and peasant strike, which led to institutional recognition of the *barriadas* by law 13.517. These conditions were strengthened by Juan Velasco’s military coup in 1968.

According to Matos Mar (1986), institutions in Peru tolerate actions from lower classes because they are not able to solve the issue of the inclusion of these sectors. This condition also occurs in Brazil. The assimilation of popular demands is almost always mediated by agents who are used to institutionalized environments. When they are not assimilated, these demands are simply ignored, not over respect towards others but due to the inability to include a part of the citizens. When faced with this inability, Peruvian institutions appropriate self-building and other expressions of this popular ‘breakthrough’. Among them are State actions that encourage the practice of self-building, as reminded by Gustavo Riofrío and Alfredo Rodriguez (1980) while evaluating deficient public policies that encourage self-production as they do not offer conditions of promoting social inclusion of people through other ways:

People find themselves forced into self-exploration so they have minimum conditions for survival. The State and the middle class convert such activity into a system. They support it, applaud it and encourage it. Besides, they concede part of the vindications as donation, encouraging self-exploration, which is baptized under the name of self-development (Riofrío, Rodríguez, 1980, p. 79, our translation)⁵.

Through the comparison of relations between popular sectors and institutions in Peru and Brazil, it becomes evident that there is an assimilation of popular demands in Peru so that they remain unattended. In Brazil, there is no such assimilation. There is, rather, criminalization. Despite the contradictions pointed by these 'public policies', they also indicate that a housing policy that responds to popular demands must consider the practice of these populations in Brazil and Peru. It seems like the ideal setting involves a production of space that enables continuity and that is not dependent on impersonal institutions that are hard to control. This aspect has a great influence on the residents' choice to keep living in a *barriada* or an occupation instead of going to housing complexes built by the State.

The technical staff's reluctance in recognizing the capability and creativity of lower sectors in making decisions is one of the great challenges to be overcome. There is little disposition to observe how the residents build their houses and solutions for space. To Turner (2018), such ineffectiveness from the technical staff is added to foundational flaws within public housing programs. These programs are always assessed by their physical aspects. Housing is not treated as an experience beyond its apparently objective issues. Such a limited housing conception, which does not allow the interaction from an infantilized 'user', is what characterizes housing policy: the user is not allowed to intervene in the house. However, in the user's daily practice, construction is a process, it is something dynamic that does not fade when construction is done. Therefore, the State hesitates between two positions: accepting its inability and taking over a role that is merely formal and innocuous, or responding aggressively to the situation in an attempt to establish control over a process that is not legitimate (Matos Mar, 1986).

Such official inefficiency led to the consolidation of informality, which became a mark of the new Peruvian identity. The absence of regulation allowed the manifestation of cultural resistance and legitimated the State's absence, leaving a big part of their citizens unassisted. Matos Mar (1986) talks about this condition as he qualifies the survival strategies of Andean migrants that arrive in the city, the mutual help between them, and the collaboration of their members as litigious. Such condition of subjects who have their own internal dynamic must be recalled by institutionalities when intervening in popular sectors. The housing experiences of Peruvian and Brazilian popular sectors are answers to the State's inefficiency. They offer, however, experiences of social production of space that disregard hegemonic aspects of housing production and consider other paths to deal with the state's inefficiency, preventing it to become even greater.

7 Final considerations

Since the 1940s, the *barriadas limeñas* have been an expression of different indigenous cultures from the Andes, a territory that was exclusive for the official expression until then. The *barriadas* and their informal aspect are the expression of a social group – which behaved as testifiers (Ribeiro, 2014) – regarding the building of a nation that did not include them. Since then, they have assumed they are part of it and they have used survival strategies grounded on other principles. In Belo Horizonte, capital of Minas Gerais State, on the other hand, the resistance of the working class exists since the city was built, once they did not see themselves pictured in the design of such a modern city. Since the nineties, urban occupations have spatialized these exclusionary relations also as a reflection of the State's inefficiency towards building effective alternatives of housing and opposing the advent of neoliberal policies that are underway in the country.

Self-built houses take a lot of work and are something to be proud of. They are also the material grounds on which a new identity will be built for migrants who have been arriving in Lima since the 1940s – a role that is also embraced by squatters in Belo Horizonte. The self-production of space in *barriadas limeñas* and in Belo Horizonte's occupations shares similarities that indicate this is an important aspect of the political upbringing of social grounds related to Latin-American territories of resistance. In this sense, these social movements are not just local responses. They carry a continuity of social struggle strategies that are very particular to the Latin-American context and which fight a system of socio-spatial exclusion that affects a significant number of people. While facing such a setting, Latin-American urban struggles and their spontaneity unveil a tradition that must be studied to better understand the region's development. This paper seeks to contribute to the systematization of these events by comparing them and highlighting their continuities and discontinuities regarding time and space.

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1 Criollos are white colonists born in America and descendants of the Spaniards. They were part of the ruling class of Spanish America. The cities created during the Spanish colonization were very influenced by the spatial conception of their metropolis. After the independence of the countries in the region, these cities began to host and express the power of such criollo, who exercised the political and economic domain of the new National States.

2 From the original in Spanish: "*El migrante tuvo que adaptarse al contexto que le ofrecía la ciudad y encontrar soluciones dentro de las posibilidades dadas por su experiencia previa. Tenía dos opciones: someterse al sistema legal imperante aceptando la falta de techo o violentar los límites del sistema establecido. Su origen, así como su situación, frente a la estructura social urbana y los mecanismos existentes en la 'Ciudad Legal', que están ligados a un sistema de poder que se expresa a nivel político, social y económico, determinó que decidiera por la segunda opción, es decir la invasión de áreas marginales posibles de ser urbanizadas. A partir de esta decisión, tanto los migrantes como los nativos que conforman los sectores populares urbanos, se convirtieron en invasores de terrenos, llegando con frecuencia a apropiarlos por la fuerza. En la mayoría de los casos aumentaron su eficacia recurriendo al patrón campesino de clientelaje y acogiéndose al paternalismo de las autoridades: se usó así el nombre de personajes públicos influyentes del momento y se emplearon nombres de santos, símbolos religiosos o emblemas patrios como las banderas rojiblanco del Perú que pudieran invocar respaldo real o psicológico. Pero lo mejor aliado de los invasores fue el tiempo, puesto que lograron en base a su tenacidad de las fuerzas de orden se cansaron, y aunque la posesión de suelo no estuviera asegurada legalmente, emprendieron la construcción de sus viviendas, las mismas que irían paulatinamente complicándose desde la estera hasta el ladrillo*".

3 From the original in Spanish: "*La gran diferencia entre las 'barriadas' antes y después de 1961 estuvo dada por la ley 13.517 y su reglamento [...] Aún si se tratara de una invasión de terrenos eriazos de incierta propiedad, las familias sabían que uno de los requisitos para obtener el reconocimiento de la ocupación consistía en presentar un plano del asentamiento que esté de acuerdo a las normas de la ley. Por eso en los años sesenta se afirmaba que las familias 'invadían con el plano', lo cual, siendo una exageración, es revelador del orden urbanístico que imperaba en las urbanizaciones 'espontáneas' o informales de los años sesenta y setenta*".

4 From the original in Spanish: "*El plan contemplaba soluciones económicas y comunitarias de vivienda, la activa participación de los pobladores tanto en el diseño final como en la ejecución de las obras, y la formación de una asociación vecinal que aseguraría la continuación de una organización política participativa en la nueva localidad (Calderón, Oliveira, 1989). La asociación vecinal se desarrolló y lleva hoy el nombre de Comunidad Urbana Autogestionaria de Huaycán o CUAH*".

5 From the original in Spanish: "*La población se ve obligada a auto explotarse para procurar lo mínimo para subsistir. El Estado y la burguesía convierten esta actividad en un sistema, lo apoyan, lo aplauden e incentivan. Además, otorgan parte de la reivindicación como donación, fomentando la auto explotación que se bautiza con el nombre de autodesarrollo*".