Sociology

Language: Simplified Chinese to English Translation with Advanced Editing

Original Text:

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一段对抵抗的叙述：巴西丹达拉社区的简史

摘要：本文为巴西贝洛奥里藏特丹达拉占领的简史报告。通过对居民和运动所用战略和抵抗的全景式叙述，本文展示了被占领区在谋求城市住房权斗争中的重要性。通过居民对占领最初几年的叙述、参考资料和残存的照片，本文拟出了一条时间线，以展示丹达拉居民在建立其社区过程中遇到的挑战和机遇。

关键字：丹达拉、占领；贝洛奥里藏特

序言

贝洛奥里藏特市为巴西东南部地区米纳斯吉拉斯州的首府，是巴西少数几个规划过的城市之一，但自建城以来，贫困却成为了其腹地外围邻近区域的特征。贝洛奥里藏特的建城形式迫使工人阶级的民众无法踏入规划圈。因此，酝酿贝洛奥里藏特建城的想法之时，该城的居住权就被视为一项特权（示例请参见Fernandes (2017)）。

贝洛奥里藏特的最初结构，以及许多其他社会和经济进程，都在其内部复制的当下高度不平等现象中显而易见。对若昂·皮涅罗基金会（FJP）的一项研究指出，米纳斯吉拉斯州的住房赤字排巴西第二：2014年，米纳斯吉拉斯州的住房缺口为529,000套。在贝洛奥里藏特都会区（RMBH），私营部门和政府的住房计划（其中最大的计划为“Programa Minha Casa, Minha Vida”，PMCMV—“我的房子，我的生活”计划）都未能解决该问题。因此，RMBH的住房赤字逐年增加。

住房赤字是一个社会问题，其中，无法获得住房是市场逻辑的产物。房地产市场的供应非常昂贵，获得住房的程序十分官僚，以至于社会上最贫穷阶层民众中的绝大部分人都无法通过正式渠道获得住房。此外，由于房地产被市场被视为金融资产，许多住房被视为一种投机的形式，并无人居住。

贝洛奥里藏特都会区的这种情况导致了城市占领的急剧增长，反映了争取贝洛奥里藏特“城市住房权”的需求（请参见Ferrari de Lima et al. 2014）。在这种背景下，占领的发生是对住房赤字本身以及广大城市
Center (especially Laurelin), space inequality, and the reaction. But there is another related factor that explains why so many families have continued to occupy land that does not comply with "social function" of housing, various social movements calling it "cruz do aluguel" (rental cross).

It refers to a fact: due to the low wages of the working class and the high cost of living in the Loreliangt metropolitan area, many poor families cannot afford rent.

Dandara community is created in such a social framework. Dandara dreams and speaks loudly, wanting to promote a new way of living, a concept beyond the exploitation of the large market periphery of the population.

With intense debates on housing rights, as well as a severe criticism of the housing deficit among a small number of residents in Belo Horizonte, Dandara comes into existence through struggle. It is in this way that it happened, this is good, things developed so quickly, we were all surprised.

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A Narrative of Resistance: The Brief History of the Dandara Community, Brazil

Abstract: This paper presents a brief report on the history of the Dandara Occupation, in the city of Belo Horizonte, Brazil. Using a through a general panorama of the strategies and resistance of the residents and movements involved, this paper shows the importance of the occupied territory in the struggle for the right to housing in the city. Through the narratives of the residents, references, and photographic remnants of the initial years of the occupation, a temporal line is developed to till the present day, which reveals the challenges and opportunities for the people of Dandara in the development of their community.

Keywords: Dandara; Occupation; Belo Horizonte

Introduction

The city of Belo Horizonte, capital of the Minas Gerais State in the Southeast Region of Brazil, is one of the few planned cities in the country. However, since its creation, its peripheral neighborhoods have been characterized by poverty in the peripheral neighborhoods. The form in which Belo Horizonte was built forced the working-class population to stay out of the planned circle. Therefore, the conception of Belo Horizonte presented the idea that housing in the formal city is a privilege (e.g., see for example, Fernandes (2017)). The original structure of the city, along with many other social and economic processes, is evident in the current, high inequalities that are reproduced within it. A study of the João Pinheiro Foundation (FJP) points out that Minas Gerais has the second-largest housing deficit in the country: in 2014, Minas Gerais lacked 529,000 housing units. In the Metropolitan Region of Belo Horizonte (RMBH), neither the private sector nor the government housing programs (the largest of these being “Programa Minha Casa, Minha Vida” PMCMV—My House, My Life, Program) were able to solve this problem in the Metropolitan Region of Belo Horizonte (RMBH).

Instead, the housing deficit in RMBH increases year-on-year.
The housing deficit is a social issue where lack of access to a housing is a consequence of market logic. Real estate market supply is so expensive and its access so bureaucratic that it becomes unfeasible for a large proportion of the poorest members of society to obtain a home through the formal channels. Moreover, since housing is treated by the market as a financial asset, there are many properties that are left unoccupied as a form of housing speculation.

This situation in the Metropolitan Region of Belo Horizonte has led to a severe drastic increase in the housing deficit. The Dandara Community was created within such a social framework. Dandara dreamed, and dreamed aloud, of promoting a new way of dwelling; a conception beyond the established model of the exploitation of peripheral subjects in large centers. With intense debates about the right to housing, and severe criticism of the housing deficit in this city that belongs to only a few, Dandara was constituted through struggle.

Dandara’s History in Photographs and Memory

The Dandara community is located in the Pampulha region (a zone of high real estate value), in Belo Horizonte (Minas Gerais, Brazil). In the early hours of April 9, 2009, a group of 150 homeless families occupied a territory—like a “sea of canvas tents”—on a piece of land that did not conform to its social function. Since then, along with the social movements Brigadas Populares (BPs), Comissão Pastoral da Terra (CPT), and Movimento dos Sem Terra (MST), those 150 families started to build their own houses, giving rise to the Dandara Community.

Once the territory was occupied, the Brigadas Populares (a political organization and social movement) took on the processes of organization and resistance along with the residents. It sought to promote the maintenance and self-construction of housing on the land. In the first few days, news of the occupation gained national attention. The media coverage further increased the number of families that joined the occupation process. In three days, the occupation increased from 150 to 1086 families. “It was nice because it happened like this, it was a surprise that we had to work so
quickly! Within five days, it had already reached 1200 families.” — This is how Frei Gilvander, an important figure in the history of the occupation, remembers the beginnings of Dandara.

In the following days, due to this phenomenon, there were intensifying calls for resistance and securing access to the land. Dwellers, members of social movements, and support networks all started to organize daily assemblies. Here, the dwellers defined questions that addressed such themes as the logic of the self-managed space, its organization, and structure, as well as strategies beyond the “occupied” territory.

From the articulation of the CPT, a support network was born. At the beginning, this was composed of religious affiliates of the Catholic church, but later it expanded to include public lawyers, social architects, and political scientists, along with other professionals. Important agents of these networks were groups from universities, including undergraduate and graduate students who also became involved in the daily challenges of the expanding occupation.