

Sociology

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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

中心（尤其是洛奥里藏特）空间不平等特征的反应。但是，还有另一个相关因素解释了为何这么多家庭一直占用着与“住房的社会功能”不符的空旷土地：各种社会运动称之为“cruz do aluguel”（租金十字架）。它指代了一个事实：由于工人阶级的工资水平极低而洛奥里藏特都会区的生活成本高，许多贫困家庭付不起房租。

丹达拉社区就是在这样一个社会框架中创建的。丹达拉梦想着，并为之大声地发声，想要提倡一种新的居住方式，一个超越剥削各大型中心外围民众的成熟市场的概念。随着对住房权的激烈辩论，以及对住房只属于少数人的贝洛奥里藏特住房赤字的严厉批评，丹达拉通过斗争得以建立。

照片和记忆中的丹达拉历史

丹达拉社区位于洛奥里藏特（巴西米纳斯吉拉斯州）的潘普利亚地区（该地区房产价值高）。2009年4月9日凌晨，150个无住房的家庭侵占了一片地，在一片不符合社会功能的土地上扎起了许多的帆布帐篷。自那时起，和社会运动 *Brigadas Populares*（BP）、*Comissão Pastoral da Terra*（CPT）和 *Movimento dos Sem Terra*（MST）一起，这150个家庭开始建造自己的住房。丹达拉社区由此诞生。

侵占这片区域后，*Brigadas Populares*（一个政治组织和一项社会运动）与居民一起开始组织与抵抗。他们试图提倡这片地上的住房维护和自建。最初几天，侵占的新闻引发了全国的关注。媒体的报道进一步增加了加入该侵占进程家庭的数量。三天内，侵占的家庭数量从150个增长至1,086个。“事情就像这样发生了，这很好，事情发展得如此迅速，我们都感到惊讶。”五天内，家庭数量已增长至1,200个。”这就是 Frei Gilvander 记忆中丹达拉初建时的样子。Frei Gilvander 是这段占据历史中的一位重要人物。

接下来的几天内，由于该现象，居民加强了抵抗和安全留在这段土地上的呼吁。居民、社会运动成员和支持网络都开始组织每日集会。在集会上，居民定义了问题，以解决诸如自我管理空间的逻辑、其组织架构以及“被占领”地区之外的战略等主题。

支持网络在 CPT 的呼吁中诞生了。最初，该网络由天主教会的宗教分支机构所建立，后来扩展至公众律师、社会建筑师、政治科学家以及其他专业人士。这些网络的重要代表为大学内团体，包括本科生和研究生，他们也加入到了应对扩大占领区的日常挑战中。

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A Narrative of Resistance: ~~The A 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 ~~is developed, which that~~ reveals the challenges and opportunities for the people of Dandara in the ~~development making~~ 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~~ ~~hinterlands~~ have ~~been become~~ 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 ~~creation-conception~~ of Belo Horizonte ~~in its conception~~ presented the idea ~~that~~ of housing in the formal city ~~as 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 reveals~~ the ~~current~~, high inequalities ~~that are reproduced~~ within it. A study of the João Pinheiro Foundation (FJP) ~~points out shows~~ that Minas Gerais has the ~~second-second~~-largest housing deficit in the country: in 2014, Minas Gerais lacked 529,000 housing units. ~~In the Metropolitan Region of Belo Horizonte (RMBH), n~~ 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.

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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 layers of society~~ to obtain a home through ~~the~~ formal channels. ~~More over than that,~~ since housing is treated by the market as a financial asset, ~~there are many properties that many properties~~ are left unoccupied as a ~~form of housing speculation~~.

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This situation in the Metropolitan Region of Belo Horizonte has led to a ~~severe drastic~~ increase in the 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 market~~ of the exploitation of peripheral subjects in large centers. With intense debates ~~about regarding~~ the right to housing, and severe criticism of the housing deficit in this city that belongs to ~~the only a few~~, Dandara was constituted through struggle.

Dandara’s History in ~~Photographss~~ and Memory

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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 ~~9-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 the~~ Dandara Community ~~was born~~.

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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 intensified~~ ~~ing~~ calls for resistance and ~~securing access to the land. security to stay on 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~~ ~~in~~ 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.

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