The "First" Planned City in Brazil: A Case of Socio-Spatial Segregation and Territorial Exclusion

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Abstract: *The planning of cities, based on territorial organization or urban restructuring, sometimes hides localized interests and anti-democratic practices, which lead to the marginalization of citizens with less purchasing power. This article aims to evaluate the change of the capital of the State of Minas Gerais, from OuroPreto City to Belo Horizonte City, specifically the project of the new capital under the prism of the concepts of urban restructuring, city-merchandise, city patriotism and symbolic struggle. Therefore, the following question is answered: has urban planning in the city of Belo Horizonte contributed to socio-spatial segregation and territorial exclusion? Regarding the methodology adopted, as for the purposes, it was the exploratory and explanatory research using, as for the means, bibliographic and documentary investigations. Thus, it was noticed that the guiding principles of the planning and structuring of a city, as a commodity city, contributed directly to the production of urban space. Belo Horizonte's development process, driven by the local government and hegemonic actors with localized interests, left out popular participation in the formulation and restructuring of the city. Finally, it was found that the urban planning of the city of Belo Horizonte contributed to the socio-spatial segregation and territorial exclusion of socially and financially marginalized people. The study also revealed that the proposed approach emphasized the generational repercussion of urban restructuring and the influence of city marketing on the patriotism of the city, which involves the middle-class citizen in a media hypnosis and alienates the lower class due to the absence of a sense of belonging.*

Keywords: urban restructuring; commodity city; city patriotism; socio-spatial segregation; territorial exclusion

1. Introduction

The 20th century brought an evolution in the way of thinking about cities, no longer being considered merely as a mercantile, manufacturing and work center, transforming them into stages for local governments, hegemonic actors with localized interests and multilateral agencies to be able to promote themselves in a scenario of global city networks (SANCHEZ, 2001).

It is evident that technological, scientific and social developments can contribute to the development of the city. However, the critic occurs when such changes are provoked exclusively to meet the interests of political groups and their maintenance in power, using the "model" of city management as a showcase for external agents. This frontage of model cities sometimes hides serious social ills of socio-spatial segregation and even territorial exclusion (FERREIRA, 2004).

In this article is intend to evaluate the displacement of the State of Minas Gerais capital from OuroPreto City to Belo Horizonte City, specifically the project of the new capital from the prism of the concepts of urban restructuring, city-merchandise, city patriotism and symbolic struggle. Therefore, the following research question is made: has the urban planning of the city of Belo Horizonte contributed to socio-spatial segregation and territorial exclusion?

Related to the methodology adopted, as for the ends, it was used the exploratory and explanatory research, regarding the means, bibliographic and documentary investigations guided by themes that involves the context about the construction of the socio-urban space of the city of Belo Horizonte City and concepts of globalization, urban restructuring, commodity city, city patriotism and symbolic struggle.

2. The "First" Planned City in Brazil

The publication of Decree nº 776 of 1894 detached, from the municipality of Sabará, the entire territory of the district of Belo Horizonte, and authorized the chief engineer of the construction commission to promote, under the terms of the Law nº 15, of November 1891, the expropriation of the inhabitants of the springs and quarries, located in the same district. That were necessary for the development of the workers' activities, so that was the red signal for the villagers of Curral Del Rey. This decree had repercussions on the inhabitants of Belo Horizonte, as they feared the possibility of being forced to abandon their homes. (AVELAR NETO, 2010, p. 660-662)

Inaugurated in 1897, the new Minas Gerais capital became the first planned city in the country. The city was built by the government, in a modern format, with urban references from European and North American cities. The planning and construction of the city was the fulfillment of the desires of an elite that saw the advent of the Republic as a sign of rupture with the past, generating modernization and national development (JULIÃO, 1996, p. 51).

Modernization, reaching the economic, political and social areas; and modernism, encompassing art, culture and sensibility, were key factors in thinking about a new space for the capital of Minas Gerais, thus adding all the symbolism of an era (late 19th century and early 20th century) (PASSOS , 2016, p. 335).

During the 19th century, the city planning was based on sanitary ideals, comparing them to a healthy, clean body which movement took place with complete freedom. To fulfill this purpose, Engineer Aarão Reis was appointed as chief engineer of the Construction Commission of the new Capital, who planned the city by conceiving the streets as "arteries and veins" (SENNETT, 2006).

An example of this architectural model would be the design of the large Municipal Park in the middle of the city, as well as the large avenues Afonso Pena and AvenidaBrasil, all surrounded by Avenida 17 de Dezembro (today Avenida do Contorno) for good circulation of people, as evidenced in the figure 1.
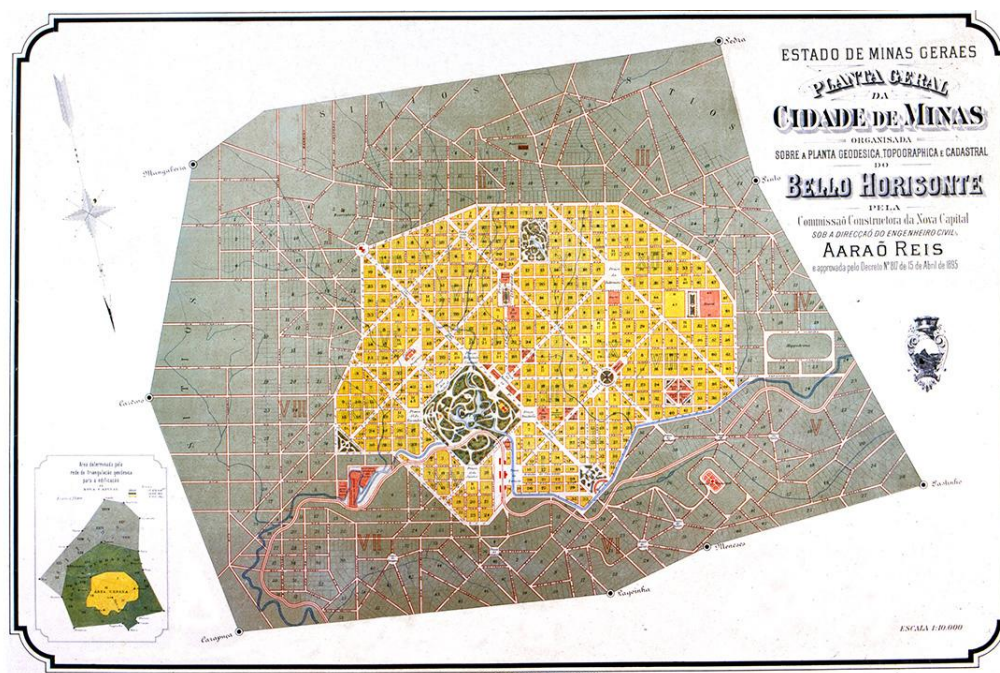

Figure 1
SOURCE: Public Archive of Belo Horizonte

[It is worthy to record about the Pró-MemóriaLegislativa Program, which is an initiative of the Municipality of Belo Horizonte, which surveyed the history of the Municipal Legislative since the construction of the new capital, resulting in the publication of texts, magazines, books and multimedia materials freely distributed to the public. The application "Passeio Virtual Belo Horizonte 1911" was even developed, which allows the interested party to walk through the streets of the that capital in the early 20th century. Built on a 3D platform, the software reconstructs large city scenes, allowing the user to walk from the Station, passing through the old Republic Square (PraçaAfonsoArinos), until reaching Freedom Square]. CMBH, 2021.

However, precisely because of its modernist profile, Belo Horizonte maintained the paradigm of being a place of segmentation. In accordance with the functional style of urbanism, the city also had spaces classified and ordered according to social functions and needs. This fact is seen in the project by engineer Aarão Reis, who divided Belo Horizonte into three zones: The urban area that constituted the modern and orderly space reserved for the mining elites. It had wide, straight, geometric avenues, sanitary and technical infrastructure, an area that should be a mirror of the most modern cities in the world; the suburban area, outside the limits of Avenida do Contorno, which served as a border separating urban from suburban life, where housing was poor and services precarious; and, finally, the countryside, a green belt, where the colonial nuclei that would supply the Capital with fruits, vegetables and raw materials for its construction would be located. (OLIVEIRA, 2004, p. 34-35) (Free-translated).

In this light, the allocation of people would already be pre-defined according to their social position, professional function or by economic or political status. Certainly marginalizing people with less purchasing power or with functions understood at the time as less important. The organization of commercial establishments would be no different, bringing to the center those "nobler" trades or public services, moving rural activities and considered less important from the city center. In this metric, governmental bodies and entities would occupy a prominent and prestigious place, demonstrating the grandeur of the public power as a centralizer of the power and not as an essential service to the population, as can be seen in the photograph of the Palácio da Liberdade (figure 2), headquarters administration of the Government of the State of Minas Gerais and official residence of the Governors.

Figure 2
SOURCE: Public Archive of Belo Horizonte. G1, 2021.

In this way, it can be seen that the intention of the builders of the new Minas Gerais capital would be to prevent the manifestations of the plurality of the inhabitants. Scrapped in the format of a model space, disciplined with concepts and behaviors designed to reveal and teach how the relationships between things and people should be. This urban model is directly related to the process of capitalist expansion, a concept that will be analyzed later in this article, as the commodity city. In fact, as described in the book Ciclone e Macaréus, about Engineer Aarão Reis in which "More than once we have heard him say, it is true, that he did not want any of the former inhabitants of Belo Horizonte inside the urban or suburban area traced for the new city, and that the people try to withdraw;" (AVELAR NETO, 2010, p. 662) (free translation), demonstrates the intention of the construction commission to promote the territorial exclusion of the former inhabitants of Curral Del Rey, favoring the new inhabitants and civil servants.

As already mentioned, the central part - the perimeter of Avenida do Contorno - was designed to encompass specific functions, pushing the lower classes to peripheral and rural areas, causing population growth to take place from the periphery to the center. It is important to emphasize that the space under construction of the new capital of Minas Gerais aimed at the efficient functioning of the State, in this way, with regard to occupation; it was a matter of primarily serving public servants from OuroPreto City (former capital of Minas Gerais). The Minas Gerais government would give in a plot of land in the new capital free of charge, in accordance with the general plan, to each of the state officials who, by virtue of their functions, were obliged to move to Belo Horizonte City; and to the owners of houses in OuroPreto who paid the property tax in the year 1890 and who built their new residences until the deadline of December 17, 1893 (BARRETO, 1995, p. 238).

It was with these statements that the new Minas Gerais capital was planned and built by the construction commission of Belo Horizonte, led by engineer Arão Reis. It was even based on these premises that the oldest favela in Belo Horizonte, Pedreira Prado Lopes, was formed. Precisely where part of the stones were mined to pave the great avenues of the city. It was also the place where workers found refuge, when forbidden to live in the center of the city. Located just over 2km away from Avenida do Contour, the gateway to Belo Horizonte, the oldest favela in the then "new capital", Pedreira Prado Lopes carries deep traces of socio-spatial segregation in its history and in the faces of its residents. (ARREGUY e RIBEIRO, 2006, p. 37).

3. The Merchandise City as a Space Strategy for Urban Restructuring

The big multilateral agencies, which function as centers for the formulation, dissemination and financing of public policies, such as the IADB, IBRD, the World Bank and the UN, as well as local governments and hegemonic actors with local interests use smart-cities and model cities as propaganda of their brands to "sell" their services to other nations. Private investments are very important for the development of cities, but the interest behind the investments sometimes clashes with the popular will and against the democratic spirit (SANCHEZ, 2001; FERREIRA, 2004).

This strategy of using urban restructuring, the creation of images and the discursive strategy as marketing tools to leverage the image of government performance, which managed to stand out in urban, environmental or in the practice of city management, builds the representation of the process of transformation of certain city projects into models.

Regarding this process of production of social space can make the space take shape from adequate representations and images, which highlights the importance of marketing cities as a tool for public policies. This is nothing more than a modern form of domination and technique of cultural manipulation, part of the new rationality of capitalism. (SANTOS, 2000).

However, like any technique of domination, this way of formulating public policies is primarily aimed at satisfying the interests of dominating agents and sovereigns, going against the republican spirit and democratic form of government. This type of social manipulation is very subtle, as it appears that "advancement" and spatial development, with emphasis on urban and environmental action and the practice of city management, only bring benefits to the population, when sometimes they hide behind the marketing strategies socio-spatial segregation and territorial exclusion (SANTOS, 2000).

Therefore, to the power relations between the actors are added the properly symbolic power relations, sufficient to build and disseminate the "strong speech" (SÁNCHEZ, 2001, p. 28). In this way, there is the dissemination and political-ideological legitimation of the idea of a city transformed into a commodity, with the primary objective of "selling" these cities. As highlighted by Fernanda Sanchez (2001), the cities of Curitiba and Barcelona are typical examples of urban restructuring aiming to be considered model cities.However, the transformation of cities into commodities raises commodification to another level, capitalism created a market for cities that highlights the pretension to the global production of social space.

This new level brought by capitalism, which comprises the purchase and sale of space on a global scale, is much more important than the purchase of properties itself, since, according to Lefevbre (1998), it seeks to carry out a comprehensive reorganization of production subordinated to cities and towns. to decision centers.

However, all this makeup carried out from representations constructed as synthesis-images (SANCHEZ, 2001, p. 38), through media discourses and city marketing policies, they end up destroying the history, tradition and customs of citizens, as they erase the roots of the city, expressed by monuments, cultural artistic works and even by citizens' housing.

In order for the new capital of Minas Gerais to be created, it was necessary to find a place that had the potential to receive the project of the "1st planned city in Brazil".Perhaps, at the end of the 19th century, capitalism and the vision of the commodity city at a global level still did not prevail, but the relationship of dominance (SCHUMPETER, 1984) and of shaping a city aimed at the interest of small groups was certainly already present.

It was the area of Curral Del Rey chosen to host the new state capital, due to its exuberant landscape, its differentiated plain and the water set present on the land. But, in addition to the wonderful nature present, "unfortunately" there were also local residents, who impeded the progress of the works.

For this reason, engineer Arão Reis was appointed to be responsible for "negotiate" the purchase of the properties, however, when there was resistance from owners who did not give in to pressure, the issues were resolved in court.This was the process of expropriation of Curral Del Rey, under the famous "constitutional" precept of the supremacy of the public interest over the private, using the discourse that some would have to give in due to the common good. (AVELAR NETO, 2010).

The commodity city model is necessary to meet the new demands of accumulation, with the creation of new spaces, through the logic and strategy of a world scale. There are several subjects, institutions and markets that benefit directly and indirectly from the world market of cities. According toSanchez (2001, p. 31) this type of policy moves the market based on companies' localized interests, which evaluate small differences between places to make locational decisions, always to maximize profit of the place considered ideal.It also dislocate the real estate market, due to the fluidity that speculation and the city's marketing provide to central properties, including with regard to large localized operations, with international capital investments.

On the other hand, it also moves the consumer market by streamlining the flows of domestic consumption, due to the restyling of modernized spaces, opening up great space for the civil construction market, either by contract or in the purchase and sale of construction materials. Consequently, it also promotes the urban tourism market, with the consumption of modernized spaces and business and cultural tourism. Sanchez (2001) also considers the movements that have taken place in the "good practices" market to be relevant, with the aim of legitimizing the local public administration and selling the image of a model city.

With the reunion of these points, it can be seen as a market for planning consultancy in urban public policies so that local actors, such as the mayor and leaders, build their political and/or economic projects through the projection and recognition of their city projects. As already mentioned in this work, the city of Belo Horizonte was planned to receive public workers from the previous capital, OuroPreto, but also to receive the elite of Minas Gerais. The establishments within the plan (Avenida do Contorno) would only be intended for the occupation of those residents, while work-people and the economically lower classes would only find dwelling outside the plan.In addition to its social appeal, real estate speculation was the main way to keep people with less purchasing power away, while for Brazil and the world, it was sold through city marketing as the brand of "1st Planned City in Brazil", but obviously without the fine print that should say "only for the rich".

Behind the beautiful municipal park, the huge Afonso Pena and Brasil avenues and the imposing building of Palácio da Liberdade, the process of territorial expulsion of the marginalized population of BH to the favelas that surrounded Avenida do Contorno, was hidden. With the construction of the new city, there was clearly an intense movement of the consumer and real estate market, driven by the construction of the entire structure of the Minas Gerais public service, such as the Secretariat of the Interior, the

Municipal Theater, Palace of Justice, Secretariat of Agriculture, Station Square, etc.

4. The Symbolic Struggle in the City as a Political and Social Manifestation

Conflicts and attempts to build hegemony sometimes make use of readings of the city, where the political struggle for its imposition takes place. Perhaps it is in this symbolic struggle that the political process of understanding what is behind the reconstruction of places and urban modernization is observed. (SANCHEZ, 2001).

In Belo Horizonte, the initiative to create the new capital by Decree of the President of the State, Augusto de Lima, was a clear manifestation of power, even without having popular support from the then citizens of OuroPreto (capital at the time). The *mineiros* were divided between the 'changers', in favor of the new capital, and the 'non-changers'. Each of these groups founded their own newspaper, promoting meetings and debates (IBGE, 2014). However, the debates did not have the desired effects, as it was up to the Minas Gerais congress to make the final decision and, thus, it voted in favor of moving the capital to Belo Horizonte. On December 17, 1893, law n.° 3 was added to the State Constitution, determining that the new seat of government be built in Belo Horizonte, called Minas City.

This political struggle for imposition demonstrates the tension and conflicts in the acts of restructuring cities as an attempt to build hegemonies of power. This is the type of symbolic struggle that must be taken into account in order to study and seek to understand the political processes of mobilization for the reconstruction of places, in a dialectical relationship with the material processes of urban modernization. Happens that this type of symbolic struggle ends up shaping social practices over time (SANCHEZ, 2001, p. 33). It is not an automatic process, but it depends on the legitimation of modernization processes, which are influenced by discursive and rhetorical strategies. This strategy of forming the official synthesis image of the city, through publicity that materializes the way of recognizing and evaluating it, does not allow other forms of interpretation of the image that was conveyed. They reflect the city exactly as the languages of power determine, appearing objective, despite masking social facts. The big problem is that it translates a distorted image and as if what would be a cultural fact were natural, according to Novais (1999).

In this way, it is perceived that each representation becomes a partial truth, constructed in a methodologically oriented way and that allows the perception that what is seen from the created image is not objective reality, but partial information, constructed and selected by through these representations. When Lefebvre (1998) brings up the discussion about the production of space, the importance of the object studied becomes clear, as it demonstrates the importance of understanding not "only how places acquire material qualities, but also how they acquire symbolic value through representation activities" (SANCHEZ, 2001, p. 34).Even because there is a strong relationship between material transformation and cultural symbolism and between

the restructuring of places and the construction of identities. In other words, the space production process influences the representations that the subjects have of the real, therefore, they influence the construction of reality and new material practices that will subsidize the consequent representations of the real, forming a vicious cycle of change of the original culture. This causes substantial changes in regional culture and customs to occur.

In fact, the aforementioned representations are sometimes loaded with internationalities, which lead to the loss of local identity to assume a global identity. In the case studied, all the architecture and planning of the city of Belo Horizonte was conceived based on the European style and with reference to the city of Washington, United States of America, whose architecture was totally different from the old capital OuroPreto. In this sense, it is interesting to transcribe the contribution of Sanchez (2001, p. 35) evidenced in the following quotation freely translated:

> Effectively, the production, circulation and exchange of material goods is different but not separate from the production, circulation and exchange of signs, languages and discourses (...). When producing a material object in the city, a square, a monument, a building, the way in which it will be consumed is also produced, through the ideological practices that produce the object in the form of discourse and image.Thus, the symbolic re-elaboration that an effective discourse is an integral part of social reality and, for this reason, such reality is also constituted or determined by the symbolization activity itself.

What Sanchez (2001) explains is that when an urban space is produced, such as a sports court, a skate track or a graffitodrome, the way in which this asset will be used is also directed, directing leisure, culture and popular practices, through ideological practices, which are generated in the form of discourse and image. If the Ruler decides to invest in sports production, he will form generations who practice certain sports. If you invest in theaters and cultural spaces, you will promote popular culture. Now, if you invest in discourses that encourage consumerism, disunity and intolerance, you will prepare the population to lose the sense of nation, aiming at a globalized city, and what belongs to the world, is not the citizen's.

This reasoning becomes clear when one takes into account that the power of representations is solidified in architecture and urbanism. While advertising, posters and leaflets are consumed over time, urban renewals planned and created by marketing professionals resist the passage of time and transmit the information produced to everyone who consumes this space (FERREIRA, 2003). This type of marketing, due to its almost timeless value, is highly disputed in the political environment, as it readily translates hegemony, power, the ability to convince and the creation of consensus (RIBEIRO, 1999). After all, "This struggle for the hegemony of the so-called "strong discourse" (BOURDIEU, 1998, p. 136), as an interpretation of reality and legitimation of future projects, is associated with the elaboration of images, as discursive syntheses: a field of expanded disputes

aiming, at the same time, at the conquest and reproduction of political and economic power." (SANCHEZ, 2001, P. 36).

But even the point raised above is theoretically questionable, since the conception of the city's identity seems to weave the idea that there is only a single identity, and the city is formed by the plurality of ideas, cultures and people. The vision of the city's single identity shows a reductionist vision of social relations, which prioritizes the traces of the identity of hegemonies and dominant power relations.

In order for the city to survive globalization, it is necessary to design a consensual identity. However, this vision goes against the unifying identity of the city, as it gives up its local identity to avoid aggressive competitive attitudes. (SANCHEZ, 2001, p. 38).

5. Socio-Spatial Segregation And Territorial Exclusion

Some Chicago School thinkers brought up the concept of socio-spatial segregation, or urban segregation, as they sought to understand the process of choice of American citizens when "choosing" their place of residence. At first, they observed that the choice was made based on racial groups, income classes or activity and, therefore, it was something natural. During the 1960s and 1970s, Marxist thinkers from the French School of Urban Sociology understood that socio-spatial segregation would not be a natural process, but that it could be a source for understanding the process of inequality brought about by capitalist urbanization. (SOUZA, 2002, p. 265).

In this sense, Lefevbre (1998) asserts that the form of organization of urban space, in capitalist society, would be a form of social production. Therefore, there would be three basic conditioning factors: the first would be urban space as a kind of commodity; the second would be, as a consequence of the first, differentiated access to urban space between different social classes; and the third would be, as a consequence of the previous conditions, the subjective and ideological appropriation of the space.

Therefore, it can be observed that the process of socio-spatial segregation is the product of the inequalities present in the social relations between the different classes. In this way, they result in different levels of access to the city, either in the spatial location of the individual's residence or in the access to collective consumer goods available in the city.

In other hand, according to the author, the hegemonic and dominant classes appropriate the space in order to purge other groups from their zones of interest, and the less favored social strata do not even have a choice, having to bear with what is left of urban space. It is a differentiated and unequal access to urban space, simply determined by the social or financial condition of individuals. This makes (in) access to the city a vicious cycle of expansion of the socio-spatial segregation process.

The train of thought exposed in the previous topic demonstrates that the cultural policies of cities are increasingly being formatted and aligned with economic policies. The sense of belonging to the place, despite being stimulated by the city's restructuring projects and that political power can be exercised through representation activities, is directly impacted by the material changes of the city. In this way, there are buildings that are readily incorporated by the local culture; however others are rejected by the population, especially when they replace material goods of historical value. A great example of a restructuring accepted by the citizens was the fall of the Berlin wall, where it represented the reunification of Germany.

In the main case about the construction of the new Minas Gerais capital, Belo Horizonte City, there was at the beginning a process of territorial exclusion marked in the "expropriation" of the residents of the Del Rey corral to start the construction works of the city. The chief engineer responsible for the real estate purchase process was Mr. Arão Reis, who, when he could not convince the residents to sell their share of land, compelled them to take legal action (AVELAR NETO, 2010, p. 660). These residents were prevented from residing in the new capital. The criticism he makes to this model of social restructuring is the fact that it misses the opportunity to carry out a profound land reform with the primary purpose of carrying out public spatial control in order to guarantee access to the city for all interested citizens, including the most poor.

From the conception and planning of the project to the execution of the work, the objective was for the city to be divided into three regions, the central, the suburban and the rural. The central regions, within Avenida do Contour and prime area, was created exclusively to meet the desires of the most privileged class. Public workers would have guaranteed residence, along with families with high purchasing power, politicians and large merchants. With wide, well-planned streets, with parks, squares, theatres, churches, tram station, it was truly a European sight in the center of Brazil.

In the suburban area, without detailed planning as in the central area, the workers and builders of the city were huddled together, being marginalized and financially prevented from accessing the noble area of the brand new capital. (URBEL, 1998).

This was the origin of the first favelas in the city. Belo Horizonte was a capital destined for the middle and upper classes, not having a place for the installation of low-income people who came from the interior in the pursuit of better living conditions or better health care, employment, education system, clean water and electricity. All that was left to them was the invasion of public or private areas, where the first villages and slums appeared. The Pedreira (quarry) did not escape this rule, as the people who settled in it did not find anything they came looking for. At the beginning of its existence, it did not have any infrastructure. There was no water, electricity, sewage, paving, and the houses were not yet made of masonry, but of adobe, wood, and brass. Residents obtained water through cisterns and mines, in addition to forcing themselves to use pits and lamps.

If in the surroundings of the central zone there was no infrastructure, what to say about the rural zone, without sanitation, without paving and without municipal assistance? The answer is objective: it would be the area where the poorest would find shelter. This is normally the process of any large city, but what is different in this case is that this format was planned even before its conception, demonstrating the political will of the hegemonies to carry out socio-spatial segregation in a planned way.

The contour avenue, encircling the entire administrative/ political center of the capital, as in ancient cities, would function almost as a wall "preventing commoners" from accessing the central area of the city. Exaggerations aside, the projected architecture clearly demonstrates the social spaces and who should occupy them.

The second remarkable episode of territorial exclusion in the history of the formation of the city of Belo Horizonte took place after the formation of the first favela in the capital of Minas Gerais, Pedreira Prado Lopes. As mentioned in the first section of this article, Pedreira Prado Lopes was one of the five main quarries that supplied the city of Belo Horizonte; however, with the completion of the initial works in the capital, mainly within Avenida do Contorno, Pedreira Prado Lopes was occupied by workers. This occupation was primarily due to the impossibility of these workers having access to live in the central area of BH. Another important reason was the short distance from Pedreira to the center, just over two kilometers.

It so happens that the socio-spatial segregation that led to the occupation of the Pedreira continued to have its harmful effects on the marginalized population over the years, making the Pedreira, despite the exponential growth of Belo Horizonte over the years and the privileged location of the Pedreira, substantiate in one of the most violent places in the capital of Minas Gerais. The formation of the Quarry led to "high rates of residential turnover, population heterogeneity, in addition to the extreme concentration of economic and structural disadvantages, together with the failure of formal and informal control institutions and a very low degree of social cohesion" (NASCIMENTO, 2004, p. 54 e 55).The author also warns that, in addition to its formation process, the history of the "evolution" of the Pedreira has successive episodes of evictions, territorial exclusions and socio-spatial segregation. So:

> (...) the opening of new avenues, such as PresidenteAntônio Carlos and José Bonifácio, and the emergence of several buildings, such as the IAPI Complex, the Municipal College, the Department of Investigations and the Odilon Behrens Hospital, ended up compressing the previously occupied space, causing a large population density and the reconfiguration of the entire favela space and **that only increased the scenario of misery and decay in the village. Due to the changes processed in that part of the city, several families were compensated by the City Hall and had to move out of the favela**, which contrasted with the arrival of hundreds of new residents. With each avenue that was opened in the Northwest region of Belo Horizonte, the Pedreira

community was forced to rearrange itself in an increasingly improvised way. **Older residents say that, at that time, hundreds of families left the hill, which changed the character of the community that was being formed.** The old wooden shacks gave way to the first masonry constructions. In addition, the suffocating proximity of the residences made the Pedreira look even dirtier and disorganized than before. (Freely translated).

In the same way, the survey carried out by the Municipality of BH in 1998 showed that the vast majority of the population of Pedreira is made up of people with very low incomes, which can even be characterized as one of the regions that house the population with the lowest average income in Belo Horizon. In this regard, from URBEL (1998) we have that in 1998 the average income of families in BH was approximately R\$1,300.00, while the average income of 2/3 of families in Pedreira was only three minimum wages, around R\$390.00 at the time, as shown by excerpts from the research report:

> The data collected show that the population engages in professional activities of low qualification and remuneration, both for those responsible and for the other occupants, which is confirmed by the very low salary level of the population: the average income of heads of family in Belo Horizonte is R\$ 872.29 and the average family income of R\$ 1307.68, and, in the Northwest Region, where the village is located, R\$ 677.63 and R\$ 1096.35, respectively. In Pedreira, in turn, 66% of families earn between 0 and 3 minimum wages, that is, up to R\$ 390.00, constituting a situation of extreme poverty and social exclusion. This picture can also be seen with the help of other graphs related to income, such as per capita income and income of those responsible. The fact that the Northwest Administration has a lower income than that of Belo Horizonte can perhaps be attributed to the large number of villages and favelas that belong to it. It can also be seen that the income of the residents of Pedreira is still below that of other villages in Belo Horizonte. (URBEL, 1998) (Freely translated).

Allied to low income, low professional qualifications, high unemployment rates and little education, they make up the ideal scenario for the increase of criminality. Because the illegal income is easy, quick and does not need any level of education, seems to be almost the only solution present for the "pursuit of happiness" of this teenagers. So, this illusory "paradise" that appears to be drug trafficking exponentially raises homicide and crime rates and substantially decreases life expectancy, especially for black young men in that community.

6. The City Patriotism

In the projects of modernization and restructuring of cities, it is essential that the population "buy" the idea of reformulation created by the hegemonies. However, this acceptance is not automatic and smooth, political actors massively use the production of images and city marketing

policies as instruments to legitimize these modernization projects and promote social cohesion. Hegemonic actors use all the strength, reach and persuasion of the media to "exercise a growing dominion over the collective life of cities" (SANCHEZ, 2010, p. 41).

In this sense, television, radio, newspapers and other vehicles are used to construct certain readings of the city, interfering and inducing cultural values and social representation, and may even impact the behavior of individuals and their way of using public spaces.

This convincing action is carried out concurrently with the restructuring of the city, sometimes it begins before urban interference, formatting citizens at the same time as it remodels the city. In the case of Belo Horizonte, the situation was even more serious, as the hegemonic elite selected the citizens who would live in the city, through the granting of benefits to those who would be of interest or excluding those unwanted with high property values or by "judicial eviction".

That's why city renewal and patriotism projects go hand in hand. So that the city government's ideology can be disseminated and mirrored from its architecture and subordination of the project to political aspects. Thus, social communication proves to be imperative in urban restructuring projects to promote social consensus, acceptance and approval of projects, as it attracts the population to "participate" in official programs and policies. However, this participation would not be active and transforming public policy, but only passive and legitimized.

It is clear that this type of construction shows traces of authoritarianism and technocratic practices, despite being covered by an apparent consensus and a vague hope of any influence by civil society. An example of this type of policy is municipal councils. Consultative councils only allow citizens to be "heard", not generating any decision-making power on the topics discussed in the council. And the few deliberative councils, normally composed equally of half of civil society and half of the public power, add little to the themes discussed.

This media bombardment provided by city marketing, when the city is restructured, creates in the population a feeling of pride and belonging to the city. In Curitiba, regardless of the origin of the "title", the population is proud to say that "we are from the republic of Curitiba", just as in Belo Horizonte, at the time, the population of the central area was proud to be the "first planned city in Brazil", mirroring the great European cities and Washington. This manufactured feeling generates more than passive participation, it tends to generate contemplative participation, as this "assistance" in the modernization of the city makes the citizen feel part of the process. However, they only contemplate the city as the "extras of a great urbanistic brand advertisement" (SANCHEZ, 2010, p. 44).

Nevertheless, behind the apparent unanimity around the benefits of modernization it is possible to find revealing expressions of the other opinions. When Curral Del Rey was evicted, what was "sold" was the project for the new capital,

calling the public workers of OuroPreto to move to the 1st planned city in Brazil, but hiding the rejection from the former residents. Although, when the city was built, it was sold all over Brazil, which was the newest place of opportunity, calling people to come to work and live, but when these people arrived they were faced with the impossibility of living in the central area.

At another time, with the creation of new avenues near Pedreira Prado Lopes, Avenidas Antonio Carlos and José Bonifácio, and when the popular housing complex IAPI was created, it was promised to value space, improve urban mobility and decent housing, but the what really happened was mass eviction and compensation that did not even cover the expenses of even more marginalized homes. In the latter case, there is still the expulsion of part of the original population, including the increase in the cost of housing caused by the sudden real estate appreciation that naturally leads to a relevant transformation of the social composition of the inhabitants of the locality. (AVELAR NETO, 2010).

This demonstrates that only a small portion really takes advantage of the effects of urban renewal, however large sectors of the population will only access the benefits of modernization in an imaginary way, with the flood of placements about the habits of the middle class. Of course, this past image of the representation of harmonious and conflict-free urban life is nothing more than propaganda, such as the classics of the perfect family eating margarine or toothpaste, in which the skinny, slender and white extra dives into the translucent sea(SANCHEZ, 2016).

In fact, it is usually the middle classes that use these new cultural urban spaces the most. Evidently, this is due to the reading that is made of these new spaces, associated with the lifestyle of these same layers, due to the new standard of life dictated by city marketing. These spaces become consumables like any other shelf product. To intensify this consumption, local governments encourage consumerism through their own marketing. From this, the identification of these middle classes with the proposed model becomes practically automatic, as the discourse behind restructuring is appealing and directed to them.

In Belo Horizonte, it is evident that there is not just a single type of patriotism in the city, each social group, every poor community, every single favela, each neighborhood has its social configuration, but they are not treated equally by the public authorities. Unfortunately, more than a hundred years after the city's inauguration, the pattern started in the planning of the "first planned city in Brazil", what it has is a continuous process of socio-spatial segregation, where each ghetto fights for its space, but it is always the same ones who win and the same ones who "loses".

There was an attempt of public policy in Belo Horizonte to involve the most needy citizens in the co-management of the city. In 1994, the Participatory Budget (OP) was created, which provided for a council formed by members of poor communities to carry out deliberations on a tiny portion of the municipality's budget, being able to choose where this money would be spent. In that regard:

(...) The Vilas Participatory Budget provides the community of towns, slums and popular housing projects with an effective space for exercising citizenship. The population of these places decides, by means of a vote, which are the priority works to be carried out by the City Hall in their community.

From 1994 to December 2020, investments of more than R$ 430 million were made in villages construction, with resources approved in the OP. In general, they are urbanization, treatment of risk areas, housing, leisure and sanitation.

Since the implementation of the OP, residents of these poorest areas have already won approval for 469 projects in public assemblies, of which 391 have been completed and 78 are in progress. (PMBH, 2020).

However, the public policy of popular participation and co-management of the municipal budget through the OP program is not enough to confront the voluminous hegemonic structures and all their firepower of city marketing and media strategies.

7. Conclusion

In summary, the urban plan that was built in the capital of Minas Gerais had as one of the main characteristics the "denial" of the possibility of political participation of the popular sectors, contradicting, in many moments, the principles of freedom and equality and more than that, the idea of a city for the middle and upper classes was conceived at its core, under the concept of a commodity city, it had been developed in the mirror of the American capital, explicitly excluding the most popular layers.

It was demonstrated in this paper that, as planned by the construction commission of Belo Horizonte, the format of the city's construction continued to have the effects of socio-spatial segregation throughout its history. The public interventions that took place in Belo Horizonte, especially in the slums that surrounded Avenida do Contorno, had extremely contradictory results, because even evolving from the point of view of urban recovery, they were discriminatory and excluding, particularly with the population removed when the major works were carried out. Restructuring process, while favoring those "chosen ones" who remained and settled in the central area.

Therefore, in response to the initial questioning of this paper, it was found that the urban planning of the city of Belo Horizonte contributed to the socio-spatial segregation and territorial exclusion of socially and financially marginalized people, promoting artifices such as city marketing to direct city patriotism. So, it is evident the vicious circle that represents the failure in the strategy of elaboration of public urbanization policies. It's not just about mobility or architectural issues. These are problems directly linked to inclusion, health and the lives of citizens.

It was also noticeable that urban planning permanently guides the development of urban spaces and, therefore, should be built in a process of deep popular dialogue, because the city is formed by the plurality of ideas, cultures and people. The vision of the city's single identity shows a reductionist vision of social relations, which prioritizes the traces of the identity of hegemonies and dominant power relations, as it does not only bring immediate impacts to the citizens present when restructuring, but generates deep social "buildings", for the good or for the bad. Thus, his intentions reverberate through the generations.

In the eagerness for a new globalization, the conclusion of this work is proposed with the remarkable reflection of Santos (2000, p. 18) on the type of world that one dreams of having: "...we must (sic.) consider the existence of at least three worlds in one. The first would be the world as they make us see it: globalization as a fable; the second would be the world as it is: globalization as perversity; and the third, the world as it can be: another globalization".

Finally, it should be noted that this work does not exhaust the studied theme, given its extension and initial objectivity, as a theme. It is thus pointed out that, considering the possibility of the field for further investigations, it is suggested as possible, among others, a greater depth on: (i) the symbolic struggle waged in the city as a political and social manifestation; (ii) socio-spatial segregation and; (iii) territorial exclusion.

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