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COMPARATIVE APPROACHES TO INFORMAL HOUSING AROUND THE GLOBE

Comparative Approaches to Informal Housing Around the Globe

FRINGE

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Squatting activism in Brazil and Spain: Articulations between the right to housing and the right to the city

Clarissa Campos and Miguel A. Martínez

6.1 Introduction

There is an abundance of studies on squatting published over the last two decades.[1] There is little consensus about the boundaries of the subject itself, with different expressions of informal dwelling and urban settlements, illegal occupations of land and buildings, tenure insecurity and substandard housing, and even some aspects of homelessness all falling under the umbrella of squatting. Against this backdrop, we will argue that a) squatting practices, defined as unauthorised occupations of land and buildings, predominantly indicate structural inequalities and injustice deeply rooted in the prevailing housing markets and policies, and b) the more politicised and activist expressions of squatting represent the most explicit challenge to housing oppression.[2]

This chapter compares specific forms of squatting in two metropolitan areas from the Global South and North, respectively – Belo Horizonte (Brazil) and Madrid (Spain). We elaborate our comparison by taking into account the features of the state and world–regional contexts (Brazil and Spain, on the one hand, and Latin America and Europe, on the other) without limiting ourselves to the first-hand data collected from the two cities. Furthermore, we frame our analysis according to a political economy approach by asking: what can we learn from squatting that may help us understand the mechanisms of oppression and the limits of the capitalist production and governance of cities?[3] This does not entail a blunt assumption about the homogeneity of global capitalism – which

would render any comparison unnecessary. Rather, we aim to illuminate how the different varieties of urban neoliberalism are contested by squatting practices and movements in both the Global South and North. This justifies our focus on squatting activism as opposed to examining all the situations involving informal or illegal urbanism. Squatters contest urban inequalities according to different strategies, resources, contextual opportunities and contentious interactions with the authorities and property owners. Prior comparative research has paid only scant attention to all these aspects, and has hardly, if at all, incorporated the squatters' activism into the picture.

As we substantiate here, both land and building occupations are tightly connected by activism, especially in the Brazilian context. This runs counter to the current view of urban squatting worldwide as being characterised by a landscape featuring almost exclusively favelas. We also note that housing injustice under the rule of speculative and financial capitalism motivates squatting actions and claims, but these go beyond the housing question in both Brazil and Spain. Occupied houses, social centres and vacant land at the urban core, as disparate as they may appear, are all driven by grassroots expressions of the 'right to the city'.[4] Despite the formal attempts to include the right to the city in some legal regulations, squatters' radical politics provides a material manifestation of that right. Finally, by discussing how different policies and negotiations related to squatting occur in each context, we aim to disclose the extent of squatters' empowerment through very demanding and sometimes desperate direct action when housing and cities are subject to powerful capitalist interests. Legalisations of squats and land occupations are quite controversial issues, but it is even more noticeable that they usually remain concealed from public view.

This research is based on data collection and analyses that were conducted independently by each author, except for two weeks of shared fieldwork study in the city of Madrid where we conducted five interviews and eight site visits (in November 2018). Miguel Martínez was engaged in activist ethnography in Madrid, mainly between 2007 and 2013, although he also gathered empirical information by conducting more than one hundred personal interviews and tracking mass media news from other Spanish cities over three decades. Clarissa Campos had been visiting occupations in Belo Horizonte since 2016, and she also conducted 16 interviews with activists from December 2018 to January 2019 and from July to September 2019, in addition to consulting various secondary sources about the movement.[5]

6.2 Brazil: Beyond housing informality in favelas, the right to the city centre

After 21 years of military dictatorship in Brazil (1964–1985), a new constitution was written and came into force during the re-democratisation period. In contrast with a past characterised by state censorship, tortures, murders and arbitrary persecution of individuals and organisations identified as leftists, the 1988 constitution granted fundamental democratic rights and provided legal instruments for their realisation. Housing, in particular, was made a constitutional right for the first time, through an amendment of Article 6 in 2000. Another key novelty was the binding of the right to property to the fulfilment of its social function (mainly Article 5, but also Articles 170, 182, 184, 186). This notion refers to prioritising the general interests before those of individual proprietors, in a fair way. Such a statement implies that unproductive lands and abandoned buildings may contradict their social function. By 2001, all the urban policy instruments called for in the constitution were formally brought together and regulated under the *Estatuto da Cidade* (City Statute, Federal Law 10.257), having as one of its bases the right to the city.[6]

Despite such rights and legal instruments being formally guaranteed, their efficiency is questionable. According to 2015 estimates, the housing deficit in Brazil amounted to 6.4 million households, of which 87.7 per cent were located in urban areas. Leaving aside the housing needs of future generations, the actual deficit affects more than 19 million people (around 10 per cent of the entire population, but probably higher).[7] At the same time, the number of vacant dwellings reached 7.9 million, 80.3 per cent of which were located in urban areas.[8] This systemic contradiction prompts one to ask: why is vacancy not used to house the needy?

Property speculation is the obvious answer. Empty units are commodities that must secure the greatest possible profit for their owners. Three decades of neoliberal policies since the recovery of democracy did nothing to alter the hegemony of capitalist interests regardless of the constitutional prescriptions. Even the first progressive government, led by Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003–2006), was known for implementing austerity measures that were lately balanced with more intense anti-poverty and redistributive policies in a favourable context of global economic expansion.[9] In particular, housing policies were seen as an instrument to soften the aforementioned strains.

For example, the first large-scale public housing construction programme in Brazil, *Minha Casa Minha Vida* – MCMV (My House My Life), launched in 2009, was a move in that direction, but it has also attracted criticism. According to several reports, besides not having reduced the housing deficit, MCMV presents other serious problems.[10] In sum, these are related to 1) low quality of certain buildings (insufficient size of the units and deficient technical–constructive characteristics); 2) the high prices residents have to pay for utilities or other costs they were not expecting to be responsible for; and 3) the peripheral or undesirable location of the housing complexes.[11] In fact, the most frequent criticism aimed at MCMV was that many of the dwellings are built in areas far from the city centres, without proper transportation or infrastructure. Under these conditions, people usually do not have adequate access to schools, health facilities, recreation spaces or employment, and sometimes they have difficulty keeping their jobs. Hence, even with a roof over their heads, their right to the city is clearly compromised.

The right to decent housing of the so-called *sem-teto* (roof-less) has been a historical demand of social movements in Brazil, with significant impacts on current urban policies. According to the dominant mass media, the notion of *sem-teto* simply refers to people who are living on the street, or homeless, which differs from their self-perception as members of a squatting movement.[12] The activists of the *sem-teto* movement are generally poor, informal workers in a hyper-precarious situation who are also quite politicised.[13] One of their most important actions is the occupation of buildings and land (for self-construction) and they should not be confused with the *favelados* (favela residents).[14]

In the Brazilian context, the formation of favelas began around the end of the nineteenth century, in part related to the first regulatory urban processes in the country. What social movements call 'occupations' are a more recent phenomenon that can be traced back only as far as the 1980s. Although they may occur spontaneously, occupations are usually supported from their inception by collective actors such as social movement organisations, leftist political parties, university groups and so on.[15] Furthermore, most occupations are preceded by a long period of careful preparation. After the squatting action, in no more than a week, the first group of families is able to live in the dwelling and the basic facilities are in use.[16] It is worth noting the frequent occupation of vacant land for self-construction across Brazil, but also the occupation of abandoned buildings albeit in less significant numbers. Against this backdrop Belo Horizonte provides an exemplary case.

6.3 Occupations in Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Region

Belo Horizonte is the capital of the Minas Gerais state, in the south-east region of the country. With more than 2.3 million inhabitants, it is the sixth-largest city in Brazil in terms of population. The *Región Metropolitana de Belo Horizonte* (metropolitan region, known as RMBH) is home to 5.4 million inhabitants as the third-largest urban agglomeration in Brazil.[17]

From 1996, through to the first decade of the 2000s, reports point to only seven cases of urban occupations in the metropolitan region, all of which related to housing, and only one in a building.[18] As of 2011, the number of occupations increased, reaching a total of 36 registered cases in 2018, of which three were evicted, and nine were regularised or are currently in the process of gaining some type of legal status or agreement with the local, state or federal authorities. The most recent cases include building occupations for housing, cultural uses, support for women in situations of violence, and other political purposes such as the organisation of talks, campaigns and protests about topics others than squatting. At the same time, they display a crucial spatial pattern of increasing concentration in the central areas of the city, intentionally geared towards better access to urban infrastructure, public services, leisure facilities and so on. According to a recent research report, there were a total of 24 occupations in the RMBH in 2016 (the vast majority being large plots of land), encompassing around 14,000 families, or approximately 55,000 people.[19] A more recent publication[20] added a further 10 occupations to the list, to which we can add another two from our own observations.

Among the political collectives that usually support the occupations in RMBH, two in particular stand out: the *Movimento de Luta nos Bairros, Vilas e Favelas* – MLB (Movement of Struggle in Neighborhoods, Villages and Favelas) and the *Brigadas Populares* (Popular Brigades). MLB was founded in 1999, and urban occupations of lands and buildings are its main repertoire of action.[21] The *Brigadas Populares*, on the other hand, is a militant movement committed to a broader range of causes such as housing, public health, education, transportation, rights of jailed people and other issues. It is active in many Brazilian states and it supports and helps organise several urban occupations.[22] Both organisations are very influential in the internal organisational processes of the occupations, the public activities promoted by the squatters, and the cooperative ways in which some occupations interact with each other, especially concerning housing occupations. Even in the case of other types of occupation, formed by more autonomous and independent collectives, the MLB and the *Brigadas Populares* are active participants.

In addition to providing housing for the squatters, the squatted buildings and settlements also hosted public events such as movie sessions, workshops, discussions, music presentations and courses. A communal kitchen and day-care are the main collective spaces set up by the squatters, since these are essential for ensuring adequate access to food and the well-being of the children, while also facilitating interaction between the squatters and the external community.[23] Some activities are free of charge, but many aim to raise money to support the occupations and to contribute to improving the infrastructure of the buildings, along with donations and other fundraising campaigns.

As occupations are considered illegal, and therefore are in constant risk of eviction, the squatters usually seek agreements with owners and with municipal, state or federal authorities, depending on each case. Although this is a predominant feature of the occupations in RMBH, there is no model or standard procedure to be followed. In most cases, 'activist lawyers' give support to the occupations by fighting repossession orders or eviction threats. Activist lawyers are those who, although usually not living in occupations, provide legal advice to the squatters, often free of charge, either individually or organised in collective groups.

As an example, the premises of *Espaço Comum Luiz Estrela*, which offers cultural and political activities, was occupied by a group of artists, activists, educators and cultural producers in October 2013.[24] The historic state-owned house is located in *Santa Efigênia*, a central, economically privileged neighbourhood, and had lain abandoned for 19 years before being occupied. After negotiations, the collective became entitled to use the property for a period of 20 years.

A different type of squat is represented by *Kasa Invisível,* also occupied in 2013, by an anarchist collective.[25] The house, located in the central area of the city, belongs to a local family, but was abandoned for more than 15 years. *Kasa Invisível*, besides housing some of the participants, aims to be a space for the propagation of radical and anti-authoritarian policies. The collective has been seeking legalisation through the legal instrument of *usucapião* (adverse possession), which grants domain of an urban area or building up to 250 m² to whoever possesses it for housing purposes – uninterrupted and unopposed – for five years.[26]

Around three years later, in 2016, the *Casa de Referência da Mulher Tina Martins* was created, when the *Movimento de Mulheres Olga Benario* (Olga Benario Women's Movement) occupied a building owned by the Federal University of Minas Gerais in the central region of Belo Horizonte, unused for 10 years.[27] The movement intended to shelter women at risk, and to deliver activities in support of violence prevention and female

empowerment and emancipation.[28] After the occupation, the collective managed to negotiate with the federal and state governments, securing a two-year agreement on another property in *Funcionários*, a very central and economically privileged neighbourhood. More recently, the agreement with the state government that guaranteed this project would remain on the current property has expired, but the collective continues to develop its activities on the same site as an occupation.

The two most recent housing occupations are *Carolina Maria de Jesus* and *Vicentão*.[29] *Carolina* began in September 2017 with the occupation by 200 families of an abandoned building in *Funcionários*, owned by a social security company. After months of negotiations, in June 2018 an agreement was reached with the state government by which the families would receive two plots of land with adequate infrastructure in *Barreiro*, in the peripheral southern region of Belo Horizonte, as well as pecuniary assistance for self-construction. Families wishing to remain in the city centre would be resettled in another building and also receive monetary help. This is a pioneering experience in RMBH and is in the implementation phase. Elsewhere, in January 2018 around 90 families occupied a building in the city centre that had been abandoned four years earlier, the property of a local banker. These squatters, of *Vicentão*, recently signed an agreement with the state government to rent a property in the city-centre area for two years while they await resettlement to state-owned land and self-build their houses.

6.4 Spain: Urban and housing activism revived by the global financial crisis

A democratic regime was recovered in Spain after four decades of dictatorship (1939–1978). The transitional period (roughly, between 1975 and 1979) was stirred by large numbers of workers' strikes and very active urban movements.[30] The 1978 constitution granted both the right to 'decent and adequate housing' (Article 47) and the right to private property in accordance with its 'social function' (Article 33). In addition, it explicitly stated that further laws and the regulation of land use should make effective the right to housing, 'avoid speculation' (Article 47) and promote the general interest. Even the right to 'adverse possession' has been kept in the Spanish Civil Code (Articles 1940–42) and could facilitate property titles for squatters if they dwelled for more than 10 (standard procedure) or 30 years (extraordinary procedure), although it is rarely applicable.

In view of that, the occupation of empty land and buildings, which has occurred in various forms since the 1980s, might be seen as a non-institutional tool in the hands of lay citizens to meet the constitutional dispositions. Squatters can always claim that the constitutional princi-ples are on their side. Accordingly, far from simply being labelled anti-capitalist trouble-makers, squatters may be seen as endorsers of the liberal design of the constitution. Above all, this implies that private property is respected as far as it is in use according to the general interest. Only disused properties are taken over by squatters.

Informal housing takes place against the backdrop of a lack of suf-ficient social housing and welfare policies related to housing. Most of Spain's 'social housing' programmes consist of financial subsidies for pur-chasing a home. Housing policies have hardly promoted state-owned and affordable rental options at all. During the Francoist regime, there was an explicit attempt to promote home ownership, and further democratic governments consistently undermined the housing stock owned by the state, which was meant to mitigate poverty and housing exclusion. 'Social (rented) housing in Spain represents a mere 2% of the total housing stock (the EU-15 average is 11.7%).'[31] Even with a steady and intense con-struction pace, housing needs are hardly met. Remarkably, speculative vacancy affects not only old houses but also new ones, which are mainly bought by transnational investors. The vacancy rate in Spain is currently estimated (based on 2011 figures) at between 14 per cent and 28 per cent; absolute numbers are between 3.5 and 7.1 million dwellings.[32]

Despite more than 22 years of various social-democratic central governments since 1978, increasing privatisations of all kinds of public assets, the rise of financial indebtedness, worsening labour conditions (especially for the young, women and immigrants) and austerity poli-cies with substantial cutbacks in health and education all led the country into a massive crisis after 2008, with the housing question at its core.[33] Housing evictions, in particular, amounted to a yearly average of 80,000 between 2009 and 2015.[34]

Most people on a low income – who are usually young, immigrants (non-European Union citizens), female single parents, workers with casual or badly paid jobs and unemployed people – cannot make ends meet. Housing prices are higher in cities and demand more than 40 per cent of people's income to cover rentals or mortgage loans.[35] For those who cannot enter or remain in the housing market, the only available options are to live with their parents as long as possible, sit on the waiting lists for social housing, live in overcrowded conditions, pay high rents for temporary and substandard accommodation, sleep rough, live in

squatted settlements or occupy abandoned premises. No official figure for 'housing exclusion' is provided by the government, but some studies have concluded that 1.7 per cent out of the Spanish population (46.5 million) were subject to 'severe housing deprivation', 5.4 per cent lived in overcrowded households, and 5.2 per cent were in mortgage or rent arrears by 2016.[36] These data encompass a current housing deficit affecting at least 2.5 million people (or 1 million households) in Spain.

There are various forms of unauthorised housing in Spain. In past centuries, squatters' settlements on the outskirts of cities were the last resort for the gypsy population, who suffered persistent racism, marginalisation and social exclusion. Nowadays, most of the Spanish nationals belonging to the Roma ethnicity do not live in land occupations or shacks, but a significant proportion still occupy buildings without the permission of the owners.[37] The industrialisation waves in different historical periods also fuelled unauthorised settlements of self-built houses in the peripheral parts of the main cities, especially with the intensive rural out-migration of the 1950s and 1960s in the decades after the devastation left behind by the so-called 'civil war' (in fact, a military coup against the democratic Republican government). Since the late 1980s, both housing authorities and grassroots movements have endeavoured to eradicate such constructions and relocate dwellers to state-subsidised housing, which, in general, has proved a very effective policy. One of the most salient operations, which involved newly built constructions for around 40,000 household units in previously informal settlements, took place in Madrid during the 1980s after an exemplary bottom-up mobilisation of working-class neighbourhood-based organisations – with outstanding participation of women as leaders and activists in higher proportions than other social movements.[38]

Informal housing in Spain also takes the form of scattered and usually hidden land occupations related to the large flow of international migration experienced since the mid-1990s. Immigrants from Morocco and Romania (and Roma people from Eastern Europe, in particular) became prone to end up living in informal encampments. Apart from some religious organisations and NGOs that helped them mediate with specialised state agencies, there have been almost no politicised, autonomous struggles launched by these dwellers since the 1970s.

Unauthorised occupations of empty buildings for housing purposes represent a different phenomenon, and usually happen in a stealth operation. This condition of invisibility has rendered it difficult to measure. Since it became part of the political and media agenda after 2008, some attempts to collect data from different official sources have suggested a

figure of around 90,000 occupied houses all over Spain. Recently, mass media and conservative politicians have been very active in promoting a negative image of housing occupations by stigmatising migrants and poor people who have squatted,[39] and by spreading 'moral panic' by deliberately focusing on very exceptional cases of drug trafficking, nuisance caused to neighbours, occupations of non-fully-abandoned properties and instances of violence.

Squatting buildings in the context of activism (as part of the *movimiento okupa*) has also occurred in most Spanish cities since the mid-1980s. It was originally fuelled by young people with a leftwing–libertarian approach, who combined housing and social centres to promote countercultural activities and autonomous initiatives of various social movements. Urban squatters' movements grew and vehemently criticised urban speculation and the shortcomings of housing policies, but they were also among the first to oppose global neoliberalism, even before the 2000s.[40] These squats have been few in number,[41] but, together, they have been very significant in terms of their persistence as an urban movement over the last four decades and as a durable infrastructure for autonomous politics at large. Although criminal persecution of squatting (usurpation) came into force in 1995, the movement did not decline.

More recently, a new housing movement has risen up since 2011 around the large anti-austerity mobilisations, known as the 15M movement or the *Indignados* movement. The main organising collective, known as the PAH (Platform for People Affected by Mortgages), contributed to politicise housing occupations, too. Despite not being their main tactic of protest, they launched a campaign (*Obra Social*) that is meant to have rehoused more than 3,000 people in squatted buildings mostly owned by banks. The media attention given to this kind of activism was initially less negative compared to that of more radical squatting or *okupa* movements and the aforementioned phenomena of marginality and criminality associated with squats. Notwithstanding, its coverage was very superficial and shifted to other topics once the most extreme consequences of the global financial crisis were apparently overcome in around 2015.[42]

6.5 Squatting movements in Madrid

Madrid is Spain's capital city with a population of 3.2 million; it is part of a larger metropolitan region encompassing more than 6.5 million inhabitants. During the 1990s and 2000s this urban agglomeration also became a global hub for transnational trade, investment and tourism.[43]

Given the secret nature of most squatted places with the exclusive goal of providing shelter, only squatted social centres (many of which also house people or are closely connected to housing squats) have been historically recorded: 155 cases from 1977 to 2016.[44] Around 50 per cent of these were located in the city centre, 30 per cent in the peripheral neighbourhoods of the Madrid municipality (still very well connected with the centre due to an efficient public transit system) and 20 per cent were distributed among the other metropolitan municipalities.[45] A very decentralised and informal network of activism was created among the different autonomous groups over the years. The few attempts to set up formal structures of coordination were short-lived. However, this squatting movement remained fairly vibrant despite evictions and a fast rate of new recruits and withdrawals.

An important turning point was the 2008 global financial crisis, which sparked a massive occupation of houses, especially in Madrid and other metropolitan areas. Organisations such as the PAH and activist groups from the squatting movement (for instance, the *Oficina de Okupación* or Squatting Office) delivered workshops, legal assistance and textbooks to help people to squat. However, the estimate of 16,000 housing occupations between 2014 and 2015 indicates that most cases fell outside their activist influence,[46] albeit not necessarily without political motivation. The 2011 *Indignados* movement gave birth to manifold local assemblies, which, in turn, created housing groups. Ultimately, these became leading members of the *Coordinadora de Vivienda* and followed the strategic vision set by the PAH. At least nine full buildings were occupied by PAH groups in Madrid up to 2017. These actions were public – explicit banners hung from their windows and balconies. The PAH activists also helped people to squat in dozens of individual apartments whose owners were banks and big property developers.[47]

The main difference between the long-standing squatters' movement, mainly focused on the self-management of social centres, and the post-crisis housing movement led by the PAH is their approach to the legalisation issue. The former rarely made agreements with the local authorities or the private owners to remain in the buildings. Only a few cases of legalisation of squatted social centres occurred. In general, radical opposition and resistance prevailed among squatters linked to leftwing–libertarian social centres, although more internal fragmentation related to this issue was experienced after the upsurge of squats in 2011.[48] In fact, we visited two cases of recently legalised self-managed social centres (*Espacio Vecinal Arganzuela* and *La Salamandra*) in which, as we found out, some activists were former squatters too. A more

centrally located squat seeking a legal agreement with the municipality is *La Ingobernable*, although there have been more tensions than explicit negotiations to date.[49] In other ongoing squatted social centres with whom we also had contacts – *EKO*, *La Dragona* and *La Enredadera* – they had no interest in approaching the local government, but at least in one case there were prior informal agreements with a private owner.

By contrast, the PAH took a clear stance in favour of legalisation of squats from the very beginning. It called for affordable rental accommodation provided by either state institutions or bailed-out financial firms, even if this involved moving out from the squat: 'We defend squatting as an emergency measure and a political strategy, not as a final solution.'[50] Affordability means here a rental cost of up to 30 per cent of the household income, which is close to zero for those homeless and unemployed. Therefore, PAH activists became regularly engaged in negotiations with banks, private owners and politicians to find housing solutions for each individual or family at risk of eviction. Meanwhile, squatting represented a tool to immediately house those in need but also to empower people during the negotiations to secure legal agreements and political concessions. The unaffordable rent increases that occurred over the last four years of economic *recovery* gave birth to a new wave of activism around the *Sindicato de Inquilinas/os* (Tenants' Union), which also called for the self-occupation of apartments by tenants threatened with eviction if negotiations did not bear fruit.

6.6 Conclusions

Brazil and Spain share important constitutional principles and regulations that could mitigate the rule of capital in the housing markets as well as the profit-making implications of many urban policies. In particular, we have identified: the social function of private property; the right to adequate housing; a public mandate to impede property speculation; and state powers for exercising requisition and granting adverse possession. Both countries left behind dictatorial regimes that had almost entirely suppressed social activism and protest movements over several decades, albeit these flourished impressively during the transitional and democratic periods that followed. However, by then, both Brazil and Spain had already advanced their integration in the global economy, but starting from different peripheral positions and historical trajectories – more dependent and post-colonial in the case of Brazil before joining the emergent group of BRICS,[51] and, in the case of Spain a former colonial power

that became part of the European Union and expanded its own multinational corporations (formerly state-owned companies), especially in Latin America.

Significant periods of economic growth in the two countries did nothing to placate the housing question, though. The number of housing exclusions and vacancy rates presented here reveals the magnitude of the societal problems at play. This means, in our interpretation, that governments are more prone to meet the needs of global capital than those of grassroots movements and the most deprived parts of the population. According to our analysis, constitutional dispositions are useless if housing speculation is rampant, the inflation of housing prices has no public control, vacancy is not subject to state scrutiny and regulation, large social groups cannot afford access to a decent home, and there is insufficient social housing provision. These circumstances, in turn, are the key drivers of unauthorised occupations.

We thus contend that squatting activism crucially challenges these tensions of the political economy of both countries, which represents a form of mobilisation that is more common to both than it might appear at first glance. Squatting activism is fairly limited in terms of its capacity to mobilise large parts of the population and to extend its main protest action. Notwithstanding, we have observed that it holds a great capacity to reveal the contradictions and mechanisms of urban speculation within the (neo) liberal regimes of both countries. These struggles are particularly efficient at disclosing how the construction of new housing units is not, in practice, intended to honour basic constitutional rights. This scenario of housing injustice is the main motivation of the squatting movements, which frequently justify their actions based on the social function that should be assigned to vacant properties – idle plots and empty buildings included.

A second noticeable feature shared by the squatting movements in Brazil and Spain is their politicisation. Quite apart from favelas and their extensive historical roots, urban land occupations in Brazilian cities are efficiently organised and capable of securing political support from numerous local networks. While the majority of these occupations take place in peripheral neighbourhoods, are swiftly self-built and make claims for state provision of decent housing, some are located in the city centre, on empty land or in buildings left abandoned for several years. Among the latter, there are squats for meeting housing needs as well as developing social centres. In Belo Horizonte, leftist organisations and movements such as the MLB and the *Brigadas Populares* are engaged in the internal organisation of the occupations for housing and also contribute to strengthening links with other groups and grassroots campaigns.

In Spain, there are also unauthorised occupations of empty land within the boundaries of the consolidated city, but these are only used for setting up community gardens and meeting places, which can easily scale up to strong and politicised networks of activists.[52] Land occupations to meet housing needs occasionally pop up in peripheral spots of the main cities and host mainly Roma people from Eastern Europe and Portugal, or immigrants from Morocco. However, they are seldom autonomously struggling for their right to adequate housing, and it is the charitable work of some NGOs that provides support for their claims and relocation into formal (state-subsidised) accommodation. In contrast, the squatting of buildings is a well-established practice in Spain. In terms of activism, squatters' movements had their strongholds in the self-managed and squatted social centres, while housing was more a political concern of their discursive framing than the visible side of their actual struggles. Despite the occupation of houses also being widespread, especially after the 2008 crisis, most cases remained away from the public eye. It was due to the consolidation of the PAH and the new housing movement (including the Tenants' Unions in Madrid and Barcelona) that many cases were explicitly publicised and deeply politicised, along with other specific claims regarding housing policies and legislation. Housing activists, including many with a background in previous squatting movements, confronted politicians across the whole ideological spectrum in a bid to change outdated laws and to effectively grant the right to housing.

A third crucial observation is that the right to housing and the right to the city are intimately connected, according to the experiences of squatting activism in Brazil and Spain. The spatial struggle to appropriate the city centre by all these squatting movements indicates that there is no fulfilment of the right to housing without an urban environment serviced by adequate infrastructure and transportation, public facilities such as schools and health centres, and leisure and job opportunities. Living in isolated and badly built peripheries opposes that basic principle. Squatters in both countries are aware of this and explicitly call for social visibility, political recognition and a broad right to be included in the city, which necessarily implies the occupation of the central areas whenever possible. This is the pattern followed by at least half of the squatted social centres in Madrid, and it has also been a clear trend in Belo Horizonte over the last decade. When the squats and even land occupations are open to organising public activities, such as cultural events and various political campaigns, this move is not only an instrumental tactic to gain public support and debunk the stigmatised image that mass media create about squatters. It is also a material self-management of everything

that is available from the common wealth (and its wasted and disused resources as well) that is not easy for the most deprived citizens and inhabitants to access and enjoy (especially when this collective includes immigrants without formal citizenship status). In other words, the articulation of the right to housing and the right to the city through urban squatting activism challenges the unjust privileges of the elites and the affluent citizens.

Finally, the relationship between squatters and state authorities shows a range of strategic actions related to the legalisation of occupied land and buildings. Sometimes, the support of the local community plays a decisive role in protecting squatters from being violently expelled from their venues and settlements. In both Brazil and Spain, the act of occupying buildings and land is unlawful (and also a criminal offence in Spain), albeit every case must be accurately documented with firm evidence and often with litigation in court. As a consequence, squats and land occupations are constantly threatened with eviction. In the case of Belo Horizonte, despite the fact that most occupations seek some kind of legal agreement, no standard procedure is followed. It is 'activist lawyers' who provide emergency assistance when eviction threats are imminent. In some situations, when it is possible to reach medium- to long-term agreements, the deals that can be struck vary both in time and content. The legalisation of squats often meant the displacement of the families from the city centre, back to self-construction on lands made available by the local government (as in the cases of *Carolina* and *Vicentão* in Belo Horizonte). Surprisingly, these agreements usually include financial and technical support from the government.

In Madrid, by contrast, legal agreements were not desirable for most politicised activists from the 'social centres' scene. But there were some exceptions to this trend, and six cases, at least, were legalised. For squatters with an anarchist viewpoint, the legalisation of a squat was considered inconsistent with their criticism of private property and the capitalist commodification of cities and houses alike. A plea for the autonomy of the squatting projects was also part of their refusal to negotiate with the local authorities. However, when buildings were occupied primarily for housing purposes, most activists sought legal agreements with both their public and private counterparts (the authorities and owners, respectively). More than an aspiration to achieve a secured private property for the squatters, they usually strove for fair and sufficient allocation of social housing and affordable rented dwellings. The legalisation of the squats was only one among other possibilities to meet the housing needs of squatters. Although the PAH sometimes succeeded when it negotiated

'social rentals' across Spain, these were seldom achieved in the metropolitan area of Madrid. Therefore, squatting activism was a self-help last resort for those evicted from their previous homes and experiencing the combined hardships of housing exclusion, unemployment, precariousness and poverty.

Notes

1. See, for example, Claudio Cattaneo and Miguel A. Martínez, eds, *The Squatters' Movement in Europe: Commons and Autonomy as Alternatives to Capitalism* (London: Pluto Press, 2014); Miguel A. Martínez López, ed., *The Urban Politics of Squatters' Movements* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Thomas Aguilera and Alan Smart, 'Squatting, North, South and Turnabout: A Dialogue Comparing Illegal Housing Research', in *Public Goods versus Economic Interests: Global Perspectives on the History of Squatting*, ed. Freia Anders and Alexander Sedlmaier, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 29–55; Ngai Ming Yip et al., eds, *Contested Cities and Urban Activism* (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).
2. David Madden and Peter Marcuse, *In Defense of Housing: The Politics of Crisis* (London: Verso, 2016).
3. Claudio Cattaneo and Miguel A. Martínez, eds, *The Squatters' Movement in Europe: Commons and Autonomy as Alternatives to Capitalism* (London: Pluto Press, 2014).
4. Neil Brenner et al., eds, *Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City* (London: Routledge, 2012); Don Mitchell, *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* (New York: Guilford Press, 2003).
5. Clarissa Campos received a scholarship from the CAPES Foundation, an agency under the Ministry of Education of Brazil, to conduct part of her doctoral research as a Visiting Student at Uppsala University; PDSE programme, process n° 88881.189843/2018-01. Miguel A. Martínez's study was supported by a grant from the Research Grants Council of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, China (project number 11612016-CityU). Both authors also participate in the STINT–CAPES-funded project BR2018-8011 'Urban struggles for the right to the city and urban commons in Brazil and Europe'.
6. Raquel Rolnik, 'Ten Years of the City Statute in Brazil: from the Struggle for Urban Reform to the World Cup Cities', *International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development* 5, no. 1 (2013): 54–64.
7. The housing deficit encompasses the dwellings without conditions to be inhabited due to the precariousness of the constructions or wear of the physical structure, which therefore must be replaced. It also includes the need to increase the stock, due to forced family cohabitation (families aspiring to live in their own detached home), low-income residents finding it difficult to pay the rent in urban areas, and those living in rented houses and apartments with high density. Finally, it includes housing in non-residential premises. Fundação João Pinheiro, Diretoria de Estatística e Informações, *Déficit habitacional no Brasil 2015* (Belo Horizonte: FJP, 2018), last accessed 3 October 2019, http://www.fjp.mg.gov.br/index.php/produtos-e-servicos1/2742-deficit-habitacional-no-brasil-3. The official deficit of 9.3 per cent includes both 'permanent and improvised dwellings'. However, the category 'improvised dwellings' includes 'all places without residential permit and used as alternative accommodation (such as commercial premises, shacks under bridges, cars, boats, caves, etc.)', (ibid.: 21). If we exclude these 'improvised dwellings' from the official statistics, the actual deficit would certainly be much higher.
8. Officially, the vacancy rate is 11.6 per cent, but it is again calculated by including the awkward category 'improvised dwellings': Fundação João Pinheiro, Diretoria de Estatística e Informações, *Déficit habitacional no Brasil 2015* (Belo Horizonte: FJP, 2018), last accessed 3 October 2019, http://www.fjp.mg.gov.br/index.php/produtos-e-servicos1/2742-deficit-habitacional-no-brasil-3.
9. Emir Sader, ed., *Lula y Dilma: Diez años de gobiernos posneoliberales en Brasil* (Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños, 2014). The decrease of the poverty rate in Brazil over one decade was

stunning and also unprecedented historically: from 28 per cent in 2003 to 13 per cent in 2011. Nelson Barbosa, 'Diez años de política económica', in *Lula y Dilma: Diez años de gobiernos pos-neoliberales en Brasil,* ed. Emir Sader (Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños, 2014), 115–16.

10. Alessandra Duarte and Carolina Benevides, 'Without Transportation for Minha Casa Minha Vida', *RioOnWatch*, 8 January 2013, last accessed 3 October 2019, http://www.rioonwatch. org/?p=6527; Meg Healy, 'Minha Casa Minha Vida: An Overview of New Public Housing in Rio', *RioOnWatch*, 5 June 2014, last accessed 3 October 2019, http://www.rioonwatch. org/?p=14887; Bruce Douglas, 'Brazil officials evict families from homes ahead of 2016 Olympic Games', *The Guardian*, 28 October 2015, last accessed 3 October 2019, https://bit.ly/2DIs-R9j; Luã Marinatto, Rafael Soares, 'Autoridades não fiscalizam se moradores de condomínios do "Minha casa, minha vida" foram beneficiados pelo programa', *Extra*, 11 February 2015, last accessed 3 October 2019, https://glo.bo/2CnFl3C; David Robertson, 'Housing Policy Lessons from Rio's Favelas Part 4: Public Housing', *RioOnWatch*, 22 November 2016, last accessed 3 October 2019, http://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=33036.

11. Melissa Fernández Arrigoitia, 'Unsettling Resettlements: Community, Belonging and Livelihood in Rio de Janeiro's *Minha Casa Minha Vida*', in *Geographies of Forced Eviction: Dispossession, Violence, Resistance*, ed. Katherine Brickellet et al. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017): 71–96.

12. Marcelo Lopes de Souza, 'Together with the State, Despite the State, Against the State: Social Movements as "Critical Urban Planning" Agents', *City* 10, no. 3 (2006): 327–42.

13. Marcelo Lopes de Souza, 'Together with the State, Despite the State, Against the State: Social Movements as "Critical Urban Planning" Agents', *City* 10, no. 3 (2006): 327–42. See also the most recent publication by the MTST: http://autonomialiteraria.com.br/loja/livro-movimento/mtst-20-anos-de-historia-luta-organizacao-e-esperanca-nas-periferias-do-brasil, last accessed 3 October 2019, and a commentary by Raquel Rolnik: 'Em tempos de ascensão do conservadorismo, o livro do MTST é um alento e uma esperança', *Autonomia Literária*, 29 January 2018, last accessed 3 October 2019, https://autonomialiteraria.com.br/raquel-rolnik-em-tempos-de-ascensao-do-conservadorismo-o-livro-do-mtst-e-um-alento-e-uma-esperanca. In particular, it is worth noting their own framing of goals which echoes the claim of 'agrarian reform' by the MST (Movimento Sen Terra): 'We affirm that the MTST is not a housing movement. We struggle for housing, but we understand that this struggle is part of a greater struggle for decent living conditions. This is where our proposal for an Urban Reform comes in. We advocate a profound transformation in the way cities are organised' ('As linhas políticas do MTST', *MTST.org*, last accessed 3 October 2019, https://www.mtst.org/quem-somos/as-linhas-politicas-do-mtst).

14. Marcelo Lopes de Souza, 'Together with the State, Despite the State, Against the State: Social Movements as "Critical Urban Planning" Agents', *City* 10, no. 3 (2006): 327–42. '*Favelado* (masc.) or *favelada* (fem.) refers to a person who lives in a favela (or slum, in a direct translation to English, although it would be more appropriate to designate favelas as historically long-lasting consolidated informal and squatter settlements, not necessarily under extreme living conditions, especially after the implementation of some state programmes of favela upgrading)', Janice Perlman, *Favela: Four Decades of Living on the Edge in Rio de Janeiro* (New York: Oxford University, 2011).

15. Camila Diniz Bastos et al., 'Entre o espaço abstrato e o espaço diferencial: ocupações urbanas em Belo Horizonte', *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais* 19, no. 2 (2017), 251–66.

16. Camila Diniz Bastos et al., 'Entre o espaço abstrato e o espaço diferencial: ocupações urbanas em Belo Horizonte', *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais* 19, no. 2 (2017), 251–66.

17. Governor of the State of Minas Gerais, *Lei Complementar 89, de 12 de janeiro de 2006*, last accessed 3 October 2019, http://fnembrasil.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/RM-BH-Lei-Complementar89.pdf; Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 'Sinopse do Senso Demográfico 2010', last accessed 3 October 2019, https://ww2.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/censo2010/sinopse/sinopse_tab_rm_zip.shtm.

18. Rafael Reis Bittencourt et al., *Ocupações urbanas na Região Metropolitana de Belo Horizonte* (Belo Horizonte: PRAXIS, 2016), last accessed 3 October 2019, https://issuu.com/praxisuf-mg/docs/relato-ocupa-jun2016; Camila Diniz Bastos et al., 'Entre o espaço abstrato e o espaço diferencial: ocupações urbanas em Belo Horizonte', *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais* 19, no. 2 (2017), 251–66.

19. Rafael Reis Bittencourt et al., *Ocupações urbanas na Região Metropolitana de Belo Horizonte* (Belo Horizonte: PRAXIS, 2016), last accessed 3 October 2019, https://issuu.com/praxisuf-mg/docs/relato-ocupa-jun2016.

20. Camila Diniz Bastos et al., 'Entre o espaço abstrato e o espaço diferencial: ocupações urbanas em Belo Horizonte', *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais* 19, no. 2 (2017), 251–66.
21. Movimento de Luta nos Bairros, Vilas e Favelas, last accessed 3 October 2019, https://www.mlbbrasil.org.
22. Brigadas Populares, last accessed 3 October 2019, https://brigadaspopulares.org.br.
23. Camila Diniz Bastos et al., 'Entre o espaço abstrato e o espaço diferencial: ocupações urbanas em Belo Horizonte', *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais* 19, no. 2 (2017), 251–66.
24. Espaço Comum Luiz Estrela, *Facebook*, last accessed 3 October 2019, https://www.facebook.com/espacoluizestrela.
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26. Government of Brazil, *Lei 10.257, de 10 de julho de 2001*, last accessed 3 October 2019, http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Leis/LEIS_2001/L10257.htm.
27. Casa de Referência da Mulher Tina Martins, *Facebook*, last accessed 3 October 2019, https://www.facebook.com/casatinamartins.
28. Camila Diniz Bastos et al., 'Entre o espaço abstrato e o espaço diferencial: ocupações urbanas em Belo Horizonte', *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais* 19, no. 2 (2017), 251–66.
29. Carolina Maria de Jesus, *Facebook*, last accessed 3 October 2019, https://www.facebook.com/ocupacaocarolinamariadejesus; Vicentão, *Facebook*, last accessed 3 October 2019, https://www.facebook.com/OcupacaoVicentao.
30. Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).
31. Núria Lambea Llop, 'Social Housing Management Models in Spain', *Revista catalana de dret públic* 52 (2016): 115–28; Kathleen Scanlon et al., eds, *Social Housing in Europe* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014).
32. In particular, 3.5 million completely vacant houses (13.6 per cent out of the total stock) was the last official figure provided by the government in 2011. The rate was even higher in 1991 (15.4 per cent). However, if we add 'secondary homes' (only partially used, if occupied at all) to the statistics, we end up with a striking figure of 7.1 million of dwellings (28.3 per cent out of the total stock) in 2011, which has slightly decreased to 6.6 million (25.5 per cent) by the end of 2016. More than 2.7 million are estimated to be under construction since 2011, which would add to the 'selling stock' of new houses (also vacant). Ministerio de Fomento, Gobierno de España, *Observatorio de vivienda y suelo. Boletín Anual 2017* (2018), p. 90, last accessed 3 October 2019, https://apps.fomento.gob.es/CVP/handlers/pdfhandler.ashx?id-pub=BAW053. In contrast, vacancy rates in other European countries were, for example, 1.5 per cent in The Netherlands, 1.7 per cent in Sweden, 5.3 per cent in Denmark, 7.3 per cent in France and 8 per cent in Germany. Observatorio de la Sostenibilidad, *25 años urbanizando España* (2015), last accessed 4 January 2019, https://www.observatoriosostenibilidad.com/downloads/25-anos-de-urbanizacion-en-madrid/.
33. Isidro López and Emmanuel Rodríguez, 'The Spanish Model', *New Left Review* 69 (2011): 5–28. Both poverty and unemployment rates reached their highest peaks in the years after the global financial crisis hit the country hard, although they have slightly decreased since then. 'Over one-quarter (26.6 percent) of the Spanish population is at risk of poverty or social exclusion as of 2017 … This number has fallen from a peak of 29.4 percent in 2014 … Nearly 40 percent of Spain's youth labour force was unemployed in 2017. This number is compared to a 9.2 percent in the Euro Area' ('Top Facts about Poverty in Spain, *The Borgen Project*, 2 August 2018, last accessed 3 October 2019, https://borgenproject.org/facts-about-poverty-in-spain). See also: Eurostat, 'People at risk of poverty or social exclusion', last accessed 3 October 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/refreshTableAction.do;jsessionid=xZzoFVWuW-GaVuU70bBMxYlxWkLPEmz6oQY0TcwLJMg8yeh9Kp9yX!-1122435148?tab=table&plug-in=1&pcode=t2020_50&language=en.
34. EAPN, *Informe de posición sobre vivienda* (Madrid: European Anti-Poverty Network, 2017), last accessed 3 October 2019, https://www.eapn.es/ARCHIVO/documentos/documentos/1493214158_informe_vivienda.pdf. Exact figures from different sources are also gathered by Miguel Martínez López, 'Bitter Wins or a Long-Distance Race? Social and Political Outcomes of the Spanish Housing Movement', *Housing Studies* (2018): 20, note 8.
35. 'Housing overburden costs' representing more than 40 per cent of the disposable income applied, at least, to 10 per cent of the Spanish population by 2016. Eurostat, 'Estadísticas sobre vivienda', last accessed 3 October 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Housing_statistics/es#Asequibilidad_de_la_vivienda.

36. FEANTSA and Abbé Pierre Foundation, *Third Overview of Housing Exclusion in Europe* (Brussels and Paris: FEANTSA and Abbé Pierre Foundation, 2018), last accessed 3 October 2019, https://www.divosa.nl/sites/default/files/nieuwsbericht_bestanden/3rd_overview_housing_exclusion_eu_2018_gb.pdf.

37. A recent study about the housing situation of the Spanish gypsy population (estimated to be 520,000 people) identified 2,273 households in 'asentamientos chabolistas' (squatted settlements), which represents a 2.2 per cent out of the total gypsy population. Almost a double percentage is assigned for squatted buildings: 4.5 per cent (around 5,000 households). In addition, substandard living (8.6 per cent), overcrowding (8.9 per cent) and spatial segregation (3 per cent) were also found as features of their general housing exclusion. Ministerio de Sanidad, Gobierno de España. *Estudio-Mapa sobre Vivienda y Población Gitana, 2015* (Gobierno de España, 2016), last accessed 3 October 2019, https://www.mscbs.gob.es/ssi/familiasInfancia/PoblacionGitana/docs/ResumenEjecutivoEstudioViviendaPG2015.pdf.

38. Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Tomás Villasante et al. *Retrato de chabolista con piso: Análisis de redes sociales en la remodelación de barrios de Madrid* (Madrid: IVIMA-SGV-Alfoz, 1989), last accessed 3 October 2019, http://oa.upm.es/14695/2/Retrato_de_chabolista_con_piso_2.pdf; Victor Renes, 'Las remodelaciones de los barrios de Madrid: Memoria de una lucha vecinal', in *Memoria ciudadana y movimiento vecinal: Madrid, 1968–2008*, ed. Vicente Pérez Quintana and Pablo Sánchez León (Madrid: Los Libros de la Catarata, 2008): 148–171. 16 per cent of the Madrid population lived in squatted settlements by 1950, which decreased to 3,000 households by 2010, mostly concentrated in one single area (La Cañada Real): Thomas Aguilera, *Gouverner les illégalismes urbains. Les politiques publiques face aux squats et aux bidonvilles dans les régions de Paris et de Madrid* (Paris: Dalloz, 2017): 75–81. Between 1998 and 2014, the IRIS authorities relocated 10,000 people in 2,185 houses who formerly lived in 110 squatted settlements in Madrid: 'La historia de éxito del IRIS: 110 poblados chabolistas eliminados y 10.000 realojos en 15 años', *Madrid Actual Comunidad*, 22 October 2014, last accessed 3 October 2019, https://www.madridactual.es/654608-la-historia-de-exito-del-iris-110-poblados-chabolistas-eliminados-y-10-000-realojos-en-15-anos.

39. Miguel A. Martínez López, 'Squatters and Migrants in Madrid: Interactions, Contexts and Cycles', *Urban Studies* 54, no. 11 (2017): 2472–89.

40. Miguel A. Martínez, 'The Squatters' Movement: Urban Counterculture and Alter-Globalization Dynamics', *South European Society & Politics* 12, no. 3 (2007): 379–98; Robert González et al., 'Autogestión de equipamientos y espacios urbanos: los centros sociales okupados y autogestionados', in *Movimientos sociales y derecho a la ciudad: Creadoras de democracia radical*, ed. Pedro Ibarra Güell et al. (Barcelona: Icaria, 2018), 88–102; Miguel A. Martínez López, ed., *The Urban Politics of Squatters' Movements* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

41. Squatted social centres in Madrid, Seville and Barcelona were the most exhaustively recorded: Miguel A. Martínez López, ed., *The Urban Politics of Squatters' Movements* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

42. Coordinadora de Vivienda de la Comunidad de Madrid, *La vivienda no es delito* (Barcelona: El Viejo Topo, 2017); Robert González, 'From the Squatters' Movement to Housing Activism in Spain: Identities, Tactics and Political Orientation', in *Contested Cities and Urban Activism*, ed. Ngai Ming Yip et al. (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 175–98; O. Barranco et al., 'La PAH y la emergencia habitacional', in *Movimientos sociales y derecho a la ciudad: Creadoras de democracia radical*, ed. Pedro Ibarra Güell et al. (Barcelona: Icaria, 2018): 54–70; Obra Social, *La vivienda para quien la habita! Informe sobre okupación de vivienda vacía em Catalunya* (Barcelona: Obra Social, 2018).

43. Miguel A. Martínez López, 'Social-Spatial Structures and Protest Cycles of Squatted Social Centres in Madrid', in *The Urban Politics of Squatters' Movements,* ed. Miguel A. Martínez López (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 25–49.

44. Miguel A. Martínez López, 'Social-Spatial Structures and Protest Cycles of Squatted Social Centres in Madrid', in *The Urban Politics of Squatters' Movements,* ed. Miguel A. Martínez López (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 38.

45. Coordinadora de Vivienda de la Comunidad de Madrid, *La vivienda no es delito* (Barcelona: El Viejo Topo, 2017), 55, based on judicial figures. A governmental report identified 1,398 cases of housing occupations in the Madrid metropolitan region by 2016: ibid., 147.

46. Coordinadora de Vivienda de la Comunidad de Madrid, *La vivienda no es delito* (Barcelona: El Viejo Topo, 2017), 192.

47. Miguel Martínez López, 'Bitter Wins or a Long-Distance Race? Social and Political Outcomes of the Spanish Housing Movement', *Housing Studies* (2018): 20, note 8.

48. Coordinadora de Vivienda de la Comunidad de Madrid, *La vivienda no es delito* (Barcelona: El Viejo Topo, 2017), 195.

49. La Ingobernable, last accessed 3 October 2019, https://ingobernable.net.

50. Coordinadora de Vivienda de la Comunidad de Madrid, *La vivienda no es delito* (Barcelona: El Viejo Topo, 2017), 195.

51. Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. This international coalition was formed in 2009 and all the countries are members of the G20 association that encompasses 19 countries and the European Union, accounting for 90 per cent of the GWP (Gross World Product).

52. For example, the Red de Huertos Urbanos de Madrid, last accessed 3 October 2019, https://redhuertosurbanosmadrid.wordpress.com.