



# Chapter 141

## Lagoinha region: Transiting between Subjectivities

  10.56238/tfisdwv1-141

### Lawrence Faria Starling Solla

Federal University of Minas Gerais. Post Graduation in Built Environment and Sustainable Heritage.  
Rua Paraíba, 697 - Savassi, Belo Horizonte - MG, 30130-141  
lawrencesolla@gmail.com

### Maria Luiza Castro

Federal University of Minas Gerais. Post Graduation in Built Environment and Sustainable Heritage.  
Rua Paraíba, 697 - Savassi, Belo Horizonte - MG, 30130-141  
luizadecastro2000@gmail.com

### ABSTRACT

If, in the past, from an inflection at the moment when the modern era was inaugurated, society has experienced a considerable change in its power relations, these relationships are currently going through a new moment of change. At the beginning of the Modern era, according to Michel Foucault, there was the transition from a society based on the dominant-dominated dichotomy to a discipline-based society. At the present time, there is the transition of this society from discipline to the control society, based on continuous control and instant communication. The society of discipline sought to shape the bodies to certain models and truths and Gilles Deleuze argues that the disciplinary crisis began after the Second World War. In the control society, the molds become quickly and continuously, which prevents the identification of the models, causing it to operate more and more by the production of subjectivities. Sophisticated mechanisms of "truth creation" and "consensus building" are developed.

### 1 INTRODUCTION

Immersed in the new "world order" called *neoliberal*, the way of producing urban space aims – invariable, we can say – to open new fronts for the (re)production of capital. Starting from this point, there are varied strategies that capital, in partnership with the State itself (State-Capital), makes use of to control investments, whether public and/or private, in urban areas where they offer good prospects of profitability: Interorated and Simplified Urban Operations; major events such as the Olympic Games, Football World Cup, Music Festivals; urban revitalization and requalifications; constructions of large equipment such as

Taste and opinions are manipulated through the construction and instant dissemination of systems of signs and images: it is the era of spectacle, the production of ephemeral images for the general public, through the creation of stable images, surrounded by authority and power. In the case of the Bonfim and Lagoinha neighborhoods in Belo Horizonte, the images and signs, now simply appropriate, or intentionally forged the s, can be lido s as one of these mechanisms of formation of subjectivities at the service of the ruling classes. At the first moment in history, the neighborhoods were the place of the working class, outsiders and immigrants, prostitutes, outcasts, cemetery and the supernatural. In a second moment, however, it becomes a violent and dangerous place, although culturally rich; degraded, though well located; which houses small "cracolândias" and, therefore, a place that "deserves" and "should" be revitalized. This article intends to analyze, in the light of the actor-network theory (ANT), according to Bruno Latour's perspective, the dynamics that occur in the territory, from the interaction between the actors involved, whether human or non-human, mapping the characteristics, interests, the way they relate to each other and to the territory. As the author points out, through the narratives elaborated by the actors, it is possible to identify the controversies. And it is precisely through these controversies that new – sometimes unpublished – views are instituted, enabling new readings of social dynamics in the face of the imminent – if not already existing – process of gentrification in this territory.

**Keywords:** Bonfim; Little lake; Subjectivities; Actor-network theory; Gentrification.

Museums and Shopping Centers; *lobby* for interventions in current legislation or in bills and other regulatory devices, as well as in urban planning.

In Belo Horizonte, in the first decades of the 2000s, there were numerous urban interventions, packed mainly by two major events: the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro. Major investments were made in infrastructure works, in the renovation of the Governador Magalhães Pinto Stadium, mineirão, in the renovation of the Independence Stadium, renovation and expansion of Tancredo Neves International Airport, as well as investments in the hospitality and food sectors.

It is important to highlight that, from 2003, with the Pac Growth Acceleration Program) of the Federal Government, relevant works and interventions occurred in the capital in the areas of housing, education, health, mobility, sanitation, urbanization of precarious settlements and prevention of risk areas, totaling 216 works, according to the Ministry of Planning. Of this amount, only 92 were finalized.<sup>1</sup>

But for a considerable volume of works and interventions, of public and private investments, there must be a well-structured political alignment, that is, a *large national agreement* in which the vast majority of actors, including public opinion, are in favor of its realization.

This mobilization and its necessary scope are obtained using tools from the *field of marketing* that contribute to the construction of narratives that, in turn, constitute subjectivities that are powerful formulating consensus *eson son* about interventions. Images are created and/or manipulated always showing *the benefits* that interventions and large projects would bring to the city and the community.

This powerful tool, however, is also used in the opposite direction, that is, to initiate, perpetuate or maintain a process of degradation of a given area, in order to move away from investments. This strategy is usually used to maintain a certain status *quo that* interests certain actors. This disinvestment is responsible for controlling the socio-spatial segregation essential for the continuous (re)valorization of the urban land of *noble places*.

Our interest, at the end of this brief introduction, lies in the transition between narratives – and the content of subjectivities – in a given territory.

According to our judgment, this transition is underway in the neighborhoods Bonfim and Lagoinha, in Belo Horizonte, also known simply as *Lagoinha*. After years of pejorative narratives about these neighborhoods, the government and private initiative have been working on processes of requalification and valorization of both memory and heritage of the territory and, in recent times, we can already observe some results of this possible inflection.

The work was divided into three parts: in the first brings a small history portraying the stigma that hangs over the neighborhoods since the beginning of the city in the nineteenth century; in the second analyzes the large urban interventions that occurred from the PAC (2003) and the third cartographs the actions and actors involved in this new construction of subjectivities.

---

<sup>1</sup> Disple in <http://www.pac.gov.br/estado/mg>. Access in: 24, 2019.

## 2 NEIGHBORHOODS BONFIM AND LAGOINHA: *THE LOCUS OF THE INDESEJADOS*

Belo Horizonte was conceived in the second half of the 19th century, when the Province of Minas Gerais faced financial and political crises due to the decline of mineral extraction, which resulted in disarticulation and intra-state political-economic diversity (SINGER, 1977). Already in 1891, the Political Constitution of the State provided for "the change of the state capital, to a place that, offering the necessary hygienic conditions, is lend to the construction of a large city" (ANDRADE & MAGALHÃES, 1998, p.41). After intense and heated disputes between the localities, on December 17, 1893 law no. 3 was enacted, which determined that the new capital, called the City of Mines, was erected in the then Arraial Curral Del Rei.<sup>2</sup>

Afonso Pena, president of the time, called the engineer Aarão Reis to head the team responsible for the project of the new capital. The project was based on the experiences of the cities of Paris and Washington, where the precepts of hygiene and spatial planning materialized in the urban design of these cities and harmonized with the positivist moment in history. In the specific case of Belo Horizonte, these precepts married to national history: The city was the first to be erected in the then Brazil Republic. This adds a relevant symbolic layer in this process of forgetting the country's colonial past, represented by the baroque former capital Vila Rica (Ouro Preto) and going on to aim at an orderly and progressive future built in the new Belo Horizonte. It is not difficult to imagine that, for the same reason, any remnant of the old camp of curral del rei (colonial) should also be "forgotten".<sup>3</sup>

The urban design was organized in three zones (FIGURE 1): urban, suburban and rural. The first, understood within the boundaries of Avenida do Contorno, had the aforementioned characteristic layout (two superimposed orthogonal meshes), hosted the main public buildings and housed both the high and medium-ranking civil servants, as well as the ouropretana elite. In the second, with narrower and less regular streets, suitable for the original topography, it was foreseen the construction of cottages and clubs, as well as sporadic equipment, such as the cemetery, hippodrome, slaughterhouse, water reservoir. Low-ranking civil servants were housed. And finally, the rural areas that would have the agricultural establishments that would supply Belo Horizonte (AGUIAR, 2006)

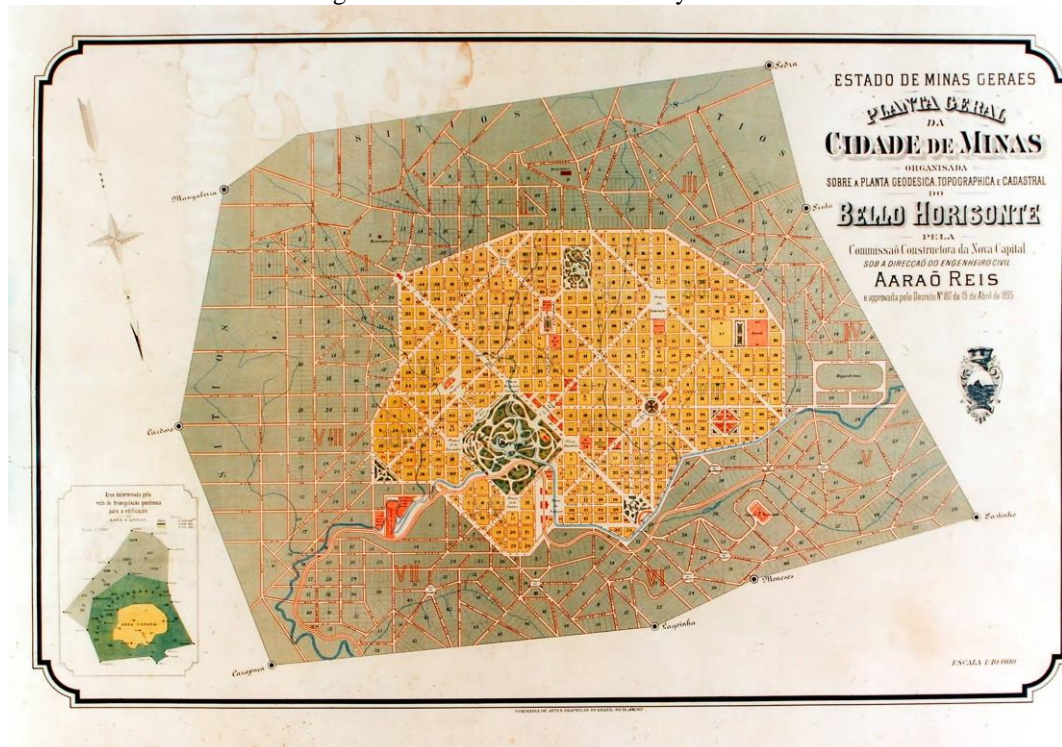
From this project, Aarão Reis predicted that 30,000 people would live in the city, and for this he established 3,639 lots distributed in: areas of the government (417 lots); properties of public officials by lot (353 lots); land to be given to former residents of Ouro Preto (597 lots); areas to be granted to former residents of Belo Horizonte (114 lots) and, finally, lots to be put up for sale (2,158 lots). All these lands established by the CCNC were in the urban area of the city, so the suburban and rural areas were not plotted at first (GUIMARÃES, 1991).

---

<sup>2</sup> See: VISCARDI, Cláudia Maria Ribeiro; OUT, Mines From Within. The controversial capital. *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro*, p. 28-41, 2007.

<sup>3</sup> The proclamation of the Republic took place on 11/15/1889 and Belo Horizonte was inaugurated on 12/12/1897.

Figure 1 - General Plant of the City of Mines



Source: Abílio Barreto Historical Museum (MHAB)

Aaron Reis was not concerned in his project with the commercial and economic definitions of the city. His planning focused on the political sector, so the buildings with this value, such as the Presidential Palace, Congress and the Palace of Justice, were clearly located and strategically designed in the city.

In this sense, the issue of housing for the worker who worked in the construction of the city was not considered, despite the fact that the requirement was present in the Constitution of 1891, which later led to difficulties in the housing strategy in Belo Horizonte. The arrival of workers, added to the immigrants attracted by the bet on the provision of services from the large urban project, occasioned an increase in more than 90 times of the initial population of the camp, a fact that gave rise to temporary housing throughout the city, giving it a characteristic of camping.

This is how Lagoinha emerges: along with the city of Belo Horizonte itself and as a function of it. There was implanted the first municipal cemetery and from there came the first stones for the construction of the city (Prado Lopes quarry). The initial occupation of the neighborhood was made by immigrants – predominantly Italian, but also Spanish, Portuguese, Austrian, Greek, German, Armenian and Canadian (Rodrigues, 2009) – and people from other parts of the state, all with the purpose of working in the constructions of the new capital, as well as small merchants as well as low-ranking civil servants (AGUIAR, 2006). It can be said, then, that the occupation of Lagoinha took place even before the capital itself. The workers settled in the first buildings located in the streets of Bonfim and Itapeçerica. In 1906, the city authorized the construction of cheap rental housing, which consolidated the region as a place of the low-income population and investment site for an elite formed by "businessmen and traders, some of them formerly linked to the Construction Commission of New Capital, who envisioned the possibility of making

profits by producing cheap housing for rent to poor people" (AGUIRA, 2006, p. 164). This authorization also aimed to avoid the clandestine occupation that already occurred in the land of the city within the central area (FREIRE, 2011, p. 115).

The neighborhoods Bonfim and Lagoinha, in addition to the proximity of the central region and the railway station, were between two agricultural colonies: Carlos Prates – the one that generated the neighborhood of the same name – and Américo Werneck – which gave rise to the Floresta neighborhood – which, in the words of Cíntia Freire, "enabled the process of formation of the Lagoinha neighborhood, due to the proximity and relationship between them" (FREIRE, 2011, p. 113).<sup>4</sup>

Artists and craftsmen settled near the municipal cemetery to work on the ornamentation of the tombs. Bohemia also settled in the neighborhood early on: the precariousness of the suburban area in counterpoint to the urban area, the proximity to the railway station – as well as the railway line – and the existence of the Arrudas Stream together created a favorable condition for the existence of taverns, restaurants, dance houses, cinemas and, above all, prostitution houses. The municipal incentive to cheap rental housing, mentioned earlier, also influenced prostitution, as a kind of "side effect", since these establishments often configured themselves as *the locus* of the programs previously combined on nearby sidewalks: "in this neighborhood, close to the iron train station, women were installed with bait. They had not been summoned by Aaron Reis, but they settled" (NAVA, 1969).

Andrade and Teixeira (2004), who analyzed the history of prostitution and its territoriality in Belo Horizonte, from the 1930s on, the activities not only set in in the neighborhoods, but also the displacement of the centrality of prostitution to the region: the streets s Bonfim and Paquequer (ANDRADE E TEIXEIRA, 2004). This concentration of prostitution houses caused the migration of the population living in these streets to the interior of Lagoinha or, in some cases, out of Lagoinha. It is important to emphasize that the activity was mixed with residential buildings and created in the popular imagination the disqualification of the places where they settled, to the point of stigmatizing them in the Belo Horizonte context.

Prostitution was common to be associated with violence and crime. The police force was often employed in situations of fighting and raids in establishments in search of drugs.

In the 1940s, under the administration of the then mayor Juscelino Kubitscheck (1940-1945), the first housing complex in the city was inaugurated, the IAPI (Institute of Retirement and Pensions of the Industrialists), erected near the Prado Lopes quarry, where there was an irregular occupation. However, the set was not intended for people who were displaced, which led to the reoccupation of the quarry and the maintenance of the occupation.

In this management there was also the opening of the access avenue to the newly opened Pampulha. It is an emblematic work, since it inaugurated a series of road interventions of great impact to the

---

<sup>4</sup> The agricultural colonies were production areas of fruit genera that were implanted within suburban areas in the early twentieth century.

neighborhoods, constituting true urban scars that influence, even today, the quality of life in its surroundings. In this sense, stands out the Lagoinha complex, a set of several viaducts and connecting handles and the implementation of the subway in the 1980s.

In short, it can be said that Lagoinha is stigmatized by the characteristics of its occupation: the region arose with the implementation of the municipal cemetery. In addition to this urban equipment, which denotes something supernatural, mystical and that causes discomfort, fear and even revulsion in a significant part of the population, the first residents were precisely the workers who, mostly outsiders and poor, constituted their homes there. We highlight that the region is outside the urban boundary defined by the Contour Avenue and that it is isolated from this central area by the physical barriers imposed by the Arrudas river and the railway line. Also, its proximity to the railway and bus stations led to the establishment of a bohemian area, with several prostitution houses, some of them still existing and operating today. Finally, the existence of the villages Senhor dos Passos and Pedreira Prado Lopes. And the narratives about the region revolve around this stigma, as we can see in newspaper headlines in the capital: "Lagoinha Neighborhood is the poor neighbor of the Center<sup>5</sup>"; "Lagoinha becomes a neighborhood of the excluded – careless mansions give the place an air of abandonment and attract homeless people and beggars<sup>6</sup>."

### 3 MAJOR URBAN INTERVENTIONS FROM 2003

In early 2003 the double management of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva was inaugurated. Among the actions designed by the government, the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC) had major impacts on urban environments. In the Lagoinha region there are two interventions of very high impact that aggravated the physical segregation with the city center.

Both the works derived from the PAC resources, as motivated by the major events – the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games – had several types of contract: public-private partnerships (PPPs); urban operations; bids and private enterprises.

PPPs are a contract for the provision of works or services, signed between private companies and the federal, state or municipal government. Among the PPPs enterprises, we highlight the reform of the International Airport, in which almost 70% of the investment was from the government (PAXIS-EA/UFMG).<sup>7</sup>

The Urban Operation is the set of interventions and measures coordinated by the Municipal Executive Branch, with the participation of public or private agents, with the objective of enabling urban projects of public interest, and can be Simplified or Consorciada. Urban Operations seek subsolving to conflicts in the city, from the remodeling of urban design and population and constructive density in certain areas. In this sense, the Urban Operation that deserves more prominence, taking into account the action in

<sup>5</sup> Displace in [https://www.em.com.br/app/noticia/gerais/2013/03/25/interna\\_gerais.362352/bairro-lagoinha-e-o-vizinho-pobre-do-centro.shtml](https://www.em.com.br/app/noticia/gerais/2013/03/25/interna_gerais.362352/bairro-lagoinha-e-o-vizinho-pobre-do-centro.shtml). Accessed: June 24, 2019.

<sup>6</sup> Available at <<https://www.otempo.com.br/cidades/lagoinha-se-torna-bairro-de-exclu%C3%ADdos-1.331747>> Accessed: June 24, 2019.

<sup>7</sup> Displace in <http://www.brasil.gov.br/economia-e-emprego/2012/04/parceria-publico-privada-ppp>. Access in: 24, 2019.

the contexts of both intraurban and metropolitan belo horizonte, is the Urban Operation Consorciada Antônio Carlos East-West (OUC-ACLO). This urban project proposed the restructuring around the avenues Avenida Antônio Carlos, Avenida Pedro I, Avenida dos Andradas, Avenida Teresa Cristina and Via Expressa (PAXIS-EA/UFGM). In addition to duplicating some of these routes, this operation relied on the private sector to change the parameters of density and constructive damping in these areas. OUC ACLO began in 2011, and underwent some changes required by the Public Prosecutor's Office, since it did not meet the expected participatory planning requirements (NASSIF, 2016). In addition, it is the urban project with the most influence in the present case study, located on the edge of Avenida Antônio Carlos.<sup>8</sup>

Among the bids, the Green Line stands out, which connects the capital to the International Airport. Bids are projects contracted by the public sector that benefit, directly or indirectly, private partners. In this sense, the Green Line project covered the great avenues of the northern vector (Antônio Carlos, Pedro I and Cristiano Machado mainly), aiming to optimize them, making the way to the airport more efficient. For this, the project removed between 2006 and 2007, 974 properties, among them houses, commercial establishments and mixed-use spaces. Added to the Green Line, the Administrative City established on the edge of the municipalities of Belo Horizonte, Vespasiano and Santa Luzia, was a bid that altered the landscape in an impactful way with the construction of six buildings designed by Oscar Niemeyer in 2010. This project increased the flow, mainly pendulum, of public officials, reinforcing the justification for the construction of the Green Line (PRAXIS-EA/UFGM).<sup>9,10</sup>

Since the construction of the access avenue to Pampulha (today Avenida Antônio Carlos), the municipality has elected as a priority the highway modal. JK even directs investments to the automotive sector, creating an interdependence between road infrastructure and production.

In the 1970s, the first two viaducts of the complex were built to avoid level crossing on the tracks. Already in the following decade, with the implementation of the subway there is a need to expand the complex, since the trails of this modal must be totally segregated. Built contiguous to the existing railway line, much of the perimeter of the city center was disjointed in relation to the surrounding neighborhoods. In Lagoinha, the situation is aggravated by the demolition of entire blocks, in addition to the famous Vaz de Melo square, giving way to the viaducts, as shown in Figure 2.

The connection between neighborhood and downtown, as it is now exclusively by viaducts. With the continuous increase in the fleet of cars – mainly private ones – combined with the lack of incentive to public transport, the capacity of Avenida Antônio Carlos was compromised. Thus, its duplication begins. Next to the duplication, there is the provision of an exclusive corridor for buses, the BRT (*Bus Rapid Transport*), alternative to the expansion of the subway. This work received investments from PAC

---

<sup>8</sup> Displace in <https://prefeitura.pbh.gov.br/politica-urbana/planejamento-urbano/operacoes-urbanas>. Access in: 24, 2019.

<sup>9</sup> Displace in <http://observatoriodasmetropoles.net.br/wp/grandes-projetos-urbanos-no-vetor-norte-da-regiao-metropolitana-de-belo-horizonte/>. Access in: 24, 2019.

<sup>10</sup> Displace in <https://observasp.wordpress.com/2017/01/20/as-grandes-intervencoes-urbanas-no-vetor-norte-da-regiao-metropolitana-de-belo-horizonte/>. Access in: 24, 2019.

Mobilidade, according to the Ministry of Cities<sup>11</sup>. On Avenida Pedro II, interventions were also made to implement the BRT, but there were very few works, such as the closure of some streets. The solutions focused on the allocation of an exclusive bus lane and the implementation of rotating parking areas.

Figure 2 - Lagoinha Region 1967 and 2011



Source: <http://www.curraldelrey.com/>. Accessed: 24 Jun 2019

The narrative in relation to these works - as we see below - still reveals the stigma of the region, as if it were necessary to (disqualify the territory for people to identify):

Frequenter of Lagoinha in the **times of the bohemian zone, bars full of Italian workers and immigrants** and traditional samba wheels, writer and journalist Wander Pirolli wrote in 1974 in the pages of the State of Minas Gerais: "No one passes through Lagoinha in vain". Almost four decades later, the region, adjacent to the center of Belo Horizonte, became a **decaying area of frantic traffic**, cut by viaducts and handles and, more than that, one of **the worst traffic bottlenecks in the capital**. With no road alternatives or efficient transportation, about 120,000 vehicles travel through the Lagoinha Complex every day – at least half of them "in vain", contrary to the writer. (Available in <http://www.antp.org.br/noticias/clippings/complexo-da-lagoinha-e-no-que-nem-a-copa-vai-desatar.html>> Accessed: June 24, 2019. Griffin ours. )

#### 4 NEW SUBJECTIVITY

The formation of subjectivities through the manipulation of narratives has proven to be a potent resource in the power play inherent to any society. In the field of urbanism, actors at the service of capital are employed strategies and tools of the *field of marketing* with the objective of forming affirmative

<sup>11</sup> Disple in <http://www.pac.gov.br/obra/35679>. Accessed: June 24, 2019.



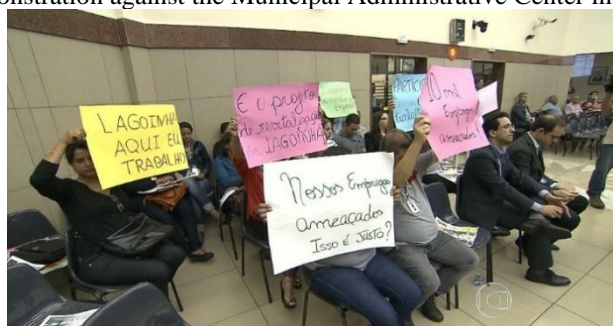
consensus in relation to their proposals for interventions in the urban environment. In a globalized market scenario established where countries are convergence to the neoliberal governance model, the association of public power (State) with the power of capital becomes possible. Such association is marked by the subordination of the State to the Market (international capital), creating facilities for its installation and operation in urban environments, which, consequently, generates a race of cities in search of the raising of these capitals in the form of companies and investments. The cities, in dispute for such investments, use the construction of ideal images of the cities, where the solutions to the previously emphasized problems are possible, as well as other benefits arising from these interventions.

Authors such as Fernanda Sánchez (1999), Leonardo Messentier and Clarissa Moreira (2014) approach the theme through the analysis of *city marketing processes* and strategic planning.

In Lagoinha and recent winds can be indicators of the attempt to change subjectivities through new narratives with content different from the hegemonic narratives to.

In 2013, PBH expressed interest in building the municipal administrative center in the Bonfim neighborhood, made official by decree no. 15,252 of June 2013 that deemed 21 lots, in an area of approximately 14,000 m<sup>2</sup>, declaring them as of public utility. Such a project would have an immense impact on the region and would certainly transform the local landscape and social dynamics. The articulation of the population, together with the support of councilors managed to get the PBH to change the site for the construction of the enterprise. In a first analysis it is possible to believe that the formation of consensus was flawed or weak enough to appropriate the narrative of the degradation of the neighborhood and the equipment that would bring investment and prosperity.

Figure 3 - Demonstration against the Municipal Administrative Center in the City Council



Source: <http://g1.globo.com/minas-gerais/noticia/2013/10/proposta-de-centro-administrativo-da-pbh-e-tema-de-audiencia-na-camara.html>. Accessed: 24 Jun 2019

However, in 2016, the Neighborhoods Bonfim, Lagoinha and part of Carlos Prates had their urban complexes listed. This protective measure aimed at heritage protection, ways of life and the historical, architectural and cultural characteristics of these neighborhoods that are important references of the historical formation of the city (Belo Horizonte City Hall, 2016).

Here we can observe a change in narratives: the region that was once characterized by occupation and unvalued uses, meaning of drug consumption and trafficking, of people on the streets, of immigrants,

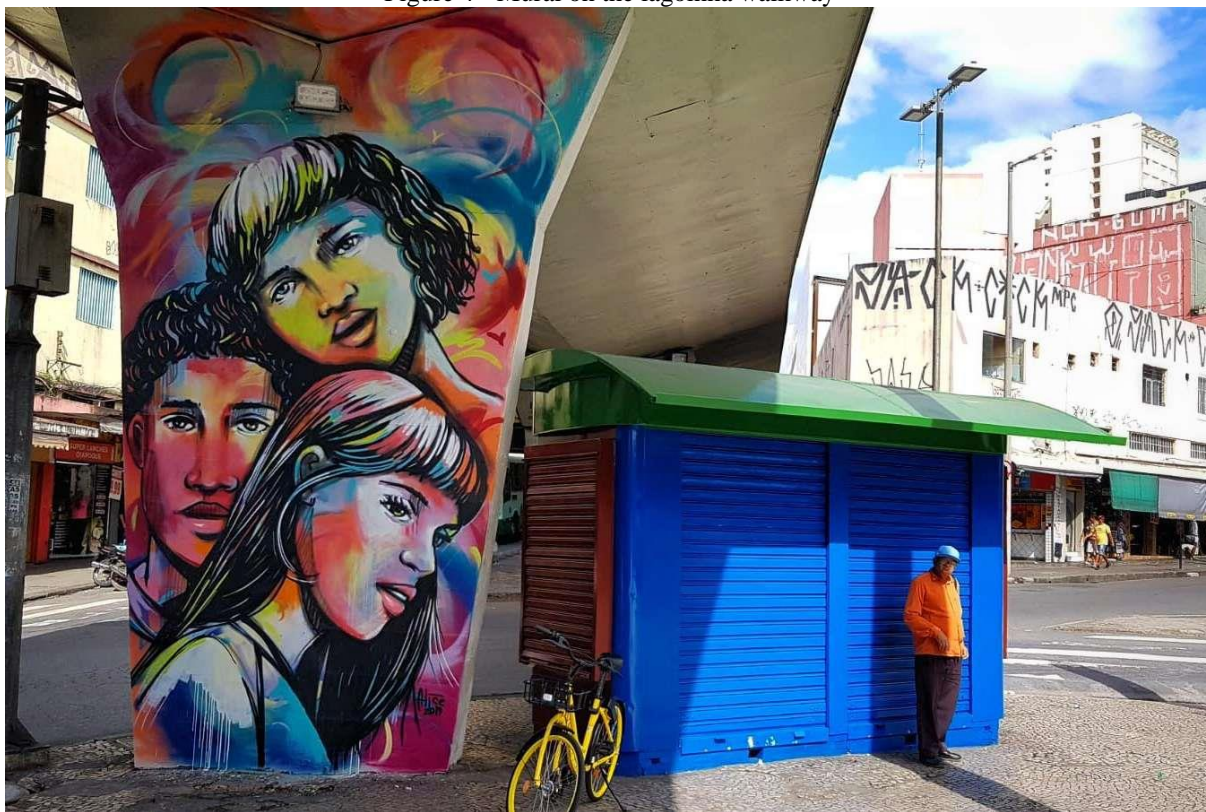
prostitutes, now has its value recognized, emphasized and protected. In principle, it is understood that the tipping instrument tends to increase the value of goods, since they add a legitimate layer of historical importance and that can attract market interest: living in a listed house has a meaning. However, in practice, the owners of listed properties tend to disapprove of this condition and, often, attack the property, promoting works of mischaracterization or even demolishing the properties. This disapproval is due to the fear of a fall in commercial value since changes in the property are restricted. In this case, we have not come to a conclusion of what is behind this event: would it be a really protective measure that could even trigger a gentrification process based on the historical value of real estate or would it be a way to apply *Niel Smith's rent gap* theory, where the current price of the property is far below the potential price in case of appreciation of the area?

Advanced a little more, we arrived at the end of 2018, when PBH launches the Creative Horizon program, promoted by the Municipal Secretariat of Economic Development (Smed), which aims to foster the creative economy in Belo Horizonte, working with creative sectors as a strategic instrument for socioeconomic development. The Lagoinha region was chosen to be the first territory to receive the actions of the program, and can become a center of creativity and innovation. At the inaugural event, the municipal secretary of Economic Development, Cláudio Beato, referred to Lagoinha as "an emblematic region of our city [...] a cultural stronghold that today goes beyond traditional bohemia." (available in <https://diariodocomercio.com.br/sitenovo/projeto-vai-fomentar-setor-em-belo-horizonte/>. Accessed: 24 Jun 2019).

In partnership with PBH, the Development Bank of Minas Gerais (BDMG) has provided a credit line for companies interested in settling in the territory. On this occasion, again the narratives revolved around the environmental qualities, property, in relation to the low real estate valuation and the proximity of the territory to the city center.

Two graffiti-related events took place in the neighborhoods: the Gentile movement that acted on the Walls of the IAPI and the interventions on the walkway that connects the center to the lagoinha, which had the support of the Consulate of Italy and the participation of the Italian artist Alice Pasquini (FIGURE 4).

Figure 4 - Mural on the lagoinha walkway



Source: <https://www.otempo.com.br/hotsites/elei%C3%A7%C3%B5es-2016/belo-horizonte/movimento-gentileza-inaugura-murais-no-lagoinha-em-bh-nesta-quinta-1.2175892> Accessed: June 24, 2019

## 5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

By analyzing the actors – especially the spokespersons of the public authorities – in their speaking places, and the content of the narratives, it is possible to identify inflection points. Such inflections can be transient when necessary in certain circumstances within the various strategies and pretensions, but they can also mean a break with hegemonic narratives.

The construction of subjectivities can be easily manipulated and, when properly conveyed, they are also easily absorbed by individuals who become their multipliers, reinforcing the creation of the necessary consensus for the objectives.

In the case of the Bonfim and Lagoinha neighborhoods in Belo Horizonte, the images and signs, now simply appropriate, or intentionally forged, can belid s as one of these mechanisms of formation of subjectivities at the service of the dominant classes. At the first moment in history, the neighborhoods were the place of the working class, outsiders and immigrants, prostitutes, outcasts, cemetery and the supernatural. In a second moment, however, they have been a violent and dangerous place, but culturally rich; degraded, but well located; cracolândia and, therefore, a place that "deserves" and "must" be revitalized.

## REFERENCES

AGUIAR, Tito Flávio Rodrigues. **Vastos subúrbios da nova capital:** formação do espaço urbano na primeira periferia de Belo Horizonte. Belo Horizonte: UFMG, 2006. Tese (doutorado em História). Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais.

ANDRADE, Rodrigo Ferreira, MAGALHÃES, Beatriz de Almeida. A formação da cidade. In: CASTRIOTA, Leonardo Barci. **Arquitetura da modernidade. Belo Horizonte:** UFMG/IAB, 1998, p. 19-78.

ANDRADE, Luciana Teixeira de; TEIXEIRA, Alexandre Eustáquio. A territorialidade da prostituição em Belo Horizonte. **Cadernos MetrÓpole.**, n. 11, 2004.

FREIRE, Cíntia Mirlene Pela. Do outro lado da linha do trem: História e intervenções no bairro Lagoinha. **Cadernos de História**, v. 12, n. 16, p. 110-136, 2011.

GUIMARÃES, Berenice Martins. **Cafuas, barracos e barracões Belo Horizonte, cidade planejada.** Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro, 1991. Tese (Doutorado) – Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro.

LIMA, Fabio Jose Martins de. Urbanismo em Minas Gerais: olhares de engenheiros, arquitetos, geógrafos e outros planejadores (1930-1980). **URBANA**, v. 5, n. 6, 2013.

NAVA, José. No ar havia alguma coisa de Paris – a cidade e o tempo quente I. Belo Horizonte. **Estado de Minas**, dez 1969.

PREFEITURA DE BELO HORIZONTE. **Dossiê para proteção do conjunto urbano bairros Lagoinha, Bonfim e Carlos Prates.** Belo Horizonte: PBH, 2016.

RODRIGUES, Maysa. **Sob o céu de outra pátria:** imigrantes e educação em Juiz de Fora e Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais (1888-1912). Belo Horizonte: UFMG, 2009. 346f. Tese (doutorado em Educação). Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais.

SINGER, Paul. **Desenvolvimento econômico e evolução urbana.** 2. ed. São Paulo: Nacional, 1977.