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THE PRODUCTION OF SOCIO- SPATIAL INJUSTICE TOWARDS THE ROMANI POPULATION DURING THE FRANCO REGIME:

THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF LO CAMPANO AND LOS MATEOS IN CARTAGENA (SPAIN)

LA PRODUCCIÓN DE LA INJUSTICIA SOCIOESPACIAL HACIA EL PUEBLO GITANO DURANTE EL FRANQUISMO: LOS BARRIOS DE LO CAMPANO Y LOS MATEOS EN CARTAGENA (ESPAÑA)

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Un 62,8% de la población gitana en España vive en asentamientos segregados del núcleo urbano, barrios periféricos o de segundo crecimiento, lo que es muestra de la persecución y discriminación histórica del pueblo gitano. El antigitanismo se ha territorializado mediante la eliminación de la autonomía y las formas de autoproducción del espacio, siendo la planificación urbanística y las políticas de vivienda un elemento clave en la materialización de su segregación urbana, con especial importancia durante el régimen franquista. La identificación del pueblo gitano como un elemento sobrante en el espacio urbano se lleva a cabo mediante procesos de expulsión de la vivienda autoproducida cuyo objetivo es el realojo en barriadas periféricas de vivienda social. El presente artículo analiza a través de dos estudios de caso en los barrios de Lo Campano y Los Mateos en Cartagena (España) el proceso de producción de injusticia socioespacial contra el pueblo gitano durante el franquismo, utilizando como marco analítico la definición de justicia social de Nancy Fraser (1996) y la teoría de la estructuración de Giddens (1984). Los resultados obtenidos señalan el papel de la planificación urbanística y las políticas de vivienda en la producción de la injusticia socioespacial, conformando un ejercicio de necropolítica urbana y de vivienda contra el pueblo gitano.

Palabras clave: Antigitanismo, injusticia socioespacial, planificación urbanística, necropolítica.

62.8% of the Romani population in Spain lives in settlements that are segregated from the urban center or in peripheral neighborhoods, a sign of their historical persecution and discrimination. Anti-Romani sentiment has been territorialized by eliminating autonomy and means of self-production of space, with urban planning and housing policies being a key element in the materialization of their urban segregation, particularly during the Franco regime. Identifying the Romani as a surplus element in urban space led to their expulsion from self-produced housing, relocating them to peripheral social housing neighborhoods. Through the case studies, this article analyzes the Lo Campano and Los Mateos neighborhoods in Cartagena, Spain, the production of socio-spatial injustice against the Romani during Franco's regime, using Nancy Fraser's (1996) definition of social justice, and Giddens' (1994) structuration theory, as an analytical framework. The results obtained point to the role of urban planning and housing policies in the production of socio-spatial injustice, forming an exercise of urban and housing necropolitics against the Romani people.

Keywords: Anti-Romani, socio-spatial injustice, urban planning, necropolitics.

I. INTRODUCTION

Antigypsyism is a “persistent and historically constructed system of habitual racism against social groups identified under the Gypsy stigma” (Alliance Against Antigypsyism, 2017, p. 5) seen throughout the world, with Gypsy communities being subject to discrimination and marginalization in many countries.

In Spain, antigypsyism is especially relevant, since it is one of the European countries with the largest Romani population and where this discrimination is most visible. 62.8% of the Romani population in Spain live in settlements in the periphery segregated from the urban center, and 37.1% of their dwellings are overcrowded (Fundación Secretariado Gitano, 2015). Similarly, insecurity in housing tenure and vulnerability against expulsion and gentrification processes are more commonplace in Romani communities than in others. Between 2013 and 2018, the percentage of the Romani population who own housing has fallen from 50.5% to 24.3%, while in the non-Roma population, it only dropped from 75.7% to 74.1% (Pedreño et al., 2019, p. 32).

Research on Romani neighborhoods in Spain focuses on their different historical origins: urban planning, eviction and rehousing actions, construction of social housing, or self-production of housing and space by the communities themselves (Botana Iglesias, 2022; Río Ruiz, 2014; Río Ruiz, 2020; Saavedra, 2021; Tomé Fernández, 2021). These studies point to the constant presence of antigypsyism in public policies and institutional action as a source of the urban segregation that communities currently suffer. Therefore, it is necessary to continue to look further into the analysis of these processes to confront the reparation of the historical and urban footprint of antigypsyism and reverse the segregation and exclusion processes that Gypsy communities have been subject to.

Thus, the purpose of this article is to analyze the extent to which planning instruments and public housing policies have contributed to generating and reproducing socio-spatial injustice, using an analysis framework based on the three-dimensional notion of social justice of Nancy Fraser (1996) and the structuring theory of Giddens (1984).

To do this, the analysis of two Romani neighborhoods in the city of Cartagena (Spain), with different historical origins, is proposed. While one emerges from self-built housing and resistance to eviction processes during the Franco dictatorship, another is the product of social housing neighborhoods built by the regime's institutions. The difference between the historical production processes of the two neighborhoods allows for their comparison, and from this, a better understanding of how

the action mechanisms of the institutions are configured, what the resistances built by the communities has been like, and the future possibilities.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Origin and Evolution of Antigypsyism in Spain

The historical persecution of the Romani in Spanish territories began in the 15th century and persisted during the following centuries with repressive measures against their mechanisms of autonomy, such as the prohibition of leaving their homes or the restriction of localities where they could settle, with the aim of eliminating nomadism, self-managed trades, and formulas of family and community cooperation (Cortés et al., 2021; Filigrana, 2020; Jiménez & Agüero, 2020).

During the Franco dictatorship, the social housing policies, developed since 1939 by the National Housing Institute under the autarchy framework, set the elimination of slums as an objective through policies for rehousing and the construction of neighborhoods and housing estates, although it was always incomplete (Tomé Fernández, 2021). The approval of the Law on the Land and Urban Planning System in 1956, laid the foundations for the urban development of Spanish cities through figures such as the General Urban Planning Plan, which brought a substantial change in the economic system of Franco's regime towards an open-ended and financialized model, turning urban development and real estate speculation into the basis of the Spanish economy (Betrán Abadía, 2013; Fernández Carbajal, 2003). This dynamic drove expulsion and rehousing processes in social housing neighborhoods, which to this day “are still the poorest districts of their respective cities” (Tomé Fernández, 2021, p. 235), forcing the transformation of the social and community uses of the rehoused Gypsy populations.

After the Franco dictatorship, 75% of the Romani population continued to live in self-built settlements (Vázquez, 1979). The neighborhood remodeling policies in democracy focused on *in situ* rehousing processes for the working population residing in self-built settlements, marked by major neighborhood participation and good results (Castro & Molina, 1996). Romani communities were excluded from these processes and consigned to rehousing policies in the urban periphery without a right to own the homes (Álvarez de Andrés, 2020). In fact, this strategy of eliminating self-produced settlements generated exclusion and segregation, as it followed the dynamics of real estate speculation of cleared spaces, spatializing antigypsyism through housing policies (Río Ruiz, 2014; Saavedra, 2021; Tomé Fernández, 2021).

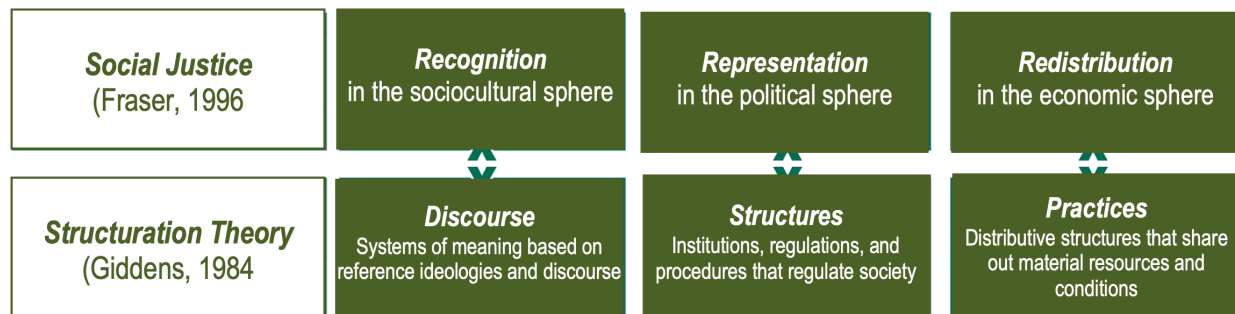


Figure 1. Interrelation between Fraser's (1996) social justice and Giddens' (1984) structuration theory. Source: Preparation by the authors.

Antigypsyism as Housing Necropolitics

Faced with this reality, Romani activism in Spain points to antigypsyism and its practices as a constant attempt to eliminate the Romani's resistance to participate socially, economically, and workwise in the capitalist system (Cortés et al., 2021; Filigrana, 2020; Jiménez & Agüero, 2020).

This attack has focused on the residual forms of self-production of space in countries of the Global North as dissident territories that slow down the process of capital accumulation (Lopes de Souza, 2012), thus forming a necropolitical process. In this sense, necropolitics, a term coined by Achille Mbembe (2003), refers to state policies and practices that seek control and domination over the life and death of certain human groups, often populations considered as "disposable" or "superfluous". Therefore, necropolitics manifests itself in the marginalization and violence against Romani communities and is reflected in their identification as a surplus element in the urban space.

We are thus faced with "housing necropolitics" (Álvarez de Andrés, 2020), that is policies that enable and force the disappearance of the self-managed forms of these "unprofitable" communities. This highlights both the cruelty of the capitalist system and its inequalities (Mbembe, 2003; Valverde Gefaell, 2015), and the unviability of the dominant social, political, and economic model (Procacci, 1991). The increasing commodification and financialization of housing since the 2008 crisis (Rolnik, 2018; Harvey, 2012) has also fostered access to "informal" housing, given the impossibility for an increasingly large majority to access the "formal" market due to the gap between housing prices and wages (Álvarez de Andrés et al., 2019), increasing the vulnerability to these necropolitical processes.

Socio-spatial Injustice as a Three-dimensional Phenomenon

All these factors of housing necropolitics generate a constant and historical denial of social justice towards the Romani, a concept used here following what Nancy Fraser (1996) defines through three elements:

- *recognition*, which refers to the assessment of the identity and cultural differences of social groups;
- *representation*, understood as political inclusion and the active participation of social groups in decision-making; and
- *redistribution*, in the sense of addressing the equitable distribution of economic and material resources needed for their development and well-being.

This three-dimensional analysis allows abandoning a partial understanding of justice in a more punitive, judicial, and criminal nature, in addition to serving as a starting point for new solutions that manage to transform the social injustices suffered by the Romani (Daróczy et al., 2021). This article uses the same framework, focusing both on the spatial and urban character of injustice and on its historical production through the denial and exclusion of communities in these three dimensions, therefore speaking of socio-spatial injustice.

In addition, to reinforce this three-dimensional approach, the structuring theory is included in the analysis (Giddens, 1984), specifically the division of social practices between *systems of meaning*, based on the reference discourses and ideologies; *authority structures*, i.e., the rules, institutions, and procedures that organize society; and *distributive structures*, that distribute the material resources (Healey, 2006).

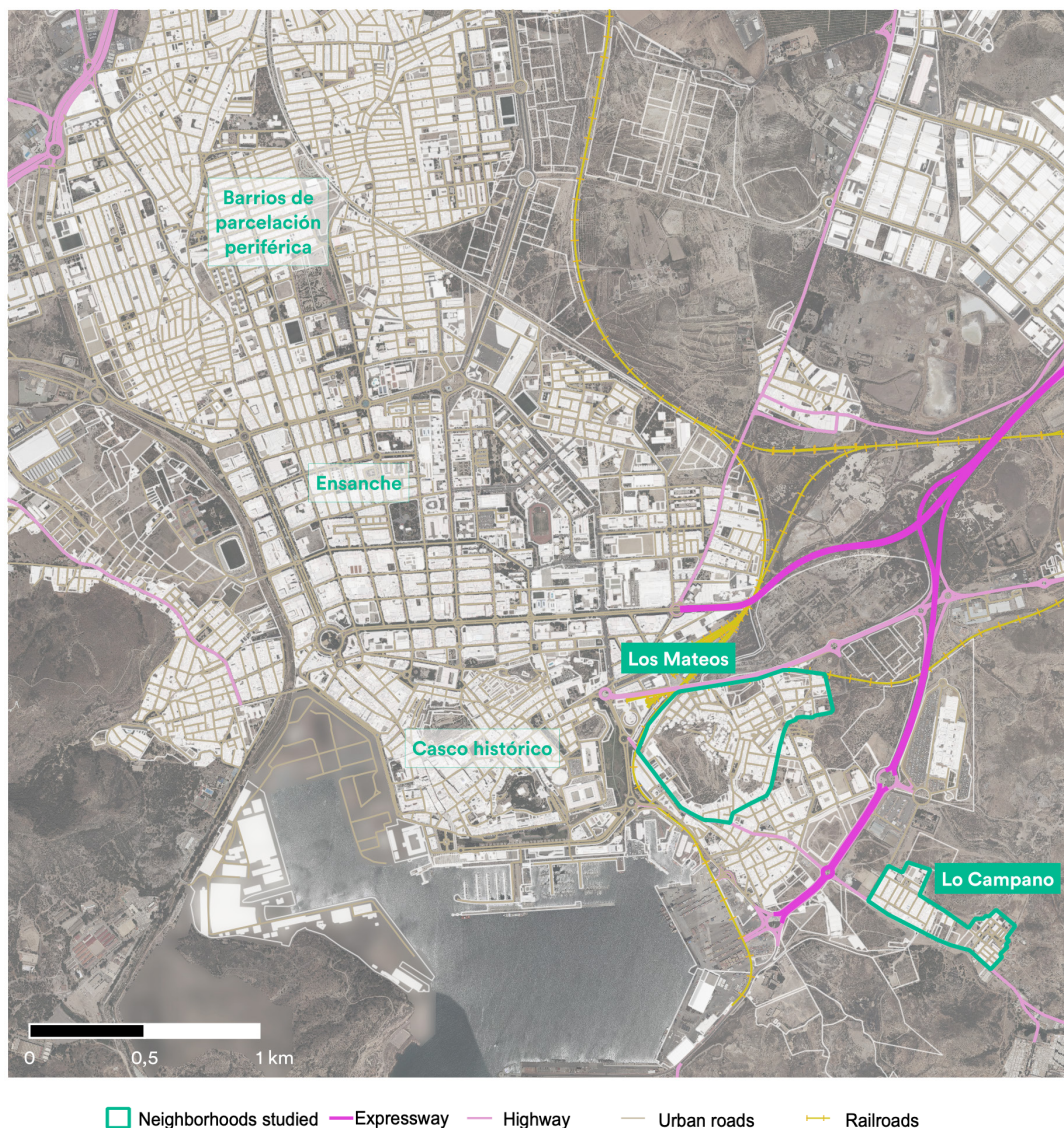


Figure 2. Location of the analyzed neighborhoods in the city of Cartagena. Source: Preparation by the authors.

III. METHODOLOGY

To analyze the historical production processes of neighborhoods, Fraser's concept of social justice (1996) has been connected with Giddens' structuration theory (1984). The combination of both frameworks links the *discourses* with *recognition*, the *structures* with *representation*, and the *practices* with *redistribution*. Thus, the theoretical framework becomes one for analysis and allows studying to what extent and with what tools the systematic persecution of the Romani has led to a

situation of denial of socio-spatial justice through the role of urban planning and housing policies.

Starting from the case study method (Yin, 1994), the neighborhoods of Los Mateos (01) and Lo Campano (02), in the city of Cartagena, have been selected as the focus of the research. Both neighborhoods have a large presence of Romani housing, with 220 houses in Los Mateos and 100 in Lo Campano (Fundación Secretariado Gitano, 2015), along with similar levels of socio-economic exclusion (Cartagena City Council, 2021) and spatially close locations, although segregated from the urban center by large barriers (Figure 2).

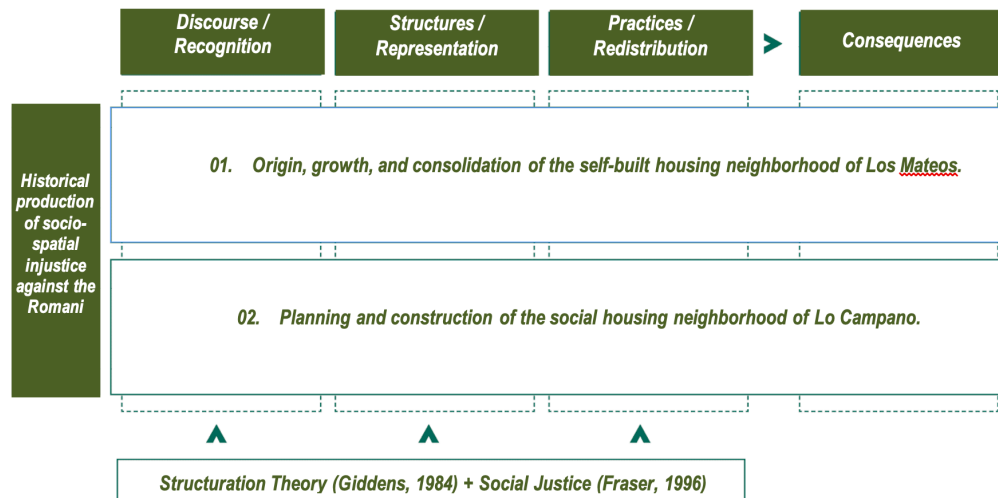


Figure 3. Analytical framework: Analyzed processes. Source: Preparation by the authors.

Municipal Archive of Cartagena (AMC)		
Code	Year	Content
CH02618/00009	1924	Relationship of the families that live in Castillo and the Cabezo de los Moros caves
CH02038/00015	1955	Construction project of Charity Homes on the road to the cemetery
CH01022/00001	1956	Letters to the Mayor, requesting housing in the new projects
CA26299/00001	1961	Statutes of the Francisco Franco Housing Board
	1961-1967	Annual activity report of the Francisco Franco Housing Board
	1969	Construction project for 40 subsidized homes in Lo Campano's San Isidoro neighborhood
	1971	Construction project for 32 subsidized homes in Lo Campano's San Isidoro neighborhood, Cartagena

Figure 4. List of archival documents cited in the text. Source: Preparation by the authors.

However, how each one was shaped makes them substantially different. While Los Mateos is a neighborhood of self-built housing, Lo Campano is the result of a social housing neighborhood planned by the Franco regime, precisely to relocate the population that lived in caves or self-produced housing. The study of the processes in the two neighborhoods makes it possible to identify similarities and differences between both models of space production (Figure 3).

The information related to the case studies comes from the archival consultation of urban planning documents and projects (Figure 4), mainly in the Municipal Archive of Cartagena (AMC, in Spanish), in addition to newspaper libraries and historical orthophotos. Compiling this documentation has enabled a critical review through a qualitative approach, whereby three main *agents*, whose *discourse*, *structures*, and *practices* must be studied in particular to specify their role in shaping the process: the State, the Market, and, finally, the communities themselves.

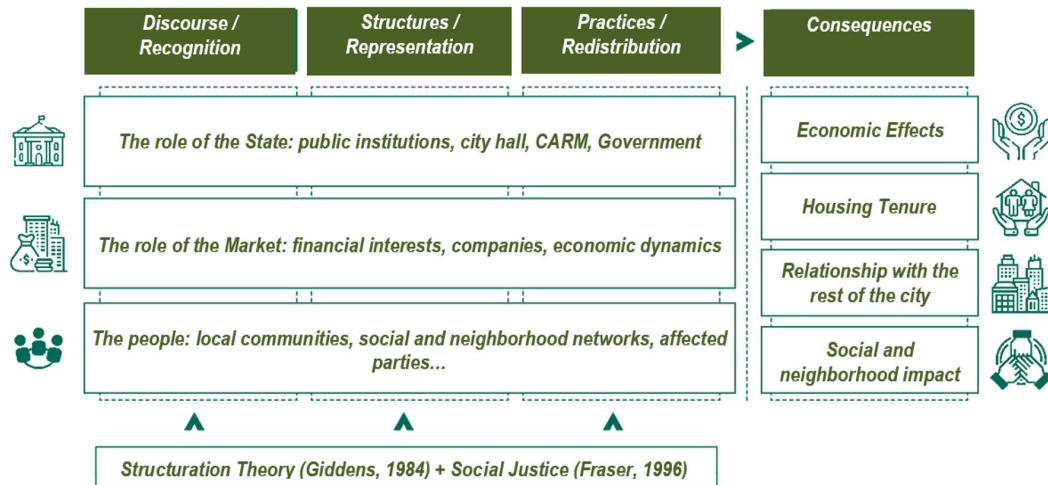


Figure 5. Analytical framework: agents and consequences studied. Source: Preparation by the authors.

Finally, the *consequences* generated by these processes are analyzed, dividing the lines of study into four (Figure 5). In each section, the impact of each element (positive, negative, or absent) has been assessed using a color code (green, red, or gray), assuming the well-being of the population as the base criterion for impact assessment.

IV. RESULTS

The historical production of socio-spatial injustice in Los Mateos and Lo Campano

In the analyzed period, the urban and housing policies in the city of Cartagena focused on three aspects: the “eradication of slums”, the expulsion of the working classes from the historic center, and the construction of social housing. These elements are present in the origin and development of the two neighborhoods studied, with this section presenting the results of the research on these processes.

Description of self-production of space in Los Mateos

Although historical records show the presence of self-produced settlements, such as the 1924 document “List of families that live in Castillo and the caves of Cabezo de los Moros” (AMC, CH02618/00009), which indicates the presence of self-built houses inside the abandoned defensive bastion and in the caves on the slopes, it would be with the great demographic growth of the city during the 50’s that self-built housing skyrocketed, also highlighting the extensive presence in the Cerro de los Moros caves and other nearby areas, such as the Lo Campano area.

The many letters addressed to the Mayor of Cartagena asking for housing in the summer of 1956, which are available at the Cartagena Municipal Archive (AMC, CH01022/00001) are an example of this. All the letters have a similar structure, first describing the location and condition of the home where the senders reside, and then requesting access to one of the new “Charity Homes” that the city council was going to build. It highlights the presence of cave dwellers, self-built homes, “cheap houses” from the 20’s and 30’s in poor condition, or people who sublet rooms in the working-class neighborhoods of the historic center.

Despite the insufficient construction of social housing by the Franco regime, as will be seen in the following section, the City Council evicted and dynamited the caves on the western slope of Cerro de los Moros (the closest to the urban center) in 1969. Despite this, the neighborhood of Los Mateos continued to grow and consolidate on the eastern slope over the following decades, largely through self-production. The orthophotos of 1956 and 2019 are compared in Figure 6, where the disappearance of self-built houses on a western slope and the densification of the neighborhood on the opposite slope can be observed.

Description of the planning and construction process of the Lo Campano neighborhood

The growing demand for housing in Cartagena throughout the 50’s led the City Council to start building social housing in the city, following the state-level initiatives of the National Housing Institute. The construction of the neighborhood began with the aforementioned “Charity Homes” Sheltered Housing Project, written down in



Figure 6. Orthophotos of Los Mateos in 1956 and 2019. Source: National Plan of Aerial Orthophotography.

1955 (AMC CH02038/00012). This project planned the construction of 147 single-family homes in Lo Campano, of which less than half would be built.

Alongside this, and following the Land Law of 1956, work began on the preparation of the General Municipal Planning Plan of Cartagena, approved in 1961 which, apart from planning urban growth, ordered the expropriation and demolition of the Molinete neighborhood in the historic city center. This elimination

was framed within the expulsion process of working-class neighborhoods from the historic center, which for Molinete was associated with the presence of an “immoral” population and activities in the eyes of the Franco regime (Viedma-Guiard, 2021), among which were the Romani. Therefore, this new demand was added to the already existing need for housing due to demographic growth. The result was projects that pushed the working classes from the historic city to the periphery.

Faced with these residential needs, the City Council approved, in 1960, the creation of a body that would manage housing construction, creating the Francisco Franco Housing Board. The Statutes of the Board of Trustees stated as an objective:

“erasing from the current reality the shame that many extremely modest families are still housed in the *subhuman environment* of caves and shacks, denying those inhabiting them the great dignity naturally endowed by God, or in other authentic slums whose narrowness imposes promiscuities that constitute very serious dangers of a *moral* and educational nature” (AMC CA26299/00001, Statutes, p. 2)

The annual reports of this organization for 1961-1967 (AMC CA26299/00001) show the procedures followed to build social housing and the progress of these projects. The first project consisted of 110 houses which, together with those built in 1955, expanded the village of Lo Campano to accommodate the population of the nearby caves (AMC CH02038/00015). The project was developed by the municipal architects and assigned to trusted contractors of the municipal council, delivering the houses in May 1962.

In the following years, the reports of the Board of Trustees make the need to build more housing to accommodate the expelled population clear, proposing the construction project of an “Absorption Village that has to consist of 1,010 homes and be called Cabezo del Molino, to house the inhabitants of Molinete and the Caves of Cabezo de los Moros” (AMC CA26299/00001, 1963 Report, p. 1). However, the reports of the following years show the impossibility of fully implementing this project, leaving just the partial and insufficient extensions of the Lo Campano neighborhood in 1969 and 1971.

Meanwhile, the expropriation and demolition of the Molinete neighborhood took years due to the resistance of the neighbors to abandon it and the lack of alternative housing. Finally, in 1974, “the demolition of the *waste* of that area (...)” began, changing from being a *blemish* to one of the most beautiful places in the city” (El Noticiero, 1974).

Consequently, while the population was expelled from the historic center and the self-produced housing areas, the institution responsible was unable to provide sufficient housing for the entire expelled population. The construction of social housing in Lo Campano was therefore nourished in part by this relocated population, while the rest of the population had to find other rehousing options. Despite the lack of official sources, the oral testimony of neighbors and neighborhood associations seem to indicate that part of the families currently living in Los Mateos come from these expulsion processes.

Consequences of the analyzed processes

The urban growth of the city of Cartagena during the second half of the 20th century was taken from the historic center to the north, linearly shaping the urban space towards the interior due to the presence of the port to the south, and industrial spaces, railway infrastructures, military areas, and geographical features to the east and west (see Figure 2). Consequently, the neighborhoods of Lo Campano and Los Mateos were isolated in the southeast, with a large number of infrastructures and physical barriers separating them from the rest of the city.

The PGOU of 1987 proposed the drafting of a Special Interior Reform Plan (PERI, in Spanish) for the surroundings of Castillo de Los Moros in Los Mateos, in what it defined as a “marginalized area of the city with notable health deficiencies” (The City Council Cartagena, 1987). Faced with this problem, the idea was to “liberate this building area by moving it to the neighboring urban areas,” thus expelling the population from the self-produced housing units that were located on the slopes of Castillo. Although this expulsion has not taken place, attempts to demolish these houses have continued over the following decades.

In recent decades, the exclusion of these neighborhoods has been aggravated by the emergence of new external threats, with new attempts to expel self-produced housing and the development of more infrastructure around the neighborhoods, thus increasing the isolation and pressure on these communities.

This entire production process of socio-spatial injustice in the neighborhoods of Lo Campano and Los Mateos has resulted in a situation of social, urban, economic, and institutional exclusion. The average annual income per household in these census sections is between €16,000 and €19,000 compared to the €31,411 municipal average (National Institute of Statistics, 2021). The unemployment rate registered in Los Mateos and Lo Campano is 33.73% compared to the municipal 13.43% (Cartagena City Council, 2021, p. 46) and 18.94% of the population over the age of 16 is without studies (Cartagena City Council, 2021, p. 137).

In addition, the overcrowding in both neighborhoods, the lack of services and insecurity in the tenure of self-built housing in Los Mateos, the low maintenance of social housing in Lo Campano, and poor communication with the rest of the city, especially in this second neighborhood (Cartagena City Council, 2021, p. 58), should be noted as other examples of this exclusion. Similarly, social discrimination and the lack of access to employment alternatives derived from the stigmatization of these neighborhoods have kept subsistence economies in place through activities such as drug trafficking.

The neighborhood fabric, faced with exclusion and increased urban pressure, has been activated to form resistance in defense

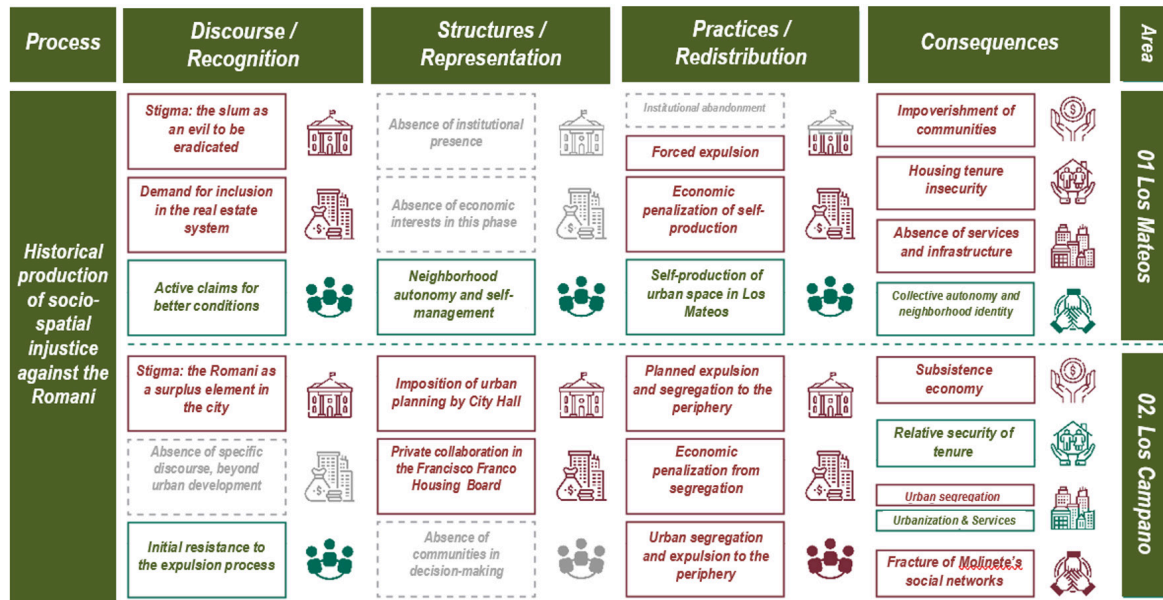


Figure 7. Discussion of the results. Source: Preparation by the authors.

of their right to the city, although there are differences that stand out. Even though there are neighborhood and social associations in the two neighborhoods, the mobilization of the Los Mateos neighborhood against urban segregation by railway infrastructures (Sanchez, 2021), the stoppage of eviction attempts of self-built housing around Castillo de Los Moros (González, 2015), and the neighborhood organization in the face of expulsion attempts by new urban planning instruments (Ribelles, 2016) stand out. On the contrary, in the neighborhood of Lo Campano "a low level of citizen participation and a disarticulation of the associative fabric" has been seen (Cartagena City Council, 2021, p. 185).

V. DISCUSSION

The results of the research, summarized in Figure 7, applying an analytical framework based on Fraser's notion of social justice (1996) and Giddens' structuration theory (1984), are discussed below.

Production of socio-spatial injustice in the self-built neighborhood of Los Mateos

Institutional and economic *discourses* have penalized the self-production of space through *negative recognition* and the stigmatization of slumdom, although they hide behind hygienist or moral arguments. For their part, the population has kept in their *discourse*, a *self-recognition* as a community and of

resistance to eviction, in addition to actively participating in the claim for decent housing conditions.

As for the *structures*, the absence of institutional and economic agents in the neighborhood contrasts with the existence of community autonomy and self-management networks, which are temporarily maintained despite expulsion attempts.

The *practices* observed show a generalized institutional abandonment in the self-produced areas until the arrival of new expulsion cycles that increase *negative redistribution*, which generates practices of resistance and cooperation made by the population through neighborhood mobilization.

The production of socio-spatial injustice in the rehousing process of Lo Campano

The institutional *discourse* has pointed to the working classes, especially the Romani, as a surplus element in the city through a *negative recognition*, while the communities themselves have presented a *discourse* of initial resistance to the expulsion processes, with *self-recognition* as housing applicants to the relevant institutions.

The existence of authoritarian *structures* has been seen through the imposition made for urban planning and the resulting forced eviction of the neighborhoods of the historic center and self-built housing, which happened without the *representation* of the communities in the process, but where the private sector did so through collaboration with the Board of Trustees.

Urban planning *practices* were materialized in the expulsion to the periphery and the dispossession of housing, with the negative consequences in the *redistribution* this has generated through penalization by the socio-economic system.

Economic, residential, urban, and social consequences

Communities have been impoverished and penalized for being outside formal circuits and, in addition, stigmatized for maintaining subsistence economies, especially through drug trafficking.

The urban planning of Lo Campano has provided its neighbors with greater security in *housing tenure*, although the progressive deterioration and reduction of the social housing stock is harming them. On the contrary, self-production housing in Los Mateos has generated great insecurity in tenure as it is not legally recognized, and is also threatened by new attempts at expulsion through urban planning.

As for the *relationship with the rest of the city*, although both neighborhoods suffer from socio-spatial segregation, the location of Lo Campano negatively penalizes this community, though the unplanned origin of Los Mateos is punished with lower upkeep of public spaces and greater infrastructure deficit.

Finally, the *social and neighborhood networks* in rural areas are more fragile due to the fracture suffered by the expulsion and rehousing processes of their inhabitants, while the maintenance of a collective identity of Los Mateos as a self-produced space generates a relatively greater social cohesion and better organizational autonomy.

The results obtained indicate how a necropolitical process has occurred (Álvarez de Andrés, 2020; Mbembe, 2003) against the Romani communities of Lo Campano and Los Mateos, reflecting the spatialization of antigypsyism as a system of oppression (Filigrana, 2020; Jiménez & Agüero, 2020) through housing policies and the expulsion and rehousing processes (Botana Iglesias, 2022; River Ruiz, 2014; Saavedra, 2021).

Thus, the *lack of recognition or negative recognition* of the Romani in the hegemonic *discourse* has led to the exclusion of *structures of representation* through urban planning, which has authoritatively expelled them from the city through *practices* aimed at segregation and socio-economic penalization, generating a negative *redistribution*. However, resistance against this process has remained throughout history through *self-recognition* as a community and the creation of resistance *discourse* that generates *structures of representation* outside the market and the state. These structures take place through neighborhood and family

networks and are materialized in subsistence, cooperation, and mutual support *practices*, and in the very mechanisms of self-production of space.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The realization that there has been a historical and systematic exercise of anti-Romani exclusion and segregation in urban space once again highlights the need to look further into the production of the social injustice against the Romani in Spain. The theoretical-analytical framework that has been shaped from the intersection of Fraser's three-dimensional notion of social justice (1996) and Giddens' structuration theory (1984), is presented as a valid analytical framework for the study of these processes, thereby allowing approaching a multidimensional study of the agents involved, their *discourse, practices* and *structures* and the consequences on communities.

The research results themselves point out where the path to the emancipation of these communities and the reparation of this injustice may lie. The existing mobilizations in the face of urban pressures and threats are an example of *community resistance*, defined as "a form of politically committed resilience in the face of the tensions they encounter from the existing powers" (Álvarez de Andrés et al., 2019), which is key in the claim by the communities for *recognition, representation, and redistribution* in the city and urbanism.

With a view to future lines of research, it should be remembered that "the history found in the archives is insufficient to know the memory of precarious settlements and their relationship with the territory, since this knowledge has historically been left out of the records" (Botana Iglesias, 2022, p. 40). Although this research has focused on the analysis of urban and housing planning documentation and projects, an in-depth study of the resistance that is being woven into these communities is identified as a future line of work, putting a voice to and a focus on the very people who build them.

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