

**POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN THE HOUSING CITY COUNCIL OF BELO HORIZONTE,
BRAZIL: Institutionalization, Democratization and Representation**

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ABSTRACT

Public Policy Councils are innovative instruments allowing the society participation in the policy-making through institutional channels of collective actions. Considering the urban sprawl experienced in large cities as well as several challenges faced by public housing policies, this study seeks to analyze institutionally the City Housing Council (CHC) of Belo Horizonte city, identifying the limits and possible institutional voids of its channel of participation. CHC was created to deal with the city policy of access to adequate housing. In this research, firstly a literature review was conducted and the analysis of the Council institutional structure. Through analyze of its minutes and a survey with council board members who have been civil representatives, we concluded that the City Housing Council of Belo Horizonte, although relatively well established, still has intrinsic institutional voids in its formation which makes difficult its genuinely democratic performance.

Keywords: *Belo Horizonte City Housing Council (CHC); Brazil; land occupation; urban popular participation; institutional analysis*

1 INTRODUCTION

Housing issues challenge current and future Government Administrations, at local, state and federal levels. Brazil faced an enormous increasing of its population during the mid-twentieth century. Over a period of approximately 60 years, Brazilian population grew four times and its urban population increased more than seven times (Brazil, 2007).

This rapid population growth in urban centers has not found yet efficient alternatives by the government policies and plans. Throughout decades the city was considered as a product designed for a small privileged population. The State's failure to guarantee poor people to have access to their fundamental rights, including the right of adequate housing, resulted in a slow and gradual process of *urban gentrification*¹. On one hand it permitted the concentration of high income rates but on the other hand very low rates of quality of life. In 2004, Brazilian housing deficit was 5.8 million homes. 82% of them were concentrated in urban areas and around 90% were formed by low income population with an average monthly income of US\$ 800 (Minas Gerais, 2010). However, it was verified that from 2000 to 2002 "[...] nearly 60% of the housing resources from federal government were to families that have a US\$ 1,300 monthly income, however they represent only 8% of the housing deficit. (Maricato, 2000, p. 1). Thus, more than 138 million of Brazilians live in cities, and according to the housing deficit definition used by *João Pinheiro* Foundation (Minas Gerais, 2005), more than 4.7 million of people live in very poor houses with no condition to be inhabited due to their improper and dangerous location.

¹ Urban gentrification can be understood as a gentrification process that generates large real estate speculation in areas previously occupied by socially poor people, undertaking a process of change in such locations in relation to habits and economic values (Nobre, 2003). When an area becomes attractive to a population having more financial resources is the general recovery in land prices and cost of living. This process, also called white expulsion, causes the price of living in such places not accessible to the poor who used to live there, leading them to move to cities, usually farther from the center at a cost of cheaper life.

Thus it seems clear that one of the major challenges of Brazilian government and its society is being able to solve housing and urban issues, as well as the whole range of urban problems, including shortage of land and water, environmental pollution, sanitation among others that have impact on urban life.

Concerning urban problems, another relevant fact and even more complex to solve is the influence of real estate capital on policy decisions. Since the development of urban planning for the allocation of resources, such influence has been directing the interests of the most influential economic groups, making them the government priority at the expense of poor people who most need those resources.

By the end of military dictatorship in Brazil (1964-1985), social movements for urban reform struggled for democracy and the writing of a new Constitution. They have been organizing themselves and growing for decades and were able to prove their importance as active players during the elaboration of new Constitution. Those movements had a great victory when they were able to add their "Urban Policy" Chapter, in the 1988 Brazilian Federal Constitution as well as to approve of the City Statute (Law n° 10.257 / 2001), which introduced unprecedented public law instruments. This fact also changed the old logic of urban public policies that used to be formulated consulting only politicians, technicians and specialists, without people's participation. Therefore this new urban paradigm was based on constitutional principles, on the City Statute, and on democratic city administration as guidelines for planning and developing the urban spaces. They also represented the introduction of the possibility of direct citizen participation in the policy-making process. Popular participation was the featuring legitimacy.

Thereby, it becomes clear that it is the right and role of society was not only to require that current urban problems have to be solved, but they have to actively participate in the elaboration, implementation and monitoring policies for such solutions. In this sense, the City Statute establishes several mechanisms enabling social action. Among those there are the Public Policy Councils.

These Councils have been established in Brazil as innovative instruments allowing the society participation in the policy-making process through institutionalized channels of collective actions. Such councils structured themselves having plural and collective foundation, and they were present in the three Brazilian Federative levels (Federal Government, State and City), involving the Government (both the Executive and the Legislative Branches) and the civil society.

They also bring the government and people together which leads to an increase of policy space, through building "[...] cooperative networks [...] and information transparency, where the Government becomes [...] more permeable to the society demands [...]" (Calazans, 2012, p. 15). Within this channel, people and Government debate about various issues concerning public interests and, in most cases, having the deliberative power, which is the power to concrete and obligatorily decide on public policies and government actions in the three federative levels.

In the 1990s this instrument of peoples' participation spread, being implemented in most Brazilian cities, in several areas. Data released by the *Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics* (IBGE), in 2001, corroborate to this information. In 1999 over 90% of the cities had Health and Education Councils (Brazil, 2001). In 2011, it was found that "[...] since 2009 to 2011, 1,041 new city councils were created in Brazil, making the total of 15,719 councils." (Brazil, 2012). In other words, they were created in the 1990's as an opportunity to democratize public policies. Nowadays they can also be considered a reality in the administration and dynamics of most cities in Brazil.

From this context, the research methodology was divided into four parts. The first one consisted of a literature review of City Housing Council and the history of creation and construction of Belo Horizonte City as well as the process of emergence and growth of social movements struggling for an urban reform and public housing policies in the city. Second part analyzes the institutional structure of the City Housing Council to evaluate whether there are procedural problems on its structure and, if so, how they could influence some democratic council actions. The same variables of Faria & Ribeiro (2010) in their 123 Council Study were used in this analysis to assess the level of institutionalization, democratization and representation of those Councils in the city of Belo Horizonte. The third phase was to assess the qualitative and quantitative content of the Council minutes. This analysis was based on the minutes published by Belo Horizonte Office of the City Register as well as the minutes provided by CHC Department from April 2010 to March 2013. Lastly we assessed the qualification of the structure, representation and performance of the City Housing Council based on its members' opinions. The main method of data collection was a survey. According to Gustin & Dias, a survey consists in a "[...] quantitative and statistical data having descriptive goals, working with a plurality of variables

and focusing on detecting opinions, attitudes and behavior changes on specific issues, through the application of questionnaire and interviews using a driven script [...]” (Gustin & Dias, 2010, p. 104).

After more than 25 years of its creation, it is possible to analyze more clearly the performance and results this Council has been achieving. The purpose of this work is to foster institutional analysis of Belo Horizonte City Housing Council, checking how it was created and how it has been performing as a mechanism of popular participation and legitimacy of local housing policies. This research sought to assess in what extent this council performance can be considered representative of the social demands of the people from Belo Horizonte City.

2 Belo Horizonte: a planned capital

2.1 *Planning the city and dealing with its first challenges*

Unlike other Brazilian big cities such as Rio de Janeiro or Sao Paulo, Belo Horizonte was a planned city. It was built using a rigorously developed model and advanced architectural patterns by the time of its creation in the late nineteenth century. Within the context of a newly established Republic (1889), there was a need to continue the centrality and autonomy of the State of Minas Gerais in the national political scene. The former capital of Minas Gerais was Ouro Preto and it was not considered a "big city" (Torres, 1962), because it did not have the role of a genuine capital. In other words Ouro Preto was no longer a political and administrative center of the state, and it did not have enough economic and social attractiveness (Guimarães, 1991). To facilitate this development, it was an imperative to provide a better production flow and attract foreign labor through the construction of a new capital (Guimarães, 1991)

The decision to build a new Capital was a political decision of Minas Gerais Government, at that time, which was in charge not only to build the city, but also to coordinate the occupation process and land development (Guimarães, 1991 p. 45). In 1893, the small village of Belo Horizonte was chosen to be the new capital of Minas Gerais. Many authors (Guimarães, 1991) indicate that this area was chosen by the Ouro Preto elite, not because it had the best location for building the new Minas Gerais Capital, but because it was considered precarious enough so that the city construction project would failure. Around 1893, this place lacked of railways and resources and many people doubted about this area feasibility for a project implementation in four years (Barreto, 1950).

The city plan and its construction were managed by a committee of architects, having the positivist scientific rationality guiding them. This group planned the city to be exclusively the seat of Minas Gerais State Administration, thus the economic activities in the city were discouraged at least in a short term (Guimarães, 1991).

One of the committee's first challenges was the accommodation of the low income population, in charge of building the city. In the beginning they were housed in a temporary hostel which provided shelter for 200 workers. Indeed it was insufficient to accommodate all workers who arrived from all parts of the state. In "[...] 1890-1893, under the impact of the formation of the construction site, the small village population grew from 600 to 2.650 inhabitants, representing a growth rate of 64.1%" (Guimarães, 1991).

The government's main concern was to ensure the inauguration of the city until 1897, therefore it made no direct opposition to the proliferation of illegal and substandard housing construction in this place by the working people in charge of building the city. In fact, there was some incentive for building homes close to the construction sites. Local workers were attracted by the possibility of employment as well as foreigners were also encouraged to come to work in the sites (Guimarães, 1991). Due to the lack of provision of a decent spot to settle this population, in 1895, just two years before the city inauguration, Belo Horizonte had already two slums occupied by its workers. Besides that many hovels (very poor small houses) proliferated throughout the city housing about three thousand people (Guimarães, 1991).

The city was divided into Urban Zone; Suburban Zone and Agricultural area. The Urban Zone was bounded by *17 de Dezembro* Avenue, which would later be called *Contorno* Avenue. It was the center of the city, where most of the population (owners and public officials) would live and the location of the Government buildings. The Suburban Zone was installed near around the Urban Zone and it would be designated for future expansion of the urban network, when the Urban Zone was fully occupied. Regarding the Agricultural Area, which was installed around the Suburban Zone, it was planned to be the crop area that would supply the elite in the city.

Through the division of the city it is possible to perceive that it was neither reserved a suitable place for the working population in charge of building Belo Horizonte nor to the low-income workers attracted by new employment opportunities in the city. This population was considered merely temporary in town that, once the

city was built, they would no longer need them. Low-income workers, "[...] were not considered suitable to decently live in the modern capital of Belo Horizonte." (Baesso, 2006).

As it had happened in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, foreign population in town has decisively influenced the formation of workers' organizations and associations. In the early years of Belo Horizonte it happened the same and these organized people struggled for better life conditions (Guimarães, 1991, p. 85). As in the rest of the country, "[...] it is common in the historiography of Belo Horizonte, the record of strikes, protests and movement of various professional categories in the early city life." (Guimarães, 1991, p. 86).

2.2 *The implementation of a city model and consolidation of social movements of urban reform in Belo Horizonte*

The city of Belo Horizonte was inaugurated in 1897, even with several buildings under construction and large empty urban spaces (Baesso, 2006). The first slum removal in Belo Horizonte (the *Leitão* slum) took place in 1900. Many subsequent removals that happened in the following years were preceded by the designation of an area for the workers' housing, named the Workers' Area I², within the Urban Zone.

Setting a specific area for the low-income population in the same elite area was an innovation in the country: while in other capitals the low-income population was forced to leave their poor homes in the slums in central areas under the police power, in Belo Horizonte it was assigned a location to this population. The initiative, at first, was understood as an evolution, but the following years showed that it was not, due to the reduction and eventual extinction of this population in the Urban Zone. To replace it, informal dynamics was created so worker could have a spot in the city: they illegally occupied areas where labor was needed. However after so workers were forced to leave their houses by the government or because of the property speculation. As stated by Berenice Guimarães,

As a population was evicted from an area, part of them accepted to move to places designated by the Government, in general those areas were far away, without urban infrastructure and equipment, but other individuals rebelled and formed new slums in the nearby area. After a while the Government evicted them again. (Guimarães, 1992, p. 2).

This process of slum people's eviction was stronger after the creation of the Sanitation Office, in 1900, which officially prevented the stay of low-income population within the Urban Zone. It also established rules prohibiting the construction of hovers (poor houses covered with grass) in the elite areas, but without establishing restrictions similar in Suburban Areas. Therefore low-income population had to move to those far away locations that lacked of all kinds of infrastructure and services.

Some authors (Torres, 1962; Guimarães, 1991) point out that it was in the mid-1920s when the low-income population of Belo Horizonte had an attitude to dispute the urban territory fighting against the city government. The first protests and struggles of low-income workers demanded the improvement of urban infrastructure conditions such as water, electricity and transportation. It took place in the Suburban Zone neighborhoods such as *Santa Efigênia*, *Floresta*, *Lagoinha* and *Calafate* (Somarriba, 2004). Because of the lack of infrastructure in the city outskirts, more popular associative movements and organizations have intensely appeared standing for infrastructure improvements. In the same way the slum population also organized themselves to address the Government and even after continuous house removals, they were able to restructured their poor houses several times near Urban Zone.

In the mid-1910s, Suburban Zone poor population accounted for 70% of the 38 thousand city inhabitants (Andrade; Magalhães, 1998, p. 47). Thus the modern city project linked to an elitist idea of placeholders for a particular stratum of high society has produced a situation that "contrary to the expectations of the capital creators, the growth of the urban area have occurred from its outskirts to its center" (Baesso, 2006, p. 10).

From the 1930s the industrial economic groups had interest in the outskirt areas, which partially reduced the chaotic situation of these places (Guimarães, 1991). Still, the 1930s was characterized by many outskirt struggles for urban infrastructure and many of them had the support of political parties (Somarriba, 2004).

Due to the Administration of the *New State* of Getúlio Vargas (1937), and its subsequent political repression and media censure, there are no data of urban protests in this period, featuring it as a social setback for the social movement history in Brazil (Somarriba, 2004).

² The working area was located, spatially, in the central-southern region where, currently, is Barro Preto neighborhood.

In 1945, there was a political release in Brazil and various social movements could reorganized themselves and new movements and committees emerged demanding the government to invest in urban improvements (Somarriba, 2004). Because of the resilience and organization of slum people, Belo Horizonte Administration started to address its the housing problem as a social issue. In 1955, through pressures of several organized movements, the City Hall created the Department of Popular Neighborhoods (BPN). BPN has determined that removals of people living in poor villages and slums could only happen if the Government offered another option of housing in other location for them to live. (Guimarães, 1991). In fact what happened was that City Hall continued removing people from their slum homes but researches showed that there was the construction of only one housing in this period which was probably not enough.

In 1955, through a survey from the "Ending Slum Committee of Belo Horizonte City", it was concluded that there were 9,343 poor homes in slums in Belo Horizonte, and where 36,432 people lived (FINEP, 1983, p. 66).

Movements standing for urban reforms got together in 1963, to build a proposal for a national social housing policy. In response, Minas Gerais Government assumed this responsibility and allocated an area for the housing construction that would accommodate 120,000 people. It was also approved the urbanization four slums, demand by the movements of people who wanted to stay in their places but those areas lacked of urban infrastructure (FINEP, 1983). A Bill was voted and came into force in 1963. However in the next year Brazil faced a military coup d'état and this new administration retreated this law (FINEP, 1983).

The 1964 Brazilian military coup d'état was meant to stop socialism. This government worked to ensure the security of private property, and considered associative movements as subversive groups and the slum removal issues should be resolved by the police. During this period, a specific office for slum removals was created in Belo Horizonte named Social Housing Coordination (CHISBEL). It was responsible for an "[...] unprecedented *ending slum intervention* in town. They justified the removals through the construction of streets and some other not so evident reasonable reasons" (Guimarães, 1992, p.14). From 1971 to 1983, CHISBEL removed 10,000 slum houses, and 40 thousand people had to leave their homes (Guimarães, 1992).

With the re-democratization process, many slum and homeless movements were restructured in Belo Horizonte, such as the *Union of Outskirts Workers* (Guimarães, 1992).

Due to the struggles and pressures of these social movements a bill was elaborated whereby Belo Horizonte City was recognized as an emancipatory capital concerning urban issues. However public policies focused primarily on to the city housing problems began only in 1983, when the Law no. 3532 creating the *Pro-Slum* (City Program for Regularization of Slums) came into force. *Pro-Slum* aimed the urbanization and regularization of some villages and slums in Belo Horizonte city. The main point of this program was the recognition of the right of slum population to remain in their homes. Despite having generated few effective results, this program became well-known in Brazil as a pioneering model of public urban management concerned social issues (Fernandes & Dolabela, 2010).

It is important to perceive that it is difficult to map the history of social movements in Belo Horizonte, especially those smaller and not institutionalized ones. Most historical studies regarding the construction and formation of the city and its social movements deal just with formal history. In other words they just address official data and these social movements are treated marginally in those works. Social dynamics change rapidly, and if they are not registered they disappear without living a trace in history. For a long time, the role homeless and right to housing movements in Belo Horizonte was not the focus of research at Universities. The richness and diversity of those social movements in the construction period of Belo Horizonte are probably much greater and have much more diversity than it has been presented so far.

2.3 The democratic city administration through public policy councils

The end of the 1964-1985 dictatorial period, which was a period of intense struggle for Brazilian re-democratization and the elaboration of a New Constitution. In this social context movements for urban reform, which were already well organized, played an important role in elaboration of the new constitutional text. They were able to add the "Urban Policy" Chapter in the 1988 Brazilian Federal Constitution as well as to approve of the City Statute (Law nº 10.257 / 2001), which introduced unprecedented instruments and changed the old logic of urban management that used to formulate public policies consulting only politicians, technicians and specialists without people participation. The new urban paradigm was based on the constitutional principles, on the City Statute and on the democratic city administration as a guideline for planning and developing the cities. They represented the introduction of the possibility of direct citizen participation in the policy-making, ensuring its legitimacy.

Therefore, citizens should not only demand that current urban problems should be solved by the government, but they should actively participate in the production, implementation and monitoring of policies for such solutions. In this sense, the City Statute establishes several mechanisms enabling social actions. Among them there are the public policy councils.

Those councils were established in Brazil, within the new paradigm of political decentralization and popular participation, by the 1988 Federal Constitution. After more than 20 years of dictatorship, characterized by a lack of freedom of opinion and popular participation, Councils were created as an answer to social struggles for more participation and more political openness. Thus they were innovative instruments allowing society participation in the policy-making process through an institutionalized channel of collective action.

The Councils were one of the found mechanisms to bring together the state and society, expanding public space, by building networks of cooperation and information exchange. To Calazans (2012, p. 15), through these Councils "[...] the state is [...] more permeable to the society demands [...]." They began to be, by law as a kind of public meeting, from which civil society and the Government debate about various issues of public interest. In most cases, those Councils were also a deliberative power, which means they have the power to concretely decide on public policy and government actions.

Such councils were organized in the three federal levels (Federal State, State Administration and City), involving the government participation (usually representatives of the Executive and the Legislative Branches) and many segments of civil society, among other actors, depending on the area of the Council.

The 1990s are the expansion period of the City Councils. They have been implemented in most Brazilian cities, and in the most diverse areas and matters. Data released by IBGE, in 2001, corroborate to this information, since in 1999 over 90% of the 5,564 Brazilian Cities had Councils in the area of health and education (Brazil, 2001). In 2011 it was found that "[...] from 2009 to 2011, 1,041 new City Councils were created in Brazil, making a total of 15,719" (BRAZIL, 2012). In other words, Councils, which in the 1990s were seen as an opportunity to democratize public policies, nowadays they could be considered a reality in sociopolitical and public dynamic management in most Brazilian cities.

Although enabling the participation of individuals interested in political processes in different areas, it is important to note that the participation in the Councils occurs through representation, for instance: society should be organized to elect members to represent themselves in the Councils. Thus, its correct and democratic functioning depends - as claimed by the *Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy* Jürgen Habermas (1998) - not only on the processes within the institutionalized participation spheres, but also on the capacity of connecting participants with non-institutionalized peripheral channels, which allows social demands to be listed and discussed before reaching the Councils. Thus, the Council is the locus where these demands of the social base would again be theme in order to be taken to the Administrative System with a decision of mandatory adoption, as previously defined by the wide debate process.

3 BELO HORIZONTE CITY SYSTEM OF HOUSING

The birth and growth of social movements for urban reform or those other ones standing for decent housing do not have a linear and gradual development, as well as the city housing policy of Belo Horizonte. However, it is clear that this development was driven by a segregating model of the origin and the evolution of the city. Sometimes they strengthened the movements, another times they were disrupted by authoritarian public policies, and then restructured again due to new political models.

Certainly the greatest achievement of these movements was after political openness period and the enactment of the 1988 Constitution in Brazil. It was when Belo Horizonte city, due to the pressure of such social movements, has restructured its urban policy in a more democratic participative platform, allowing direct participation of its population in the discussion and resolution of urban issues. In 1993, it was created the City Housing Funding, which can be considered the first legislative framework for the creation of the Housing City System (HCS) and the City Housing Council (CHC) in Belo Horizonte.

Belo Horizonte Housing City System provides a complex structure of urban management dealing with planning, financing and execution of these activities through a coordination of diverse representative groups, and if it is possible, at least formally, there should be social participation in almost all parts. City Housing Policy (CHP) is structured to receive the participation of organized groups, called Housing Centers. These Housing Centers are associations, often regional, related to the struggle for housing. They were created as mechanisms of participation in the Housing Participatory Budget (HPB). The function of the HPB was to define which families

should have priority in the city housing programs. To participate in HPB the individual should join a Housing Center, participate in all association meetings. These members will indicate the priority families through a self-organization.

City Housing Funding is in charge of financing housing programs, which would be carried out and planned by *Urbel* (Urbanization Company of Belo Horizonte) and by City Housing Bureau.

City Housing Council was the major institutional channels for civil society participation in the of City Housing Policy and its most important pillars. The City Housing System (CHS) was designed as deliberative and competent institution to examine, discuss and approve the objectives, guidelines and priorities of the City Housing Policy of Belo Horizonte. Created by City Law n° 6508, on January 12th, 1994, the CHC is guided by a participative logic of City Housing System, requesting representative of the low-income population to attend and vote on its urban policies.

According to Article 10 of Law n° 6,508/94, the CHC has deliberative power to examine, discuss and approve objectives, guidelines and priorities of the City Housing Policy, including proposing the reformulation or reviews of plans or programs, funding and resource investments for the housing construction, and monitoring and evaluation of the economic and financial housing resources.

In 1994, before the City Statute enactment and the affirmation of the principle of Popular Democratic City Administration, the fact that the Council has set the basic guidelines of Belo Horizonte City Housing Policy in an open and participatory procedure could be considered innovative. The idea that permeates this allocation of responsibility is the decentralization of decisions, so that the main affected and interested population by these guidelines, could participate actively in the its policy definitions.

The CHC has been acting, since the mid-1990s, as a popular participation channel. It has direct influence on various achievements of low-income population of Belo Horizonte, such as: the creation of Participatory Housing Budget, affirmation of housing production programs from the co-management and self-management, and Program of Resettlement of Removed Families as a Result of Public Construction (PROAS).

3.1 Institutional Analysis of City Housing Council

The institutional analysis of CHC covered three variables: institutionalization, democratization and representation.

In order to check CHC institutionalized level, its Internal Regulations, Meeting Attendance Sheets, and the existence of organizational structures were analyzed.

Concerning the level of democratization the composition of the Council Board was evaluated, such as: its plurality, proportionality, how the formulation of operating rules and the definition of the agenda are structured.

Related to level of representation it was analyzed how the entities are eligible to have a sit on the Council Board, how the number of segment chairs are defined and how the board members are chosen.

As level of institutionalization, it was verified that technical information on the HCM is easily accessible on the Internet, through the Belo Horizonte City website, as well as the existence of organizational structures in their composition, such as the Ethics Committee, Technical Board of Control and Evaluation; Legislative Technical Board.

Regarding how often meetings take place, the minutes analysis showed that in the second half of 2012, several meetings were not held. This fact will be later explored. Considering the collected data, CHC has a high institutionalization level.

Concerning the Council democratization level, it formed by 9 civil society representatives and 11 government representatives (9 from the Executive Branch and 2 from the Legislative). Although it is arguable the fact that this board could be considered party since it would have 9 representatives of civil society, 9 from Executive Branch and 2 from Legislative Branch, what this research has showed that it is not party, especially at times of voting for Council decisions. For this reason, the 2 representatives of the Legislative were included in the Government representative base. Concerning the definition of the guidelines for the HCM meetings, it was found that they are made by the Council Presidency and there is no freedom for the board members to participate in this preparation. The current system represents step backwards in relation to its previous practice,

since in the biennium 2010/2012, for example, it was found that the topics to be discussed in the following meetings were voted at the end of each meeting. However, this practice was not repeated in the next biennium. Considering the problem of party and the definition of the meeting agendas, it is concluded that the degree of democratization of HCM is low.

About the criterion concerning the degree of representation, this research investigated who could indicate and vote for candidates to run for a seat at the Council. These individuals are the ones who have registered themselves at the Urbanization Company of Belo Horizonte (URBEL). The number of seats per segment is defined by the law which established the Council and the representatives of civil society are chosen in an open plenary and only registered individuals could vote. The board members of the Government are indicated by the Executive Branch (9 members). The 2 board members from Legislative Branch are indicated by the City Deputies. Thus, it is concluded that the degree of formal Council representation is high.

The structural analysis of the Council presented some results that could, in principle, distort the democratic process of will formation of the City Housing Policy. Firstly, it was verified that, from July 2012 until March 2013, the Council met only twice, in October and in December of 2012. The lack of meetings was justified by the Council because of bureaucratic issues involving the replacement of Legislative representatives at the time of legislative elections. This lack of meetings was also due to the fact that in early 2013, there was a government change in the Executive Branch, in which several members left the Council as a result of department changes.

Regarding those justifications, it is important to emphasize two points. The first one concerns the role of the Board Members who had to request the meeting. This was stressed by many individuals during the research interviews, showing their pressure on City Hall, about their right to decide. The second point relates to the fact that most of the Public Policy Councils of Belo Horizonte has not stopped working due to those facts (pre and post elections changes).

Another serious democratic deficit detected in this research is the fact that the Council does not have a previously disclosed agenda of its meetings in a large media. This would reach ordinary population and other City Councils, such as the City Urban Policy Council and the City Culture Council. There is an available government agenda on the City Hall website showing meeting schedules of most City Councils. However, the CHC is not included in this agenda. This inclusion and a planned agenda are some demands of Board Members but which have not yet been implemented.

The lack of decision freedom concerning the topics to be discussed at the Council Meetings represent a democratic functioning constraint, since they could hinder important social issues to be proposed to discussion among representatives. Thus as it was observed during the documentary analysis, many issues are merely mentioned during meetings. Due to the fact that they are not in the meeting agenda. Thus they are just superficially covered, without being discussed or without generate any decision-making. Sometimes, during Council meetings, its representatives are impeded to discuss certain issues because they were not included in the agenda. There should exist freedom to indicate subjects to the meeting agenda, and everyone could suggest topics to be discussed in the following meetings. However it is the role the Urbel Board to decide whether or not the suggested topics are relevant to be discussed and therefore included in the agenda.

3.2 Council functioning analysis, from the study of its meeting minutes

As already reported, the third stage of this research was to assess the qualitative and quantitative contents of the Council minutes. The chosen period was due to the fact that it covers two different Council terms (2010/2011 and 2012/2013).

During the selected period to analyze its documents (April 2010 to June 2013), within 39 months, 32 CHC meetings were held. One of them was at the 2011 City Housing Conference. In this period 4 special meetings took place. The months without meeting were during the second half of 2012, in which, over a period of six months, there were only 2 meetings. Only 17 of the 32 analyzed minutes were published by Belo Horizonte Office of the City Register (DOM / BH). The other 15 analyzed minutes were digitally available by the CHC Secretary, in March 2013. Out of 32 analyzed minutes, only 18 minutes contained attendance sheet. The other 14, concentrated in the second half of 2011, did not have meeting attendance sheet and in this case it was only possible to assess the board attendance in the 2010/2011 biennium.

About the meeting attendance sheet, 18 were analyzed relating to the 2010/2011 biennium. This showed an average of 11 civil society board members who attended Council meetings. The total number of civil members was 9 members and 9 substitutes. Regarding the Executive Branch we verified an average of 8 Board Members

attending meetings (their names were signed in 9 out of the 18 analyzed meeting attendance sheets) to which there was no minimum number of either members or substitutes from this segment (which is the minimum of 9 representatives). Regarding the legislative branch it was verified that they attended to only 3 HCM meetings.

At Council meetings an average of 5 subjects are debated, or at least they are mentioned. Regarding the content of these issues, Table 1 summarizes the main issues and the number of meetings they were addressed:

Table 1
Debated Themes in the Belo Horizonte HCM Meetings (2010-2013)

Subject Matter	Total number of meetings
City Conference of Housing and related matters	6
Local Plan of Social Housing (PLHIS)	13
<i>My Home, My Life</i> Federal Program (criteria, definitions, explanations, forwarding)	22
Accountability	2
<i>Vila Viva</i> Program	4
Informal urban settlements of <i>Navantino Gomes, Dandara, Camilo Torres & Eliana Silva</i>	7
Participatory budget housing	5
Post Living	5
Technical Chambers: explanations, conclusions and composition	12
Technical explanations on various topics	4
Definitions on the sale of public land	4
Proposals and Forwards for next meetings	24

Source: Minutes of 32 meetings of the City Housing Council of Belo Horizonte City (April, 2010 to March, 2013)

Minutes data can be seen as a continuation or reflects of institutional analysis outcomes. The first conclusion from Table 1 is that the CHC operates in a restricted manner concerning its subject matter.

Belo Horizonte housing movements can be divided into 2 distinct groups. The first one is those movements which are involved with institutional housing policy of house construction in the city, organized by the *House Centers*. The second group is the social movements for urban reform in Belo Horizonte, such as the Movement of Popular Brigades or the Housing Forum of *Barreiro*. They deal with the occupation of underused land for social housing purposes. They also participate in the dynamics of the slums in the city.

During the HCS structuring, Housing Centers were created as a way to organize the so-called "housing queue", so that the housing deficit could be resolved from an order of priority among families. Such Centers are now part of the institutional policy of housing construction through the Participatory budget housing and they are a popular representation in the HCM. On the other hand social movements that remained not institutionalized and opposing the city government, as a way to pressure for more effective housing and urban performance, were excluded from the institutional channels of participation. Thus, issues such as *Vila Viva* Program³ and informal urban settlements demand few discussions or deliberations in the Council, as those group of represents are not either linked to the movement of urban occupations, or even the movements related to the slums. On the other hand, issues such *My Home, My Life* which is Brazilian Federal Program to build small houses for poor people have been the Council's theme in more than 20 meetings. They have been discussed in almost all meetings since mid-2011. Since the accession of the city to *My Home, My Life* in 2009, HCM has been discussing criteria to select the families that would receive their houses. This Federal Program changed significantly the dynamics of the selection process, by giving the same hypothetical chance of getting a house for both the Housing Center members and its non-members. Minutes analysis also showed, that although many issues were really discussed

³ The *Vila Viva Program* aims the physical and environmental restructuring of low-income settlements of Belo Horizonte. It uses the built-in diagnostics of the main problems of the area defining local priorities and needed actions to be taken, with community participation in all phases (PEPPER, 2008). The program began in 2005, in the largest complex slums of Belo Horizonte, the agglomerate of Serra and even nowadays *Vila Viva Program* has been already implemented in another 12 communities in the central region of Belo Horizonte. However many criticisms raised about the implementation of *Vila Vila*. The main ones are about the lack of effective participation of its population, failure on land regularization, indemnity delays for the removed people, government pressure on people to leaves their houses, among others. In this regard see "Uma Avenida no Meu Quintal" documentary. (An Avenue in My Backyard) (POLES OF CITIZENSHIP PROGRAM, 2011).

and resolved, CHC only participates in the last decision moment concerning the public housing policies. It means that CHC is included neither in the formation process nor in the discussion of policies on which they decide. It just takes an action in the process to legitimize the administrative process of decisions-making. Thus, for instance, the whole discussion of PLHIS was characterized only as a training with the theme "What is the PLHIS?" And, despite this training have occurred during several meetings of HCM, it had few interventions, suggestions or direct participation of Board Members in the Plan⁴ construction process.

Similarly, when the HCM had to deal with a public land sale issue for its money allocation on the City Housing Funding, the main ideas came from the Government and it only needed the approval of the Councils to justify its decision. There was no significant discussion on this matter, which were debated just during the meetings in June, July and November 2011. The bill approval authorizing the land sale happened in June 2012. However, the project had a negative impact in the media, among social movements for urban reform and the Public Prosecutor's Office, denounced this project as an attempt to privatize public spaces in the city (Nassif, 2012).

Another important point concerns the propositive capacity of the Council. In the first analysis it was observed that there were 24 meetings in which the Council came up with propositions or forwarding, configuring HCM as having high propositive content. However, analyzing it more closely it was revealed that only 4 of all 24 proposals were duly discussed. 4 proposals that were actually discussed were: workshop creation to answer questions about PLHIS; PLHIS delivery postponement in order to permit Houses Centers to have a better information about it; elaboration of a PLHIS booklet to be delivered at the House Centers and to approve the criteria so that entities could sign them up at HCM. The other 20 forwarding or propositions were forgotten, thereby demonstrating the inability of the Council to discussion ideas and proposals that do not concern purely technical matters. Among them there are important propositions which directly affect the city dynamics and the HCM organization, such as: changing the meetings to a more accessible place for board members; suggestion that families of the same Houses Centers receive apartments near by, so their could keep their social ties; the creation of a HCM ombudsman; the creation and distribution of a HCM newspaper; a request that the budget of City Housing Fund has to be firstly submitted for its approval and not only its posterior spending and bills.

3.3 Analysis of interviews with Board Members

This research used semi-structured questionnaire, which was applied during personal interviews. This questionnaire was developed mainly having two references. The first one was the report of *Brazilian Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA)* named "The National Council of Cities though its Directors' point of view" (Brazil, 2012). It was conducted in the scope of the "National Council Project: profile and performance its board members", and it sought to "[...] systematize the opinions of board members on participatory and decision-making processes and the quality of the products resulting from their performances [...]" (Brazil, 2012, p. 6) in many national councils. Totally 21 Councils and 3 Committees were investigated. The first and second set of this research questions is called respectively "Characterization of Directors" and "Council Structural Qualification". Questions 29, 30 and 31 of the third part were based on the ones from the applied questionnaire by IPEA's researchers in that project.

Other questions were based on the applied questionnaire in a research named "Collective Learning in Urban Policy Council" and "City Housing Council of Belo Horizonte" (Dolabella, 2008). They sought to evaluate the collective learning of Board Members from these two studied Councils.

Belo Horizonte City Housing Council has 20 titular board members and 20 substitutes. According to its founding law, its Board should have 6 representatives composed by civil society and popular people; 2 representatives connected with the housing construction companies; 9 representatives from the Executive Branch; 2 from Legislative Branch and 1 member chosen by the Executive through a list of three indicated names by practitioners.

This research initial purpose was to apply a questionnaire to all CHC Board Members from the 2012/2014 biennium but the first faced difficulty in the implementation of qualitative and quantitative research was to contact this Board.

According to the Council founding law, a Council Member has a two year term. Therefore this research interviewed the CHC Members from the 04/2012 to 03/2014 period.

⁴ PLHIS theme was discussed during the meetings in June and July 2010, September 2010 to January 2011, from March to May of 2011, and in June, July and November 2011.

Thus, 10 among 18 CHC members who were elected in March 2012 and representatives of the Executive Branch were replaced. It is important to note that this appointment took place only in May 2013. The Council did not work for a long time and when it restarted its monthly meetings, the composition of both Executive and Legislative Branches had already changed. Due to methodological purposes, in this research, Government regards both the Executive and the Legislative Branches in the Council.

This question has influenced this research due to the following fact: the chosen Chair Members' for the 2012/2014 term took office in April 2012. However, this board composition could only participate to 5 meetings that occurred in May, June, July, November and December. On the other hand the new Board members, who took office in May 2013, until the time to conclude this research had the opportunity to attend to 4 meetings in May, June and two ones in July. They also have attended to a City training on the Multi-Year Plan Management - MAPP. To conduct the survey it was decided to choose the Government sampling for the application of intentional mode survey, from its pre-established criteria.

The first criteria was to select which Government board members the questionnaires should be applied. Therefore it was decided to choose the Government board members who have participated in the first part of the term and also remained in HCM for its second stage. Concerning the 22 members of the government (11 chair members and 11 substitutes), 10 of them remained in the Council (8 from the Executive Branch and 2 from the Legislative Branch). 3 of these 10 representatives have accepted to help in this research. 4 of the 7 representatives refused to do so and 3 could not due to their lack of time.

The second criteria was to include in the participants analysis of the Council administrative structure, the Executive Secretary. Although she could not vote, she participates actively in all meetings and she was also responsible for its administrative structure. Thus, the questionnaire was applied to the Council Executive Secretary.

The third criterion was trying to get in touch with members of the first HCM period (April 2012 to April 2013), as well as members who have participated in the previous Council (2010/2012) and remain in the HCM administrative structure. Such contact was not possible due to the fact that many former Board members are also former members of the City Public Administration and it was difficult to find them. It was not possible to find 8 of the 12 members from the April 2012 to April 2013 term, and 3 of them claimed they did not participate to enough HCM meetings in order to be able to complete the survey. This research also have the participation of 1 Executive Branch member of the 2010/2012 biennium.

The fourth and final criterion of the interviewee selection was to contact members of the current Council, preferably those ones who are more active in the Council. Only 1 member was not interviewed. The other members were disqualified because they had few attendances in the HCM meetings.

Regarding the civil organizations, there are 5 members representing popular movement standing for housing, 1 member from the Workers' Union, 1 practitioner, 1 University member and 1 Corporate Sector member, making up 9 chair members and 9 substitutes in the same proportion. We conducted the research with 8 of these 9 chair member. 1 of them has refused to participate, and a former council participant was invited to do it. This person still works in the Thematic Chambers of HCM.

In total, 9 representatives of the popular segment, 7 representatives from the Executive Branch were interviewed. No one from Legislature Branch was interviewed. However, even through pre-selected criteria, the government members who would be interviewed were intentionally chosen.

3.3.1 Characterization of board members

The purpose of the questions from the questionnaire Part I (Appendix I) was to describe the Chair Members, from its outstanding features, such as gender, age and income.

Six of the nine respondents board members were women. Six respondents aged 41 to 60 years, two aged over 60 and one aged 31 to 40. 4 of them did not complete high school. Seven have a family monthly income below US\$ 1,500.00, and popular movement representatives have an average family income of US\$ 846.00 dollars a month. Seven respondents have also participated in another Councils.

Collected data highlights a significant women's participation, low educational level and low income of civil society representatives.

3.3.2 Structural Council Qualification

The goal of the second question set (Appendix I) was to evaluate the structure of the Board, through the examination of the following data: number of members (total and sector); representative selection process; degree of integration among sectors, as well as a qualitative assessment of the role played by the respective sectors in HCM.

Regarding the total number of chair members - currently there are 20 members and 20 substitute members - six (6) respondents considered this is little satisfactory number (4 of them) or unsatisfactory (2 of them).

Regarding the diversity of represented sectors, as it has already been explained, 7 considered little satisfactory (3); and unsatisfactory (4). One of the main arguments in this assessment was that the lack of council parity works against popular sector. Even presenting proposals they are the minority and this makes them unsuccessful in the HCM.

Considering the number of members in each sector, eight think this is little satisfactory (4) or unsatisfactory (4) number.

Evaluating how entities on its board members are chosen, four members considered them satisfactory four and five considered them little satisfactory (3) or unsatisfactory (2). Currently the Board of the popular sector are chosen through the City Housing Conference, which takes place every two years. Entities interested to get a seat in HCM have to sign up in order to participate in the Conference, where it is discussed the major issues related to the city housing. At the end, there is an election to chose the entity to be a member chair. Among the main criticism there is an indication of political co-optation within the entities. Another criticism is that the seat in HCM belongs to the elected candidate not the entity which they represent. This leads to the fact that once the chair member is elected they will not necessarily keep the same ideological line their group has.

Regarding the procedure to choose board members regarding the respondent entity, four considered very satisfactory (1) or satisfactory (3) and five considered little satisfactory (3) or unsatisfactory (2).

As for the degree of articulation of each sector with the other segments of HCM, the responses are shown in Table 2 below:

Table 1

Articulation level among HCM segments						
Segment	Popular Movement	Workers Union	Corporate Entity	Higher Education Entity	Legislative Branch	Executive Branch
a. Very Satisfactory	2	0	0	1	0	0
b. Satisfactory	3	1	2	3	3	4
c. Little Satisfactory	2	2	1	1	3	1
d. Unsatisfactory	2	5	4	4	3	3
e. Do not know	0	1	1	0	0	1
d. Not applicable	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Direct Search - Questionnaire (Belo Horizonte, 1st Semester 2013).

The most significant result of the Council structural qualification it was observed the unsatisfactory or poor articulation of civil society with the other representative segments of the Council indicating that it does not identify with them.

When evaluating the performance of popular movement in HCM, data showed that these representatives lead to the Council, discussions about the needs of homeless citizens, even without political articulation capacity to approve their proposals. One of the interviewees, even said in this sense that the popular movement of the CHC "do not stand for the housing right for all citizen. They represent only the homeless ones. In Brazil, to have access to health care one does not need to participate in the movement for health; to have access to education one does not need to join the board of education; why is it needed to participate in the housing movements in order to have housing access?". Another interviewee said that nowadays popular movement lost strength due to

the new situation caused by the clash between the City Housing Policy (PMH) and the Federal Housing Program "My Home, My Life" (Programa Minha Casa, Minha Vida), stating that: "Nowadays we lost the force because of the new situation caused by the clash between PMH and the MCMV". Others have pointed out that there is a part of the representatives who have been "co-opted" by the civil service.

The evaluation of the Workers' Union role, only a representative positively assessed its performance in assessing that due to current representative also belong to Belo Horizonte Homeless Movement, they get more involved with HCM. The other respondents evaluated the role as insignificant or non-existent.

Regarding the role of the corporate sector, some of them considered their performance to be satisfactory, because they have knowledge of social housing, but another part considers that the action stands for their personal or market interests, that is, with only economic bias. Regarding the Higher Education representative, of those who judged, three qualified as a poor performance and four said they have a good performance. Regarding the Legislative Branch, six respondents qualified them as weak or diffuse. Regarding the role of the Executive Branch, seven respondents qualified their role as manipulative, weak or imposing the Government ideas.

3.3.3 Performance and Representativeness

The third set of questions sought to assess the role of the chair members as the representative of a larger population as well as if HCM meets their main demands; besides as more technical issues such as clear communication and CHC administrative structure.

In relation to the question asking which segment of the population each interviewee represented in their CHC activities; four of them responded they were representing the Homeless Movement, three said they stand for the low-income population, one accounted for the slum people and 1 represented the construction industry.

When they were asked about their population's demands; six of them said housing construction and two stands for the regularization of slums.

When asked if the CHC deliberations meet the population demands they represent, six of them answered no, one said that it partially occurs and two said yes.

When asked if the CHC would have the capacity produce positive changes in Belo Horizonte urban reality, seven respondents answered yes and two respondents did not believe in this capacity. And when asked if it has ever interfered in the city reality, all of them said yes, at some point in its trajectory.

Regarding clear language used in CHC, seven respondents pointed out that it does not sound as clear to them. Sometimes the language is used technically which makes it difficult for part of people to understand it and there is no space to provide clarification. Therefore, regarding the clarity of the CHC administrative structure, five considered it unclear and unsatisfactory.

Among the main strengths of the CHC that is the fact that it constitutes a democratic space, having the civil society participation in the City Housing Politics and as an attempt to create social control over the City Housing Policy and the City Housing Fund were as well pointed out.

As weaknesses of the CHC performance there were the lack of organization and articulation of popular movement of the Council on a single staff, the co-optation of the public power of the movement leaders, the impossibility of HCM members to decide the meeting agenda, few information provided by the government and, lastly, the lack of training and knowledge of the chair members.

As suggestions for improving the CHC, four interviewees pointed out the need for chair member training so they can actually act in the Council, the need to share the work in the HCM with the Housing Centers, the need for greater political will for the decisions the CHC are truly fulfilled and the integration of HCM with other Councils in the city.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Considering the data and its discussions, it was observed that the Belo Horizonte CHC, although not new but relatively consolidated, had intrinsic institutional voids in its formation, as no parity and no freedom of propositions of the meeting agendas which certainly make genuinely democratic performance more difficult.

The findings of the first analysis link to the fact that the Council not having an equal representation and meeting agendas, is Urbel responsibility. It could result in distortion problems of the Council outcomes, favoring the Government point of view. Thus, if HCM has been standing for Urbel and Belo Horizonte City Hall, this can be explained, at least in part. The second analysis found that the CHC discussions are done superficially covering just few thematic and excluding many important issues.

The work detect no uninvolved social participation or the co-optation of opinions within the democratic channels of participation, to silence them. Instead, the work shows that this idea is reductionist of the much more complex reality of participation, which have positive and negative aspects. The board is a space for democratic discussion, but nowadays it keeps its membership structure very restricted to a single kind of social movement, not allowing cover all issues that deserve to be treated the same.

The results from the interviews with HCM representatives of civil society demonstrated that there is discontent and general disbelief about the legitimacy of HCM's performance. The illegitimacy of this performance reflects the board composition (non-parity), "political co-optation", lack of training of board members, among others. It was observed also that the representation of civil society in HCM supports unified guidelines that exclude, in a sense, all the poor people who do not participate in organized movement around the Housing Centers. Thus, because there is no representation that advocates the agendas of the slums in the capital, is rarely treated in HCM.

The City Housing Council, created as a result of the struggles and organized social movements of Belo Horizonte, for many years was important in delimiting the city housing policy. If, somehow, during this journey of nearly 20 years, the Council is losing its ability to interfere in a positive way in the urban reality of the city, its board should begin to rethink its logic and operational structure.

This research theoretical framework has the assumptions that institutional channels of participation can work in a democratic and inclusive manner without being co-opted by the administrative system or the clientelistic political processes. If any of these factors occurs it is the moment for the society, as the main player of this channel, to re-appropriate its participatory space through the pressure for restructuring and reorganization so that it once again becomes synonymous of democracy and representativeness. (Avritzer, 2002)

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APPENDIX I

Research "Popular Participation in Belo Horizonte City Housing Council"	
Questionnaire Number: Application Date:	Would you like to identify yourself? Yes () No ()
Name _____	
Phone Number: _____	

PART I - FEATURES OF BOARD MEMBERS

- 1. Gender:** a. () Female; b. () Male
- 2. Race / Color:** a. () White; b. () Black; c. () Brown; d. () Indigenous; e. () Yellow; f. () Do not want to declare.
- 3. Education:** a. () Primary School; b. () Unfinished Primary School; c. () High School; d. () Unfinished High School; e. () Undergraduation; f. () Unfinished Undergraduation; g. () Specialization/MBA; h. () Unfinished Specialization/MBA; i. () Master Degree; j. () Unfinished Master; k. PhD; l. () Unfinished PhD.
- 4. Do you have any religion?**
- 5. Age** a. () until 20 years; b. () from 21 to 30 years; c. () from 31 to 40 years; d. () from 41 to 60 years; e. () More than 60 years.
- 6. Family Monthly Income**
 a. () Lower than US\$ 193; b. () From US\$ 186 to US\$ 577; c. () From US\$ 578 to US\$ 962; d. () From US\$ 963 to US\$ 1,539; e. () From US\$ 1,540 to US\$ 3,078; f. () From US\$ 3,079 to US\$ 4,616; g. () Up to US\$ 4,617.
- 7. Your Situation or Position in the Council Board**
 a. () Titular; b. () Substitute; c. () Ex-Titular/Substitute; d. () Others
- 8. Representation Sector:** a. () Popular Movement; b. () Workers' Union; c. () Business Entity; d. () Higher Education Entity; e. () Legislative Branch; f. () Executive Branch; g. () Not applicable
- 9. Which entity do you belong to _____**
- 10. How long have you been attended as Council Member at the City Housing Council?**
- 11. Have you ever participated in other Councils? Which one? For how long? What entity did you represent?**

PART II - STRUCTURAL QUALIFICATION OF THE COUNCIL

- 12. What do you think about the total number of Board Members?**
 a. () Very Satisfactory; b. () Satisfactory; c. () Little Satisfactory; d. () Unsatisfactory; e. () Do not know; f. () Not applicable
- 13. What do you think about the diversity of the represented sectors in the Council?**
 a. () Very Satisfactory; b. () Satisfactory; c. () Little Satisfactory; d. () Unsatisfactory; e. () Do not know; f. () Not applicable
- 14. What do you think about the number of Chair Members from each sector?**
 a. () Very Satisfactory; b. () Satisfactory; c. () Little Satisfactory; d. () Unsatisfactory; e. () Do not know; f. () Not applicable
- 15. What do you think about the process to choose the Chair Members?**
 a. () Very Satisfactory; b. () Satisfactory; c. () Little Satisfactory; d. () Unsatisfactory; e. () Do not know; f. () Not applicable
- 16. What do you think about the process to choose the Chair Member of your own entity?**
 a. () Very Satisfactory; b. () Satisfactory; c. () Little Satisfactory; d. () Unsatisfactory; e. () Do not know; f. () Not applicable
- 17. What do you think about the process to choose the Council Members of the other entities?**
 a. () Very Satisfactory; b. () Satisfactory; c. () Little Satisfactory; d. () Unsatisfactory; e. () Do not know; f. () Not applicable
- 18. Concerning your performance in the Council Board, what do you mainly stand for? Choose 3 options in order of relevance.**
 a. () Popular Movement; b. () Workers' Union; c. () Business Entity; d. () Higher Education Entity; e. () Legislative Branch; f. () Executive Branch; g. () Not applicable
- 19. What is your main support base in the Council? (with whom do you have important connections) Choose 3 options in order of relevance and then justify them.**
 a. () Popular Movement
 b. () Workers' Union
 c. () Business Entity
 d. () Higher Education Entity
 e. () Legislative Branch
 f. () Executive Branch
 g. () Not applicable

20. Qualify the degree of coordination with other sectors:

	Very Satisfactory	Little Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory	Not applicable/ Do not know
Popular Movement					
Workers' Union					
Business Entity					
Higher Education Entity					
Legislative Branch					
Executive Branch					

21. How do you evaluate the role of the sectors below regarding their performances at the board?

- a. Popular Movement _____
- b. Workers' Union _____
- c. Business Entity _____
- d. Higher Education Entity _____
- e. Legislative Branch _____
- f. Executive Branch _____
- g. Not applicable _____

PART III - PERFORMANCE AND REPRESENTATIVENESS

- 22. What community sector/fragment do you represent?
- 23. What are the main demands of your community sector/fragment ?
- 24. Do you believe that the Council could interfeerer in Belo Horizonte urban issues?
- 25. Has the Council administration interfered in the situation of the population you represent? How?
- 26. The deliberations and decisions of the Council are consistent or meet the demands of the entities/people you represent?
- 27. Is the language/communication satisfactory and clear?
- 28. Is the Council administrative structure satisfactory and clear?
- 29. What are the main positive features of the Council?
- 30. What are the main negative features and difficulties of the Council?
- 31. What could to be done to improve the Board's performance?