

CARTOGRAPHY OF THE PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING IN BH



ORG.

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This e-book contains the english version of two articles and the image bank from the books Cartografia do Orçamento Participativo em BH volumes I and II. Both books were organized by the research project Cartografia da Percepção Popular do Orçamento Participativo em BH, and the english versions were made by Laura Andrade. This e-book was designed by Anderson Chagas and Henrique Porto.

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IMAGE BANK

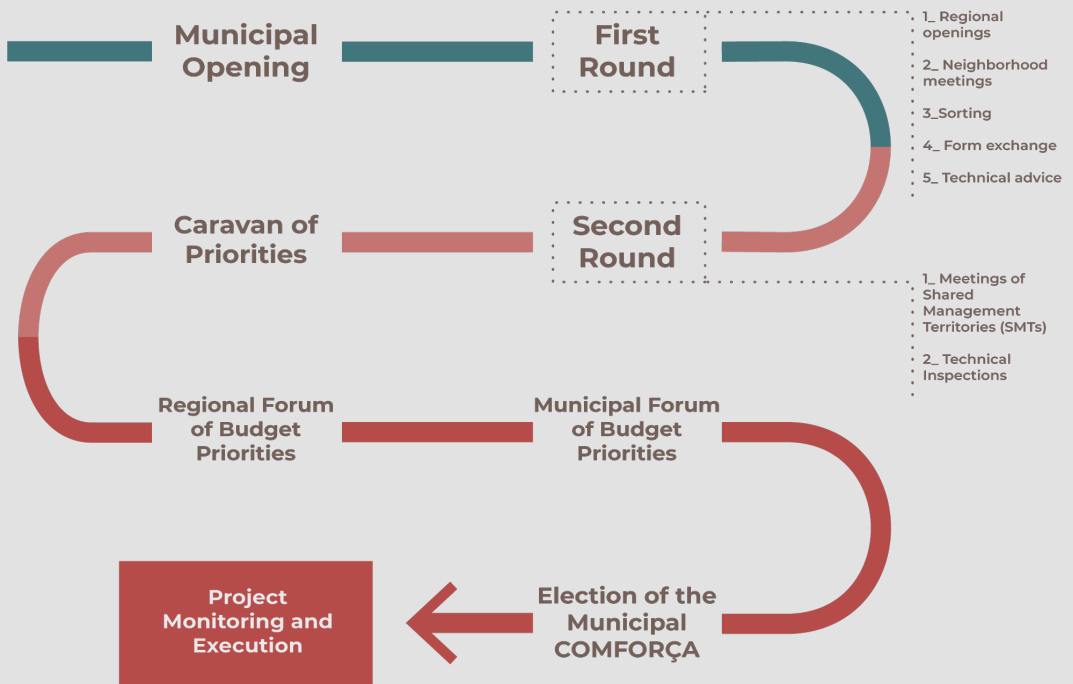
*Henrique Porto
Anderson Chagas*

In this section, all of the images resulting of joint graphic production of the research project's members, aiming the visualization and spatialization of data related to the PB of Belo Horizonte, will be displayed. This section contains diagrams, infographics, tables and maps numbered (according to each category) with Roman numerals, that may be referred to throughout the articles.

Diagram I: PB stages in Belo Horizonte

Source: CPPOPBH research project, 2020

BP stages in Belo Horizonte



Map I: Territorial division adopted in the PB

Source: CPPOPBH research project, 2021

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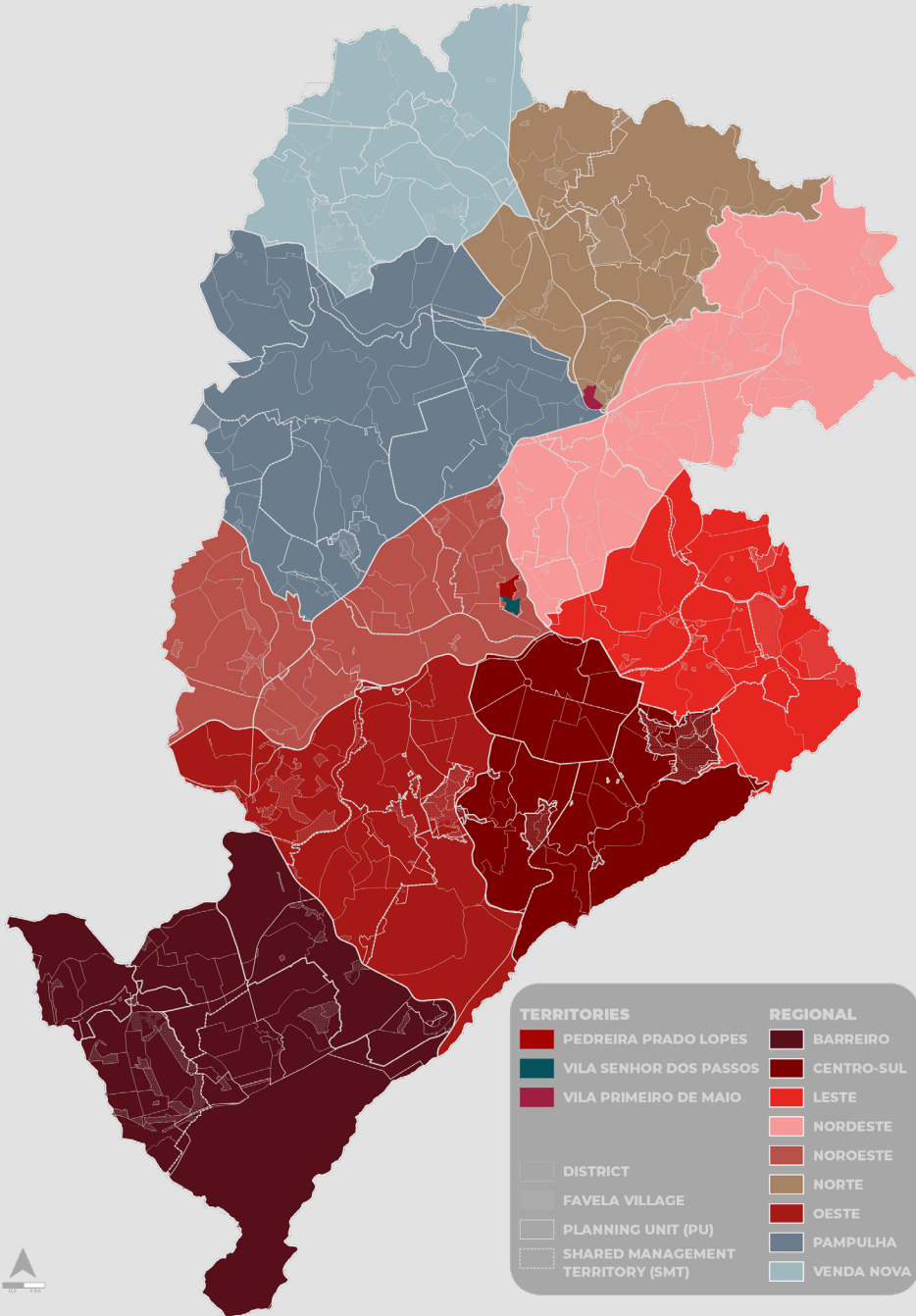
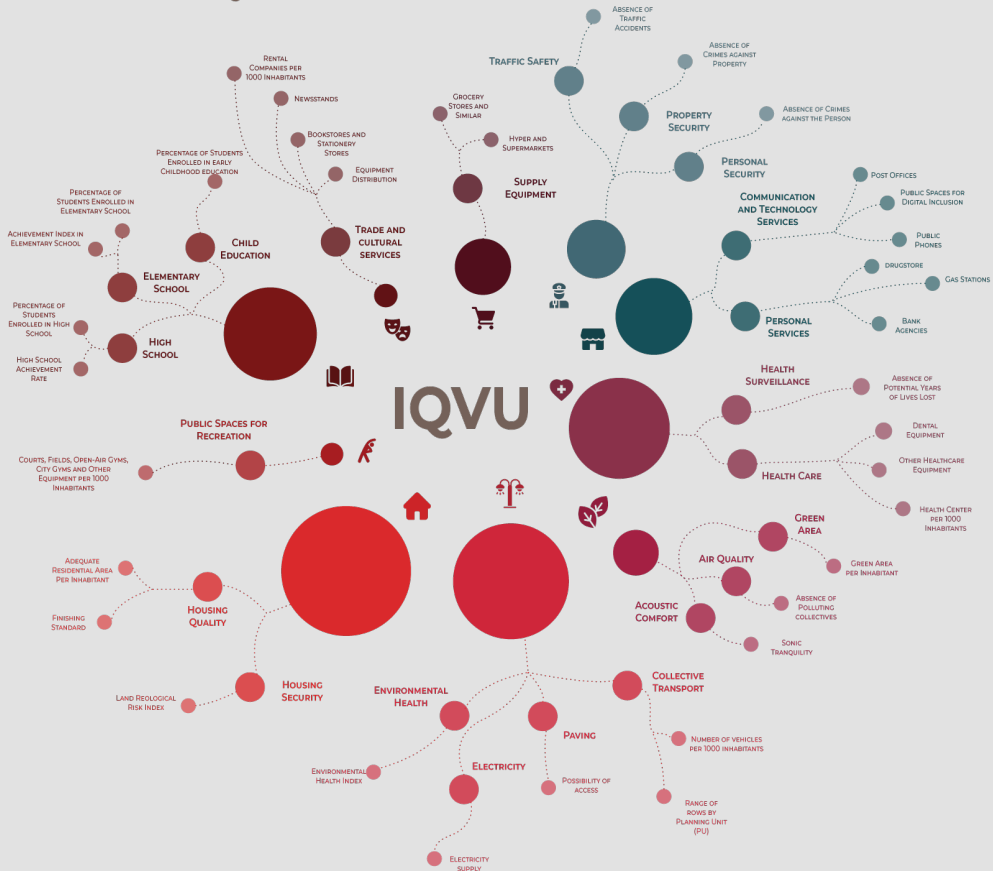


Diagram II: IQVU Variables

Source: CPPOPBH research project, 2021

COMPOSITION OF IQVU



LABEL:



SUPPLY



CULTURE



EDUCATION



SPORTS



HOUSING



URBAN
INFRASTRUCTURE



ENVIRONMENT



HEALTH



URBAN
SERVICES



URBAN
SECURITY



VARIABLE*



COMPONENT



INDICATOR

*: The spheres of the variables are proportional to the weight that each one of the variables has for the calculation of the IQVU. To check the exact values, see Table I.

Table I: Urban Quality of Life Index (IQVU) Variables

Source: CPPOPBH research project, 2020, based on PBH data

VARIABLES	COMPONENT	INDICATOR
1. SUPPLY	1.1 SUPPLY EQUIPMENT	1.2 HYPER AND SUPERMARKETS
		1.3 GROCERY STORES AND SIMILAR
2. CULTURE	2.1 COMMERCE AND CULTURAL SERVICES	2.2 EQUIPMENT DISTRIBUTION
		2.3 BOOKSTORES AND STATIONERY STORES
		2.4 RENTAL COMPANIES PER 1000 INHABITANTS
		2.5 NEWSSTANDS
		3.2 PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION
3. EDUCATION	3.1 CHILD EDUCATION	3.4 PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
	3.3 ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	3.5 ACHIEVEMENT INDEX IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION
	3.6 HIGH SCHOOL	3.7 PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN HIGH SCHOOL
		3.8 HIGH SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT INDEX
		4.2 COURTS, FIELDS, OUTDOOR GYMS, CITY GYMS AND OTHER EQUIPMENT PER 1000 INHABITANTS
4. SPORTS	4.1 PUBLIC SPACES FOR RECREATION	
5. HOUSING	5.1 HOUSING QUALITY	5.2 ADEQUATE RESIDENTIAL AREA PER INHABITANT
		5.3 FINISHING STANDARD
	5.4 HOUSING SECURITY	5.5 LAND GEOLOGICAL RISK INDEX
6. URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE	6.1 ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH	6.2 ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH INDEX
	6.3 ELECTRICITY	6.4 ELECTRIC POWER SUPPLY
	6.5 PAVING	6.6 POSSIBILITY OF ACCESS
	6.7 COLLECTIVE TRANSPORT	6.8 NUMBER OF VEHICLES PER 1000 INHABITANTS
		6.9 RANGE OF ROWS BY PLANNING UNIT (PU)
		7.2 SONIC TRANQUILITY
7. ENVIRONMENT	7.1 ACOUSTIC COMFORT	7.4 ABSENCE OF POLLUTING COLLECTIVES
	7.3 AIR QUALITY	7.6 GREEN AREA PER INHABITANT
	7.5 GREEN AREA	8.2 HEALTH CENTERS PER 1000 INHABITANTS
8. HEALTH	8.1 HEALTH CARE	8.3 OTHER MEDICAL ASSISTANCE EQUIPMENT
		8.4 DENTAL EQUIPMENT
		8.6 ABSENCE OF POTENTIAL YEARS OF LIVES LOST
	8.5 HEALTH SURVEILLANCE	9.2 BANK AGENCIES
9. URBAN SERVICES	9.1 PERSONAL SERVICES	9.3 GAS STATIONS
		9.4 DRUGSTORE
		9.6 MAIL POST OFFICE
	9.5 COMMUNICATION AND TECHNOLOGY SERVICES	9.7 PUBLIC SPACES FOR DIGITAL INCLUSION
		9.8 PUBLIC PHONES
		10.2 ABSENCE OF CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON
		10.4 ABSENCE OF CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY
10. URBAN SECURITY	10.1 PERSONAL SECURITY	10.6 ABSENCE OF TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS
	10.3 PROPERTY SECURITY	
	10.5 TRAFFIC SAFETY	

Chart I: Weights of Urban Quality of Life Index (IQVU)/1994 variables

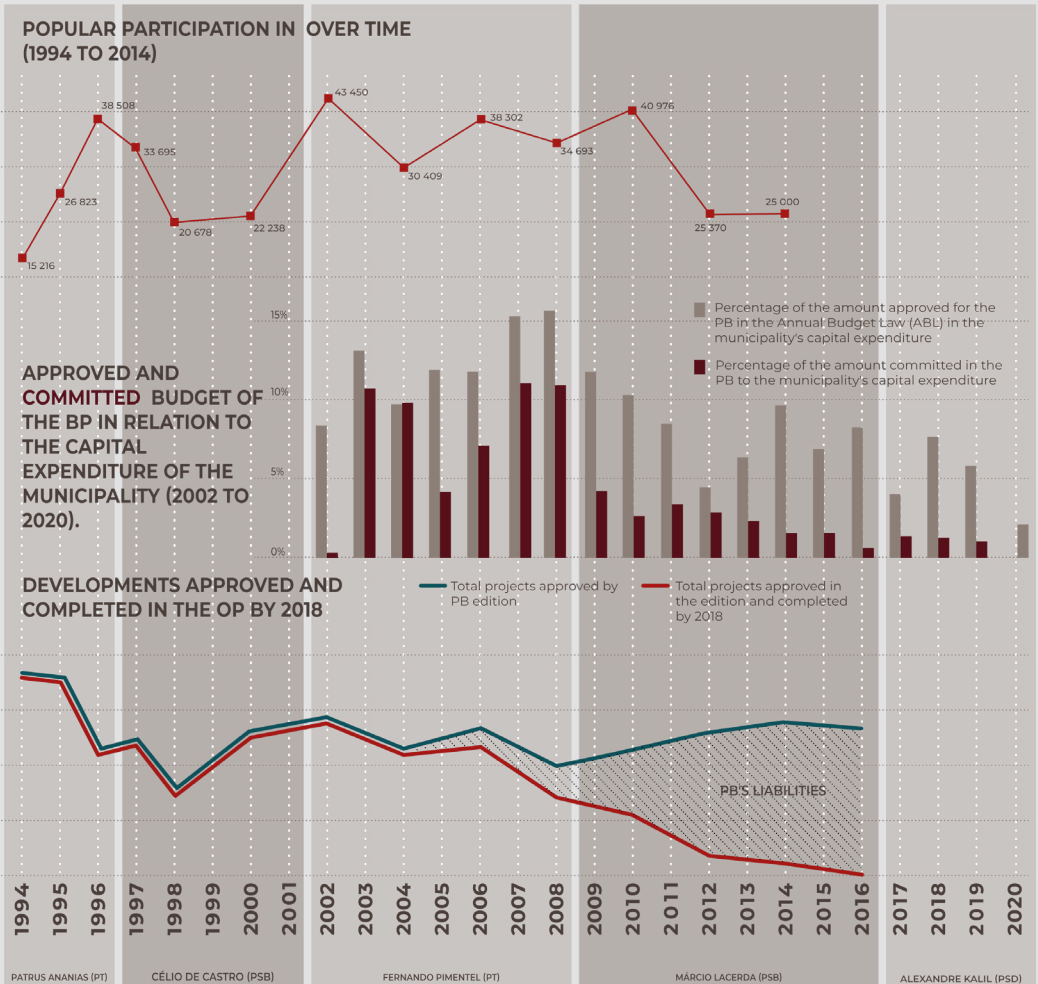
Source: CPPOPBH Survey, 2020

VARIABLES	WEIGHTS
HOUSING	17.66
URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE	15.75
HEALTH	13.72
EDUCATION	12.65
URBAN SERVICES	10.43
URBAN SECURITY	7.95
SUPPLY	7.64
ENVIRONMENT	6.19
CULTURE	3.17
SPORTS	3.05
SOCIAL ASSISTANCE	1.79

Infographic I: Participation, budget and execution of works in the PB of Belo Horizonte

Source: CPPOPBH research project, 2021

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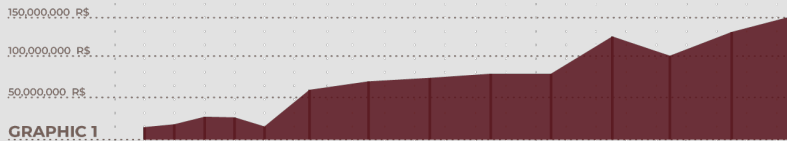


Infographic II: Power of participation in PB rounds

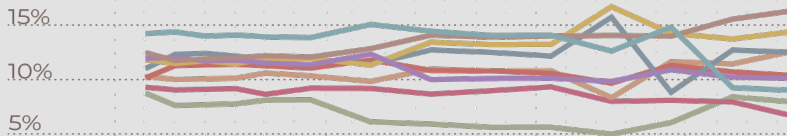
Source: CPPOPBH research project, 2021, based on PBH data

POWER OF PARTICIPATION IN PB ROUNDS

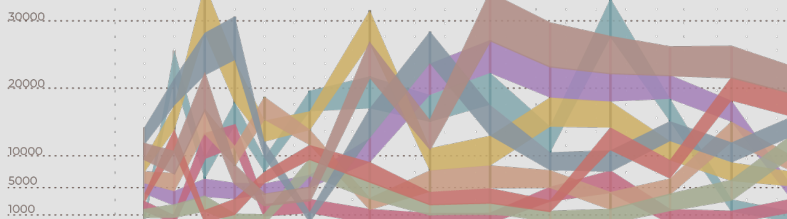
Label:



GRAPHIC 1
Absolute amounts allocated to the PB for each issue*

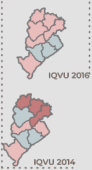
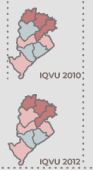
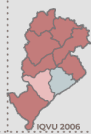
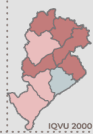


GRAPHIC 2
Percentage of the PB budget allocated to each region over the rounds



GRAPHIC 3
Absolute numbers of participation in PB rounds by region and cumulative.

MAPS



Escala:
8000
4000
2000
1000

MAPS

Population
 > 300 000 Inhabitants
 between 250 000 and 300 000 inhabitants
 < 250 000 inhabitants

IQVU**

6 - 8 PUs with IQVU < 0,600
 4 - 5 UPs with IQVU < 0,600
 2 - 3 UPs with IQVU < 0,600

REGIONAL***



Comments:

*The amounts are denominated in Real and have not been readjusted. For the amounts allocated to the PB in relation to the total annual budget, approved in the Annual Budgetary Law (LOA), see Infographic I.

** We point out that the Quality of Urban Life Index (IQVU) started to be adopted only in the PB of 2000 as a budget allocation parameter.

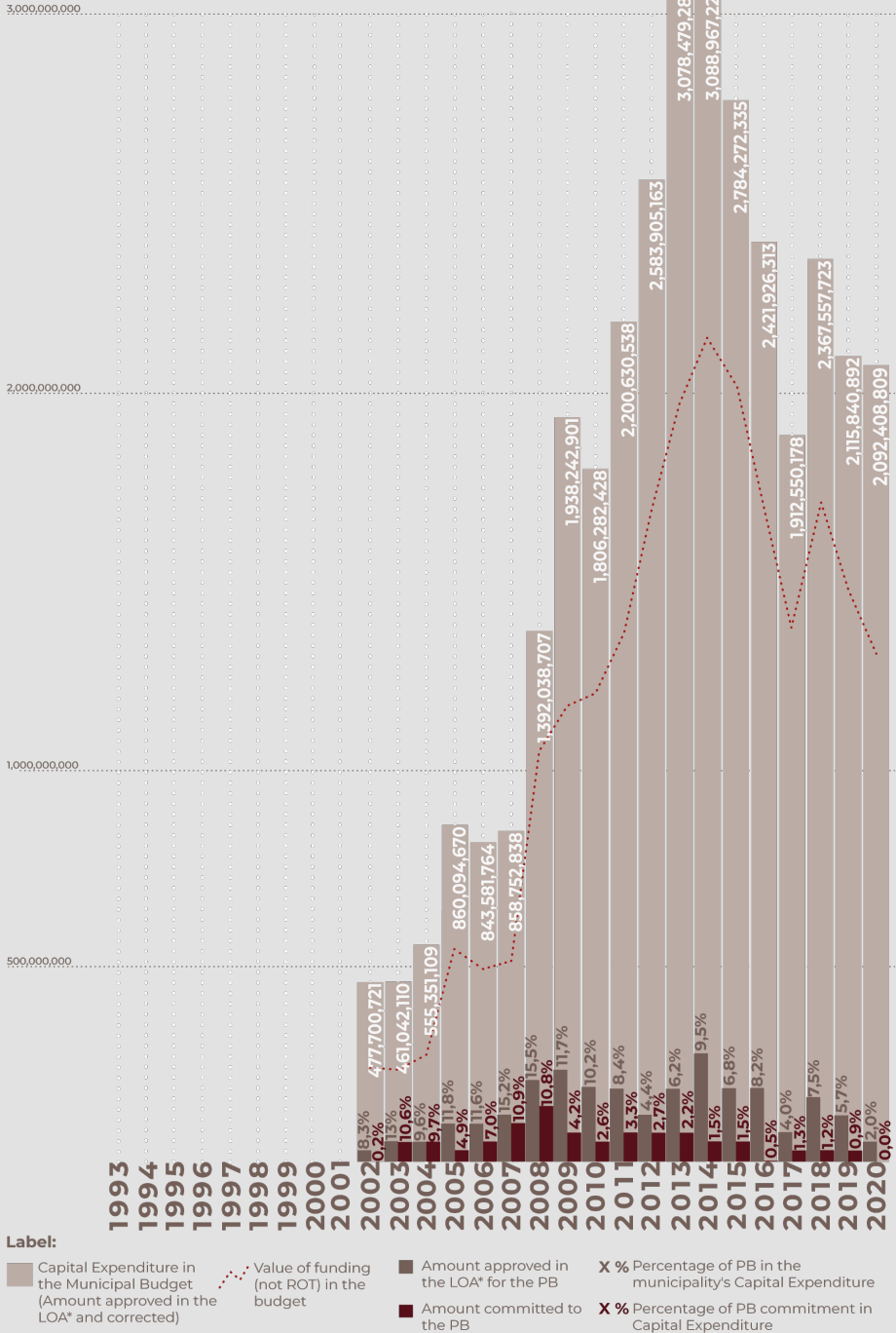
*** Colors used in graphs 2 and 3.

Infographic III

The PB in the municipal budget

Source: CPPOPBH research project, 2021, based on July 2020 PBH data

The PB in the Municipal Budget



* Annual Budgetary Law (LOA)

Table II:
Works approved by edition of the Regional PBs and DPBs in Belo Horizonte and situation based on the PBH 3_empreendimentos_op_supap spreadsheet

Source: CPPOPBH research project, 2020, based on PBH data

ROUND PB	PB TYPE	APPROVED ENTERPRISES	COMPLETED ENTERPRISES	TOTAL PROJECTS IN PROGRESS / PHASE							
				PROJECT BIDDING	PRELIMINARY STUDIES	WAITING FOR PROJECTS	PROJECT DEVELOPMENT	BIDDING WORK	WAITING FOR SERVICE ORDER CONSTRUCTIONS	WORK EXECUTION	JUDICIAL OR SCOPE PENDING
1994	REGIONAL	171	171	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	HOUSING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DIGITAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1995	REGIONAL	166	166	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	HOUSING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DIGITAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1996	REGIONAL	90	90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	HOUSING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DIGITAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1997	REGIONAL	99	99	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	HOUSING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DIGITAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1998	REGIONAL	68	68	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	HOUSING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DIGITAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1999/2000	REGIONAL	126	126	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	HOUSING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DIGITAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2001/2002	REGIONAL	134	132	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
	HOUSING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DIGITAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2003/2004	REGIONAL	114	112	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
	HOUSING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DIGITAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2005/2006	REGIONAL	117	103	3	-	-	1	1	-	2	7
	HOUSING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DIGITAL(2006)	9	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2007/2008	REGIONAL	98	77	-	1	-	-	5	2	5	8
	HOUSING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DIGITAL (2008)	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
2009/2010	REGIONAL	109	58	1	4	-	1	8	8	5	24
	HOUSING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DIGITAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2011/2012	REGIONAL	102	20	4	4	-	7	9	7	6	45
	HOUSING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DIGITAL (2011)	9	3	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	2
2013/2014	REGIONAL	105	12	10	5	2	28	2	1	3	42
	HOUSING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DIGITAL (2013)	18	-	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2015/2016	REGIONAL	116	1	75	32	-	1	4	-	-	3
	HOUSING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DIGITAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SOMA TOTAL		1652	1247	111	46	2	42	31	18	22	133

Table III: Percentage of PB resources allocated to each region from 1994 to 2015

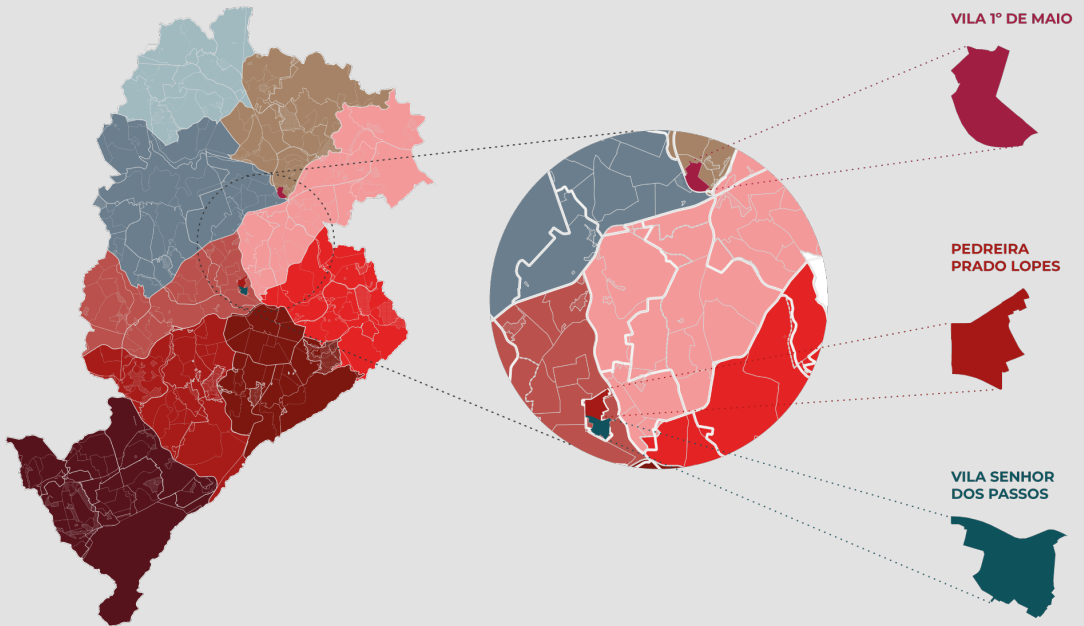
Source: CPPOPBH research project, 2021

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2001	2003	2005	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015
BARREIRO	12.49%	11.77%	11.88%	12.01%	12.22%	12.07%	12.85%	12.48%	13.92%	14.01%	14.07%	14.00%	15.57%	16.35%
CENTRO-SUL	9.30%	9.06%	9.10%	9.17%	8.65%	9.21%	9.18%	9.32%	8.98%	9.33%	8.00%	8.10%	7.95%	6.65%
LESTE	11.95%	12.04%	11.72%	11.80%	11.53%	11.38%	12.35%	11.95%	10.11%	10.13%	9.82%	10.91%	10.22%	10.11%
NORDESTE	11.02%	12.33%	12.41%	12.17%	11.85%	11.96%	11.44%	11.02%	12.51%	12.17%	15.75%	8.84%	12.72%	12.51%
NOROESTE	14.25%	14.39%	14.00%	14.11%	13.94%	13.87%	15.08%	14.24%	14.07%	14.10%	12.63%	14.83%	9.26%	9.01%
NORTE	10.27%	10.01%	10.09%	10.13%	10.61%	10.35%	9.84%	10.27%	10.80%	10.82%	8.34%	11.65%	11.45%	12.62%
OESTE	10.16%	11.29%	11.34%	11.43%	11.25%	11.06%	11.81%	10.15%	10.78%	10.58%	9.70%	11.33%	10.70%	10.38%
PAMPULHA	8.76%	7.62%	7.73%	7.76%	8.06%	8.16%	6.11%	8.75%	5.61%	5.62%	4.98%	6.05%	8.42%	7.94%
VENDA NOVA	11.81%	11.48%	11.73%	11.42%	11.91%	11.94%	11.34%	11.80%	13.23%	13.25%	16.71%	14.27%	13.74%	14.43%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

BP 2000 - Beginning of the IQVU application

Map II: Selected territories and their location in BH

Source: PBH



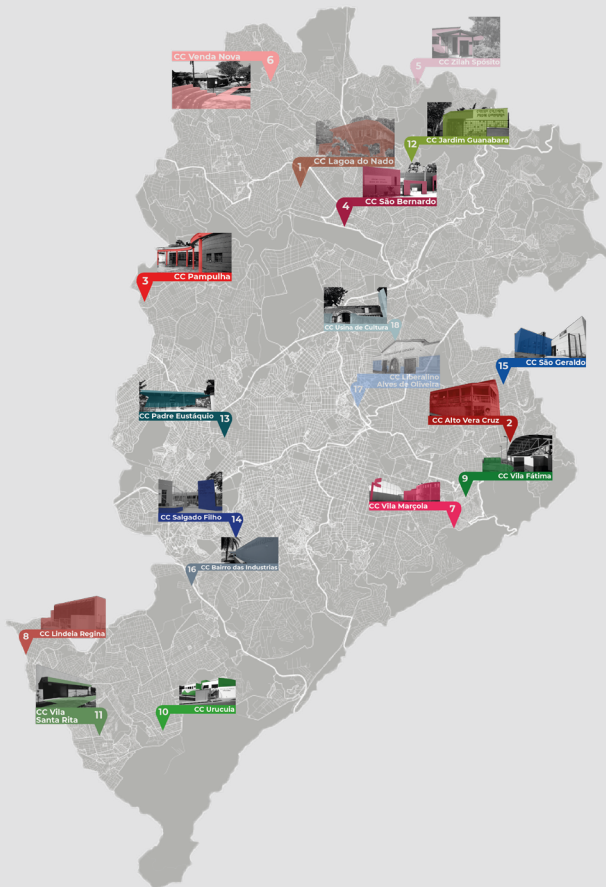
Map - Territorial division adopted in PB BH divided into: Regional, PLANNING UNIT (PU), SHARED MANAGEMENT TERRITORY (SMT) and Neighborhood

Searched territories: Vila 1º de Maio, Pedreira Prado Lopes e Vila Senhor dos Passos

Map III: Cultural Centers and Participatory Budgeting

Source: PBH

16



Centros Culturais de BH conquistados e/ou viabilizados pelo OP

- 2 CC Alto Vera Cruz
- 3 CC Pampulha
- 4 CC São Bernardo
- 6 CC Venda Nova
- 7 CC Vila Marçola
- 8 CC Lindeia Regina
- 9 CC Vila Fátima
- 10 CC Urucua
- 11 CC Vila Santa Rita
- 12 CC Jardim Guanabara
- 13 CC Padre Eustáquio
- 14 CC Salgado Filho
- 15 CC São Geraldo
- 16 CC Bairro das Industrias
- 18 CC Usina de Cultura

Demais Centros Culturais de BH

- 1 CC Lagoa do Nado
- 5 CC Zilah Spósito
- 17 CC Liberalino Alves de Oliveira

INNOVATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS FROM BELO HORIZONTE'S PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING EXPERIENCE ON AN INTERNATIONAL LEVEL¹

Yves Cabannes²

Geraldo Herzog³: Yves Cabannes has been with us here in Belo Horizonte during Patrus and Pimentel's administrations and I had the privilege of working with him on some interviews. That is to say, it is a pleasure having him here with us. We had this idea for you to talk to us about the importance of Participatory Budgeting within your perspective of the world, and of Brazil too. I thank you in advance for your presence here in this event.

Yves Cabannes: Good evening everyone! I feel immense pleasure, emotion, and I miss being there! I'm glad to listen to all these leaders who are still active, to meet Herzog and Claudineia again, and to hear that mayor Patrus Ananias, who has done so much, is here with us. I'm also grateful for the experience we had in Belo Horizonte, which has been to me a lesson in humanity, in solidarity.

17

Here's what I would like to discuss: Belo Horizonte has been a place for innovation and has contributed to making Participatory Budgeting a reference throughout the world. I would like to point out the specific contributions from Belo Horizonte's PB, particularly during the first 15 or 20 years. I began my work in Brazil in Fortaleza, in the late 80s, as Herzog said, with PT's first administrations. In 1995, while we were discussing Housing PB, I was invited along with other NGOs and Mônica Bedê⁴, to think of how we could bolster our efforts and learn from this experience.

1 This text is a translation of Professor Yves Cabannes's speech at the online assembly on Participatory Budgeting held by the Workers' Party (PT) on October 17th, 2021, during Nilmário Miranda's mayoral Campaign for Belo Horizonte. This discussion was mediated by Geraldo Herzog, Patrus Ananias, André Quintão, Luiz Dulci and several other community leaders from different regions in the city of Belo Horizonte were also present. Available on:

< https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?v=2818432305107332&ref=watch_permalink>. Accessed on: April 13th, 2021.

2 Yves Cabannes is an emeritus professor and member of the development planning unit at University College London, England, having vast experience at the University of Harvard as head of the urban development unit for over ten years. He conducted work in Fortaleza from 1989 to 1996 on local democracy and participatory planning. An activist and cities' consultant for NGOs and social movements all over the globe, he has published several papers and books.

3 Geraldo Herzog is head of the Planning Division of the municipal administration of Contagem.

4 Mônica Maria Cadaval Bedê is an Architecture and Urbanism graduate from the Federal University of Minas Gerais (1982). She is currently co-owner of Exatus Planejamento Consultoria e Projetos Ltda and an assistant professor at Unicentro Izabela Hendrix. Her dissertation, *Trajatória da formulação e implantação da política habitacional de Belo Horizonte na gestão da Frente BH Popular: 1993 / 1996*, is available at:

< https://repositorio.ufmg.br/bitstream/1843/MPBB-6YGLGE/1/dissertacao_monica_bede.pdf>. Accessed on: April

This first encounter started a period of 25 years of constant relationship with Belo Horizonte. I would like to stress the important role Belo Horizonte had between 2000 and 2007, during the Europe/Latin America program named URBAL⁵, particularly in group 9 on participatory budgeting and municipal finance, which was led by Porto Alegre. Several projects on topics related to PB were held by Belo Horizonte or benefited from its contributions. At the time, our close friend Maria Auxiliadora Gomes⁶, Dora – who sadly passed away – was the soul, the main supporter of this project. From that point on, several books and texts were composed in many languages with significant traction on a global scale. One of these, titled 72 FAQ about Participatory Budgeting⁷, was written at the United Nations’s request, as it was getting increasingly interested in PB within the cadre of its campaign for good governance. Several aspects of Belo Horizonte’s experience were included, such as the role of the COMFORÇAs, or the cycle of implementation of the selected projects, demonstrating the population’s position of control, or the high levels of participation. That book, originally written in Spanish, was translated and adapted into different languages: French, English, Chinese, Arabic, Italian, Portuguese. It’s still considered a reference guidebook on PB, and it still highlights several innovative contributions from the experience in Belo Horizonte. Its capacity for democratic innovation would be to me its main particularity.

18 In this year of 2020, the very same UN Programme called Habitat, after having dropped PB for nearly a decade, and after many of us had invited and pressured them, saying they couldn’t abandon it like this, has finally demonstrated some interest in this topic again. They’ve invited me again to write a more political book on Participatory Budgeting which would relate to the Sustainable Development Goals, or SDGs, demonstrating PB’s contributions to making sure no one is left behind, and no area is left behind, from a perspective of social and spatial justice. This material comprises experiences from all over the world covering the past three decades, and once again, Belo Horizonte’s case appears in several chapters. OP Habitação, for instance, is one of the highlights, as it’s still considered a unique experience within the PB universe, especially regarding its capacity to present solutions to the homeless.

I would also like to remind you that in 2006, when I was a lecturer at Harvard’s Graduate School of Design, the University started taking interest in Participatory Budgeting as part of participatory planning. I was teaching those courses back then and I came up with the idea – Pimentel was in office at that time – of bringing my Harvard students to understand what was going on in Venda Nova. I was really glad – and I’m still moved in sharing this – that in September 2006, after we’d completed our work, Belo Horizonte’s experiences with PB and democratic planning were displayed at Harvard’s Graduate School of Design: many posters, three meters high, were displayed at the entrance hall for all students to see. The project of proposals on Belo Horizonte was selected by the students as one of the best, making what was happening in the city known to the world’s best

26th, 2021.

⁵ URB-AL is a decentralized program of cooperation from the European Commission which focuses on bringing citizens, social groups and local communities from Latin America and the European Union together via exchanging experiences regarding urban policies.

⁶ Maria Auxiliadora Gomes, coordinator of Rede Brasileira de Orçamento Participativo.

⁷ Available at: <https://unhabitat.org/72-perguntas-frequentes-sobre-or%C3%A7amento-participativo-portuguese-verseion>. Accessed April 23rd 2021.

ranked university. Another fond memory is from when I was at DPU⁸, in London; Professor Inês Nahas⁹, whom you all know for both her work and her brother, Jorge Nahas – who served as municipal secretary many times – spent two years working with me on numerous topics, particularly on the Quality of Urban Life Index (IQVU), which was conceived in Belo Horizonte to better channel the PB resources into benefiting those areas of the city with lower quality of life. This method is a solid contribution, and during her stay in London we had the opportunity to travel to Jordan, where she presented it to attendees from Arab countries. There's a whole history there which shouldn't be forgotten, and that must be brought up because it's no small feat having so much impact in such a short time! It was an extraordinary experience, and I mean it wholeheartedly.

I would like to sum up the elements that illustrate the unique character of Belo Horizonte's experience. The first was PB Housing (OP Habitação), which is focused on the homeless, contributing to a clear reversal of both social and spatial priorities – at the time I was in touch with Lenira Rueda Almeida, head of the cabinet of the Secretary of Housing. When it comes to PB Housing it's always a good idea to mention some numbers, since it's responsible for the approval of six thousand homes. In 2008, there were already 3200 houses and apartments in 22 housing development communities. They were from 44 to 55 (square) meter homes, which was way above what was established by law for housing developments, both in Brazil and abroad. Whenever I present this information elsewhere in the world, people are always impressed.

Another element that was affected by PB, which also sparks people's interest around the world, concerns the models of self-management and autonomous construction which were explored in several housing projects that were built. This was absolutely unique on a global scale. The maintenance and development of these housing projects are unlike any other project from, say, Minha Casa Minha Vida, although these have been important for Brazil. There are a few theses on this topic and I give some details in a recent book of mine, *Outra cidade é possível com Orçamentos Participativos*¹⁰. These projects which were built with self-management and autonomous construction are in a very good state, and this is another aspect worth mentioning. It's not just about creating a large quantity of houses, but about quality, with people that get involved in this process. This PB Housing is, as I see it, a major factor which deserves more attention.

A third aspect was the IQVU, created at PUC Minas, particularly by Inês Nahas and the Institute of Sustainable Human Development. This experience is still really intriguing, because the IQVU, with over 60 indicators, has allowed us to channel PB's resources to those areas that needed them the most, mitigating inequalities. This is also a major contribution. This topic was explored in

⁸ The Development Planning Unit conducts world-class research and offers higher education, providing assistance to national governments, local authorities, NGOs, assistant agencies and companies that work towards socially just and sustainable development in the global south.

⁹ Maria Inês Pedrosa Nahas is a Biology graduate from the Federal University of Minas Gerais (1973), an MS in Biology from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro/RJ (1993), PhD in Ecology and Natural Resources from the Federal University of São Carlos (2000) and a Postdoc in Urban and Regional Planning from DPU/UCL - Development Planning Unit / University College London (2012-2013). As a researcher, she has vast experience in the composition of social indicators as tools for political planning. She is responsible for the creation of IQVU - Quality of Urban Life Index (1994-2002) and IVS - Social Vulnerability Index, both for Belo Horizonte (1998-2000), in cooperation with the city hall.

¹⁰ Another city is possible with participatory budgeting, 2017.

URBAL's work to which I was referring before, especially by Marcos Ubirajara, with support from the whole PB team from Belo Horizonte – and we also contributed to those efforts. Data from 816 of Belo Horizonte's PB projects were duly processed, which indicated that 85% of the population lived within a 500-meter radius from a PB project. These figures, as well as many others, were obtained from a systematic analysis based on the census-covered areas. It took a huge effort to demonstrate, for the first time in the history of PB, that this chunk of 85% of the population consisted of the poorest social strata. As some leaders have correctly pointed out, the benefits of PB projects didn't affect the middle-classes as much as those people who are economically less privileged. The method and the research developed by the Belo Horizonte team demonstrates that, when properly conducted, PB could affect people from those neighborhoods and families who need it the most. 85% of the inhabitants of a megacity lived less than 500 meters away from a PB project! Can you imagine? That's a brilliant detection from Belo Horizonte's PB, the result of IQVU, among others.

A fourth element I would like to highlight as a lesson is its ability to adjust the PB to new challenges, and to constantly evolve. It wasn't just one model of PB that they developed with time: first it was PB Housing; then they added a regional PB, and then – I think this was in 1999 – they started conducting PB no longer annually, but every two years. Anyway, the experience was constantly adapting, evolving. It was a PB that wasn't restricted to a neighborhood, but incorporated projects for the city as well. I point this out because it wasn't just a PB in a favela, in a neighborhood, to improve local conditions, which I call community engagement, restricting this involvement to the community's space – to a ghetto, for many –, while keeping the city fragmented. Belo Horizonte's PB interacted with the wider city, as a whole, with its PB City (OP Cidade). People who live in a favela or a certain neighborhood could have a say on the city as a whole, not just their immediate space. This is a significant qualitative breakthrough, because it allows us to move from community engagement to citizen engagement.

They've conducted Digital PB while I was working as an assistant to Belo Horizonte in the URBAL project, which I mentioned earlier. In my opinion, this style of PB had severe limitations. Today we have to think of PB within the context of the pandemic, unfortunately. I was discussing this topic yesterday with some colleagues from Argentina, and the previous week with people from Vienna, Austria, and with people from Scotland as well. I'm noticing that Digital PB (OP Digital), the Virtual PB, leads us to a virtual democracy. And this is a topic I invite our friends from PT in Belo Horizonte to reflect on, the modes of PB. If a PB goes 100% digital and virtual, through the use of platforms, you risk losing the possibility for leaders to speak, for people who are normally left out to be acknowledged by politicians. So, beware of the allure of restricting PB to a digital format! I believe it was a turning point at the time – and we discussed this a lot with Inês's team, with many people who were a part of it back in 2005/2006, when this was first introduced by the secretary of planning. Today we probably have to think of Hybrid PBs, with digital aspects, but not losing this deliberative dimension, not losing the democracy of debating, of democratic discussions. There are some spaces that mustn't be remitted to the digital format, because this means people who don't have computer access will be left out. Digital inequality, the digital gap, is a crucial element to be faced today.

Finally, I would like to highlight three dimensions that I believe were important for PB and that illustrate what has been accomplished in Belo Horizonte. These concern the matter of modernizing democracy. We might all be a part of the democratic sphere, but the issue is how do we move from an old democratic system to a democratic modernization, one that isn't achieved in a neoliberal

style – which unfortunately is what’s most common.

A lot is said today about modernization, and this implicitly means “less state”, instead of a better qualified and more democratic state, that ensures every citizen’s rights in a more efficient way. I believe this has been a fundamental contribution from Mayor Patrus, as well as many others. One example was the creation of the Municipal Council of Public Housing (Conselho Municipal de Habitação Popular), associated with PB. PB was not just a tool to provide housing for the homeless; it was part of a housing policy. This is a major breakthrough. I remember the people who were part of the Council vividly. The representatives had actual political influence. This was about a PB that was intertwined with the policies, and not just an instrument for redistributing.

Another aspect worth mentioning are the COMFORÇAs, a local creation that must be acknowledged, that has the power to inspect public policies. The elected politicians couldn’t just do whatever they wanted anymore, since we had delegates for every region, as well as a COMFORÇA on public housing. There was also the municipal COMFORÇA, to which every single one of the nine regions would send two people, plus a couple of delegates from the PB Housing council. That is to say, a new and democratic device for managing the city was created, and in this sense, Belo Horizonte’s was clearly one of the most advanced experiences, there’s no question about it.

Within the current situation, the continuity of PB is needed more than ever, but it’s dependent on your mobilization. Without it it’s not going to work. I hope Belo Horizonte will soon shine bright in the firmament of Participatory Budgeting once again, as it always has. However, the concept of PB must be updated to respond to current needs. Someone mentioned PB Youth, PB in schools... Today the PB processes have been engaging with creating jobs and revenue, which is something that wasn’t explored before; they’ve been engaging with climate change, which is a topic of interest to the youth. There are new challenges and pitfalls, such as the strictly digital PB, for example. With the knack for innovation you’ve always demonstrated, you are able to answer those questions that are presented to the five or six thousand municipalities currently conducting PB. We would have never thought, 30 or 20 years ago, that it would get to such a high number. Today, all over the world, in China, Russia, and Arab countries, people are having PB processes in one way or the other, and that’s also thanks to the contributions you’ve given us.

I wish you all good luck! I’m thrilled to be a part of this celebration of PBs and I hope you are able to sustain a respectable PB. Thank you very much for inviting me. Thank you Herzog, Claudinéia and thank you for listening to me ten thousand kilometers away.

PORTO, Henrique;
RENA, Natacha;
SOUZA, Gisela;
SÁ, Ana Isabel

Belo Horizonte's Participatory Budgeting (PB) has been raising different accounts in the municipal political debate in the last years. Both left and right wing have criticized the format of the participatory processes, in regard to court packing, bureaucracy and competition between the participants. In different points on the political spectrum, PB is also acclaimed for its ability to promote "good governance" and its democratic and redistributive potential. That's all due to the importance this method has in the city of Belo Horizonte, especially in low-income areas, for it refers to a democratic policy of inversion of priorities during the progressive administrations of Patrus Ananias, Célio de Castro and Fernando Pimentel, which, unfortunately, is a far cry from what is called PB today. There haven't been new rounds of participation for over four years, as PB seems to have followed the current political environment's main "trend", progressively fragmented and thwarted to a widely democratic political debate.

Of course, this trend is not restricted to the city. The strengthening of counter-hegemonic geopolitical groups on an international level, which has compromised the "unilateral" position held by the main western capitalist countries, has made the political crisis one of the main tools for destabilizing strategic regions in the global geopolitical conflict – as is the case in Eastern Europe, Southeast Asia, the Middle East and the Southern Cone. Strategies many scholars (KORYBKO, 2018; LEIRNER, 2020; ESCOBAR, 2017) call "hybrid wars" and/or "full spectrum dominance" are implemented, combining military, juridical, mediatic and political means that take root in an increasingly disintegrated social fabric and public discourse that is hostile towards politics. Thus, those which one could call "extremely low-intensity democracies" are established in different parts of the world.²

This "model", which at national level resulted in the impeachment of a legally elected president (Dilma Rousseff's impeachment in 2016) and the conviction without evidence of the leading candidate to the presidency (Lula), seems to still "tolerate" the democratic formalities at a municipal scale. Given this context, restoring PB, which is considerably alive in the memory of low-income citizens, emerges as an important opportunity for rebuilding democracy from the bottom-up, such as what was accomplished with its implementation in a post-dictatorial context, exercising "good politics" with broad dialogue and the lower classes as a priority.

1 This paper was originally written in 2020 (revised in October 2021) as part of a series of texts composed by Projeto Cartografia do Orçamento Participativo em Belo Horizonte. The previous texts can be accessed on <https://opbh-cartografia.org/2020/10/19/orcamento-participativo-e-disputado-em-belo-horizonte/>

2 This is an exaggerated reference to a term used by Samir Amin regarding the process of advanced globalization we were at in 2018: "The defeat of Communism in the East did not result in the victory of Social Democracy in the West. Even Social Democracy was defeated. The social democrats became social liberals – or, in other words, they adopted the political terrain that accepted the inevitability of capitalism and they accepted the idea that a 'low-intensity democracy', a democracy of heavily funded elections, overshadows class politics (...) It means that both the old conservatives and the old social democrats are now in alliance with Global Monopoly Capital."(AMIN, 2018, p. 9)

A brief history of PB in Belo Horizonte

PB in Belo Horizonte started in the early 1990s as a result of years of mobilization by social organizations. At the time, despite a completely adverse macroeconomic setting, marked by an attempt to implement a neoliberal agenda by presidents Collor, Itamar and FHC, major social mobilizations set the standard for a “new idea of citizenship”, as defined by political scientist Evelina Dagnino (2004).

In this sense, movements for housing and of favela-dwellers in Belo Horizonte were crucial elements in securing democratic advances on a municipal scale. A major milestone in these movements’ history were the torrential rains of 1978, which left thousands of favela-dwellers and low-income inhabitants homeless. At the time, there weren’t any legal instruments that could be deployed on a large scale to assist with planning shantytowns and favelas – which in fact were literally nonexistent in the city’s official mapping. Therefore, mass mobilizations resulted in achieving the Profavela bill³, which created a category of zoning for informal settlements, as well as planning devices for these areas.

However, the bill was not enough to ensure structural interventions in low-income areas by itself. Without support from progressive administrations, these regions depended on NGOs (especially those linked to the Catholic Church) and international funding to conduct important renovations that would offer minimal conditions for a decent life in derelict areas. Thus, the creation of the BH Popular coalition (PT, PSB, PCdoB, PV, PPS, PCB) for the municipal elections of 1992 represented an opportunity for renewal to the organizations, who committed to Patrus Ananias’s (PT) campaign.

His election marks the beginning of Belo Horizonte’s PB process as a response to the urgent demands for housing, infrastructure and quality of life in low-income areas. What was upheld was known as a “reversal of priorities”: each year a portion of the budget was allocated to the city’s most precarious regions, which petitioned for essential renovations and interventions such as reinforcing slope structures, the construction of housing units, cultural centers, health units, and even urbanization plans.

The logic of reversal of priorities was mobilized along with two other initiatives: the composition of the Urban Standards Plan (Plano Diretor) of 1996, which elaborated on the zoning of favelas and shantytowns, and the strengthening of regional instances of administration, based on which PB was organized and funds were allocated. PB was developed in municipal, regional and local neighborhood meetings, during which the participants would advance projects for resource allocation; followed by the “priority caravans”, where the participants would visit the location of the contestant projects so that they could negotiate budget priorities based on solidarity and acknowledgement of each situation (see Diagram I from the image bank – Stages of PB in Belo Horizonte).

This device operated according to the acknowledgement of the difficulties a progressive administration would have in governing a city with conservative structures and an adverse economical situation. In this sense, the executive branch was opened so that organized citizenry could manage a portion of the political processes, negotiating their interests and needs with the municipal administration based on dialogue and transparency. This experience was close to what sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2016) named “experimental state”, i. e. the creation of political spaces from a shift

3 Municipal bill 3,532 of January 6th 1983.

in power relations – an experimental alternative for moments in which “the conflicts are harsh and the alternatives are not clear”.

Project Cartografias do Orçamento Participativo em BH (UFMG) promoted in August and September 2020 a series of lectures on PB in the city. On this occasion, several reports from important people in the history of this instrument were recorded, such as the excerpt below from a member of Movimento Nacional de Luta pela Moradia (MNLN), Edneia Aparecida’s speech:

It was a huge commotion, you know? We attended all plenary sessions, all public discussions on PB, we helped build the housing policy. And why did we help build the housing policy? Because this democratic and grassroots administration was committed to the squatters’ movements. (...) We created many squats to achieve this policy. The city hall said: *look, you can’t just keep on creating areas of high-risk all over the city. We’ll create a public housing policy where it is combined with the minimum basic rights of quality of life. So, we’ll build houses people can inhabit immediately. Along with these houses we’ll add buses, infrastructure, basic sanitation, you’ll have access to water, electricity, school... The organizations will be directly involved, indicating those families that should be considered a priority, we’ll build this together.* And we began working on this housing policy.⁴

Be that as it may, of course this process wasn’t without its contradictions. From the beginning there were several operational problems – related to funding and execution of the projects – which had to be overcome in close cooperation with the participants. As time went by, PB gained shape and the circumstances became more favorable. During Fernando Pimentel’s (PT) administration, for instance, support from the Federal Government allowed for the creation of Vila Viva, a program responsible for deploying major urban plans conceived via PB for Belo Horizonte’s shantytowns and favelas.

In its 23 years of operation (until 2016, the year of its final iteration) PB was able to promote over 1,200 projects. However, it also garnered severe criticism, be it regarding the participatory dynamics which could be co-opted by certain political groups, the nature of the projects and plans that were executed, or even regarding Digital PB, which although having had some success in its first iteration, has dramatically decreased in number of participants with time. Many of these contradictions were significantly aggravated by the secondary position to which the device was relegated, starting in Mayor Márcio Lacerda’s administration.

PB in Belo Horizonte today

There are currently hundreds of unfinished PB construction projects in Belo Horizonte, mostly due to funding cuts for this program. As demonstrated by Chart I (see: images - Participation, budget and execution of PB projects in Belo Horizonte), starting mid 2009, Participatory Budget accumulated a large number of unfinished projects, while new ones kept on getting approved. This

⁴ Excerpt from Edineia Aparecida’s speech during webinar O Orçamento Participativo Habitação em Belo Horizonte e Os Plano Globais Específicos, which took place on August 17th, 2020, and is available on: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O1IZVymX6nA&ct=4408s>.

means PB rounds kept happening, commitments were made to the population for the completion of selected projects but, after years of waiting, very little has been accomplished.

Thus, significant PB passive assets emerged, consisting of 450 unfinished projects in 2017. With the beginning of Alexandre Kalil's administration, the city hall announced that there would be no new PB rounds so that pending projects could be completed. Within five years in office, municipal administration completed 169 of these, leaving 281 still in passive status – 147 of those in progress, and 134 awaiting resource allocation.⁵

Despite the current administration's commitment to finishing halted projects, a fundamental trait of the previous one was kept: a decrease in the resources allocated for PB in the municipal budget. As illustrated by Chart I (see: images - Participation, budget and execution of PB projects in Belo Horizonte) the portion of public budget approved for PB, which in 2008 reached nearly 16%, decreases from 2009 (the beginning of Lacerda's term) on, dropping to less than 5%. Meanwhile, the amount consigned to PB – i.e. what was effectively spent on the selected projects' execution – dropped to less than 1% by the end of Lacerda's term. Similarly, during Kalil's administration, despite an increase in the approved figures, the amount consigned to the projects didn't go over 2% of the city's expenses.

This data illustrates how lack of political will can completely undermine this instrument of democracy's operation. The citizens' engagement and mobilization – which remained significant until the last iteration of PB – and serious work by the municipal administration's officials dedicated to PB since its inception weren't enough to overcome the extremely low budgetary allocations of the recent years. As a result, on top of numerous halted projects, there was also a blow to the credibility of the participatory processes and PB's representatives in the communities, since they no longer see any results from popular engagement.

In his bid for reelection (in 2020), mayor Alexandre Kalil argued that PB had become a “political tool” and that the participatory processes had become a “mess”⁶. Kalil claimed that, in halting the PB rounds, his administration would help complete over 300 out of 450 pending projects. However, the campaign failed to mention that the extremely low budget allocated to PB resulted in alterations in all of these projects' scope.

In order to complete 124 projects during his first term, as well as the other 326 promised for the following four years, the Kalil administration adopted a strategy called “optimized scope”. Starting 2017, the municipality opted for removing a few items from the selected PB projects' scope – such as evictions, for example – in order to lower execution costs. This strategy has ensured the completion of a significant portion of the pending projects, however, altering the scopes has caused frustration on part of the population that participated in the PB processes.

The removal of evictions, for instance, has generated a few anomalies, such as in the case of a square in district Primeiro de Maio, north of Belo Horizonte. The region's population, with a history

⁵ Information collected by journalist Franco Malheiro for O Tempo, published on August 16th, 2021. Available on: <<https://www.otempo.com.br/politica/orcamento-participativo-em-bh-perde-espaco-em-gastos-da-prefeitura-1.2528265>>. Accessed on: October 19th, 2021.

⁶ Stated by then candidate Kalil in his election ad piece aired October 16th, 2020. Available on: <<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=729930947561462&ref=sharing>>. Accessed on: October 19th, 2021.

of organization into social movements connected to the Catholic Church, engaged with 2013/2014's PB to secure renovations to the square around the church Igreja de Santo Antônio. It is one of the only recreational spaces in the region, and also a traditional spot for cultural events. The renovations were approved via PB amounting to R\$ 1.946 million. Eight years later, the project finally resumed, but it was incorporated into the municipal administration's "optimized scope" list. Currently, the new project has been submitted to public bidding along with the renovation of another square, totalling R\$ 777,899.00 for both executions⁷. This way, they excluded from the project the eviction of a private property located between the square and the church, the inclusion of which in the public space had been one of the main points of the community's requests during the PB process.

Many uncertainties hover over the so-called "optimized scope" strategy. Before this position had been implemented, the municipal administration announced at a public hearing in April 2017 that they had been authorized by the municipal chamber to contract U\$ 450 million worth of loans in the financial market to conduct PB projects.⁸ These figures represent over 20 times what had been invested by the city hall on PB from January 2017 to June 2020. The municipal administration hasn't publicly mentioned these loans since then.

This all indicates that the Kalil administration has been mobilizing the "insufficient funds" and the "queue of pending projects" arguments to shape PB according to its convenience. While the "queue of projects" has been responsible for hindering improvements in PB at the Municipal Chamber, in the territories the citizens have been pressured into approving projects with reduced (or "optimized") scopes out of fear that reviewing these might cause them to be moved to the back of the line – which, given the extremely meager resources, could result in years of waiting. Little by little, lack of political precedence erodes PB's participatory and redistributive qualities. Under Kalil, the municipality views mass participation as a problem to be solved with the least effort and resources possible.

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Still, it's important to acknowledge some of Kalil's administration's qualities. Whereas their position on PB hasn't been favorable for the democratic and grassroots spectrum, there have been important advances regarding urban policies, such as the approval of the new Urban Standards Plan. Kalil has been making "concessions" on important topics for the left, allowing for greater dialogue with social movements and supporting specific demands. Be that as it may, none of this is without political calculus, which has left PB and many other structural public policies out of the municipal executive power's agenda.

Kalil has proven to be a Mayor that, despite his centralizing tendencies, is willing to mediate different interests. In this sense, PB's situation, as well as the municipal election's results in Belo Horizonte, demonstrate that the left has had a diffuse and dimly expressive weight in these struggles. This was made clear during the election process, when PB was harshly criticized by part of the left⁹,

7 Figures available in the Municipality's Official Records. Available on: <<http://portal6.pbh.gov.br/dom/iniciaEdicao.do?method=DetalheArtigo&pk=1235506>> . Accessed on: October 19th, 2021.

8 The public hearing's description is available on the Municipal Chamber's website. Available on: <<https://www.cmbh.mg.gov.br/comunica%C3%A7%C3%A3o/not%C3%ADcias/2017/04/or%C3%A7amento-participativo-pode-se-tornar-pol%C3%ADtica-de-execu%C3%A7%C3%A3o-obrigat%C3%B3ria>> . Accessed on: October 19th, 2021.

9 Former candidate to the Mayor's office with PSOL, Áurea Carolina, in an interview by O Tempo, criticized Belo Horizonte's Participatory Budgeting as an instrument of "contention between communities for basic services". Available on: <<https://www.otempo.com.br/hotsites/eleicoes-2020/>>

and – somewhat vaguely – praised by part of the right.¹⁰

At the end of 2020, the Municipal Chamber voted on the Law of Budgetary Guidelines (LDO), the Annual Budgetary Law (LOA) and the revision of the Pluriannual Plan of Government Action (PPAG) for 2021 (draft legislations nº 976/2020, 1.055/2020 and 1.054/2020) during what was called the “budgetary cycle”. A series of amendments focusing on resuming and improving PB were attached to the draft legislations, however, by the end of the scrutiny process these were all rejected.¹¹ Whether these concerned figures – in an attempt to raise the budget for PB – or general guidelines – in order to resume and improve participatory processes, greater transparency, among other things – , all proposals regarding PB were rejected. The amendments were partially the result of suggestions made by common citizens, and partially authored by then representatives Pedro Patrus (PT) and Arnaldo Godoy (PT). In all cases, they faced fierce opposition by the coalition that supported the Mayor in the Chamber. The vast majority of representatives aligned with the municipal government, led by representative Léo Bргууês (PSL), supported the resolution for freezing PB, leaning on the “queue of projects” argument as justification for blocking any attempt at improving or increasing resources for PB.

These amendments’ rejection in the Municipal Chamber foreshadow a long period of hardship for mass participation defendants under Kalil’s terms. The legislative election’s results – despite obtaining significant achievements, such as those concerning black and female representation in the house – have created a chamber that doesn’t indicate much possibility of advances in this sense. Besides Pedro Patrus (PT), Arnaldo Godoy (PT) and Gilson Reis (PCdoB) – who had been staunch defenders of popular engagement – not being re-elected, the ballot’s results didn’t increase the few seats (five) of the Belo Horizontean left, a number that has proven to be insufficient to resist the Mayor’s agenda.

In conclusion

Resuming an inclusive and democratic debate, the policy of inversion of priorities and the local-based administration, and a true revitalization of PB constitute the only mass participation-based solution for effectively facing the city’s most serious problems, which impact particularly on the poor. It’s important to present the city with an alternative that has the participatory virtues at its core and defend it from the demagogy of “anti-politics” that has taken hold of candidates from parties both left and right.

Furthermore, current conditions also allow for discussions on improvements and adjustments

aurea-diz-que-orcamento-participativo-se-tornou-instrumento-de-disputa-em-bh-1.2398482>. Accessed on: October 19th, 2021.

10 During one of the election debates of 2020’s contest, PB was praised by candidates professor Wendel Mesquita (Solidariedade) and Fabiano Cazeca (PROS), both from right-wing parties. See: <<https://g1.globo.com/mg/minas-gerais/eleicoes/2020/noticia/2020/10/02/primeiro-debate-a-prefeitura-de-belo-horizonte-tem-dez-candidatos.ghtml>>. Accessed on: October 19th, 2021.

11 A description of the official discussions on the amendments is available on the Municipal Chamber’s website. Available on: <<https://www.cmbh.mg.gov.br/atividade-legislativa/orcamento/plano-diretor-2017-2037/ppag-2018-2021/loa/2021/elaboracao>>. Accessed on: October 19th, 2021.

to PB, considering current difficulties and incorporating criticism. During the conference on mass participation, organized by then candidate to the Mayor's office Nilmário Miranda's campaign¹², world-renowned PB expert professor Yves Cabannes made numerous comments on the evolution of PB. Cabannes pointed out the need for conceiving a model of PB that is able to mix digital tools – which are a necessity given the pandemic – and in-person activities, which are crucial for promoting a consistent and egalitarian debate. He also mentioned the possibility for PB being present in schools, engaging the youth with discussions on new topics such as job creation and revenue.

Another important element that has been brought up both during the conference and other discussions during the campaign is the importance of an evolution towards participatory planning to improve this method. We recall that during Célio de Castro's administration the idea of "PB City" was introduced, in which the population would discuss not only projects for their neighborhoods, but policies for the entire city. The idea has since been scrapped, but remains relevant in terms of introducing radical democratic methods to integrate the municipality's public administration and increase the population's access to its decisions.

The debate on mass participation is a righteous and fertile ground in politics, and needs to be thoroughly explored. Despite a significantly adverse political situation, it's important that the democratic coalition promote more and more discussions like these to contribute to the construction of a new democratic and inclusive model for the city – either through parliamentary action, inspecting and monitoring the municipality's efforts, or through social and popular agents' engagement, or through theoretical inquiry at the universities. This way, hopefully not only the memory of a successful cycle of participation achieved during progressive administrations will be restored, but also new solutions, in tune with the population – especially low-income strata – to the enormous political and social crisis we face, as well as the city's multiple problems.

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It is from a local, municipal scale that society will be able to prepare to face the tribulations of low democratic intensity brought about by the global crisis, an obvious consequence of the geopolitical skirmishes and the crisis of western financial capital, which is non-productive and far from popular.

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¹² Online conference on October 17th, 2020, available on: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m5OdLRbBduQ>>. Accessed on: October 19, 2021.

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