

“Citizen participation in urban planning in the city of Belo Horizonte (Minas Gerais, Brazil)”

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Introduction

According to Friedmann (1991), the many urban planning aspects can be summarized in two interpretations on how technical knowledge and action can be linked and suffer from internal contradictions: *social orientation* and *social transformation*. In his opinion, the crisis promoted by capitalism led to the emergence of planning practices via social mobilization, a form of the *social transformation* paradigm, with the emergence of emancipation movements. All these movements had in common the defense for collective self-reliance, with regard to the development and recovery of the political community. Friedmann points out, therefore, that this paradigm of urban planning characterized itself as the need to recover the sense of a community politically active, able to renew public policy at a local level of interaction that could expand into a new State and new production relations.

One can make a reading of the history of Belo Horizonte's urban planning, the state capital of Minas Gerais, Brazil, as an example of Friedmann's (1991) perspective: in a move between the dimensions of *social orientation* and *social transformation*. Belo Horizonte is a city that has emerged in the last decades of the nineteenth century, influenced by the French Enlightenment and the Baroque, planned to grow from the center towards its periphery. However, the state capital has lost control of its expansion, which resulted in the emergence of urban problems to be solved. Thus, its urban planning was limited by the extent of an unequal and exclusionary social structure, hindering its power to solve urban chaos.

Fig.01. Belo Horizonte's location in Brazil's map



This work aims to present some elements that characterize its dynamism in Belo Horizonte's urban planning history. We'll see that changes inherent in the State reflect desires experimented by the excluded population that resists to oppression forces and. At the same time, resistance is also driven by exclusionary practices arising from the established power relations. As Proust analyses, resistance has always existed, but it is constantly enriched with a new apparatus (BENSAID, PROUST, 1998). Thus, to the extent that the changes undertaken by the State via the institutionalized urban planning tool, I intend to elucidate also the resistance processes that emerged in Belo Horizonte concomitantly to it.

The 1980s: democratization and institutionalization of social movements

After Military Dictatorship in Brazil (1964-1984), the concern to promote Minas Gerais' industrialization at any cost neglected the socio-economic problems of local population, promoted by an increase of the production superior to employment's variation. The urban legislation of the 1970s reinforced the dynamics of segregation in the city's zoning, reaffirming the centrality of Belo Horizonte in economic, political and cultural levels, in comparison to its Metropolitan Area. However, the state capital became an example of a city that knew how to take advantage of its past experiences and adopted a way of making participatory decisions, as will be discussed below.

According to Monte-Mór (2008), the changes promoted by industrialization processes in the 1980s resulted in unequal levels of urbanization throughout the territory, since the majority of investments concentrated in Belo Horizonte. The reason for this lack of control was related to planning's principles adopted, focused on the formation of a sense of space from the center towards the periphery, excluding the joint capital cities with the system that there would be formed. However, the set of urban problems resulting from urbanization and the concentration of the population and the industrial apparatus required the presence of a new planning. The economic crisis that Brazil lived in this period reinforced the urban chaos, promoting the resurgence of social mobilization and trade union struggles towards democratic transformations and freedom.

In response to this process, a series of laws were created in an attempt to guide city's planning. The plans adopted resulted in a rationalist and positivist approach, based on a physical-territorial dimension and devoting most of its body to land regulation (COSTA, 2011). However, such projects had not sought to highlight the conflict of interest in the city's projects that were being built by citizens. After the return to democracy in 1984, it lacked an understanding of reality as diverse. As a consequence, civil society groups were still vulnerable to the previous repressive period and its inexperience with regard to new instruments of democracy favored its control by the State

Therefore, social mobilization in mining capital was focused, until the 1990s, in those movements who passed the logic of labor and trade unions (LE VEN; NEVES, 1996). Since the origin of the city, internal planning to its central area didn't assigned a place for workers' occupation, so that they found themselves excluded from participating in the production of space in the traditional mechanisms offered by the State. However, later, its struggle for citizenship – at first, limited by claims for political and social rights – held place in trade unions, with the support of the Catholic Church and their associations. In turn, the workers' patronage began back in the early decades of the nineteenth century, ignoring the existence of a class conflict and assigning to elites the responsibility for protecting and disciplining the working family.

Araújo & Mello (2012) studied a few experiences of social mobilization in the twenty-first century in an attempt to "elucidate how the scenario of the new millennium has brought about not only a diversity of actors but also life projects in society" (p.162). Brazilian social movements of the 1970s, because of Military Dictatorship (1964-1984), were endowed with the desire for a new political and social scene. Thus, they prized for autonomy and defended an anti-State participation. In the 1980s, with the return to democracy, these social movements have lived a period of institutionalization through participatory councils. The modern struggles for social rights then corresponded to minorities' empowerment - such as women, blacks, natives, environment and others - and also struggles related to the political and

economic situation, as the *Direct Elections Now!* and unemployed movements, which gained ground until its approval by the Federal Constitution of 1988.

According to Le Ven & Neves (1996), leadership in Belo Horizonte's public space gained another look with the "new social movements" in defense of civil and political rights of women, blacks and residents' associations. The "lost decade" under the economic view, the 1980s, meant new challenges and conflicts for the unions, which strengthened its institutions and began their struggle to the field of institutional politics, enriching urban and social culture of that time (the Central Union Workers and the General Command of Workers). Yet, while labor and trade union's workers were outcropping new aspirations, neighbor associations were also organizing themselves spontaneously into new political practices that would be later incorporated by State.

The advent of the multi-party system a few years after the return to democracy and the reorganization of State's agencies also enabled the establishment of a legitimate relationship with movements' claims (SOMARRIBA, 1996). Thus, movements non-institutional - or even anti-institutional - nature were called into question, as Araújo & Mello (2012) also point out. In Belo Horizonte, the contact between social movements and the State was initiated in 1979, with the creation of municipal programs for improvement and slum upgrading. In the 1980s, groups like Peripherals Workers Union, the Federation of Neighborhood Associations, Villages and Slums of Belo Horizonte, the Federation of Community Associations of Minas Gerais and the Association of Rental Residents of Belo Horizonte had aggregated an important role as community associations. Many of these infiltrators were seen in public organizations. However some have had more success than others, the funding and political supports were limited for none was linked to federal agencies. Also, the low residents' participation in activities of associations may have contributed to their weakening, as well as the absence of a perennial link with other popular organizations such as trade unions.

Hence, the relationship between community movements and public policy was heterogeneous: there were groups in which the links with political figures in the exchange of urban improvements by vote were clear; in other cases, public

administrations forged rights required by the movement; and there were also ideological groups who criticized the actions of public bodies and politicians - though these associations were minority. Anyway, the repertoire, albeit limited, of claim practices by these community associations contributed to the legitimation of their political and social point of view, consolidating a new collective actor who expressed and articulated different social interests previously channeled through clientelistic relations. The strong State's regulation, according to Somarriba (1996), pointed to the direction of intensify the interactions between State's organizations and residents movements in search of democracy, social rights and representation of the poor.

The 1990s: popular management and the emergency of *strategic planning*

In this context, in the 1990s, the city of Belo Horizonte was taken over by BH Popular Front, which elected as Mayor Fernando Pimentel, from the Workers Party. This was a management opened to popular participation, in order to promote social investments and contain the cumulative flows through the city. So the government had a more "socially just" conception of the city and fit the classification of planning as *social transformation*, as Friedmann (1991) classifies.

The City Hall's Director Planning, approved in 1996, revalued the role of the city as a regional political and administrative center, as well as a trade center with modern services to make Belo Horizonte a reference in terms of culture, design, education, sports, leisure, craft, science and technology (COSTA, 2011). In addition, the Law for Land Use, Occupation and Subdivision, also approved in 1996, preserved the urban landscape in urban sections, as the recovery of the hypercenter region, based on the guarantee of principles of property's social function, quality of urban life and well-being of citizens. There was thus in that management, an ideological discourse linked to the ideal of Urban Reform, but this was undermined by the real estate sector, which had the legislative branch as their ally, maintaining traces from the traditional Brazilian clientelistic planning.

The debate for Urban Reform in Brazil began in the Seminar for Housing and Urban Reform, in the city of Petropolis, in 1963. It was an attempt to establish new

bases for the promotion of urban orderly development in the country. This attempt was failed by the military coup in 1964, which has ushered a period of modern planning, centralized, rationalist and functionalist, reinforcing the socio-spatial inequalities in urban centers. The Federal Constitution of 1988 settled the political and institutional decentralization, so that local governments began to prioritize resources and strategies for attracting investments to the detriment of undertaking social spending, planting the seeds for *strategic planning's* appearance in the 1990's (SOMARRIBA, 1996).

Towards Urban Reform's ideology, the BH Popular Front government created the Municipal Commission of Urban Policy, which would lead to the Municipal Urban Policy Council, responsible to the coordination of the formulation process of City Hall's Director Planning and the Law for Land Use, Occupation and Subdivision, to be discussed at the Municipal Urban Policy Conferences. These conferences, that are still happening, are a forum for discussion about the new management guidelines and how urban planning will take place, and to evaluate the projects carried out by the Council, although in practice the decision-making sphere of the population falls way below the standard required. At that time, during the course of the projects through the City Hall, there was little involvement of society through internal public hearings, at timetables impossible to worker participation, favoring groups with greater economic power. However, the result of the city's zoning by that time corresponded to some demands of environmental preservation, historical, cultural and archaeological landscape, protecting special areas, whose planning was now responsibility of the Urbanizing Company of Belo Horizonte (COSTA, 2011).

One of the main democratic measures taken on this period was the creation of the Participatory Budget, inspired by an urban planning instrument from the early nineteenth century in England, proposing a popular control mechanism of public finances and political rulers (SOUZA, 2011). This instrument was a sort of participatory planning experience in the city in an advanced sense of social mobilization, but some community leaders and government officials eventually paralyze the dynamics of the project over its history, which meant some loss to their popular representation.

Even though, overall one can conclude that the 1990s were marked by a series of constitutional achievements favoring civil society's presence in institutionalized participatory spheres. At that time, it has emerged a new type of association marked by privileged position as a manifestation of collective action, seeking new dialogues with the State. However, this relationship would be unbalanced with the advent of globalization, which generated a bigger concentration of wealth and power in global cities, resulting in an even greater segregation of space.

In the international context, in response to this form of organization of society and production space, an entrepreneurial perspective of the city was strengthened between theoretical planners, known generically as *strategic planning*, in which the competition between the *companies* is reflecting in a competition between *cities*. This reinforced the clientelist model of making public policy in the country subjected to the purposes of the ruling classes, as pointed out a few moments earlier. According to Vainer (2000), this aspect of *strategic planning* involves three city analogies: the *commodity city*, the *entrepreneurial city* and the *patriotic city*.

If during a long period the urban question debate referred itself, among others, on issues such as sprawl, reproduction of labor force, collective consumption equipment, urban social movements and land use rationalization, the new urban issue would now have as a central link the issue of urban competitiveness (VAINER, 2000, p.76).

However, as the author expresses, "the sale of a *safe city* image often goes along with the sale of a *just and democratic city*" (VAINER, 2000, p.81). Thus, the *commodity city* has a specific target it strengthens the processes of exclusion and social segregation. The city is treated as a subject and earns the company identity, guided from principles that organize production. Therefore, it is concerned with productivity, competitiveness and subordination to the market's logic. The result from all this is an approach between public and private fields, serving the interests of capitalist entrepreneurs – something that Friedmann (1991) calls *market rationality* – while excluding a big amount of the population.

Strategic planning has contributed against a *politicized city*, a space that has become a place of management and no longer a political space. Its operation depends on consensus, without which "there is no possibility of strategy to win" (VAINER, 2000,

p.91). According to the author, the simple feeling of urban crisis was enough to produce a negotiation between various actors, operated from the joint will and public consensus, although inserted into a broader network share. The effect was generating an internal social peace, as in a *patriotic city*, presented in multiple forms – such as architecture, art, sport or music.

This city project involves the direct and immediate appropriation of the city by globalized business interests and depends on a large extent on the banishment of politics and elimination of conflict and the exercise of citizenship conditions (VAINER, 2000, p.78).

This planning model invaded Brazilian politics, including Belo Horizonte's. On a more historical perspective of the problem, Maricato (2000) argues that the evolution of this sort of urban planning in Brazil resulted from years of neglecting the concrete reality of the "unofficial" city, culminating in the reproduction of inequality and privilege relations. The author reiterates the functionalist tradition of Brazilian urban planning, remnant from an oligarchic paternalism and based on the adoption of foreign ideas, which built a logic dominated by the real estate market and had the state as its strongest ally, generating socio-spatial segregation.

We are referring to a political and economic process that in Brazil's case, built one of the most unequal societies in the world, and had in the modernist and functionalist urban planning an important instrument of ideological domination: it helped to hide the real city and the formation of a narrow and speculative real estate market (MARICATO, 2000, p.124).

The *strategic planning's* influence to Belo Horizonte's public policy has become clear in the adoption of some measures implemented in the late 1990's. The decentralization of productive activities through the years and the decrease of the GDP contributed to the incorporation of competitive strategies in local urban planning (ALVARES; TEIXEIRA; LASNKY, 2009). The election in 2008 of the entrepreneur and current re-elected Mayor of Belo Horizonte, Márcio Lacerda, from the Brazilian Socialist Party, was something symptomatic in this regard. In addition, multiple *urban operation* projects to be implemented in the city show the adoption of the *strategic planning* speech. The *urban operation* is an instrument included in the City Statute, approved in 2001, in Brazil's Federal Constitution, which provides public-private partnership as a solution for investment in urban infrastructure. Its' multiple cases in

Belo Horizonte is a reflection of a movement taking place across the country, but it can also be interpreted as a departure from the advances made in the 1990s, with the BH Popular Front, in terms of a more democratic and participatory management.

The 2000s and today: insurgent social movements

The emergence of *strategic planning* in Brazil did not go unnoticed by social mobilization. Even in the 1990s, social engagement was a legacy of an institutionalization period of mobilization, with the establishment of the National Forum for Struggle and the Central of Popular Movements, establishing partnerships between civil society organizations and the government. As Gohn (2010) highlights, in a broader sense, it was been sat the ground for the establishment of a network of actions between actors with different agendas of city, establishing also a relationship between urban and rural social movements, as the Landless Workers' Movement, originally from Cascavel, in the state of Paraná. Hence, the social movements' demands extrapolated the local level and began to dialogue with other dimensions – that's when started to emerge multiple NGOs and possibilities of militant qualification.

In the late twentieth century, the anti-globalization movements started to appear in the USA against capitalist system and its exclusive shape and oppressions. The feeling of anger and the desire for alternative forms of life inspired a number of local social movements, reinforced by the appropriation of the new communication technologies of organization, such as the social networks platforms on the Internet. The demonstrations that took place during the World Social Forum, in Porto Alegre, in 2001, marked a new cycle of struggles that led to multiples social movements, of which the city of Belo Horizonte has been constantly stage (GOHN, 2010).

Fraser (2002) also evaluates this transition framework. According to the philosopher, with the advent of globalization, there was a trend of social movement migration from an agenda for greater redistribution, focused on class struggle, to one that advocates the recognition and cultural and ethnic identity. This shift has brought with it a new understanding of social justice, embracing other axes of subordination other than those of classical Marxist theory.

However, Fraser admits it is necessary to combine these fronts of struggle in a two-dimensional concept of justice in order to escape when the redistribution struggles are simply being replaced by struggles for recognition or when they are encouraging separatism and formation of group identity, leading to intolerance and authoritarianism. Fraser defends the principle of *parity of participation*, "according to which justice requires social arrangements that allow all (adult) members of society to interact with each other as peers" (FRASER, 2002, p.13). Therefore, there must be resources redistribution to guarantee independence and voice to social actors, and cultural value of institutionalized patterns should respect diversity, via a social status.

These recent insurgent movements from Belo Horizonte are inserted on a broader agenda that is the pursuit of justice in the city, a term that has been exploited by some authors. Harvey (1980), in *Social Justice and the City*, aims to look at urban planning as a strategy to promote social justice, understanding the important role that the production of space occupies in the social and economic relations in contemporary capitalism. In *Seeking Spatial Justice*, Soja (2010) deals with the geographic and spatial aspects around social justice in order to act in the socio-spatial transformations emerged, defending community mobilization for a revolution of the social production of space, by bringing together all kinds of social movements. In turn, in *The Just City*, Fainstein (2010) believes that justice should be seen as a starting point for the development of public policies, which would justify social movements join in the state in search for changes in social structure. According to her, the fair city is based on three pillars: equity, democracy and diversity, in a justice approach to urban space that strongly pervades the public sphere, although also associated with social mobilization.

Araújo & Mello (2012) highlight some resistance movements that emerged at the turn of the century in search for justice in Belo Horizonte. The *Cry of the Excluded* was the first one, from 1995, as part of the generation of "the brand new" social movements that emerged in Belo Horizonte, as they are called. This mobilization brought together actors connected to different movements in the city to oppose the prevailing neoliberal model and propose more inclusive alternatives, seeking to build an idea of sovereignty and national independence in the face of international

guidelines. However, in the 2000s, Belo Horizonte began to live a succession of social mobilizations as such that have overcome its political agenda, spilling over into other struggles, which was expressed in movements such as the *Slut Walk*, originated in Canada, in January 2011 and repeated around the world, reaching through Belo Horizonte in its first edition, five months later. In the same line, the *Station Beach*, which began in January 2010, was a revolt against the mayor's Marcio Lacerda decree prohibiting the holding of events in the Station Square in the city center and until nowadays takes place in hot summer days of the city.

Fig.02 – Social movements in Belo Horizonte



Read left to right, top to down: *People's Assembly Horizontal*, *Station Beach*, the *MC's Duel*, post from *the Outside Lacerda* (it says "BH is not your company!"), the *Common Space Luis Estrela*, *Stay Ficus* and *Zero Rate* protests, *Street Carnival*.

These movements were joined by others - *Outside Lacerda*, *Zero Rate*, *People's Committee of People Affected by the World Cup*, *Stay Ficus*, the *MC's Duel*, *Save Santa Tereza*, *Alive Lagoinha*, *Street Carnival*, *People's Assembly Horizontal*, *Common Space Luis Estrela*, *Save Planalto's Forest*, *American Park Garden*, to name a few - who appears according to the population's needs of political and cultural expression. Araújo & Mello (2012) explain that people that compose these groups are part of a network of different political agendas and social networks, which sums different social movements around the world fighting for a single cause. The authors also emphasize that these demonstrations brought private world issues into the public sphere, giving them new meanings and highlighting the oppression experienced by people who are excluded from their rights – right to the public space, political and cultural life, to living with nature, to the city, to its own body and housing.

Another point in common between the mobilizations that took place in Belo Horizonte is that they occupied public spaces in the city not only in order to give visibility to actions, claims and demands, but also as a way to announce that occupying public spaces, you can live the right to the city that should be thought as a sociability locus in public areas, but also as a space to live politics (ARAÚJO; MELLO, 2012, p.176).

This wave of social mobilization network that strengthened the city of Belo Horizonte in the last five years is part of a broader context of political and national social engagement - as the June 2013 Marches that took place across the country – and even global – I am referring here to other movements like *Occupy Wall Street* (USA), *YoSoy123* (Mexico), *15M* or *Indignados* (Spain), and the *Arab Spring*. The multiplicity of actors and demands present in these protests, instead of generating a sense of bewilderment about the future, had contributed to detach identities and claims from specific ideologies (ARAÚJO; MELLO, 2012). However, its complexity, once manifested itself more clearly as the class conflicts from the Marxist readings, proved itself difficult to understand by those traditionally responsible for meeting the clamor of the streets, as the politicians and the government.

This means that the desire for changes, for a new society model, not only targets the State apparatus; there is not only one form of social transformation. As it is not possible to talk about one single company's project, but of various social actors claiming for different projects. (...) Many of the claims taken to the streets expressed the need, inclusive, of resignification of issues that go beyond these spheres [of the industrial sector and the form of organization of the political system in society]. This doesn't mean that conflicts concerning capital X labor confront aren't present anymore, but that even those conflicts arising are experimented in new ways and are also expressed by working class in different ways (ARAÚJO; MELLO, 2012, p.178- 179).

As the authors declare, the claims in the streets are the answers to which intellectuals should propose issues for. That goes along with Zizek's (2012) saying, in an analysis of the *Occupy* movements, "people are the ones with the answers, they just don't know the questions to which they have (or rather, *are*) the answer for" (p.25).

Urban occupations

It is worth mentioning one of the phenomena that has gained prominence in major Brazilian cities, especially in Belo Horizonte, which is the multiplication of urban occupation processes in the city with the support of organized social movements. Some elements of the Brazilian housing policy led to massive urban occupations in recent years, as the absence of a policy dedicated to reduce housing deficits in favor of another responsible for economic recovery from the financial crisis of 2009, as the *Minha Casa Minha Vida Program*. As an answer to that, in recent years vertical load logic (squatters in empty buildings) is being rethought and replaced by the logic of horizontal occupation (squatters in empty lands), enabling self-construction and thus creating a greater bond with the space and among residents, strengthening resistance.

While slums are a more gradual and disorganized land occupation to satisfy the need for housing, urban occupations – or squatters - are a planned and structured action - via social movements or residents themselves - and therefore has a speech that goes beyond the housing issue *per se*, but reinforces a political opposition to *status quo* (LOURENÇO, 2014). The term *occupation* opposes itself to the term *invasion*, to the extent that residents and social movements involved in the process consider this form of self-mobilization legitimized.

The right to private property is absolute, according to the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the Brazilian Constitution of 1988 and the Brazilian New Civil Code of 2002. However, the Brazil's Federal Constitution supports the property's social function, a term also regulated by the New Civil Code and the Statute of the City. Thus, the legal argument that legitimizes the occupation is that those vacant properties are complying speculative purposes and the property's social function is not being accomplished.

The main social movements that have supported these processes are: Popular Brigades, formed in 2005 from a group of Marxist students of the Faculty of Law of the Federal University of Minas Gerais; the Pastoral Land Commission, a religious order guided by the principles of the Liberation Theology, a movement of sectors of the Catholic Church in Latin America, also with Marxist influences; and Struggle Movement in Neighborhoods, Vilas and Favelas, formed in 1999 in the Northeast and linked to the Revolutionary Communist Party in Brazil, whose agenda is the struggle for urban reform; among others. The first horizontal urban settlement in Belo Horizonte was Camilo Torres, 2008, located in the area of Barreiro, where three other squatters have settled in the past five years under the motion that "Our dreams do not fit in a matchbox". However, the emergence of Occupation Dandara in 2009 had an essential role in the struggle for housing rights in the city of Belo Horizonte and the resistance movements because its success led to the emergence of several other urban occupations in the city, which are now about a dozen only in Belo Horizonte.

A case worth mentioning is that of Izidora's Occupations that arose without the organization of social movements, during June's 2013 struggles. They have occupied an area of 10km² at North, an urban expansion vector which is now a target of several public investments and has suffered with real estate speculation. A network of supporters formed the resistance process of three urban occupations (Rosa Leão, Esperança and Vitória) – the *#Resistelzidora* movement – and it was inserted in the context of strengthening social mobilization in the city that has helped to prevent the eviction of some 8,000 families entered the city's housing deficit, resisting to a project that fits into the logic of *strategic planning* undertaken by the Municipality of Belo

Horizonte. From the conflict in the region Izidora is possible to extract several elements that enhance the urban justice and contributes to the understanding of what this term means in this spatial reality and the current national context of urban planning incorporated into the city.

Fig.03 – Urban Occupations in Belo Horizonte and Metropolitan Area



Read left to right, top to down: Dandara's Occupation, barricades in front of Izidora's Occupation, Emanuel Guarani-Kaiowá's Occupation, William Rosa's Occupation.

Final Considerations

The purpose of this study was to trace some aspects of urban planning in Belo Horizonte, state capital of Minas Gerais, Brazil, and its historical resistance movements, in order to present how it stands out on the national scene in terms of insurgency, permeated by advances and setbacks with regard to public participation. My motivation is to understand the context of disputes that are established between the various actors responsible for urban policy in the city: the state, the business sector, social movements, academia, among others. From this understanding, it might be possible to think about advances regarding a practice of insurgent urban planning, able to incorporate the struggle that takes place in the streets in the scope of the political agenda in the search for social transformation, recognizing the limitations of this process in a context of capitalist social relations.

In the past thirty years, Belo Horizonte has lived different party efforts that culminated in multiples perspectives of urban planning. Although in the context of developments regarding the movement's agenda of struggle for Urban Reforms, as characterized the management of the early 1990s, the insurgent *strategic planning* in the ideology of public-private partnerships conquered its space in the city's public policy, influenced by others so-called success stories in Brazil, as the cities of Rio de Janeiro and Curitiba. However, those setbacks in the public sphere corresponded to a warming of social mobilization in the streets that had been silenced and co-opted by the State in the democratization period, in the late 1980s.

The various social movements that emerged from the 2000s until today, the proliferation of urban occupations in the last five years and the support network that constituted one another have contributed somehow to promote justice in the city, while it withstands force oppressions and social exclusion, undertaken through State practices via a traditional urban planning. Thus, it represents another stage in the city's history of resistance to an exclusion project that began from the first conception of that space. The re-appropriation of collective spaces and the search for freedom is the main purposes of these movements, which fits in the request for urban justice through

insurgency, that is, *action* and *practice*, either taking part of the State's corpus or making policy with its bare hands, outside in the streets or in squatters around the city.

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