



popular participation on the elaboration of
MUNICIPAL PUBLIC BUDGETS

THE ESPÍRITO SANTO CASE
1983 TO 1994

FERNANDO JOÃO PIGNATON

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Fernando João Pignaton

Popular Participation on the Elaboration of
Municipal Public Budgets

THE ESPÍRITO SANTO CASE - 1983 a 1994



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Part I - The participatory Process and the local power in
Vila Velha – ES (1983 to 1987)

PRESENTATION

This book gathers, in its first part, my final assignment presented as prerequisite for the conclusion of specialization course in Public Policies, at the Federal University of Espírito Santo (UFES), in 1991, which deals with the experience of popular participation on the elaboration of the budget and the administration in Vila Velha – from 1983 to 1987. The second part is formed by articles published in the local press. There are also some published articles on *Folha de São Paulo* and during de 44th Annual Meeting of Brazilian Society for the Progress of Science (BSPS), about a participatory experience in Vitória.

FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF ESPÍRITO SANTO
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Final Assignment of Specialization Course

THE participatory PROCESS AND THE LOCAL
POWER IN VILA VELHA – ES
(from 1983 to 1987)

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INTRODUCTION

The democratic experience in Vila Velha – from 1983 to 1987, can be analyzed as a whole as a progressive process of democratization of local power decisions system. However, the pace of this democratization was not linear nor continuous. On the contrary, it was found intervals of retreats and stagnations, which will demarcate five different periods of a complex trajectory that results from the relation between the participatory and representative of political process.

The purpose of this monograph is the study of how the political participation of social movements, political parties, institutions and individual personalities during each of these different periods happened as a whole process, having as a perspective the progressive democratization of city management.

This research is justified by the verification of comprehensive difficulties from the political actors involved in the democratization of local power. These difficulties were about the ways of political participation on the context of mediation State/Society and the articulation between representative and participatory democracy.

Uncertainties and confusions related to those questions creates major difficulties to achieve the intentions and speeches of political actors in a practice that in order to

stabilize the democratic process, to generate conditions to progressive expansion and to contribute to generalization of 'stable and lasting democratic practices' (O'DONELL & REIS, 1988, p.80) of political relations.

Carlos Estevam Martins, invited to draft a theoretical basis about the popular participation and the local power in order to analyze the "historical experiences from Lajes (SC), Piracicaba (SP), Boa Esperança (ES) and 22 others most remarkable experiences developed in Brazilian cities' (HERMANN NETO, 1984, p.17), which confirms those difficulties "during the passage from good intention to effective practice, people discoveries, as expected, that the participation is a knot that is hard to untie... There are neither proved theories, nor models directly applicables to the conditions of our reality' (MARTINS, 1984, p.33).

The studies about municipal administrations of democratic political actors on several places in Brazil (DOIMO, 1990; HERRMANN NETO, 1984; JUNQUILHO, 1989; MARTINS, 1984; VARGAS & MORANDI, 1987; VIANNA, 1989; VILLASCHI, 1985) reaffirms the polemic nature of mentioned issues and modernizes the opportunity of this question.

This monograph intends, in examining the experience in Vila Velha, to contribute to the debate about the relation between State and Society, considering the consolidation and democratic expansion of local power management. The target of this research is not to give a definitive solution

for those questions. Its goal is to offer a critical analysis of advances, limitations, originalities and deficiencies of the experience lived and studied by the author.

In this sense, the bibliographic research undertakes the evolution of meaning, content and practices of democracy, from the process of democratic transition of Brazil, and interprets its repercussion at the action of political actors during the experience of Vila Velha. It also undertakes the bibliographic research about the experiences of participatory and democratic municipal administrations ongoing or already realized at several Brazilian states, including Vila Velha administration itself.

The first chapter constitutes as a theoretical framework. It discusses the results of investigation about the differentiated views of democracy and political participation at the Brazilian transition context. It also locates the issue of State and Society and the articulation between representative and participatory democracy in the light of those differentiated and creates the basis to the interpretation of the experience in Vila Velha.

In the second chapter, the city of Vila Velha is characterized, raising issues related to the Historical, occupational, economic and demographic spacial aspects, as well as Social, Political and Electoral ones.

The following five chapters deals specifically about the experience in Vila Velha, from 1983 to 1987, which is divided into five periods corresponding to five chapters.

The periodization used adopts as a criteria the relation between representative and participatory democracy. So, each period presents an articulation between the dimensions qualitatively differentiated from the others.

The first period covers the first months of 1983, lasting until the second part of that year. The advances – in terms of democratization of municipal power, are originated mainly from the ações and iniciativas circumscribed to the representative dimension of the city's democracy.

The second part elapses between the second part of 1983 and the second part of 1984. It is the moment of serious dissociation between the dynamic of representative and participatory democracy and the accumulation of uncertainties in the prospectuses of democratization of local power. The third and longest chapter starts during the second part of 1984, when the First Municipal Budget Assembly was summoned. It remains until the second part of 1986. At that time, it was possible to witness an articulation more and more powerful and productive articulation between the participatory and representative dimensions, what stimulated the original way of democratic process of the city.

The fourth period starts during the second part of 1986 and it extends until the fixation, by the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, of the extraordinary municipal elections, on December 13th, 1987. The retreat at representative dimension when the former president of the City Council, Carlos Malta de Carvalho, took office as a mayor, had

negative consequences at participatory democracy. This caused the biggest retreat of its experience in Vila Velha.

The fifth chapter completes the last months of 1987, corresponding extraordinary electoral process.

The result of elections translates, at the representative democracy, the resistant unified effort performed by the democratic actors at participatory dimension.

CHAPTER 1

DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE BRAZILIAN TRANSITION CONTEXT

In this research the discussion about democracy and political participation is referenciated at two basic views in a Brazilian transition context.

It seeks to situate the relation between State and Society and the articulation between representative x participatory democracies by the point of view for the two views described bellow. Its aim is to create a theoretical framework to the analysis of the experience in Vila Velha.

1 – Two views on Democracy in Transition

To come to the theme, it is necessary to create a line of reasoning that goes back to the beginning of the democratic transition of the authoritarian regime. It is also important to follow the democratic construction evolution, including the new meanings and contents that the democratic question has assumed during the whole political transition.

The transition process always left visible its polemic and nature. If, on the one hand, it nourished itself for the huge convergence of views, which rejected the existing

authoritative situation, on the other hand, it was familiar with the immense disagreement about the new situation characteristics which should substitute that previous one. The “identification of political ‘transition situation’” itself was reason to divergences that proliferated even more when focused on the question “of the dimensions and variables about those were needed to act in a way to formulate a direction to the ongoing transformations” (VIANNA, 1986, p.25).

Even among the segments of the political spectrum, who was committed programmatically to a new proposal of a new order, which was marked by the incorporation of the socially excluded sectors, and prevailed substantial differences. Those differences defined two main views about transition, about the democratic question and about the way of political role that should have the social movements and other agencies of the Brazilian civil society.

At first sight, the Christian left was aglutinated, the remainders of the armed resistance groups to the dictatorship and the new union movement leaders of advanced sectors. This group articulated the formation of the PT (Workers Party), added to Brizola’s populism and his vision of labour movement. They considered the “political transition” in its traditional meaning “since Tocqueville”, in other words, in “opposition of the revolution” (VIANNA, 1986, p.25).

Transition would be confused with the conservative idea, while the shift would constitute in a privilege of revolutions.

They believed that “... either the transition meant the overthrow of the dictatorship, which was moved by a popular front that soon initiate a government of broad social reforms, or it would be born under the conciliation stigma and of a conservative commitment” (VIANNA, 1989, p.12).

Deriving from that view, the emphasis on the political mobilization oriented exclusively for the confrontation, the preparation of social movements for the creation of a parallel power longing for the rupture. It also derives from that and the underrating of the themes of democratic institucionality and life constitutionalization of the country, which helps shaping the political strategy of rupture.

In a second view the left segment composed of socialists affiliated to PMDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement Party) or independents, independent communists or affiliated to PCB (Brazilian Communist Party), PDT (Democratic Labour Party) e PMDB, and a social democrat group teamed up.

They believed that the political field of “revolution” had been extended, incorporating substantive issues which, originally, emerged in a diverse intellectual territory from that. The concept of “war of position”, such as in Gramsci, for example, with his notion of siege of state’s coercive apparatus by a hegemonic historical block, consisting of an important anticipation of this incorporation. This anticipation will assume a more developed shape through the category of political participation, formulated by Pietro Igrao, expanding to participatory democracy of masses,

and that found its expression more elaborated at the theory of passage from advanced democracy to the socialism.” (VIANNA, 1986, p.26).

They defended that, authoritarian capitalism socioeconomic formations like Brazil, where the bourgeoisie led the modernization of its order and delayed the incorporation of the masses to the citizenship, the political role of subordinate classes, since that was oriented toward a democratic institucionality, could accredit it to that innovating role of incorporation. So, these classes would become capable of exercising a hegemonic action into the society, supporting the progressive democratization of the State. There would not be, therefore, as stated by Vianna (1986, p.27), any insurmountable barrier ... “between the political democracy and the advanced democracy, condition of passage to the socialism”.

They discarded, thus, as anacronic, the possibility of a revolutionary outcome in a classic way, for the transition, viewing two real alternatives. Either the “conquering of the political democracy and its continued expansion in a progressive democratic process” (VIANNA, 1986, p.161), or a “restauration of old, elitist and exclusionary liberalism” (COUTINHO, 1986, p.161), with a State reform in order to liberate the economy (VIANNA, 1986, p.21) from the excessive onus of the political purposes, oriented towards its own objectives, almost autonomous, in relation to the economic sphere.

2 – Democracy and Political Participation

From this description of the conceptions of democracy which lies under the two views about transition, it is possible to deduce their differentiated focus in relation to the mediation between State and Society and the articulation between representative and participatory democracies. This articulation involves also the associative concepts of autonomy, co-optation, corporativism and democratic institutionalization, consubstantiating two distinct strategies, which will be discussed later.

2.1 – The strategy of Progressive Democratization

A remarkable aspect of the progressive democratization strategy is the valorization of liberal democratic institutions as well as the embryos that will constitute the participatory democracy, including that as an intensification dimension of political socialization to be institutionalized.

According to this strategy, the new social beings (movements and agencies of civil society), originated from the process of Brazil's authoritarian modernization, were privileged protagonists of the participatory democracy. When formulating their political actions, they should remember that this dimension only establishes itself as it seeks the acknowledgement and the institutional legitimization. This search move involves the interaction and dialogue with the constituted representative institutions of democracy.

In other words, in order to consolidate fully as a institutional place of mediation between the Society and State, the participatory democracy recognizes and consolidates the representative dimension, as instance and also legitimates it, so it will be able to accomplish this mediation. According to Martins (1984, p.27) ... “the participatory democracy does not intend to invent the political participation ...” and constitute itself as an exclusive way of mediation between State and Society. It means “make it larger”, as the conquest of universal suffrage which did not create the participation, but made it widespread. This participation constitutes an enriching increase to the liberal conquest of democracy, however it does not arrogate itself “ the right to overcome the limits of its compatibility with the other elements of the institutional framework of the representantive democracy that wants to preserve both parts as whole” (Ibid, p.27).

Nonetheless, at the same time, it produces a vast impact when introduced as new dimension of the relation between State and Society. The participatory democracy calls into question, criticises and demands the redefinition of all institutionalized practices, which compounds the social and political system that was pre-existing to its full introduction. Regardless of how advanced it is, by the point of view of capitalism and democracy, “any of capitalist state is prepared to attend, immediately and without reformulate itself, the functional requirements of participatory democracy” (MARTINS, 1984, p.36).

At the progressive democratic strategy, the autonomy of social movement establishes itself by its capacity to extract advantages from the access to the decision-making process for the interation to the representative institutions. As it surpasses its own historic milestones, ascended from the inferior levels of topic and immediate disputes, to superior level of planning and strategic decisions, the social movements and agencies of civil society ensures the permanent and lasting influence, closing, thus, the doors to the bureaucratic and arbitrary administration of public funds, which provides and supports the co-optation of the part of social moviments and whole society, who are moved by particularistic aspirations.

2.2 The Rupture Strategy

In a rupture strategy, the valorization fixes itself exclusively at the civil society actors, with emphasis at organization codes and values of social movements, and in a logic to identify the rupture perspective of the political institucional order and its substitution for other – a revolutionary one – based in the dynamic of these actors.

Among the characteristics that compose this identity, it is flagrant the distrust of the representative democratic institutions as legitimate way of mediation between State and Society. It is the so-called “feeling of institutional negativity”, typical of “popular movement” paradigm described by Doimo (1990, p.38).

In a hypothesis that a “continuous, incisive and reivincative pression on the State could produce qualitative transformations in the power structure” ... (DOIMO, 1990, p.38), this paradigm prescribes the ilimitated autonomy of social movement scopes and the civil society agencies and the “people’s autonomy” (Ibid., p.06) in a “parallel power” (Ibid.) to the expectative of a power colapse instituted for the liberal democratic ritual.

There is hope to extend indefinitely the dynamic of participatory democracy into all the spheres of relations between State and Society, making it the exclusive mediation form. Although what can be verified is a indifferent and self-referred action to the “political doing” of the civil society actors that translates itself, in one hand, in the immobilism of this in relation to State democratization and, in the other hand, in the free space for the actual corporative integration of social moviment sectors and society agencies for the power system.

3 – Comparative table of the two views

The table below summarizes the two basic and main views, which were present within a transitional context, with its respective definitions in relation to concepts and key questions regarding the political participation.

Comparative table		
	VIEW 1	VIEW 2
	Refers to rupture	Referred to in the progressive democratization
On the autonomy of social movements	Unlimited and self-referred	relative, limited by the representative dimension autonomy
On the democratic institutionalidad	Institutional negativity	Also values the liberal participation intitions
On participative democracy	State/Society exclusive mediation form	a way of mediation as important as the representative democracy
On representative democracy	Irrelevant way of participation	as important as the participative democracy
On participation forms	Fixed valorization of civil society organization only	Values society movements and representative forms (e.g.: suffrage)

4 – The experience of Vila Velha in the Nacional Political Context

This experience in focus occurred in the transitional political context. Also in Vila Velha, as example of what happened around the country, coexisted differentiated views about political process and political participation. It was “a knot that is hard to untie ... (without)... proven theories, nor nor models directly aplicables to the conditions of our reality” (MARTINS, 1984, p.31).

Concepts, values and member references of the views that headed the Brazilian transition permeated the speech and the action of the political actors in the municipality, as it will be perceived during the chapters which describe the experience of Vila Velha.

In the following chapter, the city of Vila Velha will be characterized considering the Historical, occupational, economic and space demographic, social, political and electoral points of view.

CHAPTER 2

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE CITY

1 – Historical, ocupacional, economic, demographic and spacial aspects

Vila Velha was founded on May 23th, 1535, by the donee of Hereditary Captaincy of Espírito Santo, Vasco Fernandes Coutinho. It was baptized as Village of Espírito Santo it and was elevated to the position of a municipality in January, 1959 – when is called city of Vila Velha. It underwent several attempts of incorporation by the nearby city of Vitória, the capital of Espírito Santo – two of them were successful, however it was for a short period of time, then it returned to the previous condition.

Until the nineteenth century, Vila Velha consisted only for a small foundation nucleus, located at southern shore of Vitória Bay and scattered areas, whose economy was based in agriculture and fishing colonies.

When the transportation infrastructure started to be installed - Paul-Vila Velha streetcar line (what later became the Jerônimo Monteiro Road), the railway terminals (Leopoldina and Vitória-Minas), construction of the bridge Florentino Avidos, that connected Vila Velha and Vitória during the

first three decades of the twentieth century; it created the conditions for the expansion of neighborhoods São Torquato and Paul and, subsequently, Vila Garrido, Ataíde, Glória and Aribiri, following the shores of Vitória Bay.

In the 1950s, the construction of Carlos Lindenberg Highway and the approval of plot allocations on its margins determined the emergence of the new urbanization axis, further south. This axis cut within the municipality and then, Cobilândia and Ibes were created, what was crucial for the Grande Vitória's conurbation.

However, it would be in the 1960's, the structurelessness of coffee farm economy in Espírito Santo, Grande Vitória and especially in Vila Velha occurred, it led to a vertiginous demographic growth, sheltering migrants with no conditions to survive in the countryside. These contingents would occupy Vila Velha outskirts and flooded areas, as Marinho River and Aribiri River basins, which consists serious environmental and public health problems.

At the end of 1960, half of population was migrant. Lacking developed economy, and its administration without financial resources to absorb the population demands – whose biggest part was made for favelas, the impoverished city see emerging its first and incipient social movements.

In 1970's, the "economical miracle" rhythm accelerated the industrialization process, and the so-called "Huge Projects" make even worse the urban concentration, provoking the activation of housing and civil construction

sectors, both needed to its implementation, functioning as a strong attractive of manpower.

Vila Velha was the main migrant receiving, 43,3% of what Grande Vitória received from 1972 to 1977. In 1970, its population was 122.814 habitants, and it changed in 1980 for 202.847.

The factors that have contributed for this demographic explosion was the construction of housing developments to the middle-income employed population, through The Housing Company of Espírito Santo (Cohab-ES) and the National Institute of Guidance to Housing Cooperatives of Espírito Santo (Inocoop-ES). Those housing developments bordered the coastline to the south, as the Rodovia do Sol, constructed at the same direction, to Guarapari. The Terceira Ponte (Third Bridge) was constructed at that time connecting Vila Velha to Vitória.

It is important to notice the presence of huge desoccupied areas within the municipality, among several city expansion axles, whose control is under a few families – real urban oligarchies, who have tremendous capacity of influence under the local political power. This represens getting enormous especulative advantages about the way which the city is urbanized.

The Grande Vitória, simultaneously, had its economy outsourced – 71% of employment positions classified as service in the year of 1977, pressing down the income level of the population and reinforcing the periphery's

occupation in Vila Velha through illegal or “spontaneous” settlements, as Ilha dos Aires, Salamin, Rio Marinho, Divino Espírito Santo and others.

These population sectors lived fierce conflicts for land property and, like the majority of the inhabitants, serious problems of provision of urban infrastructure.

From the work of Catholic Church and left parties, this part of population started to organize themselves as social movements, confronting the economic power and pressionning the State.

2 - Social, Political and Electoral Aspects

From the late 70's and early 80's, the situation of urban precariousness described, combined with the new political conditions resulting from the successive opposition wins – that influenced the country's democratisation, what creates the conditions to the emergency of a new style of social movements.

Different from the mid1970's, it appears here as a modern phenomenon, requesting the autonomy and political orgazination before the State articulated itself in a wide and unified action, first in district level and then, in a municipal level, aiming to maximize its influence in the decision making process of Municipal Power as in other levels of government.

The Movement on Housing Rights and supporting the “spontaneous” occupations, the Movement against the monopoly of the Collective Transport and the change of standard and authoritarian statute, imposed for the First State, and for the creation of Municipal Council of Community Movements are the best examples of this new urban associativism.

As active participants of this social movement scenario, renovating forces will emerge from Vila Velha’s political composition, Taking advantage of political freedoms which was offered by democratization and, looking ahead, the municipal elections of 1982.

The Catholic Church, which already gave support to the communities since the most repressive period, now intensifies its participation and gives substrate to the emergence of Workers Party (PT), in 1980, and of advanced wing of Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB), from the proceeding of Peace and Justice Commission, which will be led by the future mayor, Vasco Alves de Oliveira Júnior.

The lawyer Vasco Alves will have, during the years before the elections of 1982, outstanding performance in defense of the human rights for those who lived in the slums. This action also supported, specially, the The Movement on Housing Rights and the “spontaneous” occupations. He will have continuous political presence on Catholic grassroot movements and the social life of Vila Velha, participating

also, of the organization of Community Movement and residents' associations. Vasco Alves would become the mayor as a PMDB candidate, receiving more than 23,000 votes.

The Brazilian Communist Party(PCB), that rearticulate in Espírito Santo State from the intense mobilizations of university student movement at that time, although illegal at that period, is organized in this new context of city's mobilization, taking shelter of PMDB and making part of its renewing group, with Vasco Alves. In 1982, PCB Felício Corrêa, the most voted of all council members of Espírito Santo State, with approximately 5000 votes.

The previous political composition of Vila Velha was limited for the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB) and the National Revolutionary Alliance (Arena), which later was called as Social Democratic Party (PDS) and had a descending role. The city was characterised by being opposed to the authoritarian national feeling even under the military regime, most part of mayors was from MDB. It would be within the PMDB that the dispute by the city would be defined, in 1982.

However, in the municipal level, the PMDB practiced a tradicional policy, impermeable to the social moviments and opened to the oligarchic interests of the traditional families owners of urban land and the monopoly of public transport. The acting mayor, Américo Bernades (1976-1982), who

intended to make his successor in one of the sublegendas¹ of PMDB, belonged the families interested in land properties. The second sublegenda was guaranteed to the Federal deputy Francisco Mauro group, which intending to constitute an alternative of more advanced tool to capitalize the renovation feeling and get to win the elections.

It was not implemented only because of the contradictions that labelled its political group. First, its close relations to the ongoing municipal administration and, second, the weight of popular statism inherited from his father, Saturnino Mauro, who was also a deputy of the old PTB (Brazilian Labour Party), prevented his natural rooting on the social movement, since it clashed with the modern expectations for autonomy which distinguished those movements.

The experience of the deputy Max Mauro to the social movement, acquired while he was mayor of Vila Velha, from 1970 to 1972, it works like a kind of urban associativism conditioned by the absence of political freedom in the country, created by the State intervention towards society and with big difficulties of political empowerment.

As it is registered in the basic text used for the Movement for the Changing of Community Movement Statutes of Vila

¹ The sublegenda was a legal contrivance created by the authoritarian regime, to accommodate the differences of its sustentation basis inside of the ARENA party. It would allow the political parties to present three candidates to Executive Branch during the same election process, in different sublegendas but in the same party.

Velha”, in the beginning of the 1980’s, these associations suffered the intervention of the Labour and Social Promotion Secretary(Setraps), aiming the inclusion of dispositions on these statutes, which many community movements lost their initial purpose – the community participation.

Even the deputy claimed during his public declarations the merit of “creator” of community movements of Vila Velha. This misunderstanding about a democratic relation between State and society manifests itself during the campaign for the changing of the Community Movement Statutes, expressed in an ambiguous position which supported the autonomy of each community movement, but acting against the creation and empowerment of Municipal Council of Community Movements. This ambiguity is explained by the fear of losing the “control” of these movements that “come since the time of the first Max government and the Américo Bernardes administration”, as says the Secretary-General of the first board of directors of Community Council of Vila Velha, in an interview with Vargas & Morandi (1987, p.110).

The feeling of political renovation will be captured for third sublegenda, which won the election with a program that denounces the local oligarchies and proposes a broad and popular participation in the municipal administration, not before engaging a tough competition in the PMDB’s convention against the mayor’s veto, Américo Bernardes and the deputy Max Mauro - which was against to the democratic right of using the third sublegenda of that party.

This competition finally reveals the cited contradictions of the federal deputy group and the acting mayor's conservatism. It revealed the renewing character of "Alternative Proposal of Government of Popular Participation for Vila Velha", of candidates Vasco Alves and his vice mayor, Aurélio Sampaio.

In this dispute, the president of municipal directory of PMDB, Aurélio Sampaio, will split his old connection to the traditional sectors of the party and will support the renewing group on the internal competition for right to a sublegenda. With this movement, Sampaio could plead the candidacy of Vasco Alves to be vice mayor.

The PT, with an incipient organization considering its growing presence in the social movement, had a residual election result on this dispute, achieving less than a thousand votes, however it indicated, symbolically, the support to its implementation program of a "Workers government" in Vila Velha.

CHAPTER 3

FIRST PERIOD OF THE EXPERIENCE

The first period of the experience of popular participation in the public budget and administration of Vila Velha covers the first months of 1983.

The advancements in democratization of the Municipal Power are derived, mainly, for the administrative actions and political initiative circumscribed to representative dimension of Vila Velha's political life. Initiatives and actions that, despite having contradictions, reflected positively on the embryos that would constitute the participative democracy of the city - in other words, the cultural, community associative movements or similars.

According to the first president of Community Council, "the election of Vasco represented a political advacend, (where) it started to appear new community leadders, during the beginning of Vasco Administration, and then – when the movement started to grow by itself, in its own journey" (VARGAS & MORANDI, 1987, vol.3, p.85).

The expectation of changing, created by the victory of the Alternative Proposal of Government of Popular Participation for Vila Velha" in the election, translated into hope of displacement of municipal oligarchies and of their

public administrations partners - corrupt and inefficient – inside Executive Branch and of a decisive presence of social movements, in particular, the community centers and movements in the management of the municipality.

The appendicular role, performed by the Legislative Branch engendered an equivocal replacement to secondary importance of the legislative elections of 1982, reducing the exposition of this power to the process of political renovation, allowing the intervention of municipal oligarchies which elected the majority of the new parliamentary representation, by the PDS (Social Democratic Party) and in a even bigger number by the PMDB'S sublegenda's itself, thereby keeping important position during its political setback .

The first initiatives of the new City Council, marked by the physiological and clientelistic methods which informed its majority, collided directly to the democratic attempts and popular participation. These initiatives generated a massive criticism for the associative movements, which was prestigiated by that legislative institution, which created the contingencies to its loss of influence in the municipal political process and to its isolation in the presence of the pubic opinion. This obtained repercussion only at sectarian and inconstant attempts to expel the municipal mayor.

The district associative movements – given its organizational stage, most of them were in a foundation stage or in a recent life – had a political visibility circumscribed to

their area, ensuring to discover and monitor every investment of public resources destined to them. The effective creation of a federated municipal entity (the forthcoming Community Council of Vila Velha) was a work-in-progress, as well as the elaboration of a political action of municipal range. These contingencies hindered objectively the active influence of associative movements at the strategic planning and the decisions of municipal level of local power.

Facing the mentioned contingencies – organizational, considering the associative movement, and the political composition of City Council – which limited its interventions in the municipal process, it was handled to Executive Branch the Principality of political actions, dealing to the changes in its structures, according to its popular expectations.

The activation of Planning Consulting (which had the status of a Municipal Secretary); the creation of Social Action Consulting (forthcoming secretary); the creation of Administrative Planning Council – which counted to the involvement of the secretariat and worked as general coordination center of the administration; the organization of finances with the restructuring of Municipal Fundraising; the decision of giving the infrastructure to the Municipality, making possible to build by the direct administration; and the formulation of a response plan to the emergency demands enabled a new dynamic and intervention capability of Executive Branch in the city, enabling responses to the political expectations of the population.

The municipality was reorganized and invigorated, then it takes the initiative of dialogue with the social movements, inaugurating a new relationship to the population, being conducted assemblies in each district, to be convened by the administration and the community movements (where there is such institution) to appreciation and prioritization of demands.

This new relationship presents itself as positive and stimulating of consolidation and proliferation of districts associative movements, as its legitimacy of intermediation is recognized between the population and the Executive Branch. If at the “beginning of the term there was 33 residents’ associations or Community Movements ... (Vila Velha) ... we will be counting 55 organized entities through the districts by the end of the year” (VARGAS & MORANDI, 1987, vol.1, p.55 and vol.2, appendix, p.04). However it contains contradictions and negative aspects.

Those contradictions elapsed from the difference of the political coverage and visibility between the Municipality – as an entity of municipal extension - and each Community Movement (limited to its own neighborhood), creating an interspace of administration of public funds out of control of organized society, even as atomized way, that can be bureaucratic and arbitrarily manipulated inside the Executive Branch.

This manipulative role was performed by Social Action and the Public Works, exactly the departments which

was responsible, respectively, by the contacts to the social movements and the responses of the majority of this demands, organizing a “strong lobby that allowed the development of a process characterized by patronage and co-opting, favoring one community leader or another; or launching their own political candidates in the city (VARGAS & MORANDI, 1987, vol.1, p.56).

This state policy does not face the automatic veto of Chief of Executive – even in a tradicional way. This policy achieved its maximum limit of State invasion on the organization of society during the event of installation of Community Council of Vila Velha. This event was convened on behalf of the Executive Branch – through the Social Action Secretary, in a parallel and authoritative intervention in the natural organization of the movement by the Pro-Federation Comission of Vila Velha.

The negativity of this policy caused important and lasting damage to the global process of this experience, seen from the democratic perspective. internal damages, translated in the growing tension of the government that, in its majority rejected such policy and, in the external one, in the relation between Municipality and the municipal entity of the associative movements, which reacted to the intervention with a radicalized criticism to the Executive Branch and a self-reported political removal . At the moment when this negativity becomes to dominate the positive effects of the opening of a dialogue with the social movements and the

measures of administrative reorganization - since the last months of 1983 - it was inaugurated the second period of the experience of Vila Velha, which will be interpreted in the fourth chapter.

Completing the framework, this first period determines a reduction of partisan political presence of PMDB. Its Municipal Directory was composed before the elections, reflecting the majority situation from both defeated sublegendas in the 1982's election, it was articulated by the conservative majority of City Council and declined in the political influence. However a great instrument of political organization was taken away from the elected major, conditioning its action to the "political group" or via municipal administration.

The PT and PCB took different paths. The first one, minimized for the election results, reaffirmed its opposition to every "administration" and internalized its action in social movements. The PCB, co-responsible for the victory of renovation, applied primarily its energy during the government's articulation and the dialogue with the organized movement of the society, aiming the consecution of "Proposal of the Popular Participation Administration". However, it decreased sharply its direct participation "inside" the social movements.

CHAPTER 4

SECOND PERIOD OF THE EXPERIENCE

This second period is marked for the consequences of intervencionist policy, which produced the event of “installation” of Community Council. It results between the last months of 1983 and the decision of Executive Branch for the calling for the First Municipal Assembly of Budget, with all social movements, to the democratic discussion of the priorities of municipal investments during the second half of 1984. It is the interval of stagnation that accumulates the biggest uncertainties into the prospects of democratization of Administration of local power.

It is also the moment of serious decoupling of the dynamic of representative dimension and the participatory dimension of democracy in Vila Velha. This decoupling acting in a way that the process continuity passed to depend, almost exclusively, of the actions inside of the first dimension – not only specifically inside of Municipality, but also inside of City Council, through the minority “democratic block”² of city councilors.

This decoupling let isolated of the Community City and the Social Movements, the political actors who struggled

² This block was formed by four city councilors: Felício Corrêa (PCB), Joel Ribeiro (PMDB), João Artém (PMDB), Olgamitho Rodrigues (PMDB), out of a total 16 members of City Council.

for the democratization inside the Executive Branch, as PCB and independent sectors, which were clashing directly with the secretaries of Social Action and Public Works, radically against forwarding the discussion about the investment funds of public budget for the next year, in a transparent way, and in the presence of associative movement group. It also made unfeasible, inside the Legislative Branch, the possibilities of a broadened articulation of the “democratic block” of city councilors, aiming to constitute a favorable majority to the institutionalization of the democratic discussion or municipal budget and other democratic initiatives.

This included the secretaries that, when there is decision-making process, their space of manipulation of public funds is extinguished, in other words, they did not control the negotiation of the funds allocations, section by section. Consequently, it prevented the co-opting and control of corporative sectors of the movement during the interventions as the “installation” of Community Council.

The internal dynamic of participatory dimension was drawn in a way to hamper even more the democratic process.

The authoritarian intervention of “installation” did not prevent, subsequently, the election of a autonomous and provisional board of Community Council, but influenced its attitude, “radicalizing” (idem, 1987, vol.1, p.89) its criticism of the Executive Branch as a democratic institution, just like the “massive criticism” that was practised in relation to the Legislative Branch. The PCB’s intervention, already

reduced due to its priority dedication to the government team, cannot change the course inside of the movement.

This radicalized decision of Community Council meets the PT's opposition politics through its municipal president; the discussion of the public budget is an "imposition (of the executive branch) because it did not assume the awareness by the community leaderships (VARGAS & MORANDI, 1987, vol.3, p.115), whose approximation was facilitated by their common origin of its board members: the militancy of the Catholic Church.

It is the moment of full force in the targeting of associative movement of Vila Velha, of the policy matrix referred in the paradigm of "popular movement" (DOIMO, 1990, p.38), with its "institutional negativity's feeling" (Ibid.). The democratic and participatory discussion of the municipal budget is scrapped by the movement as a manoeuvre of power co-opting, dedicating itself to the Community Council to establish an abstract and organizational autonomy of social movement, prioritizing the national fight for the "exclusive and sovereign constituent" with the popular participation. "A political mistake of the direction of the Council, which had the responsibility of being concerned about the city's issues", recognizes posteriorly the secretary of Council Board (VARGAS & MORANDI, 1987, vol.3, p.52).

Through this municipal democratic process, the strategic decision moves to inside of the Executive Branch. "There were two groups on the Municipality squabbling over

the proposal” affirms the president of the first board of Community Council (Idem, 1987, vol.3, p.86). The mayor, who until then watches the unprecedented increasing tensions to the point of putting at risk the Administration’s integrity and the viability of the “Alternative Proposal to the Popular Participative Administration for Vila Velha”.

It is on the verge of the Government withdrawal of the favorable ones to the democratic control of the budget resources that the Executive Branch decided to convene, during the second semester of 1984, the First Municipal Assembly of Budget to enter into effect from 1985.

This decision, of huge strategic reach, does not extinguish immediately corporate and bureaucratic methods of their relationship with society and get away its team holders, as will be seen in the next chapter. This decision will open a new period in the democratic process, of increasing dialogue between the Municipality and the Community Council and the articulation between the participatory and representative dimension of the city, with positive influence including into the Legislative Branch.

CHAPTER 5

THIRD PERIOD OF THE EXPERIENCE

The third period of the experience of Vila Velha starts on the First Municipal Assembly of Budget, at the end of 1984, and it extends to December, 1985 – when it is approved the municipal law which institutionalized the participatory and democratic discussion about the municipal budget, as a crowning of the Democratic City Campaign. This campaign had 20,000 signatures of support and closes in the second half of 1986, when vice-mayor Aucélio Sampaio dies – who took office after Vasco Alves' resignation, to run for Federal constituent deputy.

It was the time of the biggest democratization of decision-making process of the local power, whereas some of these democratic advances acquired in this period will last until the present day. It was possible to witness articulations more and more vigorous and productive between representative and participatory democracy with the popular locals and the mutually reinforcing of both dimensions, boosting in an original way the political process of the city. Such boost was possible by the convergent action of the democratic actors involving institutions, personalities, political party and social movements, as we will demonstrate.

The First Municipal Assembly of Budget, was convened by mayor Vasco Alves, despite the position of the Community Council, which “does not spare criticism [about the mayor]” (Idem, 1987, vol.1, p.87). This event had the participation of elected representants in the community movements and residents’ associations from almost every district, transportation movement, cultural movement and so on. This reality enabled a democratic and transparent division of the investment funds of 1985, helping a lot work of each movement (as well the Community Council, later) and hindered increasingly the arbitrary manipulation of the funds for sectors of Executive Branch. This difficult was already felt in 1984, reducing the intevencionist image of the Municipality and facilitating the political reapproch between the Community Council and other associative moviments.

The change of the Executive Branch’s attitude precipitated many positive modifications on the political framework. The PCB, more liberated from the dispute that crashed inside the Municipal Government, intensifies its action by the social movement. Even as a clandestine party, PCB holds an important seminar about the “Institutionalization of the Democratic Ellaboration of Budget”, through the PMDB Jovem (Young PMDB). This seminar was attended by the Community Council, City Council, all political parties, Municipalities and other associative movements. The PCB will actively participate of the “Democratic City Campaign”, during all the year of 1985.

Likewise the Worker's Party experiences a transition on its municipal policy. From an opposition to "any government" which was not of the workers", post elections of 1982, it assumes that "... maintain its independence to the Sarney Administration, even its popular and democratic movement", during its IV Municipal Meeting, in September, 1985 – which was held in a political juncture dramatized for the attempt to expel the mayor by the Conservative benches of City Council. PT also participates notably of II Municipal Assembly of Budget and the "Democratic City Campaign".

The Community Council, reflecting the new political alignments, reevaluates its priorities and has intense participation in what concerns the convening, mobilization and improving the mechanisms of the II Municipal Assembly of Budget. It shall be approved important decisions of changing the tax rate from 1% to 5% on wasteland, the repeal of Law that exempted the taxes to the real estate office with large allotments and the creation and election of the Commission for monitoring and control of Execution of Municipal Budget.

The Community Council's concerning, as well as PT and PCB about does not confuse the Legislative Branch, about its eventual parliamentary majority, involving itself on the attempt to expel the mayor, what created the opportunity of new articulations to, till then, minority democratic block of the City Council

These members based on the popular pressure unleashed by the “Democratic City Campaign” enables a favorable majority to the proceduring of the municipal law which institutionalizes the popular participation on the preparation of the municipal budget.

Thus, it will be approved the creation of the Municipal Assembly of Budget, which will be formed also by all the city councilors with a voting right. It cannot pass “in opposition” of the legislative institution, but including it in the democratic process, extending the representative democracy by the political acting of the participatory democracy actors.

This dynamic between participatory and representative democracy allows each democratic actor to have his own and independent identity, what isolates the authoritarian and particularist ones. It also stabilizes the democratic relation between State and Society, in the municipal-level, which extends till the second half of 1986.

In May, 1986, the mayor Vasco Alves incompatibilized himself in order to run for the National Constituent Assembly. Then, the vice-mayor Aucélio Sampaio took office and he had the commitment to continue the Municipal Assembly of Budget, however he passed away during its closure phase. With the vice-mayor death, takes office the president of City Council, Carlos Malta³, staying illegally in the office

³ The city councilor Carlos Malta de Carvalho was elected as member of the city councilor group that supported the sublegenda of the candidate for mayor which advocated the continuation of the previous administration – before 1983. He obtained about 1,200 votes concentrated on the Paul’s area.

and provoking a new and abruptly decoupling between participatory and representative democracy, which will deal on the sixth chapter.

CHAPTER 6

FOURTH PERIOD OF THE EXPERIENCE

It starts in the second half of 1986 and finishes in the opening of the extraordinary electoral process in the end of 1987. It is the period of the biggest decline in the democratic experience in Vila Velha. This decline in the representative dimension has dangerous negative reflexes in the participatory dimension and the democratic process as a whole. The new attitude of the Municipality, by physiological methods, unbalances the political arrangement of the Legislative Branch, retracing its conservative majority. Now, unlike from the first and second periods, the continuity of the process will depend, mainly, on the result of the actions of participatory democracy's actions.

Assuming the Executive Branch in the midst uncertainties of its Administration's period an to the political mobilization generated by the III Municipal Assembly of Budget, Carlos Malta seeking to gain time. Initially he commits to the decisions of the Assembly and even negotiates to the movements the inclusion of projects and works, which were not included in 1986 (because of the discontinuities caused by the mayor's replacements), in the budget of 1987.

However, as he ensures his stay at the City Hall, by various legal arrangements, the new mayor reveals his real

commitments to the city oligarchies and to the corrupt and clientelistic methods.

Detached to the movements of the organized civil society, he starts to attack violently the Community Council, accusing it of being a political-party body without social representativity, co-opting corporate and particularistic sectors of the associative movement with workers and projects out of budget democratically discussed. The budget of that year was failed to comply almost entirely.

The Executive Branch still tries to organize a meeting of Municipal Assembly of Budget with these sectors of the movement, from PMDB and PC do B, (Comunist Party of Brazil), which does not happen. The climax of state interventionism occurs in June, 1987, when the Mayor's cabinet and the Mayor's cabinet and then State governor's office, Max Mauro, organizes a list of candidates in order to take the entity during the First Community Council Congress of Vila Velha.

However, the civil society resists to the State intervention, coalescing entities, personalities, movements, unions, city councilors, political parties in a democratic forum and unleashing the campaign for direct elections in Vila Velha, denouncing the illegality of mayor's term in the city. The legal process is lingering for months.

Another key moment in the struggle for the maintenance of democratic advances was the decision of the board of Community Council - brought to plenary against the mayor to make him comply the Municipal Law (2.247/1984),

which provides the participatory and democratic discussion of Municipal budget, since July, 15, of that year, when occurred the calling for IV Municipal Assembly of Budget.

Without a doubt, the decisive events to the democratic process had shifted to inside the participatory democratic dimension. According to Vargas & Morandi (1987, vol.1, p.93), “the Community Council has played a major role in the city, in the defence of achievements on this by the organized population during the previous administrative period.

The First Community Council Congress performs the election for its board in the most mobilized, disputed and representative of its history, which with huge repercussions through the communications media, as well political and associative circles of the city and of the state. The victory of the list of candidates #1, which was headed and formed with support of PT and PCB, against the mayor’s list – who had support of the governor Max Mauro, constitutes the biggest conquest of democratic actors on this period, which had been marked by regression. Its political effects rebalance the process and revitalize the democratic prospects of the city.

A few weeks after the First Congress, the legal process against the permanence of the mayor in office was concluded. The extraordinary municipal elections were fixed for December 13, 1987. This decision notes the starting of the fifth and last period, in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

FIFTH PERIOD OF THE EXPERIENCE

The last period of the democratic experience of Vila Velha corresponds to the electoral process and covers the months that precede the extraordinary elections on December 13, 1987, which was decided by the Superior Court for Electoral Justice. The election's result is a victory, in the representative dimension, of the unified effort of democratic actor's resistance, held on the participatory dimension.

Such election proves the decoupling between the representative democracy and the public opinion expressed in the City Hall's orphanhood and the majority of City Council during the electoral campaign, without candidacy to assume it and defend it. Even the PMDB, party which Max Mauro was a member – who supported his party, tried to deny its connection to the Carlos Malta administration. The PMDB launched the candidacy of a member of the group that was against the democratic discussion of the public budget and who was part of Vasco Alves' team. However, this integrant member was widely defeated.

It demonstrates also, on the other hand, the solidarity between the public opinion and the actors of participatory democracy, besides the popular support to

the democratic advances acquired since 1983. The political forces such PCB, PT, PV (Green Party), the labor sector and other minority segments, who were PDMB's dissidents, the newly-organized PSB (Brazilian Socialist Party) and the former mayor Vasco Alves, obtained 60% of valid votes in the election.

This voting constituted itself on the biggest electoral percentage acquired by the left in majority elections, in the history of Vila Velha. Nonetheless, it closed the negative aspects on the democratic and leftist field.

The lesson of those last years – political convergence in a unified strategy, that worked during the the resistance's period, considering the retrocess imposed by the illegal mayor Carlos Malta and the preceding periods of consolidation and advances on the Vila Velha's experience – was forgotten.

The PT, which built a consensus to indicate the candidate for mayor, hearing the voices of the most sectarian groups and inspiration on the exclusiveness of Catholic militancy, imposed a ideological veto to the indication of the name, by PCB, of the candidate for the vice-mayor on the wide front of leftist and democratic forces which was been formed. Then, it occurred the division, even after many and consecutive meetings where all the democratic groups were present to try to form the front.

The left division did not prevent the victory of democratic field, but would have serious consequences on

the performance of the future municipal administration of coalition PT-PSB, which won with 40% of valid votes.

These consequences will not be analyzed on this research because it extrapolates the limits of this monograph.

The PCB will receive support of the Green Party and the dissident sectors of PMDB to its candidate for mayor and also, the candidate for vice-mayor, considering the legal impediment that will be conditioned on its allies on the coalition to conduct such indication.

The PCB obtained 20% of valid votes, what represents the biggest electoral percentage of PCB which is known since its legalization on the country.

The former mayor, Vasco Alves, was elected federal deputy of the National Constituent Assembly, who will give support to both coalitions of the left democratic groups.

CONCLUSION

As stated in the introduction, this monograph undertakes the bibliographic research about the evolution of the meaning, the content and the practice of democracy, since the democratic transition process in Brazil. It places the issues of relations between the State and Society and the articulation between representative and participatory democracy, in the light of differentiated views about the political transition. At the same time, it seeks to justify on the view that values the progressive democratization of political process.

On this view of democratic issue, the political participation can happen through the representative dimension of democracy, via liberal institutes, as the universal suffrage, as through the participatory dimension, by the specific social actors and its own participation formats, in a movement which can have more or fewer articulation links and synchrony between the two dimensions.

The reference on this view guided the interpretation of Vila Velha's experience. In this interpretation, it was sought not to be fenced by the limitations of a linear and continuous analysis, subject to explanatory traps, which does not handle its own dynamic of each dimension of municipal political process and the distinct periods in such process.

Then sought to work on the presupposition that, to obtain a global comprehension of the experience, it is necessary a particular analysis of the several moments and situations of a municipal trajectory which presented itself in a complex way. Thus it was evaluated the trajectory of each democratic actor in a interarticular way with the other present actors and together.

Well seen, therefore, the singular rhythm of the Vila Velha experience, which included the stagnation and retreat intervals – in a global analysis – which was experienced a progressive democratization process of the the decision-making system of the local Power.

Another conclusion, in a more general scope, involving as the articulation of representative democracy as the participatory one, can be drawn from the experience in study. It concerns the kind of political action performed by the actors of participatory dimension related to the consolidation targets and growth of democracy. Evaluating the process period-by-period, it is clear that the political dynamism of the participatory dimension can have a positive impact on the representative dimension and on the democratic process, as in the case of the the third, fourth and fifth periods, mainly the third. However, the impact can also be negative as in the case of first and second periods.

Three main conditions are placed at a positive impact of the dynamic of the participatory democracy in the representative dimension and in the democratic process.

The first is the capacity of its actors supplants the corporatism and the particularism assuring the formulation of a unified and comprehensive proposal of revendicating and political action.

The second is overcoming the dilemmas about the interaction or not to the institutions of the representative democracy, on the pretext of an autonomy self-referred and the fear of co-opting of the social movements. The last one is the demonstration of flexibility and amplitude to combine social pressure and institutional negotiation, enabling the articulation of political alliances which was needed to become hegemonic, inside the institutions, the aspirations and proposals of the social movements and the civil society agencies.

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2ª PART – THE EXPERIENCE OF VITÓRIA

ORÇAMENTO PARTICIPATIVO/ ORÇAMENTO POPULAR

1. SEU BATAN AND THE “POPULAR MOVIMENT GANG”⁴

August, 1996

It occurs me, after talking to professor Renato Pacheco, the memories of those afternoons in 1985, when I was looking for the Community Movement headquarters, across Ilha de Santa Maria.

- Mr. Batan, do you know Mr. Batan? Do you know the Community Movement gang?

When I arrived at headquarter, he was with Fátima Santos, Alexandre Passos and more than half a dozen community leaders. As master Hermógenes would say: the “Popular Movement Gang”⁵, Vitória’s Community Council.

⁴ Article published on book Social Moviments(Vitória’s Writing series, #20) published by Vitoria City Hall(PMV), in 1996.

P.S.: Although it is not in chronological order, this text was placed before the others, because pictures the migration, inside the the metropolitan area of Grande Vitória, of the experience of popular participation on the preparation of the municipal budget from Vila Velha to Vitória, through the community movements, where it will be called as Participatory Budgeting and, subsequently, as Popular Budgeting.

⁵ Expression used by the historic communist militant, Hermógenes Lima Fonseca, during the meeting of state committee of PCB, to design the left miliants that acted on the district’s movements.

These people were looking for information about how was the popular participation in Vila Velha's budgeting. They wanted to know about the municipal law proposed by the Democratic City Campaign which would guarantee to the community movement and to the community an assembly to decide the district's public works. They also wanted to know how they would have those democratic guarantees to the residents' associations and to the Vitória's population.

Well, it was easy as talk about honey for bees. I was watching live the organization of the first efforts, which last several years, to the conquest of the civil right to interfere on the destination of the city's money, even out of the electoral period.

The time of political calendar flies fast. In 1985, the divided progressive forces, with Vitor Buaiz (PT) and Jairo Régis (PCB, then PPS) lost the first attempt. On the second attempt, in 1988, Vitória's Front (PT, PSDB, PPS, PSB, PV, PH e PC do B), with Vitor Buaiz as candidate, won the municipal elections. Then the efforts of the "Popular movement Gang" started to bear fruits: the mayor initiated the so-called Participatory Budgeting. These were not momentary fruits, since the next government, Paulo Hartung Administration (PSDB, PPS, PV, PSB), through the Popular Budgeting, made this experience for two terms and it started to gain a long life expectation.

Today, upon receiving the results of the research – still fresh - conducted with 390 leaders of social and popular

movements of all types, from the city of Vitória, reminds me of Mr. Batan and the “Popular movement Gang”: 82% of the leaders affirm that the Popular Budgeting strengthens Vitória’s democracy.

The city has more certainty of its experience, of its participative path and it has also more security that this way can be followed by everyone who wants to improve public services and the administrative machinery during any administration. Eighty-one percent of respondents say that in favor of implementation with the necessary adaptations (*mutatis mutandis*), of the Popular Budgeting methodology on the the state and federal levels.

It is like this was one more recognition for the years of work in defense of the citizenship of the Mr. Batan’s “Popular movement Gang”, still commanding Vitória’s Community Council, and fighting for this recognition turns into law the right to participate on the preparation and execution of public budgeting.

2- THE FUTURE OF POPULAR PARTICIPATION⁶

August, 1992

A research conducted recently by FASE (Federation of Organizations for Social and Educational Assistance)⁷ along with representative leaders of the political and civil society of the Vitória's city corroborates the mayor Vitor Buaiz's opinion, which was published in this column on 09/27/92: Vitória lives nowadays an experience of "democracy are predicated in practice... and not only in speech".

Among respondents, 78,5% believes in the movements and organizations of civil society. 51% believe that the progressive parties of Vitória Front gained political credibility and social legitimacy as result of participatory process. In the other side, 85% of the leaders ensuring that the organized society shares to the government team the influency on the decision-making process of the municipal administration.

⁶ Article published in A Gazeta newspaper, Gazeta Network (associated to Globo Network), on August 18, 1992.

⁷ This research, Popular Participation in Vitória's Administration, under my technical responsibility, was part of a nationwide study, called Democratization of Municipal Management and Process of Popular and Urban Participation in the following cities: São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Curitiba and Vitória, which survey was made by Fase.

However, the conclusions of the survey about the future are disturbing, leaving uncertainties about continuity and the deepening of this process.

One of these conclusions points to the necessity of the union of the front of progressive parties, which did not materialize. The municipal leaders identify on the right parties the responsibility for the “interventionist, clientelist and co-opting” relation between the City Hall and the civil society, which was practiced during the prior administrations of Vitória’s Front and, unlike the “progressive” parties, the continuity of the current experience.

As the progressive forces dispersed into two candidacies, it arises a single gap which is possible to the “participatory retreat”: the increase in conflicts among the progressists, confusing their political identities and, therefore, disorienting the society, which demands the continuity of participatory process, but without identifying a clear and uncontested candidacy. For this gap, already implies, with resourcefulness the candidacy of conservative parties achieving the second place on the electoral ranking with 17% voting intentions, as according to a survey of CQD (Center for Studies on Development Issues), published on 07/02/92, on A Gazeta newspaper.

Another conclusion of the survey points out the necessity of the institutionalization of the participatory process, that it also did not materialize. Today, what

assure the institutional transit of popular participation is the mayor's political commitment and his team, and not a legislation that institutes this practice, covering a permanent and lasting nature.

It turns out that when the published conclusions of the survey were taken by the press for the candidate's analysis, all of them agreed publicly to the institutionalization of the participatory participation, including the conservative coalition's candidate (PFL, PDS, PRN, PTB E PDC). However, these same parties, during the Drafting of the Organic Law, vetoed its introduction on the "Municipal Constitution".

This change of behavior confuses and disorients even more the society's perception, reinforcing the concerns and uncertainties about the future of popular participation on the capital.

Considering the materialization of the union of the progressive forces is not real and there is no substantive evidences that enable it on the visible horizon, This would not be the case of both progressive coalitions join forces to the movements and entities of civil society, by the popular initiative project, which already has more than 3 thousand signatures, collected for the last, and ensure that precious achievement for exercising the full citizenship in Vitória?

If it happened, the city would have the opportunity to know, even during the campaign, when the time comes, what really counts is the "Candidate's speech" or the "party's practice,

which have so far prevented the democratic modernity have seen this going further in this city – the institutionalization of the participatory budgeting.

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3. PUBLIC BUDGETING AS AN INSTRUMENT OF CHIZENCHIO⁸

August, 1992

Research studies prepared by the the IBAM (Brazilian Institute of Municipal Administration), comparing the performance of municipal and federal governments, discloses two interesting data. The first is the information that municipal administrative machinery outweigh the Union in efficiency. The second one states that the reason of this better performance is on the social "Patrolling", in other words, on the bigger control by the society over the planning and execution of the service provided.

It is possible that both data are on evaluation's basis, as IBASE (Brazilian Institute of Social and Economic Analyses), about the discontinuity that the municipal elections may cause in relation to the statist standards and the centralizing tradition of the federal administrations which presided the national development.

It would be gathering a momentum in the Brazilian Social Fabric a new role of civil society, redefining its places in the reconstruction of "res publica" concept. It also

⁸ Article published in daily newspaper A Gazeta newspaper, (associated to Globo Network), in August, 1992.

reaffirms the notion that geographic proximity of government decision-making centers makes the democratic control of the individuals about the public decisions easier.

As a result, the increased credibility of local power instance of political participation and the discredit, also increasing, on the programmes of the far Federal Government.

A analysis of how the almost US\$ 200 billion were discussed, deliberated and distributed – which represents the federal budgeting, under pressure, as the last days before the Congress recess supports these observations. The absolute society's marginalization had as counterpart a budget without a governmental and racional planning – or any global political project – a physiological and electoral "patchwork". The unfolding, evidently, will be the even stronger reduction of efficiency and effectiveness of the public spending in the country, which are already well below the level to those in developed countries.

It is to be hoped that the evaluations of the Ibase consolidate increasingly the plane of local power, establishing on the base of Brazilian society the "citizen's government". It would be the launching of a new type of governance and political stability for the future of the country. The opportunity for each citizen to know how big is his own contribution to the public resources establishment as well as to the others citizens; how to influenciate the choice of goals and priorities of where his contribution will be invested, as to monitor the progress of its implementation: it would redesign

the citizen's attitude before the "res publica", strengthening the social responsibility and solidarity, besides enhance the democracy on new basis of political coexistence.

Therefore, it would be necessary that the public budget changed from an instrument of technocratic and petty manipulation – as it is happening in federal level – to an instrument of democratic rationality at the service of citizens. At last, an instrument of citizenship.

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4- THE EXPERIENCE OF ELABORATION AND DEMOCRATIC IMPLEMENTATION OF MUNICIPAL BUDGET OF VITÓRIA

Junho 1994

INTRODUCTION

Considering the Vitória's experience, five marks guide the cityhall's actions during the discussion process about the municipal budget:

1. The administration believes that the democracy's consolidation goes through the institution's improvement and redemption of political representation system. It also believes that this consolidation is fundamental to ensure the wide participation of the society on the management and controllability of the public affairs on its several levels. The citizen, the direct and indirect taxpayer has the right to decide and to control the funds administrated by the municipality.

2. The administration do not build the budget alone. It is necessary and indispensable the society's auscultation, considering the right to the participation was an achievement of social moviment and a programmatic and political commitment of elected mayor.

3. To give credibility to the budget discussion process, the City Council of Vitória wants to heed the popular will. It is harvested on the meetings and citizen plenary sessions without losing sight of other instances of political representation, the technical and scientific knowledge of the city issues as a whole, vision of city's future (problems and strategic capabilities), the limitations and real possibilities of the city to receive demands.

4. it is essential the technical training, through specific training for both: delegates and representatives of civil society. It is necessary also a pedagogical action considering the whole population wich participates of the basic concepts elaboration, whose discussion involve the the municipal budget.

5. The discussion process should be institutionalized, in order to possess permanent and lasting nature.

These dynamic principles are expressed on the process methods and work as reference to the participative structure organization that will be describe in the following sections. It will be referenciated also the eventual changes and improvements of the participative process, the one currently under discussion about one more level on the ormeetings which it is predicted the society's participation: regions of the municipality.

EXPERIENCE'S REPORT⁹

On the capital of the state of Espírito Santo, the building of municipal budget starts in the middle of first semester. There is a meeting between the City Council of Vitória officials and Vitória Community Council (a federative entity of Community Movement and residents' associations) to planning as well as approving the process methods to be initialized.

Then, it is organized the First General Budget Assembly" and all the leaders of the city's neighbourhoods participates of it. On this event, it is presented the accountability of the current year budget and the assembly schedule is elaborated, considering the discussion by neighbourhoods to discuss about wich public works/ services will be priority on the next year.

During the the months of July and August occurs the neighbourhood assemblies. It is convened and organized by the Community Movement and residents' associations and they are supported wide advertising campaign to

⁹ Reference text sent by the Secretary of Social Action of town council of Vitória to the columnist of Folha de São Paulo, Luís Nassif. Nassif wrote an article which was published on May, 1st 1994, analysing the example of Workers Party in Porto Alegre as a new experience on public budgeting on the country. On Nassif's text, he affirmed that "what occurs nowadays in Porto Alegre ought to be used as example for all the Brazilians municipalities. There is no capital in this country, currently, where the concept of citizenship was understood in such competent and complete way as there, since the management of Olívio Dutra e Tarso Genro". The experience of coalition which supported Paulo Hartung (PSDB, PPS, PV e PSB) *and it was also welcomed as "example"*.

clarify and mobilize the city. It is discussed the municipality technical indicatives to the public works/ services for each neighbourhood, the objective criteria how is the funding assessment (considering the population, urban infrastructure, income, etc) and the investment's quota, which has regional and municipal coverage. The primary task of those assemblies is to indicate, democratically, by vote, which are the public works that population wants to be done on the neighbourhood and what is its degree of priority. These assemblies also elect a neighbourhood's delegate and an alternate delegate. They will follow and control the implementation of municipal budget. There is a second delegate, who is chosen by the Community Movement/residents' associations board.

During the II Budget General Assembly, in September, the municipal investment plan is discussed, receiving the final shape. It will substantiate the municipal budget of next year, which will be sent to City Council to be approved.

It is important to notice that this investment plan is – considering the way it was “built” - a result of harmonious composition between the indicators presented by the Municipality and the priorities indicated by the communities. After the Budget Law is voted in City Council, the next stage occurs in December, when is provided training to delegates. During this course is presented essential and practical information about Financial and Tax Administration, spending and revenue constitution, administrative proceedings as

expropriation, public bid, etc. So, they would be technically able to activities of monitoring and control public work/ services schedules and the budget execution process.

As one can see, the “Vitória’s experience” have some particular characteristics when is compared to “Porto Alegre example”. The first one relates to “capillarization” of the participative structure, considering the plenaries happening at neighbourhood’s level. The second one has historical nature: the tradition of neighbourhood organization on Community Movement/ residents’ association boards has reserved to those “civil structures” the role of convening and organisation of those meetings. During the meetings the taxpayers/ citizens choose the priorities and, through its federated entity (Conselho Popular de Vitória), they participate of planning and organization of the participative process of the elaborating the municipal budget process. The third particularity consists on the technical training of the delegates.

Currently, there is a process of negotiating between the cityhall and the associative movements, to write a drafting of a bill to be presented to the City Council, to institutionalize the democratic elaboration process of municipal budget.

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 “The Popular Participation in the Administration of Vitória/ES”,
 “Discussion’s methodology and the participative elaboration of municipal budget”, “Democracy, citizenship and new model of elaboration of public budget in Vitória”, among others.

5- MODERNIZATION, NEW CONTEXT AND NEW ELABORATION AND IMPLEMENTATION MODEL OF THE PUBLIC BUDGETS¹⁰

July 1994

INTRODUCTION

A new model of public budgeting begins to emerge from the Brazilian political and administrative scene.

This new model has as its most clear basis the participative elaboration and implementation of the municipal public budgets and from several Brazilian cities. It is also supported by and reflected on the systemic circumstances of the major modernising changes experienced by Brazilian society over the last years.

¹⁰This text constitutes a summary of the reference material that I organized, with a collage of fragments of texts and articles by various authors for the participation of the Social Action Secretary of the City of Victoria roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Brazilian Society for the Advancement of Science - SBPC - in Victoria, 1994 on the theme "Popular Participation in Development of Public Budgets". Among the guests, as participants were also Jamil Reston (the Brazilian Institute of Municipal Administration - Ibam), Luiza Erundina de Souza (Mayor of São Paulo) and in the Jaerson Lucas Bezerra coordinator (the Brazilian Institute for Social Analysis and economic - IBASE).

NEW ECONOMICAL CIRCUNSTANCES

“Just like the public administration, the business area faces a changing universe involving greater diversity and greater complexity on the external environment. Considering terms of trade, it implies much more flexible management systems, with great agility to adapt to new situations. This demands much more autonomy from company subsystems, a much wider circulation of information and narrower range of hierarchies. In simplified terms, managing changes in an agile way implies a wide decentralization of decisions.

In order to avoid the disorganization and lack of coordination which decentralization can engender, the company begins to work as “teams” who are identified with defined goals, creating a participative dynamic. A modern company can no longer work with the traditional division. It can not be divided in a management who knows and orders, and the pawn who implements that. The companies work immersed in an economic fabric much more interactive”.¹¹

“The markets have changed with high investments on product segmentation which meet more and more varied types of consumers who are more demanding and critical,

¹¹ Ladislau Dowbor. Doctor in Economics from the University of Warsaw. Professor at the Pontifical Catholic University (PUC) of São Paulo and the Methodist Higher Education Institute and author of numerous works on economic and social planning. (Excerpt from the Journal Science Today article, the Brazilian Society for the Progress of Science (SBPC), 1989, year 7).

they knows what they want and make use of the defense mechanisms available”.¹²

“There is no modern company nowadays that does not create permanent communication channels with the public, baptizing their products considering the requirements demanded by consumers.

After the deep transformations changes occurred in recent years on the business scenario, there is no place where the citizenship sense is more worshipped than in the segment of modern human resources policies with the creation of productivity pacts between management and workers who will have the possibility to interfere with productive activity, to participate directly in the profits made and the company management - something which started growing, however still not a majority in the group of companies universe.¹³

NEW RELATIONS BETWEEN STATE AND SOCIETY

“These changes are expressed in a new representation way which is not a simple and classical of the liberalism relation between representative and represented.

The articulation between the public and private sphere - out of a habermasian's inspiration - is the new form of

¹² Francisco de Britto. Director of Strategic Development Wunderman Catho Johnson for Latin America (article excerpt from the Newspaper *Meio e Mensagem*).

¹³ Luiz Nassif. Economic Analysis column of the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* (article excerpts of May 1st and June 3rd).

representation that both new unionism as social movements have been practicing. It is beyond, overcoming the falsification forged by cronyism and populism.

In the first case, the large contractors measure the public interest for their private interest: it is the manipulation of competitions. In the second one, the populist politicians kiss poor children, simulating an intimacy that is a fake form of defrauding a public relationship, namely, the vote.

The new way, both social movements as sectoral chambers express, is that private interests are legitimate as far as they are crossed by the opponent's interests and both mediated by the interest of those who are not part of this strictly private relationship: the democratization of democracy.

It is through this process that we can rebuild and redefine State. The neoliberal form tries to redefine it shortening the societal space of the other classes, preventing the 'relation' that the State is from hosting the new forms of representation developed at the ground floor of private relations, annihilating the space of representation of other social classes.

In short, the neoliberal program is as old as the left-winger claim of opponent elimination, made enemy in cyclical fights."¹⁴

"We are used to see the functioning of the state based on a partisan organization: it is the partisan political axis membership organization that proved to be insufficient

¹⁴ Francisco de Oliveira. President of CEBRAP (Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning). Professor of the Department of Sociology at USP (State University of São Paulo) (newspaper article snippet Folha de São Paulo, May 24).

to sustain a democratic power. The development of trade unions, negotiation instance of access to the social product strengthened another organization axis, the union-labor axis, based on the organization of space that constitutes the company. When we analyze characteristically social-democratic countries, we find that they knew how to develop this second axis, creating more democratic systems.

When society ceases to be a discontinuous fabric of rural workers and begins to live like a complex pyramid of villages and towns, it naturally begins to get organized around local areas, place of residence, which John Friedman called 'life space', which is, living space. The political impact of the formation of this third society organization axis around their interests, the community axis, marks the evolution of a society ruled by 'representatives' to a system in which direct citizen participation acquires a much greater weight".¹⁵

NEW INSTITUTIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES

"At the institutional level we also witnessed favorable changes related to permanent participation channels consolidation, which are expressed in the 1988 Constitution, which established the referendum, the popular referendum

¹⁵ Ladislau Dowbor. Doctor in Economics from the University of Warsaw. Professor at PUC (Pontifical Catholic University) of São Paulo and the Methodist Higher Education Institute and author of numerous works on economic and social planning. (Excerpt from the Journal Science Today article, the Brazilian Society for the Progress of Science (SBPC), 1989 year 7).

and the popular initiative laws, in addition to providing the cooperation of civil society organizations to the municipal planning. To assist the access of people to justice, the Constitution strengthened collective forms of action, the collective writ of mandamus, or writ of injunction, public civil suit “.¹⁶

NEW POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES

Reflecting about the political situation and elections to come, we must consider the influences all these last experiences lived by the Brazilian society have on the final results, the most striking of them the ‘impeachment of Collor’, since then we have seen a more impetuous ethical wave of moralizing and cleaning of public power. This influence is already observable through the programs and promises of candidates who emphasize items embraced by the ‘Action of Citizenship Against Poverty and for Life’, and its roots lie in firm soil of political, economic and social of the country, changing behaviors, interpellating and proposing alternatives to neoliberalism that for more than a decade drags Brazil along endless crises”.¹⁷

¹⁶ Vera Nacif. Sociologist and professor at the Federal University of Espírito Santo (Ufes). (Article in the newspaper The Gazette / ES July 1993 - People’s Democracy and Participation).

¹⁷ Editorial Magazine Democracy / PG IBASE, vol. X, paragraph 2.

NEW ADMINISTRATIVE REALITY

“Studies conducted by the Ibam (Brazilian Institute of Municipal Administration), comparing the performance of the municipal governments to the federal government, reveal two conclusions of great interest to the current situation, which is still marked by the work of the budget CPI (Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry) and by its consequences (the 1994 budget not voted yet and the episode of Senator Bisol amendments). The first conclusion is, that the municipal administrative machinery surpass the unions when it comes to efficiency. The second, a complementary one, that the cause of this improved performance is the ‘social patrols’, in other words, in the bigger control of society over the planning and execution of service.

It is possible that these two conclusions are based on assessments such as IBASE (Brazilian Institute of Social and Economic Analyses), coordinated by Herbert de Souza (Betinho) on the discontinuity that we are experiencing in relation to standards and the centralizing statist tradition of federal governments which governed national development “.

¹⁸. Fernando João Pignaton. Especialista em Políticas Públicas/Ufes. Consultor da Prefeitura Municipal de Vitória para discussão do orçamento (trechos de artigo de A Gazeta de agosto de 1992).

CONCLUSION

“It would be gathering a momentum in the Brazilian Social Fabric a new role of civil society, redefining its places in the reconstruction of “res publica” concept. It also reaffirms the notion that geographic proximity of government decision-making centers makes the democratic control of the individuals about the public decisions easier.

The result is the increased credibility of local power as instance of political participation and the discredit, also increasing, on the programmes of the far Federal Government”.¹⁹

As the most refined expression of this new leading role, experiences realized sucessfully in dozen of Brazilian municipalities related to the discussion and participatory elaboration of municipal budgeting: transparency of financial information, debates and projects of competing proposals, choice of investment priorities with active participation of each citizen (and representative entities of the society with aggregates it) on the decisions of public policies in a district level, as the in the region and

¹⁹ Fernando João Pignaton. Especialista em Políticas Públicas/Ufes. Consultor da Prefeitura Municipal de Vitória para discussão do orçamento (trechos de artigo de A Gazeta de agosto de 1992).

the municipal universe. Wide participation was franchised and organized by the Executive and Legislative Branches. Sharing of decisions and responsibilities for the results, cooperation in monitoring the implementation configures a new model of elaboration of public budget in a municipal government level.

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