Integrating food distribution and food accessibility into municipal planning
Achievements and challenges of a Brazilian metropolis, Belo Horizonte

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10.1. A new standpoint on Belo Horizonte Food Security Program

Belo Horizonte is a planned Brazilian city, built in the late nineteenth century, whose city plan differentiated urban and peri-urban zones as well as a productive rural belt. The city has expanded swiftly from 25,000 inhabitants in 1897 to close to 2.5 million today (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística [IBGE] 2016), eating up arable land and bringing a dramatic impact on food production and informal distribution channels. To address this situation and regulate food market prices, the municipality created in the 1990s a municipal secretary for food supply, security and nutrition (secretaria municipal adjunta de segurança alimentar e nutricional – SMASAN) with overall responsibility for implementing the Belo Horizonte Food Security Program (BHFSP). Belo Horizonte is the capital of the state of Minas Gerais and has one of the most populous metropolitan areas in Brazil, with close to 5.7 million inhabitants in 2014 (Thomas 2014). This chapter will focus on Belo Horizonte municipality only. ¹

The amazing effects that such a programme has on increasing access to healthy food are well documented by authors such as Aranha (2004), who maintains that Belo Horizonte’s positive results are rooted in municipal understanding of the food security concept as entailing the entire cycle from production to consumption, or Rocha and Lessa (2009), who highlight its unique ‘alterity’ with respect to other emerging experiences because it’s government driven, or even Gonçalves and colleagues
(2011), who discuss popular restaurants as an outstanding example of food security policy focused on vulnerable people’s access to nutritious food. Furthermore, the city has received global recognition by world institutions like the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) (Thomas 2014), having been elected as one of the 10 greenest cities in Latin America and the Caribbean thanks to its Food Security Program, as well as the World Future Council, which claims that Belo Horizonte’s development of a comprehensive system for food security with the involvement of civil society organisations has been key to the programme’s success, along with its central supervision through SMASAN.

Food security has to be considered as a holistic concept. That said, this present contribution to knowledge of Belo Horizonte’s food distribution and supply system focuses directly on its spatial planning frame under SMASAN supervision, as well as its shift from informal distribution channels to formal ones. Nevertheless, informal distribution channels still exist – as the remaining mobile street food vendors documented by Mörtenböck and Mooshammer (2015) testify – as do other informal work relationships that are not addressed here. The chapter does not overlap previous contributions, but, on the contrary, enriches other authors’ findings from an urban planning perspective.

The chapter starts by introducing the multiple components of the food supply and distribution system that have been consolidated over time in Belo Horizonte and still exist today. It makes brief reference to those which disappeared or were not sustained. The evolution of the system is described in terms of its key moments: (1) the creation of SMASAN, who has managed the most significant part of the food supply and distribution system in Belo Horizonte since 1993; (2) the city master plan approved in 1996, which placed food within spatial planning for the first time; (3) the role of the municipal councils (Conselho Municipal de Abastecimento e Segurança Alimentar [COMASA] and Conselho Municipal de Politicas Urbanas [COMPUR]) in the collaborative planning process; (4) lastly, the IQVU (Quality of Urban Life Index) planning tool created in the 1990s to help reverse social and economic inequalities, which evidences the accomplishments of the Belo Horizonte food distribution system between 1994 and 2012.

### 10.2. Arguments and method

The central argument of this chapter is that a strong and successful collaborative planning approach has been the key factor in Belo Horizonte’s unique achievements in 20 years of municipal food supply and distribution.
Another crucial element has been a sustained political will throughout those 20 years, and even before. To demonstrate both arguments, primary research was carried out – field visits, first-hand observation and interviews with SMASAN staff – and the contributions of the different partners in the city are duly acknowledged. Secondary information about Belo Horizonte was also selected and processed, exploring primarily SMASAN databases, global databases and Belo Horizonte’s municipal website. A review of mainly Brazilian literature on food and planning and of the significant number of sources on Belo Horizonte’s food system completed the research.

10.3. The food supply and distribution system today

Belo Horizonte Food Security Program, under the supervision of SMASAN, the special municipal secretary in charge of a significant proportion of food supply and distribution in Belo Horizonte, formally started in 1993 (Law 6.352/1993) under the Patrus Ananias administration (1993/1996) in a context of desperate hunger: over 300,000 were suffering from hunger and malnutrition in a city of roughly two million inhabitants, and most of the supply and distribution at that time was unregulated. The initiative was broad and addressed multiple food security challenges: (1) integrating the supply chains of the entire food system; (2) linking local producers directly to consumers to reduce prices and increase food sovereignty; (3) using government purchasing to stimulate the diversification of local agricultural production and job creation; (4) educating the population about food security and good nutrition; (5) regulating the markets of selected produce to guarantee healthy, high-quality food for all citizens.

For over 20 years since its beginning in 1993, Belo Horizonte’s food supply and distribution has been active in 116 different locations spread over the city: 33 are permanent assets, e.g. popular restaurants, markets and other covered spaces, and 83 are non-permanent, e.g. the numerous open-air food markets, mostly in the morning.\(^5\) Within this simple division, various activities take place and will be briefly summarised.

10.3.1. Popular restaurants (restaurantes populares e refeitório)

In 1994, the SMASAN administration reopened the popular restaurant Helbert de Souza (see Figure 10.1), located in Avenida do Contorno, at the edge of the city centre, matching the first ring of Aarão Reis’s city
plan (1895) (see Figure 10.2). In 2004, a second popular restaurant, Josué de Castro, opened in Região Hospitalar; four years later, a third popular restaurant called Maria Regina Nabuco opened in Venda Nova district; and a fourth popular restaurant, Dom Mauro Bastos, opened in 2010 in Barreiro. Their purpose is to offer nutritional meals for affordable prices. They are located in five different city locations, including poor neighbourhoods. There is also a refectory not open to the public which provides meals to public institutions such as schools and shelters.

10.3.2. Permanent covered markets (mercados distritais e feira coberta)

The three permanent covered markets are Lagoinha district market, Cruzeiro district market and Padre Eustáquio open-air food market under SMASAN supervision. They existed before BHFSF, but they were renewed under the municipal master plan’s (1996) food supply strategy. Nowadays Lagoinha market is partially a cooking training school and Padre Eustáquio open-air food market also includes a food store and some restaurants.

10.3.3. Food stores (sacolão)

These are one of the most innovative Belo Horizonte strategies to regulate food prices and ensure low-income access to nutritional food. According
Figure 10.2 Location of popular restaurants and food stores in Belo Horizonte (2016). (Source: Based on SMAPU data (2016))
to SMASAN, the first food store in Caiçara opened in 1992. Nowadays there are 21 food stores located mainly in low-income districts, as will be explored below. These stores sell a range of 70 fresh products, of which 20 have to be sold at affordable prices as established by SMASAN. Usually, these stores are built on public land and the private trader will get a lease from the public sector.

10.3.4. Two permanent spaces to sell products ‘directly from rural producers’ (armazém direto da roça)

These spaces are part of a programme that started in 1995. Its main objective was to link rural farmers with urban consumers. Besides this non-permanent open-air food markets, this activity is based in two permanent spaces that are strategically located, one near the main bus station and the other in the city centre.

10.3.5. The municipal food distribution centre (central municipal de abastecimento)

This megastructure covering more than 10 000 m² opened in 1997 on the outskirts of the city. The municipal food distribution centre supplies most SMASAN-related programmes, principally the five popular restaurants, school canteens, kindergartens, shelters, etc. The place hosts a food store, several restaurants and flower retailing. It is the beating heart of Belo Horizonte’s supply and distribution systems.

10.3.6. Food bank (banco alimentar)

This project started in 2003 and was directly linked to the national Zero Hunger programme. The food bank mainly receives from the 21 Belo Horizonte food stores (sacolão) fruit and vegetables that are rejected by the formal retailing system because they are too small or not exactly the required shape but yet have the same nutritional qualities. The food is sent free of charge to institutions such as school canteens and shelters.

10.3.7. Open-air food markets (feiras livres)

These open-air markets have been a traditional part of the informal food distribution system since Belo Horizonte’s creation. The municipality supported their inclusion in a formal and regulated food supply and distribution system. They are mainly located along the streets of old neighbourhoods in the original planned city (see Figure 10.3), today the
Figure 10.3  Location of open-air street food markets in Belo Horizonte. (Source: Based on SMAPU data (2016))
buzzing heart of Belo Horizonte. Once a week, traders set up their stands with an institutionalised logo provided by SMASAN to sell fresh fruit and vegetables, which are not strictly organic.

10.3.8. Directly from rural producers to open-air food markets (*direto da roça*)

This short food circuit started in 1995 and distributes locally produced food through 21 open-air food markets held either once or twice a week in streets and squares. Like the open-air food markets previously mentioned, these fairs are recognisable by their SMASAN logo. It is interesting to note that this programme was launched long before its institutionalisation within Belo Horizonte policy in 1998.

10.3.9. Evening open-air food markets (*feiras modelo*)

This evening programme started in 1995. The markets are similar to the previously mentioned open-air food markets, but the aim is to fulfil distinct consumer needs, so they are scheduled for the evenings and provide prepared food.

10.3.10. Organic open-air food market (*feira dos orgânicos*)

This last open-air food market programme started in 2002 to target consumers wanting to buy organic products. The market is similar to those mentioned previously and has its own SMASAN logo.

10.4. Spatial levels of Belo Horizonte’s food supply and distribution system

Belo Horizonte’s food supply and distribution system covers several spatial levels. Its main distribution asset is the municipal distribution food centre which receives reception from producers and distribution all over Belo Horizonte municipality. Also managed at the municipal level is the food bank, which receives and donates food all over Belo Horizonte.

On the district level we find the food stores covering the outskirts and low-income neighbourhoods (see Figure 10.2). At the same level are the popular restaurants, sadly not as widespread as the vulnerable low-income population need (Gonçalves et al. 2011, 108). At the neighbourhood level are the open-air food markets, which are historically
rooted in the planned city and later spread according to people’s needs, as Figure 10.3 confirms.

Lastly, I would underline how Belo Horizonte’s food system today is institutionalised by means of public policies. Activities such as the permanent covered markets, the food stores and one of the popular restaurants began before this institutionalisation. Moreover, the city’s open-air food markets began with its foundation according to Aarão Reis’s city plan. I believe that Belo Horizonte’s food policy was institutionalised because people’s needs justified its formalisation through public policies in almost half of the activities.

Free fairs, permanent covered markets and popular restaurants were Belo Horizonte’s pioneer food distribution channels. With the exception of the permanent covered markets, they were also the last to be institutionalised. All the new channels are part of the SMASAN programme and for that reason have been institutionalised more or less since their inception.

10.5. The food supply and distribution system: origins and evolution over the last 50 years

10.5.1. The origins

The foundation plan for Belo Horizonte designed by Aarão Reis in 1895 included a productive rural belt (and indicates as sitio where food is normally produced and animal are raised). This is almost unique for nineteenth-century city planning in Brazil. Such productive zoning has long been eaten out by the early expansion of the city. Reis’s plan is referred to as the centre of the city (see Figure 10.4) and covers less than one per cent of the 331.4 km² the city encompasses today.

10.5.2. First initiatives in the 1940s

The city’s expansion beyond Reis’s plan continued to eat up arable land, bringing a dramatic impact on food production around the city, which was essentially supplied through informal distribution channels, mainly open-air food markets. The need to feed hungry people was always present. This situation echoes what Josué de Castro says in his book *The Geography of Hunger* (1946). It was in such a context of hunger that a first municipal initiative to improve food supply and increase access to
nutritious food took place in 1943, when the first popular restaurant was opened under Juscelino Kubitschek’s mandate. At that time the future president of Brazil (1959–61) was the mayor. It is interesting to note how Belo Horizonte has been for years a vivid place of experimentation in food supply distribution, which can be seen in the institutionalisation of its open-air food markets association, which has had impact on the national context. Besides the opening of the public restaurant, other initiatives such as city food warehouses to regulate food prices and an itinerant food truck were introduced in the 1950s and 1960s. In the early 1960s, before the military coup, Belo Horizonte municipality was already committed to improving food access for low-income people.

Unfortunately, such initiatives became less visible after the 1964 coup and during the dictatorship (1964–85). Little information about that time exists today beyond the precious Belo Horizonte municipal archives that were accessed in researching this chapter. But two valuable studies complement the archives, providing records of street fairs (feiras livres) and permanent covered markets under public supervision from 1971 to 1977. This clearly indicates the permanence of a strong food supply and distribution tradition.

Figure 10.4 Aarão Reis’s Belo Horizonte 1895 city plan. (Source: Open public archives from APCBH)
At the end of the 1980s, Brazil’s first Federal Constitution enunciated food as a social right (Chapter 2, Article 6º). Two years later, Belo Horizonte framework legislation declared food supply to be a municipal duty (Chapter 2, Article 13º, point 8). Food, considered in terms of production, supply and price regulation, was at that time as important as public transport or housing. Article 211 declared that, owing to poverty and inequity, the municipality, within the limits of its competence and in cooperation with the union and the state, would organise the food supply to improve access to food among the population, especially those on low income.\(^7\)

That was the political and social agenda for setting up a municipal food supply system under the Workers Party mandate in 1993. The first decision was to formally set up a municipal food supply programme and to create an independent department (Law 6.352/1993) to be in charge to manage food production, distribution, supply and education. Belo Horizonte was moving from an informal system of food supply and distribution to a formal, institutionalised food policy. A municipal council for food security, rooted in the civil society and the economic and political sectors, mediated the process, performing what Healey describes as ‘systemic institutional design for collaborative planning’ (2006, 284).

Belo Horizonte’s model was at that time a unique and ground-breaking practice in Brazil and probably in the developing world as a whole. According to Rocha (2014), BHFSP galvanised the leadership of Brazil’s Zero Hunger programme, launched at national level 10 years later, again under the Workers Party. The Zero Hunger programme germinated from the upbeat trend in food security, strong social mobilisation and the creation of the national food security council in 1993 (Silva et al. 2011); the same popular engagement and political umbrella that was at the heart of the food security programme in Belo Horizonte. From the spatial perspective Zero Hunger programme went a step further in making for the first time a distinction between food accessibility in urban and rural areas, a question still ongoing. The programme adopted three levels of food policy: (1) structural, (2) specific and (3) local; disaggregating the latter by the following profiles: rural areas, small and medium-sized cities. To the metropolis of Belo Horizonte the Zero Hunger programme proposed such amenities as subsidised restaurants as well as supply facilities like food stores and the food bank. A closer look confirms that such amenities already existed in Belo Horizonte, but not all of them were formalised by public policy or spatial planning.\(^8\) Conversely, the Belo Horizonte Zero Hunger programme was vital to upscaling Belo
Horizonte’s food security programme, and to the shift from one merely consultative municipal council for food supply and security – COMASA (1993–7) – to its institutionalisation under COMUSAN (2003–) (Decree 11341/2003), which has deliberative power, a subject to be detailed in the next section.

10.6. Food policy planning as a collaborative planning process

This section summarises the key steps that were taken by the municipality on food distribution planning and why I claim Belo Horizonte’s innovative collaborative systemic planning process to be the key to its success.

The collaborative planning process is a concept introduced by Patsy Healey in 1996; broadly speaking, it differs from traditional planning by considering planning as a social process. Healey claims that collaborative planning implies a systemic institutional design approach to a particular policy field with respect to a particular phenomenon in question and social values about it (Healey 2006, 287). Since this concept breaks from neo-liberal policies, Healey has been heavily criticised. Indeed, some limits to collaborative planning were claimed, such as ideological or value differences among stakeholders, institutional reluctance, lack of trust, and power imbalances among stakeholders (Day et al. 2003, 24), to name a few. Today, however, both academia and practitioners reference many of Healey’s ideas.

Belo Horizonte municipality undertook in 1994 a collaborative planning process. That was a time of strong social engagement in Belo Horizonte and Brazil. First, the Federal Constitution (1988) had defined popular participation as mandatory. Second, the number of neighbourhood associations in Belo Horizonte had risen from 70 to 534 in the 1980s. Third, participatory budgeting had started in 1989 in Porto Alegre and made its way to Belo Horizonte in 1993, creating a new local democratic sphere keen to satisfy social needs and distribute welfare.

Although only consultative, which may be seen as a weakness, COMASA was a municipal council in charge of food security advocacy and headed by a ground-rooted expert with a background in urban and regional economy – Maria Regina Nabuco. The council was composed at that time of 19 members including the municipal executive and representatives of civil society (consumers’ organisations, workers and residents) and the economic sector (entrepreneurs from the food production
chain) (Machado 2007, 122, 123, 233). COMASA was quite active until the beginning of 1998, when it was deactivated – according to Nabuco and Souki (2004) – because of low popular participation and operability. The year 1997 was also marked by a shift in municipal government. This point leads to a second argument.

At the same time, the city had under discussion its first municipal master plan, approved in 1996, when Mauricio Borges, an urban economics expert, was urban planning council secretary. To ensure popular participation, another municipal council, this one on urban planning policy – COMPUR – was created. The council, comprised 32 members from civil society, the municipal executive and economic and experts’ organisations, convened the first municipal urban policy conference (1996) to discuss the municipal master plan in several public meetings around Belo Horizonte municipality over a period of nine months. Under the auspices of this strong intersectoral collaboration the municipal master plan set up a food supply and distribution subchapter, albeit under the umbrella of social policy, but nevertheless ensuring for the subsequent decades a spatial frame for food. Article 40° defined the location of the municipal distribution centre; the renewal of two permanent covered markets; the improvement of a food stores chain, ongoing since 1992; and further popular restaurants\(^9\) additional to the one operational since 1994. It also declared the expansion of open-air food markets.\(^10\)

Between 1996 and 2015, two amendments to the 1996 municipal master plan were made, the first in 2000 (Law 8137/2000) and the second in 2010 (Law 9959/2010), both maintaining the food supply subchapter established in the seminal Belo Horizonte municipal master plan in 1996.

Why is the first city master plan so rooted in the BHFSP? A promising explanation comes from the strict collaboration between all the municipal departments, including SMASAN, and the municipal councils COMASA (1994–7, later COMUSAN) on food security and COMPUR on urban policy. Belo Horizonte developed a unique systemic institutional design approach involving decision-makers, civic society and entrepreneurs from the private sector in food policy planning from the 1990s till the present day. This unique approach is the key to its enduring success. However, political will was crucial to make it happen, as we shall see next.

A new municipal master plan is now under approval – Draft Law 1749/2015. It does not address food supply, leaving out one of the most innovative aspects of Belo Horizonte’s planning proposal in 1996. I would like to believe that 20 years of food collaborative planning has
consolidated Belo Horizonte’s food distribution and supply system as mainstream. Meanwhile, urban agriculture\(^{11}\) is for the first time included in the city’s master plan. Although this is at present only an urban planning policy, and so lacks zoning, it is exceptional and encouraging and therefore needs to be followed with careful attention.

### 10.7. Urban life quality index as a tool to reverse social and economic inequalities

The purpose of this section is to explore the contribution of Belo Horizonte’s food supply system to reversing inequities in access to nutritious food. This assessment will use a tool designed in Belo Horizonte, the IQVU, and put into use in the early 1990s. The first set of data, based on data from 1994, were made public in 1996; the last set were made public in 2012.

In a nutshell, IQVU consists of a set of dimensions – comprising culture, education, housing, infrastructure, environment, health, urban services, urban safety and sport (the new IQVU set) – giving a spatial image of the access to services that is enjoyed by each of the 80 urban planning areas (UPs) that together cover the whole city. Once collected, the data corresponding to each of the dimensions are ‘spatialised’ and, when summed up, allow one to see which areas are better served and which need to be prioritised for improvement. The UPs and IQVU were extremely important planning tools to channel resources from the participatory budgeting – another planning instrument that Belo Horizonte developed in the 1990s.

In the IQVU set, the food dimension is scored by area of hypermarkets and supermarkets as well as local food markets, per 1000 inhabitants (the new IQVU set), and data come from the municipal finances service, measuring only formal food channels, even if informal channels still exist. The tool tells us nothing about who is buying or what they’re buying – i.e. nothing about their social background – and this may be seen as a limitation. The most valued IQVU dimension is housing (0.18 points); the least valued dimensions are culture and sport (0.03 points). Access to food weighs 0.08 points on the total IQVU city outcome, which says much. Its inclusion in the IQVU is outstanding proof of the importance Belo Horizonte municipality gives to food as a contributor to the quality of urban life.

**Figure 10.5** indicates the visual impact and use of the IQVU: the colour of each UP, here in grey scale, corresponds to low, medium or high quality of urban life. Subsequently, the municipality and the various
Figure 10.5  Urban life quality index – food supply dimension in 1994 versus food stores through time in Belo Horizonte. (Source: Based on SMAPU data (2016))
Figure 10.6 Urban life quality index – food supply dimension in 2012 versus food stores through time in Belo Horizonte. (Source: Based on SMAPU data (2016))
multi-stakeholder councils (concelhos) can debate where to prioritise channelling public resources in order to optimise their impact in terms of spatial justice.

This chapter has sought to assess to what extent the various components of Belo Horizonte’s food policies have impacted on areas with lower levels of quality of urban life as measured with the IQVU. Lessons could be drawn on the validity of planning tools such as UPs and IQVU. Such research has already been done for the projects financed through participatory budgeting. The research used 1994 and 2012 IQVU maps. For the sake of simplicity, each of the 21 food stores functioning in 2015 (with prices controlled by the municipality) was located on the 2012 IQVU map. Figure 10.5 shows the IQVU food supply dimension in 1994 with the food stores that existed in 1992.

Figures 10.5 and 10.6 clearly show the great improvement in food supply, especially in the fringe’s district/planning units, reversing social and economic inequities in food access. The area with a low food supply rate (less than 0.25) decreased from 48.45 per cent in 1994 to 15.36 per cent in 2012. The area with a high supply rate (more than 0.50) increased from 17.02 per cent in 1994 to 48.81 per cent in 2012. The area scoring a medium IQVU food supply rate (between 0.25 and 0.50) remained the same. Furthermore, from 1994 to 2012 the food supply score improved from 0.31 to 0.50 points, meaning that 54 of 80 planning units improved their food supply range (67.5 per cent), yet 10 still had the lowest level of range (12.5 per cent).

In the same time interval, Belo Horizonte’s general IQVU improved from 0.54 to 0.65 points, confirming the city’s progress in the quality of life enjoyed by its inhabitants. The cross-referencing of the number of controlled retail food stores with the quality of urban life index per UP reflects the city’s attempt to distribute the 21 retail food stores to provide a mean ratio of 94 000 inhabitants per food store. However, this ratio is lower in low-IQVU planning units.

As key assets of Belo Horizonte’s food distribution policy, food stores were mainly located in planning areas that had a very low or low IQVU, as on the city’s periphery, and in ones that had a medium IQVU. In the latter cases, they were located close to slums and poor neighbourhoods occupying interstitial spaces of consolidated areas. Additional research at UP level might demonstrate whether the city has fulfilled its intention to reverse social inequalities.
10.8. Achievements and challenges of a Brazilian municipality: Belo Horizonte

We may conclude that 20 years of food planning and public policies sufficed to consolidate its distribution and food supply system by multiple means and channels. Under a ‘systemic institutional design for collaborative planning’ (Healey 2006, 284) the city was able to mainstream food in its planning system and policies, reversing some of the social and economic inequalities of the poorer segments of its society.

This unique step-by-step achievement involved the institutionalisation of various food distribution channels, according to people’s needs, through public policies and the consolidation of evolutionary design. The key to this consolidation was a collaborative planning process rooted in social engagement and political will since the 1990s and the fair balance between all sectors involved, i.e. civil society, the economic sector and the political sector, the last one being the driving force. At the same time, Belo Horizonte’s collaborative planning should be perceived as a continuum in time, linking informality in the past to formalisation in the 1990s through the work of SMASAN in continuous exchange with the municipal city councils.

Why is this important? First, because public policies must be supported by stakeholder advocacy, and Belo Horizonte’s municipal councils are an outstanding example of this. Second, political will is central, since collaborative planning is time consuming for all the parties involved; political awareness and goal permanence are key. Third, planning needs to be part of the question pushing the boundaries between a non-permanent and a permanent food supply system, and shifting from the informal to the formal. Fourth and last, assessment is essential to self-learning, and Belo Horizonte has done this since its beginning and continues to do so today by means of its municipal food council. Belo Horizonte’s innovative approach testifies in practice to what Healey (2006) called the flow between planning and practice.

Today, the city has a new challenge: to reduce its reliance on rural space. If the city has managed to find the channels to supply and distribute food, it has depended on harvesting from the rural fringes. Let’s wait and see how the new municipal master plan (2016) will promote urban agriculture to feed the city, at least in part.
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Notes

1. The opinions, beliefs and viewpoints expressed in this chapter do not necessarily reflect the opinions, beliefs and viewpoints of Belo Horizonte municipality.
2. Initially named the Municipal Secretariat for Food Supply (SMAB).
5. Since the formalisation of Belo Horizonte's food system only two of its multiple programmes ended: Workers Train, a programme that ran from 1993 to 2010, consisting of trucks delivering food into slums; and Popular Basket, running from 1995 to 2011, similar to Workers Train but functioning as an itinerant fair. Such a result over time demonstrates the resilience of the public programme as a whole.
7. Belo Horizonte organic law in 1990 established for the first time food supply as a municipal duty.
8. At the time, only one popular restaurant was running; the others were established in 2004, 2008, 2010 and 2014.
9. After the first municipal master plan (1996), the city rejuvenated two covered markets, Lagoinha and Cruzeiro, built the municipal distribution centre, reopened one popular restaurant and established 18 food stores. After 2003, the city opened four restaurants, the food bank and some more food stores.
10. Each open-air food market has its own regulation; however, all are under the Postures Code (Law 8616/2003, amended in 2012), a municipal law that defines the status and responsibilities of fairs.
11. It was preceded by the Municipal Policy on Urban Agriculture (Law 10.255/2011).
12. As Avritzer (2005) confirmed regarding participatory budgeting in Belo Horizonte, the decrease in participation is owed to stronger doubts about the continuation of the process. This happened in 1996/7, the same year that COMASA ended.

References


