



DIALOG GLOBAL



**Learning from the South:
Participatory Budgeting
Worldwide – an Invitation
to Global Cooperation**

Study

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Yves Sintomer, Carsten Herzberg, Giovanni Allegretti
– with the collaboration of Anja Röcke

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Contents

Table of contents	2
Index of figures and tables	3
Table of boxes	3
Table of abbreviations (selection)	4
Foreword	5
Preface	6
Introduction	7
1. A global perspective	7
2. What is a participatory budget?	8
3. How participatory budgeting spread across the world	9
4. Introduction to the typology of participatory budgets	11
5. Five continents	17
I. Chapter: Transforming Politics, Transforming Society? Participatory Budgeting in Latin America	18
1. Once upon a time in Porto Alegre	18
2. Dissemination within Brazil	22
3. Latin America adopts participatory budgeting continent-wide	22
4. Two generations of networks	24
5. Hybridisation	26
6. Important but contrasting results	29
II. Chapter: The Return of the Caravels: Participatory Budgeting in Europe and North America	32
1. The diversity of participatory budgeting in Europe	32
2. The social impacts of participatory budgeting in Europe and North America	34
3. Participation – a way of achieving modernisation?	36
4. Participatory budgeting and civil society	40
5. The outcomes of participatory budgeting in Europe and North America	42
III. Chapter: Africa: A Late and Unequal Development	44
1. Early beginnings and the proliferation of experiments in francophone Africa	45
2. A limited influence in lusophone Africa	48
3. Anglophone Africa: hybrid experiments	49
IV. Chapter: Participatory Budgeting in Asia and Oceania: Between Autochthonous Development and International Exchange	53
1. Participatory budgeting as a regional development instrument (Kerala, India)	53
2. China: between People's Congress support and deliberative polling	55
3. Korea: a Porto Alegre in the Far East?	57
4. Japan: participatory budgeting for taxpayers	60
5. Oceania: e-democracy and community building	61
Learning processes	62
1. Global trends	62

2. Which participatory budget, for which type of municipality?	63
3. Networks and municipal partnerships – frameworks for cooperation	65
4. Recommendations for the improved dissemination and further development of participatory budgeting	66
Bibliography	68
Appendix	72
Websites on participatory budgeting	72
Table on Countries with Participatory Budgets (as at the end of 2009)	76
Short biography	77
Publications	78

Index of figures and tables

Figure 1: Traditional forms of participation and participatory budgeting	8
Figure 2: How participatory budgeting has spread across the world	10
Figure 3: PB cycle of Porto Alegre	19
Figure 4: Number of participatory budgets and population involved	32
Figure 5: Map on participatory budgets in Europe	33
Table 1: Key characteristics of procedural ideal-types of participatory budget	16
Table 2: Criteria for Allocation of Capital Investments in Porto Alegre	20
Table 3: Allocation criteria of the participatory budget of Seville	35
Table 4: List of priorities for the Lichtenberg participatory budget (2005)	38

Table of boxes

Płock (Poland)	12
Bradford (Great Britain)	13
Hilden (Germany)	15
Bobigny (France)	15
A district plenary of the participatory budget in Porto Alegre	21
Communal councils: a specific mechanism of citizen participation in Venezuela	24
Two important and radical diffusion networks: PGU-ALC (UN Habitat) and URBAL 9	25
Participatory budgeting and the use of Geographic Information Systems: examples that utilise the spatial dimensions of participation	27
Participatory budgeting and gender mainstreaming: the Rosario experiment	28
E-participatory budgeting: innovative practice in Belo Horizonte (Brazil)	29
Toronto Community Housing	36
Voting in Lichtenberg	38
E-participatory budgeting in Cologne	39
Participatory budgeting of projects disclosed in the published budget (Seville)	40
Participatory school budget in Poitou-Charentes (France)	41
The ‚social balance‘, Italy	42
WUF and AFRICITIES	45
The ‚Training Companion‘: an active tool to spread participatory budgeting	48
Arab countries: the beginning of an experiment?	49
Timid tendencies in Indonesia, Bangladesh and Thailand	55
Participatory budgeting implemented through deliberative polling in Zeguo	56
How does participatory budgeting work in Korea? The case of Dong-ku	58

Table of abbreviations (selection)

ASSOAL	Educational Association from Cameroon promoting participatory budgets
bpb	Federal Agency for Civic Education
CIGU	<i>Centro Internacional de Gestion Urbana</i> ; International NGO with headquarter in Ecuador accompanying urban planning and participatory budgeting processes
ENDA-TM	<i>Environnement et Développement du Tiers Monde</i> ; NGO from Senegal working on North-South development cooperation
FEDOMU	<i>Federación Dominicana de Municipios</i> ; Confederation of municipalities of Dominican Republic
GTZ	<i>Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit</i>
IED Afrique	<i>Inovations Environnement Développement</i> ; Educational NGO from Senegal
InWEnt	Capacity Building International, Germany. The Service Agency Communities in One World is a section of this organisation
MDP / MDP-ESA	<i>Municipal Development Partnership</i> ; this organisation is a mixed organising institution linked to the UN HABITAT programme. There are two offices: the international one (MDP) and the one for English-speaking parts of Africa (MDP-ESA; <i>Municipal Development Partnership – East Southern Africa</i>)
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
PGU-ALC	<i>Programma de Gestion Urbana para America Latina y Caribe</i> ; municipal action programme of United Nations under the umbrella of UN HABITAT
PB	Participatory budgets
PT	<i>Partido dos Trabalhadores</i> ; Brazilian Workers' Party
UCLG	<i>United Cities and Local Governments</i> ; global association of municipalities
UNDP	<i>United Nations Development Programme</i> ; development programme of the United Nations
UNICEF	<i>United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund</i> ; Children's Fund of United Nations
UNIFEM	<i>United Nations Development Fund for Women</i> ; development fund of the United Nations for women
UN-HABITAT	<i>United Nations Human Settlements Programme</i>
UNO	<i>United Nations Organization</i> , United Nations
UNV	<i>United Nations Volunteers</i> ; programme of the United Nations supporting voluntary projects in the world
URBACT	Programme of the European Union for sustainable development in towns
URBAL	Programme of the European Union for supporting municipal cooperation between Europe and Latin America
USAID	Organisation of development cooperation of the USA
WUF	<i>World Urban Forum</i> ; global network for urban development

Foreword

The authors of the present study describe their work as an ‚attempt to provide a first overview‘. Yet they need not be quite so modest. In actual fact they provide us with a first very detailed look at a highly dynamic and manifold process stretching across five continents. We would like to commend and say a special thank you to Yves Sintomer and his team of researchers for this pioneering venture. They take us along with them on an exciting journey around the world, where we get to know a whole range of forms and manifestations of the successful new model termed the ‚participatory budget‘. To prevent us from getting lost in a thousand and one examples, the authors provide us with a helpful and enlightening system for classifying these various forms into six ideal types. They also break the political approaches down into three main trends: fundamental change, reform-oriented change and mere symbolic gesture. This also helps us a great deal as we form our own impression.

One key finding of the study is that we can learn a great deal from the South. The caravels that we once sent out to subdue the New World are returning with peaceful intentions. They can help us bring about an urgently needed improvement in participatory budgeting, and achieve ‚horizontal‘ communication. Here in Germany it is not our aim to achieve fundamental systemic change, but we are seeking distributive justice! We should not lose sight of this. Diverse though the various types of participatory budget may be, they have one thing in common the world over: they are a ‚trust-building measure‘. They certainly improve relations between local governments and citizens. And given the very serious financial situation faced by many of our municipalities, this is something we need to achieve.

A further finding of the study is that participatory budgeting and participatory urban planning go together. Bureaucratic administrations need to be restructured, and individual departments need to work together across institutional boundaries. For the three types of actors involved in local democracy – policymakers, administrators and citizens – we need effective training measures. Citizens must be familiarised with the basic of municipal policymaking, and enabled to understand a budget. Administrators must be convinced that their commitment is worthwhile, and that

a participatory budget is beneficial to local policy rather than a threat or just extra work. Policymakers must lose their fear of losing power, and be encouraged to embrace this opportunity to become more responsive and gain the acceptance of citizens.

As a Service Agency, we aim in particular to foster exchange with local governments in the Global South that practice participatory budgeting. To this end, municipalities can and should be involved in networks and seek to cooperate on specific issues. The most successful way of achieving this is through vibrant twinning arrangements. These are a springboard for participatory budgets, and offer great potential for mutual learning. In this setting citizens must be able to identify with their municipality and its budget, participate actively, get involved, think carefully about things and wield influence – and that means not just citizens who have always been active. It is worthwhile approaching and mobilising groups that are either unaware of participation, indifferent to it or reluctant to get involved. This can help breathe life into a participatory budget. A great deal of sensitivity is required, because citizens and administrators often attach very different goals and expectations to participatory budgeting. According to the recommendations made by the authors of this study, what is needed are close accountability concerning the handling of citizens‘ proposals, sufficient opportunity for discussion, clear rules of procedure, and real, visible influence over municipal income and expenditure. When these are in place, a participatory budget will also make a sustainable contribution to local and regional development.



Yours,

Anita Reddy

**Director of the Service Agency Communities
in One World / InWEnt gGmbH**

Preface

This report represents the attempt to provide a first overview of participatory budgets in the world. Our aim was to present and analyse existing cases using a coherent definition and typology. This report, however, is not the result of a separate research project, but is designed to facilitate future research on the topic. With the exception of Europe and some cases in Latin America that we investigated personally, we cooperated with international colleagues who collected the data and patiently answered our questions. The Service Agency Communities in One World of Capacity Building International, Germany commissioned this study. Anita Reddy, Head of the Service Agency, together with Christian Wilhelm and Renate Wolbring were in charge of relations with the research team.

We would like to thank all our colleagues and partners for their substantial support!

Europe and North America

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ring the preparation of an important conference on the issue); Thandiwe Mlobane; Takawira Mumvuma (MDP); Patrick Mutabwire; Mischeck Muvumbi; Tiago Peixoto; Thierry Randriarilala (SAHA, Madagascar); Anwar Shah (World Bank); Peter Sigauke; Rolf Solli; Ahn Songmin; Rudolf Traub-Merz (FES Shanghai); Victor Vergara (World Bank); Junhua Zhang; Clemens Zobel.

Latin America and the Caribbean

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Special thanks go to Yves Cabannes, author of several inter-continental studies on participatory budgeting.

Introduction

The term for 'participatory budgeting' in Portuguese is *orçamento participativo*, in Spanish *presupuesto participativo*, in Italian *bilancio partecipativo*, in German *Bürgerhaushalt*, in French *budget participatif*, in Greek *συμμετοχικός προϋπολογισμός*, in Czech *participační rozpočet*, in Russian *ПАРТИЦИПАТИВНЫЙ БЮДЖЕТ*, in Creole *orçament participativ*, in Arabic *المشاركة في الميزانية*, in Korean *참여 예산* and in Chinese *参与式预算*.

The large number of terms listed above bears witness to a success story. Participatory budgeting has now become an issue all around the world. This phenomenon is astonishing, because whereas technological innovations such as mobile phones, MP3 players and the Internet spread around the world extremely quickly without any problem, special techniques for dialogue and decision-making normally require more time. This development is also unique because participatory budgeting is a procedure invented in countries of the Global South. To this day, an export of this kind that affects political institutions remains an exception. It is also remarkable that participatory budgets are found in a wide range of societies, cultures and political systems – and that not all countries where participatory budgeting is found are democracies. Whereas in some cases participatory budgeting is used to democratise society, to strengthen civil society or to deepen democracy, in others it is employed to fight corruption or to create a first opening in closed structures. Given the diversity of their contexts and forms, participatory budgets would appear to be an appropriate subject for a global dialogue. By finding out more about the various procedures and their origins, we will also discover more about the society of the country, region or city in question. The present report is designed to encourage readers to embark on this process.

1. A global perspective

The pages that follow are designed to provide interested actors with information enabling them to continue working on the theme. The diversity of participatory budgets allows them to become integral components of town or city twinning arrangements, projects and encounters in which both officials and committed citizens can enter into intercultural

exchange. This report on the dissemination of participatory budgeting is designed to facilitate cooperation of this kind. It identifies and explains different procedures, and describes how and why they arose. Where possible, this is illustrated with concrete examples. Individual instruments such as transparent budgets, allocation criteria, websites etc. are presented that might be relevant to participatory budgeting in Germany. This also applies vice versa, of course. In order to fulfil the aim of creating a communication platform, networks that will be useful for further exchange are described. You will also find pointers as to which kind of participatory budget is suitable for which kind of municipality or objective. This is not to say that any rigid blueprints will be provided. The report is rather designed for use as a toolbox. We will not paint a more favourable picture of participatory budgeting than the reality would warrant. Both difficulties and success stories will be presented for what they are. It is only by clearly identifying challenges that the likelihood of responding to them successfully will increase.

The present report is intended for use as a 'manual' by those with a hands-on interest in participatory budgeting. It is not strictly speaking a research report. Nevertheless, it does contain the results of various studies conducted in Europe and other parts of the world. These include the 'Participatory budgets in Europe' research project of the Hans Böckler Foundation at the Centre Marc Bloch in Berlin, studies by the Centros Estudos Sociais in Coimbra in Portugal, European Union projects such as URBAL and URBACT, international meetings such as the World Urban Forum (WUF) and the World Social Forum (WSF), and publications issued by national and international organisations such as the World Bank or the UN HABITAT programme. The Service Agency Communities in One World (a division of Capacity Building International, Germany) occupies a special position in the dissemination of participatory budgets. It has both invited staff members of municipal administrations in the Global South to Germany, and enabled experts from Germany to spend time in other parts of the world. This is reported at the annual meetings on participatory budgeting, and in the publications that document them. The present report has also been published in the Service Agency's series.

We have endeavoured to present the information in a way that will be of direct benefit to those involved in local government and municipal life, whether as a mayor, a civil servant, a citizen or an elected representative. We were also helped by the fact that we have worked for municipalities on repeated occasions in recent years, advising them on the introduction of participatory budgeting and other methods for improved management. This provided us with numerous opportunities to participate in citizens' assemblies, and it is our aim to convey a vivid impression of this to readers.

2. What is a participatory budget?

Before beginning our journey around the world, we need to explain in more detail exactly what a 'participatory budgeting' procedure is. Some readers may already have an idea of what the term means, but since experiences will be presented from different parts of the world, we would like to remind readers of a few commonalities. To do so we will first of all look at an anecdote that explains what distinguishes a participatory budget from other participatory procedures.

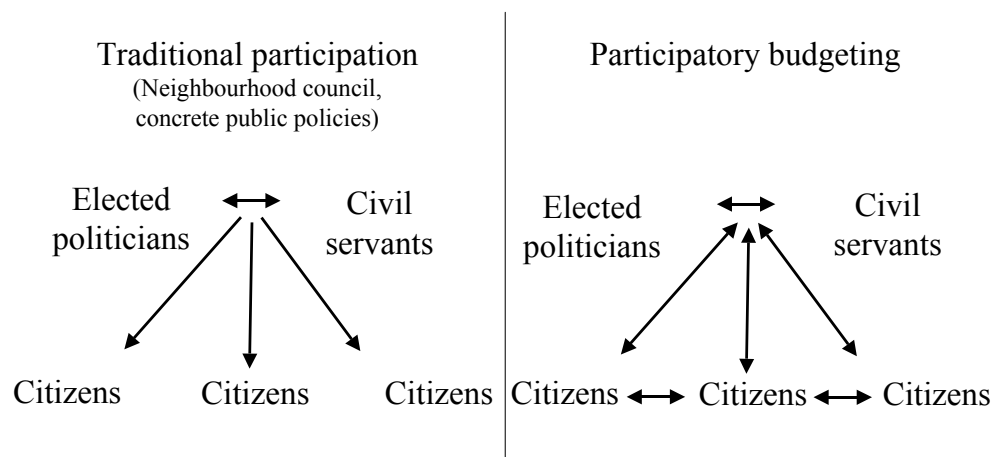
The story goes that inhabitants of the French city of Poitiers requested their local authority to make the Rue Jourdain a one-way street in order to calm traffic in the neighbourhood. The city council looked into the possibility and finally gave its consent. As a result of this measure, however, the traffic was shifted into the neighbourhood on the other side of the street, where soon afterwards the inhabitants also demanded that the traffic be calmed. They proposed that another one-way street sign also be put up at the opposite end of Rue Jourdain. The council granted this request too, which led to the present situation, in which access to Rue Jourdain is blocked at both ends.

What at first glance reads like a piece of bungling was later

used by the elected political representatives in Poitiers as proof that citizen participation also has its limits, and that the city council had to be the one to weigh up interests and look for the common good. What the city council failed to see, however, is that the citizens had no opportunity to discuss the issue of traffic calming with their neighbours. They had raised their demands before their respective participatory neighbourhood councils, to which only the inhabitants of the neighbourhood in question are invited. Here, as is the case with many forms of traditional citizen participation, the primary mechanism involved is communication between citizens in a certain neighbourhood and their local authority. By contrast, a participatory budget includes the possibility – as illustrated in Figure 1 below – of citizens from different neighbourhoods getting together – possibly through delegates' committees.

Figure 1:

Traditional forms of participation and participatory budgeting



Source: Sintomer/Herzberg/Röcke, 2011

'Horizontal' communication of this kind has been observed in Porto Alegre and in other participatory budgets. This is not sufficient as a definition, however, because all other participatory methods such as planning cells, community planning etc. can also in principle be used for cross-district dialogue. To define the participatory budget more precisely, we need to apply further criteria. This would also

appear necessary given that some of the experiences described here are not referred to as 'participatory budgets' by the local actors. Conversely, some procedures are listed as participatory budgets even though they would not be labelled as such in another country. Therefore, we propose a practical definition of 'participatory budgets' based on five criteria (Sintomer/Herzberg/Röcke, 2008, 2011):

- (1) The financial and/or budgetary dimension must be discussed; participatory budgeting is dealing with scarce resources.
- (2) The city level has to be involved, or a (decentralised) district with an elected body and some power over administration (the neighbourhood level is not enough).
- (3) It has to be a repeated process (one meeting or one referendum on financial issues are not examples of participatory budgeting).
- (4) The process must include some form of public deliberation within the framework of specific meetings/forums (the opening of administrative meetings or classical representative instances to 'normal' citizens is not participatory budgeting).
- (5) Some accountability on the output is required.

3. How participatory budgeting spread across the world

If we take a look at the world in light of the above definition, we see that the dissemination of participatory budgeting has been complex. It began with a number of Brazilian cities (including Porto Alegre), where participatory budgets first arose in the late 1980s. During the 1990s the procedure spread widely in Brazil. Today there are over 200, making Brazil the country with the highest density of participatory budgets anywhere in the world. Furthermore, participatory budgeting has also spread to other parts of the continent. This includes Andean countries such as Ecuador and Peru, as well as Argentina, Uruguay and the Caribbean. This trend has continued since the turn of the millennium. Although it has not been possible to obtain the exact figures, right now there are between 511 and 920 participatory budgets in Latin America: more than the half of the participatory budgets in the world, where we can count between 795 and 1,469 experiences.

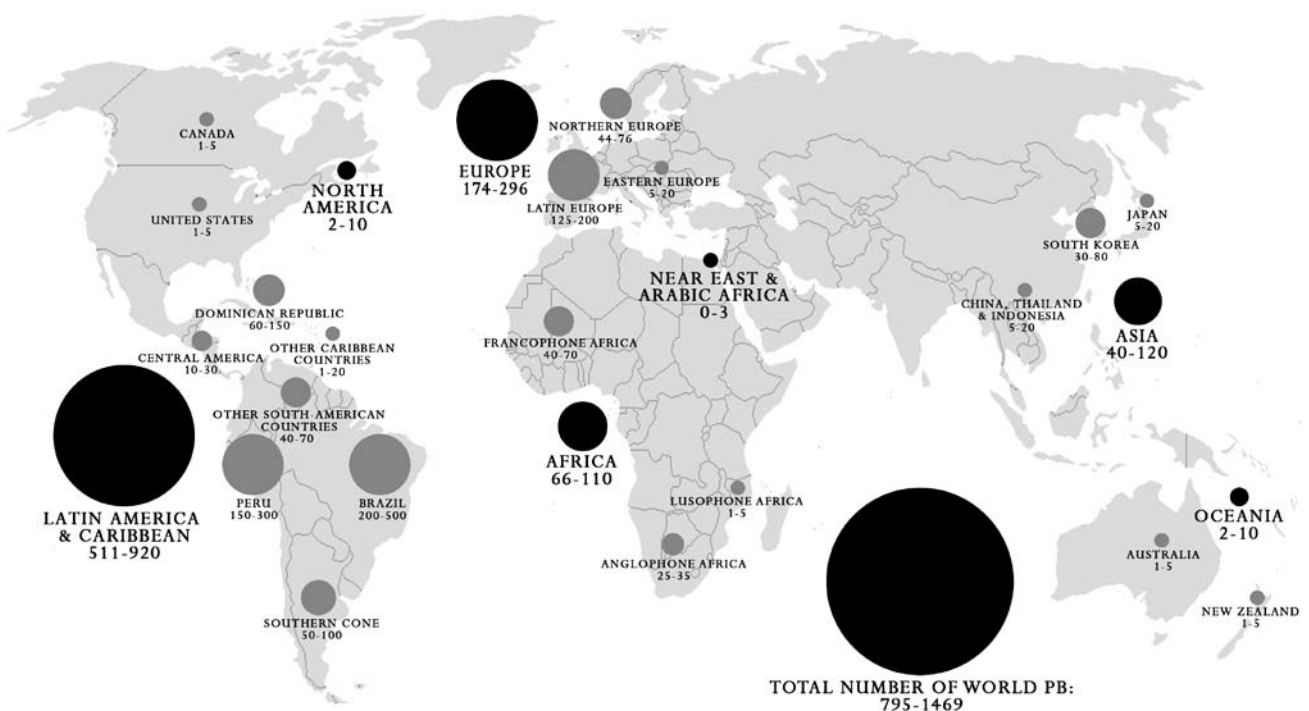
Inspired by the Latin American experiences, which represent the ideals of good governance and a more just distribution of public resources, people across the globe began to pick up the idea of participatory budgeting. After Porto Alegre, social movements and representatives of (left-leaning) local governments from Europe began coming to the World Social Forums organised by the anti-globalisation movement. As a result, since 2001 a rapid increase from barely a dozen participatory budgets in 2001 to 174-296 in 2010 has been seen on the old continent. The core countries were first of all France, Spain and Italy. Before the 2010 elections, the latter had over 80 participatory budgets and was the country in Europe where the process had become most widespread. In these Latin countries, a number of municipalities have joined networks such as Urbal and Urbact in order to establish links with municipalities in Latin America. Joint meetings have been held and projects have been launched that facilitate the exchange of knowledge and joint evaluation of experiences. So far, German municipalities have shown little activity in these circles. They have rather tended to form their own networks, which have debated participatory budgeting in the context of a modernisation of local government; the model was not Porto Alegre, but the city of Christchurch in New Zealand, which won a prize for citizen-friendly modernisation. The orientation toward modernisation is presumably even stronger in Scandinavia, where participatory budgets are a recent phenomenon. In the UK, where participatory budgets are now officially supported by the government in London, a mixture of the two approaches is found. Participatory budgets represent a strengthening of the municipalities, though certain of their procedures also emphasise social aspects. By contrast, the first participatory budgets in Eastern Europe were organised with support from international organisations.

In Africa, it was first of all development cooperation and international organisations that helped introducing participatory budgeting, although a grassroots exchange with Europe also developed. Between 66 and 110 participatory budgets can be identified in Africa. This has led to the creation of continental networks supporting the dissemination of participatory budgeting. If we cast our gaze further, toward Asia, where participatory budgeting is at its most recent, we see that in many cases, participatory budgets

(that began to appear in 2005) do not build on previous forms of citizen participation, but mark a new beginning. Interestingly, here too an exchange with Porto Alegre is to be observed: at least, the Brazilian experience plays an important role as a point of reference in the debate. As in some parts of Asia, in Oceania too – which is to say in Australia and New Zealand – participatory budgeting is linked to major administrative reform. Little attention has been devoted so far to the role played by academic researchers. In the Chinese town of Zhegou for instance, a procedure was applied whose methods had been developed by American scholars, and were then implemented in cooperation with Chinese scholars. Research-based transfers of this kind are also to be observed in Europe and other parts of the world.

The development of participatory budgeting on these continents will be dealt with in more detail in the individual chapters of the present report. The process of dissemination described above is merely a first outline, illustrated in Figure 2. For some countries, very precise data are available. In others, where fewer interlocutors were available or where the information supplied is contradictory, estimates have to be made. A further problem is obtaining more detailed information on procedures that so far only few people had referred to as ‘participatory budgeting’, yet which, following detailed discussion and examination of the facts, do indeed need to be counted as such. Conversely, some of the self-proclaimed examples turn out to be just pale copies of a participatory budget. We therefore feel justified in adhering to a definition, because this is the only way to ensure a minimum degree of comparability. This will allow an exchange to take place on methods and procedures that really do have something in common. Working on this premise, relatively concrete figures are indicated for continents, regions and a number of reference countries. However, we do not claim to have exhaustively mapped participatory budgeting worldwide.

Figure 2:
How participatory budgeting has spread across the world



4. Introduction to the typology of participatory budgets

To help the reader gain a more detailed understanding of the various types of participatory budget, it is important to provide guidance in this introductory chapter. In order to have some points of reference to distinguish between thousands of individual experiences, it is helpful to use typologies. Presented below is a typology of procedures that has become widespread around the world, having been adopted both by scholars and by municipal practitioners. According to this scheme, six models (or ‚ideal-types‘) are distinguished:

- Adaptation of Porto Alegre
- Proximity participation
- Consultation on public finance
- Multi-stakeholder participation
- Community participatory budgeting
- Participation of organised interests

Real experiences never completely match these idealised models. Nevertheless, the latter can be used to provide orientation, to introduce new types of participatory budget or to further develop existing procedures where these are seen as appropriate. These models are constructed around four criteria: the origin of the participatory budget (criterion 1), the organisation of meetings (criterion 2), the scope and quality of deliberation (criterion 3), and the nature of the participants and the role of civil society in general (criterion 4). A table has been inserted at the end of this introductory chapter to provide a systematic overview. The remainder of this introductory chapter comprises three short sections, each contrasting and comparing two of the six models. To prevent this from becoming too abstract, some real experiences are presented in the boxes that display commonalities with the models.

Adaptation of Porto Alegre and participation of organised interests

The Porto Alegre experience has directly influenced many participatory budgets in Brazil, as well as some in other parts of the world. In Europe, a number of towns and cities have followed and adapted this model, which is why the ideal type derived from it is termed ‚Adaptation of Porto

Alegre‘. One case that resembles this ideal type is e.g. the Andalusian city of Seville (population 700,000), where a participatory budget is based on the participation of individual citizens, and like the ideal type also includes distribution criteria to promote social justice. In Asia, elements of this ideal type have been adopted in a number of cases in South Korea, although the resemblance here is not as close as in the case of the Spanish experience. In the second model, participation of organised interests, the influence of Porto Alegre is only indirect. Its salient characteristic is that only organised interests (i.e. companies, non-governmental organisations, trade unions, etc.) are allowed to participate. This procedure is based on a neo-corporatist logic. A participatory budget of this kind might arise where participation hitherto has meant participation by interest groups. In Europe – Spain again – a number of municipalities such as Albacete (population 152,000) have been influenced by this model. In Latin America, this type of participatory budget is found where the influence of Porto Alegre has been combined with strategic planning.

Apart from this distinction between participation of individual or organised citizens, a further distinction involves the object of deliberation. In the Adaptation of Porto Alegre model, chiefly concrete investments and projects are discussed. In the case of the ‚organised interests‘ model, the formulation of political objectives and policy agenda-setting (e.g. social policy, urban development policy, education policy or health policy etc.) are the focus of debate. The degree to which proposals are considered binding also differs. In the adaptation of Porto Alegre model, the municipal council retains ultimate decision-making power over the budget, but within the scope of the available budget, the citizens‘ proposals are largely taken on board, which means a de facto transfer of decision-making competence. Social, ecological or other criteria are also applied to ensure that disadvantaged districts receive more than others. In the organised interests model, which focuses more on a general orientation, the participation usually is of a consultative nature.

One strength of both ideal types is the extensive deliberation involved. Participants debate not only in plenary, but also in smaller forums and working groups. They can engage

with issues and problems in depth, and elaborate detailed solutions. Participants also prepare their own reports and expertises. One challenge associated with this procedure is how to combine it with a comprehensive local government modernisation process. Tension may also arise between the two types of participation – i.e. participation of individual citizens and participation of organised citizens.

Community participatory budgeting and multi-stakeholder participation

The ‘community participation’ and ‘multi-stakeholder participation’ models have been influential outside Europe. Whereas the former is found in North and South America, the latter is promoted by international organisations in other countries of the Global South and in Eastern Europe. The fundamental commonality between the two models is that they include a fund for investment and projects in the social, environmental and cultural sectors. The British city of Bradford has set up a community fund of this kind, while the Polish city of Płock can serve as an example of multi-stakeholder participation. The special feature of these models is that they are relatively independent of the municipal budget, because only part of the money under discussion comes from the local government – it is often provided by international organisations, private companies or non-governmental organisations. This is why the elected municipal representatives are not the only ones who have the final say on the acceptance of proposals, but a board, a committee

or an assembly that include citizen delegates. These bodies also draw up the final list of priorities. Organised groups such as associations, neighbourhood initiatives and community organisations can participate in both procedures. The quality of the debate is often high, as several meetings are held with a moderate number of participants.

While the private sector plays a key role in one model, it is excluded from the other. In multi-stakeholder participation, part of the money is provided by private companies. Given this financial participation, it is to be expected that the private sponsors will influence the outcome of the process. By contrast, the rules of the community participatory budget are decided on by the participants autonomously. The private sector is excluded; the money comes from a national or international programme or is generated by the communities themselves. It is used to promote socially disadvantaged group or communities. Since 2001, for instance, tenants in a not-for-profit housing cooperative in Toronto in Canada have been extensively involved in investment planning. By creating funds of this kind for the socially disadvantaged, this procedure touches on principles that are also found in urban renewal programmes elsewhere. One special feature of the community participatory budgeting model is that the applicants themselves, rather than the local administration, are mandated to implement the projects. This is also possible with multi-stakeholder participation, though it need not be the case.

Płock (Poland)

The Polish city of Płock (population nearly 130,000) is – despite high unemployment – Poland’s biggest centre for the petrochemical industry and boasts the second highest per capita income. The mayor comes from a centre-right party (PiS ‘Law and Justice’), as opposed to the left-wing parties which form the majority in the council (‘Democratic Left Alliance’, ‘Labour Union’). The participatory budgeting process in Płock takes place in the framework of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and consists of a public-private partnership between the city of Płock (the main initiator of the process), PKN Orlen (Poland’s largest oil company located in Płock), the Levi Strauss Company

and representatives of local NGOs. The process started in 2002, when the so-called ‘Forum of Płock’ launched the ‘Grant Fund for Płock Project’. The first ‘official’ round took place in 2003 (and afterwards in 2004 and 2005). The fund (until now approximately 300,000 US\$ every year) is provided by PKN Orlen, the Levi Strauss Company, and the local government. The official aims are sustainable development, the promotion of economic development, the improvement of living conditions, public safety, the improvement of infrastructure and the protection of the cultural heritage and the environment.

Applications for projects to be financed through the fund

can be submitted by NGOs that have their main office registered in Plock. When applying, the organisation has to demonstrate a good financial standing, transparent fundraising rules and commitment to the development of civil society. There are clear rules for the evaluation of applications, which have to deal with the six areas identified by the partners: education, economy, protection of heritage, environment, high standard of living and urban architecture. A committee including local citizens, experts and representatives of the official project partners take the decisions, each project

being eligible for up to 10,000 US\$. Projects are implemented through local civil society associations (Elzbieta Plaszczyk, 'Plock', in Sintomer/Herzberg/Röcke, 2005). The number of applications has grown since the beginning of the process, going from 53 in 2003 (34 accepted), to 70 in 2004 (32 accepted) and on to 102 (59 accepted). The example of Plock has already inspired a similar process in the town of Ostrow Wielkopolski (again, PKN Orlen is one of the donors), and others have shown an interest in starting it. In the meantime, Plock device has been transformed into a foundation.

Both of these models also have their strengths and weaknesses, of course. The link to local policymaking is weak or non-existent, for example. Nonetheless, in the multi-stakeholder model, the city council does maintain a certain influence, since part of the money comes from it. The influence wielded by the private sector is dependent on the size of the latter's contribution. Is the financing shared equally between the municipality and the private sector, or

does one of them assume a dominant role? Given their autonomy, the community funds are slightly further removed from the local government, and are part of a structure that exists parallel to the local government. For this reason, the influence wielded by the elected municipal representatives is very limited. One advantage of both procedures is that citizen engagement is mobilised, because the communities are involved in the implementation of the projects.

Bradford (Great Britain)

Bradford is a post-industrial city in West Yorkshire with a population of 474,000. Politics have been unstable in this city, with power repeatedly shifting between coalitions and marginal majorities over the last 15 years. There is no overall control in the current council, but the executive (consisting of six leading councillors) is conservative. The recent history of Bradford has seen a rise of far-right politics, social tension and inter-racial violence between the majority white population and the minority Pakistani communities. The team of neighbourhood renewal (a national programme aiming at the social, economic, and political development of the poorest areas in the UK) within the Bradford Local Strategic Partnership (a structure linking representatives of private business, the community and voluntary sectors) initiated the participatory budgeting process in 2004. This was based on experiments with local community group funding. £700,000 (around 1,035,000 US\$) was available for local improvement works destined for the poorest areas of Bradford. Local communities were encouraged to apply

for small sums of between £1,000 and £10,000 (between 1,500 and 15,000 US\$). Projects could only be selected if they were linked to established local priorities, and if they had been discussed in the locality.

Bradford Vision coordinated and facilitated the process during the two 'PB-days', distributing £300,000 (around 450,000 US\$) in early 2004 and a further £314,000 (465,000 US\$) in November 2004. Each day consisted of two sessions, during which two representatives from each of the 30 pre-selected projects introduced their project. All participants were delegates of local communities, with high attendance from the main immigrant groups. They had to give each project (except their own) a score from 1 to 10, with 1 being the lowest.

After 10 presentations, the score sheets were collected, transferred to a computer and the final scores displayed on a projection screen. At the end of each scoring session, those projects without funding were given a second chance, as successful participants could return a small part

of their funding towards supporting them. This process worked out very successfully, as approximately 60-70% of the successful groups gave some money back (on average

around £250-£500, 370-740 US\$). It has been repeated in the years since. (Jez Hall, 'Bradford', in Sintomer/Herzberg/Röcke, 2005)

Proximity participation and consultation on public finance

While 'proximity participation' dominates in France and Portugal, and is also to be found in Brazil with 'slimline' participatory budgets, 'consultation on public finance' has been influential in Germany and in Asia (e.g. in the modernisation of public transport in Shanghai and in a number of participatory budgets in Japan). The two procedures have in common the fact that they are purely consultative. The results of the deliberation are summed up by the local authority, and not by the involved citizens: unlike the other models presented so far, there is no deliberation on and prioritisation of the proposals by the citizens themselves. Instead, the two types involve a process of 'selective listening': the local government or municipal council implement only those proposals that are in harmony with their own interests, without having to justify their choice. Civil society has only weak influence over these procedures, and they do not pursue any social objectives (and hence no allocation criteria are to be found). A further commonality is that associations play hardly any role at all, or at least not one that shapes the process. Participation takes the form of citizens' assemblies, where citizens are called upon to attend through announcements in the media, by mail or by personal invitation. A further (complementary) method that some municipalities in Germany like to use to mobilise the public is to select citizens at random from the municipal census, and have a personal invitation to attend the citizens' forum sent to them by the mayor. This method is used among other places in Emsdetten (population 35,000), Hilden (population 56,000), Vlotho (population 21,000) and in the Berlin district of Treptow-Köpenick (population 233,000).

The models differ in that proximity participation also involves the districts, and can also deal with investments at this level.¹ At the level of the city or town as a whole, it is

no longer about investments, but about general strategic goals, often without any concrete calculation of the costs (which is why this can be linked to strategic planning processes). Based on this model, the mayor of Bobigny (population 45,000) for instance organised bi-annual open meetings in the districts, at which he faces questions from the public. By contrast, with the consultation on public finance, the first objective is to make the financial situation of the town or city transparent. Information is distributed in brochures, on the Internet and in press releases. Two versions of the procedure exist. In the more widespread version, found e.g. in Hilden, services delivered by public providers and municipal activity areas are presented. The focus is on revenues and expenditure of libraries, swimming baths and kindergartens, and on street cleaning, waste water treatment or refuse collection etc. Citizens have an opportunity to make their suggestions at plenary meetings or in specific forums. The second version of the model aims to offset a budget deficit. In both versions of the consultation on public finance model, the quality of debate is generally low, as in most cases there is barely any time for more detailed discussion. By contrast, the proximity procedure can facilitate a higher quality of debate because it is often possible to work in small groups.

¹ The word 'proximity' can mean two things. First of all it may refer to geographical proximity, i.e. participation by citizens in the individual districts of a town or city. Secondly it can imply close contact between the municipal leadership and citizens.

Hilden (Germany)

The town of Hilden (population 56,000) is one of the few examples in Germany in which the participatory budget can be considered established. It was introduced in 2001 within the scope of the 'municipal participatory budget' pilot project of the federal state of North-Rhine/Westphalia. The participatory budget is designed first and foremost to make the financial situation of the town and the work of the municipality more transparent to citizens. To this end, a brochure containing the key information is prepared annually. At the centre of the participatory process is a citizens' forum, to which inhabitants are invited by random selection. Beyond that, any interested citizen can take part. The forum comprises an evening event at which the mayor and the chamberlain first of all provide an overview of the financial situation of the municipality. During the interactive part

of the meetings, citizens can visit information stands to find out more about the activities of the municipality. In 2004 for instance, the work of the fire brigade, the building office, the public order office and the youth programme were presented. Participants can put any questions they may have to the municipal staff members present, and can write down any suggested improvements on the cards provided and leave them in the collection box. The proposals are not prioritised, but each citizen is sent a personal reply indicating whether his or her suggestion will be implemented, and if so when. The proposals implemented are basically minor repair measures to public facilities (buildings, roads etc.), or minor adjustments to services (opening hours, library services etc.).

What makes the consultation on public finance interesting is its link to local government modernisation. Yet how can this process be strengthened? Broadening the terms of the debate would probably help. Similarly, the local government might prepare concrete questions, and the feedback provided by citizens could then be used to help directly improve public services. Here is an example: 'Do you see any areas where the streets should be cleaned more frequently,

or are there any places where in your opinion the streets are swept too often?' By contrast, as mentioned, the proximity model has the advantage of a relatively high standard of deliberation between citizens, the local government and the council members. One drawback of both ideal types is the low level of obligation to implement the proposals, and the weak autonomy of civil society.

Bobigny (France)

The city of Bobigny (population 45,000) is located in the northern suburbs of Paris. Bobigny is a new town, which is dominated by modern estates and tower blocks. The majority of the population belongs to the working class, among them many poor immigrants from French overseas territories. In order to improve the living conditions of the inhabitants, the municipality offers a large variety of social and health services. In the second half of the 1990s, the government started several participation processes on the neighbourhood and city level. Participatory budgeting is part but not the core of this development. The mayor discusses problems of everyday life such as parking, house-keeping and safety twice a year in meetings. Projects de-

manding small investments can be worked out in commissions, which may present their proposals to the community council. A process for strategic planning exists on the city level. Every two years, an assembly on different topics is organised. In 2004, for example, housing, education, health, and citizen participation were discussed. The local government filters suggestions during these meetings and elaborates a list of concrete proposals to be implemented in the following years. An observatory commission composed of interested citizens scrutinises the execution of these projects and prepares a detailed report, documenting every single proposal. The report is then distributed to all households and discussed in the council. The government has tried to apply a participatory budgeting process through workshops

explaining the general financial situation and allowing citizens to formulate proposals. Despite initial plans, no feedback has been given about the results of the discussions („accountability“). Hence, this process cannot be considered

a participatory budget as defined in this project. Bobigny, however, intends to launch a new pilot project in the municipal agency for social housing based on a small grant fund that citizens could distribute for their local projects.

Table 1: Key characteristics of procedural ideal-types of participatory budget

	1. Adaption of Porto Alegre	2. Proximity participation	3. Consultation on public finance	4. Multi-stakeholder participation	5. Community participatory budgeting	6. Participation of organised interests
Origins	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adaptation of the POA model; often, break with existing traditions - A standardised procedure in the alterglobalist movement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Neighbourhood councils, neighbourhood funds, proximity management, extension to town level - Not very standardised procedure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reformmodell - The public services reform in Christchurch (New Zealand), participatory versions of NPM, strategic planning - A procedure standardised by foundations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participatory version of public/private partnerships - A certain degree of standardisation through international organisations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community development projects and empowerment (in the framework of general urban regeneration policies) - A certain standardisation due to NGOs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local neo-corporatist projects, Agenda 21s, participatory strategic planning, participatory procedures for local NGOs - A certain standardisation due to international organisations
Organisation of meetings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open meetings at neighbourhood level, delegates at town level - Participatory cycle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open meetings at neighbourhood and town level - Participatory cycle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open meetings (or meetings with citizens selected at random) at town level - Frequently no participatory cycle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Closed meetings at town level - Not necessarily a participatory cycle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Different kinds of meetings at neighbourhood level, delegates at town level - Not necessarily a participatory cycle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Closed meetings at town level - Not necessarily a participatory cycle
Deliberation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discussion centred on public investments - Projects ranked according to criteria of distributive justice, formalised rules - Good quality of deliberation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discussion centred on micro-local public investments or broad guidelines of town policy - No ranking of investments or actions, informal rules - Average to weak quality of deliberation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discussion centred on overall budget or offer of services - No ranking of services, possible ranking of priorities, rather informal rules - Poor quality of deliberation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discussion centred on concrete projects financed by public/private partnerships - Projects ranked, formal rules - Good to average quality of deliberation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discussion centred on concrete community projects - Projects ranked, formal rules - Good to average quality of deliberation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discussion centred on various public policies and possibly on specific projects - Flexible ranking of major guidelines, rules not necessarily formalised - Variable quality of deliberation
Civil society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Particularly active citizens (or organised groups) - Civil society has genuine procedural autonomy - Decision-making power 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Particularly active citizens (or organised groups) - Civil society has little procedural autonomy - Consultative role 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Active or ordinary (randomly selected) citizens - Civil society has little procedural autonomy - Consultative role 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organised citizens together with private enterprise - Civil society has little procedural autonomy - Decision-making power 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Especially organised citizens - Civil society has genuine procedural autonomy - Decision-making power 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organised citizens/ local institutions/ employers' unions - Very variable degree of autonomy for civil society - Variable power

Source: Sintomer/Herzberg/Röcke, 2008, 2011

5. Five continents

Following this first look at participatory budgets around the world, we will now focus in greater depth on each continent. In all cases we will say something about the overall conditions under which participatory budgets arose. We will identify the key actors, the networks and their objectives. And of course wherever possible, information will be provided on the effects of participatory budgeting. We also considered it important to describe concrete experiences and situations that provide practical insights. Observations of this kind, and descriptions of methods, are often shown in boxes. We will begin with a report on Latin America, because that is where participatory budgeting first began. The next chapter focuses on Europe and North America. Here we can speak of a ‚return of the caravels’, because participatory budgeting represents one example of what the industrialised countries in the global North can learn from the South. Participatory budgets now also exist in Africa, as well as Asia and Oceania, parts of the world to which two chapters are devoted. The summary deals in greater depth with the issue of mutual learning. Attention is focused on questions such as: What commonalities can be observed? What kind of participatory budget is suitable for which kind of local authority? What role do networks play in the dissemination of participatory budgeting? And what suggestions can then be made concerning the further dissemination of participatory budgeting?

I. Transforming Politics, Transforming Society? Participatory Budgeting in Latin America

Latin America is by far the most important continent for participatory budgeting (PB). The mechanism was invented there in the eighties; half the participatory budgets existing in 2010 are situated there; and an even larger share of the most dynamic experiments is Latin American.

Nearly everywhere in this part of the world, the influence of Porto Alegre has been decisive, even though the original methodology has been adapted to local contexts and has sometimes merged with other methodologies. Furthermore, as the idea of participatory budgeting has spread throughout the region and has been advocated by new actors such as the World Bank (which are very different from the leftist networks that first propagated it), the social and political logics that the mechanism fosters have become differentiated. Overall, the present panorama is no less manifold than in other parts of the world, as we will see later.

We will first of all see how PB was conceived in Porto Alegre, before looking more closely at its spread across the rest of Brazil and to other Latin American countries, paying special attention to the networks involved in the process. Then we will analyse how the original mechanism has been hybridised with various methodologies, and conclude by surveying the results and the unfolding dynamics. How can we explain the apparent success of PB? Do current practices really correspond to the ideals that originally led to the process? What are the present trends of PB in Latin America?

1. Once upon a time in Porto Alegre

When participatory budgeting emerged in Brazil, the context was quite peculiar. In a country characterised by one of the greatest income gaps in the world, the eighties were a period in which the transition from dictatorship to democracy reached a decisive outcome. For nearly two decades, the huge social movements that shook Brazil had been pressing for political and social changes. The new constitution adopted in 1988 was very progressive and open to citizen participation, but the real functioning of the political system remained characterized by corruption and clientelism. The city of Porto Alegre, capital of the state of Rio Grande do Sul (population 1.4 million in 2007), was also

very peculiar. It had always been diffident towards the central government, the standard of living there was above the average for Brazilian cities, and last but not least, it was one of the places where social movements, and especially urban movements, had been strongest in Brazil (Baierle, 2007; Avritzer, 2002). The city was also a stronghold of the Workers' Party, the PT, which was even more left-wing there than in the rest of Brazil.

After some previous experiments in smaller cities, participatory budgeting crystallised in Porto Alegre due to a 'window of opportunity' which opened in the aftermath of the electoral victory of the Workers' Party in 1988 (Abers, 2000). It was not only the new left-wing local government that drove the new participatory process. Civil society, and in particular community associations, also demanded stronger co-decision-making rights. The invention of PB was, therefore, the outcome of a conjunction of top-down and bottom-up processes. The local 'presidential system' that exists in Brazil provided a strong incentive. The left-wing city executive directly elected by the citizenry had no majority in the separately elected local legislative and needed therefore to gain a foothold in society. It is important to emphasise that the 'participatory budgeting' mechanism was a pragmatic invention, and not the application of an intellectual or political design. By 1993, it had already assumed the most salient features that it still has to this day in Porto Alegre – and by the time the PT lost the office of mayor to the opposition in 2004 after 16 years in power, PB had been integrated to such an extent that the new government did not dare to abolish the procedure, even though it has progressively reduced its scope.

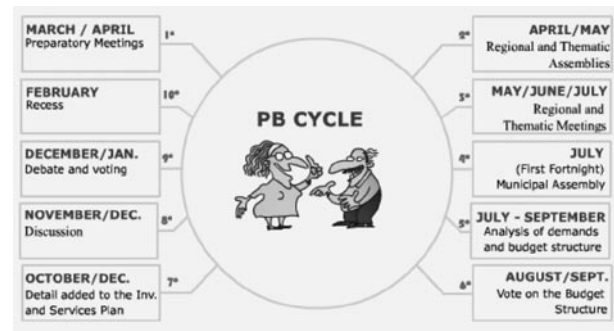
Three goals were assigned to participatory budgeting. The first one was political. The idea was to 'democratise democracy' through grassroots participation and mobilisation of the poor, who had been excluded and marginalised by the Brazilian political system, and by waging a struggle against clientelism. The second one was social. The aim was to bring about a reversal of priorities in favour of the disadvantaged, and especially those living in the suburbs, who had been almost forgotten in the course of the urban development process. The third goal appeared only when the hopes of some PT leaders for a rapid revolution van-

ished. It was to help establish good governance that would eradicate corruption and increase the efficiency of public policies (Fedozzi, 1999; Gret/Sintomer, 2004).

The mechanism conceived in Porto Alegre is highly complex, and is a real institutional innovation. The basic idea is to involve non-elected citizens in the allocation of public money, and provide them with direct decision-making power at the grassroots level, power of co-decision-making at the city level and a capacity of control at all levels. The participatory pyramid has three levels: assemblies open to all in the neighbourhoods, assemblies and a participatory council of delegates in the districts², and a general participatory council at the city level. In addition to the meetings that take place on a territorial basis, specific assemblies focus on thematic topics (i.e. housing, urban infrastructures, healthcare, education, youth, culture, sport and so on). The aim of the assemblies is to discuss priorities and to elect delegates who follow up on the development of suggestions put forward. Any individual who wants to participate in the public meetings can do so. Associations have no privileges, even though they play a key role in organising and mobilising citizenry. It also follows that they remain independent of the city executive, which is their main partner. The legislative, although it has the legal power of accepting or rejecting the municipal budget, tends to play a marginal role in the mechanism. Delegates are tightly controlled by the grassroots, can be removed, have a one-year mandate, and their re-election is limited, all features that greatly reduce their autonomy and make them very different from conventional elected representatives. At the city level, the PB council convenes once a week for two hours. It is its duty to ensure that the priorities of the districts are taken up in the budget to the largest extent possible. Independent NGOs train the representatives of the participatory budget to enable them to co-plan with the administration. The process is not limited to one particular moment and is based on a one-year cycle.

Figure 3:

PB cycle of Porto Alegre



Source: ONG Cidade, <http://www.ongcidade.org/site/php/comum/capa.php>

Most of the discussions concern public annual investments, city incomes, and structural expenses such as salaries of public servants. Long term urban and economic development is beyond the reach of PB, which plays a very secondary role in this process. Last but not least, as well as reviewing the technical feasibility of the public works proposed by citizens, the funds which are available for each of the investment areas are distributed among the districts on the basis of (a) the local list of priorities with the majority 'one person, one vote' principle; (b) the number of residents; (c) and the quality of the infrastructure or the services available, with an allocation formula that gives more weight (through a coefficient that can be revised year by year) to those districts that have less (Genro/De Souza, 1997; Fedozzi, 2000; Herzberg, 2001; Baiocchi, 2005). The embodiment of a principle of social justice in such a criterion has been one of the most original achievements of the experiment.

² The participatory budget's districts/regions do not correspond to administrative districts, but they are based on a partition of the city according to 'natural' boundaries of everyday life in the neighbourhoods.

Table 2: **Criteria for Allocation of Capital Investments in Porto Alegre**

Regional Thematic Priority Relative Weight 5	
First Priority	Grade 4
Second Priority	Grade 3
Third Priority	Grade 2
Fourth Priority	Grade 1
Population Size Relative Weight 2	
Above 90,001 inhabitants	Grade 4
From 45,001 to 90,000 inhabitants	Grade 3
From 25,001 to 45,000 inhabitants	Grade 2
Up to 25,000 inhabitants	Grade 1
Degree of Deficiency in Infrastructure or Services Relative Weight 4	
From 76 to 100%	Grade 4
From 51 to 75.99 %	Grade 3
From 15 to 50.99 %	Grade 2
From 0.01 to 14.99 %	Grade 1

Source: *Booklet from the municipality of Porto Alegre.*

Overall, even though some serious challenges had to be faced and were not completely overcome, the results of Porto Alegre PB have been surprisingly positive, according to the numerous researchers who have studied it. First of all, participation increased through the years until 2002, when it reached a peak of 17,200 persons taking part in the main district meetings, and many more at the neighbourhood level. The social characteristics of those who participate are even more striking: lower income people tend to be more involved than others, women have become a

majority in the assemblies after a few years, and young people are very active. Even though delegates tend to be somewhat more educated, male and older, they are fairly representative of Porto Alegre citizenry (Fedozzi, 2007). Participatory budgeting gives the floor to those who had always been outsiders in the political system. It has led to a real empowerment of civil society and, most notably, of the working class (Baierle, 2007). More and more citizens have joined initiatives and associations in order to successfully present their demands in the process of participatory budgeting. Clientelistic structures have largely been overcome, and the relationship between the political system and civil society has much improved (Avritzer, 2002).

In addition, participatory budgeting has led to a reorientation of public investments towards the most disadvantaged districts: primary health care was set up in the living areas of the poor, the number of schools and nursery schools was extended, a lot of streets in the slums have been asphalted and most of the households now have access to water supply and sanitation systems. This has come about because the process has been invested in mostly by the working class, and because it has contributed to an improvement of public services and infrastructures.

Another key issue is that the process has led to a better government. Corruption, which was not very high in Porto Alegre, has been made more difficult. Participatory budgeting has also been an incentive to public administration reform: a strong planning office has been created in order to facilitate discussion with the participatory council, there has been more cooperation between administrations, new budgeting methods focusing on products have been introduced, and the relationship between the administration and citizens has improved (Fedozzi, 1999, 2000). The main weakness on that level is that the focus on annual investments has tended to make the long-term perspective a by-product. The risk is that decisions taken in PB will generate long-term expenses (maintenance and salaries) that are difficult to sustain (World Bank, 2008). Also, funds were sometimes lacking for other planning projects that were not part of the participatory budget (Allegretti, 2003).

A district plenary of the participatory budget in Porto Alegre

It is a cold evening in early April 1999. Like almost every night since 20 March, a plenary assembly of the participatory budget is to be held. Tonight, it is in Restinga, one of Porto Alegre's outmost districts. An enormous tent has been put up in the midst of a grassy area – no doubt a playing field during the day. A play is being performed outside to entertain children and grown-ups alike while waiting for everyone to arrive. People are lining up to get inside. They come from every direction, on foot, jam-packed into cars, in horse-drawn wagons, alone or in groups, as families, amongst friends. At the entrance are two rows of tables where municipal civil servants are seated who channel the flow of participants and are in charge of registering them, noting down their name, the group to which they belong and their age.

There are a lot of people – hundreds certainly, perhaps a thousand, the exact number will be given at the end of the meeting. Little by little, people begin to take their seats. The meeting gets under way at 7 p.m. The children head for the amusement bus, which is heated and full of toys, and where they are supervised for the duration of the meeting. At the beginning, one of the city's participatory budget coordinators takes the floor to introduce the people sitting next to him. He asks that those people wishing to speak sign up to address the assembly.

The session begins with the projection of two short slide shows. The first explains how the participatory budget works and the terminology used by city hall. The other is a progress report on the projects the district wanted to see implemented and some of the major projects under way in the city, such as the third inner beltway around the city. After the slide shows, the fifteen or so people who have signed up are called upon one after the other to speak. The rule is to speak for a maximum of three minutes. The speeches are generally very concrete: city hall promised us a school and we've yet to see it; in my neighbourhood, we

need a health clinic; we are in the process of setting up a project to foster the creation of small business; and so on. These speakers are there to represent their residents' group or association; they are in the midst of an 'election campaign'. Each little group has already appointed one or more spokespersons and the number of delegates it has depends on the number of people registered under the group's name. It is therefore necessary to convince as many people as possible to come and take part in at least this first meeting in order to obtain the maximum number of delegates to defend their demands before the other groups. There may be competition to represent a particular group if it only has the right to choose a single delegate. In that case, a vote within the group – by a show of hands or secret ballot – decides. The district's future delegates are important people in the participatory budget: they have to coordinate the multitude of meetings which will be held between March and June and that are intended to give residents the opportunity to express their opinion on what is lacking in their neighbourhood: a school, a training centre, a health clinic, streetlights, more buses, the restoration of a building. They have to debate with the other delegates from the district forum to determine which demands appear most important and to rank them in order of their priority.

At 8:30 – half an hour before the meeting's end – it is time for the question period for the local government, represented by the mayor, which invariably close the meetings. A veritable verbal sparring match erupts with the audience members' questions ringing out on every subject. At the very last minute of the meeting, Mayor Raul Pont moves into the midst of the most virulent amongst them in order to better contend with the polemics: the elected official stands symbolically amongst the citizenry, not to shake their hands, but to respond to their critical comments.

(Source: Gret/Sintomer, 2004)

2. Dissemination within Brazil

Whatever the challenges and the limits of Porto Alegre PB may be, it has been taken as a model to copy or to adapt in many places. This outcome was not self-evident even in Brazil, however, because in the Rio Grande do Sul the Workers' Party (PT) was seen as very leftist even by other elements within the PT, and because this party was not in power in all that many municipalities in the nineties. However, progress has been impressive: there were fewer than 40 experiments claiming the PB label in the 1993-1997 period, around 100 in 1997-2000, and nearly 200 in 2001-2004 (at least according to 'local' criteria applied by converging studies that more or less coincide with our own definition). At that time, only around half of the experiments were led by PT mayors (Grazia de Grazia/Torres Ribeiro, 2003). The development of PB in large cities has been even more remarkable: in 2001-2004, one third of the cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants and nearly 60% of those with more than 1 million inhabitants were involved; 58% of the population living in cities with one million or more inhabitants were living in a place where the local government had decided to implement PB (Marquetti, 2005). In addition to Porto Alegre, some of the biggest Brazilian cities were involved: Sao Paulo (population 11 million), Belo Horizonte (population 3.1 million), Recife (population 1.4 million) and Belem (population 1.25 million). PB was also expanding in smaller towns in more rural areas, especially in some parts of the Rio Grande do Sul, and on the periphery of major conurbations such as Santo André (population 650,000), Guarulhos (population 790,000), or Campinas (population nearly 1 million), three cities near Sao Paulo. Sao Paulo was the state in which the number of experiments was the highest. At that time the South and the South-East, which is to say the most developed part of the country, was the area where most people were being convinced by the idea.

Of special importance was the introduction of PB at the state level in the Rio Grande do Sul after the PT's electoral victory in 1998. The process had only a short life, because it was interrupted when the PT was defeated in 2002. It tended to reproduce on another level the methodology invented in Porto Alegre, which caused some problems due

to the difficulty of maintaining efficient grassroots control at this level and to the fact that state PB tended to by-pass municipal governments. Quantitatively, participation had been relatively successful, drawing in close to 190,000 people all told in 1999 and 333,000 in 2002 (i.e. nearly 5% of the electorate), and progress was made on some important issues using this new instrument.

2004 represented a significant turning point in the history of PB in Brazil. The PT lost some important cities, such as Porto Alegre itself, Sao Paulo, Belem in the North-East and Caixas do Sul (population 300,000) in the Rio Grande do Sul. Some of them, like these last three, decided to discontinue PB. In other places, like Porto Alegre, the new political leadership decided to continue with it. In addition, the left won a lot of other towns and developed PB in new places – especially in the North-East, a region that created a PB network that includes a number of very radical and dynamic experiments, such as Fortaleza (population 2.4 million). Overall, the number of experiments rose only very moderately, and there are now (in 2010) between 200 and 250 participatory budgets. The number of inhabitants living in a city with PB even decreased, due to the discontinuation of the process in Sao Paulo, which itself has nearly 11 million residents. However, with time PB has become a relatively stable feature of many progressive and modern local administrations in the country, far beyond the influence of one single party.

3. Latin America adopts participatory budgeting continent-wide

Beyond Brazil, this mechanism had won over many people in Latin America by the turn of the millennium. Ten years on, it has become one of the most popular instruments of citizen participation: between 400 and 900 cities (out of 16,000) have introduced PB, some of them being among the most important in this part of the world. This geographical dissemination involves nearly all regions of Latin America.

PB has spread to the Southern Cone, where between 50 and 100 cities have now implemented the mechanism. It first inspired Brazil's neighbours Uruguay and Argentina,

where important experiments soon began in some major cities such as Montevideo (Uruguay's capital, which has more than 1.325 million inhabitants, and has been governed by the left-wing Frente Amplio since 1990), Rosario and La Plata (two cities in Argentina, with populations of 1.2 million and 600,000 respectively), and Paysandú (population 85,000), which is probably the most famous experiment in Uruguay. It influenced participatory budgeting movements in other cities (most notably Buenos Aires). Some years later, it was introduced in Paraguay and Chile, where fewer and smaller cities are involved.

Peru represents a special case. Some early experiments began at the end of the nineties, such as Villa El Salvador (population 350,000), a 'slam town' situated in Lima's suburbs, or the small rural town of Ilo (population 63,000). However, national laws introduced in 2003 made PB compulsory, both at the regional and municipal levels. They were adopted in a process of decentralising the country, strengthening both the regional and the municipal levels and introducing citizen participation as a necessary dimension of local government. Formally, all regions and local governments have set up a participatory budget, but implementation is far from satisfactory in all cases and there are a many 'fake' experiments. Due to the lack of independent and methodologically coherent research, it is very difficult to estimate the numbers of 'real' experiments; there are probably between 150 and 300 PBs which satisfy the criteria that we have proposed in order to allow international comparison – that is, possibly more than in Brazil. A looser definition might lead to much higher numbers, up to 800 out of 2,200 municipalities (Cabannes, 2006)!

In other South American countries, the development of PB has been less impressive (the numbers, which are not very accurate, probably vary between 40 and 70 in 2010, a regression in comparison with five years earlier). In Ecuador, PB was adopted at the beginning of the millennium by several indigenous towns (such as Cotacachi, population 37,000), and by municipalities with a strong indigenous component (such as Cuenca, population 420,000). In many cases, electoral setbacks have led to the process being interrupted. Nor has the election of the left-wing President Correa in 2006 produced a significant

number of new experiments. In Bolivia, a national Law on Popular Participation was adopted in 1994, together with other decentralisation reforms, but its implementation varies widely from one place to another, and the growth of PB experiments in the 327 municipalities seems to have been eclipsed by the social uprising that led to the election of Evo Morales to the Presidency and by the development of other participatory processes (the Constituent Assembly, 2006-2007, being only the most important one). In Colombia, the experiments started later, but are developing and a national network was created in 2008. A number of towns and cities, many of them located in zones of conflict, have begun some kind of participatory process that includes a budgeting dimension, such as Pasto city in the South (population 400,000), and the two oil-producing cities of Barrancabermeja (population 300,000) and Yumbo (population 95,000) (Cabannes, 2006). In Venezuela, some experiments were launched, but have since been replaced by a new form of citizen participation that has developed impressively under the Chavez government: the 'communal councils', which share some similarities with participatory budgeting.

Communal councils: a specific mechanism of citizen participation in Venezuela

Under Hugo Chavez' Presidency, in 2006, a new form of participation was invented in Venezuela. At the neighbourhood level, the residents can meet and elect delegates in order to propose and realise community projects. Decisions are taken either by the general assembly of the community and/or by the participatory council. The *consejos comunales* are quite independent and receive money directly from various offices of the central government. Local governments may also give them funding, but this is not often the case because they are largely disconnected from local authorities and somehow in competition with them, the division of competencies being unclear. A peculiarity of this mechanism is that it usually implies the direct involvement of communities in the realisation of the projects – a feature that makes the communal council a specific form of *community development*. They often include the creation of small cooperative banks that help inhabitants to manage the money. The *consejos comunales* were first seen as an instrument of Chavez' supporters, but residents that sym-

pathise with the opposition have often been able to invest them in neighbourhoods where they have a majority. In November 2009, a new law reinforced their role and encouraged communal councils to form a federation in order to achieve a larger scale. Thousands of councils exist today, and they have received millions of US dollars, much more than most other participatory experiments in the world.

Given a loose definition of participatory budgeting, communal councils should be included, as they do share common features with some mechanisms that are officially called participatory budgets in other countries in the South. However, as they are organised only at the neighbourhood level, they do not fulfil one of our definition criteria. The current move towards local federations of communal councils will not lead to a real articulation vis-à-vis local governments. On the contrary, the federations will probably by-pass local governments. This is why this fascinating experiment cannot be included in the frame of the present study.

In Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean countries, the development of participatory budgeting has also been manifold – and is difficult to assess, due to the lack of coherent and systematic research. There are many more cases that have used the label than there are real experiments. One of the most interesting is the PB that has been created in San Salvador, the capital of the small Central American country (population more than 300,000, and 1.5 million for the Metropolitan Area), where the left-wing FMLN has a real political will to develop this practice. The topic is on the agenda in several countries (in Nicaragua, for example, PB is being promoted by the Network for Democracy and Local Development), and the situation could change in the near future. The Dominican Republic is a very special case. As in Peru, two national laws made PB compulsory in 2007, as one dimension of a decentralisation process, but the dynamic had begun previously in many places. Out of 384 municipalities, local actors say that most of them could have begun a PB process. Although a more realistic account would probably lead to smaller numbers (60 to 150 accord-

ing to our comparative criteria), the Dominican Republic is probably the country where the density of PB is the highest in the world, even compared with Brazil. Some reports say that 35% of the people were living in municipalities with PB and that more than 56 million US\$ (a considerable amount for this small and poor country) were distributed in 2007, which is to say before the two national laws were introduced.

4. Two generations of networks

The Dominican Republic is a good example that helps us understand the kinds of networks that operate in the latest generation of PB in Latin America. The German cooperation agency GTZ has played a crucial role in cooperation with the Federation of Dominican Municipalities FEDOMU, a national agency for the reform of the state. Other actors involved include some Andalusian local governments (Malaga sub-region, the city of Cordoba and the Andalusia Fund of Municipalities for International Solidarity, FAMSÍ). Although

some local actors were also engaged in a bottom-up process, the impressive development of PB in this country would have been inconceivable without this 'neutral' and very broad network. On a smaller scale, the GTZ is very active in Colombia, and the same type of cooperation is going on in Chile, where an interesting national network has been set up (the Chilean Forum of Participatory Budgeting) supported by Germany's Friedrich Ebert Foundation. The global programme on gender budgeting in Latin America and the Caribbean has received support from two UN agencies (UNIFEM and UN Volunteers), but also from the Spanish

cooperation agency AECID and from the Basque regional government. Many examples could be given where the intervention of international organisations and/or governmental cooperation agencies have played a leading role. Even Cidade, a radical NGO that is very active in Porto Alegre and has a national and international reputation, has to rely on various international partners for its projects. Its website mentions more than ten partners, including the Inter-American Foundation (IAF), the Ford Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation, the World Bank, the left-wing Transnational Institute (TNI) and others.

**Two important and radical diffusion networks:
PGU-ALC (UN Habitat) and URBAL 9**

Two important networks played a major role in the diffusion of participatory budgeting in Latin America (and beyond) between 1997 and 2009.

The Urban Management Programme of the United Nations in Latin America and in the Caribbean (PGU-ALC), based in Quito, has been the most important UN programme on the urban issue. After the 1996 Istanbul HABITAT Summit, it opened the door for a direct cooperation with municipal local governments. A new director, Yves Cabannes, who had broad experience with urban social movements, came into office. From 1997 to 2004, under his direction, the PGU launched a series of activities that fostered the development of the most radical participatory budgets in the region. It promoted quite a lot of studies and the publication of very influential manuals for practitioners (Cabannes, 2004). It organised conferences and international events, and it helped create networks that facilitate the exchange of good practices, the production of practical tools and materials, the implementation of training programmes and the diffusion of experiments. Its most original element was probably the fact that it involved not only major international partners (the UNDP, the World Bank until 1999, the German, British, Swiss, Dutch and Swedish cooperation agencies, specific programmes – CEPAL, UNIFEM, URBAL – and other organisations), but also the most progressive Latin American local governments. The commonality was the combination of good governance, participation and social justice, with participatory budgeting playing a crucial

role. Through the PGU, those local governments that employed good practices in this respect received the prestigious legitimacy of the UNO. Nearly all major Latin American PBs participated in networks organised or supported by the PGU, most notably Porto Alegre. In 2004, the PGU had to close as the UNO decided to continue another programme to the exclusion of all others. This was Cities Alliance, dominated by the World Bank – a programme in which the degree of real innovation is variable. In Ecuador, the team of the former PGU has created CIGU (International Centre of Urban Management), an NGO which aims to utilise the previously acquired experience. Today, it provides information and consultancy on participatory budgeting throughout the region and is leading the Latin American version of REFORZAR, a World Bank programme for Social Development, with funding from Norwegian and Finnish cooperation.

A large number of the PGU actors were also involved in URBAL, the EU cooperation programme with Latin American local governments, and especially in its thematic network number 9, on 'Participatory Budgeting and Local Finance', coordinated by Porto Alegre. URBAL 9 included two waves of sub-programmes and lasted from 2003 to 2009, for a global amount of 4 to 5 million euros. 450 local governments and other institutions (such as NGOs and universities) were involved. The programme not only contributed to the development of the idea of participatory budgeting, it also fostered a minimum standard for Latin American experiments and provided some detailed information concerning what was actually going on (Cabannes, 2006).

It is most of all in Brazil that networks remain substantially independent of international cooperation: the Participatory Budgeting Brazilian Network, for example, minimally relies on it – and only for specific projects. This seems to echo another kind of PB network: in the nineties and even after the turn of the millennium, the development of this mechanism was a result of politicised networks. First of all, the Brazilian PT had a crucial role. PB was part of its agenda and was introduced in nearly all the cities it governed. Local facilitators of the process from one city could be hired in another one, following some electoral success or due to personal career trajectories. Radical NGOs such as POLIS, based in Sao Paulo, offered consultancy and led research on PB.

The World Social Forum (WSF) has also been very important for horizontal exchange among political and NGOs activists – in Latin America but also far beyond it, as we shall see in the next chapters. The WSF first met in Porto Alegre in 2001, and 5 out of 7 WSFs were held in Brazil (4 in Porto Alegre, 1 in Belem). In addition, 2 decentralised WSFs were held in Latin America (in Caracas in 2006 and again in Porto Alegre in 2010), and regional Social Forums such as the Pan-Amazonian SF contributed to the diffusion of PB. The Local Authorities Forum, which first developed parallel to the WSF in order to create an international left-leaning network of local governments, also played a role.

This first generation of networks was highly politicised: participatory budgeting was from their point of view an important instrument for political change. They did not disappear after the turn of the millennium, and the Brazilian participatory networks tend to retain part of this spirit even in 2010. However, others actors also came to play a role of their own. The PGU and URBAL networks formed an important interface that succeeded in facilitating cooperation between radical governments and international organisations. The new generation of networks in Latin America tends to be far less politicised, and to rest on a more ‘neutral’ and technocratic legitimacy. The World Bank is now the most important body publishing research on PB at the continental level. It is funding some of the most interesting projects, and the new Porto Alegre local government partly relies on its advice. This has implications, as we shall see in the conclusion of this chapter.

5. Hybridisation

Along these new roads, the mechanism invented in Porto Alegre has become hybridised. At least five tendencies have to be noted. The first one is the most common: very often, PB has become less complex and radical. Officially, the Porto Alegre mechanism remains the point of reference, but some elements are absent. There is either no thematic dimension, or no permanent participatory council; very often, the funding available is far less than in Porto Alegre, and is reduced to 1 or 2% of the municipal budget. In other cases, the process is only consultative and has no binding power, etc. This often happens when the initiative is only top-down, or when the political leadership is not fully convinced that it should play the game – such as when it is forced to comply with a national law, as in the Dominican Republic or in Peru; or when a new team comes into power that does not want to abolish PB but tends to reduce its scope; or when a local government wants to implement such a fashionable mechanism, but tends to conceive of it primarily as a communication tool rather than as an instrument to enable real social or political change. Such ‘light PBs’ tend to be situated between the ‘traditional’ Porto Alegre model and other ones, most often the proximity participation model.

A second and very common hybridisation process occurs when the Porto Alegre model is combined with elements of participatory strategic planning, a procedure which is well-known in Latin America. In a lot of cases, a municipality that had previously implemented participatory strategic planning discovers PB and tries to merge its previous process with it. Some experiments lead to highly original results, especially when strategic planning is the result of an autochthonous process and is supported by a strong political will. This has been the case in some of the most famous Latin American PBs, such as Villa El Salvador in Peru, or Santo André in Brazil. In other cases, the implementation of PB and participatory strategic planning has been more or less concurrent. Sometimes, the second dimension is introduced in order to deal with long-term issues, which the Porto Alegre mechanism, focusing as it does on annual investments, is barely able to address successfully. To a limited extent, this has happened in the Rio Grande do Sul capital, especially

with the ‚city congress‘ that met every four years and that was supposed to provide long-term vision – although this was not systematically articulated through PB. Other inno-

vations, such as the Geographic Information System, have been more inventive and have influenced PB itself.

Participatory budgeting and the use of Geographic Information Systems: examples that utilise the spatial dimensions of participation

In Latin America, several experiments have tried to merge PB with processes of participatory planning. Since the early 90s, the city of Porto Alegre has been subdivided into 16 districts, whose number and borders were forged according to a discussion with community groups, in order to reflect feelings of ‚ownership and belonging‘. In 1999, the new Master Plan led the City Council to create 8 Planning Regions, each one merging two PB districts, in order to create a better relationship between the choices of participatory budgeting and those of the ‚Municipal Management System of Urban Planning‘. When the Observatory of Porto Alegre (OBSERVAPOA) was created in 2005, one of its main tasks was to develop social, economical and environmental indicators and represent them on easily understandable maps, reorganising all the statistic data through a Geographic Information System which was based on the PB districts.

A Geographic Information System (GIS) is an ICT tool that captures, stores, analyses, manages and displays data, linking them to their locations, thus merging statistical databases and maps and allowing interactive queries and user-created searches that visually clarify the data distribution on any concerned territory. GIS was first applied to PB in the South, where it was used in various creative ways, mainly in relation to the representation of popular demands and approved results.

In Santo André, PB and strategic planning were systematically harmonised, and the strategic planning meetings had to elect delegates to the PB council. The office for participatory budgeting and planning had elaborated a Geographic Information System to map the social indicators in each district, together with the distribution of resources made possible by PB. The city participated in the URBAL Project ‚INCLUIR‘ (participatory budgeting as a means to overcome social and territorial exclusion), using the opportunity to improve its representational geographic-based system.

As happens in many European cities (Seville, for example), GIS are used to create maps of works funded by PB so that citizens can ‚visualise‘ in a simple way its results and the distribution of funded choices. In Belo Horizonte, in 2008, the municipal government published a study on the distribution of the 1,000 public works funded through PB since 1993. Using the Geographic Information System, it was calculated that the 80% of the city population was living within 500 metres of a participatory budget-funded public infrastructure. But Belo Horizonte went further. In 1996, the spatialisation of social/economical data was used by the town hall and the Catholic University of Minas Gerais to create the ‚quality index of urban life‘ (IQVU), whose more than 50 parameters are used to better distribute the municipal resources among the 80 infra-urban statistical areas of the territory. Since 2000, PB has been used to allocate resources to each district in proportion to its IQVU: the lower the index, the higher the level of resources allocated to improve its quality of life.

A third hybrid form combines PB with *community development* structures. This has happened following two processes. In some places, community organisations have previously played an important role, and it has been necessary to rely on them when introducing PB. This was the case especially in indigenous municipalities in the Andean countries: in Cotacachi, Ecuador, PB has overlapped with traditional community meetings and leadership. In other places,

NGOs and international organisations have implemented the ‚traditional‘ model of community development for the poor, which focuses on involving communities in the implementation of the projects, but have merged it with some features of PB. This has been influential most notably where NGOs and international organisations founded the PB process, sometimes managing more money than the local government itself (a common situation in the poorest

countries). In Villa El Salvador, the PB design has made it compulsory to involve neighbourhood communities in the implementation of the public works: this has been prerequisite to obtaining public money.

A fourth – and far less frequent – form of hybridisation has occurred between PB and gender mainstreaming. Policies designed to improve gender issues usually have actions that are directed towards target groups: women who are not on the job market, women with young families, immigrant women, female members of the workforce, or even women in general – but leaving men out. Gender mainstreaming was first introduced at the third World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985, and was officially launched at the Beijing Conference in 1995. It aims to tackle the root causes by working on the relationship dimension that causes the inequalities between men and women. The objective is to change the traditional gender roles and promote gender equality. These policies encourage the development of com-

prehensive programmes that target both men and women, and seek to change the traditional view. The latter is well expressed in Spanish and Portuguese by labelling the responsible service as the ‘secretaria de la mujer’ (or ‘da mulher’), the ‘secretary for the woman’, with the singular being used. The policies also systematically analyse concrete measures in terms of their impacts on both men and women by raising issues such as whether the sports facilities that are built tend to be mostly for boys rather than gender-neutral. One important aspect of this issue is gender budgeting, which aims to measure the way in which public budgets support gender differences and how they reinforce or change the respective roles of men and women.

Strangely enough, although they could develop elective affinities, participatory budgeting has not merged very often with gender mainstreaming, even if Latin America is the most advanced continent at this respect. One of the most interesting examples is the Rosario experiment, in Argentina.

Participatory budgeting and gender mainstreaming: the Rosario experiment

PB began in this city of 1.2 million people in 2002 following a methodology adapted from Porto Alegre (Roeder, 2010). In 2003, the municipality decided to also develop gender budgeting, and has been supported by the UNIFEM gender budgeting programme since 2006. The idea is to increase women’s participation in participatory budgeting and more generally in citizen activities, to make civil servants (both men and women) sensitive to and train them on the gender issue, to merge participatory budgeting and gender mainstreaming, to develop gender equity and to fight against gender prejudices. Progressively, all districts have been involved in the experiments and a growing number of specific projects have been adopted, most of them training pro-

grammes and, to a lesser extent, campaigns in the public sphere. In 2008, nearly 20 projects were developed, for an amount of around 3.17 million pesos (more than 800,000 US\$). The most interesting aspect of this action is that its effects should be sustainable because it induces a mental change, a new way of framing public issues, in relation to gender. In order to empower women and foster gender equity, women’s involvement in PB is an important but not a sufficient condition; the projects must aim to transform relationships between men and women within the process, and training, no less than political will, should be a crucial dimension (UNIFEM/UNV, 2009).

Last but not least, PB sometimes really has been transformed through the use of new technologies. It is fashionable to add the Internet to innovative practices in the age of new technologies, and e-participation has often been included as a marginal dimension in participatory budgeting. We can observe the same tendency in Europe, where the Internet

becomes an important pillar of PB, as we show later. Most often, the web is only a tool that eases the circulation of information, and in places with wide access to the Internet, a ‘serious’ PB is often a PB where detailed information can be found on its official website. In other places, the process is more interactive, and the Internet plays a complementary

**E-participatory budgeting:
innovative practice in Belo Horizonte (Brazil)**

One of the most interesting e-participation experiments is the e-participatory budget of Belo Horizonte, in Brazil. With 2.35 million inhabitants, this city is the sixth largest in Brazil and an important political centre in the country. Its PB is one of the oldest in Brazil: it began in 1993 and its methodology has been innovative. Most notably, it has included an autonomous housing PB designed to deal with this especially important issue. It is based on a two-year cycle, a feature that has tended to inspire other experiments in Brazil, and places emphasis on popular control over the real execution of the public works that have been chosen.

In 2006 a digital PB was added as a third pillar, which was repeated in 2008 and 2010. The digital PB has three objectives: to modernise PB through the use of ICTs; to increase citizen involvement in the process, and to include big investments, concerning the whole city, in the participatory budgeting process. In fact, most Brazilian PBs face a double problem: participation remains relatively limited (1 to 3 percent of the people in cities, somewhat higher in smaller towns) and the biggest investments tend to remain outside their reach.

The idea is to organise an online vote open to all residents older than 16, in order to prioritise some investments that require much more than the amounts available at the district level. In order to participate, citizens have to access the

e-voting platform through the city's official website, where information on the various public works is provided. The decision is made through majority rule, with no preference given to socially disadvantaged areas. In 2006, 25 million R\$ (around 14 million US\$) were made available to the digital PB. The amount was increased to 50 million (28 million US\$) in 2008, so that one public work (a beltway around a very important square) could be selected. In comparison, around 80 million R\$ (44 million US\$) were given to the district PB in 2007-2008, and 110 million R\$ (around 61 million US\$) in 2009-2010. (In this last round, 110 public works were selected, which means that the average amount was 1 million R\$, around 550,000 US\$.) The methodology was somewhat different in 2006, when voters could cast 9 votes, one per district, and 2009, when voters had only one choice and it was also possible to vote by phone. 173,000 persons voted in 2006 (nearly 10 percent of the Belo Horizonte electorate), and 124,000 in 2008 – compared with 38,000, 34,000 and 44,000 voters for the district PB in 2005/2006, 2007/2008 and 2009/2010. The increase in participation with online voting has been a clear success. However, the deliberative dimension has been virtually lost (only 1,200 contributions were made in the online forum in 2006), and the digital participatory budget looks more like a 'light' referendum than a 'traditional' PB. This peculiar success has made the Belo Horizonte digital PB an internationally recognised good practice (Peixoto, 2008).

role, along with the assemblies, for making proposals in the PB framework. Some experiments are highly promising.

6. Important but contrasting results

In 30 years of participatory budgeting in Latin America, major though contrasting results have been achieved. Some important debates have divided PB supporters: does PB necessarily rely on individual participation (often called 'universal' by those who defend it), or can it be community-based? Who takes the final budget decision that will be presented to the communal council, the PB council or the local government? Is there social control and inspection of works once the budget has been approved? Is the neigh-

bourhood level the only one that matters, or is there a place for a citizen discussion at the city level? Are the resources that are allocated to PB too limited, entailing a risk of mere scarcity management, or can PB claim to improve citizen control over significant public resources, entailing a risk of an atomisation of public decision-making in the neighbourhoods? Does PB have to be institutionalised by law, be it at the city, the regional or the national level, or does it have to rely instead on rules that local government and participants decide year after year, or even to remain 'spontaneous', with no fixed rules (Cabannes, 2006)?

Nevertheless, one first effect is clear and is recognised by nearly all actors and observers, and explains a large part of

the interest this process has raised. When it is performed seriously, PB increases the transparency of the use of public money as well as popular control, and therefore reduces corruption. Investments and services tend to be openly discussed in this new public sphere, instead of being negotiated behind closed doors. For this dimension, lessons learned at Porto Alegre can be generalised. Corruption is a problem everywhere, but the Corruption Perceptions Index proposed by Transparency International shows that PB has spread most in those Latin American countries where the corruption index is particularly high (Transparency International, 2009). In this context, PB seems a promising and long-lasting contribution to solve a difficult problem. Econometric studies suggest that municipalities which implemented PB were likely to have less corruption than municipalities that did not implement the programme (Zamboni, 2007).

A second result concerns clientelism, i.e. one important aspect of the relationship that civil society groups have to develop with politicians in order to claim their needs. The features of PB that help fight against corruption are also a powerful way of reducing clientelism, because negotiation and deliberations happen in public and imply a horizontal dialogue between citizens, rather than merely 'private' vertical exchanges between politicians and electors. Here again, academic studies confirm what local actors say about their practice – at least when PB is 'for real', when it is not only consultative and when the investments that are discussed are significant enough, which is not always the case. In the most dynamic experiments, the change is radical and clientelism tends to vanish (Avritzer, 2002; 2009). When one takes into account the distortive impact of patron-client networks on Latin American politics, this outcome is far from marginal. This positive result has to be balanced with one important limit: as Porto Alegre and many other experiments show, the inner logic of the political system itself – with its struggles for power, very often motivated by self-promotion rather than by preoccupations with the common good – does not necessarily change as a result of PB. (To mention but one example, the internal struggles within the PT in Porto Alegre are exactly the same as before.)

The third outcome is crucial: in Latin America, PB is a powerful instrument of pro-poor redistribution. This feature has been underlined by various qualitative field-work studies, which tend to corroborate what those who are conducting PB experiments say. In the slums of Porto Alegre and other cities, observers can note the progress induced by this new practice, be it in housing, paving, basic sanitation, land use regulation or education. A series of quantitative studies have added new elements to this analysis. In 2003, a Brazilian researcher elaborated a methodology that could prove that the poor neighbourhoods in Porto Alegre have tended to receive much higher investment than the well-off neighbourhoods. With the same methodology, together with other colleagues, he later demonstrated that the same thing was going on in Sao Paulo, Belo Horizonte and Belem (Marquetti et al., 2008). The combination of the mobilisation of the lower class and of the distributive criteria in the PB process very significantly reorients the distribution of public resources. However, this result had to be qualified: the resources that have flowed in the PB process have been going mostly to the poor, but what proportion of the public budget do the funds allocated to PB account for? Is PB only a niche, or does it help reorient public policy overall? Does it contribute to a fragmentation of investment, due to the grassroots pressure to allocate resources to small public works? Does PB contribute to improved tax collection? Is it efficient in the long run?

These issues have been addressed by econometric studies that have focused in particular on Porto Alegre, but that have also analysed Brazilian PB more broadly, comparing cities with and without PB. The findings are striking. Living conditions have improved more in municipalities with PB (in terms of poverty rate, access to potable water, access to sanitation and so on) than in those without (and this is true even when one ignores the vote for the Left, i.e. the direct political pressure for a pro-poor policy). This is especially the case in the medium term, when PB has been implemented for a decade or more. PB does not lead to the fragmentation of public investments. What PB does not generate, contrary to some expectations, is an effect on taxes. It does not have a consistent impact on fiscal performance (Baiocchi et al., 2006; World Bank, 2008).

A fourth outcome, although less frequent, has to be noted. When PB is articulated with a broader concern for the modernisation and the efficiency of public administrations, the two processes can reinforce each other. We will return to this aspect, which is far from being monopolised by Latin American PBs, in the following chapters.

PB outcomes in Latin America make it understandable that an innovative mechanism invented in Porto Alegre by leftists and grassroots community movements has won over a large spectrum of actors, far beyond its original geographical and political context. PB is still part of the World Social Forum Agenda, but it is now also included in the pro-poor development programme of the World Bank. However, when we look at their overall dynamics, not all Latin American PBs share the same profile.

At one end of the spectrum we have the Porto Alegre experiment. The interaction between a strong political will and bottom-up movements, a methodology that really implies a power devolution to community organisations, the possibility of good deliberation through the building of participatory councils, criteria of distributive justice and the mobilisation of the poor: the Porto Alegre Model, which in Latin America has much in common with the *community development* PB model, has led to the development of 'empowered participatory governance' (Fung/Wright, 2001). It has been part of a broader and deeper transformation of society and politics, and the massive inequalities that used to characterise the continent have been called into question (Santos, 2005). To a certain extent, the invention and diffusion of PB can be seen as one dimension of a larger process that has shaken Latin America, pushing the continent away from dictatorships with neoliberal policies and toward democracies where new governments try to promote another kind of development.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, even ignoring the (numerous) 'fake' experiments, many Latin American PBs are mainly top-down and are not based on the independent mobilisation of civil society. They only control a limited amount of money, which means that they cannot really influence the overall distribution of resources. They rely on methodologies that do not give any real decision-making

power or control to community organisations, which means they are highly unlikely to achieve an empowerment of the poor. They do lead to more transparency, more social accountability, more responsiveness, less corruption – together with some 'pro-poor policies' that help mitigate somewhat the huge inequalities of Latin American societies. Formally, while they may be inspired by the Porto Alegre methodology, in 'real life' their situation is different. Today the World Bank, which decided in 2000 to foster 'pro-poor policies', wields major influence over these PBs.

Between these two ends of the spectrum, numerous PBs are being led by left-leaning actors, or by NGOs that really want to change the development model, but lack the bottom-up mobilisation and a global political perspective. Furthermore, everyday life is tending to reduce what used to be an innovative practice to routine. This is why some radical actors who were involved in the first PBs have strongly denounced these 'light PBs' which seem to have lost their soul (Baierle, 2007). These actors have to some extent been left behind by the success of what was originally their invention.

II. The Return of the Caravels: Participatory Budgeting in Europe and North America

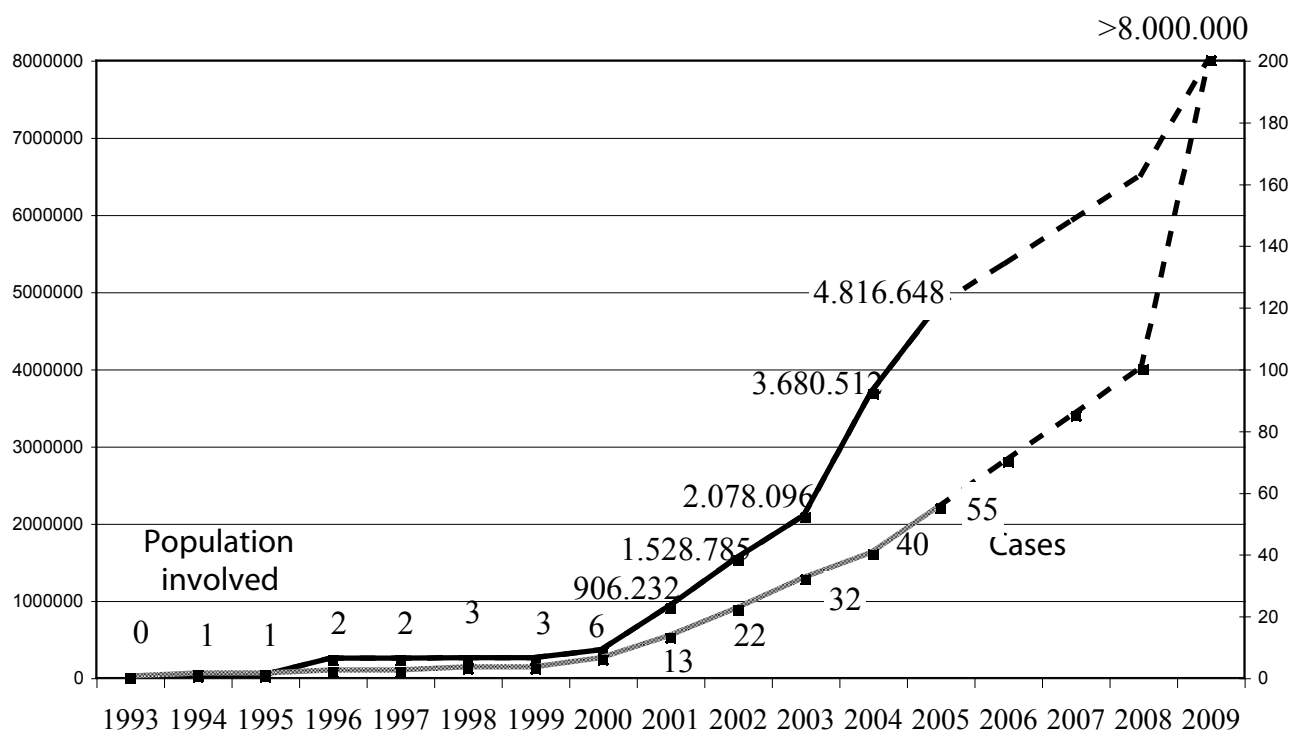
Having examined participatory budgeting in Latin America, let us now look more closely at its spread farther afield. Europe and North America are especially important in this regard. For once, development cooperation is being turned around. Countries of the Global South are showing the industrialised nations of the North how they can make use of a new form of dialogue. Metaphorically speaking, we might say that the caravels which the discoverers took to the New World at the beginning of the modern age have now returned. On board they have brought back with them an innovation which brings citizens, elected officials and civil servants closer together. The demand for it appears to be strong: A relatively high degree of electoral abstention and political disaffection is generating pressure on the political systems in the Western world to demonstrate its legitimacy, and in many countries local governments are struggling with financial problems. Municipalities in Europe and North America are responding to these multifaceted challenges by developing various procedures. In these procedures, the Porto Alegre model is no longer central; in fact, a range of other models have emerged (Sintomer/Herzberg/Röcke,

2011). The research already published will allow us to undertake a transversal study going beyond the level of single countries. Consequently, in the present chapter, we will first of all present the general spread of participatory budgeting in Europe and North America. We will then discuss its impacts on social justice, local government modernisation and civil society empowerment. Special attention will be focused on North-South cooperation arrangements and their networks.

1. The diversity of participatory budgeting in Europe

Participatory budgeting spread rapidly in Europe, a development that was mainly triggered by the social forums in Porto Alegre. These, however, were attended not only by representatives of initiatives and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), but also by local politicians from various countries. A particularly important role was played by those who attended the Local Authorities Forum, a parallel event of the World Social Forum. Of course, other groups and actors are

Figure 4: Number of participatory budgets and population involved



Source: Sintomer/Herzberg/Röcke, 2011

also responsible for the spread of participatory budgeting, as will be discussed below. Figure 3 shows the increase in the number of participatory budgets from 1993 to 2009.

A glance at Figure 4 shows that we can indeed speak of a return of the caravels in the sense described above. Whereas in 1999 it was still possible to count the number of participatory budgets on the fingers of one hand, by 2002 the number of cases in Europe had already risen to more than 20, and by 2005 had reached 55. And this trend continues. By 2009, although some participatory budgets had been brought to an end, their number overall had risen to more than 200, due largely to the sharp increase in Italy, as well as increases in Spain and Portugal. Participatory budgeting also exists in Norway and Sweden, i.e. in Northern Europe, as well as in Poland, Albania and Bosnia etc., i.e. in Eastern Europe. If we also look at the combined populations of the towns, cities and districts with participatory budgeting, we see that the curve is similarly steep. The figure increases from fewer than 350,000 in 2000 to 1.5 million in 2002, 3.6 million in 2004, and over 8 million in 2009.

Figure 5: **Map of participatory budgeting in Europe (2009)**



Source: Sintomer/Herzberg/Röcke, 2011

One interesting aspect is the diversity of existing approaches. Adaptations of the Porto Alegre model are found mainly in Spain and Italy. Also widespread on the Iberian Peninsula are participatory budgets that incorporate elements of the participation of organised interests model. The most widespread participatory budgets in Europe, however, are those that closely resemble the proximity participation model. Examples of this are found in France, Italy, Portugal, Scandinavia and other countries. Initially, in Western Europe it was in most cases social democratic or post-communist left-wing parties that were involved in the dissemination of participatory budgeting. Now, conservative governments are also actively involved – and in Germany, participatory budgeting was a cross-party topic from the outset. Various networks and organisations also supported the introduction of participatory budgeting. In Italy, the ‘Nuovo Municipio’ municipal network has played a major role. In Germany, networks linked to the modernisation of local government have been important, while today, Germany’s Service Agency Communities in One World/ Capacity Building International and the Federal Agency for Civic Education are playing a major cross-party role. In other countries, the role of networking is mainly performed by civil society initiatives, for instance the PB Unit (formerly the Community Pride Initiative) in the UK or the In-LoCo association in Portugal, which is actively cooperating with the federation of municipalities. In Spain, there is now also a municipal network. The municipal association in Sweden is strongly interested in the further dissemination of participatory budgeting. Conversely, the stagnation in the number of French experiments may be explicable inter alia by the fact that the networks that initially introduced PB are no longer active.

In Eastern European countries, there is no standard procedure and participatory budgeting is promoted by international organisations. More so than in Latin America, it is often the World Bank, UNO, USAID, GTZ and other development organisations that organise the participatory procedures in cooperation with local partners. PB thus comes from outside, the primary objective being to mobilise citizens and promote good local governance. Processes of this kind often begin with the transparent preparation of public budgets, as in Russia, Armenia and the Baltic states (Shah,

2007). In a number of cases, a clear participatory budgeting structure is displayed, such as Svishtov in Bulgaria or Elbasan in Albania. A further commonality of participatory budgets in this region is that most of them involve pilot projects that are often stopped after international support has come to an end. There may be various reasons for this, though many reports speak of a high degree of scepticism on the part of citizens (Driscoll/Lakowska/Eneva, 2004; Co-Plan, 2005).

In America too, various tendencies are to be observed. There is a strong tendency towards 'home grown' experiments, which draw on the tradition of Community Development, i.e. the promotion of disadvantaged districts by self-organising interest groups. Some features are nonetheless introduced with direct reference to Porto Alegre, and bottom-up activities are certainly to be observed here (Lerner/Wagner, 2006). The trend is so far limited: although things are moving forward in Canada, and first participatory budgeting activities are in evidence in the USA (Chicago, New York etc.), the number of experiments in North America probably still remains between 4 and 10.

2. The social impacts of participatory budgeting in Europe and North America

One of the greatest successes achieved by participatory budgeting in Latin America has been its social impacts. Yet what about Europe, where social problems, although very important, are less salient? While municipalities in Germany have to this day remained relatively sceptical with regard to the Porto Alegre experience, mayors in Spain and Italy have undertaken to follow it up. The common feature of these approaches is that participatory budgeting focuses on investments and projects that are prioritised on the basis of social justice criteria. One of the best known examples is the Spanish city of Seville, along with a number of smaller municipalities in Italy. One alternative to a Porto Alegre-based approach is offered by procedures that focus on districts in particular need of social development, in which projects can be elaborated together with the concerned population on a participatory basis. How can participatory budgets be employed for purposes of social development, and how did these procedures actually arise?

Several adaptations of the Porto Alegre model in Europe

In Europe, the strongest social impacts are to be found in two small Italian municipalities. These are the town of Grottammare on the Adriatic coast (population 14,700), and the municipality of Pieve Emanuele (population 15,000), located not far from Milan. In both municipalities, following a change of government in the early 1990s in the wake of numerous scandals, an era of participatory politics was ushered in that led to neglected districts being upgraded and corruption being largely pushed back. In the case of these two examples, participation did actually lead to fundamental change, demonstrating the possibility of adapting Porto Alegre in Europe (Fanesi, Sechi, in Sintomer/Herzberg/Röcke, 2005). Yet does this also apply to big cities? The success stories of Grottammare and Pieve Emanuele led to the two municipalities playing an important role as models for the further dissemination of participatory budgeting in Italy, where over 100 further experiments with participatory procedures have since emerged. However, the majority of these procedures are not based on the Porto Alegre model. To better evaluate the application of this approach in Europe, it is worthwhile taking a look at the Spanish city of Seville in Andalusia, whose population of 700,000 for a long time made it the largest municipality with a participatory budget in Europe, before it was superseded by Cologne (population 1 million). In Spain, where around 50 participatory budgets exist, Seville is considered one of the most ambitious examples, thanks largely to its rigorous application of allocation criteria (Ganuza, 2010). The participatory budget is worth around 14 million EUR (around 17 million US\$), while the budget as a whole – including municipal enterprises – amounts to 862 million EUR (around 1 billion US\$).

Table 3: **Allocation criteria of the participatory budget of Seville**

	Investment and maintenance	Programmes and activities
A. General criteria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basic infrastructure (lighting, asphaltting, water supply etc.) • Access to basic services • Population affected 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Population affected • Condition of the social infrastructure in the zone affected by the participatory budget • Absence of public social programmes
B. Supplementary criteria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Area (district, zone) affected • Ecological sustainability • Integration into the architecture of the city (or district) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support of democratic and humanistic values such as tolerance, peace, solidarity etc.

Source: *Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 2004*

Like the Porto Alegre model, the procedure applied by the Andalusian capital resembles a pyramid. The base is formed by a division of the city into 15 zones. Here, citizens meet at forums, which are usually held at community centres. At these forums, ideas for projects are developed and proposed. Proposals involving a funding amount below 30,000 EUR (around 37,000 US\$) are classified as district projects. Projects that surpass this amount are treated as proposals for the entire city. Delegates are elected for both the neighbourhood and city levels, whose task it is to examine the proposals put forward by the citizens' forums, and decide on their final order of priority. This prioritisation involves criteria partly based on those of the Porto Alegre model. A distinction is drawn between 'general criteria' that can be objectively measured, and 'supplementary criteria' that are personally assessed by the delegates. For each proposal between 0 and 15 points are then awarded in each category (see table), on the basis of which a prioritised list is drawn up and passed on to the city government and the city council. These criteria are designed to influence the prioritisation of the proposals such that selected groups and areas benefit to a particularly high degree. In Seville, primarily those projects are implemented that promote social,

ecological and democratic goals in areas where the existing infrastructure is weak.

Alongside these criteria, the role of citizens in Seville should also be highlighted. They are able to help shape and adapt the process themselves. First of all, committed citizens organised into pressure groups are involved in the preparation of participatory budgeting forums in the districts, as well as in the briefing of their moderators. These preparatory meetings are used to discuss e.g. awareness-raising strategies, the structuring of the citizens' forum and the distribution of materials. Secondly, citizens are to some extent able to modify the participatory budgeting procedure and adapt the allocation criteria. Yet despite its clear rules and the fact that this procedure helps empower civil society, its social justice effects are not comparable to those in Latin America. This is partly due to the fact that the amounts made available for the socially deprived districts are relatively small.

Community Development – an alternative?

In the participatory budgets in Italy and Spain described above, it has almost always been the local governments that took the decision to introduce an innovative participatory procedure. Frequently, initiatives that are based on *community development* follow a somewhat different route. They emerge from within a culture of self-help, which is widespread in the UK and North America, partly because welfare provision by the state is weaker there than in Western Europe or Scandinavia. The nature of these initiatives ranges from relatively informal neighbourhood groups to professional organisations. Community organisations acquire funding for their activities from external sources, which often means programmes run by the regional or national government, or in the case of Europe the European Union.

In the Canadian city of Guelph (population 100,000), located 100 km west of Toronto in the state of Ontario, Community groups have initiated a participatory budget that was initially independent, and then gradually won over the city government as a partner. During the 1990s, money was obtained from a provincial government programme, and participatory consultations were held with the stake-

holder community on how to use it. Positive experience was gained with this approach, which led to the establishment of a coalition of community initiatives that transferred the procedure to other districts. Thematic proposals and territorial projects are first of all proposed by the organisers. These proposals are discussed and prioritised in community forums. The final decision on funding is taken by community assembly delegates. In other words, the citizens concerned actually do manage the money themselves – frequently with the assistance of a mandated community manager. For each project, a quarter of the funding needed must be obtained by the groups or beneficiaries themselves. A total of more than 1,000 people are participating in this process, a large proportion of them from low-income groups (Pinnington/Lerner/Schugurensky, 2009). For them and their children, activities are financed in their districts such as festivals, leisure activities, educational measures, and minor construction works.

Various experiments influenced by community budgeting exist in Canada, one quite interesting example being the Toronto Community Housing Corporation.

Toronto Community Housing

The city of Toronto has its own corporation for community housing, known as Toronto Community Housing (TCH). Its 164,000 tenants and 58,500 residential units (6 percent of the local housing stock) make TCH Canada's largest social housing provider. It has a budget of 572 million CAD\$ (around 558 US\$). A large proportion of its expenditure is comprised of fixed costs, including those for its 1,500-strong workforce. Since 2001 TCH has also had a participatory budget for tenants. Due to its pyramid-shaped structure, the procedure at first glance resembles the Porto Alegre model. Spread across its housing stock there are 27 tenants' councils that receive residents' suggestions and proposals. Each tenants' council then agrees on five projects for its district. A committee comprised of delegates from the tenants' councils also agrees on two further projects for the TCH as a whole. This committee's task is to appraise the feasibility of the various projects and their concrete funding requirements. The delegates are also mandated

3. Participation – a way of achieving modernisation?

When people began discussing the Porto Alegre participatory budgeting experience in Germany in 2001/2002, many of them were initially highly sceptical. Some pointed out that the social problems here were not on the same scale as those in Latin America. Furthermore, some put forward the perhaps stronger argument that German municipalities were suffering a financial crisis, and that this would make participation in public investment an absurdity. After all, what was there for citizens to discuss if no money was available? All these reasons led to an understanding of participatory budgeting that was not based on allocation issues. In Germany, participatory budgeting came to be understood rather as a way of facilitating improved public service delivery. Although there were a number of cases in Latin America where people linked participation with modernisation, participatory budgeting between the Rhine and Oder rivers does seem to have followed its own path. This path is no less original – and has in fact played a pivotal role in participatory modernisation in Europe.

to support the implementation of the projects approved. Through this procedure, decisions are taken on the use of 7 million CAD\$ (around 6.8 million US\$) every year. This involves mainly 'proximity' measures such as minor repairs to buildings, the maintenance of greenery or the building of children's playgrounds. There is, however, a key difference to Porto Alegre. Unlike in the Brazilian flagship municipality, the funding no longer has to be approved by the municipal council or the TCH. These funds are managed by the tenants directly. Since many of the tenants come from socially disadvantaged groups, the participatory budget benefits these sections of the population in particular. The activities funded by the participatory budget are flanked by measures in the health sector and other social sectors. Further participatory instruments are also used, especially in the domain of planning. Two tenants also sit on the TCH board, which is comprised of 13 members.

Information – consultation – accountability

The first participatory budgets arose in Germany around the turn of the millennium. Among the first municipalities involved were Mönchweiler (population 3,200), Rheinstetten (20,500 inhabitants), Gross-Umstadt (population 22,000), Emsdetten, Vlotho, Monheim (population 43,000), Castrop-Rauxel (population 28,500) and Hilden. In these municipalities, participatory budgets were introduced within the scope of pilot projects such as the ‚Municipalities of the future‘ network (1998-2002) and the ‚North-Rhine Westphalia participatory municipal budgeting‘ initiative (2000-2004). These cooperation arrangements were modelled on the experience of the city of Christchurch in New Zealand, whose ‚participation for modernisation‘ approach was important to the initiators in Germany. Given the financial challenges faced by the municipalities, citizens were expected to appreciate this ‚difficult situation‘; yet it was also hoped that they would put forward their own proposals for improved administrative services. This approach was reinforced by the fact that in many municipalities, participatory budgeting is linked to a vision of good local government labelled the ‚citizens‘ commune‘ (*Bürgerkommune*). To put it simply, the citizens‘ commune is based on the idea of linking participation with a modernisation of local administration. To achieve this, various participatory roles are offered that are also found in participatory budgeting. Citizens are to be seen as ‚customers/consumers‘, recipients of high-quality services delivered for their convenience. In addition to this dimension, which is key to participatory modernisation, citizens are also called upon to act as ‚co-providers‘, engaging in voluntary activity to help shape the relevant service delivery processes. Thirdly, citizens are invited to participate in political decision-making processes, acting as members of the ‚contracting authority‘ commissioning the services (Banner, 1999; Bogumil/Holtkamp/Schwarz, 2003). We should also add that, quite often, participants at citizens‘ forums in Germany are selected at random from the municipal census in order to increase diversity with respect to socio-economic background, gender and age.

By virtue of this focus on the modernisation of local government, many participatory budgets in Germany resemble the consultation on public finance model described in the introductory chapter. In practice, this is implemented

in three steps – information, consultation and accountability. The first step is to inform citizens on the municipality’s financial situation by supplying them with brochures and organising public meetings. Where does a municipality get its money from, and which services are financed from this source? Consultation, which often takes place in the form of a citizen assembly, but may also be supplemented by surveys and online debates, aims to gather suggestions. Citizens are requested to suggest improvements to swimming baths, libraries, green areas, sports facilities, street cleaning services etc. What municipalities are looking for here is citizen expertise that can be formulated on the basis of citizens‘ day-to-day experience with these facilities and services. One employee of a municipality with a participatory budget once spoke of the ‚citizen as business consultant‘ in this context. Another form of consultation is based not on specific services, but on a discussion of income and expenditure. In 2003/2004 the municipality of Emsdetten for instance discussed with citizens various options for offsetting the budget deficit, and invited them to develop corresponding proposals. The next step – accountability – involves the municipality giving feedback on which proposals have been taken up by the council, and which not. Hilden for instance replies to every proposal with a personal letter notifying the citizen submitting the proposal of its outcome.

Voting and the Internet

From 2005 onward, participatory budgeting in Germany underwent further development. One reason for this was that Capacity Building International, Germany – through its Service Agency Communities in One World/ InWEnt division (2002) helped launch a debate on the Porto Alegre experiment in Germany. Secondly, there was now also a will to try out participatory budgeting in larger towns. To this end the Federal Agency for Civic Education, in cooperation with the foundations of the political parties represented in Germany’s federal parliament, commissioned the development of a special procedure, in which some of the authors of the present report were directly involved. The new conceptual approach published in the brochure *‚Bürgerhaushalt in Großstädten‘* (‘Participatory Budgeting in Cities‘) (Bpb, 2005) carried forward the existing approach by developing it further. The approach is still less about

investment, and more about the participatory evaluation of services and the economical management of public funds. What is new, however, is that citizens are able to prioritise their proposals by voting (see box); the task of selecting the most important proposals is no longer left to the

municipal administration, but performed by citizens. This procedure was first tried out in practice in the Berlin district of Lichtenberg (population 252,000). It was subsequently adopted by Potsdam (population 150,000), and incorporated into other participatory budgets.

Voting in Lichtenberg

The procedure implemented in Berlin-Lichtenberg is based on the brochure ‚Bürgerhaushalt in Großstädten‘ approach published by the Federal Agency for Civic Education. This procedure provides for three kinds of voting to determine the order of priority of proposals: voting at citizens' forums, online voting and postal voting. The latter involves distributing a questionnaire to a randomly selected group of citizens, who are requested to complete and return it. All three types of voting are based on the cumulative plus vote-splitting method used in some elections in Germany.

Each citizen is given five votes in the form of adhesive dots, which can be distributed across the proposals as the citizen sees fit. This means for instance that one proposal can receive all the votes, or only some, leaving scope for others to receive support. This generates a list of priorities, as shown in the table below. Here it is even possible to compare how a proposal was evaluated across the various methods - forum, online and postal ballot; a comparison of this kind can for instance help shed light on the importance of the work of lobbying groups.

Table 4: List of priorities for the Lichtenberg participatory budget (2005)

	Postal	%	Online	%	Citizens' forum	%
1.	Equipment for youth clubs	11.4	Cycle path plan	16.7	Upkeep of music school	11.1
2.	Upkeep of senior citizens' social clubs	9.2	Children's and youth work activities	12.4	Upkeep/development of sports centres	8.3
3.	Cycle path plan	8.1	Dog station	8.7	Upkeep of grammar school	7.8
4.	Library media work	5.1	Upkeep of grammar school	6.5	Library media work	6.8
5.	Upkeep/development of sports centres	4.2	Upkeep of music schools	6.2	Repair/development of skating facilities	5.5
6.	Upkeep of music schools	4	Library media work	5.1	Cycle path plan	5.5
7.	Projects for all ages	3.8	Projects for all ages	3.3	Upkeep of senior citizens' social clubs	4.9
8.	Children's and youth work activities	3.7	Equipment for youth clubs	2.9	Equipment for youth clubs	3.7
9.	Dog station	3.6	Upkeep of arts and leisure centre	2.9	Projects for all ages	3.1
10.	Upkeep of arts and leisure centre	3.4	Continuation of economic promotion	2.9	Continuation of economic promotion	1.5

Source of table: Lichtenberg district office, in: Klages/Daramus (2007)

Another reason why participatory budgeting was further developed might be that the first methodology was relatively inefficient. It is possible to collect suggestions for improving library services, parking facilities, or the upkeep of greenery with instruments that are far less complex than participatory budgeting as it used to be. Online participation emerged as a way out of this efficiency problem, and has since become a key element of participatory budgeting. Initially, Internet

debates were applied alongside citizens' forums. However, there are now also cases where participation takes place either largely or exclusively in the virtual domain. One example that has received international recognition is Cologne's e-participatory budget. This development would not have been possible without the innovative spirit of various research institutions and practically oriented service providers.

E-participatory budgeting in Cologne

In 2007, for its two-year budget, the city of Cologne (population 1 million) implemented an extensive participatory budget online. A debate was organised in the form of blogs (Engel, 2009). All participants were able to add their comments to proposals and prioritise them; this means that Cologne has adopted and further developed Lichtenberg's voting method. A total of around 5,000 proposals were received for the three areas 'greenery', 'roads, paths and squares' and 'sports'. The council had undertaken beforehand to give a response to the first 100 proposals received for each of the three areas – this was done in a very scrupulous manner. The various proposals together with the com-

ments added were posted on the website, and could also be read in conjunction with the responses published by the council and committees. Website users could also download a report providing an account of how the additional 8.2 million EUR (around 10 million US\$) made available for the participatory budget had been spent. Items included the care and maintenance of green areas and playgrounds – all measures that concern citizens directly. The citizens of Cologne have embraced the participatory budget, which has become the talk of the town. International organisations also see the procedure in a highly positive light, and have awarded the city prizes for it.

Analysing German participatory budgets, some effects can be observed that reflect a modernisation of local government. These include recognition of the expertise of citizens, who then play an active part in helping shape public service delivery processes. Another effect is the submission of proposals for a more efficient management of public funds. Such effects are not seen in all cases, however. By contrast, other modernisation outputs such as cross-departmental cooperation, faster administrative processes, changes in management structures or improved monitoring of local government tend to be found in other European countries (Sintomer/Herzberg/Röcke, 2008). In other words, the modernisation effects observed in Germany are not as extensive as might be expected. This is possibly due to the fact that in Germany the emphasis has been placed on creating responsiveness. Participatory budgeting is used not so much for ameliorating service delivery, but rather to bring citizens, civil servants and elected officials closer together (Herzberg, 2009). At the same time, we should not forget that it was

primarily the cases in Germany that prompted the debate on participatory budgeting and modernisation in Europe. A first step in this direction was the creation of greater transparency, a step that has since been adopted in Seville. In this Spanish city, the financing of projects through participatory budgeting is shown separately in the published budget (see box).

Participatory budgeting of projects disclosed in the published budget (Seville)

In Seville, as in many other Spanish municipalities, associations and other organised local interest groups are relatively powerful. Many neighbourhood initiatives are not only represented on local government committees, but also receive funds to organise festivals and other citizen activities – a procedure that is also common in other countries. Some groups, however, are not even aware of the fact that money can be applied for. Recipients of funds are often unaware of the support being received by other initiatives. Frequently, these groups develop a sneaking suspicion that they are being treated less favourably than others. In Seville, the decision was taken to publish accounts in order to counteract this. The measures promoted through the participatory budget are disclosed in the published budget in the form of a brief description of the project, the amount of money allocated and a reference number to facilitate queries. It is possible to read in the 20-page annex for instance that the district of Cerro-Amate is receiving a total around 1.1 million US\$ within the scope

of the participatory budget. 640,000 US\$ of that is being spent on current expenses, and 482,000 US\$ on small-scale investment and minor building measures. The measures financed are itemised, the amounts ranging from 617 US\$ to 37,000 US\$ (500 EUR to 30,000 EUR). In this way, any group or individual who has submitted an application for funding under the participatory budget can obtain clear information. In Seville, more than 17 million US\$ of the total budget of approximately 1 billion US\$ is allocated through participatory procedures (Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 2007). This amount breaks down into city-wide priorities (around 3 million US\$), semi-independent units and municipal enterprises (around 5.8 million US\$), and those districts where approximately 50% of monies (around 8.7 million US\$) are made available (unlike in the European cities of Berlin, Paris, London or Rome, the districts of Seville do not have a local government of their own; they constitute geographical subdivisions for planning purposes, for which a consultative committee is responsible).

4. Participatory budgeting and civil society

In addition to social justice and the modernisation of local administration, participatory budgeting has also been associated with the mobilisation or even the empowerment of citizens. In Brazil, this also led to a strengthening of representative democracy. This occurred through the reduction of corruption and patronage-based relationships that resulted from the increased transparency and autonomy of community initiatives within participatory budgeting. In the experiments which are influenced by the community participatory budgeting model, citizens are highly active. Nevertheless, the process is organised mainly outside of the political institutions, which is why a strengthening of representative democracy is not necessarily to be expected. Other approaches, such as proximity participation, aim to bring citizens and political decision-makers closer together. These kinds of initiatives can also lead to a deeper involvement and sustainable strengthening of civil society. It is with this aspect in mind that we

now return to participatory budgeting in Eastern Europe and North America.

The Albanian city of Elbasan (population 120,000) pioneered participatory budgeting in the region (Co-Plan, 2005). The procedure tested there has since been transferred to other municipalities, which is one reason why Albania, together with Bosnia, is one of the countries in South-East Europe with the largest number of participatory budgets. The urban planning agency Co-Plan was commissioned to help introduce participatory budgeting in Elbasan, for which it received support from the World Bank. In a first round of consultations, 10 public meetings are held for the 20 neighbourhoods, at which municipal civil servants present the budget and its figures for income and expenditure. In a second round, held several days later, the proposals are prioritised. Three priorities can be finally defined per meeting, resulting in a list of 30 proposals in total. The ultimate order of priority is determined by the delegates of the public forums. The decisions on funding the measures are taken by

the city council. In 2005, 20 projects were finally approved for which a budget of Lek 79.5 million (around 700,000 US\$) was provided (Co-Plan, 2005). The procedure focuses on the neighbourhoods and projects for the city as a whole play barely any role at all. Unlike in Seville and other adaptations of the Porto Alegre model, there are no criteria for the allocation of funding. The aim here is to win the trust of citizens by supporting small-scale projects.

A participatory budget has also existed in the Plateau Mont-Royal district (population 101,000) of the Canadian city of Montreal since 2005, though unlike the Albanian experience this was not initiated on a purely top-down basis. In fact it emerged from a movement that was driven and led largely by civil society organisations (Rabuin, 2009). As early as the late 1990s, these organisations invited the mayor of Porto Alegre, Raul Pont, to discuss the introduction in their home city of a procedure based on the Brazilian model. Initially, a corresponding proposal was rejected by the city government. A city conference organised by civil society activists in 2005, at

which both Brazilian and European experiences were presented, helped persuade the mayoress of the Plateau Mont-Royal borough, Helen Fotopulus, that participatory budgeting was a good idea. She had also been persuaded by trips to Brazil during which she spoke to key actors in the Porto Alegre participatory budgeting model. The key impetus for introducing such a procedure came in response to the continued pressure exerted by community organisations. The neighbourhood-based procedure then introduced can be considered a mix of proximity participation, the Porto Alegre model and the participation of organised interests model (some civil society groups have a permanent seat on the council of delegates). Although there are no allocation criteria and the process as it stands remains a compromise, community groups were able to influence the procedural rules.

In most cases, the local authority takes the first steps for introducing a participatory budgeting process, although the official organisers might be assisted in this undertaking by active citizens. This means that civil society can be strength-

Participatory school budget in Poitou-Charentes (France)

In recent years there have been a number of initiatives to also involve school students in participatory budgeting. Unlike in Latin America, in North America and Europe these kinds of activities are relatively new. A number of interesting experiments have also been undertaken by the Service Agency Communities in One World/Capacity Building International division (Ködelpeter/Nitschke, 2008). The most comprehensive experiment to date, however, is being conducted in the grammar schools in the French region of Poitou-Charentes. This involves a total of 93 grammar schools (Sintomer/Röcke 2010). In this procedure, participants can decide on a total sum of 10 million EUR (12.3 million US\$) per year; participants can put forward proposals for small-scale projects and investments worth a maximum of 150,000 EUR (184,000 US\$) each (the total school budget amounts to 110 million EUR, around 135 million US\$). In each school the participatory budget, which involves all members of the high school community, is based on two forums lasting approximately 2 hours each. The first meet-

ing (November/December) begins with an explanation of how the participatory budget works. In a second step working groups are formed to discuss projects designed to improve day-to-day life in the school. Finally, representatives of each group present their respective results in plenary. After the proposals have been reviewed by the regional government, a second meeting is held (January/February) at which the proposals are prioritised. Each participant is given ten ballots to distribute across the proposals as they see fit. The list of priorities produced in such way is then passed on to the regional government. This process was not a participatory budget in the during the first term, because it does not incorporate yet a second level at which representatives of different schools would come together (this step forward will be done in 2011). Nonetheless, the de facto power of decision-making exercised by the school students (and the other members of the school community) over a portion of the budget is impressive.

ened both through government initiatives, and through bottom-up engagement. Nonetheless, mobilisation is not always easy. In Europe and North America participatory budgets are usually initiated from the top down. Civil society is mobilised in only very few cases, and those cases where community organisations take the initiative are even fewer. Possibly, it is easier for citizens to become engaged if they have already practiced participation at school. The fact that this is possible in principle has been demonstrated in various experimental settings.

5. The outcomes of participatory budgeting in Europe and North America

Barely a decade after they came into existence in these regions, what conclusions can we draw so far about participatory budgets in Europe (and to a lesser extent North America)?

The ‚social balance‘, Italy

One aspect is often neglected in analyses of the social outcomes of participatory democracy: the fact that given the methods of public accounting and the habits of thinking, it is difficult or even impossible to know who actually ‚benefits‘ from public policies. Budgeting by products, which enables analysts to undertake a relatively fine-tuned statistical aggregation in that it brings together the different sums spent from different sources, is only a first step in this direction. In addition, one should also rank the available information in relation to criteria of social justice in order to obtain an exact idea of precise benefits to the groups in question. One of the most interesting experiences in this field is the ‚social balance‘ that was quite widely introduced in Italy in the late 1990s, and which is designed to intro-

duce and promote just such techniques. This approach is designed not only to implement a fixed social balance, but also to measure the concrete social effects of public policies and make them transparent. It also allows a precise and participatory evaluation of the socio-territorial impacts of public policies. In more advanced experiences, such as in Castel San Pietro Terme, near Rimini, the idea has been to provide the technological means so that calculations of this kind could become part of civil service ‚routine‘ rather than one-off operations. These technical instruments, often implemented in order to empower specific sections of the population, may also be used for ecological or gender equality policies.

Participatory modernisation within the framework of participatory budgeting can take place in different ways. One example in which participants are able to develop and specify proposals is providing extensive scope for joint discussion. In the Berlin district of Marzahn-Hellersdorf, for instance, citizens have been able to put forward detailed proposals, because they have had several opportunities to meet in working groups. Furthermore, it would also be neces-

sary to prepare local government staff to raise questions in order to obtain the information required to improve service delivery: Which books should be obtained for the library? Which green areas do citizens feel are being neglected? In order to go beyond micro-local concerns, it would also be important to discuss with citizens broader questions such as the privatisation of public services, and to utilise the participatory budget as part of the formal decision-making proc-

ess. If we compare the outcomes of the Latin American and European experiences, it would certainly appear advantageous to link participatory budgeting not only to local government modernisation, but also to gender mainstreaming and/or social budgeting.

With regard to the mobilisation and empowerment of civil society, as well as the 'democratisation of democracy', participatory budgeting has led to far less radical change within the political system in Europe (and presumably also in North America) than it has in Latin America. It is also difficult to demonstrate a link between the introduction of participatory budgeting and an increase in electoral turnout, or an improvement in electoral results for governing parties. In those municipalities with a participatory budgeting procedure, improved electoral outcome did result only in those cases where the process was well received by citizens, and was in accordance with a successful overall performance by the government in question (Sintomer/Herzberg/Röcke, 2008). Nonetheless, participatory budgeting can help strengthen a civil society. Even if there are virtually no examples of a general change in social relations that we could point to, there are numerous cases where less spectacular empowerment effects are clearly visible.

All in all, these experiences of participatory budgeting form a puzzle that is worth assembling.

III. Africa: A Late and Unequal Development

In Africa, one of the last continents along with Asia and Oceania where participatory budgeting started to grow, the models developed and the weight of transnational transfers present a different picture. This continent was able to draw on a great deal of interchange with Latin America and Europe, which over the last fifteen years stressed the importance of participatory budgeting as an innovative tool for improving governance. The scarcity of scientific research and the difficulty of many local actors in overcoming the silence imposed by communicational barriers or their marginal location in the global flow of information make it difficult to draw a systematic and inclusive panorama. One feature is clear: in a continent where representative democratic structures and cultures are weak, some social movements and a number of local authorities have engaged in the process, but this remains highly dependent on the action of international institutions and NGOs. The path that has largely been followed in Africa is the one that the Latin American radical movements had warned against (Allegretti, 2002). It differs also from the European case, where local governments have had the major role. During the first years the 'anti-globalisation' networks exerted a strong influence. However, in a region heavily burdened by social, economical and political problems, the innovation that participatory budgeting represents could be a source of hope.

A reform became possible in the second half of the 90s, when a larger series of political reforms drew attention to a wide range of management tools that might create scope for participatory democracy (Olowu, 2003). The slow rhythm of the process by which participatory budgeting took root on the African continent was partly due to the limited process of decentralisation, which was initially felt as a necessary premise for an innovation that had mainly been developed at a local level in the rest of the world. However, the encounter between the first participatory budgets and local institutions in Africa tells another story: these experiments are often seen as 'catalysts' supporting and even accelerating the effectiveness of decentralisation reforms. The latter came to be merged with strong principles of transparency and responsiveness (which in many countries are stated in national level administrative reforms, often in response to pressure from international donors). They also guaranteed respect for the pre-existing traditions

of citizen participation which marked the histories of several African local territories.

This is perhaps why since 2005 we have seen a visible acceleration of the process supported by powerful institutions, such as the World Bank and the United Nations (especially the HABITAT agency, based in Nairobi). It is impossible to deny the existence of an element of 'neo-colonialism' in the way in which the idea of participatory budgeting entered the African political debate. However, the diversity of actors has led to local adaptations that are difficult to classify. Participatory budgeting has merged with other tools, whose main objectives are the 'demystification of budgeting', the 'traceability of investments' and 'consensual development planning' in the sense of multi-stakeholder participation. These aims also include a multitude of governance principles linked to the improvement of decentralisation and the achievement of the UN-defined Millennium Development Goals.

The main limitation of these practices is their 'donor-based' perspective, which considers the transparent management of budgets a 'donors' right', designed to guarantee their formal goals in relationship to the international community, rather than a 'citizens' right' which could increase the overall level of democracy by widening access to decision-making. Such an approach can ignore the positive contribution of the traditional or 'neo-traditional' authorities linked to indigenous communities (which are often pivotal actors in social development, especially in rural areas), and impose models which mostly benefit some NGOs or new local elites. At the same time, the mixed nature of African participatory budgets could play a positive role, generating new hypotheses for poverty alleviation strategies and consolidating decentralisation through new contextualised tools. This could lead to new models that conceive of democratisation as a substantive issue based on resource redistribution, access to education, knowledge and power, and the 'right to the city'.

1. Early beginnings and the proliferation of experiments in francophone Africa

The first African experiences which used the term 'participatory budgeting' appeared in 2003-2004 in western francophone sub-Saharan Africa. They soon had close contacts with Latin America.

The rural municipality of Batcham (population 215,000) in western **Cameroon** benefited from collaboration with ASSOAL (the book-lovers' association), an NGO which had helped create 'local observatories on electoral engagements'. Through international networks such as the

International Alliance of Inhabitants and the France-based *Démocratiser Radicalement la Démocratie*, it learnt about the concept of participatory budgeting from Brazilian experiences. In 2003, ASSOAL negotiated its participation in a pilot project for participatory budgeting with the mayor of Batcham and Edzendoun (a rural municipality 60 km from Yaoundé). In the same year, as Cameroon's capital was hosting the pan-African forum Africities, ASSOAL organised a special session on participatory budgeting together with the Municipal Development Partnership (MDP, a mixed agency partially supported by UN Habitat) and the PGU-ALC. Such networking produced a 'Charter of intentions for the promotion of participatory budgeting in Africa',

WUF and AFRICITIES

Since 2003, two biennial international events have regularly promoted knowledge on participatory budgeting, giving special visibility to the experiments in Africa.

The first is the World Urban Forum (WUF), organised by UN HABITAT to promote a regular world-wide discussion on issues like housing, environment, governance or urban and rural management. The difference between this Forum and Summits such as HABITAT I (Vancouver, 1976) or HABITAT II (Istanbul, 1996) is that it is open to events proposed by 'development partners' such as NGOs, community-based organisations, local authorities, researchers and enterprises. In this new framework, a group of university scholars, NGOs and local authority networks have organised networking events on participatory budgeting, starting at the 2004 WUF held in Barcelona. Other training and awareness-raising events were organised during the 3rd Session of WUF (Vancouver, 2006), when the first African experiments were represented. A partnership involving the Centre for Social Studies of Coimbra University and the Development Planning Unit of University College London organised a networking event entitled 'Balancing resources for balanced development: New tools and issues on participatory budgeting' in Nanjing, China, in 2008. The same group is organising a new networking session on participatory budgeting for the 5th WUF in Rio de Janeiro, in March 2010.

Similarly, the Africities forum, organised by MDP and the

African section of United Cities and Local Government (the UN international network created in 2004), brings together African mayors and mayoral associations from all over the continent. This became a central space for fostering interchange among participatory budgeting actors in Africa, and lobbying for support from European cooperation agencies and international institutions. At the 2000 forum held in Windhoek, Namibia, the ministers who attended endorsed the Victoria Falls Declaration of 1999, in which participatory budgeting was recognised as a key instrument for achieving good governance. Following the Yaoundé bottom-up meeting on participatory budgeting (2003 meeting), UN HABITAT and the World Bank Institute, together with others, organised a special session on participatory budgeting at the 4th meeting in Nairobi (2006). More than 100 participants from both Africa and Europe attended. The mayors of Dondo (Mozambique), Matam (Senegal), Batcham (Cameroon) and Mutokol (Zimbabwe) shared their experiences. A training session on participatory budgeting was also organised at the 5th Africities Summit in Marrakesh (2009), to give special visibility to the first experiences of participatory budgeting in Egypt. The organisers are more or less the same as in the WUF meetings, mostly NGOs and universities.

Similar events were also held at several World and Regional Social Forums (such as in Mumbai 2004, Bamako and Athens 2006, Nairobi 2007 and Malmö 2008).

signed by five mayors of Cameroon, the cooperation agency of Brazilian municipalities, UN-HABITAT, MDP and others. This important moment was followed by several international training events organised by ASSOAL, MDP, the UN Habitat Training Branch, the Senegal-based ENDA-TM, the Academy of Science of South Africa (ASSAF) and Transparency International, with co-funding from the World Bank and some European cooperation agencies (such as those from Switzerland and Germany).

At a national level, the Charter was the beginning of the first two African participatory budgets that were directly related to Latin American experiences (ASSOAL consultancy and training for local facilitators). Both the rural municipalities of Batcham (population 215,000) and Ezendouan (13 villages, population 12,000) started participatory budgeting in 2004, when the Law on Decentralisation was about to be revised so as to increase municipal competences. They adopted similar methods: social mapping was organised, followed by a broad information campaign, the formalisation of commitments by the municipal councils, the training of local volunteers, technicians and elected officers. The promulgation of an Internal Ruling Act for Participatory Budgeting marked the formalisation of a methodology that more or less adopted the Porto Alegre model coupled with elements of participatory strategic planning. The participatory process consists of an annual cycle of village/neighbourhood/thematic forums, linked to the drafting of a Local Development Plan and the election of citizens' delegates who meet at city-wide forums. The latter continuously monitor people's proposals, even during the phases in which the elected authorities are tasked to harmonise them with their own budget plans. They also monitor the implementation phase. Each participatory budgeting cycle takes place mainly in the second half of every year, and ends in January of the following year.

Exchange with other African experiences has played an important role in elaborating the methodology. In the 5 years of experimentation with participatory budgeting, a Multimedia Centre, a Professional Training Centre (Batcham Chefferie), street connections and plans of basic infrastructures have been funded and implemented. In addition, archaeological and tourist sites were identified, mapped and equipped. In

a country where an average of 75% of municipal resources are devoted to current expenses, these investments were made possible both by savings made through transparent management and constructive partnerships with inhabitants, and by an increased attractiveness that the new participatory experience had for international donors. A study presented at Saly World Bank Conference in 2008 showed that within the last three years the Batcham budget rose by 49%, bringing investments up to 35%. The 2007 elections led to a change of mayor in Batcham. The newly-elected mayor, who was also a tribal king, saw participatory budgeting as providing added value. The number of participants in public decision-making meetings has risen to 5%, the implementation of public works has been accelerated, and Batcham became a point of reference both for the country and for all of francophone Africa.

In 2008, 16 mayors of the metropolitan area of Yaoundé and several facilitators of the Urban Network of Inhabitants took part in a national course on participatory budgeting. Ten cities asked for support to begin the experiment. The Internal Participatory Budgeting Ruling Act of the Yaoundé 6 district was published on April 2009, and others followed. 20 new municipalities (out of the more than 430 that already existed in Cameroon) are presently seeking support. ASSOAL launched the creation of a National Steering Committee on participatory budgeting where state representatives could meet with municipalities.

In **Senegal**, the story is almost similar. The first and most internationally known experiences are those of Fissel (population 42,000) in the Mbour Department of Thies Region and Matam (population 20,000) in eastern Senegal, on the border with Mauritania. Fissel is a rural community consisting of 28 villages. In this area of longstanding democratic traditions (which in 1996 hosted the first Senegalese community radio), the participatory budget was created in 2003, following a request by RECODEF (a representative organisation of Fissel civil society) to open financial decision-making to villagers. It was supported by the NGO IED Afrique, which trained 14 village facilitators and managed the capacity building of councillors, administrators and citizens' delegates (who were in charge of discussing village priorities and monitoring their implementation). The most

important feature of the experience was the gathering together of representatives of several homogeneous groups (women, young people, the elderly) in a second phase. It proved to be very important to offset traditional practices of exclusion based on criteria of gender, age and culture, and to empower traditionally marginalised persons. The same NGO was asked to work in other rural communities (such as that of nearby Ndiagnao (population 45.000) where it elaborated variants of the same methodology, thus helping create a local 'model' of participatory budgeting which was consolidated in 2008 by two important handbooks circulated all over francophone Africa: *Le Budget Participatif en pratique* (integrated into the regional programme *Réussir la Décentralisation*) and *Le Budget Participatif en Afrique – Manuel de formation pour les pays francophones*, coordinated by the NGO Enda TM with UN HABITAT.

The Matam experiment, which started in 2005, is remarkable because it attempts to mobilise resources from the local 'diaspora' (by creating links with emigrants from Matam who live elsewhere in the world), and to involve immigrants from Mauritania who are now residents. The experience gives families a central role in discussing the relationship between income and expenses. It is methodologically supported by the ENDA-TM, which together with UN HABITAT and the Spanish cooperation agency is presently working on an important national-level initiative for participatory budgeting, following a national workshop organised in 2006 in Dakar with the Association of Senegalese Mayors.

In **Madagascar**, where the decentralisation framework was clarified by law in 1995, six rural municipalities launched pilot participatory budgeting activities in 2008, supported by two dozen civic and professional institutions. Another ongoing experience started in the urban municipality of Fort Dauphin (population 59,000), the fifth administrative district of the capital Antananarivo (population 330,000), and in three municipalities in a mining area, which for 2010 are launching a discussion with citizens on the annual income from mining. An important role was played in the dissemination of innovations by SAHA, a rural development programme financed by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. The most renowned example of participatory budgeting in Madagascar, that of the rural municipality of

Ambalavao in the centre of the country (population 9,000), demonstrates the problem of pre-existing municipal debt and the difficulty of mobilising people, especially women. Since 2006, and despite a political change, there has been a qualitative growth in the organisation of a system that tries to involve people at village level. The municipality has managed to raise the budgetary contribution of local taxes on land from 8% to 52%. It has also involved several village communities in service delivery and implementation of public works. Today, the Local Governance Programme of the World Bank is collaborating with the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation to increase the interchange between the various Malagasy participatory budgets, and with other experiences abroad. A network has been created (*Plateforme nationale sur la rédevabilité sociale*), which is discussing a 'service quality standard' that could help guarantee better results. The improvements in communication include the publication of the mayors' salaries and an increasing use of oral and video methodologies to help non-literate people get involved. Specific measures are also being undertaken to facilitate other vulnerable groups' access to participatory arenas (Smoke, 2007).

To date, beyond the fragility of formal democratic institutions, the major difficulties in implementing participatory budgeting in francophone Africa have been linked to two issues. The first is the lack of resources to implement prioritised citizens' demands, which has been partially solved by making communities co-responsible for delivering services and supporting the construction of public works, thus integrating elements of the *community development* participatory budget. The second huge difficulty is to really make participatory budgets the main communication channel between communities and the municipality and to overcome the former patron-clients paradigm. One of the most important challenges for the future is increasing community training, so that people better understand the complexity of public decision-making and the role that every actor plays in the success of participatory processes.

2. A limited influence in lusophone Africa

Despite the fact that Brazil and Portugal have many participatory budgets, the innovation is still underdeveloped in lusophone African countries. In 2005, UNICEF in **Cape Verde** signed a first cooperation agreement. Later on, a project for implementing participatory budgeting was coordinated by the General Direction of Local Administration (a national governmental body) and supported by the UN Fund for Good Governance. In 2007, the project involved In-LoCo, a Portuguese NGO, which is coordinating a EU-funded national project for training on participatory budgeting in Portugal. In Cape Verde, In-LoCo has also been training politicians, municipal workers and civil society members, and supporting the design of local models of participatory budgeting. While there were just four original target municipalities, the project is now opened to all interested cities. In 2009, this new phase was launched with an international conference presenting examples of participatory budgeting from Latin America and Portugal. The project aims to guarantee continuity between the new tool and previously existing participatory practices. In 2009,

the first pilot process started in the municipality of Paul (population 8,500), a rural area with a strong potential for tourism. It focuses on housing, as a result of a consultation process among citizens.

The situation in **Mozambique** appears to be deadlocked. In fact, the most significant existing experience, that of the capital Maputo (population 1.1 million), is blocked for political reasons (Nguenha/Weimer, 2004). It started in 2004, being part of the electoral programme of FRELIMO, the left-wing party that led the fight for national independence. It was basically an adaptation of the Porto Alegre model. After a delegation took part in the Africa Regional Seminar on Participatory Budgeting organised in Durban by MDP-ESA, UN HABITAT, the World Bank Institute and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, the municipal council of the Mozambican capital announced that a new and more organised participatory budgeting pilot process would be launched in the Catembe urban district. However, when the mayor ended his mandate in November 2008, participatory budgeting was put on hold. Other Mozambican municipalities have incorporated some

The 'Training Companion':

an active tool to spread participatory budgeting

In 2005, a survey promoted by UN HABITAT amongst its own in-country staff and partners from local governments and civil society gave shape to the idea of a Training Companion for Participatory Budgeting (UN HABITAT/MDP). An expert group meeting in Nairobi - attended by over 30 stakeholders from 13 African countries and some Latin American Institutions such as CIGU from Ecuador - opened a process for generating a learning tool that would include specific ongoing examples in several African cities. A regional workshop held in Harare by NDP in March 2007 mobilised resources for pilot measures designed to make the Training Companion more effective. The 4 target municipalities were Ruwa (Zimbabwe), Nansana (Uganda), Kabwe (Zambia) and Mbeya (Tanzania).

The two-volume manual (published in 2008 in separate French and English versions) clearly states that it does not aim to achieve a unique model of participatory budgeting,

but rather seeks to benefit different local territories, taking advantage of the economy of scale in advocacy and capacity building efforts. It is the result of a wide interregional collaboration. It is also clear and easy to read, being based on simple concepts and illustrative examples that respect the diversity of sub-regional settings.

The Training Companion is available today as an electronic version, which increases its accessibility. Its dissemination is being promoted by various organisations and networks. ENDA-TM and MDP-ESA were the main professional partners that helped create the four interactive volumes for anglophone and francophone Africa. They consider the handbook to be more of a 'process' than a 'product', and are already working on a new updated edition that will include the new experiments, including those in the Portuguese-speaking countries.

principles of participatory budgeting, such as the participatory planning system tried in Dondo (population 71,600) and other processes co-funded by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. Dondo became one of the reference points in the Training Companion manual (UN HABITAT and MDP). The strong influence of the *community development* model in the discussions on the budget plan is balanced by the connection with investments that are co-decided on by citizens and private-sector actors. In other words, we are talking here about a multi-stakeholder model.

3. Anglophone Africa: hybrid experiments

In countries influenced by their former French or Portuguese colonial administrations, the mayor plays a central role, as in Latin America. For this reason, and due to ideological or cultural influences, participatory budgeting found a channel through which it could rise and spread in line with the original Porto Alegre model, which focuses on the budget as the main object of discussion. By contrast, in anglophone Africa two things make it more difficult to clearly define what participatory budgeting is and to identify concrete examples. The inherited administrative colonial structure bequeathed a local government system in which elected of-

ficials have more limited political power compared to mayors elsewhere, and in which a higher level of discretionary control over local budgets is provided by central/ministerial institutions (UCLG, 2008). In addition, participatory budgets are often of a 'hybrid' nature, although in the majority of these cases, experiences could be related to the *community development* model. The discussion of the budget usually merges with other participatory or consultative processes, which have different and parallel objectives such as physical and economical planning, charter of resources protection, or rural development strategies. Moreover, several tools for controlling the financial performance of local and regional authorities have been developed. They are somewhat similar to participatory budgeting, but are mainly designed to strengthen transparency, accountability and citizen control over budgets. It is in this area that MDP-ESA (based in Harare), UN HABITAT (based in Nairobi) and other important institutions have been promoting participatory budgeting. Since 2006, these actors have been working to establish the Training Companion and other tools to disseminate the concept that emerged from some Latin American experiences. This has led to the gradual 'hybridisation' of autochthonous African attempts to create a dialogue on financial and budgeting issues between representative decentralisation structures and citizens.

Arab countries: the beginning of an experiment?

In North Africa, where local governments have limited spheres of competence and responsibility (UCLG, 2008) and where representative democracy is 'under control', few initiatives have been undertaken to promote participatory budgeting. The most significant have been the training seminars promoted in Morocco by Transparency International (Casablanca, 2007) or side events at 'Africities' (Marrakesh, 2009). The only country which is actually interested in concrete implementation is **Egypt**, where the local administration system is being modified in order to deepen decentralisation. The Ministry of Local Development (MOLD) and the General Organisation for Physical Planning (GOPP) are cooperating with UN HABITAT to support the decentralisation process within the scope of participatory planning and budgeting. A first national workshop on participatory

budgeting was held in 2009 and the handbook '72 answers to frequently asked questions on participatory budgeting' has been translated into Arabic. A pilot participatory budgeting measure is planned in the near future that will involve 15 districts of 3 Governorates, which are home to around 4 million inhabitants: Ismailia, on the Suez Canal; El Fayoum, one hour away from Cairo, and Luxor, on the upper Nile. There are also plans to extend this process to Asiatic Arab countries: the Middle Eastern Partners Initiative (MEPI) is supporting a Jordanian NGO and the RADI Institute at the San Diego School of Management in connection with a regional project entitled 'Partners for Public Participation to Prepare Municipality Budgets, which aims to cover pilot experiences in Jordan, Yemen, Bahrain and Lebanon.

Today the case of **Zimbabwe**, one of the many African countries whose constitution does not recognise local government, provides interesting examples of 'bottom-up' participatory budgets. In this pseudo-democracy, where legislation advocates consultation rather than participation (Shah, 2007), participatory budgeting often emerged from a 'confrontational relationship' between citizens and institutions. In 2002, Marondera (population 46,000, east of Harare) accepted that it would satisfy requests made by inhabitants and local stakeholders after having been caught up in the hyperinflation spiral induced by high debt resulting from water supply and sanitation contracts (Chaeruka/Sigauke, 2008). In Mutoko rural district, participatory budgeting began in 2003 in response to strong civil society protests. Resources of the governmental Pilot Programme on Developing Local Governance were used to train facilitators, elaborate a social map of stakeholders active in the area and use this to create a Restructuring Action Plan for participatory planning and budgeting, which included service delivery charters and a detailed participatory budgeting cycle running from September to August of the following year. This rational organisation was made possible by a USAID donor-sponsored intervention, supported by the Urban Institute's expert knowledge. The RAP devised a 'social contract' signed by the administration, the leaders of civic groups, private sector representatives and traditional authorities, whose role in Zimbabwe is protected by the Traditional Leaders Act (1998). In the central city of Gweru (population 300,000), the participatory budgeting process is implemented by ward development committees and budget formulation workshops that are open to representatives of civic groups. These participate in the 5-year planning process and suggest tariff levels, adjustments to salaries and capital expenditure priorities.

In **Uganda**, where the 1995 Constitution explicitly endorses citizen participation in planning and where a specific Local Government Budget Call Circular fosters the transparency and the standardisation of data collection, the concept of community-based monitoring and evaluation is a central feature of planning and budgeting process. The most renowned participatory budgeting is Entebbe (population 115,000), the former colonial capital on the northern coast of Lake Victoria, where a process was initiated in 2000. It

consists of a one-month period for visiting each of the 24 villages and sub-wards in order to ascertain local conditions, problems, needs and priorities, in the run-up to the annual budget process. This strengthens the local government structures, making residents feel more involved in the relationship with the municipality and lowering the level of tax evasion. A similar process happens in Kasawo and Soroti, where community radio actively contributes to the budget cycle discussion. Here, the 'wish list' elaborated by community members does not lead to prioritisation and discussion of resources and revenue generation (Babcock et al., 2008). In Kibinge Sub-County of Masaka District, ballots for choosing priorities have succeeded in communicating the will of citizens to the elected officials more clearly. Where public/private partnerships are established in order to involve the private sector, donors and community-based organisations in the discussion of revenues (as in Lugazi or Kabaroli), this seems to provide a stronger basis for enhancing people's trust in institutions.

Tanzania has recently developed hybrid experiments in response to the current national allocation system, which is 'inefficient, cumbersome, and non-transparent' (Shall, 2007). In Singida District Council a committee of social actors is mandated to raise public awareness, mobilise citizens, and develop training in participatory and technical skills for planning and budgeting. This is especially important at village assembly level, which ranks and prioritises the problems and submits project proposals to the ward and the Singida District Council. Medium-term decisions at the district level are developed from two stakeholder consultations, while at village level a participatory rural appraisal method is used, at the end of which inhabitants can participate directly in approving village plans and budgets. In 2002, the Ilala Municipal Council developed a specially designed training programme and 22 community-level support teams for shaping the budget document.

In **Zambia**, where no formalised participation mechanisms exist, civic participation in policy and budget decision-making processes is rare. In 2003, Kabwe Municipal Council (population 200,000) created 36 sub-district Residents' Development Committees, through which citizens can set and prioritise goals, evaluate work done by the local au-

thority, redefine needs, and negotiate with the local council, but also with the Ministry of Local Government – a process that has been improved by an MDP-promoted pilot project launched in 2007. The major difficulty for fostering a serious participatory budgeting project with real decision-making power in Zambia is that fiscal transfers from the central government are unpredictable and councils have little information concerning funding policies, the criteria adopted in allocating grants, or the reasons for delays in releasing funds.

The situation is similar in **Kenya**, one of the most stable African representative democracies (although its current Constitution does not enshrine local authorities). Nevertheless, a Local Government Act and Local Authorities Transfer Fund Act do state that a participatory planning process is needed before submitting the Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan and receiving national funding (Kundishora, 2004). Ministerial circulars describe elaborate procedures for convening consultative meetings, disseminating information and conducting procedures. Laws provide that the resource envelope for the capital budget must be publicised before the meetings. Normally, ward representatives are elected to follow up on project matters on behalf of all stakeholders who participated in general meetings. In big cities such as Nairobi (population 4.5 million), priorities coming from the different wards and constituencies are then harmonised in a citywide consultative forum attended by three representatives from each ward. Other interesting participatory mechanisms are the ‚barazas‘ public meetings (called by traditional chiefs to educate citizens on public policies) and ‚harambee‘ committees (self-help groups which identify priority projects and raise funds to implement them). In such a framework, experiences of participation in budget approval date back to 2001/2002, but their consultative role is limited.

South Africa is the major regional power and one of the most dynamic representative democracies on the continent. Here, local governments are ruled by the Constitution and participation is defined by the Municipal Structures Act of 1998 as a responsibility of executive committees. It is, however, strictly linked to a ‚basic needs‘ approach and promotion of the socioeconomic development of each commu-

nity. Citizen consultation focuses mainly on the planning process, on the performance management system and on strategic decisions concerning service delivery. In 2003, the new Municipal Finance Management Act required each municipality to publish its budget documents, and allow local communities to submit comments on the budget. Unfortunately, this *ex post* obligation has not led to a simplification of budget documents. The methodology gives priority to the local ward committees, or to sub-municipal participatory councils for large cities. Normally, ward committees are voluntary and consist of a ward councillor and 10 members elected by the community. They make recommendations on any matter affecting the ward, but remain merely advisory. Sub-municipal councils are more politicised, each political party being represented according to the proportion of votes received in a ward. Involving people in some budgeting phases is almost a duty for a South African municipality, and a minimum advisory process of opening the budget to citizens exists all over the country, even if some local authorities are more committed than others. In Mangaung/Bloemfontein (population 380,000) in 2004, the town hall added to the Integrated Development Planning Representative Forum a special ‚budget conference‘ designed to involve stakeholders in increasing the coherence between the budget and the actions provided for in the Integrated Development Plan. Public hearings, report-back meetings, focus and interest groups complete the panorama, supported by community radio and e-government tools. The Metropolitan Ekurhuleni Municipality (population 2.5 million, Gauteng Province) uses a similar system. Its main interest is the use of theatrical performances to explain the planning process and describe the various actors and their responsibilities. A ‚mayoral road show‘ of the whole executive cabinet crosses the three regions of the metropolitan area to meet citizens, and encourage them to participate in the so-called ‚budget tips‘, providing feedback and suggestions on priorities by means of letters to the mayor, e-mails or ballots deposited in boxes at city libraries. Since 2006, the municipality of Mantsopa (population 69,000, Free State Province) has held, within the framework of the Integrated Development Plan, a Budget Representative Forum which includes community representatives of the 8 wards, as well as organised stakeholders and government departments. These deal only with

the investment budget, which represents around 26% of the total expenditure. The budget cycle discussion normally starts in July, which is the beginning of the financial year, and council approval is given in May, after a period during which the tabled budget has been open to citizens' comments.

Over the last few years, projects that directly benefit communities and correspond to the priorities identified through the participation process seem to have increased all over the country, and relationships between citizens and local authorities have improved. Campaigns have been promoted by Social Watch and by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA, an NGO that combines advocacy, training, and research, is specialised in budget analysis and has begun analysing the budget from the perspective of women and children, an idea inspired by the United Nations conventions on the rights of women and children). The involvement of citizens in budgeting could spread expertise, thus ensuring that policy capacity is not the monopoly of the executive branch of government, something very important in a country where legislative institutions are poorly staffed, such as South Africa. Nevertheless, there is an evident lack of training for participants to enable them to really discuss financial issues, and the officials tend to override citizens' choices, imposing their 'technocratic style', 'where professionals do all the work and thereafter sell it to citizens' (Leduka, 2009). Even if participation during the budgeting process has become a legal requirement, this has not yet resulted in the configuration of real participatory budgets. The rudimentary processes are still not provided with workable rules, they do not foster the creation of new institutional structures, and they rarely fight the racial divisions. The social impact of a participatory mechanism that was conceived in Latin America as a pivotal tool of civic pedagogy and maturation has so far been rather limited in this region of the world.

This is more or less true for the other anglophone African countries. Although participatory mechanisms involve citizens in budgetary issues, elected officials and administrative staff are only weakly committed to using these mechanisms to really fight the social inequalities or to empower individual participants and communities. In many cities,

participation tends not to be representative of the population. Often, it does not involve any meaningful dialogue that really affects public decision-making – a process that in Africa more frequently takes place in other spheres, especially in rural villages or country communes. The difficulty of relating the 'spurious' African participatory budgets (which are often labelled in this way by external actors such as researchers, consultants or international institutions) to the Latin American and European ones is quite evident, even though the 'circulation of models' has greatly increased in the last three years. Interestingly enough, this could be one of the main issues over the next few years. In any case, in anglophone Africa as elsewhere on the continent, the challenge of collaborating on participatory budgeting for foreign institutions and NGOs is to do so through peer-to-peer discussion, and to really understand the local context instead of simply trying to reproduce pre-existing models.

IV. Participatory Budgeting in Asia and Oceania: Between Autochthonous Development and International Exchange

In Asia, which is home to nearly half of the world's population and contains 23 of the 40 largest metropolitan areas on the planet, participatory budgeting emerged even later than in Africa, though it has since undergone exponential growth. In contrast with other continents, the processes were initially mainly autochthonous and local, even though their principles and methodologies have a lot in common with those of America or Europe. They implied a critical questioning of the ties between politics, the economy and administrative reforms. The actors conducting these experiments were not really aware of what was going on in other cities and countries. The methodology and political significance of the experiments still differ sharply from one place to other, making it difficult to draw a panorama. In addition, political structures are much more heterogeneous in Asia than in Europe or Latin America, with a spectrum that includes federal and centralised states, constitutional monarchies with parliamentary governments, unitary presidential systems and single party states. The diversity of cultures and standards of living is striking. A common factor has been that the birth of participatory budgeting took place in a period of accelerated economic development, and to a lesser extent in a phase of progressive decentralisation (UCLG, 2008). All in all, though, the panorama of participatory budgeting in Asia is kind of mosaic. Its contributions to the international debate are diverse.

International exchange increased in a second phase, but it is not certain that this will help unify the panorama, because their impact is quite different from place to place. The term participatory budgeting first came into use only around 2005, with explicit reference to Brazil. The first actors who came into direct contact with the European or Latin American debates were those in Kerala state (India), whose experience received international recognition from left-wing scholars (Fung/Wright, 2001; Santos, 2005) and alter-globalist movements, and which was widely discussed during the World Social Forum held in Mumbai in 2004. Then came those of Indonesia, where Transparency International invited some trainers to explain how the

Brazilian model was working in 2003. In 2004, representatives of Sao Paulo's participatory budgeting office were invited to South Korea to explain their model. Since then, China has become the focus of a growing Asian interest in participatory budgeting, as well as the centre of international exchange. In 2005, the China Development Research Foundation organised a visit to Porto Alegre, and the local Government of Zeguo promoted the first 'deliberative polling'³ experience that discussed budget issues, with the support of some scholars of Stanford University and the Ford Foundation. The project 'Strengthening Public Participation in Decision Making' was launched in 2006, co-organised by the English NGO The Rights Practice, Sciences Po Paris and the Constitutionalism Research Institute in Beijing. The *China-Europe Forum* addressed the issue of participation (and specifically that of participatory budgeting) in 2007 during a sub-forum organised by the French Rhone-Alpes Regional Government. Contacts increased with the World Conference on the Development of Cities held in Porto Alegre in 2008; the networking session dedicated to participatory budgeting at the UN HABITAT World Urban Forum held in Nanjing in 2008; the follow-up workshop in Shanghai which brought together the Sino-American enterprise Urbanchinapartners, the Mayor of Porto Alegre, the Ford Foundation and leaders of various international experiments; and the first International Conference on Participatory Budgeting in Asia and Europe, organised in 2009 by Germany's Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the Marc Bloch Centre (Berlin) and Zhejiang University of Hangzhou.

1. Participatory budgeting as a regional development instrument (Kerala, India)

The first and most famous Asian participatory budget, which actually did not use this term, took shape in 1996 in **Kerala**, developing at a state level with the active participation of municipal and provincial institutions. The idea came from the younger party leaders of the Marxist CPI-M party, who wanted to avoid the decline of the Left United Front in a

³ *Deliberative polling* is a procedure invented by J. Fishkin (2003), where hundreds of citizen randomly selected meet and deliberate on a public issue, with public hearings of politicians, experts or NGOs activists, discussion in small groups and in general assembly. They are polled at the beginning and at the end of the process, and the result can be characterized as the informed opinion of the people. The Zeguo experiment, as we will see below, has only adapted some features of this scheme.

state where communist parties and the moderate left-wing Congress Party take turns at government. Promoting citizens' participation in decentralised budget planning could not be achieved without a prior capacity building phase, involving initiatives such as the Total Literacy Campaign, the People's Science Movement, the People's Resource Mapping Programme and the Kalliasseri People's Planning Experiment. In 1996, the Kerala People's Campaign for the Ninth Plan was launched, mobilising more than 10% (a third of whom were women) of the 31 million inhabitants of the region. Participants could decide on almost 40% of state revenues during the period 1996/2001. It covered the whole territory, with 991 rural villages (*grama panchayats*), 152 *block panchayats*, 53 municipalities, 14 districts and 5 corporations (the various levels of local government). Two main elements made this campaign a real – and particularly dynamic – example of participatory budgeting, despite the fact that it was not originally in contact with Brazilian experiences. Firstly, it mobilised citizens through a cyclical process, supported by 373 state-level trainers, almost 10,500 trained provincial-level resource persons and 50,000 trained local activists (among which there were 4,000 retired administrators, mobilised as 'volunteer technical corps' to disseminate knowledge and lend quality to the discussion). The launching of the process was a political decision, but it opened the door to a huge social movement that gave shape to the experiment. Nowhere else, except in some Latin American locations, has participatory budgeting been a channel for such a mass mobilisation. Secondly, people elected delegates to follow the process in every phase, having a decisional say in prioritising, implementing and monitoring the consensually-elaborated demands to be inserted into local and supra-local development plans.

The participatory procedure comprises five steps: (1) a large range of local assemblies (or *grama sabhas*, which attracted more than 2 million citizens in August-December 1996) with strict rules, such as reduced times of speech for politicians and experts and small groups, in order to facilitate discussion and involve people not accustomed to speaking in public; (2) data collection and collective writing of the local panchayat and Urban Development Report (PDRs),

which serve to stimulate discussion at 'development seminars' attended by people's delegates (around 20 per ward); (3) drafting of project proposals containing the technical requirements and financial planning details by the 'task force' created at the development seminars; (4) approval of the Plan by District Planning Committees, followed by (5) implementation, monitoring and evaluation, in which citizens also take part.

In its 13 years of existence, the 'plasticity' acquired by Kerala participatory budgeting (Chaudhuri and Heller, 2002) enabled it to survive the political changes which twice subverted the political hue of the state government (Jain, 2005). In the following years, other cities in **India** proposed less ambitious and extended processes which – after processes of exchange with Brazilian and European cities had developed – were termed participatory budgets. The experience of Bangalore (population 4.5 millions, Karnataka state) appeared more solid, given that it emerged from the participatory budgeting campaign organised by Janaagraha, a community-based organisation which – following a field visit to Porto Alegre in 1998 – worked hard to convince the local government to experiment across 10 wards in 2002-2003. After this pilot exercise several materials were published, such as written handbooks and video surveys of neighbourhoods. However, participatory budgeting remains subordinated to other instruments, such as the Citizens' Report Cards⁴. Janaagraha collects extensive citizen inputs for the Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP) and submits them to the local government, but there are no fixed rules, and the political pact with the administration is not clear enough to guarantee a broad and visible commitment that would create more trust among citizens.

⁴ Citizens' Report Cards are a form of written submission/petition which is supposed to improve administrative behaviour – a procedure which is recommended among others by the World Bank's handbooks of citizen participation.

Timid tendencies in Indonesia, Bangladesh and Thailand

In **Indonesia**, participatory budgeting has been promoted by NGOs such as FITRA (the Indonesian Forum for Transparency in Budget) and citizens' movements. These created the 'developing participatory budgeting' campaign, which was designed to enhance budget awareness amongst local communities and local authorities, but also to promote participatory practices as a manifestation and catalyst of democratisation within an authoritarian political environment (Sri/Mastuti/Neunecker, in Sintomer et al., 2011). In addition, exchange with participatory budgeting actors around the world has been promoted with the support of UNDP, the Asian Development Bank and other international institutions, mainly with an anti-corruption focus. In a country where no formal mechanism for direct citizen participation exists, many organisations act as watchdogs, monitoring development projects or local budgets. With the lack of substantive reforms from the government side since those in 1999 and 2000, only few experiences have managed to concretely respond to issues raised by civil society. The programme has mostly resulted in a gradual establishment of 'preconditions' for participatory budgeting, which is still at a very early stage.

In **Bangladesh**, the only reported experience of participatory budgeting is quite 'spurious', being more a part of a participatory planning exercise than a specific tool (Rahman, 2004). In the constitutional monarchy of **Thailand**, a few cities have

introduced participatory budgeting as a daily management tool, and experiments were launched at the beginning of the century when the term 'participatory budgeting' was still unheard of. In Khon Kan (population 130,000), a dynamic centre in the Northeast, participatory budgeting was adopted as a means of addressing the growing level of public resistance and conflict regarding local development projects, and to respond to a strong demand for civic participation, which had emerged from the active participation of local residents in the constitution-drafting process in the late 1990s. In 1997, the city contracted the local university to conduct a series of scattered focus groups at community level. As a result of the meetings, 38 development programmes were put into the city development plan and a new architecture of participation was implemented, including additional 'special purpose meetings' (held every three months at municipal level), plus thematic focus groups to discuss education, health and sanitation, income promotion and social welfare. More than 50 meetings were held in 2003, and 140 civic organisations actively took part. Today, town hall meetings are required whenever a policy issue has potential significance for the general public. The city sets the agenda, but many meetings are scheduled according to citizens' needs, so that most citizens can attend and feel at ease. No co-decision-making takes place, but consensus is often reached through deliberation (Suwanmala, 2004).

2. China: between People's Congress support and deliberative polling

Though **China** shares some economic and social features with India, its political structure is completely different. In China, the growing interest in participatory budgeting is embedded in a mostly top-down process. The concept was discovered around 2005, and a widespread interest seems to be growing in the wake of the so-called 'sunshine finance' revolution, which elaborates principles of budgetary transparency in order to increase the performance of its government system. In China, where local authorities receive only 32% of their incomes from central government

(UCLG, 2008), there is a high potential in terms of 'flexibility' of resources to be allocated throughout the participatory budgeting processes. In such a huge country, where information on innovative experiences does not easily circulate, the major difficulty of identifying examples of participatory budgeting is the ambiguity of the Chinese concept of 'participation'. In a context where information often remains the monopoly of the executive and the Communist Party leaders, the notion is not necessarily related to the direct involvement of the people in public policies. It is often used for practices of inter-institutional dialogue involving members of the legislative (the Local People's Congress deputies have been traditionally excluded from the definition of the

municipal budget), information disclosure, public notification and – in the best case – legislative hearing, public opinion polls, inquiries, and surveys.

In some cases, participation also implies negotiations with organisations such as private enterprises, residents' committee or the new universe of NGOs. Only a few experiments are based on the active involvement of 'ordinary' citizens. This new trend includes examples that can be considered 'real' participatory budgets. By becoming practitioners, ordinary citizens could help clarify, consolidate and possibly mainstream a notion of participation that would match more closely the meaning of the term in Europe, Latin America or India. Although the future is not clear, this could also contribute to the modernization of public administration and to a democratisation process at the local level. This, however, remains dependent on the will of the local party leaders, whose ability to put to good use the innovative proposals made by some Chinese scholars or international networks varies widely. Such innovative experiments allow leaders to quickly climb in the hierarchy, which means that they will move elsewhere if the experiment is successful. Therefore, the sustainability of the process at the local level is not easy.

The lack of serious field work makes it difficult to classify so-called participatory budgets such as those held in Wuxi (population 1 million, Jiangsu Province) and in Helongjiang Province, where 80-90 citizen representatives discussed and voted for the projects that were ratified by the municipality. (There is some doubt here as to whether the selection of delegates actually moved beyond the traditional logic, which is based on patron/client-type links with the political authorities). The most interesting Chinese case is undoubtedly that of Zeguo Township (He, in Sintomer et al. 2011). It is one of the few experiences in the world that have tried to merge the traditional idea of participatory budgeting with techniques most commonly used in deliberative democracy experiments. The result is a hybrid type of policy-oriented 'deliberative polling', which shares some features with the consultation on public finance model. It has undergone several transformations in the course of time and then been repeated, gradually opening up its semi-decisional rules and influencing policies in nearby Wenling City.

Participatory budgeting implemented through deliberative polling in Zeguo

Zeguo is an industrial township of Wenling City (population 1 million.), located in Zhejiang Province. Its jurisdiction covers 97 villages, having a permanent local population of almost 120,000 persons, as well as a floating (migrant) population of the same size. Its major industries produce shoes, water pumps, air compressors and new building materials. In December 2004, in cooperation with a Chinese scholar working in Australia, the Centre for Deliberative Democracy at Stanford University was chosen by communist party leaders to provide technical advice to the local government. The idea was to provide a channel for citizens and interest groups to express their concerns, while reducing conflicts of interest and the perception of corruption in the selection of priority projects in the local budget for 2005. A working committee was set up to design the proc-

ess and organise an expert committee which could carry out a preliminary study. A questionnaire for the population was also tested and revised through several interviews in March 2005. 275 people were selected to participate in a deliberative poll through a random sampling designed to create a diverse and representative microcosm of the people, including usually 'disengaged' persons. Of these 275, 269 completed the initial questionnaire who later served to verify how the 'informed deliberation' modified their visions and skills. The main goal of the deliberation day was to discuss how to spend the annual budget, and examine the citizens' preferences among the possible projects listed by the local officials. The total cost of the 30 projects was 136 million RMB (20 million US\$), but only less than one third of that amount could be spent on them.

In light of budget constraints, the participants were asked to carefully examine each proposal in 16 small groups, discuss their merits and identify key questions for competent experts to answer in plenary sessions. The moderators of each table were teachers selected from Zeguo Number Two High School, who had been trained for the event. At the end of the day, participants rated 30 projects on a scale of 0 to 10. A similar experience was repeated in 2006 (when the number of projects presented was raised to 35), then again in 2008 and 2009, applying the discussion to the whole town budget (He, in Sintomer et al. 2011). Local authorities had to observe discussions without participating, and met the following day to take the legally binding decisions.

Strongly impressed by the experiment, they accepted most of the citizens' proposals in the final budget (He, 2009). The process is now explicitly seen as and termed a participatory budgeting model. It has grown from year to year, and has come to include new issues such as the need for affirmative action to involve illiterate people and representatives of migrant workers. The process remains focussed on spending. Incomes are not discussed, although they could be considered problematic, as they mostly depend on the sale of public land to private entrepreneurs. (This is one of the most controversial and difficult social issues in China, because this process is causing the expulsion of millions of people from their houses in rural areas.)

The success of the gradually enriched experience of Zeguo has prompted the main city of Wenling to develop its own participatory budget (Hsu, 2009), which is gradually developing at the same time, and to extend the process to other townships. In addition, Wenling city has now subjected its transportation department to a consultation, involving congress delegates, ordinary citizens, retired cadres and street committees. One of the main actors of the Zeguo experience, the Chinese professor Baogang, was also the protagonist of an Action Aid International project in Chinese villages, for which he organised four deliberative polls (2006) involving 47 elected village representatives and 25 stratified randomly selected representatives of inhabitants. This was designed to promote a discussion on the villages' economy and plan. In those cases, the rule negotiated with the local executives was that the results of the second survey performed at a deliberative workshop had to be considered as the participants' proposal, and should be integrated into the local plan and budgeting documents.

The idea of working on new participatory experiments in rural areas came from the notion (which dates back to the political reforms of the mid-1990s) that in a country which is still predominantly rural, administrative reforms in rural institutions should be considered crucial. Compared to other countries, these practices, and particularly the recent wave of participatory budgets, might have repercussions not only at the local level. They might also help strengthen

a new 'democratic culture' by harnessing the deliberative capacity and the decisional role of all local elected authorities (including the local People's Congresses, and not only the executive institutions, as is usually the case), and by promoting the empowerment of an active and critical social fabric. Moreover, they can be seen as useful tools for solving some problems that China shares with other countries in the Asian context, such as: the concentration of budget power in the hands of a few (who favour their interest groups); the lack of social equity in the provision of public budgeting; the overlooking of disadvantaged groups; the absence of structured mechanisms to ascertain citizens' demands and preferences during the local budgeting process; and widespread corruption (He, 2009). However, there is a long way to go, given the politically authoritarian structures at national level.

3. Korea: a Porto Alegre in the Far East?

In Japan and South Korea, two rich countries that are members of the OECD, the social, economic and political context has little in common with the Indian one, and even less with the Chinese one. Participatory budgeting has emerged as a tool for tackling problems linked to the scarcity of resources, incomplete decentralisation, and the lack of accountability and responsiveness of elected institutions to the needs of their citizens (particularly the poor). In **South Korea**, citizen participation has a strong tradition, as mass mobilisation

was a decisive factor in the progressive democratisation of the country that took place in the nineteen-eighties. It has recently been strengthened by three legislative reforms: the 2005 Local Referendum Act; the 2006 Act on the Local Ombudsman Regime and local petitions against the abuse of local finance; and the 2007 Local Recall system, by which elected mayors and councillors may be removed from office by a local vote (UCLG, 2008). What added value could participatory budgeting represent in this context, where decentralisation has been conceived as a curious mixture of deconcentration and devolution, and local authorities have far less autonomy in practice than suggested by the Constitutional Article 117 (1987) and the recently amended legislation (1994-95)?

The answer is certainly linked to the context in which the size of local government debt and the borrowing capacity of local government was placed under tight control by the central government in 2000. President Rho Moo-hyun also emphasised participation as a means to bring about 'trust and confidence' in political institutions. His time in office (2003/2008) was described as 'participatory governance', and contributed greatly to the fast expansion of the participatory budgeting concept in the country. Today, South Korea is probably the most complex Asian country in terms of participatory budgeting. It is the one with the largest number of participatory budgets, and in terms of dissemination is among the most dynamic regions in the world (Rhee, 2005). The concept was initially introduced in a bottom-up process, but its diffusion has been stimulated on a top-down basis by the national government. The key principles of participatory budgeting were imported from the Brazilian experience but were re-elaborated locally, giv-

ing birth to a 'slimmed down version' that some scholars call the 'Citizens' Participatory Budget' in order to explicitly distinguish it from Porto Alegre. From the early 1990s onwards some NGOs began watching the Brazilian experience. Among them, the Citizens' Coalition for Economic Justice (CCEJ) was the most active, having created several committees dealing with the issue of budget transparency, such as the Citizens' Watchdog Committee on Government Budget Waste.

In July 2003, the Ministry of Government and Home Affairs issued 'guidelines for citizens' participatory budgeting' to all local governments. The first experiments started in 2004. The Buk-gu (northern district) of Gwangju Metropolitan City (population 1.4) was in the front line to become the Porto Alegre of Korea (Kwack and Seong, 2007), followed by Dong-ku district in Ulsan and (one year later) by the northern district of the same city, and Suncheon municipality. In August 2005, the Ministry of Government and Home Affairs proposed a revision of Article 39 of the Local Finance Law, stating that mayors 'can enact and execute the procedures for citizen participation in the local budget process', and inserted in Article 46 a list of instruments that could fulfil this goal. At the same time it was suggested that the main organisational steps of the proposed process be specified in local bylaws. The Daedeok-gu of Daejeon Metropolitan City and Ansan-si of Chungnam-Do prepared their legal framework in 2005, while many other cities waited for the 'Standard Local Bylaw for Citizen Participatory Budget', which was provided by the Ministry in August 2006. The number of 'citizens participatory budgets' rose to 22 in 2006, and reached 75 (almost 1/3 of the 241 local authorities) by the end of 2008.

How does participatory budgeting work in Korea?

The case of Dong-ku

Dong-ku (Ulsan municipality) is the most famous participatory budget in South Korea. This self-governing district is home to around 186,000 of the 1.1 million citizens of Ulsan Metropolitan City, an industrial town located on the south-eastern edge of the Korean peninsula. In 2004, participatory budgeting was proposed by the newly elected

district head, a member of the Democratic Labour Party. This came in response to the request of local NGOs, such as Ulsan People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy and the Ulsan Coalition for Economic Justice. A task force team and an advisory committee were set up to propose the initial design. This met with reluctance among many officials and

council members, as well as scepticism among citizens. After a broad discussion, the Ordinance of Participatory Budgeting was enacted, whose main goals were to improve financial transparency and accountability, and strengthen participatory democracy (Songmin, in Sintomer et al., 2011).

The methodology, which basically adapts the Porto Alegre model but lacks the social mobilisation that characterises the Brazilian city, seems consistent with these objectives. Participatory budgeting is a joint decision-making process in which all ordinary citizens can take part in making proposals at a first stage, while groups of delegates follow up on the remaining steps. It consists of locally-based meetings in which every resident in the area can participate, and a city assembly that gives a pivotal role to a citizens' committee on participatory budgeting (subdivided into 5 thematic committees). This committee is appointed partly by means of open recruitment and partly through recommendations made by community organisations. All members are trained for their tasks at a so-called 'participatory budgeting school'.

Participants at locally-based meetings can propose budget projects which are then evaluated by technical bodies in a back office. In the last 5 years, 306 programmes were proposed. 37.9% of them were included in the draft budget and another 25% were categorized as long-term projects

to be implemented gradually. The rate of participation in locally-based meetings slowly increased from 0.12% to 0.14%. Other people participate online. In the second part of the cycle, the thematic committees prioritise the projects, while a central role for consolidating budget proposals is played by a participatory budgeting council (which includes 5 representatives from each thematic committee, the District Head of Dong-ku and his four high officials). The budget proposal is given final approval in a third stage, by the plenary of the citizens' committee.

One of the most elaborate features of Dong-ku participatory budgeting is the feed-back phase. After every cycle, an evaluation meeting is held to judge its performance and to share experiences among public officials and members of the citizens' committee. The suggestions are then elaborated by an advisory committee (composed of district council members, professors, NGOs, and high public officials), which states the new rules for running participatory budgeting during the next fiscal year. The Dong-ku participatory budget underwent continuous development up to 2009. For example, the number of meetings and the criteria for assigning members to the citizens' and thematic committees were changed, in order to avoid 'conflicts of interest'. The limited discretionary resources at the district's disposal are the main constraint to participatory budgeting.

The proliferation of participatory budgets in Korea and the adoption of bylaws have not necessarily led to very creative processes. Despite some homogeneity of rules, which tend to imitate the minimum standard of the ministerial documents, the quality of participatory budgeting is uneven (Hwang, 2008). However, a number of tools (such as internet surveys, online bidding, cyber forum, online bulletin boards, public hearings, seminars etc.) have been provided in order to foster not-exclusive processes for all citizens in every phase, and the tradition of citizens' budget schools and budget policy seminars is one of the most important South Korean contributions to the global debate on participatory budgeting. The national legislation provides a framework for participatory budgeting without obliging local governments to engage in it, but the absence of de-

centralisation measures has prevented Korean participatory budgets from improving qualitatively. In fact, two of the main constraints which limit the growth of many experiments are the reduced timeline for discussion (this is largely determined by the national framework for budget approval deadlines, which often requires participatory phases to be concentrated with a three-month period) and the rigidity of local budgets. These budgets are so dependent on non-negotiable transfers from state level that participatory processes often become a way for government to pass on difficult decisions to the people and let them deal with it, instead of a way to put the local creativity of citizens to good use.

4. Japan: participatory budgeting for taxpayers

The constitutional monarchy of **Japan** shares some problems with Korea, such as the strong influence of national parties on local elections, the decline in local election turnouts (below 50%), the raising of officials' corruption cases and the rigidity of national transfers to local budgets, which still represent over 60% even after the Omnibus Decentralisation Act and the 2005-2007 'Trinity Reform' of local finances that empowered municipalities (UCLG, 2008). In Japan, local governments have wide functional responsibilities and account for over half of total public expenditure and 10% of GDP. This strong formal role goes hand in hand with extensive power given to citizens to demand local referendums, the improvement or abolition of ordinances, audits and even dissolution of the local assembly, as well as dismissal of the mayor, council members or officials. Despite this, in the 47 prefectures and 1,798 municipalities, citizen participation in public policy decision-making is not very frequent, especially in the field of financial planning (Matsubara, in Sintomer et al., 2011). The first attempt to involve people in budget issues met with the active involvement of some grassroots organisations, which were allowed to legalise their status in 1998. After 2003, various processes involving citizens and grassroots organisations in the discussion of public budgets were launched. The Coalition for Legislation to Support Citizens' Organisations distinguishes several types: disclosure of the budget-making process (sometimes merely a process of information transfer); counter budget-making by citizens' committees; public consultation on the budget; direct budget management by citizens; participatory transfer of 1% of resident taxes to non-profit organisations, etc. (Matsubara, in Sintomer et al., 2011).

The most peculiar example is the city of Ichikawa, where the participatory budget uses 1% of resident tax revenues for non-profit projects. In 2004, the mayor (who in Japan is elected separately from the local assembly and has the task of proposing the budget to the council) approved an ordinance based on a Hungarian model. Through participation he hoped to gain the support of citizens for his budgetary policy in a difficult financial situation. Ichikawa, one of the

most prominent members of the is a bedroom community next to Tokyo, with 473,000 inhabitants (230,000 of whom are taxpayers and 1/4 are commuters), and a transit of 540,000 persons/day. The idea of organising a participatory process for the potential amount of 3.8 million yen (around 40,000 US\$), which represented 1% of tax revenues, was to support and revitalise the non-profit sector. Every taxpayer is entitled to vote by internet, and can choose up to 3 organisations to be funded, according to his/her needs or wishes and on the basis of activity plans put forward by the non-profit organisations and discussed in public assemblies (sometimes with the use of drama and other artistic means). A special 1% committee, which screens plans and funded activities, has also been created. The local government distributes the money according to the votes. The process stimulates the grassroots community organisations, requiring them to make their mission and fundraising approach better known, and promotes citizens' interest in the use of their taxes and in the budget mechanism. 5 years after the process was launched, voter turnout is now around 5% (having increased from 557 to 9,110 voters). The process has not opened up other segments of the budget to citizens' decision-making, though. The organisations which propose activities have jumped from 81 to 130, and the funded amount has risen from 12 to 20 million yen (130,000 US\$ to 210,000 US\$). Before 2005 it was just 2 million yen (21,000 US\$). Interesting choices have been made by citizens for projects benefiting vulnerable groups, such as a swimming programme for mentally retarded persons.

Other Japanese cities have been stimulated by the Ichikawa experiment. Some have decided to open voting to non-taxpayer groups. In Eniwa, a new town of 68,000 inhabitants in Ishikari district on Hokkaido island, since 2008 every citizen above junior high school age has been able to vote. Since 2009, in Ichinomiya (population 380,000, Aichi Prefecture), the 1% amount of taxes is divided by the total number of citizens, so that everyone can have a vote, worth 658 yen. Thank to this, the voting rate has jumped to 10%. These variations have had a feedback impact on Ichikawa, whose system has evolved. Electronic 'community scores' were created, which are given as a reward for volunteer work or recycling, and can be used in the process by non-

taxpayers. The proposal is now impacting other cities. The term 'participatory budgeting' is coming into use. In 2009, Ichikawa organised a '1% Summit', which will develop a network to share experiences on this very peculiar version of the community development participatory budget. Even if it is mainly impacting programmes, without involving fa-

cilities and public spaces, it remains interesting because of its capacity to empower communities. The Summit aims to jointly identify ways to stabilise Japanese participatory budgets, which are very fragile, being highly dependent on the will and policies of mayors.

Oceania: e-democracy and community building

In Oceania, the term participatory budgeting is not used frequently by policymakers, although some academic institutions have been promoting studies based on an international perspective. In **Australia**, a high degree of autonomy and local differentiation of policies exists (UCLG, 2008). Taking advantage of a tradition of studies which tried to bridge the gap between gender analysis and gender-responsive budgets, some states have elaborated rules for communicating public budgets by transparent means. For example, the Local Government Act of the state of Victoria (passed in 1989) requires councils to advertise in local newspapers the fact that they have formed a proposed budget - and people can then submit requests to the government for additions or deletions. Most often, these procedures do not go beyond an informal process of 'selective listening' (Demediuk/Solli, 2008). However, in cities such as Melbourne (population 4 million), transformations are under way, and the Finance and Corporate Performance Committee now seems more committed to providing clear responses to citizens' written or verbal proposals.

Recently, an interesting electronic voting activity took place in the Australian federal state of New South Wales (NSW), as an attempt to mitigate the effects of the economic downturn and stimulate local economies. The state

government has allocated US\$30 million (approximately 22 million EUR) to the Community Building Partnership programme, which aims to support local jobs, stimulate growth and improve community facilities in 93 electoral districts. Under the programme, community groups are eligible to electronically submit applications for funding to support local infrastructure and jobs in the district. In the electoral district of Heathcote, thanks to the personal engagement of the local MP, the district's citizens decide collectively through the Internet on the allocation of the funds that the government has made available. Every registered citizen has 5 votes to cast (with a maximum of 3 votes per project), in order to decide which causes are the most deserving of existing funds. This methodology shares some features with the Japanese experiments, but it is Belo Horizonte's e-participatory budget that has drawn the most direct comparisons (see box in the Latin America chapter). In a country where the Internet is widespread, the website provides tools for organisations and supporters to do their online canvassing using things like newsletters and website widgets. This strategy of promoting networking on the solid base of a clear and concrete goal of spending important public resources involved more than 20,000 participants in the first experiment

Learning processes

Having reached the end of our journey around the globe, we now know that the phenomenon of participatory budgeting spread across the continents in different ways. This applies not only to the process of exchange between Latin America and Europe. By linking participatory budgeting and traditional forms of participation, Africa too has embarked on a path of its own. The same thing goes for Asia and Oceania, where experiments are under way with deliberative polling and taxpayers' budgets. Consequently, the issue of transfers should be raised once again. The present report takes a first step in this direction by providing information on the worldwide dissemination of participatory budgeting. Yet where might things go from here? To find an answer to this question, we will now attempt to summarise the observations in the form of general trends, and say something about which kinds of procedure might be suitable for which kinds of municipalities. This can only be of a theoretical nature, though. The actual implementation of these procedures will need to be discussed by the practitioners themselves, a process in which networks and municipal partnerships are obviously likely to play a helpful role. We will discuss these networks and partnerships once again below, before concluding the report with recommendations for improved participatory budgeting.

1. Global trends

As already indicated, there is no single telos toward which participatory budgets in the world are moving. If we look at the developments described, we can rather identify three different trends that tell us something about the impacts of participatory budgets. These can also be seen in terms of three different levels of intensity. At the highest level we see participatory budgets that aim to fundamentally change prevailing conditions, a goal which they are achieving as one component of a broader movement for renewal. These participatory budgets mark a break with previous practices, and are based on interaction between governments and grass-roots movements. In other words the participatory budget is not introduced on a top-down basis; rather it is civil-society actors who call for and drive the process. These budgeting procedures are about overcoming social injustice and achieving sustainable development. Doing so means breaking with established traditions of patronage

and corruption. When civil society is mobilised, the pressure it exerts helps achieve this. We have seen many cases of this kind of development in Brazil and Latin America. For a long time the Porto Alegre experience stood as one such example, and this has now been repeated in Latin America a hundred times. Another example of this kind of experience is Kerala in India. Perhaps some village participatory budgets in Africa can also be seen as part of this trend. There are few such cases in Europe. The municipalities of Grottamare and Pieve Emanuele in Italy might fit this category. There has not yet been an experience comparable with Porto Alegre in a European city, though.

The second trend or category involves the use of participatory budgeting to drive a reform agenda forward. Thought it does not involve a break with tradition – the goals remain the same – this kind of participatory budget does generate real impacts. The local government is the lead actor here, citizens are not absent. There are at least a few clear rules, or a routine that allows established practices to become the rule. Objectives vary widely. In most continents participatory budgets were linked to a modernisation of the administration. In many cases participatory budgeting was designed to deepen decentralisation processes, and to turn the new autonomy of the municipalities into a living and felt reality for citizens. The same thing applies to the social impacts, which need not always be groundbreaking. In this second category we see participatory budgeting being used rather as an instrument to address 'burning political issues'. The aim is to improve the lives of socially disadvantaged groups, while retaining the basic structure of the system and existing patterns of allocation. The greatest impact for reform, though, involves the communicative dimension. Participatory budgets worldwide represent an improvement in the relationship between local governments and their citizens. Though effects going beyond that are usually not that pronounced, local governments have proved open and willing to implement suggestions put forward by citizens, which can be seen as a confidence-building and trust-inducing measure. In the Global South and Eastern Europe, this kind of participatory budgeting is often supported by international organisations.

Some of the participatory budgets of this second type show traits of a third type, in which participatory budgeting is largely of a symbolic nature and in which there is a yawning gap between the proclaimed objective and the reality. Here the aim is no longer really to consult citizens. The meetings are used rather to legitimate a path that has already been embarked upon, and that those responsible no longer wish to change. This might involve an austerity policy, where for instance the suggestions of citizens concerning the design of an austerity package are not sufficiently analysed, or where no instruments are made available that would facilitate the preparation of an expertise by citizens. The symbolic participatory budget is found both in established democracies and in authoritarian regimes. In the latter case, it represents an ostensible openness that in reality does not exist. Participation is designed to placate the population and/or international financial donors.

2. Which participatory budget, for which type of municipality?

Having roughly outlined how participatory budgeting can be used, let us now take a closer look at their possible applications. For if participatory budgeting is to be used to facilitate fundamental transformation or reform-oriented change, the question then arises as to what the appropriate procedures would be. Six different models were presented in the introduction. These can be used by practitioners as points of reference when developing their own procedures. As we have often seen in practice, elements of different models can also be combined. It is certainly not possible here to offer a single solution to suit all cases. Nevertheless, on our journey around the world we did identify municipalities whose situations were similar. From an empirical perspective it is therefore possible to group a number of aspects together, as we have done below.

Rural municipality in an economically underdeveloped setting

We did see municipalities located in structurally weak settings. This was the case most often in Africa, though there were also a few such rural municipalities in Latin America. Nor can we leave Europe out of the picture here, when we consider e.g. the rural exodus under way in the Latin

countries of Western Europe, or the demographic change under way in East Germany. To implement a participatory budget, a municipality of this kind must have the potential to accommodate at least two aspects. First of all it has emerged that citizen participation in infrastructure projects has a positive effect on the sustainability of the measures. Citizens identify with a project that they themselves have proposed and helped implement. This procedure resembles the community participatory budget model; its distinction from the ideal type is determined by the degree of self-organisation. Projects are often co-financed by international organisations, or in the case of Europe by the Structural Funds of the European Union. Secondly, where private funds are also involved, elements of the multi-stakeholder participation model are included. This enables municipalities facing a shortage of funds to implement a participatory budget. One drawback here is dependency on international donors. What will happen to the participation once the funding has expired? There is also a risk that participatory budgets will not be accepted by the population if they are imposed 'from the top down'. In these settings, a combination of new and traditional forms of citizen participation usually proved successful.

Cities with divided social spaces

The emergence of neighbourhoods where poor sections of the population are concentrated is a global phenomenon. This goes hand in hand with the phenomenon of neighbourhoods inhabited by a largely well-off population, making it appropriate to speak of divided social spaces. Such was the initial situation in Porto Alegre, but we also find trends of this kind in North America, in Europe and in other parts of the world. Given the success achieved in Brazil, the 'adaptation of Porto Alegre' model would be an obvious recommended option in these situations. This is warranted by the criteria for the allocation of public funds, from which disadvantaged neighbourhoods and poor sections of the population are supposed to profit. Citizens play a lead role here, and social movements often make use of this model where they aspire to help bring about fundamental change, as in the case of the first trend described above. In Europe and other parts of the world this approach was not that successful. Although adaptations of the Porto Alegre experience have supported reforms here, they have rarely

helped bring about radical change. The community development approach, however, does offer an alternative option. Here, associations and agencies organise themselves to form independent bodies that negotiate financing arrangements with their respective local governments, and implement projects themselves. We saw this for instance in the Canadian examples, where the first participatory budgets were implemented by community organisations without local government involvement. A participatory budget based exclusively on the proximity participation model – a widespread approach – is highly unlikely to be able to overcome divisions, because it includes no mechanism for reconciling the disparate districts and social groups.

Municipalities in times of tight budgets

We saw that in Germany in particular, the precarious financial situation of municipalities can be an issue in participatory budgeting. Moreover, in many states municipalities represent the lowest level of government, which means they receive limited financial resources. It also means they are only allowed to use the resources allocated to them by their central government for certain designated purposes. In other words, municipalities again need to obtain additional financial resources. One way out of this predicament is demonstrated by municipalities that pursue the ‘consultation on public finance’ approach. Here, participatory budgets are designed in a first step to make the financial situation of the municipality transparent to citizens. In a second step citizens are involved in designing an austerity strategy, or their experiences and suggestions are used to improve municipal service delivery. Here, suggestions for optimising libraries, swimming baths and other amenities are collected. Elements of the other participatory budgeting models can of course also be used when designing austerity measures. At the level of districts, a participatory budget based on proximity participation can generate results to a certain extent, because it can be used to set priorities and ascertain real needs. The involvement of citizens, as recommended in community participatory budgeting, can also help relieve financial pressure. Consequently this approach should be applied not only to disadvantaged neighbourhoods, but city-wide. Moreover, financial pressure can also be reduced by involving the private sector, using the multi-stakeholder participation approach. In countries where the

public sector is relatively strong, however, the private sector is often rather reluctant to get involved. Its engagement is stronger where the welfare state is weak.

Municipalities with extreme demographic change

There are many municipalities whose populations are undergoing drastic change. This can involve either a growth or a decline in numbers. It is often the existing ‘metropolitan centres’ that are experiencing rapid population growth, especially in the Global South. This is also leading to divided social spaces. By contrast, municipalities outside of the centres, in rural areas, face depopulation. They are at risk of becoming structurally weak. The challenges faced therefore display commonalities with the cases described above. Consequently, our recommendations concerning the participatory budgeting model are also similar. In municipalities that are growing, an adaptation of the Porto Alegre model can be a way to respond to new challenges and adjust the allocation of public funds. This can help integrate newcomers and take their interests into account. The participatory budget can be a procedure for providing them with a voice and with resources. In shrinking municipalities, community participatory budgeting might help strengthen the community. Generally speaking we would recommend that both growing and shrinking municipalities link participatory budgeting with participatory municipal planning. This is because demographic change makes it important to plan funding for major infrastructure measures that go beyond the capacities of the annual budget. It is also possible to discuss these trends with organised groups, as in the ‘participation of organised interests’ budgeting model.

A municipality that aspires to modernise

Participatory budgeting and modernisation are linked in a variety of ways around the world. Whereas in Germany they are linked in order to optimise municipal services, in Latin America and Africa participatory budgeting has been linked with decentralisation. So modernisation can be promoted using not only the ‘consultation on public finance’ model, but also other procedures too, such as the ‘adaptation of Porto Alegre’ model. Generally speaking we observe that effective participation requires a restructuring of administrative bureaucracy. This is particularly so with respect to cross-departmental cooperation, because citizens’ recom-

mendations are not geared either to the cosy compartmentalisation of budget plans, or to newly introduced product plans. One particularly interesting form is the participatory modernisation of public amenities. An example is the participatory school budget in the French region of Poitou-Charentes, in which school students propose their own projects. This approach could also be adopted by municipal enterprises. The Toronto Community Housing project has already gained experience in the field of housing. This is an obvious example of a productive blend of the ‚municipal finance‘ and ‚community participatory budgeting models‘. In Europe, where the number of municipal enterprises is rising continuously, this would be an interesting option.

3. Networks and municipal partnerships – frameworks for cooperation

Given that some municipalities find themselves in the same situation, and that it would make little sense to ‚reinvent the wheel‘, it would obviously be helpful to pursue an exchange of experiences with participatory budgeting. Networks in particular offer a suitable framework, as do municipal partnerships and municipal partnership networks. In particular, cooperation between municipalities in industrialised countries and municipalities in the Global South could provide a framework for transfer. What networks exist, and how can we distinguish between them?

When we look at participatory budgets around the world, we see that the existing networks display a variety of distinguishing features. The first distinguishing feature is the nature of membership. On the one hand there are official networks for which membership must be applied for, and that are administrated from a central office. This was the case for instance with URBAL, which was coordinated from Porto Alegre. On the other hand there are networks that do not describe themselves as such, yet whose members are linked through joint projects. These include development cooperation projects, such as those supported by GTZ in the Dominican Republic or the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation in Africa. Alternatively, the users of a resource website can also be seen as members of a network. The Service Agency Communities in One World and the Federal Agency for Civic Education for instance both offer

a central website for Germany. A similar situation applies with respect to In-LoCo for Portugal and the PB Unit for the UK. Here we see that the geographical frame of reference is a second distinguishing feature. Some networks are organised nationally, others internationally and some even on a transcontinental basis. As well as URBAL these include the Local Government Forum, which has formed an official branch under the umbrella of the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG). The International Observatory of Participatory Democracy (OIDP) in Barcelona should also be mentioned. From the German perspective this is perhaps the most interesting network because it holds annual meetings, maintains an international website, offers instruments and awards prizes. Not infrequently, associations of this kind address exclusively procedural issues. Hence we can draw a third distinction, namely a distinction between pragmatic and political networks. Although it is not always possible to separate the two, this is an important distinction that municipalities wishing to join these networks should note. Networks in Latin America for instance have generated a great deal of technical information, yet they usually also have a strong political component, except for those that were initiated by international organisations.

When we consider the development of networks we note first of all that purely political networks have since been superseded by networks for pragmatic cooperation, or networks that do both. A further change involves language. Due to the engagement of municipalities in Latin America, Romance languages were dominant for a long period. Communication now also takes place in English, a fact that is due primarily to the involvement of international organisations such as the World Bank. Thirdly, these networks are now increasingly dealing not only with participatory budgeting, but are also opening up to new themes. This in turn is creating opportunities for new links. Municipal partnerships are also suited to cross-cutting cooperation of this kind. So far, networks have been more important than bilateral municipal partnerships. However, given that German municipalities do not maintain a high presence in international participatory budgeting programmes, it is municipal partnerships that hold potential for exchange on participatory budgeting. In November 2010 the Service Agency Communities in One World will be holding a con-

ference on partnerships. It will be inviting municipalities with partnerships in Africa that wish to network and exchange their experiences in the fields of decentralisation and good governance.

Municipal partnerships with the South: a springboard for participatory budgeting?

The reluctance of German municipalities to get involved in international participatory budgeting networks might be due to the fact that many of these networks conduct their dealings primarily in Romance languages. We should not forget, however, that a number of towns and cities in Germany already maintain close contacts with counterparts in the South. Bielefeld for instance has a twinning arrangement with Estelí in Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan partner municipality began participatory budgeting in the 1990s, and has emerged as a pioneer. Estelí's positive experiences helped ensure that transparency and participation were laid down in Nicaragua's local government constitution. Estelí was also a role model for other municipalities such as Nandaime and San José de los Remates. Specifically, participatory budgeting activities are conducted at the district level, where government project and investment proposals are discussed. It is reported that both poor sections of the population and the private sector are involved in the process. Moreover, citizens are also involved in participatory

planning. Estelí has now been awarded a prize for its participatory budget by the 'Ethics and Transparency' organisation for the third time. An exchange on a participatory budget of this kind would fit nicely into the programme of the One World shop in Bielefeld, which coordinates the partnership from the German side. The Nicaragua Group there already sends volunteers to Nicaragua, and invites citizens from Estelí to participate in lectures and joint activities in Bielefeld.

An exchange on experiences of this kind might also be an interesting option for other towns and cities. Bonn and the Kreuzberg district of Berlin for instance could present their participatory budgeting arrangements to their partner municipalities of Chengdu (China) and San Rafael del Sur (Nicaragua). The Germany city of Essen too has an exchange arrangement with Cuenca in Ecuador, a municipality that has made an active contribution to the URBAL participatory budgeting network.

4. Recommendations for the improved dissemination and further development of participatory budgeting

Describing the various networks and forms of international cooperation does not in itself tell us anything about whether these cooperation arrangements are capable of actually helping disseminate and improve participatory budgeting. On closer examination we notice that much potential has so far remained unutilised, or that obstacles still need to be overcome. We are not referring to language barriers here; what we mean is a process of honest exchange on exemplary experiences with participatory budgeting. Some examples are declared by networks and international organisations to be best practices, without really being so.

Often this is a case of political gestures made to friendly governments, or complex procedural innovations that attract a great deal of attention, but generate barely any practical results. This is why the further dissemination of participatory budgeting calls for the establishment of reliable benchmarking. This will not be possible, however, without an external perspective. The involvement of scholars, who would conduct the analyses and put forward their recommendations based on verifiable criteria, would for instance appear to be a helpful option. So far, comparisons of this kind have been conducted within networks only on a very superficial level. This involves a risk that other municipalities might follow examples that may not be capable of taking them forward, or may even lead them in the wrong direction entirely.

Yet identifying good practices will not in itself lead automatically to a further dissemination and improvement. Rather it has become clear in the course of the present study that all actors in the triangle of municipal democracy will need to be involved. It will first of all be necessary here to consider the political will of the government and the administration. It is in fact crucial to persuade administrative staff that participatory budgeting is desirable. Whether or not they are committed to it will depend on whether they see it as a threat or an opportunity. To help them develop the right attitude it will be necessary to provide new professional training measures. Participatory budgeting should not create additional workloads; the work should be allocated appropriately, and where required new staff should be hired. Given the financial situation of many municipalities, this may be an obstacle. The local parliament must also find its role in the participatory budgeting process. Council members may well hold major reservations about participatory budgeting if they fear losing power as a result. Finally, participatory budgeting can only become a living reality through active participation by citizens. One challenge is to move beyond the circle of those already active to reach social movements, or other individuals who have so far been inactive. This calls for new forms of targeting and mobilisation - such as seeking out groups unaware of participation or unwilling to participate. Some municipalities have already gained experience in this area.

Once the three key actors – the government/administration, the council and the citizens – have shown an interest in introducing participatory budgeting, it then becomes a matter of discussing the appropriate procedure. This is not easy, because as we have seen very different approaches do exist, and citizens often attach different goals to a participatory budget than the government and administration do. Caution is therefore required. Although most procedures are introduced on a top-down basis, so far it has chiefly been those participatory budgets with which citizens could identify that have been a success. Moreover, the following factors can help ensure dynamic participatory budgeting: good accountability concerning the handling of citizens' proposals, sufficient opportunity for discussion, clear procedural rules, and of course a real and visible influence of citizens on the management of budget revenues and ex-

penditure. If these points are applied, it can be assumed that participatory budgeting will continue to spread further and make a contribution toward local and regional development.

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Appendix

Websites on participatory budgeting

Note: It would be impossible to give all internet pages on participatory budgeting.

We only list those which include experiences at the national or continental level.

National

Argentina

<http://www.rapp.gov.ar/index.php>

Rede Argentina de Presupuesto Participativo

The official website of the Argentine Network of Participatory Budgeting, offering news on different cities experimenting PB in Argentina, but also on the network's activities.

Language: Spanish

Brazil

<http://www.ongcidade.org/site/php/comum/capa.php>

NGO Cidade in Porto Alegre

Various documents and analyses on participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre and Brazil. Languages: Portuguese, English

<http://www.pbh.gov.br/redebrasileiraop/>

Network of 40 Brazilian cities

Offers news on different cities experimenting with PB in Brazil, but also on the network's activities.

Language: Portuguese

Chile

<http://www.presupuestoparticipativo.cl/>

Network Foro Chileno de Presupuesto Participativo, also involving the Friedrich Ebert Foundation

The official website of the Chilean Network of cities experimenting with PB. Provides information on events and training sessions.

Language: Spanish

Dominican Republic

<http://www.fedomu.org.do>

Association of Local Authorities of the Dominican Republic

The central platform for the implementation of PB in the country, containing various documents and information.

Language: Spanish

Germany

<http://www.buergerhaushalt.org>

Federal Agency for Civic Education; Service Agency Communities in One World/InWEnt - Capacity Building International, Germany

Overview of German PBs with current information, blogs, case presentations, background documents, bibliography, maps etc.

Language: German

Green Cap

<http://www.op-caboverde.org>

IN-LOCO Association, the Ministry of Decentralization, Housing and Territorial Organisation, UN Office in Cape Verde, Federation of Cape Verdean Municipalities

Website on PB in Cape Verde Islands created by the partnership which manages the project for spreading PB in the archipelago; various documents and information on PB cases.

Language: Portuguese

Italy

<http://www.nuovomunicipio.org/>

City network Nuovo Municipio Association

Provides innovative tools for participation. This network is one of the main promoters of PB in Italy. The website provides current information and documents.

Language: Italian

Peru

http://presupuesto-participativo.mef.gob.pe/app_pp/entrada.php

Official website of the Government of Peru. It provides a large amount of information and documents (although not systematic).

Language: Spanish.

<http://www.redperu.org.pe/eventforoex.htm>

NGO Red Peru

Provides support material for PB practitioners in Peru. With documents and case descriptions.

Language: Spanish

Portugal

<http://www.op-portugal.org/>

NGO In-LoCo and Centro Estudos Sociais Coimbra

Central platform for PB in Portugal containing various documents, videos and training facilities.

Language: Portuguese

Spain

<http://www.elscalersoncalen.org>

Ciudadans pel Canvi

Information mostly designed for activists. Case descriptions for Catalanian and Spanish cities. Languages: Catalan and Spanish

<http://www.presupuestosparticipativos.com>

Network of Spanish Cities

The Network was founded as the Spanish branch of the Local Authorities Forum, which meets in the context of the World Social Forums. The website provides information on national PB meetings, cases and materials for practitioners.

Language: Spanish

United Kingdom

<http://www.participatorybudgeting.org.uk/>

NGO PB Unit

Current information on events, various documents, newsletter and videos on participatory budgeting in the UK.

Language: English

Regional and continental

Africa

<http://www.mdpafrica.org.zw/pbfacility.html>

MDP-ESA - Municipal Development Partnership for Eastern and Southern Africa

The website and the organisation aim to promote PB and other development strategies in Africa. Offers a training manual for download plus information on Africa-Latin America Mutual Learning Initiative on Participatory Budgeting.

Language: English

Europe

<http://www.buergerhaushalt-europa.de>

Marc Bloch Center, Böckler Foundation and Humboldt-University

Website based on a research project on participatory budgeting in Europe. Information on the project and articles/documents for download.

Languages: German, English, French, Italian, Spanish

Latin America

<http://www.cigu.org>

NGO CIGU - Centro Internacional de Gestión Urbana

This NGO based in Ecuador promotes PB in Latin America, and has cooperation partners on other continents, for example in Europe and Africa. Newsletter and Journal on PBs worldwide.

Languages: Spanish, English, Portuguese, French

Near East

<http://www.pbcoalition.com>

Coalition of Human rights NGOs

First regional website to promote PB in Jordan, Bahrain, Yemen, Lebanon and other Arab countries.

Languages: Arabic, English

North America

<http://www.participatorybudgeting.org>

NGO Participatory Budgeting Project

The promoters of this website are researchers. The objective is to promote participatory budgeting in North America. Training materials and information on current events.

Language: English

General pages and worldwide networks

<http://www.infoop.org>

Association In-LoCo, supported by European Union Funding

A worldwide database designed as a PB observatory is under construction on this website, which is hosted in Portugal.

Languages: Portuguese, English, Spanish, French and Italian

<http://www.oidp.net/es/>

International network for cities (mainly Europe and Latin America)

The organisation is hosted in Barcelona. Organises annual meetings and provide various documents and films.

Languages: Spanish, English, French, Portuguese and Catalan

<http://www2.portoalegre.rs.gov.br/urbal9>

Network URBAL, supported by European Union

Cooperation network between Latin American and European Cities promoting PB. Information on cases and projects.

Languages: English, Portuguese, Spanish and French

<http://www.presupuestoygenero.net/>

UN and Development Organisations

The website promotes gender budgeting and participatory budgeting in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Language: Spanish

[http:// www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org)

World Bank

Various documents, training tools and manuals on participatory budgets are available.

Languages: English, Spanish, French, Russian, Arabic, Chinese etc.

<http://www.internationalbudget.org/themes/PB/index.htm>

International Budget Partnership (IBP), founded by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities with the support of various foundations

This webpage is about budget and tax transparency.

Language: English

Table on Countries with Participatory Budgets (as at the end of 2009)

World regions	Number of PBs
Europe	174-296
Latin Europe (France, Spain, Italy, Portugal)	125-200
Northern Europe (Germany, United Kingdom, Norway, Sweden)	44-76
Eastern Europe (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Poland)	5-20
North America	2-10
Canada	1-5
United States	1-5
Latin America and the Caribbean	511-920
Brazil	200-250
Southern Cone (Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay)	50-100
Peru	150-300
Other South American countries (Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela)	40-70
Central America (Nicaragua, Salvador, Costa Rica) and Mexico	10-30
Dominican Republic	60-150
Other Caribbean countries	1-20
Africa	66-110
Francophone Africa (Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo (Kinshasa), Madagascar, Mali, Senegal, Benin)	40-70
Anglophone Africa (Malawi, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia)	25-35
Lusophone Africa (Cape Verde, Mozambique)	1-5
Near East and Arabic-speaking Africa (Egypt)	0-3
Asia	40-120
South Korea	30-80
China, Thailand and Indonesia	5-20
Japan	5-20
Oceania	2-10
Australia	1-5
New Zealand	1-5
Total number of world PBs	795-1469

Short biography

Yves Sintomer is professor for sociology in the Department of Political Sciences at Paris 8 University. Since 2009 he has also been guest professor in Neuchâtel University, Switzerland. He directed the research project "Participatory budgets in Europe", which was located at the Marc Bloch Center, Berlin and carried out in cooperation with Hans-Böckler Foundation and Humboldt-University, Berlin. He published many books on the topics of participation, political theory and urban sociology and advised many French local authorities on the topic of citizen engagement.

Carsten Herzberg is scientific assistant at Goethe-University Frankfurt/Main. He wrote his doctoral thesis at Potsdam and Paris 8 universities. He was scientific assistant at the Marc Bloch Center in the research project "Participatory budgets in Europe". He worked moreover in the Urban Management Programm of UN-Habitat in Quito, Ecuador. He advised several German local authorities for the implementation of participatory budgets.

Giovanni Allegretti is an architect and planner. He got his Ph.D. at the University of Florence, Italy, and is currently a senior researcher at the Centre for Social Studies at Coimbra University, Portugal. His field of specializations are participatory planning and budgeting, on which he wrote several books and articles. Consultant for several municipalities in Europe, he is also director of the newly-created Observatory of Participatory Practices.

Anja Röcke is scientific assistant and lecturer in the Institute for Social Sciences at Humboldt-University, Berlin and worked as Editorial Journalist for the Berlin Journal of Sociology. She wrote her Ph.D. at the European University Institute, Florence and worked as scientific assistant for the project "Participatory budgets in Europe". Her publications deal with different empirical cases and theoretical questions of participatory democracy in Europe. She advised the French region of Poitou-Charentes on the implementation of a participatory budgeting

Publications

You can order the publications for free at www.service-one-world.com.

Most of them can also be downloaded from the homepage.

Dialog Global – Series of Publications by the Service Agency:

- Issue 1.: Give me hope Jo'hanna?! Von Rio in die deutschen Kommunen nach Johannesburg – von Schwierigkeiten und Erfolgen der Agenda-Prozesse in Deutschland. October 2002. [out of print]
- Issue 2.: Pressespiegel 2002. Dokumentation der Presseartikel rund um die Servicestelle für das Jahr 2002. December 2002. [out of print]
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- Issue 20.: Kommunale Entwicklungszusammenarbeit mit Ghana. Potenziale und Handlungsrahmen im Mehrebenensystem am Beispiel der Partnerschaft NRW – Ghana. Bonn, August 2008.
- Issue 21.: Hauptstadt des Fairen Handels 2009. Dokumentation des Wettbewerbs. Bonn, November 2009.
- Issue 22.: Migration und Entwicklung auf lokaler Ebene – Ein Praxisleitfaden. Bonn, November 2010.
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- Issue 25.: Learning from the South: Participatory Budgeting Worldwide – an Invitation to Global Cooperation, Study. Bonn, December 2010

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- No. 1.: Erklärung der Kommunen zum Weltgipfel für Nachhaltige Entwicklung; und: Aufruf von Johannesburg. Autorisierte Übersetzung in Deutsch. [out of print]
- No. 2.: Local Government Declaration To The World Summit On Sustainable Development; and: Johannesburg Call. [out of print]
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- No. 4.: Kommunikationstraining für Eine-Welt-Akteure. Tipps und Anregungen zum erfolgreichen Kommunizieren von Eine-Welt-Themen. Dokumentation einer Veranstaltung vom 13.12.2002. [out of print]
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- No. 7.: Erstes bundesweites Netzwerktreffen Bürger- und Beteiligungshaushalt. Dokumentation vom 29.09.2003.
- No. 8.: Synergien für kommunale Partnerschaften. Umsetzung der Erklärung der Kommunen zum Weltgipfel für nachhaltige Entwicklung. Dokumentation eines Fachgesprächs vom 29.10.2003.
- No. 9.: Pressespiegel 2003. Dokumentation der Presseartikel rund um die Servicestelle für das Jahr 2003. [out of print]
- No. 10.: ModeratorInnen-Briefing. Herausforderung Kommune – strategische Zukunftsthemen für ModeratorInnen. Dezember 2003.
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- No. 15.: ModeratorInnen-Briefing. Thementeams bilden. December 2004.
- No. 16.: Partner schaffen Partnerschaften. Die kommunale Servicestelle – Partnerschaftsinitiative.
- No. 17.: Bürgerhaushalt – Umsetzungsmöglichkeiten und Erfahrungen. Beispiel Schleswig-Holstein.
- No. 18.: Pressespiegel. Medienberichterstattung zur Servicestelle Partnerschaftsinitiative. January-July 2005.
- No. 19.: Pressespiegel 2005. Dokumentation der Presseartikel rund um die Servicestelle für das Jahr 2005.
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One World Begins at Home

Many German municipalities and local governments are already utilising the potentials which implementing sustainable development strategies and municipal development cooperation holds for their communities and for the entire world. Their activities include school and municipal partnerships, people's and participatory budgets, fair procurement and intercultural capacity building. They know that a commitment to our One World benefits cities, towns and communities in Germany and in partner countries in many ways: business, civil society, and culture and the arts in these localities are now profiting from the 'internationality' which this brings.

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Our work covers three key themes for the future of municipalities:

- strengthening and extending intermunicipal partnerships
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- various publications, such as our Dialog Global and Materialreihe series
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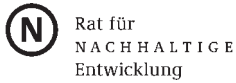
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