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## Are real socio political changes possible? The potentiality of participation in Participatory Budgeting

Elian Peña Guerrero

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# Are real socio political changes possible? The potentiality of participation in Participatory Budgeting

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**Abstract.** Current global crisis highlights endemic and structural problems in the democratic political system. With different repercussion depending on Northern or Southern countries, a common reaction from citizens against political power has just started. Arab revolutions or social movements as 15M in Spain, Occupy London and Occupy Wall Street are some examples, all over the world, of pacific demonstrations from citizens. All of them share the same features; the demand of a new form of democracy where people have a more participative role, the claim of public spaces as deliberation places and the use of new technologies for spreading information. Although the term of Governance has been developed by international institutions

such as the World Bank, the United Nations or the European Commission from the '90s, people's participation in political processes is still limited to not binding consultation, far from decision-making through deliberation. The change of scale, from national to local, opens a new field of debate, where politicians are closer to citizens' problems and needs. Participatory budgeting, in where part of public budget is decided by citizens, has shown the potentiality of its methodology to change 'the rule of the law'. The case study of Malaga province in Spain, where regional government boosted Participatory Budgeting through a political commitment, is a paradigmatic example of participatory processes in rural areas at local level.



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## List of acronyms.

- FAL – “Foro de Autoridades Locales”  
FAMSI – “Fondo Andaluz de Municipios para la Solidaridad Internacional”  
IU – “Izquierda Unida”  
MG – Motor Groups  
PCE – “Partido Comunista de España”  
PP – “Partido Popular”  
PSOE – “Partido Socialista Obrero Español”  
PBC – Participatory Budget Council



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# 1. Introduction

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*“For me, Democracy is that People can decide about everything affects their lives every day. And this is what we are trying to do with Participatory Budgeting”*

*Mr. Juan Antonio Lara. Councillor of Citizens’ Participation. Municipality of Archidona, Málaga.  
(Diputación de Málaga, 2010)*

The global aspect of the current crisis does not only mean that it has spread around the whole world but also it is global in all its dimensions; economic, political, institutional and territorial. Neoliberal policies have been developed in countries, both North and South, increasing the gap between citizens. These policies promote structural adjustments; new labour legislations with reduction of rights of workers, cuts in social expenditure (i.e.: education, health), privatization of public enterprises and infrastructures (telecommunications, airports, ports) and domination of private interests (transnational companies and international lobbies). Politics have lost credibility; cases of corruption for illegal financing of parties, failure to fulfil electoral promises, contempt for citizens’ demands and intervention in decisions of judicial system. Public institutions are obsolete and bureaucracy has become a long term process due to mainly civil servants performing their tasks without motivation. The fragmentation of territories, supported sometimes by old nationalist claims, is actually the consequence of this increasingly polarized society. The cleavage between inhabitants because of their income, class, religion or sex is translated into the urban planning in our cities; gated communities avoid neighbouring slums, ghettos in peri urban areas, design and use/appropriation of public spaces.

Nevertheless, and even more important, a deep social crisis has been developed as a consequence of the above described problems; crisis of present values, identities, ideas and beliefs. The Representative Democracy has failed in its mission to provide equal rights, freedom, welfare state and security to citizens. The Democracy where citizens vote their representatives every some years has failed. The Democracy where their rulers have no communication with citizens has failed. The Democracy in which public budgets are not transparent and published has failed. The system as we know it until now has failed and citizens around the world have started to react.

The Arab Revolution or Arab Spring appeared in late December 2010 and it quickly spread crossing borders and beating the established power systems. In countries such as Egypt, Syria or Tunisia, young people got mobilized through new technologies in internet (social networks such as twitter and facebook) to demonstrate against dictatorial regimes or authoritarian monarchies. Demands cover democracy, transparency in politicians, compliance of human rights, individual freedom and opportunities of work and education for all. Forms of protests have varied from pacific demonstrations occupying public spaces for example Tahir Square in Cairo (with a later brutal repression from the police and the army) to more violent and dramatic performances such as attacks to institutional building or self immolations.

In Europe, Spanish young people have also launched a Social Movement maybe as a consequence of the proximity with Arab countries but also due to discontent with their unemployment rates and uncertain future. The 15M Social Movement has assembled thousands of people to claim against the current political system. Although it started as a demonstration scheduled one week before the local elections on May 22nd 2011, protests lasted for months in a lively process. As in Arab Revolution, the use of public spaces was the method to discuss proposals and deliberate, in an open inclusive forum. Under the citizens’ platform called “*Democracia Real YA*” (Real Democracy NOW), their Manifesto reflected how citizens with different ideologies can share their concerns about the political, economical and social perspectives and the inefficacy and corruption of politicians and bankers to help them and hear their voices. Their proposals focused on the elimination of the privileges of the political establishment, the creation of employment, the right to housing, the quality of the public services (i. e. education, health and transport), the control of banking institutions, taxation, citizens’ freedom and Participative Democracy and reduction of Military expenditure. Holding compulsory and binding referendums for issues that can modify citizens’ lives is one of the specific proposals in the participatory democracy chapter. That means to involve people in the decision-making processes through for example deliberative boards and Participatory Budgeting programmes. Protests of the so-called “*Indignados*” (Indignants) expanded into other European countries as Italy and Greece, with similar economical problems to Spain and even Israel where conflicts are mixed with histori-

cal and religious factors. In the United Kingdom and The United States, “Occupy Saint Paul” and “Occupy Wall Street”, were also pacific social movements where emblematic public spaces were occupied and used as modern “agoras” through open debates and forums.

These social movements and revolutions show us the dissatisfaction of citizens with the established institutions and the possibilities of changes from collective action. They have proved to be potential forms of pressure to strategic actors such as politicians and bankers who play power relations. But, which shifts are necessary in the current system to fulfil citizens’ demands? Has Representative Democracy failed? Should new forms of Government be designed to really include civil actors?

The term Governance, widely used from the early 1980s, addresses the participation of new actors, private sector, civil organizations and citizens in the Government issues to a fairer society. The scale of Governance is not limited to national Governments. In fact, experiences have shown at a local level it is achievable to make the necessary performances due to the proximity with citizens and the knowledge of the environment. This ‘social’ does not oppose to a sustainable economic growth for all citizens without distinction of class, age, sex or background in a very broad meaning. Participation would enhance transparency, accountability, efficiency and equity among others. Participation would give voice and empower citizens. Participation would change power relations between actors. Nevertheless civil participation normally is not complete and it is usually reduced to non-binding consultations under Governance’s framework.

Therefore, other mechanisms to fulfil participation could achieve Governance’s goals. As for example Participatory Budgeting’s experiences have shown their potentiality to give voice to people and answer to their demands. Although other participation processes also seek to transform relations between established institutions and citizens, with the Participatory Budgeting all dimensions (social, economical, political and territorial) converge on a real decision-making process. Participatory Budgeting allows citizens to decide how public budgets are spent and in this way their decisions are binding. Another important point is deliberation, how citizens achieve consensus through

dialogue and discussions, taking into account all voices. Examples vary from different levels of arrangement such as the percentage of budget decided, form of participation through elected representatives or existing associations.

In this point and after proposing possibilities of Participatory Budgeting related to accomplish full participation one question could arise, how could Participatory Budgeting improve Local Governance? This paper explores this inquiry and concludes with the description of the current limitations, the future challenges and further research to develop this topic. Examples of Participatory Budgeting in several municipalities in the province of Malaga, Spain, have been analysed and assessed through specific indicators.

The paper is structured in three main chapters. After introduction, the second chapter develops the theoretical and analytical framework of Participation in Governance’s definition. After the compilation from the World Bank, UNDP, UN HABITAT and the European Commission, a change of scale from Global to Local will be necessary to relate it afterwards with the potentiality of citizen involvement in Local Governance. Participatory Budgeting, PB, processes will be shown as one of the most sophisticated forms of participation.

In the third chapter, theoretical and analytical framework will deepen in the case study of 20 municipalities in the province of Malaga, Spain. The novelty in these examples is that the initiative of the implementation of the PB comes from the Provincial Government which established a Provincial Office of Participatory Budgeting to help with the processes, a unique case in Spain. The Declaration of Antequera, signed by the Provincial Office of PB, is the document which collects the principles of PB: Self regulation, Universal, Binding and Deliberative. Social justice and social structure are the cross-cutting objectives of these principles. Participation in Governance will be evaluated in Malaga experiences through the indicators developed in chapter 2.

In the general conclusions, the outcomes from the theoretical chapter and the case studies will be reviewed to describe the potentialities and problems of the core question. Further research and concepts will be proposed.

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## 2. Conceptual and theoretical framework: Governance and Participation

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### 2.1. From Government to Governance

The term Governance has been used by several authors and institutions (McCarney et al., 1995: 96) since the early 1980s although in the following decade it had entered into “the wider and economic/development debate” (Abbot, 1997:2). Definitions vary between the different examples and as McCarney adverts (1996: 4), it is necessary to avoid two traps: the equivalence between Governance and Government and the definitions focused on the “state side of the picture, concentrating on accountability, transparency and management” (McCarney et al., 1995: 96) and forgetting civil associations’ role. The present analysis is centred on the definitions of Governance from International Institutions such as the World Bank, UNDP, UN HABITAT and the European Commission. The decision to choose these specific Organs has been dictated by the repercussion of their considerations and recommendations from international to local level across the world. All of them have elaborated policy papers and reports related to Governance implementation or recommendation for their members and borrowing countries in the case of the World Bank. Currently the interest in the Governance issues has declined and been transformed even moved to new terms such as Open Government in the case of European Commission. It is surprising to analyse the similarities and differences in so-apparently different International Institutions. After analysing all definitions, the main focus will be addressed to the participatory aspect inside the Governance’s definition.

The World Bank’s earliest definition of Governance is focused on “the exercise of political power to manage nation’s affairs” (Landell-Mills et al., 1991: 1). The World Bank argues that the dominance of the economy in the past has neglected the role of politics and institutions and it remarks its interest in the term ‘accountability’. In 1992 it published Governance and Development, its first specific report about the concept of Governance. Governance is defined as “the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development” (World Bank, 1992: 1). The World Bank’s concern in Governance was derived from the sustainability of the programmes and the projects financed by them. The approach was state centric, related to governments’ efficiency, good financial management and the accountability of the public sector. The context of that definition was the reduction of public intervention and the enhancing of free markets. In summary, the term for

the World Bank was focused on more effective development in the management of its clients’ countries.

In 1994 the World Bank published Governance: the *World Bank Experience* where the definition was broadened out:

*“Good Governance is epitomized by predictable, open, and enlightened policy making (that is, transparent processes); a bureaucracy imbued with professional ethos; an executive arm for government accountable for its actions; and a strong civil society participating in public affairs; and all behaving under the rule of law”* (World Bank, 1994: vii).

The main points of this definition were the attempt to strengthen the institutional weakness in the enabling environment and the addiction of civil society who had only had a scrutiny role heretofore. For the first time external actors from the established system were included in public issues.

After those definitions the World Bank focused more on ‘Good’ Governance and published in 1997 *World Development Report* stating:

*“An effective state is vital for the provision of the goods and services- and the rules and institutions- that allow markets to flourish and people to lead healthier, happier lives... the state is central to economic and social development, not as a direct provider of growth but as a partner, catalyst, and facilitator”* (World Bank Report, 1997: 1).

At that point the World Bank was concentrated on the necessity of setting up new institutions for markets. Governments could not provide the framework for economic development because the role of the State has changed due to privatisation and decentralization processes.

For this International Institution, “Participation is intrinsic to good Governance” (World Bank, 1994: 42). The World Bank promotes decentralization processes and dialogue between civil associations and NGOs in borrowing countries. Forms of participation consist of consultative group meetings where the World Bank advises countries about accountability, transparency, legal framework and independency of the media. However, these public hearings and local level consultations are narrow channels of participation which ensure people’s voice in debates and

negotiations but not in the decision-making processes (ibid: 42-45). The driving force behind participation was a practical one; those new forms of working showed effectiveness and improvement of results. Also *World Development Report* (1994) highlighted the necessity for 'user involvement' in the design of projects and operations as well as in decision making and agreements as in the sharing of benefits and costs. More strongly, the Wapenhans Report (1992) recommended the 'mainstreaming' of participatory techniques in project design and implementation in order to improve the project's performance. But despite of the changes, the implementation of this new concept remains a problem because there is no change in bureaucracy. The Participation has often been understood as explaining the project to key stakeholders, individuals and groups implicated in the project, instead of involving them in decision-making. For this reason, borrowers are not committed to the project's goals. Their implication has been sought by making them responsible for preparation and implementation, instead of ensuring that the property of the project is local and that the process provides opportunities for consensus building. From the World Bank's point of view, NGOs, and to a lesser extent, religious associations and trade unions are the main groups of civil actors. Nevertheless these approaches have been too exclusive, shallow and insufficiently reciprocal. The terms 'civil society' and 'NGOs' are used indistinctly in the World Bank's papers although they are not synonymous. While a NGO is an organized group which can have very different goals, the 'civil society' can be more or less organized. When the World Bank focuses its participatory premises on NGOs, the question is what civil groups represent. The risk could be that only strong and well-connected organizations would participate in processes and no-connected or associations will be ignored. At the same time, citizens who do not belong to any association are not considered as civil actors. That means the reduction of the percentage of civil participation.

In summary, although the World Bank has developed its definition since 1990s to improve 'good' Governance in its relations with borrowing countries, a lot of changes should be done still in its methods. In this definition, the dimension of participation is still narrow and only related to NGOs and civil associations in borrowing countries ignoring the rest of the society who is not organized. The used methods are limited to consultation and information to stakeholders, obviating real decision-making processes where the people's voice is heard.

UNDP published a policy document entitled *Governance for Sustainable Human Development* in 1997. In that paper the International Organization declares its commitment to support National Governments in the implementation of Governance in order to accomplish the sustainable human development. A previous reference to Governance had appeared in the document *Initiatives for Change* (UNDP, 1994) saying:

*"The goal of governance initiatives should be to develop capacities that are needed to realise development that gives priority to the poor, advances women, sustains the environment and creates needed opportunities for employment and other livelihoods."*

The main entry point for UNDP's definition in the policy document from 1997 is the indissoluble link between sustainable human development and Governance. In turn, sustainable human development is defined as "development that empowers the poor and generates growth which is equitable distributed" (UNDP, 2006: 2). That development includes environment issues, the gender perspective and the generation of jobs. Governance is defined as:

*"The exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences"* (ibid).

Actors involved in Governance are the private sector and the civil society as well as the State. Their roles are different but complementary. The private sector creates income and employment. The civil society generates the interaction between political institutions and citizens through the mobilization of groups for participation in all spheres: economic, social and political. The State provides the political and legal framework for the above mentioned activities. The relation between all these three actors determines the creation of fair opportunities for all their citizens. Good Governance should have many attributes: participatory, transparent and accountable. It should be effective in making the best use of resources and equitable. Finally, but extremely important, it should promote 'the rule of law'. The procurement of sustainable human development in a country will be determined by the quality of its Governance. The changes of all dimensions (economical, territorial, political and social) in the current world have modified human living conditions. As a consequence, Governance should not be a closed term but a live 'organism' in permanent transformation. The State should not forget people's needs in this globalized world (UNDP, 2006). Governance should be centred on people and the UNDP's role is that of a 'facilitator' of assistance to National Governments in Governance and sustainable human development.

The decentralised processes in all scales of the Government, from national to community level, are another main aspect for UNDP. The reasons are empowering people to play a more direct role in Governance and allowing the inclusion of excluded groups in the decision-making processes. Civil organizations know the needs and priorities

of citizens and have a closer relation with civil servants. As a consequence, the exchange of communication would be more efficient. With the local knowledge, the design of programmes will be more accurate and adequate to real needs and it will have fewer possibilities to fail. But not only participation is used for the design of programmes and projects but also for their implementation.

Participation under UNDP's definition of Governance is "Literally, taking part. The question for people concerned with governance issues is whether participation is effective. Effective participation occurs when group members have an adequate and equal opportunity to place questions on the agenda and to express their preferences about the final outcome during decision-making. Participation can occur directly or through legitimate representatives" (ibid). However participation includes a broad spectrum of civil organizations: "industry associations, trade unions, commercial associations, employers' organisations, professional associations, advocacy groups, credit unions, co-operatives, academic and research institutions, the media, community-based organisations (CBO's), NGO's, and not-for-profit and religious groups. Some definitions of civil society organisations also include political parties". Forms of participation can be through partnerships between UNDP and civil organizations as NGOs. One example was the collaboration of both in a housing programme after devastating floods in Pakistan in 1990 (ibid). But the cooperation depends on the capacity of civil group to negotiate and participate. For those reasons it is the importance of the empowerment of civil society to have opportunities. Their tasks also include the advocacy of people's rights and needs, the dissemination of the information and the dialogue with UNDP.

For this International Institution, the participation of stakeholders is limited to civil organizations and not to the individuals. That imposition generates the discrimination of groups that are weak or that they are not represented so they impede the real empowerment of individuals. Related to forms of participation, they are limited to cooperation forms in specific projects and the dissemination and the exchange of the information but not the involvement in real decision making processes.

UN HABITAT launched the Global Campaign on Urban Governance in 1999 to support the implementation of the Habitat Agenda whose main goal is "sustainable human settlements development in an urbanizing world" (UN, 1996). The Campaign's objective is "to contribute to the eradication of poverty through improved urban governance. The Campaign aims to increase the capacity of local governments and other stakeholders to practice good urban governance" (Cabannes, 2004a: 23). Inclusiveness is the main subject of the Campaign and reflects its vision and strategy. Inclusiveness involves the inclusion, the equity and the empowerment of citizens. The Campaign is implemented through four principle strategies: normative debate, advocacy, capacity building and knowledge management.

UN HABITAT starts from the previous UNDP's definition of Governance but taking into account two relevant aspects. Firstly, Governance is broader than government, "It recognizes that power exists inside and outside the formal authority and institutions of government" (UN HABITAT, 2004: 13). As UNDP, it points at the State, the civil society and the private sector as main actors. Secondly, it emphasizes the process. It means that "the concept recognized that decisions are made based on complex relationships between many actors with different priorities. The process focuses on progress in decision-making, decision taking and implementation" (ibid). UN HABITAT remarks that "good Governance is a necessary ingredient to achieve equitable and sustainable growth and development" (ibid). This means that actors, mechanisms, processes and institutions must contribute to reduction of urban poverty and promote social inclusion. By promoting good urban Governance, the UN HABITAT Campaign adopts an explicitly normative position. However, good Governance is fixed by experiences and interests of each involved actor: people, organizations, governments and public authorities.

From June 2001 in the Inter-Agency meeting, the UN principles of Good Urban Governance are the following: Effectiveness (includes efficiency, subsidiarity and strategic vision), Equity (includes sustainability, gender equality and intergenerational equity), Accountability (includes transparency, rule of law and responsiveness), Participation (includes citizenship, consensus orientation and civic engagement) and Security (includes conflict resolution, human security and environmental safety) (ibid: 14). These principles are the framework for the Urban Governance Index, UGI. The development of the index supports the Campaign's advocacy and capacity-building strategies.

The UGI expects to demonstrate that good urban Governance is vital to improve the quality of life in cities. At a global and regional level, the index is expected to make easier the comparison of cities based on the quality of their urban Governance. At the local level, it is expected to catalyze the local action to improve the quality of urban Governance by developing indicators that answer directly to their unique contexts and needs. Indicators were developed in two lines: Representative Democracy and Participative Democracy.

The principle of participation is stated as:

*"Participation in governance implies mechanisms that promote strong local representative democracies through inclusive, free and fair municipal elections. It also includes participatory decision-making processes, where the civic capital, especially of the poor is recognized and there exists consensus orientation and citizenship"* (UN HABITAT, 2004: 5).

The forms of participation are through decision-making processes and participatory planning (Cabannes, 2004a).

The indicators of Participation are selected from the UN HABITAT declaration:

*"A participatory local government involves all of its residents in decisions that affect their lives, and effectively include all groups of the population. A city with vigorous community life indicates high levels of civic commitment"* (ibid).

The five indicators for participation are the following: "elected council, elected mayor, voter turnout and voter participation by sex, public forum and civic associations per 10,000 population" (ibid). As it has been referred, indicators were worked out in two possible lines of Democracy: Representative and Participative. The three first indicators are inscribed in Representative Democracy but some participatory processes can modify the relations between elected politicians and citizens and change the percentages of voting. For the fourth indicator, public forum, the UN HABITAT's definition describes that several people groups like people's council, city consultation, neighbourhood advisory committees or town hall meetings, could participate. The Participation can improve these spaces of deliberation and dialogue equal to the 'agora' of the Greek democracy. One challenge is the inclusion of marginal groups in these spheres. The final indicator is the number of civic associations registered per 10.000 inhabitants in the local jurisdiction. The number, the quality and the transparency of them would improve due to participatory processes.

UN HABITAT goes further than the World Bank and UNDP in the Participatory dimension of Governance. Because of UGI, the Participation can be measured through five indicators: Effectiveness, Equity, Accountability, Participation and Security. Participation still seems weak and limited although it makes reference to the democratic system (representative versus participative) as a possibility for changes through voting. Also, the public forum is shown as a space for debate but without binding decisions. Finally, the enhancement of the civil associations does not mean that their tasks of advocacy or participative planning will be heard. However, the individuals apart from associations can participate by voting and through public forums in contrast to previous definitions. It is important to point out that the Participation by itself it is a principle in the UGI indicators.

The European Commission wrote a policy paper addressing Governance issues in the European ambit. The White Paper (2001) includes the principles of Openness, Participation, Accountability, Effectiveness and Coherence to reinforce subsidiarity. 'European Governance' refers to the rules, processes and behaviour that affect the way in which powers are exercised at the European level. These five 'principles of good Governance' reinforce those of subsidiarity and proportionality. The White Paper is about the way in which the European Union manages its politi-

cal decisions. Governance is a new concept that could reflect new relationships between public authorities and civil society. The concept of Urban Governance "brings together all the institutions of government and all those communities (civil, economic, professional, or other) taking part in urban development, as well as the combination of structures and roles to which they give rise in the urban space" (Cavalier, 1998: 39).

Participation is one of the keywords of the European paper. It is defined as one of the five major principles of 'good Governance', and appears in the arguments and its preparatory documents as one of the most important of them. Participation is supposed to enhance both the efficiency and the legitimacy of European Governance: it is said to respond to "the expectations of the Union's citizens" (European Commission, 2001:35), it should Europe with its people, help follow a less top-down focusing and make the policy-making more inclusive and accountable. In resume it should increase "the quality, relevance and effectiveness of EU policies...create more confidence in the end-result and in the institutions which deliver policies" (ibid: 10) and generate a sense of membership to Europe.

The concept of Participation is related mainly to a better involvement of civil society (grassroots movements, associations) in the European Union issues. For this reason, institutions and member states should improve the communication with their stakeholders. Religious groups, trade unions, NGOs or employers' organizations are some of those groups included in European civil society. In its definition of Governance, The European Commission support consultation and dialogue between institutions and inhabitants.

Nevertheless, some kind of criticism should be done to this conception of Participation. First of all, it is designed to stimulate the involvement of active citizens and groups in some precise procedures but not in an extended form of civic awareness and participation. Participatory mechanisms copy the already existing methods perpetuating wrong processes of participation. Secondly, the civil society, as a whole group for participation, could burden problems such as specific interests, the partisanship and the clientelism as in the UNDP's example. Different forms of participation are proposed but they could be resumed as more sophisticated ways of consultation with non-binding decisions which are reserved to elected bodies, started only by institutions and focused on sectorial actors. It makes suggestions of "channels for feedback, criticism and protest" (ibid: 15) but it does not propose methods for participation in the implementation and evaluation of policies. In conclusion, the European Commission's proposals for participation in Governance's framework follow the neoliberal conception of Democracy which makes reference to terms as transparency, accountability or consultation but without changing the

existing institutions and procedures. Governance itself does not foster citizens' participation due to processes remain complex for them. For this reason, participation is limited to citizens with financial and intellectual resources for influencing European delegates through lobbies and sectorial groups of pressure.

The main conclusion of the analysis and comparison of previous definitions of Governance and their Participatory dimension is that all of them are still too vague. Although they all refer to Participation as a main principle for the consecution of good Governance, any of them create the necessary mechanisms for their real implementation in the management of countries in all levels, from national to local. Only UN HABITAT goes a bit further than the others including universality as one of the key actors but it also fails in the binding and implementation part. Governance and Participation are trendy words that appear in political documents and reports at international level but there are no institutional frameworks to support them.

The future challenge is that Governance needs to move from a theoretical construction into the arena of the implementation and the practice. This only can be achieved if a basic framework of participation of individuals is really adapted. Then, the people's participation should be a process that can be integrated with the administrative mechanisms of the state. This is the main challenge in the existing democracies. Sustainable participatory processes are those which operate as part of a dynamic relationship with government; from theoretical bases be-

comes a working model. Finally it is necessary to avoid 'global' replicated models of Governance. Governance should be a malleable construction with capacity of adaptation in different contexts and backgrounds following a set of principles. Governance should provide a theoretical framework for the relationship between local authorities and the civil society. However, all previous definitions prevent to be implemented because of the institutional framework of Governments and the inexistence of specific schemes for these new relations. The solution lies outside the construction of the concept of Governance. New possibilities should be "founded in practical experiences of community involvement and community management. This complementary construction is community participation" (Abbot, 1997: 6). In summary, forms of community participation with a real involvement in the decision-making process will push one step further the limit of existing construction of the terms Governance and Participation.

## 2.2. Local Governance and Participation

**From Global to Local Governance.** Governance may provide the theoretical and analytical basis for establishing relationships between government and civil society but the mechanism itself prevents it from being implemented because it lies in the institutional framework of Governments. The above referred definitions of Governance describe its practice at all levels of government:

**Table 2.1.** The Participatory Dimension in Governance's definitions. Source: Author's elaboration.

<i>Institution</i>	<b>World Bank</b>	<b>UNDP</b>	<b>UN HABITAT</b>	<b>European Commission</b>
<i>Policy Paper or Campaign</i>	<i>Governance: The World Bank's Experience (1994)</i>	<i>Governance for Sustainable Human Development (1997)</i>	<i>Global Campaign on Urban Governance (1999)</i>	<i>White Paper (2001)</i>
<i>Approach</i>	State Centric	State Centric People Centric	People Centric	People Centric
<i>Principles</i>	Efficiency, Accountability, Transparency	Transparency, Accountability, Participation	Effectiveness, Equity, Accountability, Participation and Security	Openness, Participation, Accountability, Effectiveness and Coherence: reinforce Subsidiarity
<i>Methodology of Participation</i>	Consultation (non-binding)	Cooperation between Institutions and Civil Organizations	Representative democracy through political parties, consultation	Consultation (non-binding)
<i>Key Actors</i>	Civil Organizations	Civil Organizations	Individual/Universal	Civil Organizations

national, regional, provincial, city, district and community. However it is remarked that the possibilities of fulfilling it in completely are more feasible at a local level.

*“Urban governance thus allows us to consider local government as more than just a technical or administrative arm of central government in the developing world. In the context of decentralization, governance permits an understanding of local government as more than just a bureaucratic structure with new autonomous powers and functions”* (McCarney, 1996: 6).

This is relies on two main reasons. Firstly, the role of local governments has changed for last three decades from ‘managerialism’ to ‘entrepreneurialism’ (Harvey, 1989). This shift was due to the crisis and transformation of capitalist state in the 1970s which had forced local governments to re think local public policies management. The dismantling of the Welfare state has led to a re-escalation and re-territorialisation. Harvey (ibid) describes two processes, consequence of previous shift, as the main challenges for cities in current era. First, the scale of the local has become a better scope to deal with the consequences of the crisis; unemployment, deindustrialization and fiscal reforms. Second, the competence between cities to attract resources, capital and jobs made necessary the intervention of more actors, both public and private, in local management. However, national governments still play a leading role in the distribution of resources. The second main reason is that the local scale makes possible a closer relation between citizens and politicians. Citizens are aware of their problems, needs, necessities and concerns. All these local resources of information and knowledge are potential tools for designing and implementing successful policies that respond people’s voices.

McCarney (2003) also describes in a similar way the two disjunctures in Urban Development to explain the importance and necessity of the local level. For the author, there is a stress between global competitiveness and local needs and, also between formal state structures and civil society. One disjuncture is between the global demands which respond to international economic trends and the local needs which are centred on improving the lives of urban citizens. The external claims, related to the competitiveness of cities and macroeconomic pressures, are driven by foreign companies and national governments and crash against the petitions of the local constituencies within the cities. The dilemma for local governments is the reconciliation of both urban actors.

*“The global cities versus local communities disjuncture is reflected in the dual necessity for cities to perform as global centres of production that must complete internationally for corporate location and, at the same time, generate local economic development opportunities for their citizens”* (ibid: 39).

Owing to the rapid urbanization and the demands of international companies, cities build infrastructures for the new global needs. At the same time cities develop strategies not only territorial through infrastructures but also financial (i.e. tax benefits) and social (i.e. cleaning of ‘problematic’ areas, gentrification) to attract new investors to continue the cycle.

*“While local governments tend to perceive local economic development in terms of city beautification and image creation for attracting investment, citizens who are poor and struggling to create local livelihoods have a very different vision of what local-government priorities should be”* (ibid: 40).

The second disjuncture is between the formal structures of the State and the civil society , materialized in the exclusion of specific groups (i.e. low income, unemployed, migrants, elder people, women or young people) from the rest of the citizens. Decentralization processes have given more power and ‘room for manoeuvre’ to local governments for the implementation of more inclusive policies and sustainable development. At the same time, civil society has the possibility to participate in local issues through established civil organizations (i.e. unions, cultural groups, women’s associations) or individually. However there is lack of binding between political decisions and civil participation. One barrier is that the technical language used in public administrations is illegible for citizens. A shift in the bureaucracy jargon and methods would help to open the dialogue between local authorities and people (Davidoff, 1965; Friedmann, 1973; Forester, 1989; Habermas, 1993; Sandercock, 1998: 163-84).

Therefore the local scale seems to be more propitiatory to put in action the Governance principles from a theoretical to a practical dimension. However the gap between citizens and authorities is still a barrier to be dismantled. The complete Participation of inhabitants in local themes through binding decisions could be a solution to obtain total Governance, first at a local level and then at the global one.

Nevertheless, the transformation of the civil society into a powerful actor in Local Governance goes through a support from public institutions to revert the predominant role of private investors, as a consequence of ‘entrepreneurial’ cities and public-private partnerships, towards community participation and social economy.

**Participation: clue for transformation?** The Participation of civil society is one of the most important challenges of Local Governance and makes necessary the creation of mechanisms to help communities’ initiatives based on the citizens’ commitment in community problems. However, these processes should not be imposed from Governments in a ‘top down’ power relation but

they require a kind of pre-existed relations and solidarity. Mechanisms for coordination and negotiation should also be necessary in order to allow the construction of identities and common objectives among various actors.

*“A deliberative democratic civil society is a precarious achievement, an ongoing struggle, not a natural fact. No natural process guarantees that plural voices will respect or even inform one another, rather than becoming so much noise. No historical process guarantees the recognition of plural multi-layered identities or the critical examination of political arguments”* (Forester, 1998: 213).

The participatory aspect in the Governance's definition has been analysed in paragraph 2.1. International Institutions have been shown to have similar approaches to the role of citizens in Governance issues with subtle nuances (see Table 2.1). The position of the World Bank seems relatively different for its state centric approach to Governance definition due to its focus in its lending countries. Other three institutions have human sustainable development as main goal, in a people centric approach. However, the four of them include participation in their principles and only UN HABITAT allows people's activities outside established civil organizations. The requirement of belonging to any kind of association predetermines the competition between them, the creation of lobbies of power and special deals for specific groups. Excluded and weak organizations have limited their participation. Besides only the elite with economical, cultural and social power is included in the processes.

Related to the forms of Participation, the World Bank and the European Commission allow public consultations, exchange of information and dialogue, in a more sophisticated way the second of them, but without binding decisions. UNDP supports cooperation between authorities and civil organizations but only for specific cases, normally humanitarian catastrophes, and through technical aid and information. UN HABITAT talks about participatory planning and decision making processes but without giving guidelines or examples. In summary, all four mentioned Participation in their papers but any of their proposals make a real change in the currently existing procedures of Participation. They repeat established methodologies hidden in apparently 'new' good proposals and intentions. The people centric approach is still far to be reached following their precepts. A question arises, are these methods of Participation enough to fulfil people's inclusion in political issues?

Participation should answer to dynamism and change of complex societies. It is not only an end but also a way to face social pluralism, limitation of institutions, legitimation of decisions and reconfiguration of the 'public' (Ganuza et al., 2012:10).

All these new processes of Participation should have two new characteristics. First, it should be managed through deliberation and decision processes, one step farther from traditional information and consultative methods, taking into account diversity and conflicts of interest to civil society. Second, it is open participation, in relation to inclusiveness, without privilege to associations or other organized groups.

Governance gives the necessary framework for interaction between public authorities and citizens through participation but it should be redefined. The next challenge is to find models of Participation that fulfil those characteristics. One example is the Participatory Budgeting, PB. The PB can be explained as “a tool of participation and management of the city through which the citizenship can propose and decide about some part of municipal budgets” (Diputación de Málaga, 2010). The main intention of PB is inserting procedures of direct democracy in the annual budget cycle. Decisions are not only taken in a political – technical level but citizens, through debates and consultations, are invited to decide a part of municipal budget (Ganuza et al., 2012:15).

### **From Participation to Participatory Budgeting.**

The Participatory Budgeting can be described as a radical innovative instrument in which the decision-making rules are discussed and decided by the local population and regularly adapted to new exigencies. The process of open discussions about the allocation of resources and the implementation of Participatory Budgeting in the Local Area management contribute to raise political and social consciousness in Urban Governance. Several authors have enumerated the characteristics that make the difference between PBs and other participatory experiences. The most paradigmatic examples have happened in Latin America cities, especially Brazilian cities as Porto Alegre where PBs started in 1989. Their repercussion made this practice to expand firstly into other American countries like Ecuador, Peru or Argentina and later into Europe, Asia and Africa with more or less success. Currently, more than fifty countries have developed PB experiences at local level around the world (Frances et al., 2008: 20).

Santos (1998: 468) defines the PB as “a structure and a process of community participation based on three major principles and on a set of institutions that function as mechanisms or channels of sustained popular participation in the decision-making process of the municipal government”. The three principles of his definition are: “all citizens are entitled to participate, community organizations having no special status or prerogative in this regard; participation is governed by a combination of direct and representative democracy rules and takes place through regularly functioning institutions whose internal rules are decided upon participants and investment resources are allocated according to an objective method based on a

combination of ‘general criteria’ ... and ‘technical criteria’... that are up to the executive to implement” (ibid). Some contemporary authors have interpreted this definition as too narrow and based on few examples (Bassoli, 2011: 2).

Sintomer et al. (2008: 168) compare the differences between Latin America and Europe experiences to rewrite their redefinition. They remark that relying in one ‘nominalist’ definition to explain all types of participation with budget repercussion can be exclusive. For this reason, they develop a methodological definition with a set of minimal requisites to differentiate the PB from other participatory procedures. The authors propose that the Participatory Budgeting “allows the participation of non-elected citizens in the conception and/or allocation of public finances” (ibid). The five criteria to precise the process are: “the financial and/or budgetary dimension must be discussed; participatory budgeting involves dealing with the problem of limited resources; the city level has to be involved, or a (decentralized) district with an elected body and some power over the administration (the neighbourhood level is not enough); it has to be a repeated process (one meeting or one referendum on financial issues does not constitutes an example of PB; 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 PB; some accountability on the outpour

is required” (ibid). In opposition to Santos, this definition seems too broad and fails to take into account the role played by civil society. Santos (1998) also remarks that citizens must be directly involved through the presence of an intermediary body. Bassoli adds a sixth feature to the definition of Sintomer et al., the “possible and desirable participation of lay citizens” (2011:3). For this author, the direct Participation of people completes the Participatory Budgeting definition.

Yves Cabannes (2004a) remarks the importance of the complexity and capacity of adaptation of participatory budgeting; each experience is different. This author proposes to work with the PB in four key dimensions: participatory, financial, fiscal and budgetary, legal and normative and territorial. The author describes a set of measures with different degrees of arrangement, from minimal to advanced, for all the four aspects. The present working paper will focus on the participatory dimension of Participatory Budgeting and more specifically in the participation of citizens following Cabannes’ criteria.

The Participation of citizens is assessed through five variables. Firstly, it is cited the instance of final approval of the budget, from the decision power in one sector of municipality to whole public funds. Secondly, the forms of participation can vary from direct to indirect (Cabannes, 2004c: 28). The first one is that every citizen has the right to participate in thematic assemblies and meetings in

**Table 2.2.** Participatory Dimension: variables to differentiate the self-called Participatory Budgeting experiences. Source: Cabannes, 2004a.

Variables	Minimal Arrangement	Intermediate Arrangement	Maximum Arrangement
<b>1. Forms of participation</b>	Community-based representative democracy	Community-based representative democracy open to different types of associations	Direct democracy, universal participation
<b>2. Instance of final budget approval</b>	Executive (partial consultation)	Council (consultative)	The population (deliberative and legislative approval)
<b>3. What body makes budgetary priority decision?</b>	None	Existing social or political structure. Government and citizens (mixed)	Specific commissions with elected council members and a citizen majority
<b>4. Community participation or citizen participation</b>	Neighbourhood level	City-wide level, through thematic contributions	Neighbourhood, regional, and city-wide level
<b>5. Degree of participation of the excluded</b>	Thematic and neighbourhood plenary assemblies	Neighbourhoods, themes (including civic issues)	Neighbourhood + Thematic + actor-based, preference for excluded groups
<b>6. Oversight and control of execution</b>	Executive	Non-specific (PB Councils, associations)	Specific commissions

neighbourhood and district scale. They control the process, they are able to vote and be elected to represent the community. The indirect Participation means that delegates or leaders take part in the discussions and the decision-making processes. Minimal arrangement it is when participation happens only through an accepted organisational model. Thirdly, it is related to the decision-making body to set the budgetary priorities. In some examples, a special body (Participatory Budget Council, PBC) is created outside the public institutions or the established community associations to manage the PB. This formula gives independence to the process, it avoids interferences from external actors and it allows a real transformation of local social and political fabric through the PB. As Cabannes highlights “the budget becomes an innovative catalyst and a focal point for participation and its popular expression” (ibid). The fourth variable is related to the level of participation, from Community Participation to Citizen Participation. It refers to the arrangements at the community level where citizens usually demand for infrastructures or services to improve their living conditions (minimal) or the shift to a city-wide level where the traditionally excluded neighbourhoods have the possibility to make their voices heard (maximum). The fifth variable is the degree of participation of the excluded. The PB promotes the participation of all citizens by giving voice to those who are often excluded as migrants, women, young, elder or disabled people. Thematic assemblies with actor centric perspective involve maximum arrangements for these excluded groups. Last but not least variable it is about the works of monitoring and controlling the execution of the Participatory Budgeting. The control of the implementation and works could be followed through established public organs or special commissions, formed by citizens or their representatives as the PBCs related above.

If we relate the PB with aspects of Globalization mentioned above such as cities competition and privatisation of services, the PB achieves the inversion of these trends. Local authorities offers to citizens spaces of government and decision: in return, politicians pretend to get the citizens and civil organizations’ commitment. In the practice, they apply new innovate policies based on new ways of responsibilities on common ‘goods’ in their territories (Allegretti et al., 2010: 2).

Following the definitions of the referred authors (Santos, 1998; Cabannes, 2004a; Brassoli, 2011; Sintomer et al., 2008), the PB fulfils the two conditions for the complete Participation proposed previously: Deliberation and Inclusiveness. There are two final comments to the PB from Cabannes’ perspective; “conditions for the irreversibility of the process, no return... and a modern vision of politics and Governance” (2004c: 45). As a consequence, the PB involves the real transformation of structured power relations between citizens and local politicians for the achievement of new urban challenges.

### 2.3. Linking Participatory Budgeting and Local Governance

The present paragraph pretends to explore the relation between Governance and Participatory Budgeting. The PB processes have demonstrated to have directly or indirectly repercussions in some Governance principles as for example the Accountability or the Participation.

Santos (1998: 482-3) enumerates the Participatory Democracy objectives as Democracy Participation, Fairness as Redistribution, Efficiency, Transparency and Objectivity. The author proves the relation between the PB implementation in Brazilian cities and the improvement of those objectives. He assessed Participatory Governance through some indicators. For example, the objectivity and transparency are proved by the number of points reached and the percentage of investment resources they have converted.

Souza (2001: 166-173) describes the indirect effects of PB in Porto Alegre experience. The PB affects beyond budgeting processes other governmental and social practices and institutions. Although the author does not refer directly to the term Governance, we can test that those indirect effects are similar to issues used to define Governance by contemporary authors. The first improvement is the transparency in decision-making through tackling secrecy and bureaucracy of public budgets and disseminating the information (public resources, expenditures) to citizens and mass media. Secondly, the PB enhances the Local Government accountability. In Porto Alegre, the Local Government distributed complete information of all approved works in detail and the names for all delegates. Finally, Participation went beyond PB, from the first targeted low-income communities to a broader and long term perspective involving other social groups.

Cabannes (2004a) applies the Urban Governance Index (UGI) to measure the relation between the PB and Good Urban Governance. The UGI is developed through twenty-six indicators from the following five principles: Effectiveness, Equity, Accountability, Participation and Security. The author links the twenty-six components of the UGI with Participatory Budgeting and its four dimensions (Participatory, Budgetary, Normative and Territorial). The contribution of the PB can be direct or indirect. While speaking about to the Participation principle, five indicators are chosen: elected council, elected mayor, voter turnout and voter participation by sex, public forum and civic associations per 10,000 inhabitants. With the exception of the third one with an indirect contribution, the PB has a direct contribution to the other 4 indicators (Table 2.3). The author notes that the fourth and fifth indicators have positive and direct links with the advanced and intermediate situations of PB.

**Table 2.3.** Summary of the contributions of Participatory Budgeting to Urban Governance. Source: Cabannes, 2004a.

<i>Good Governance Principle</i>	<b>Governance indicator</b>	<b>Contribution of PB</b>		
		Direct (D)	Indirect (I)	Distant
<b>A. Efficiency</b>	<b>1. Major Sources of Income</b>	XX		
	2. Predictability in Transfers from the Central Government			XXX
	<b>3. Published performance delivery standards</b>	XXX		
	4. Customer Satisfactory Survey	XXX		
	5. Existence of a Vision Statement	XXX		
<b>B. Equity</b>	6. Citizens' Charter: right of access to basic services		XXX	
	7. Percentage of women councillors in local authorities		XXX	
	8. Pro-poor pricing policies for water		XXX	
	9. Incentives for informal businesses	XX		
<b>C. Participation</b>	10. Elected Council	XXX		
	11. Elected Mayor	XXX		
	12. Voter turnout and voter participation by Sex		XX	
	<b>13. Public Forum</b>	XXX		
	<b>14. Civic Associations per 10.000 population</b>	XXX		
<b>D. Accountability</b>	<b>15. Formal publication (contracts and tenders; budgets and accounts)</b>	XXX		
	16. Control by higher levels of government			XXX
	17. Codes of Conduct		XX	
	18. Facilities for citizen complaints			
	19. Anti-corruption Commission		XX	XXX
	20. Disclosure of Income/Assets			XXX
	21. Independent audit		XXX	
<b>E. Security</b>	22. Crime prevent policy			XXX
	23. Police services staff per 100,000 persons		XX	
	<b>24. Conflict resolution</b>	XXX		
	25. Violence against Women Policies		XXX	
	26. HIV/AIDS Policy		XXX	
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>10</b>

The description of Participation indicators in detail (UN HABITAT, 2004) is:

*Elected council (D):* The indicator measures whether the local governing council is elected through a democratic process or not. An Elected Council is a body of Local Government Officials selected by the local population through organized polls with an administrative, advisory or representative function at the City Level. The indicator is measured by a simple 'yes/no' questions that should however be verified. Are councillors locally elected? (Yes/No) If the councillors are both elected as well as appointed, please provide the distribution (% appointed and % elected).

*Elected mayor (D):* The indicator measures how the mayor is selected, whether directly elected, elected amongst the councillors or appointed. The indicator is measured by providing a simple Yes/No: What is the process of selecting the Mayor? Directly elected, Elected amongst councillors or Appointed

*Voter turnout and voter participation by sex (I):* Total voter turnout (both male and female) in percentage in the last election. Voter turnout (both male and female) in percentage is a simple indicator that measures voter participation. Additional information: What is the frequency of elections? What year was the last election held?

*Public forum (D):* The public forum could include people's council, city consultation, neighbourhood advisory committees, town hall meetings etc. The indicator is measured by a simple 'yes/no' question with additional open-ended information about the type of public forum. Is there any public forum for the citizens to express their views?

(Yes/No) If yes, please provide information on the type of public forum, frequency (how often) of such forums.

*Civic Associations per 10,000 inhabitants (D):* Measured as the number of civic associations (registered) per 10,000 people within the local authority's jurisdiction. The total city population is divided into clusters of 10,000. Divide the city's population first by 10,000 and then by the number of civic associations registered with the local authority.

In this first chapter it has been developed the conceptual and theoretical framework of the working paper. From definitions of Governance and its participatory dimension in different International Institutions, it has concluded that although they are good attempts, they are still vague and limited in their implementation. It should be necessary the creation of an institutional framework to support them. Additionally, the Participation of citizens should involve deliberation, inclusiveness and decision-making processes. Participation seems to be the clue but not in all the examples the same level of social transformation is achieved. Participatory Budgeting processes could suppose a key solution for structural changes. Historical examples of PBs in Brazilian Cities (Santos, 1998; Souza, 2001) show the potentiality and innovation of this tool. At the same time, local level has been proved the best scale for achieving Governance goals.

The following chapter will study the case study of the province of Malaga, Spain, where the Provincial Government promoted (2007-2011) the implementation of PB in its municipalities. Through the indicators exposed above, the case studies will be assessed to show the grade of transformation got with the PB processes.

## 3. Participatory Budgeting: case study of Malaga, mainstream policy at provincial level

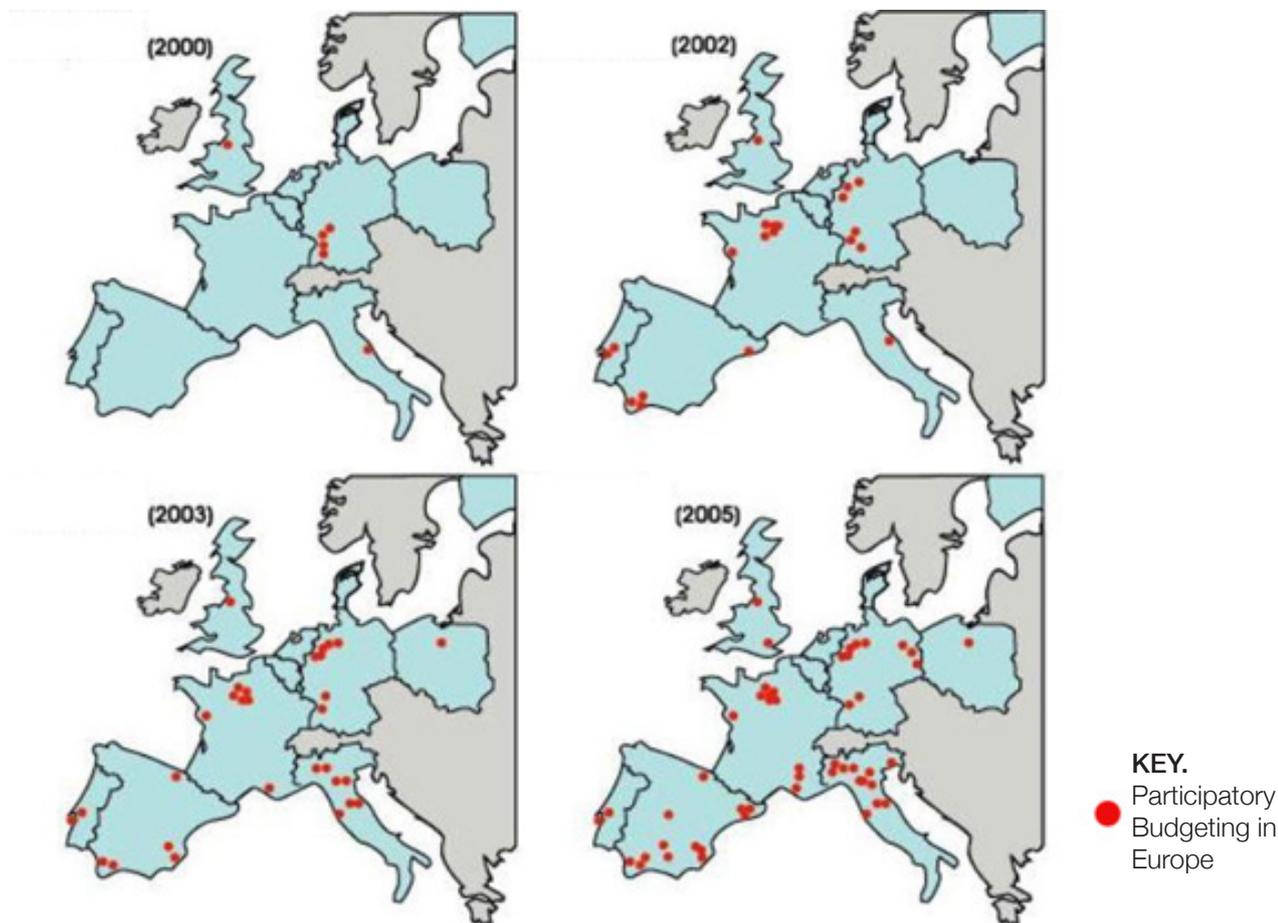
### 3.1. Participatory Budgeting experiences in Spain

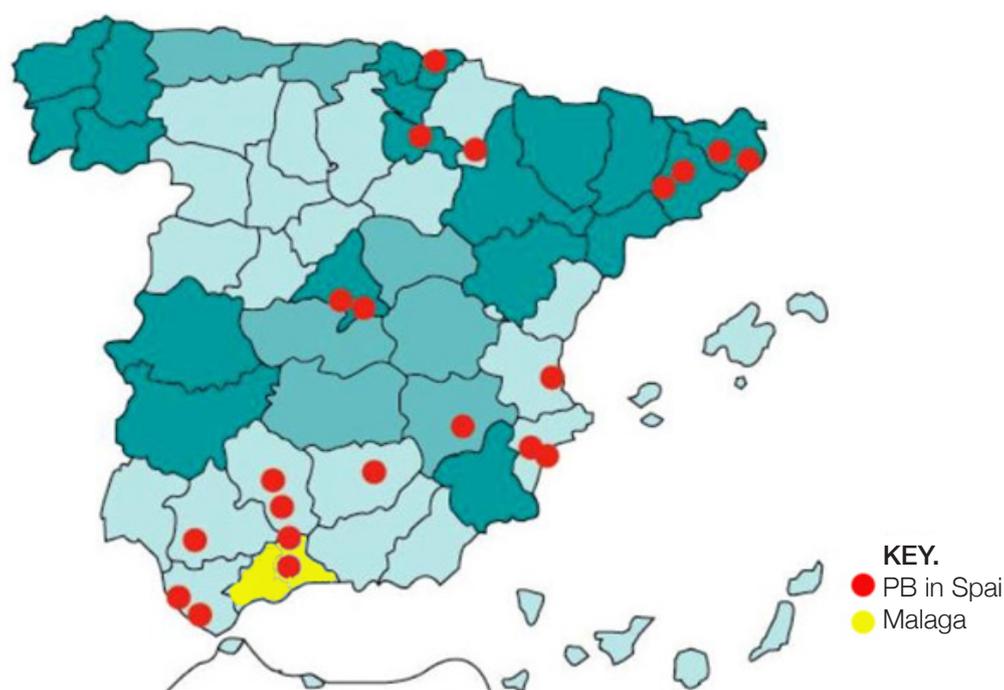
Participatory Budgeting experiences have expanded from the first case in Porto Alegre, Brazil, (Santos, 1998) to more than 50 countries in 2008 (Frances et al., 2008: 20). In Europe, some countries have implemented PB due to the support of the European Institutions as the recommendations of OECD and lines of financing of URB-AL and Socrates. However, European initiatives have very different goals and characteristics and maybe it is necessary to reflect if all these participatory processes are really examples of PB (ibid).

Spain is, due to their common history and language, the country of Europe with more affinities with Latin Ameri-

can PB experiences (Allegretti et al., 2010). Spanish PB started in 2001 in Cordoba, Puente Genil and Cabezas de San Juan, all three located in Andalucia. Afterwards, PB spread mainly in the rest of Andalucia, south, and Catalonia, northeast, with some examples in Madrid and the north of the country (see Figure 3.2.). One common characteristic of these first experiences is the importance of “associative democracy”, making reference to the influence of neighbourhood associations (Allegretti et al, 2012: 57). In relation with the population pattern, experiences can be found in Municipalities with very different sizes of population (see Appendix 1). Nevertheless the population of Municipalities with PB was less than the 6% of the national population in 2007 (Francés et al, 2008). There is the trend that normally Local Authorities are governed by left parties (IU, PSOE) and some PBs have fin-

Figure 3.1. Participatory Budgeting experiences in Europe (2000-2005). Source: Frances et al., 2008.



**Figure 3.2.** Participatory Budgeting experiences in Spain (2005). Source: Frances et al., 2008.**Table 3.1.** Participatory Budgeting experiences in Spain (2008). Source: Author's adaptation from Frances et al., 2008: 20-21; Pineda, 2004: 6.

Municipality	Population	Region	Starting Year	Party in Government
Córdoba	322,867	Andalucia	2001	IU
Albacete	182,471	Castilla Mancha	2002	PSOE
Rubí	71,927	Catalonia	2001-3	PSOE (IU)
San Sebastián	183,308	Basque Country	2003	PSOE
Getafe	156,320	Madrid	2004	PSOE/IU
Algete	18,176	Madrid	2004	PSOE
Cabezas d. S. Juan	16,139	Andalucia	2002	IU
Puente Genil	28,683	Andalucia	2003	IU
Jerez de la F.	199,544	Andalucia	2004	PP
Sevilla	704,414	Andalucia	2004	PSOE
Petrer	33,026	C. Valenciana	2004	IU (minority)
Puerto Real	39,648	Andalucia	2004	IU
Terrassa	194,497	Catalonia	2006	PSOE
Leganés	161,508	Madrid	2006	PSOE
Puertollano	50,470	Castilla Mancha	2004	PSOE
Tudela	32,502	Navarre	2006	PP
Xiribella	30,123	C. Valenciana	2005	PSOE
Novelda	26,335	C. Valenciana	2007	PSOE
Almansa	25,075	Castilla Mancha	2003	PSOE
Sant Joan d'Alacant	19,711	C. Valenciana	2005	PSOE
Campillos	8,183	Andalucia	2006	IU

ished with the change of party (see Table 3.1.). However we cannot talk about a unique pattern for all the Spanish examples.

As paradigmatic examples Cordoba (Ganuza, 2003), Seville (Molina, 2010: 265) and Las Cabezas de San Juan (ibid: 234) can be cited, all in Andalucía. In this last example, the singularity of the experience called “*El Reparto*” (allocation) was the direct interest in boosting the active citizens’ Participation. In Cordoba, the PB was a response of a consolidate history of Participation. Seville, with more than 700,000 residents, is one of the most important European cities that has adopted PB (ibid: 265).

However, firstly it is necessary to review the concept of Participation in Spain. As J. A. Lara, councillor of Participation in Archidona, explains, during the dictatorship of F. Franco (1939-1975), social organizations were focused on struggling against regime and the arrival of democracy. Political parties were illegal and worked in the exile. Examples of civil groups were neighbourhood associations in big cities as Madrid and Barcelona, unions (i.e. miners, farmers, labours) and students groups normally from universities. With Franco’s death and the beginning of the Democracy, most of them disappeared due to the cause of their struggle had finished. In most cases, leaders were co-opted by political parties as PSOE. The redaction of the Constitution in 1978 was a long and delicate process carried by the just legalised political parties that were facing the challenge on closing social injuries of the Civil War (1936-1939). The Constitution was finally approved and has not been revised or modified since then. The current Spanish Democracy is a legacy of that specific period.

The Participation of citizens in individual or collective form is described in some articles of the Spanish Constitution. In the article 9.2 notes that public institutions have obligation to allow and foster citizen’s participation in political, economic, cultural and social life. The article 23 adds that citizens have the right to participate directly or through their representatives. However, public administrations do not follow those advices and Participation is usually used as an example of bad praxis. Related to citizens, their participation is reduced to vote each 4 years without other implication in political life between elections. In Andalucía since 2010, the Statute of the Autonomous Community establishes similar approaches to the national Constitutions but it targets as a basic objective citizens’ participation for the design, delivery and evaluation of public policies. The Statute also proposes the individual and collective Participation for the promotion of social and Participative Democracy. The commitment of Regional Government (IU-PSOE), from October 2012 to February 2013, has led to the draft of “*Ley Andaluza de Participación Ciudadana*” (Citizen’s participation law) to protect, boost and develop Participation in the autonomous community.

Following the impulse of Seville and Cordoba, the Provincial Government of Malaga (“*Diputación Provincial de Málaga*”) and entities as FAMSI and Red FAL (network of Local Authorities), it was created the National Network for the Participatory Budgeting (“*Red Estatal por los Presupuestos Participativos*”) in 2008. The network uses as working paper ‘The Declaration of Antequera’ (“*Declaración de Antequera*”) signed in 2008. The Declaration’s (Molina, 2010: 233-4) defines the following elements for Participative Democracy:

1. Participative Democracy as a new form of Government where citizens recover the public space and are allowed to develop their strategies in their proximate environment.
2. New ways of participatory management should be fostered to enhance citizenship and public institutions. The PB should be a tool for social inclusion; economic, political, social and cultural empowerment of citizens, in particular, excluded groups.
3. The PB should include: self regulation, binding, universality (one woman, one man, one vote), with monitoring systems, social control of the process, accountability and deliberation
4. The commitment with the promotion and defence of the public system through fostering participatory processes in the public management.
5. Necessity to boost decentralized cooperation and international networks for the promotion of democratic Governance in the balance between local and global.
6. Coordination between other municipal networks with similar interests.
7. Creation of new knowledge’s tools; collective learning, training all the actors involved in the process (officials, citizens, external technicians).
8. Fostering a new participatory culture for building new strategies for participatory planning and management of the territory
9. The compromise to foster universal PB, binding and self regulated in Municipalities and to create spaces for meeting, debate and coordination between them.

From prior considerations, the Principles of the Declaration are following:

**1. Self-regulation:** the self-regulation should be comprehensible and with possibility for improvisation, flexible, although normative. In regard to the elaboration, the self-regulation at the beginning of the process was already decided. However, it could slow down the starting moments and some questions could be forgotten. In order to give a full perspective, some advantages appear such as the cohesion of groups, the improvement of the collective learning and the help to overcome initial oppositions. It is also important to prevent the prominence of technicians, to debate from a pre elaborated document, to

avoid elective questions (A or B) and to copy from other experiences, lack of time. A next stage in the self-regulation process should be the 'review' of the draft during the process.

**2. Universal:** It is not only referred to 1 person= 1 vote but also to the inclusion of excluded groups as active actors in processes. Limitations of participation must be reduced to age and census. The schedule of assemblies and the place of meetings can mean a barrier to some citizens. In the dimension of knowledge and formation of technicians, it is necessary to deepen in more conceptual ideas as social justice to achieve real changes in Representative Democracy.

**3. Binding:** PBs are developed by 3 main actors: politicians, technicians and citizens. The success of the process depends on the political wills, from the initial commitment to the fulfilment of decisions. This commitment should be expressed in different ways over the process: the definition of the initial budget, deliberative spaces (reflection, consultation or binding), in the viability reports without excuses for eliminating proposals, planning of processes, continuity, monitoring and possibility of co-management of citizens (execution and maintenance of projects). When it is referred to 'political commitment' that commitment will be collective, from all members of the government. For this reason it is recommendable the collective evaluation and the formation of politicians. In the same way, the formation and the commitment of municipal official is clue to allow processes work avoiding administrative or technical barriers or to make the language, decision making and monitoring easier and more accessible. More comments can be added related to deliveries, areas and quantity of budget.

**4. Deliberation:** it is defined as the being of the spaces for reflection and construction of collective proposals, ensuring social diversity. Those spaces stimulate sharing the knowledge of common realities and the planning of common goals. Even this principle is included in the Declaration of Antequera, some constraints, normally time and money, impede its fulfilment.

As transversal objectives they are the achievement of social justice and social structure. These objectives are included in all principles:

**A. Social Justice:** It must be understood as a long term process in which all principles, but especially universality and deliberation, will be applied. However, this application should not be only explicit but also as the result of experiences and debates in plural and collective forums.

**B. Social Structure:** as Social Justice, it is based in the Declaration's principles and developed in long term and accumulative processes. From the starting point of PBs or other participative method, the social structure is being

fulfilled. PBs is a catalyst for self-organization, from an individual to collective society. It is also necessary to remark the importance of the dynamism of PBs.

The province of Malaga<sup>1</sup> constitutes a privileged scenario for its innovative character as the first Spanish experience of the PB in the provincial level. That supposes a change in the formal scale: from the provincial Government to Municipalities. The ordinary horizontal power relations become vertical flows of collaboration and information.

The personal commitment of a group of people (intellectuals, technicians, politicians) in the province of Malaga and in the rest of Andalucia made possible the implementation of PB in their region since 2001. After analysing Latin American examples of PB, Spanish experiences such as Seville and Cordoba and after some pilot exercises, they created the office of Participatory Budgeting of the provincial Government, after the elections in May 2007. The main objectives of the provincial office were the dissemination of the PB methodology to all the municipalities of the province, the provision of resources (technicians, budget), the evaluation and the feedback of processes. For this institutional support, Malaga constituted the province with the highest number of Municipalities with PB in the country. After elections in May 2011, the change of Government caused the end of the Office.

The Principles and Objectives of the Declaration of Antequera fulfil and complete the PB's definition of Bassoli (2011) and Sintomer et al. (2008). Therefore the participatory processes with budgets in Malaga under the supervision and the control of the Office of PB can be considered as 'normative' practices of PB. However, some critics should be done to the Declaration. If it is linked to Cabannes' four dimensions of PB (Cabannes, 2004a), the Declaration fulfils participatory aspects (in citizens and local government) and more briefly the legal dimension through self-regulation. Related to the financial and the physical spheres, the Declaration does not contemplate any of the variables. For example, the implementation and the quantity of the budget are not described.

### 3.2. Cycle and Actors of Participatory Budgeting processes

The Office of PB defined a methodology based in the Declaration of Antequera that was followed by all the municipalities. The number of experiences varied until accomplishing 21 examples in its four years (Diputación de Málaga et al, 2011). Although the methodology was unique for all of them, some variations, depending on the context, happened related to schedule or the implied actors. As Cabannes (2004a) notes, each experience of PB is different. In the Appendix 2 it will be shown the Table 8 with data and evaluation of Municipalities of the province of Malaga.

The cycle of PB could have different duration (from 5 months to 1 year) and has the following phases:

1. The first step was launching a previous campaign called, according to Viginia G. Barbarrusa coordinator of IEPALA<sup>2</sup>, 'provocative campaign'. Basically, depending of the municipalities, some citizens, officials or external technicians started to disseminate leaflets or pamphlets in the municipality with a sentence to raise the curiosity of the neighbours. For example, in the case of Teba, some women in their 60s who everyday went for walking were worried about some issues of the town (pavement works, water supplies, public space as parks or playgrounds). From their own initiative, they started hanging posters with the following sentence: "Vente andá" (come and walk).
2. Dissemination of processes and informative assemblies through posters, pamphlets, leaflets and videos.
3. Self-regulation established the rules of the process, it sets up the "rules of the municipality from neighbours": motor group (elaboration of the self regulation and revision) and city council. The main features of self-regulation are dynamism (revised and modified before each new process) and self-regulated (elaborated by neighbours)
4. Assemblies for proposals through different activities such as games, paintings and collage. The Participation is extensive to all groups (women, young people, children, etc.).
5. The decision-making process: previous proposals were voted by citizens (1 person= 1 vote) and a caravan of priorities

6. Execution, design and accountability of proposals: the delivery to the municipality, visualization of projects through posters, feed-back meetings, community design.

Referring to the actors, three groups could be distinguished:

*1. Political Level: Politicians, officials, municipal architects, social workers.* They participated indirectly. Although they could not assist to the assemblies or be part of Motor groups, politicians boosted PBs and dialogue with Motor groups. Officials and the rest of public workers (i.e. architects, social workers) performed administrative and technical tasks.

*2. Technical Level: "Técnicos dinamizadores"*<sup>3</sup>. They were hired by the Office of PB. Their role varied from starting processes, stimulating neighbours, management, disseminating of information and motivation. They were key actors for the success PBs. Unilco Association- Nomadic Space<sup>4</sup> and the University of Malaga had also in some examples helping of and training technicians and evaluating processes.

*3. Citizen Level: Civil society.* Individuals (1 person = 1 vote) although some associations (youth and women groups) had participated actively in helping with processes. Neighbours could be part of Motor groups as delegates representing their sector and taking part in the general assemblies. The percentage of participation had been measured by Gutierrez (2012:162) in Malaga examples; 5,29% for municipalities with less than 6,000 inhabitants and 6,50% for municipalities from 6,000 to 20,000 inhab-

**Table 3.2.** Cycle of Participatory Budgeting and actions of levels. Source: Frances et al., 2008: 27.

	POLITICAL LEVEL	TECHNICAL LEVEL	CITIZEN LEVEL
Previous Phase	Political Agreement Allocation of budget for PB	Training of Technicians	Constitution of the Motor Group Redaction of Self-regulation
Assembly's Phase			Training for the coordination of assemblies; Assemblies, presentation of proposals and election of representatives
Phase of prioritization of proposals	Approbation in the plenary session and consignment of budgets citizen's proposals	Redaction of report for the technical and economical viability; Technical assistance in the process of prioritization of proposals	Prioritization of proposals and redaction of the final document of PB
Phase of execution and monitoring	Evaluation of the Processes Execution of works	Evaluation of the processes	Evaluation of the processes Monitoring

itants. Participation of civil associations was around 80%. There was a clear relation between high degree of participation and areas with deficit of basic needs (ibid: 165).

The implied participatory groups were defined in norms or Self-regulation of PB in each municipality. In the case of Malaga province, those entities normally were the following:

*1. General assembly or Table of Representatives:* They were voted by districts, they monitored and evaluated the whole process.

*2. Sectorial Assemblies:* They were celebrated in each district and were open, public. Their functions were communication, deliberation and prioritizing of proposals, election of delegates (“representatives”, “numerus apertus”<sup>5</sup>) and monitoring of works. Deliberation was understood as process where necessities and problems were shared, proposals were worked, viability was discussed and collective strategies were searched. These assemblies were spaces where Deliberation, in its whole dimension, was developed (Gutierrez, 2012: 154). The Assembly was the space where active reflection and solidarity were fostered because neighbours had the opportunity to know and dialogue around problems and needs of the others. In both assemblies, the participation of disadvantaged groups (women, migrants, young people) would be boosted to improve inclusion and give them voice.

*3. Motor group:* it consisted of volunteer representatives of each sector. It was an open group, dynamic, with the following functions: elaboration, revision and modifying the self-regulation, d promotion of the citizen participation, channelling suggestions and necessities, being informed of the results and the viability of proposals, information to neighbours of viability, intervention in the prioritizing of proposals, following activities and creation a follow-up (accountability) commission.

After delimiting the participation bodies, people and places for deliberation and meetings, proposals would be raised. The Self-regulation of each municipality, drafted by the Motor group, described the methodology:

*1. Who? :* All neighbours over X years and living in the town could participate with infinite number of proposals in the specially elaborated format. Self-regulation varied from town to town. There were some examples of participation of children (5 or 6 years old). Also, the census could or could not be a barrier (migrants, holiday makers with houses in the Municipality).

*2. Where? :* In the sectorial assemblies (assistance or giving to anyone). In some examples there were successful examples of data collection of participants: name, surname, age and address.

*3. Which? :* To measure the viability of proposals, an external technical commission would asses and wrote a report for the motor group. In the proposals there were also suggestions, no binding, and ‘non-cost’ proposals, ideas.

*4. How? :* Proposals would be divided by topics (culture, infrastructure) and the scale would be weighed according to the number of proposals.

*5. Criteria for the prioritization:* after voting, the Motor Group, for more justice and solidarity, assesse each proposal under these criteria: basic and urgent needs, infrastructure and basic services and number of population affected. These results would be added to voting for final results.

The municipality of Alameda, located in the north Málaga, developed one of the most ambitious examples of PBs since December 2008. With a population of 5.420 people in 2011, it reached a political commitment that included not only PBs but also more initiatives for empowering neighbours through commissions of social affairs. In the case of Alameda, it is interesting to remark the nickname given to PBs: “*El Rebate*”, colloquial name for the step between the house and the street and more symbolically, the meeting point of the individual and the collectivity. From first stages when budgets were entered to infrastructures, the proportion of participation and success allowed to cross off the goals and to launch new programmes related to the interests of neighbours (cleanness, sociability). For this reason, PBs achieved new forms of communication between citizens and public institutions, in a process owned by citizens. Other important aspects of this experience were the lack of a protagonist of neighbours, even ‘Representatives’ were not showed as ‘parallel municipal government’, collaboration with external agents as Unilco Association- Nomadic Space and the shift of the technician role towards a facilitator between the initiatives and the resources from neighbours and public organs.

The rest of municipalities also showed different examples of sectorial assemblies focused on women, young people and environment issues for example and PB experiences also achieved changes in social structure. The next paragraph will evaluate the case study of the Municipalities of Malaga with PB processes through the criteria developed above, the participatory dimension of Participatory Budgeting (see Table 2.2.) and UGI index (see Table 2.3.), for analysing the scope of those changes.

### 3.3. Assessing Participatory Dimension in Participatory Budgeting

In this paragraph, Participatory Budgeting experiences in the province of Malaga will be evaluated by Cabannes’ (2004a) indicators of Participation indicated above (see Table 3.2.):

*1. Forms of participation:* direct. From the Declaration of Antequera, 1 person (woman and man) = 1 vote. The role of technicians who stimulate and disseminate PBs was crucial to attract more neighbours. The relations with other associations were normally quite weak with the exception of some youth and women associations. There had normally been more participation of women, housewives, in assemblies and Motor Groups, as a 'feminization' of participatory spaces that remind everyday management of family welfare. Those spaces were the prolongation of the domestic environment, where women, as housekeepers, were supposed to be responsible and exclusive managers. Introducing the gender mainstream in PBs could help, in a medium-long term, to shift these social perceptions. Firstly, gender policies would struggle against the devaluation, the appreciation of the central function of daily activities and spaces. Secondly, they would help in the claim for social sharing co-responsibility, between women and men. The Participation sometimes was also defined by territorial causes; the disconnection between rural areas and the city centre did not make possible common spaces for deliberation. Benalauria, was the only municipality with gender mainstream in the cases study of Malaga. Normally, there was a lack of implication by men (35-60 years). Related to the census or municipal registers, migrants or temporary neighbours (tourists) were not allowed to participate with some exceptions as in Humilladero where there was not restriction for non-registered.

*2. Instance of final approval of the budget:* Only budgets of infrastructures and some subjects about youth and social council were discussed. There was not a mainstream policy and the bureaucracy was an obstacle mainly due to the lack of collaboration of officials and public technicians. As the strengths, it could be stressed the commitment of some Municipalities for hiring a technician in PB with the specific experience and formation during a year. However, the lack of economic resources and political collaboration appeared not only in the prevision of funds but also in the availability and the work capability. It would be interesting to include the delivery in cultural activities as it had been proposed from the councillor of Culture of Archidona (Diputación de Málaga et al, 2011). In some Municipalities, the hired technician depended on the Provincial Office of PB. That means the necessity of a specific budget in city halls to avoid this dependency. In summary, the proportion of the budget remained reduced and limited to some actuations, mainly infrastructures. Related to the percentage, the Office of PB imposed a minimum of 10%, at least until 2011, as a condition to obtain the subsidy for hiring technicians.

*3. Decision-making body for settings budgetary priorities:* the Motor groups were formed by citizens elected for their neighbours. All districts or sectors of the Municipality

were represented in them to achieve a more equal distribution of budgets. The Motor groups were participatory bodies but the final proposals were approved in an open polling to all citizens. The Participation of politicians in the assemblies was prohibited.

*4. From Community Participation to Citizen Participation:* In the case of the 21 municipalities analysed, PB were extended in districts with specific needs (infrastructures, etc). However the population in those Municipalities varied approximately from 500 to 9000 inhabitants and their small scale made possible relations between neighbourhoods with PBs or not. In the case of sectorial groups as young people, the PB's works had repercussion in the entire Municipality, as the rehabilitation of an old silo for their new community centre for them in Archidona.

*5. Degree of participation of the excluded:* From the Declaration of Antequera, the Universality principle was followed by the PB Provincial Office. However, some doubts were raised: the restriction of participation of registered citizens of municipality (people who lived there and had right to vote) excluding other interested actors, minimal age for participation (in Teba for example the limit is 6 years old), no implication of some groups (migrants and gypsies). Gutierrez (2012: 183) cites groups of interest absented in PB experiences and highlights immigrant population, elderly people, children and individuals not belonging to any organized group, in Spain. In the positive side, there was a great participation and continuity of young people. Other important point is the no leadership, absence of leaders, due to the established filters through the self-regulation. Some critics suggest that the clientelism and the partisanship were still present in PBs as in the case of Alameda. Another aspect is the composition of the Motor Groups. In some examples they were very homogeneous, prior reference of housewives, and hinder the Participation of other groups of citizens. The capacity to involve determinant groups should have been done through specific strategies and methodologies from the public sector, that has the legitimization in the processes. Some actions had been specific sectorial budgets and sectorial assemblies of immigration, although solutions were thought as working with NGOs or associations that cooperate to them. However, spaces of deliberation and mechanisms of processes should have been adjusted to their daily routine, with more flexible ways of participation, for example, the use new technologies (NTIC).

*6. Public works monitoring and control of the execution of the Participatory Budgeting:* evaluation and dissemination of the information are the cornerstone of the PB. Without the information from the Municipality, it is not possible the monitoring and the evaluation of works. A crucial step was the shift of the citizens' attitude for the demand of this information. The monitoring of pub-

lic works was mainly performed by Motor groups but opened to the rest of citizens through specific monitoring commissions as in Ardales. In Archidona, the municipal architect helped to open the floor for the Participation in the design and the monitoring of proposals. The architect also allowed the evaluation with both technicians and interested citizens although a designated person by neighbours also accompanies them. Another singularity was that the young people had followed a parallel process in the design of the rehabilitation of an old silo.

Related to the UGI, it is necessary to remind that only indicators 4 and 5 have a positive and clear link. Also, the indicators are “an important analytical instrument... insufficient to thoroughly reveal the contribution” (Cabannes, 2004a). The five indicators which comprise the participation of the UGI related to Malaga case study are (see Table 3.3.):

**1. Elected council (D):** The indicator measures whether the local governing council is elected through a democratic process or not. In the case of Spain, the Democracy is representative with local elections every 4 years. Councillors are designed from the list of voted political parties. PBs improve the relation and the dialogue be-

tween politicians and citizens and raise the consciousness and the degree of information of people. However, there are not studies of the possible relation between percentage of votes and PBs. Indicators 2 (Elected mayor) and 3 (Voter turnout and voter participation by sex) present similar features.

**4. Public forum (D):** The methodology of the PB in Malaga, from the Declaration of Antequera, imposed the creation of Motor groups and assemblies (general and sectorial). These participatory bodies performed as forums or 'agora', as spaces for dialogue, proposals and deliberation. The topics of forums were very wide for example traffic issues, infrastructures and self-management of activities for teenagers. A future challenge would have been the extension to other general topics that would have involved social changes.

**5. Civic Associations per 10,000 inhabitants (D):** although in the case of Malaga there is not reports or publications to prove it, PB “tends to foment the appearance of new organization or the activation of existing ones” (Cabannes 2004a). For example some youth associations were reinforced by the PB and even parallel PBs had appeared for them. In the example of Alameda a Sport Club and two cultural associations were created from assemblies and network of citizens from PB processes.

**Table 3.3.** Participatory Dimension: variables for differentiating self-denominated Participatory Budgeting experiences in Malaga case study in *italics* (Source: Author’s adaptation from Cabannes, 2004a)

Variables	Minimal Arrangement	Intermediate Arrangement	Maximum Arrangement
<b>1. Forms of participation</b>	<i>Community-based representative democracy</i>	Community-based representative democracy open to different types of associations	Direct democracy, universal participation
<b>2. Instance of final budget approval</b>	Executive (partial consultation)	Council (consultative)	<i>The population (deliberative and legislative approval)</i>
<b>3. What body makes budgetary priority decision?</b>	None	Existing social or political structure. Government and citizens (mixed)	<i>Specific commissions with the elected council, members and a citizen majority. Motor Groups, Sectorial Assemblies</i>
<b>4. Community participation or citizen participation</b>	<i>Neighbourhood level</i>	<i>City-wide level, through thematic contributions</i>	Neighbourhood, regional, and city-wide level
<b>5. Degree of participation of the excluded</b>	<i>Thematic and neighbourhood plenary assemblies</i>	Neighbourhoods, themes (including civic issues)	Neighbourhood + Thematic + actor-based, preference for excluded groups
<b>6. Oversight and control of execution</b>	Executive	<i>Non-specific (PB Councils, associations)</i>	Specific commissions

### 3.4. Malaga's case study: considerations and future challenges

The following conclusions have been structured using the four principles of the Declaration of Antequera, Self-regulation, Universality, Binding and Deliberation, and their relation with the developed indicators (see Tables 3.2. and 3.3.) as their base. In this way, the principles followed by examples of Malaga can be linked with the participatory dimension of Governance, studied in chapter 2, to evaluate their limits and potentialities.

**1. Self-regulation:** it could constrain the capacity of decision making as an obligation. It is not always a guarantee of regulation because it could be copied from other examples. It is extremely important that the draft of self-regulation comes from citizenship to raise neighbours' awareness. Once the document has been redacted and approved, the revisions should be done during and at the end of the process to ensure its adaptation to changes. The document should be accessible and clear for citizens. Some challenges are the commitment for evaluation, the creation of spaces for deliberation (*Public Forum*) and the elaboration and the regulation of politicians' attendance and role. It is also important to add the incorporation of universality in the processes by strengthening 'inclusiveness' (*Participation of excluded*) and the political legitimacy via Municipal Boards to ensure PB regardless of the governing party and binding on all Municipal Administration (*Community or citizen Participation*).

**2. Universality:** Like a Form of Participation, this principle has been accepted for all municipalities; one woman, one man, one vote. However, its inclusiveness has not been completed in any of the case studies. Self-regulation changed in every Municipality and limitations such as the minimum age of participation (i.e. 5 years old in Casabermeja) or the registration in the local census (migrants or foreign residents on holidays) varied in each place. Sectorial PB and differentiated and adequate spaces are necessary for the inclusion of children, migrants, disabled, young people or elderly. Women's Participation (mainly middle class, middle age or elderly housewives) presented other characteristics. Related to the *Specific Body for Budgetary Decisions*, women mainly participated in assemblies and meetings. As a result, some Motor groups only had women as an example of 'feminized' PB. That means that processes normally were focused on the Welfare (playgrounds, parks) but with a lack of a global strategic vision. Decisions were identified as 'daily matters' (mainly 'feminine') and devaluated in front of 'big political decisions' (mainly 'masculine'). PB may have helped to change this paradigm very ingrained in Spanish society. Rates of participation (% per sex) also should have been analysed in all deliberative spaces (assemblies, Motor Groups, monitoring commissions). Delegates, who had been voted by the rest of members of the assembly, should have been 'boosted' by technicians to avoid self-protagonism. Also their tasks and limits would have been described in the self-regulation. All neighbours could have been delegates and citizens'

**Table 3.4.** Contributions of Participatory Budgeting to Urban Governance: Participation principle. UGI. The case study of the province of Malaga. Source: Author's adaptation from Cabannes, 2004a.

Good Governance Principle	Governance indicator	Contribution of PB		
		Direct (D)	Indirect (I)	Distant
C. Participation	1. Elected Council 2. Elected Mayor	Awareness and information of the citizenship in political issues. Relation PB-voting (not studied)		
	3. Voter turnout and voter participation by Sex		Awareness and information of the citizenship in political issues. Relation PB-voting (not studied)	
	4. Public Forum	Assemblies, Motor groups		
	5. Civic Associations per 10.000 population	Creation and reinforcing existing groups (not studied)		

councils would have been open over processes to allow changes. In *the Degree of Participation of the excluded*, Sectorial budgets (environment, women, young people, migrants) were the way to implicate specific groups without forgetting the whole perspective of the process although it only happened in few examples. This sectorial participation will become inclusive in the future for them, necessity of positive discrimination, the necessity of positive discrimination, focused on specific actors and with a particular budget (Allegretti et al., 2011: 30). New methods of participation and deliberation, more flexible in time and place, could be a solution for their complete integration. At the political level, PB may aspire to become a transversal tool working along with the rest of municipal policies (Local Agenda 21, Strategic Planning). Motor Groups should have to be open, active, flexible and dynamic to avoid the risk to become decision bodies instead of volunteer and open work. Their task was boosting citizenship's participation, popular deliberation and facilitating the processes. The self-regulation could not be only written by them due to possibilities of the partisanship and the clientelism of the members. The final comment is about the universality and deliberation. As J. Castro, technician of IEPALA, notes, what is more democratic? Can everybody vote each budget or only people with knowledge and prior deliberation process? A solution adopted in Alameda was a two-round process. Firstly, all citizens could propose issues about their area and choose their delegates (district). In the second round, delegates voted other districts' proposals but not theirs to avoid favouritism. Final budgets would have been decided by punctuation from second assembly. The limit of budget would be 90.000€. It is the maximum amount that the municipal architect can sign. That consideration did not imply that only small size works, it means that bigger infrastructures would be developed in phases.

**3. Binding:** About the Instance of final budget approval, small municipalities had very reduced economic resources. Other infrastructure budgets from external administrations (Government of Andalusia or Provincial Plans) had been included in debates. Some municipalities with more political commitment also included their resources from other Councils (Women, Culture, Environment, etc.). In both cases, positive experiences had included a "*Hoja de Ruta*" (road map) for Municipalities from previous no-binding proposals. This road map became a first approach to their problems and necessities. It could have been used by Local Government to assume commitments for new budgets, financial resources and areas for future binding PBs. Those first suggestions would have been clarified to citizens and set the differences between binding and consultative proposals. The timeline of construction implied constrains in citizens' confidence. New possibilities had been opened in their inclusion in the design and the execution (i.e. parks and activities for young people). In

the *Oversight and control of execution*, the dissemination of information and visibility of projects were outstanding issues and prevented the good work of Monitoring Commissions of Citizens.

**4. Deliberation:** The necessity to foster specific spaces for collective deliberation is crucial for a correct evolution of PB. The challenge is the creation of spaces for deliberation and dialogue such as a 'contemporary agora'. The lack of time and money normally prevents it. A solution could be the creation of annual planning in which these deliberative times would be specified. But, and more important, it should be accompanied by the training of citizenship in its rights to Participation and Deliberation. Garcia-Leiva et al (2011:20), in their evaluation of PB experiences in Malaga, point out that all citizens remark the plurality and freedom of deliberation, all debates are plural, in any case directed or conditioned. Most of technicians declare that they had used deliberative methods to guaranty participation and debate and as a consequence, all neighbours had usually participated actively (ibid : 21). These experiences in Malaga had reached a high level of Deliberative Democracy. Proposals had been decided after dialogue and consensus from people that took part in assemblies. It means that they reflected diversity of voices and needs, without privilege of the majority or a powerful group.

As final considerations to the experiences in Malaga, we can point out the implication of politicians and technicians, the communication, the training and empowerment of citizens. The implication is normally an individual political commitment and goes through the Council of Participation. As a result, PB is perceived as an isolated process where the rest of municipality and the parties do not hinder and participate. The relation between politicians and citizens has improved but no change has been perceived between the politicians involved in these processes. Related to technicians, the main obstacle is the economic reliance in resources and grants from the Provincial Office of the PBs, exemplified in intermittent contracts for technicians. Those situations cause 'express' processes instead of continuity and long term. Despite good experiences (as provocative campaigns), communication should be improved and maintained for the renovation of MGs, the dissemination of calls to all population, the visibility, the approbation and the execution/management of proposals. Training at the beginning of PBs (what, why and how?) have been developed as well as meetings with the Provincial Office of PBs at a provincial level. Meanwhile, long-term Programmes of Training have not been elaborated. Some possibilities would be the use of citizens' spaces (deliberative and evaluative) and mainstreaming the PBs in the institutional spaces. The individual strengthening of citizens related to the management of municipality's resources, working with other people, ability of decision-making, sharing

responsibilities and development of civic awareness, has been also improved. Neighbours' perception is they do not influence in municipal policy. In fact, they do not perceive a more open structure in the municipal government. However, most of them are satisfied and think the PB are viable and useful but they depend on budget (García-Leiva et al., 2011:24-27). The increase of social welfare and community strengthen-

ing have also enhanced in the municipalities with PB. People's awareness of power relations had changed and citizens have a deeper socio-political knowledge and of the methods of participation. This context boost personal opinions and importance of communication. In this new scenario, citizens value collective action for recovering public spaces for deliberation (García-Leiva et al., 2011b: 382).

### NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

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1. The Province of Malaga is part of the Autonomous Community of Andalucía. Located in the south of Spain, its population is 1.624.145 inhabitants (2011). Malaga is divided into 101 municipalities and its capital is Malaga City.
2. IEPALA Foundation is a private research centre that it has developed the technical assistance to the implementation of all the PBs experiences in Malaga from 2009 ([www.iepala.es](http://www.iepala.es)).
3. "Técnicos dinamizadores" could be translated as 'revitalizing

technicians' in English (note from the Author).

4. Unilco Association- Nomadic Space is an experience fostered by provincial office of PBs. They defined themselves as Social Illusion, Participatory Research and Popular Culture (<http://ilusionismosocial.org/>).
5. Numerus apertus: latin locution that means open list. Number of delegates can vary in Motor groups but number of votes of each district do not change.

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## 4. Conclusion: Prospects of Participatory Budgeting as a clue for social transformation

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Current global crisis has provoked that contemporary occidental societies reflect over their political system. Representative Democracy do not collect the complex relations between the actors involved in power relations. Besides, social movements, created from individuals which share their political disaffection, demand a more active place in decision-making. Academia and Political debates turn their attention to new practices of participation at local level. Participatory Budgeting has shown as a flexible and on-going tool for transformation. Malaga's case study allows analysing its limitations and potentialities in Spanish context, pointing out the following conclusions.

Firstly, it is the 'volatility' of PB due to the lack of an institutional framework. Spanish experiences show us that even the successful PB processes can finish for a change of the governing party or external pressures from civil associations. Although the province of Malaga went a step further with the creation of the Office of PB (2007-2011) to keep a mainstream line in a provincial level, the political commitment is normally only related to specific parties or politicians. In the case of Malaga, the new government after provincial elections, on May 22nd 2011, closed the Office and left processes in the air, without institutional and economical support. José Molina in his book *Los Presupuestos Participativos* (2010: 392-393) makes two important remarks about the institutionalization of PB. The first one is at European level: after the success of the PB in the entire continent (i.e. France, Italy, Germany), the European Union has to approve a recommendation for their impulse in all European Municipalities with more measures than the used until now. Possibilities could be prioritizing with direct allowance to the cities with PB and the development of a basic legislation for the Local Administration within the ambit of the UE where PB would be included as a methodology. In the case of Spain, it should be necessary a reform of the legislation of Local Bases, developed in all the Autonomies, for the creation of the legal framework for PB. The second point is the citizens' right to an 'excellent' Public Administration and a personal contact of issues that affect them (ibid: 391). The civil servants are the link between citizenship and politicians. Molina recommends the redaction of a 'Code of Good Administrative Behaviour'. Related to Spanish PB, the Declaration of Antequera should be revised to include the territorial and financial dimension. The financial crisis of local authorities and the results of municipal and regional elections in may 2011, when Partido Popular won in most of the country, caused delays and put an end to

most of the Participatory Budgeting experiences in Spain. From this stage, new strategies and challenges should be proposed respond to this critical time. Cases of Corruption and cuts in Welfare state have raised the lack of confidence not only in politicians but also in other intermediate groups (unions, Catholic Church, civil associations). However, power elite has also distrust in a selfish and fragmented society, thinking only in their personal benefit, not in common the good. In this context, the creation of an institutional framework for participatory processes is still an illusion.

Secondly, case studies demonstrate the ability of Participatory Budgeting to contribute to the requalification of relations and reclaiming urban spaces. Those spaces are not only related to their physical dimension through taking part in the design of parks and social buildings but also in their deliberative dimension like 'contemporary' agoras where citizens learn and discuss. Those actions empower citizens for their participation in other forums. Public forums give the possibility to 'excluded' groups to participate in municipal issues due to the universality of PB, in Malaga, 1 vote, 1 person. The requalification of spaces also makes reference to the limit between the public and the private, between the collectiveness and the individual. As I mentioned above, "El Rebate", the name given to the PB in Alameda, is the colloquial name of the step between the street and the house. PB actions occur not only in inner halls but also in open spaces such as public markets, squares, parks and children playgrounds. PBs also suppose the recovery of the public space for citizens, these public spaces demanded and used by the 15M (Sol Square in Madrid) and Arabs revolutions (Tahir Square in Cairo) through camping or demonstrations. For this reason their regulation and legislation is extremely important to ensure their existence and ownership to citizens (ibid: 396).

Deliberation appears as the principal axis in Participatory Budgeting in Malaga and supposes the construction of society not only through the thinking of the majority or power pressure groups but the consensus of a multicultural and diverse society. Dialogue between citizens respecting their personal points of view make possible a plurality of voices and needs in public forums. As a consequence, the individual develops a collective strength as well as a critical consciousness, respect to the "different one" and ability in decision-making. However, the experience in Malaga shows that debate is lim-

ited by local government and only referred to infrastructures or other thematic assemblies (culture, youth) but not around a whole discussion about city's affairs. The consequences are a narrow "room for manoeuvre" and scepticism of citizens.

Last but not least it is the contribution of Participatory Budgeting to Participation and Governance, pushing their limits. The PB is an innovative tool for urban management with an excellent potentiality to develop good urban Governance (ibid: 393). The PB has shown the capacity to improve the accountability, the transparency, the equity, the effectiveness and the Participation. However, PBs goes one step further than Governance because their implementation improves people's life. The improvement is not only limited to their physical conditions through works of infrastructures but also their empowerment. The PB means the empowerment of people to participate in other forums and become new social actors (Allegretti et al, 2011: 7). The PB is a form to find needs and problems and to open participatory spaces

for consultation in other subjects as for example to vote for the new Justice of the Peace<sup>1</sup>. The PB gives confidence to citizens in political processes, transparency to Municipality issues and importance to people's ideas and opinions. The PB achieves the capacity of people to change 'the rule of the law'. The PB improves the self-management of citizenship.

Participatory Budgeting is only a piece of the chain for the achievement of a more ambitious goal, the change of the current failed Democracy to a more Participative and Deliberative one. All citizens have the power to shape the political system although without a collective idea of change, any transformation would be possible regardless of PB or other participatory methods. Social movements are acting as groups of pressure to achieve changes of "the rule of law". Participatory Budget, then, appears as a mechanism of democratic innovation for policy making but future challenges must be assumed by politicians, institutions and citizens to improve their social and institutional establishment.

#### *NOTES TO CHAPTER 4*

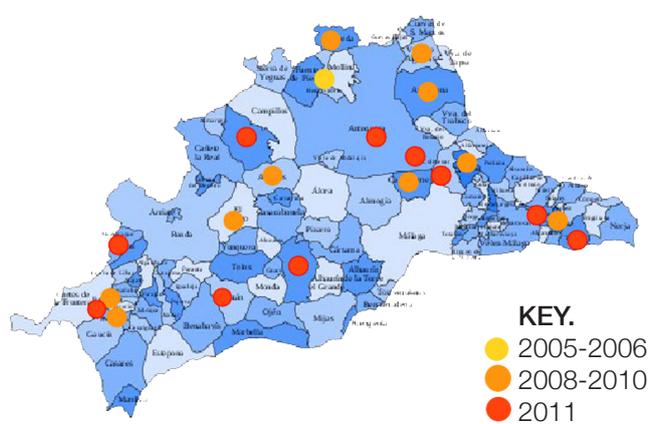
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1. Justice of the Peace: figure in Spanish judicial system who judge in small and quick processes in a municipal level.

# Appendix 1.

## Description of PB case studies in the province of Malaga

**Figure A.1.1.** Map of the Province of Malaga with the location of the 21 Municipalities with PBs (2011). Source: Diputación de Málaga et al, 2011.



**Figure A.1.2.** Cycle of the Participatory Budgeting in case studies. Source: Diputación de Málaga et al, 2011. Diputación de Málaga et al, 2011.



**Table A.1.1.** Participatory Budgeting experiences in the province of Malaga (2011). Source: Diputación de Málaga et al, 2011.

Municipality	Population	Start Year/nº processes	Party in Government	Participatory Budget's subject
<i>Alameda</i>	5,426	2008/2	IU	Infrastructure, traffic and youth
<i>Archidona</i>	8,858	2008/2	IU	Infrastructures (400,000€), youth (4,000€) (2009)
<i>Ardales</i>	2,641	2008/1	IU	Infrastructures (140,000€), environment (7,000€), women (3,000€)
<i>Benalauria</i>	503	2008/3	AEB	Infrastructures
<i>Benarraba</i>	570	2008/3	PP/AEB	Infrastructures
<i>El Burgo</i>	2,027	2008/2	IU	Infrastructures
<i>Colmenar</i>	3,621	2009/1	PSOE	no data
<i>Humilladero</i>	3,291	2005/5	IU	Infrastructure, culture, sport, youth, traffic, festivals (12% of Muni. Budget)
<i>Riogordo</i>	3,621	2008/2	PSOE	no data
<i>Teba</i>	4,201	2009/1	IU	Infrastructures (280,000€), youth (22,000€)
<i>Villanueva de Algaida</i>	4,560	2007/3	IU	Infrastructures

**Table A.1.2.** Characteristics of Participatory Budgeting experiences in the province of Malaga through Principles of the Declaration of Malaga (2011). Source: Diputación de Málaga et al, 2011.

<b>Municipality</b>	<b>Self-regulation</b>	<b>Universal</b>	<b>Binding</b>	<b>Deliberation</b>
<b>Alameda</b>	Yes/Special PBs for young people	Good participation of young people	Difficulty to develop works/Support from Local Authorities	Small participation/ "El Rebate"/Unilco/High level of deliberation
<b>Archidona</b>	No	Restriction to participation (children)	Implication of local architect/ Proposals outside PBs	Enhancement of deliberation spaces
<b>Ardales</b>	Yes/ MG has partidist actions	Restriction to participation (children, non-registered)	Variety of areas (infrastructures, women, environment)	Enhancement of deliberation spaces
<b>Benalauria</b>	Yes/PBs with gender mainstream	Absence of men and small districts ("pedanias")	Commitment of politicians and officials	Lack of good spaces for deliberation/ Individuality
<b>Benarraba</b>	Yes/Consolidated MG	Absence of men, young people, associations	Good visualization but slow works	Lack of good spaces for deliberation/ Individuality
<b>El Burgo</b>	Yes but not related with social reality	Homogeneous assemblies/Not implication of youth, men.	Road Map/ High level of executed works	Necessity of deliberation processes and spaces
<b>Colmenar</b>	Yes/ Process open to modifications and inclusive (migrants, non-residents)	Lack of participation of young people and migrants	Intermittence in hiring technicians/ Commitment of politicians	Necessity of 'informal' spaces of deliberation for the inclusion of young people and migrants
<b>Humilladero</b>	Yes/Renovation and implication of MG	Not restriction for participation/Minimum age: 14 years old	Proximity with Local Authorities/ 'Book of Reclamations'/ Excessive time for execution	Debates in 'informal' spaces/ Improvement of the diversity of proposals
<b>Riogordo</b>	Yes/	Lack of participation of young people	Consideration of proposals outside of PB	Lack of tools for dynamic assemblies/High number of proposals outside PB
<b>Teba</b>	Yes/ Active Motor Group	Minimum age: 6 years old. Politicians are required in specific meetings	"Hoja de ruta" (road map) for unviable proposals	Lack of debate: collection of proposals and polling
<b>Villanueva de Algaida</b>	Yes/ Heterogenic MG	Low number of participants	Not good knowledge of rules	Low level

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Foro de Autoridades Locales por la Inclusión Social y la Democracia Participativa, Red FAL:  
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## DPU WORKING PAPER NO. 151

The Development Planning Unit, University College London (UCL), is an international centre specialising in academic teaching, research, training and consultancy in the field of urban and regional development, with a focus on policy, planning, management and design. It is concerned with understanding the multi-faceted and uneven process of contemporary urbanisation, and strengthening more socially just and innovative approaches to policy, planning, management and design, especially in the contexts of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East as well as countries in transition.

The central purpose of the DPU is to strengthen the professional and institutional capacity of governments and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to deal with the wide range of development issues that are emerging at local, national and global levels. In London, the DPU runs postgraduate programmes of study, including a research degree (MPhil/PhD) programme, six one-year Masters Degree courses and specialist short courses in a range of fields addressing urban and rural development policy, planning, management and design.

Overseas, the DPU Training and Advisory Service (TAS) provides training and advisory services to government departments, aid agencies, NGOs and academic institutions. These activities range from short missions to substantial programmes of staff development and institutional capacity building.

The academic staff of the DPU are a multi-disciplinary and multi-national group with extensive and on-going research and professional experience in various fields of urban and international development throughout the world. DPU Associates are a body of professionals who work closely with the Unit both in London and overseas. Every year the student body embraces more than 45 different nationalities.

To find out more about us and the courses we run, please visit our website: [www.bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/dpu](http://www.bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/dpu)

