Participatory Budgeting in Kenya _ 16th – 19th August, 2016

“What is Participatory Budgeting and in which Framework was it shaped originally? Definitions, main goals, principles and models”

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PEOPLES OBSERVATORY

PARTICIPATION is a lot of things, and it needs some "caution" to define it:

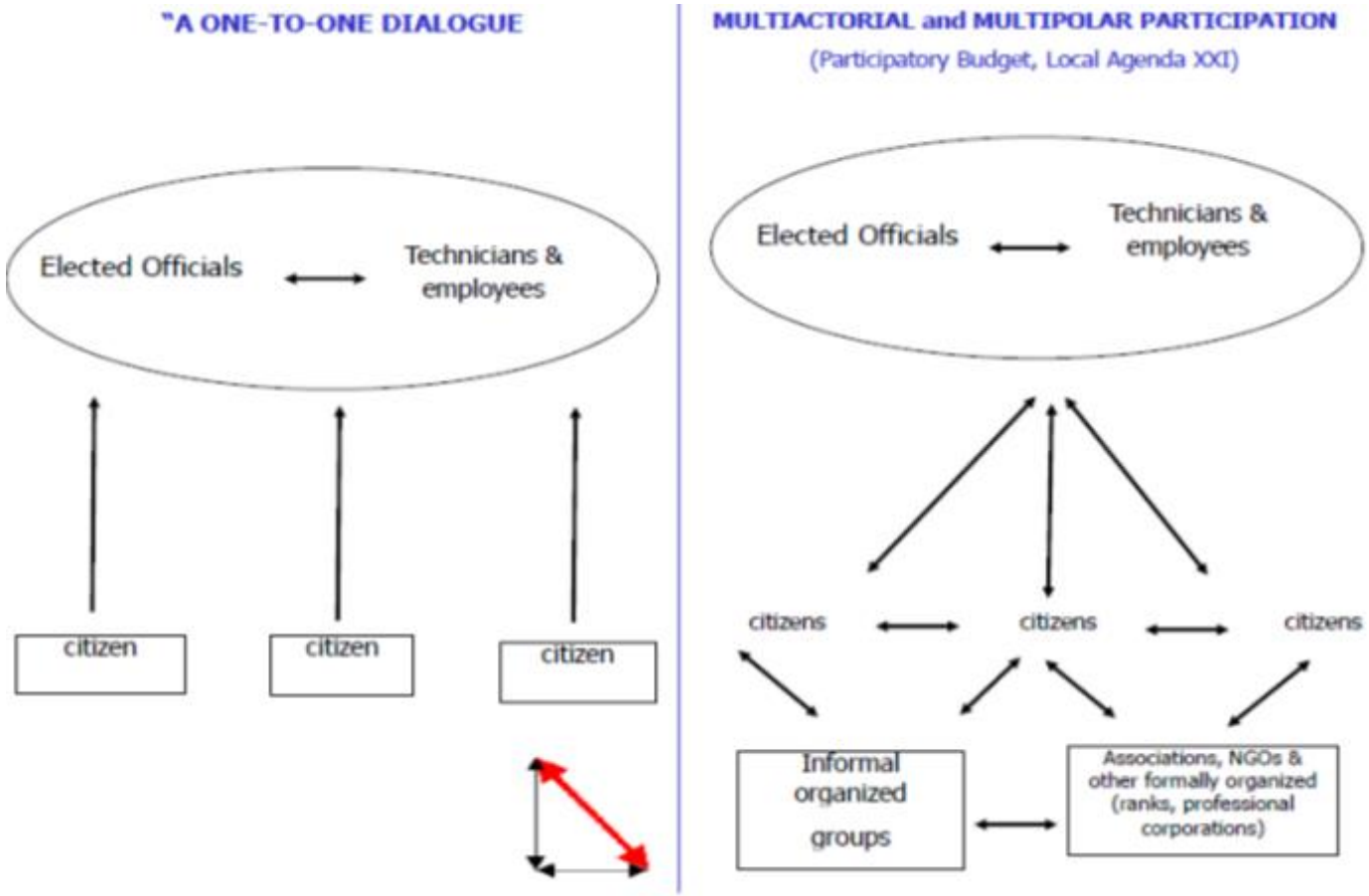
1) Participation cannot only be reduced to the "formalized" and top-down arenas provided by institutions for social dialogue.

As well stated by Pedro Ibarra (2007), these type of processes BY INVITATION (in spaces conceded by institutions) continue to mix and coexist with another family of participatory practices which happen BY IRRUPTION (when people take and occupy spaces, to raise their voice)

If the first group suffers more of the "double disease of liberal democracies" (Santos, 2008), because **the mistrust in institutional behavior often prevent people to participate**, the second are growingly submitted **to practices of "criminalization", denying their legitimacy as "spaces of free expression".**

Another equivoque to be dissolved is that:

2) participation is not just a one-to-one consultative dialogue between a citizen (or a group of interest) and an elected person or body, and cannot be reduced to sum of preferences.



Participation must create a "public sphere" and collective space where "the civilizing strength of hypocrisy" operates" (Elster, 1993).

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How to start a “virtuous circle”?

Inicio > Libros > El círculo virtuoso de la democracia: los presupuestos participativos a debate

El círculo virtuoso de la democracia: los presupuestos participativos a debate

por Ganuza, Ernesto; Francés, Francisco

ISBN: 9788474766028
Editorial: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas
Fecha de la edición: 2012
Colección: Monografías
Encuadernación: Rústica con solapas
Dimensiones: 14 cm x 21 cm
Nº Pág.: 294

antes: ~~18.00€~~
ahora: **17.10€**

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As Ganuza e Frances (2012) show, one hypothesis are form of participatory practices with a strong commitment to solidly give a space to citizens in decision-making, valuing “moral authority” more important than discretionarity in building POLITICAL POWER…

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How to contrast the neoliberal way to conceive transparency (ifo to hide/bury the truth by excess info) without accountability/responsiveness and reactivité?

It should mean more than just publishing everything the government does and then asking citizens to make sense of it (from: "**Modular Civic Engagement" by Matthew Hall**)

If we strive for more effective participation rather than more participation, we could sad that it would have to be (as emerges from Arhus Convention principles):

Effective Participation

1

Early in the process**,** when there is still room to influence decisions

2

Constructive and solution-oriented – producing **VISIBLE EFFECTS** to avoid jeopardizing people commitment.

3

Oriented towards the **common good** and promoting **balance of interests**

4

Participant structure as **inclusive** as possible

5

Responsive (and in short time - reactivité)

6

Continuously throughout the entire process

Source: Tillmann, 2012

PB took shape from some of these reflections, being conceived as a tool to strive against an individualistic society which does not identify itself with stakeholder which claim to be “representative” of other persons…

A PERFECT AND “ONE-FITS-ALL” MODEL OF PB DOES NOT EXIST, and cultural adaption is always requested.

It is an "IDEOSCAPE", so an evolving model which becomes real only in local experiment and quickly modify its features…

Almost NOWHERE PBs exist in the law, but they are creations "within the law" and constitutional values…

Budget Participatif – Bilancio Partecipativo – الميزانية التشاركية
Medborgarbudget – Orçamento Participativo – Burgerhausha
- Participatory Budget – Bilancio Partecipativo - Pressupostos
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t – Participativnom

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participativă

–الميزانية التشاركية – Bilancio Partecipativo – 참여 예산 – Bud
Orçamento Participativo – Burgerhaushalt - Participatory
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Presupuestos Participativos – σ υ μ μ ε τ ο χ ι κ os
π ρ ο ü π ο λ ο γ ι σ μ ο s — תקציב השתתפותי - Budget p–
Orçament Participativ – participační rozpočet - Participatory
Budget – П А Р Т И С И П А Т И В Н Ы Й Б Ю Д Ж Е Т - Bilanc

BENEFITS OF PBs

- **A growing confidence in institutions (legitimacy, moral authority)**
- **More effectively articulating political programs diachronically, close to the need of citizens**
- **Facing more easily the cuts/ financial constraints**
- **Making the "underneath /assets" visible and marketable**
- **Better ownership and maintenance of public spaces by inhabitants**
- **Better integration of non-citizens**
- **Better coordination of offices and with other social dialogues**
- **In some contexts, "fiscal civism" and more taxes paid by citizens**
- **In some cases increase of votes for the elected members (*Paolo Spada studies*)**

LOSSES and COSTS

Giving-up some of the "discretion" within decision-making

Time and energy to listen to constituents and show accountability and responsiveness

This is important to underline because PB recall ideas of:

Figure 1.1: Benefits of Participatory Budgeting to Key Actors

Politicians

- Closeness to the people
- Election pledges fulfiled
- Increased approval rating by the public
- Improved communication
- Re-election

Government Officials

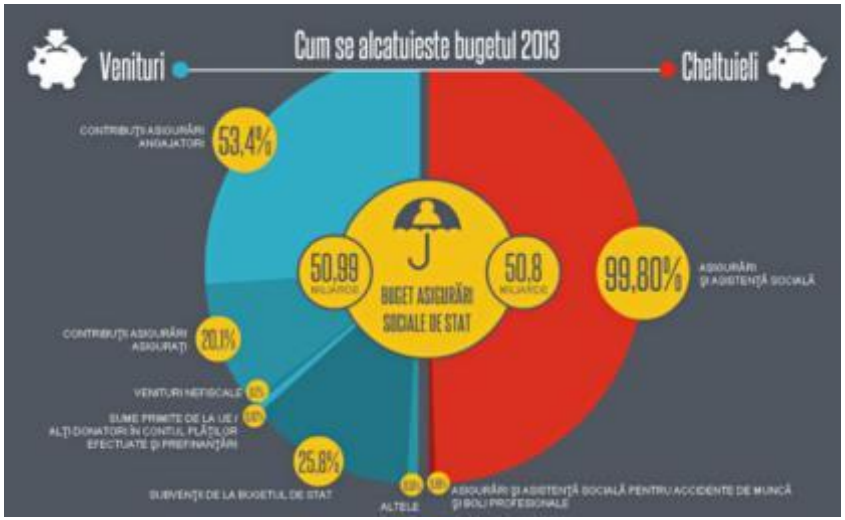
- Implementing Development Projects
- Generating reports
- Evaluating social and economic impact
- Government closer to the people
- Credibility of government

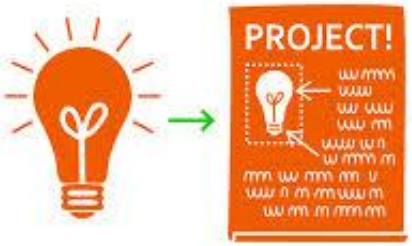
Community/Public

- Voice heard
- Empowerment
- Community cohesion
- Economic and Social benefits of the projects (employment, services, etc)
- Sense of control and ownership

PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING

In some cases they raised electoral turnout, betting on a “new style of goverment”





Surprises came from partnerships in which inhabitants contributed a lot to the construction and maintenance of services and public works (and their quality to control of implementation by private enterprises)…

The Miraflores Park in Seville (and old garbage dumping site)

[the original
birthplaces]

WHY PB around the world is developing so much and receiving so many awards?

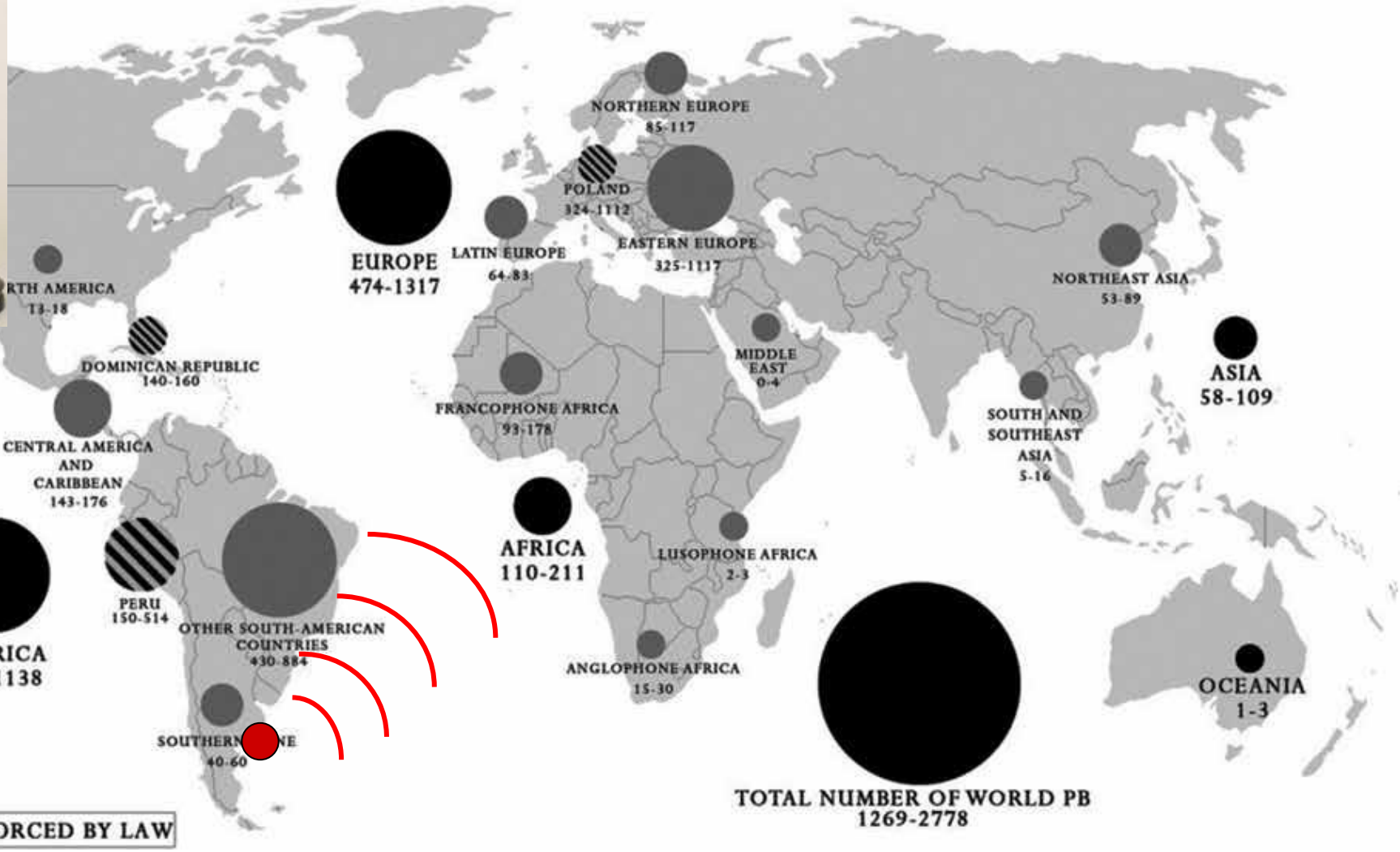
FROM A STRATEGIC PERSPECTIVE:

- -Because is a space to restructure “mutual trust” and so to allow new dialogue/partnership among different actors.

CONJUNCTURALLY:

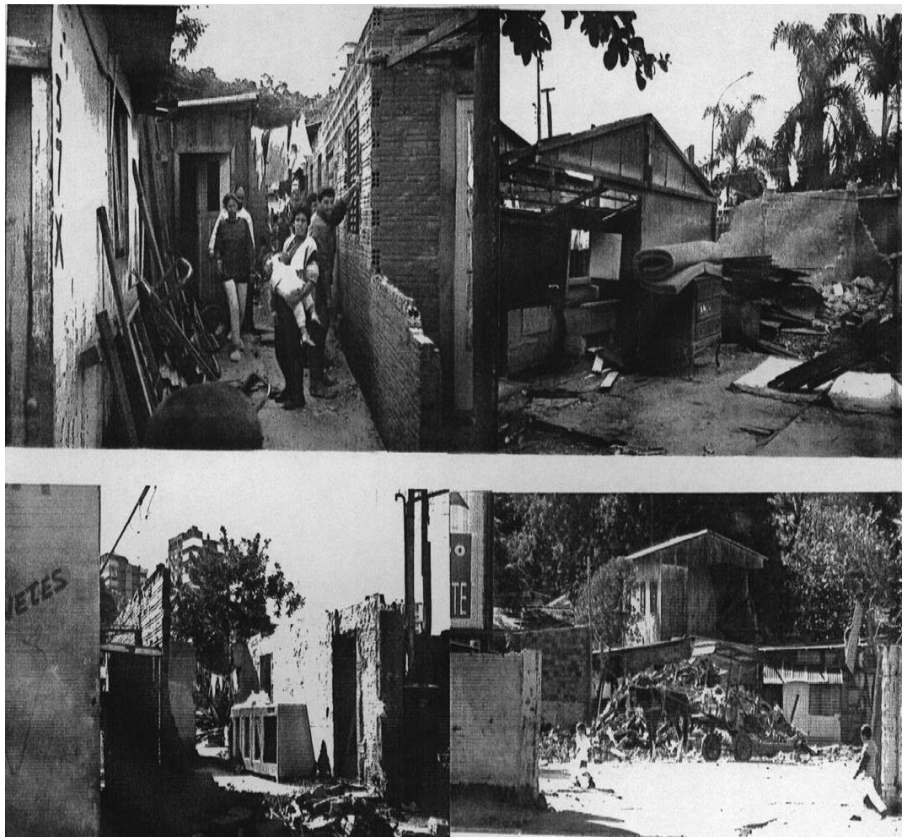
- Because of the multiple crises (civilizational, political, financial) and budget cuts.
- Because is fashionable (+ attractive) and allows “cutting together”
- Because symbolically appears more radical than others
- Because it was born in the South
- Because huge international institutions are promoting its scaling-up (*a perverse convergence? as for Evelina Dagnino*)

The recent expansion of participatory budgeting in Africa, Asia and Europe (coming from Latin America) and the awards received are a proof of a great adaptability of such a tool



Source: Participatory Budgeting Worldwide, 2013, Engagement Global - Bonn

It was first shaped in a context with a strong debate on “the Right to the City” of vulnerable groups (28% of inhabitants living in slums)



These images relate to the reconstruction of a slum – and a battle about the right of poors to the Centre in the slums of Vila Planetario and Vila das Placas (Porto Alegre, 1991-1999)

This is important to underline because PB recall ideas of:

1) Social justice/redistribution
2) Radical repolitization of public budgets (100% of investment co-decided with people)
3) need to support decentralization and trust of citizens in their local institutions
4) need to guarantee governability beyond political representativeness of party systems
5) a "Learning by doing" for citizens to understand the complexity of coping with a divided, polarized and polluted city in search of its identity…

IT MATCHES TOGETHER "NUMBERS" and "NARRATIVES" TO MAKE POLICY CHOICE MORE UNDERSTANDABLE AND SHEREABLE

But goals and methodologies are changing around the world…

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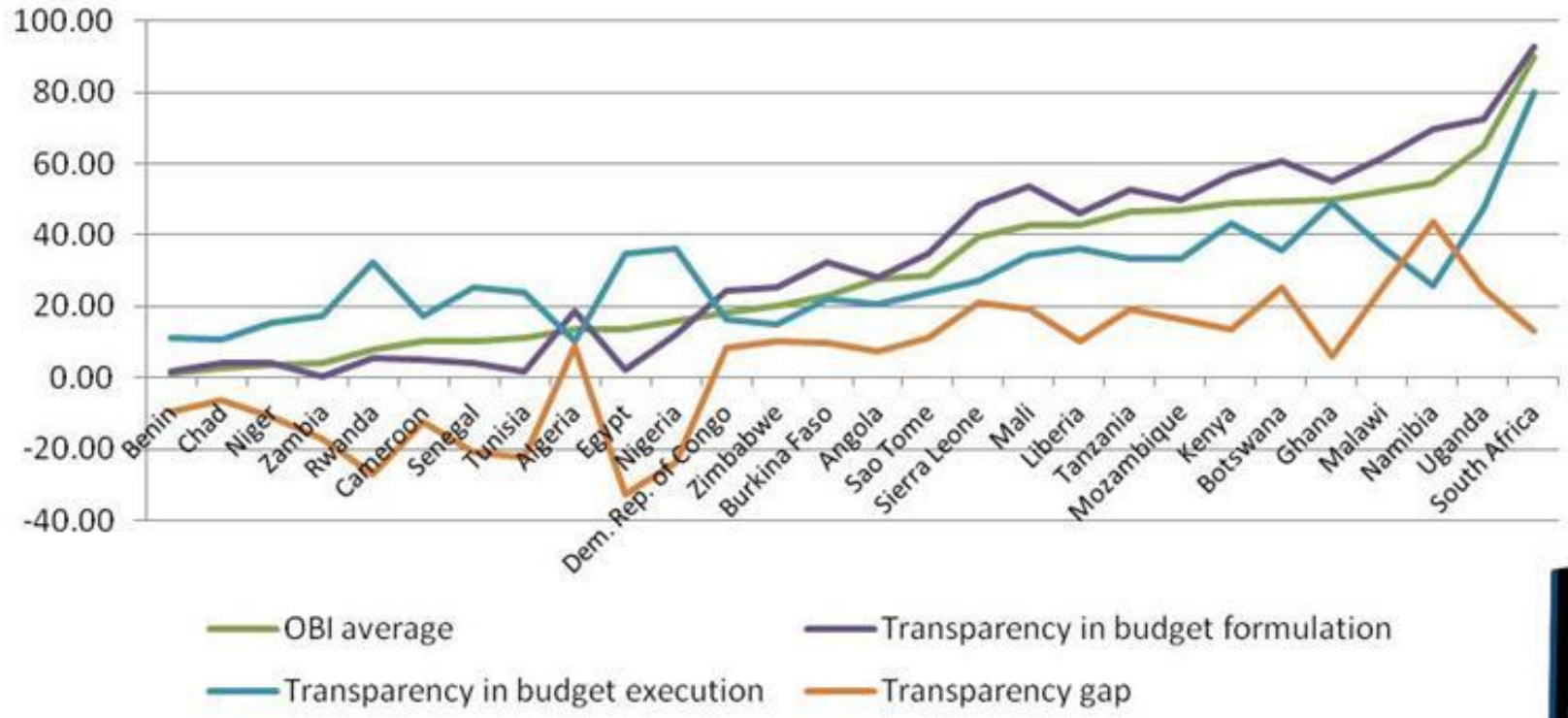
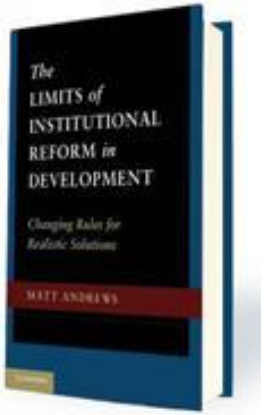
For example, for Africa, new challenges are opened by the failure of Open Budgets…





The Limits of Institutional Reform in Development

http://matthewandrews.typepad.com/

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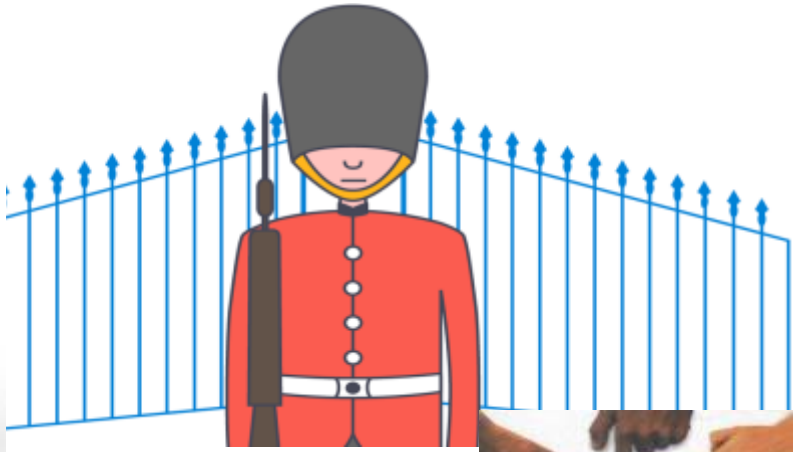
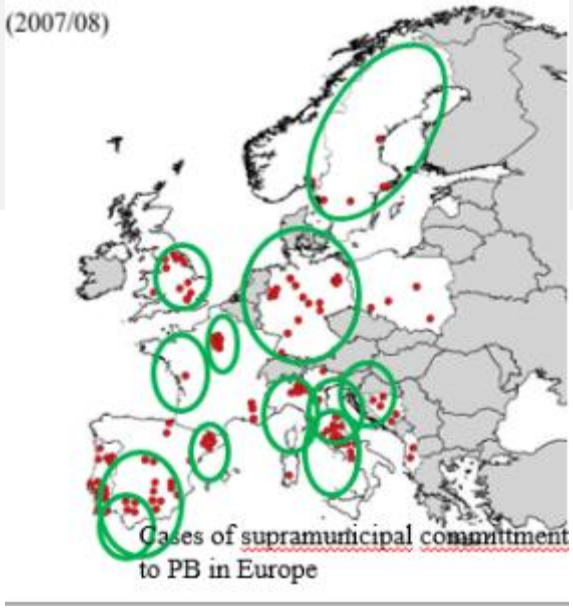
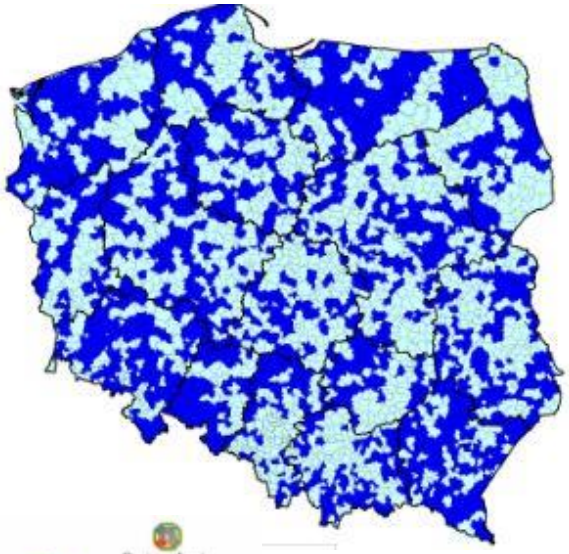
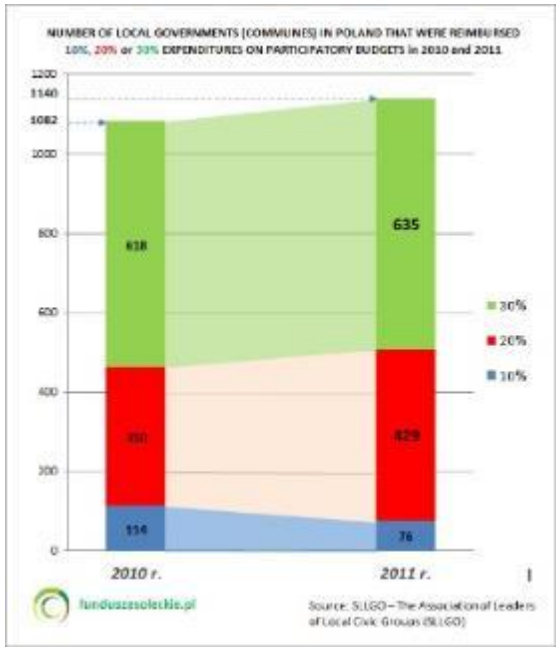
Many new models are created around **the need of reducing "gatekeepers", i.e. actors who can control the process and make people feel that they are not as «central» as declared**

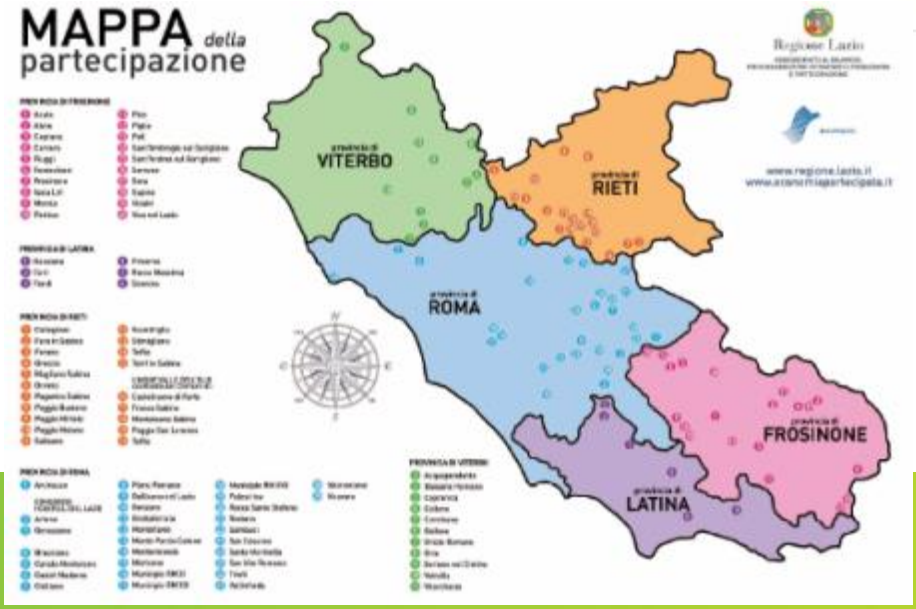


In many countries, PB are scaling-up from municipal level to other (counties, regions, provinces)









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[definitions of
PB]

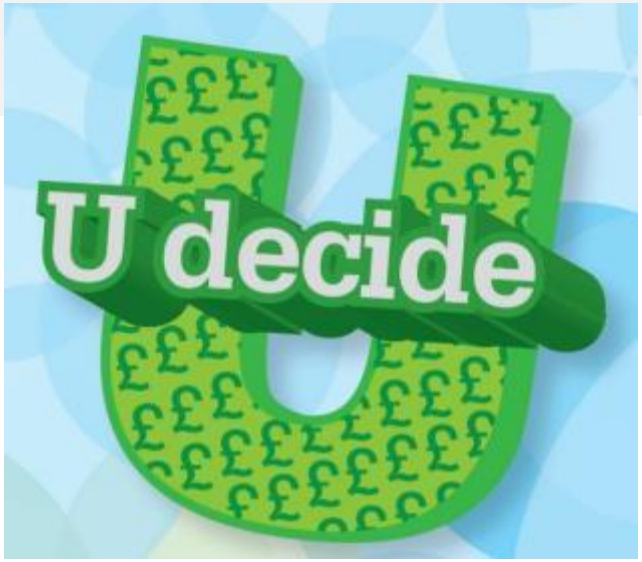
What is Participatory Budgeting?

According to the PB Unit (which run for years the UK PB Network):

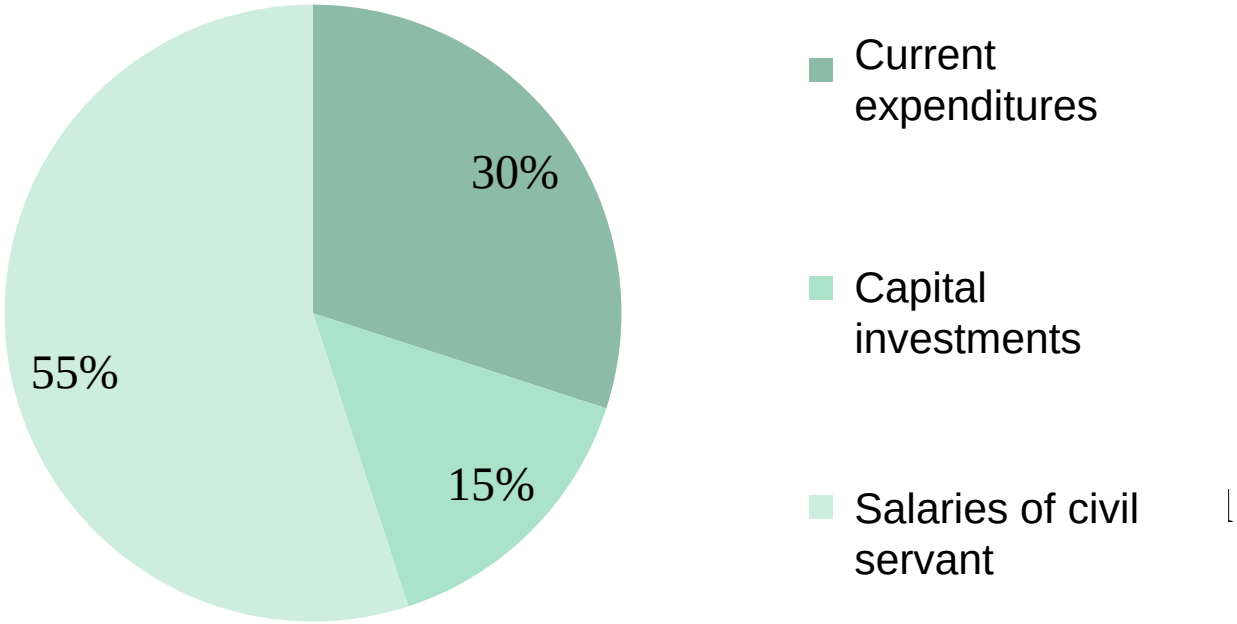
Participatory budgeting is a democratic process of decision-making which ENTRUSTS CITIZENS (*and no-formal citizens, too, which live in territory*) to decide how to allocate part of a municipal budget or another budget that affects them…

So is not a method, but a series of principles which can be translated with very different methodologies..

OFTEN CHANGES NAME, TO AVOID CREATRING FEAR… FOR EXCESS OF TECHNICALITY



Normally PB intervenes on an expenditures structure of this type:



The most flexible part (investments) is more communicative with citizens, and also optimizes the relation between “costs of participation/visible effects”. That’s why PB usually is applied to capital investments. But many cities discovered that applying to “immaterial” policies and event can be much useful….

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What is NOT a Participatory Budgeting?

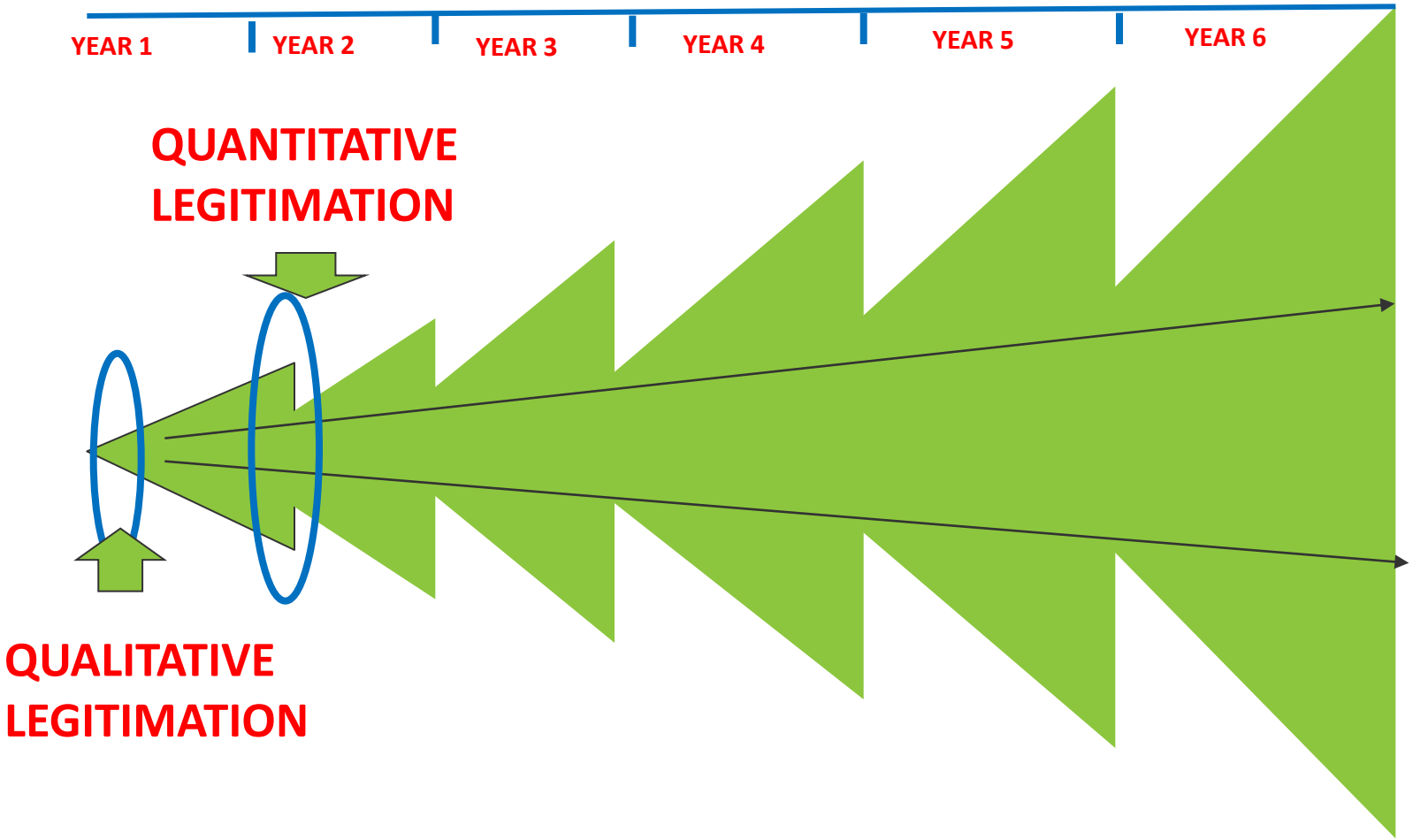
1) Processes which discuss about budget with NO influence on Policies…

2) *Una tantum events* on budgets

3) "Devolutionary processes" where political institutions are NOT considered among meaningful partners (as the COMMUNITY-DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT of the World-bank

[some basic principles]

PB is a tool for creating social capital and must grow every year through qualitative and quantitative legitimation



We could recognize two families of participatory budgeting (Fung, 2011)

(1) **The "deontological" ones** (in which the participatory innovations look to participation as "a norm of institutional appropriateness" in itself, without further goals) .

(2) **The "consequentialist" ones** (in which democratic innovations are considered more or less valuable "according to the extent to which they secure other values that we care about", thus policies that are responsive to citizens' interests, social justice, state accountability, social inclusion, and so on).

SUCCESS comes from the capacity of giving to PB explicit GOALS and fulfill them through coherent methods and actions.

Some methodological main features of PB:

Some influential factors for success and good impacts:

1) Political will and centrality in the governmental project

3) Cohesion and creativity of social fabric

4) Financial autonomy

5) Organizational architecture

6) Capacity of discussing the "future" (maintenance, ownership) of co-planned projects

(Adapted from: Sintomer and Allegretti, 2009)

Some influential factors for success and good impacts:

1) explicitly discussing financial issues ***(resources are not always guaranteed)***
2) Having cycles ***(negotiating needs time)***
3) Coinciding with an institutional responsibility ***(is not a "devolved pot" as in the Community Driven Development, but implies a relation with political authorities)***
4) Having some degree of co-decision
5) Giving feedbacks to citizens

(Source: Marc Bloch comparative research, 2005-2009, Berlin)

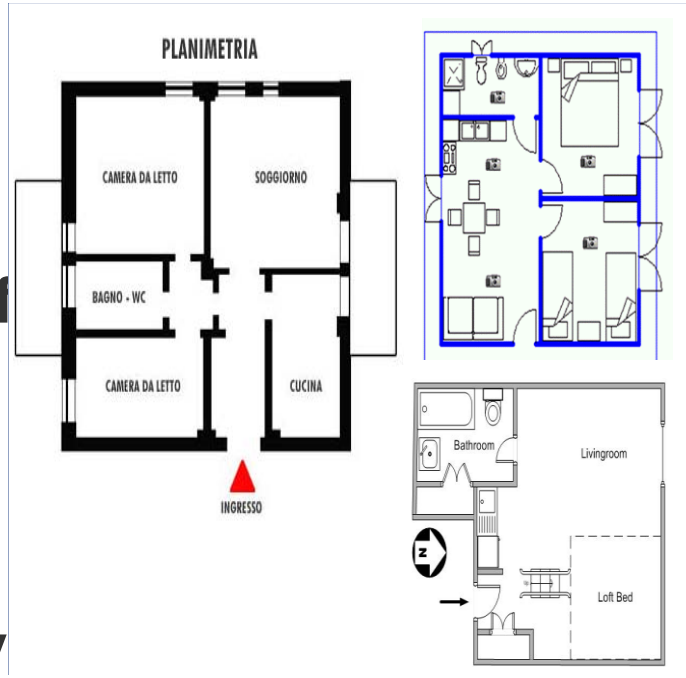
ORGANIZING PARTICIPATION HAS COSTS

MUCH LESS THAN AN ARCHITECT WHICH BUILDS YOUR HOME creating ROOMS WITH SPECIFIC FUNCTIONS, but with the same need…

This costs must be optimized, reaching efficiency between quality of deliberation and number of participants.

They can be reduced through sponsorships, but they are necessary

It cannot be applied to them a traditional ‘cost/benefit” analysis



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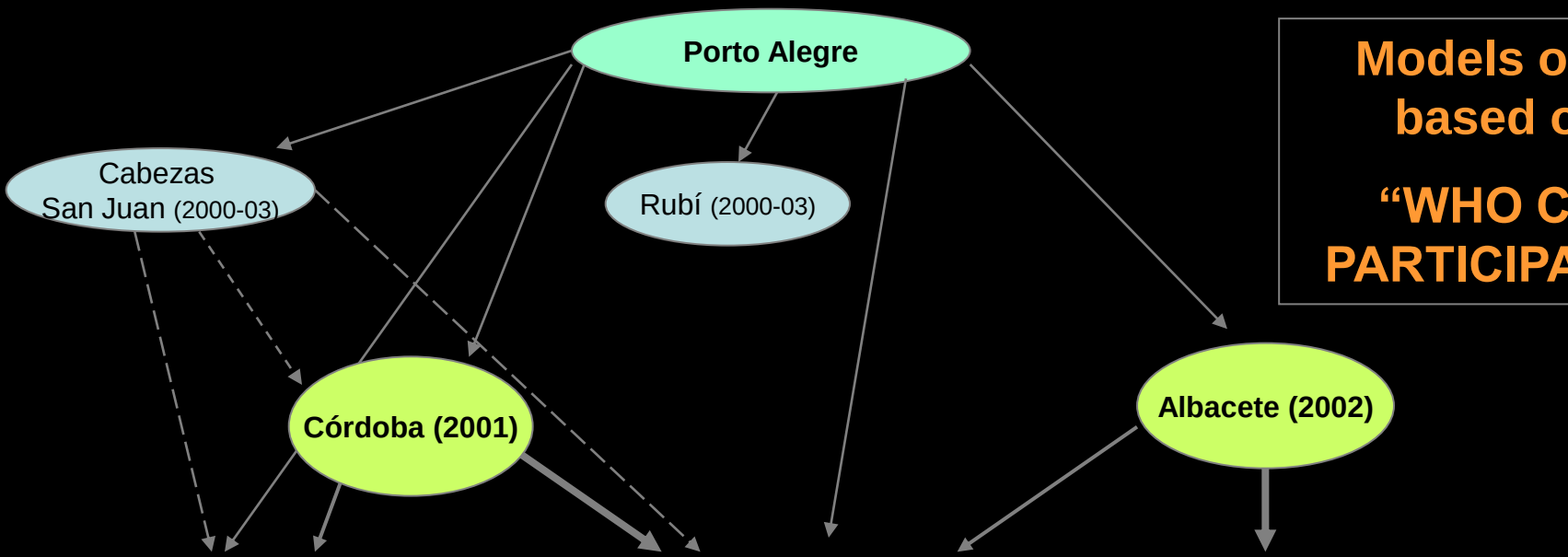
CONTINUITY or DISCONTINUITY?

PB was born to involve social groups that **are traditionally marginalized and to transform them into decision-makers.**

So, putting **PB in continuity with previous participatory processes** only **makes sense** if **it can fulfill goals of social inclusion beyond traditional powerful stakeholders…**



Models of PB based on:

"WHO CAN PARTICIPATE?"

Individuals-based	mixed	Organisation-based
Sevilla (2004) Santa Cristina (2004) Leganés (2005) Figaró (2005) Torreperogil (2005) Puerto Real (2005) Terrassa (2005) Viladecavalls (2005) Parets del Vallés (2005) Campillo (2006) Logroño (2006)	Puente Genil (2001) San Sebastián (2003) Jérez de la Frontera (2004) Getafe (2004) Petrer (2004) Córdoba (2005)	Almansa (2003) Puertollano (2004)

Inclusion of preorganised groups is necessary?

Fuente: IESA/GANUZA, 2008

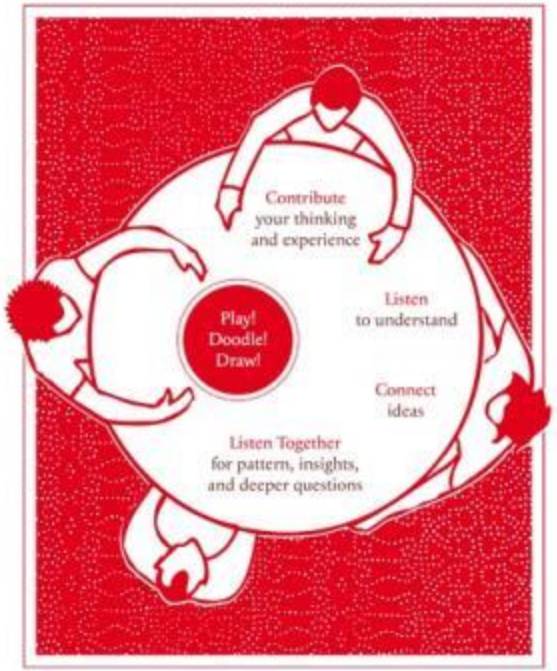
[Issues of architecture]

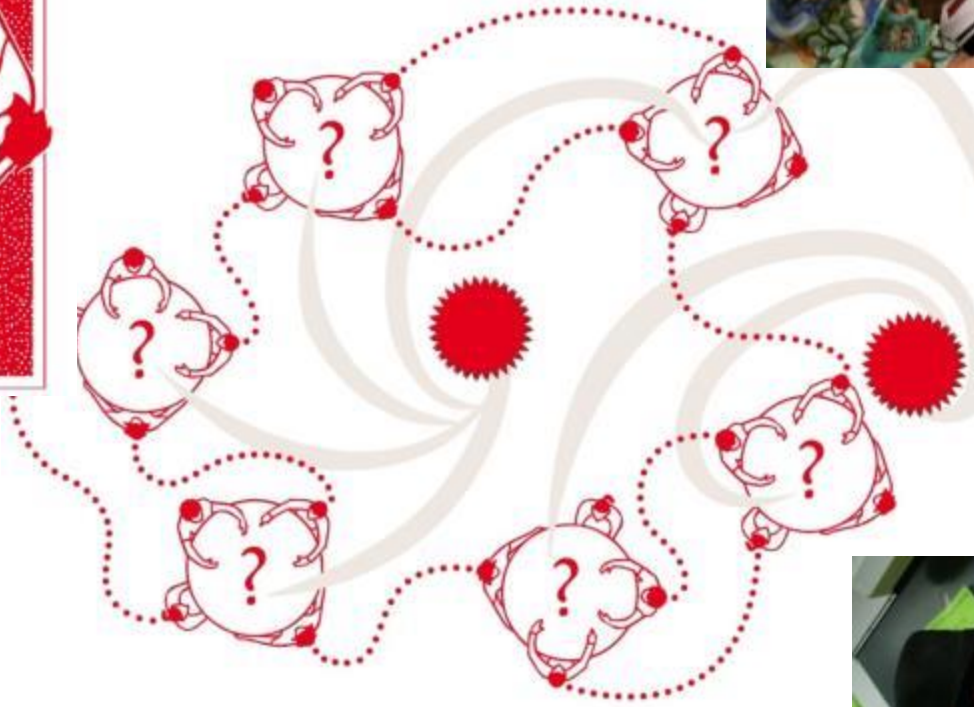
SOME EFFECTS CANNOT BE OBTAINED IF THEY ARE NOT PURSUED….

Examples from Senegal and Ecuador

For example, social inclusion of minorities and vulnerable groups need to challenge structural inequalities and self-censorship with specific tools.

Making people feel at ease is the start of inclusion…





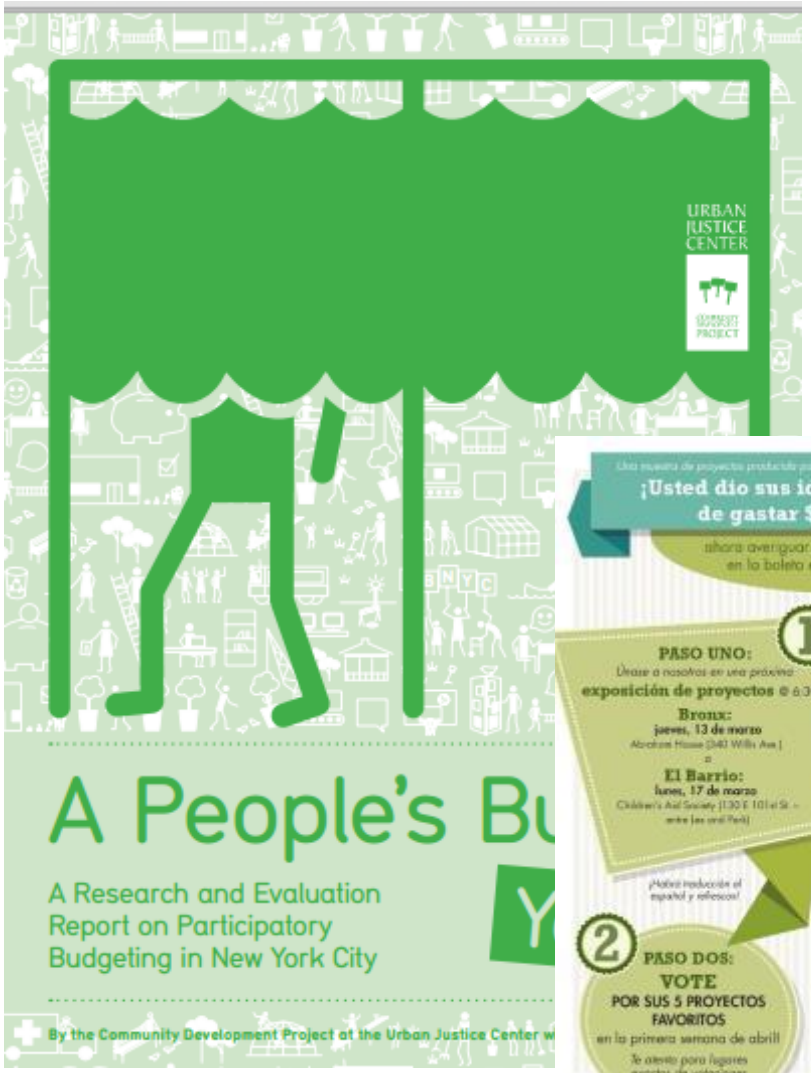
Introducing tools of affirmative action” and show concern with people’sorganisational issues

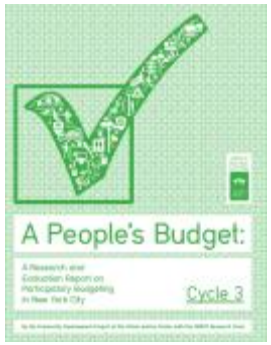
TEMPORARY SEPARATION OF ACTORS helps to have EQUAL RIGHTS OF ACCESS TO VOICE AND VOTE?

Penang Women's Development Corporation

Gender Responsive Participatory Budgeting (GRPB)

North-American PBs try to rescue the social dimension of PB (with a human-right oriented approach) and to involve the most vulnerable groups through a range of collaborations with NGOs e other social organizations, and using many languages….





CONTRASTANDO O PARADIGMA PATRIARCAL

From monitoring participants emerged that:

1) "women were more likely to participate in all the stages of PB; in 2012-2013 women were 66% of neighborhood assembly participants, 60% of budget delegates and 62% of voters in the PB process (as for the previous year).
2) women also were active in their participation: 92% of them declared that they "spoke" during the different phases of PB community organization and during the small group discussions at neighborhood assemblies.
3) As stated in the detailed analysis of 39 District results (id., p. 84), community-based institutions have been key resources in building trust and engaging women (and especially the formerly incarcerated) in civic participation.
4) At 2009 elections women voting were 52%.

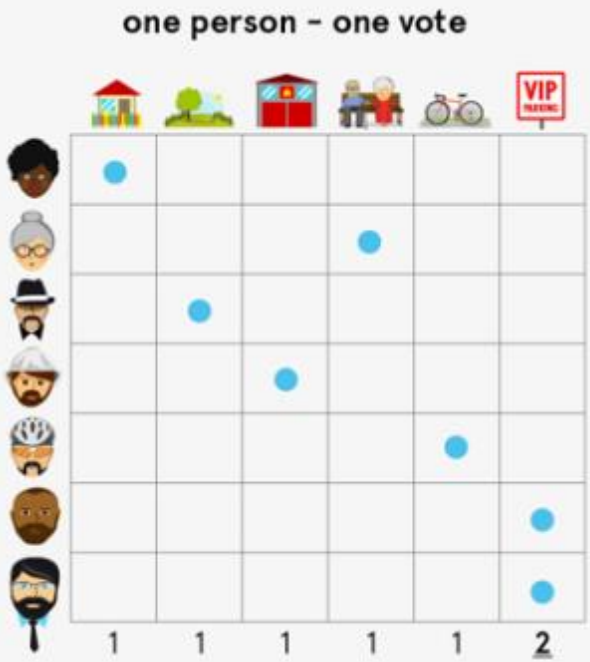
Several of the PB FOR YOUNGEST PEOPLE (as that of boston), which are popping-up around the world, work on especial axes of inclusion…

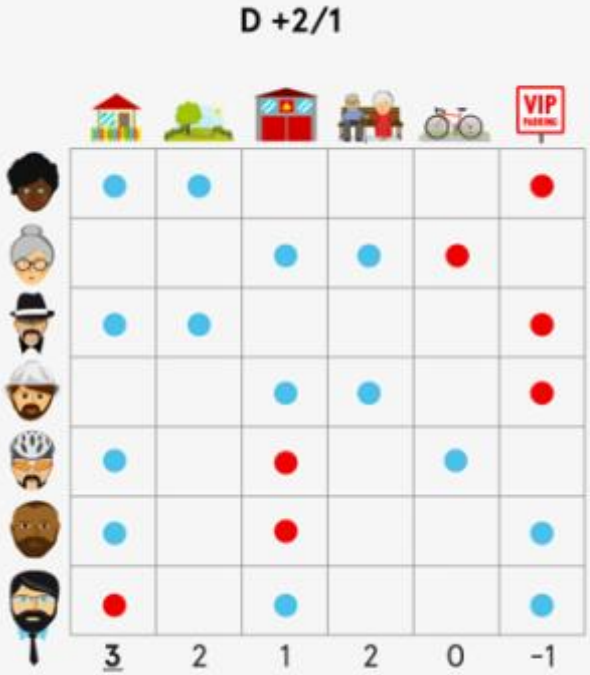
The case of La Serena (Chile), and Funchal (Madeira)

ORÇAMENTO PARTICIPATIVO
FUNCHAL
2014
PROJETO 15
ACESSIBILIDADE AO MAR PARA PESSOAS COM NECESSIDADES MOTORAS ESPECIAIS
FUNCHAL

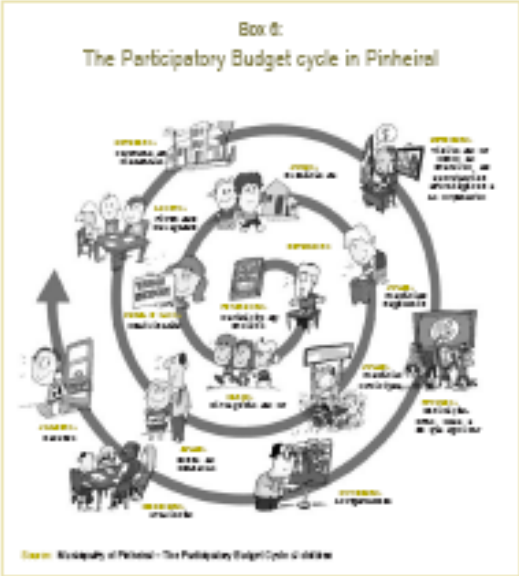
Thus, there is need of welcoming people conceiving working models which are understandable, coordinated and shaped by a "holistic" vision (not a fragmented one) of public policies.

Many benefits of PB (as solidarity) can be better addresses through the architecture of the process: example – the VOTING PHASE





Information must be adapted to the place...



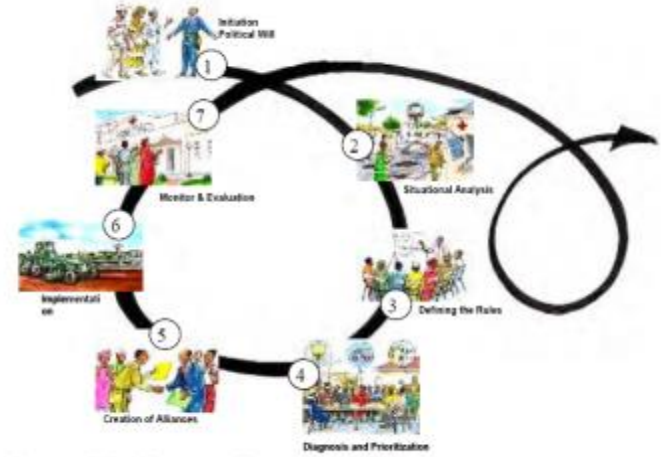


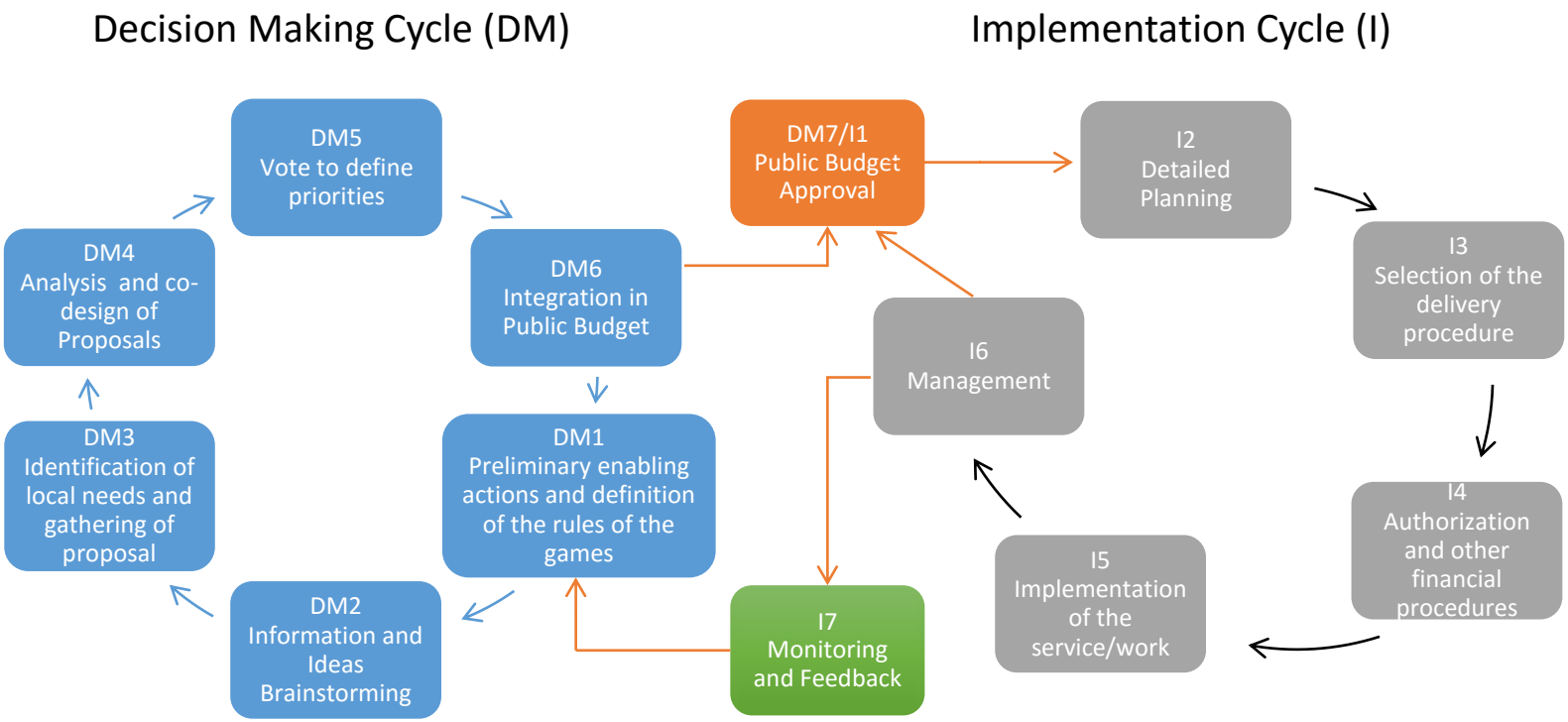
Diagram: The PB process Cycle

Ciclo OPJ TROFA em 2010

Março	Sessões com jovens. Aplicação de questionários. Abertura do concurso "Memória OPJ"
Abril	Participação dos jovens na preparação, discussão de temas e projectos
Até 15 de Maio	Apresentação de propostas para apreciação técnica
Até 03 de junho	Votação on-line dos projectos
11 de junho	Assembleia Concelhia Jovem para discussão e votação dos projectos
Setembro	Resultado do concurso "Memória OPJ". Lançamento do segundo ano OPJ
Outubro...	Início do acompanhamento da execução das propostas

That is why cycles are important because they establish PB as a repeated routine, allowing back office (civil servant) to learn and get part of the success…

Average cycle of PB (with two sub-cycles)



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