



**DIALOG GLOBAL**



**International Congress  
on Models of  
Participatory Budgeting**  
Documentation

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## Foreword

**Ladies and gentlemen,  
Dear participants of the International Congress  
on Participatory Budgeting Models,**

The possibilities for participation by citizens in economic- and social decisions of elected parliaments are, unfortunately, not well known. They are also hardly ever used. However, participatory budgeting has established itself internationally in many municipalities as an effective option during the past few years, as an alternative to the approach of "public petitions". It was therefore time to bring together the varied experiences, elements and instruments from around the world; to analyse them, and assess them for transferability. Municipalities that would like to introduce the instrument of participatory budgeting in the future can learn a great deal from the "old-timers" who have been working with it successfully for many years.

Therefore, the Service Agency Communities in One World conducted this congress together with the German Federal Agency for Civic Education and with conceptual assistance from the Centre Marc Bloch. It offered a platform for intensive exchange between researchers, local government and political bodies, and civil-society organisations.

Thanks to various presentations from around the world, both in the plenum and in thematically defined forums, the participants were able to look at many different participatory budgeting models and instruments. These are based on the specific political and social situation of a given country and region. But external and internal circumstances change. That is why even experienced municipalities can benefit from the examples of others when further perfecting their own methods. Therefore, transparency and acceptance were important key terms in the discussion. Participatory budgeting can contribute to better understanding of the ever more precarious situation of municipal budgets. It can help to make the will of the people clearer to city councils in respect to how scarce funds are used and where money should be saved.

The congress has shown that, in some cases, the Global South is more progressive than Germany. There are good, international examples of successful inclusion of all citizens in equal measure: those with or without a migration background, with or without disabilities, men and women, young people and seniors. Global exchange of experience

could lead to new models in the future in which access to education, knowledge and political influence play an important role.

We hope that the documentation of this congress and our Internet platform [www.buergerhaushalt.de](http://www.buergerhaushalt.de) will provide you with useful support in your work at developing your communities for the future. You can also use our consultation and agency service for international exchange of experience.



**Yours very truly,**

**Anita Reddy**

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

# I. Welcomes and Introductory Talks

**Thomas Krüger,  
President of the Federal Agency  
for Civic Education (Germany)**



Ms. Reddy,  
Dr. von Hirschhausen,  
Mayor Hoge,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

A very hearty welcome to the International Congress on Participatory Budgeting Models! The congress offers an exciting programme with well-known representatives of politics, science, civic education and civil society. I thank you all for coming to Berlin today to discuss the opportunities and possibilities of participatory budgeting.

The German Federal Agency for Civic Education continues to be a unique institution in Europe. It was founded in 1952. After the tyranny of the National Socialist regime, a government organisation was established in Germany with the task of awakening democratic awareness among Germany's citizens and developing their capacity for responsible, political action. Today we do not only carry out this task through print- and online publications, educational activities and conferences, but also through innovative projects that support a change in the relationship between politics and citizens in the direction of more participatory structures. It is therefore very much in keeping with our mandate that we also engage in the subject of participatory budgeting on a sustained basis.

We have been doing this since 2003. This year, we coordinated and moderated the introduction of participatory budgeting in Berlin-Lichtenberg. The participatory budg-

eting in Berlin-Lichtenberg is considered to be an important model in Germany. Here it was to our benefit – and hopefully to the benefit of our partners as well – that we are committed by the nature of our mandate to controversy and non-partisanship. Since we are recognised as a neutral organisation, we can join actors from various political parties and social backgrounds at one table. And you, as experts, know how important nonpartisan consensus is for introducing participatory budgeting.

“Democracy needs civic participation, exchanges of views and transparent decisions,” says former Home Secretary Schäuble in a welcoming statement on our website [www.buergerhaushalt.de](http://www.buergerhaushalt.de). Furthermore he says: “They are the best antidotes against political resignation and frustration with democracy. ...”

At bpb, civic participation is of the utmost importance. We keep approaching various people with innovative projects and we keep trying to involve young people in the decision-making processes. Together with young students, we have developed an experimental planning game for participatory budgeting which was used for the first time at the Festival for Young Politics Berlin 08 (with 10,000 participants) and is accepted today by both young and old alike.

You will discuss subjects such as gender budgeting and social justice in a workshop with representatives from another participation project, teamGLOBAL, which primarily promotes education for sustainable development and pursues the aim of enabling young people to act responsibly and participate.

There are many possibilities for civic participation at all political levels. Experience has shown, however, that these possibilities are generally not utilised enough and that, on the whole, citizens are not well informed of them.

One of the requirements for successful civic participation is the presence of capabilities that enable people to participate actively. That is why participatory budgeting is one of the most efficient ways to bring about civic participation because here everyone is a competent expert. The direct, daily, “empirical” observations of citizens are called for. With participatory budgeting, citizens actively participate in the municipal decision-making process and enter into a direct communication process with the administration and political bodies. On the other hand, the municipalities obtain the best expertise that there is, namely that of the

people directly affected. Administration and political bodies thereby gain greater closeness to the people and additional legitimacy. For their part, the citizens gain trust in political processes and administration through their direct experience of exerting influence on important strategic and operative financial-political decisions. In this manner, our proven, representative democracy is further developed – through intensive interaction between citizens and politics. This process requires not only will, readiness and courage, but also patience. It is about taking each other seriously and communicating at eye level. For the municipalities, it is also about allowing decisions which might have been made differently by themselves. In the end, it is precisely this merging of various conflicting perspectives and interests that makes the discussion so very interesting. And you will see in the next two days that it is certainly worth it!

Being personally affected generally plays a large role in arousing interest in political subjects. Participatory budgeting can also reach people who do not belong to the classic clientele of political education. E-participation has also successfully established itself in the process of participatory budgeting. Now it is time to devote ourselves to the quality criteria for participatory processes.

Naturally, not all municipalities have the same requirements and possibilities. But where there's a will, there's a way. A participatory budgeting process can rarely be transferred one-to-one from one municipality to another; certain elements, instruments, and experience can and should be exchanged, taken on, revised or adjusted. Even more important is exchange between those who have already established a participatory budget and those who would like to introduce one. Since social situations and external and internal conditions constantly change, even "experienced" municipalities can benefit from each other.

One thing seems to me to be important and should be clear to all interested parties: participation must be desired by everyone involved; it should not be and cannot be imposed. One can only wish everyone the courage to initiate the process and wish them success, whereby this also includes not becoming discouraged by failures!

Here, I would like to extend my cordial thanks to the Service Agency Communities in One World from InWEnt, with whom we have not only organised this congress but have been cooperating as partners for many years. Indeed,

we operate the Internet platform [www.buergerhaushalt.de](http://www.buergerhaushalt.de) and support the nationwide network for participatory budgeting in Germany. Also, many thanks to Centre Marc Bloch, who have been assisting us with the contents of this congress for the first time. Many thanks are also due to the people at the Office for Cultural Affairs in Berlin for their support with organisation as well as to the colleagues at bpb.

Worthy ladies and gentlemen, as the subject of the congress indicates, political education needs to take new paths if it is to strengthen democracy. More than ever before, we need to strive for exchange with international partners. Also, in this regard, the results of this congress will supplement our work with valuable information, which, by the way, will be summarised and published in a special document. I wish you all great success and exciting discussions for the next two days!

**Dr. Beatrice von Hirschhausen,  
Deputy Director of Centre Marc Bloch  
(Germany / France)**



Anita Reddy,  
Thomas Krüger,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

As deputy director of Centre Marc Bloch, I would like to extend a hearty welcome to you on behalf of our director, Professor Pascale Laborier, and tell you how much we are looking forward to today's event.

Our research institute's participation in this extensive programme makes it possible for us to provide the results and facets of our research work to a wider public, which greatly pleases us. On behalf of Centre Marc Bloch I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the Federal Agency for Civic Education and the Service Agency Communities in One World/InWEnt gGmbH for this invitation. The collaboration has been highly productive and effective; we'd be pleased to continue it at any time. In this regard, I would particularly like to thank Thomas Krüger and Svetlana Alenitskaya at bpb, and Anita Reddy and Christian Wilhelm at InWEnt. For our work group, which carried out research on participatory budgeting in Europe, taking part in the preparation has been a pleasant and inspiring experience.

As you perhaps know, the research area "Participatory Democracy and the Crisis of Representation" has evolved to become an important research focus at Centre Marc Bloch in the past few years and has thereby brought the discussion into the European context. This work group and the research project "Participatory budgeting in Europe"

sponsored by the Hans-Böckler Foundation are directed by Prof. Yves Sintomer. Unfortunately, Yves Sintomer had to cancel on very short notice due to health reasons; he regrets this deeply and apologises.

This project's core elements and most important results will be presented to you by Carsten Herzberg and Anja Röcke, who have contributed to it intensively.

I would like to go into certain characteristics of the project which, in our view, are typical for the work at Centre Marc Bloch, thereby also giving myself the opportunity to briefly present our institution:

First of all, the project is being conducted by a German-French research team in collaboration with fourteen researchers from eight European countries. As with this project, the underlying particular quality of our German-French research centre for social studies lies in the striving for German-French integration. This bilaterally scientific, intellectual and political aim is simultaneously understood as a part of a wider, European perspective. Our centre works together with scientific institutions and research teams in various additional European countries: namely in Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic.

Secondly, the project has considered the problem of participatory budgeting in an interdisciplinary way and has applied the tools of sociology, political science and history. In accordance with its interdisciplinary nature, many sociological subjects are also represented at Centre Marc Bloch: in particular – history, regional studies, philosophy, political science, jurisprudence, social anthropology, social geography, sociology and economics.

Third, our projects – like our congress today – are developed through intensive co-operation with other partners. In this manner, and as part of its various subjects of emphasis, Centre Marc Bloch regularly organises scientific conferences; it also acts as co-organiser.

And last but not least, this project has succeeded in integrating and training graduate and post-graduate students. Promoting young researchers is a special focus of Centre Marc Bloch. In addition to their own research work, our institute's established researchers provide individual support and advice to students and graduate students. Embedded in an international and interdisciplinary perspective and positioned between research and education, we at Centre Marc Bloch will be working for a few days at Schiffbauerdamm

before moving to our new quarters in the centre of town at the beginning of February: near Humboldt University's Institute for History.

We are pleased that you have joined us and we wish all participants and speakers a stimulating and exciting congress.

**Anita Reddy,  
Director of the Service Agency Communities  
in One World / InWEnt gGmbH (Germany)**



Mr. Krüger,  
Dr. von Hirschhausen,  
Dear Mayors,  
Dear Speakers,  
Ladies and Gentlemen!

Welcome to the first international participatory budgeting congress in Germany. I am pleased to greet you here today in Berlin on behalf of InWEnt and the Service Agency Communities in One World.

The caravels that brought the European discoverers to America at the beginning of the modern era are now coming back! They have an innovation on board: participatory budgeting. It brings citizens on the one side together with politicians and administrators on the other. This is the picturesque way in which our international study "Learning from the South: Participatory Budgeting all over the World – an Invitation to Global Cooperation", which we commissioned and will be appearing shortly, describes a development that appeals to me very much.

It's a success story: While the examples of participatory budgeting could still be counted on one hand in 1999, by 2009 their number had increased to several hundred. This development is also remarkable because this is a method that was devised by countries in the Global South. Such an export related to political institutions continues to be an exception. Examples of participatory budgeting can be found in a great variety of societies, cultures and political

systems. The greater part of them stand not only for democratisation of society, strengthening of civic society, "good governance" or a deepening of representative democracy, but also for fighting corruption or an opening up of previously closed structures for the first time. Because of its differing prerequisites and forms, participatory budgeting is suited for worldwide dialogue. This is lived global learning! By learning more about various methods and their origins, we also learn something about the society of the country, region or city in question.

The Brazilian megapolis, **Porto Alegre**, was a trailblazer for the *Orcamento Participativo*, participatory budgeting, which was already introduced there in 1989. The aim was to fight corruption within the administration. This can be called a success. There have also been other successes of note: the engagement of the population and the literacy rates have markedly increased. The European city that has taken over the most from Porto Alegre is the Andalusian city Seville. In Spain, where there are some 50 examples of participatory budgeting, Seville is considered one of the most ambitious – primarily due to the consistently applied distribution criteria. Here, participatory budgeting comprises about 14 million euros.

Ladies and gentlemen: there is a big connection between development work and the introduction of participatory budgeting. In **Africa**, for example, it was development organisations and international organisations that first arranged for participatory budgeting. A dialogue between Europe and Africa followed. Today, Africa is a continent rich in various examples of participatory budgeting. This could lead to new models in the future in which democratisation forms the main topic, but which also include the distribution of resources, access to education, knowledge and political influence.

This has resulted in continental networks that support the highly dynamic spread of participatory budgeting. The latest good example of this was the fifth African city summit "Africities" from 16-20 December 2009 in Marrakesh, in which I was able to participate. I vividly remember the participatory budgeting workshop with a report from Madagascar: There, six rural communities launched pilot projects for participatory budgeting in 2008. They were advised by two dozen civic- and professional organisations

– that was a spectacular start. In three municipalities of a mining region, the administration even discussed the annual revenues from the mining with their citizens. Nothing like that had ever happened before.

Looking on to Asia, one finds the most recent examples of participatory budgeting. Most of these developments have begun since 2005. In many cases, these examples are not linked to previous forms of civic participation but represent an entirely new start. Interestingly, exchange with Porto Alegre can also be observed here; at least, the Brazilian example plays an important role as a reference in discussions.

It is estimated that today there are over 2,000 examples of participatory budgeting worldwide.

What can we learn from the south, from municipalities such as Porto Alegre or regions like Kerala in India?

A look at the south shows us that participatory budgeting also means social justice and strengthening of the decision-making power of citizens – civic “empowerment”. It’s about influence on decisive measures of municipal development and the future of the young generation in the towns and cities. It’s no longer just about getting closer to the people or legitimising social-funding cuts. On the contrary. It’s about social improvements, education, measures against poverty and social exclusion: In Germany, you immediately think of the urgency of renovating schools, participation of migrants, reduction of unemployment among young people and child poverty; all this must be dealt with at the municipal level.

### **Daring to be democratic – The courage to engage in more dialogue!**

It’s shocking: only five percent (!) of citizens believe they can significantly influence politics through elections. With the last German parliamentary election, non-voters were the strongest party for the first time! This places our democratic system in question more and more.

Many hope that the concept of participatory budgeting can help to regain lost ground and to increase civic interest and participation in elections. So far, however, our study cannot confirm this for Germany. The effects of participatory budgeting are hard to generalise. They depend on the individual model and the ultimate will of political authorities. Transparency and having a say in truly central questions

of the budget and expensive projects in a municipality are seldom considered. Recommendations from citizens rarely serve as a compass for the council of a town or city when they make decisions, although some of those recommendations are in fact implemented.

We don’t live in Porto Alegre or in Seville. In Germany, participatory budgeting is not an instrument of participation but is conceptualised and structured as an instrument of consultation. Participatory budgeting and social justice have not truly been joined yet. Here in Germany, it is more about administrative modernisation and improved contact with citizens. The representatively elected council decides whether and how proposals from citizens will flow into the budget.

That’s fine, too; but in my opinion, participatory budgeting should also be viewed as an important part of the process for strengthening the self-responsibility of citizens. Citizens need to be “empowered” both in the Global South and the North: citizens should gain real influence through real participation. Funds and aids, training and opportunities for exchange need to be made available for this. Participation and projects should begin directly at each site and help to improve the quality of life there.

That this can be done without anyone losing face is shown by excellent examples such as the civic commune of the town of Nürtingen, Germany, which has been raising civic empowerment to an overall town concept since 1991 with the motto “Promotion of Participation times Promotion of Commitment”. Here, almost half of Nürtingen’s population participates. There has been a shift from deficit-oriented perception to a strengths-oriented perception according to the motto: the competent citizen takes his or her matters into his or her own hands.

In my opinion, participatory budgeting and further forms of civic participation can certainly help to reverse a loss of trust in politics and administration and to regain democracy. This re-democratisation can become a rousing project. Let’s use the experience and creativity of southern municipalities as a source of inspiration!

The Service Agency Communities in One World will support you in doing this. Since 2002, we’ve been spreading and strengthening participatory budgeting nationwide as one of our future-oriented topics. We advise municipalities and find experts who guide the municipality as it introduces participatory budgeting. The Service Agency also supports

dissemination of this model with a participatory budgeting network that meets once a year to exchange experience. We welcome you to join this network as a member.

Our online platform at <http://buergerhaushalt.de>, which the Service Agency has been operating together with the Federal Agency for Civic Education since 2007, is the information platform for participatory budgeting in Germany and offers the latest news on German and international participatory budgeting.

We hope that this congress will make it possible for you, as a participatory budgeting municipality or initiator, to obtain international ideas.

I would also like to thank the Federal Agency for Civic Education and the Centre Marc Bloch with whom we have organised this congress with its highly interesting participants.

So let us take a closer look at and try out the various international approaches; let's have **courage for more dialogue and democracy!** Let's make the "Nürtinger Motto" our own, let's invite experts from Madagascar for an exchange of experience! Let's accept the invitation to global cooperation!

Thank you for your attention.

**Dr. Anja Röcke, Humboldt University and Dr. Carsten Herzberg, Centre Marc Bloch with the collaboration of Dr. Yves Sintomer (Germany / France): Approaches and models of Participatory Budgeting and their implementation in Germany**



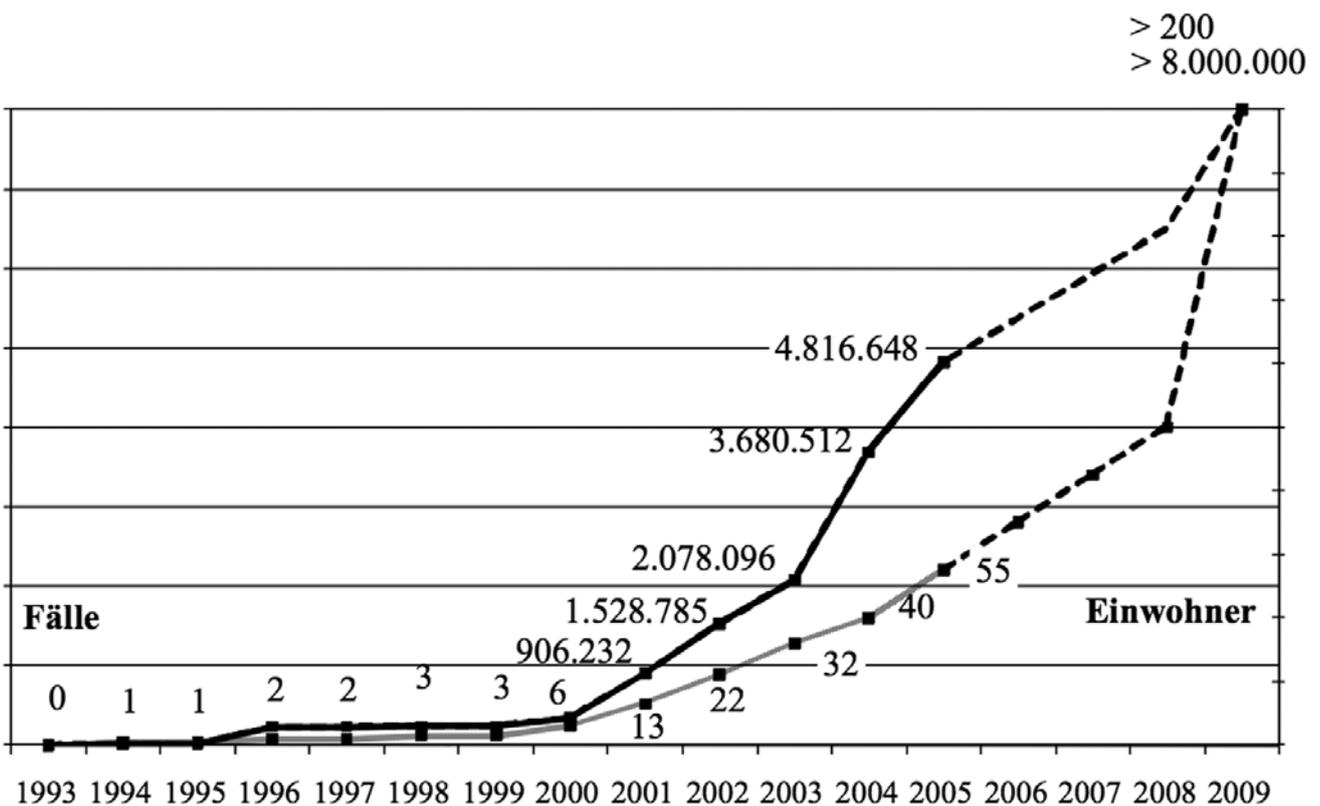
We are pleased to participate in this congress and to introduce the subject to you.  
First, the initial question of a definition of participatory

budgeting is to be answered. Through participatory budgeting, citizens can participate in the **definition** of the public budget, the resources, their distribution and the type of services. An important criterion is transparency of the budget. Participatory budgeting originated in Porte Alegre, Brazil. There have been further influences such as participatory budgeting in Christchurch, New Zealand. Since the beginning of the new century, there has also been an increase in the spread of participatory budgeting in Europe.

Unlike as with other participation instruments, there is no fixed approach with participatory budgeting; it is implemented in various contexts with contradictory aims and ideological foundations. This raises the following questions:

- What can we learn from the South?
- What are the challenges of the learning process?
- Is participatory budgeting just a fad? Or does it mark a global trend?
- How can its spread be explained?

Participatory budgeting serves research as a starting point for attaining a better understanding of civic participation and democracy overall.



For a conference concerned with the transfer of methods, learning processes and effects, it seems useful to find a definition of participatory budgeting that goes farther. It should be open enough to allow various approaches; at the same time, however, the methods must have a great deal in common so that the examples can be comparable at all. That is why we propose a practise-oriented definition that is not only used by the organisers but has also come to be taken up by many municipalities and scientists. According to this definition, the following five criteria must be fulfilled so that one may speak of participatory budgeting:

1. **The financial and/or budgetary dimension** must be discussed; with participatory budgeting, the problem is that of limited resources
2. **The level of the entire city or town must be involved** or that of a decentralised level of a district with an elected representation and a certain amount of self-administration competence
3. **It must be a cyclic process** (only one meeting and one referendum about financial subjects are no participatory budgeting)
4. **The process must comprise a specific form of public deliberation** (the opening of administrative committees or bodies of classic, representative democracy for "simple" citizens is not participatory budgeting)
5. **The results must be accounted for**

These criteria apply for the CMB Project and are not to be viewed as a generally applicable definition.

What does participatory budgeting in **Europe** look like **specifically**? Most of the **centres for participatory budgeting in Europe** lie in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Germany and Great Britain. The population of the municipalities involved varies greatly from several 1000 to over 700,000 inhabitants in Seville.

What are the most important **differences** between the European methods and the model of Porto Alegre? In Europe, participatory budgeting is usually implemented in a top-down manner. The middle class plays a greater role than in Latin America and only minor effects on distribution equality can be observed; furthermore, there is no connection to gender mainstreaming. Usually, it is a solely consultative approach; rarely are there regulations underlying it. Generally there is low autonomy of the civil society.

But the "institutional imagination" in Europe is large: new technologies, such as the Internet, are employed and there is a mixing with other approaches.

### Models of participation in Europe

Why have we developed a typology? To represent and allow classification of basic methods, we have developed **two kinds** of typologies: a **methods typology** for participatory budgeting itself and a **global typology** for participation in general.

The **global typology** is based on Max Weber's concept of **ideal types**.

Ideal types allow better understanding of the real methods. Here, the real examples of participatory budgeting should therefore always only be seen as an approximation to the ideal-typical models and methods. Development of a typology also simplifies **classification**. This is helpful for differentiating between the many different examples of participatory budgeting in Europe. Considering the applied **method** in comparison to the ideal-typical models can help to develop existing participation methods in a certain direction.

The **methods typology** of participatory budgeting is based on **four criteria**.

1. How are events organised? Are they open to all participants or only to a limited circle?
2. The deliberative quality of the methods, meaning the scope and subject of discussion and whether suggestions are placed in a hierarchy or whether the discussions take place in larger or smaller (manageable) dimensions. Also important is whether there are deliberations about the budget in general, projects or investments etc..
3. A third criterion observes the type of participants and role of civil society in the method, whether this is participation by citizens who are already active, certain citizens selected at random, all citizens (full survey) or organised groups.
4. Finally, the origin is to be considered: sometimes participatory budgeting is based on methods already used in the local context, as is the case with the citizen assemblies in Germany. In other cases, participatory budgeting can clearly stand out from existing traditions and represent a break with previous participation practices.

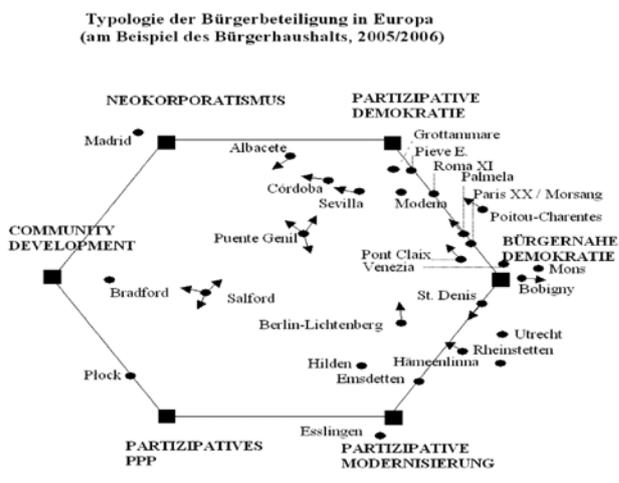
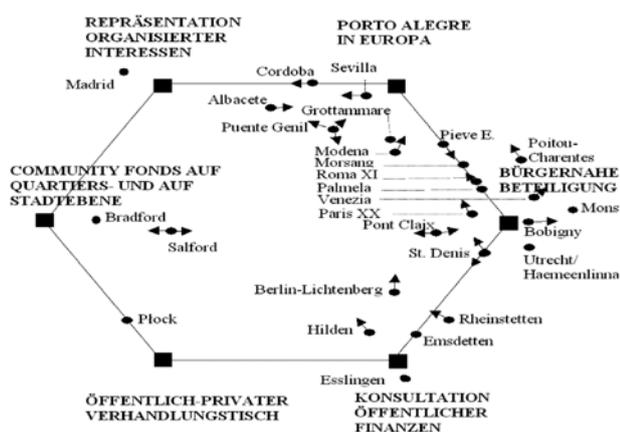
With these ideal-typical methods one is better able to understand, classify and compare concrete developments on site. With their help, the objectives of participatory budgeting can be better identified and it is easier to design the municipality's budgeting method accordingly.

The following **six ideal types** can be assembled from these four criteria.

- Porto Alegre
- Participation "close to the people"
- Consultation of public finances
- Public-private negotiation table
- Community funds at canton- and city level
- Representation of organised interests

Thus it was possible to identify the following **six ideal-typical models of civic participation** which name general models that are not concrete:

1. Participatory democracy
2. Democracy close to the people
3. Participatory modernisation
4. Participatory public-private partnership
5. Community development
6. Neo-corporatism



The six types of participatory budgeting methods in Europe; sample municipalities.

The towns/cities are assigned to the models. The arrows show the directions in which the given participatory budget is developing.

The second typology developed by us, namely the global **typology of participation in Europe**, uses the following **five criteria**: the context, ideologies and "framing" (the type and manner of ideological presentation of the method), the method, the dynamics of collective action and the relationship between "participatory" politics and conventional politics.

We would now like to briefly explain the global-typology models.

**1.** The model of **participatory democracy** is characterised by strong politicisation and local governing. Here, there is articulation of “top-down” and “bottom-up”. The civil society acts autonomously: it’s about co-deciding, not just consultation. Leftist parties and movements are actively involved in the implementation of participatory budgeting. There are some effects of social justice. There is a weak connection to administrative modernisation. The combination of conventional and participatory politics is basically possible. A well-known example of this model is participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre. In Europe, there are a few cases of this model in Italy (Grottammare) and Spain (Seville, Cordoba, Albacete).

**2.** The participatory budgeting model of **democracy close to the people** also presents strong local government. The approach, however, is “top-down” in the purely consultative sense and primarily at district level. There is “selective listening” (no formal rules) and only a low level of autonomy of the civil society. This model is predominantly found at the micro-local level (“proximité”). All kinds of parties take part in the implementation. No effect on social justice is achieved and administrative modernisation particularly takes place at district level. Here, instrumentalisation of participatory politics can be observed. Examples of this model can be found, above all, in district advisory councils and commonwealth funds primarily in France, Portugal and Italy.

**3.** For the model of **participatory modernisation**, participation is only a secondary dimension of administrative modernisation. There is no politicisation, though various parties may participate in the implementation. The approach is a “top-down” process with low autonomy of the civil society. Here, it’s not about “empowerment” but consensus and consultation. No effects for social justice are strived for. Examples of this are user advisory councils or customer advisory councils or user/customer panels and planning cells. German participatory budgeting represents this model.

**4.** With the **participatory public-private partnership** model (PPPP), citizens are only actors in addition to companies, the government and international organisations. Local government and civil society are weaker here; strong mar-

ket logic dominates. A “top-down” approach is used with low autonomy of the civil society. Here too, the focus is not on “empowerment” and effects on social justice but on a consensus orientation. Various parties are involved (more conservative, or “third way”). There is a weak connection between the PPPP models and administrative modernisation. The method of the “private/public negotiation table” offers examples of this model.

**5.** In the model of **community development**, citizens can co-decide and implement projects themselves. The participatory approach exists “parallel” to local politics (government). Both a strong market and a dynamic community sector are characteristic here and there is real autonomy of the civil society. “Top-down” and “bottom-up” organisation are coupled. Some effects for social justice are achieved (“affirmative action”) and “empowerment”. There is only a weak connection to administrative modernisation. Participatory politics replace conventional politics. Examples are “community development corporations” and “community funds at the district- and town/city level” with participatory budgeting.

**6.** At the centre of the **neo-corporatism** model are advisory councils such as unions, employers, associations, churches and universities. Here, various political streams take part in the implementation of participatory budgeting. A strong state selects its partners and proceeds in accordance with a “top-down” method. Autonomy of the civil society is rather low. This model is not characterised by “empowerment” but by orientation to consensus.



### Participation and modernisation –

#### A German contribution to the international debate

The German examples have contributed to the international discussion by pointing out the connection between participation and modernisation of the public sector. While, particularly in Anglo-Saxon countries, the public sector has been replaced by private actors, the new steering model developed by the Communal Council for Management of Public Administration (KGSt) is to improve the public sector's capability to take action. The public sector is to be made "fit" so that it can withstand competition with private providers: "competition rather than privatisation". Participation is a third pillar besides modernisation of the internal administrative structure and introduction of internal competition and benchmarking. First of all, citizens, regarded as customers, should receive better services faster and more conveniently. Operating within this third pillar, our research on participatory budgeting has allowed us to discover the citizens themselves as actors of modernisation and to develop the perspective of a participatory modernisation.

#### Citizens as modernisers – criteria for participatory modernisation

To evaluate participatory modernisation in the context of participatory budgeting, the following points can be considered:

- Improvement of public services through citizens' expertise.
- Participation as an accelerator of internal administrative processes.
- Rendition of services through voluntary commitment of citizens.

- More coordination and cooperation between the administrative subject areas.
- Direct tips for savings in the public budget.
- Adjustment of the administrative structure in accordance with the citizens' needs.
- Civic control of administrative actions.

#### The development of participatory budgeting in Germany

One of the first examples of German participatory budgeting was carried out in Mönchweiler in 1998. Various actors come from the administrative consultation: the Bertelsmann Foundation, the "Kommunale Gemeinschaftsstelle für Verwaltungsmanagement (KGSt)", the Hans Böckler Foundation, etc. as well as various networks such as the "Kommunen der Zukunft" (Communities of the Future, 1998-2002) and participatory budgeting in North Rhine-Westphalia (2000-2004). The project in North Rhine-Westphalia was based on the participatory budgeting in New Zealand's Christchurch and not on that of Porto Alegre. Thus the focus of this participatory budgeting lay in information about the public budget. Services and investments were also of interest. It was about user feedback, not the strengthening of social justice; civic autonomy was also low. The participants were mobilised by means of the random-selection principle.

In the first phase (1998-2004) there is a round of participatory budgeting which is summarised in the literature with the triad "Information-Consultation-Accountability": In the **information phase**, the revenues and expenditures of the public budget are explained via brochures, Internet etc.. In the **consultation**, participants are mobilised either by random selection or in the form of town hall meetings, information about public services and/or questionnaires and other forms of gathering suggestions. Finally, **accountability** comprises individual and/or collective reporting on implementation of the suggestions.

In the **second development phase of participatory budgeting in Germany**, beginning as early as 2005, new actors become active: the **Service Agency Communities in One World / InWEnt** contributes to introducing the example of Porto Alegre into the German discussion. In cooperation with the civic education foundations of the parties represented in the German parliament, the **Federal**

**Agency for Civic Education** initiates development of a budgeting method for large cities. **Citizens** and local initiatives of civil society begin to engage in participatory budgeting. Consulting companies contribute to professionalisation and spreading of the concept. **Berlin-Lichtenberg** takes up the modernisation trend. It continues to be focused on the evaluation of services but a “voting” is introduced for the first time. In this manner, the suggestions from citizens are placed in a hierarchy. There is a clear list for each individual suggestion.

The latest development, participation through the Internet, can be called a **digital “turn”**. It has become an important pillar of participatory budgeting in Germany. The development began in Esslingen, spread to Lichtenberg and other towns via online discussions that ran parallel to citizen assemblies, and finally reached Internet-centred examples such as Cologne and Hamburg. Examples like Cologne contributed to an efficiency increase of participation. Internet participation is often greater than face-to-face participation.

### A preliminary conclusion

From an international perspective, we see ourselves facing the following open questions and challenges today: What does participation stand for? Does civic participation represent a tool against neoliberal globalisation and “good governance” or administrative modernisation? Could it be about the personal profiling of politicians?

Although there are similar, general context conditions in Europe, there is no European convergence of the participation models. However, there are general tendencies, such as the rising importance of deliberation and participation. The connection between civic participation and administrative modernisation, as well as new knowledge and professionalism in the civil society, can often be found in Europe, too. But there is no convergence toward a single model or a single method; rather, hybrids and national models are developing. Answers should be found to the questions of “best practices” of participation in general and participatory budgeting in particular and to the questions of which method/model is suitable for which context.

Germany in European comparison: Participatory modernisation is possible! Because here there is service improvement through feedback from citizens, more coordination

in specialist areas and acceleration of administrative processes. It is surprising that the results lie behind expectations even though the German examples give thought to the connection between participation and modernisation and even though positive experience has been made, primarily in the area of integrating citizen knowledge. How is this to be explained?

First, it must be said that our own observations indicate that the following three factors are decisive for the success of participatory modernisation, but these are only partially fulfilled in Germany:

- Sufficient deliberation. Only when citizens can engage in extensive discussion conducted over the course of several meetings they can develop detailed proposals for improving administrative actions.
- Inclusion of central questions of budget policy. Only when basic, significant questions are included in the discussion participatory modernisation can develop a basic, significant effect. Accordingly, participation should not be limited to implementing small, detailed measures.
- Good preparation by administration staff. Staff members must figure out in advance which information they need to obtain from citizens in order to optimise public services.

The **hypothesis for Germany** is: **The central influence of participatory budgeting in Germany lies in improving the relationship between administration and mandate holders on one side, and the citizens on the other.** It is especially important to create trust. This can be achieved by implementing minor projects and measures; however, the big questions of budgetary policy matters are not discussed.

This leads to the following hypothesis or question: Is there a division of work between participatory budgeting and referendums? Unlike most other municipalities in Europe, citizens in Germany can initiate a referendum and thereby bring about binding decisions. Referendums are used for basic issues. This is why mandate holders here in Germany offer participatory budgeting to improve their contact with citizens. The fear that they will have to give up more power is widespread.

As we see, participatory budgeting here has continuously

developed in the past. This conference offers everyone an opportunity to receive ideas on how to continue on this path.

The results of our research can be read in more detailed form in the following publications:

Die Ergebnisse unserer Forschung können in ausführlicherer Form in folgenden Publikationen nachgelesen werden:

- Sintomer/Herzberg/Röcke (2010): *Der Bürgerhaushalt in Europa – eine realistische Utopie*, Wiesbaden, VS-Verlag
- Herzberg (2009): *Von der Bürger- zur Solidarkommune*, Hamburg, VSA-Verlag

## Discussion

**Question:** You've presented the different types of participatory budgeting; however it seems that they are likely to be contrary types. PPPP seems to be rather the opposite of participatory budgeting: Here, it's about withdrawal of the public as is the case with privatisation agreements.

**Dr. Anja Röcke:** PPPP and participatory budgeting do not necessarily form a contradiction. This can be shown on the basis of the example of the Polish city, Plock. Here, there was a fund financed to the half by private business and half by the government. With the PPPP model, it's not about legalising privatisation but about money coming from the private sector. Furthermore, this is an ideal-type that does not exist in reality but is only achieved approximately.

**Josef Ahlke:** About the diagrams typologies: How have the examples of participatory budgeting shown with arrows further developed? What are the trends? Are the different types moving towards each other?

**Dr. Carsten Herzberg:** With the German examples, there is a movement to more democracy closer to the people to improve contact. First there were central citizen forums. Now more forums are being organised altogether and some of them are organised decentrally. Ernesto Ganuza will be speaking about Spain. In general, the number of examples there has grown tremendously and there are tendencies to mixtures of the neo-corporatism and participatory democracy models. However, no unified trend of the models moving towards a centre has been observed in Europe.

**Prof. Dr. Leonardo Avritzer:** Comparing the European and the Brazilian model I have a question concerning the issue of modernisation. I partially disagree with you in stating that the participatory budget of Porto Alegre is not the case for modernisation. The modernisation is different. Why? Because the budget in Brazil used to be very clancalistic and organised around transfer of favours from the administration to different groups. What the participatory budget introduced in Brazil was a sort of modernising of the budget making process. In this sense it excluded from the budget making process any sort of private negotiations and deals. There is a strong tendency to modernisation though it's very different compared to the European process of administrative modernisation.

**Dr. Carsten Herzberg:** I think you are right that participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre has contributed to a modernisation of administration. When our typology was being developed, however, a different aspect was in the foreground. The specificity of the examples from which we derived the ideal-type "Porto Alegre in Europe" lay in the aspects of social justice and sharing of power.



I would also like to point out the practical use of the typology. It can be used by actors on site for further development of their own methods. If I want to achieve a certain objective with my participatory budgeting, e.g. modernisation of administration, social justice or district development closer to the people there, then I can read from the typology which specific instruments I need to apply for this. In this way, our map of ideal models can serve as a kind of compass. If citizens, political bodies and administration are in agreement on what they would like achieve with par-

ticipatory budgeting, then they can put together their own method by combining the ideal-types.

**Question:** As a town councillor for a small municipality near Cologne, I work with a municipal emergency budget. The structural deficit of our town does not allow any optional expenditures. In view of the global financial crisis, which approaches are there for participatory budgeting? How much leeway is there? Is it even possible to carry out participatory budgeting under these circumstances or is that precisely the time when one should get going?

**Dr. Carsten Herzberg:** The financial crisis of municipalities only appears to not allow participatory budgeting. The German municipalities have found a good solution. It's not about spending more money; it's about using the money that is there. Here, there are many examples of restructuring within an equal or lower budget that express the will of the citizens.



the further development of democracy is in the lists; where can I find this?

**Anita Reddy:** The contribution to education is a relevant aspect of participatory budgeting because when citizens actively take part in participatory budgeting then their interest in the social- and political context is deeper than is generally given. Participatory budgeting teaches functions of the budget to the citizens; this is lived participatory democracy and thus political education. Regarding democratisation through participatory budgeting: this topic is picked up in the model of Community Development because here it is about cooperation with small groups of citizens and thus empowerment of the citizens.



**Question:** I would like to tie in with the statements on the financial situation of municipalities from the perspective of the Local Agenda Process. We must take care that participatory budgeting is not made responsible for mistakes previously made and that the citizens must also participate in offsetting the deficit.

Two questions on the criteria and aims of participatory budgeting as, in this context, two key concepts seem to be missing. The first one is economic literacy: the crisis shows us that we possess far too little knowledge of national and global economics. Participatory budgeting could contribute to educating us accordingly. Where is the educational dimension located on the lists? Secondly, I cannot see that the aspect of

## “Your town – Your money” – Film about Participatory Budgeting in Cologne

In the megapolis of Cologne, city administration and political bodies must, as in every city, deal with great variety of expectations of the inhabitants. “In order to set the **right priorities for citizens**, the city of Cologne must rely on achieving targeted solutions in times of scarce funds,” explains **Guido Kahlen, City Director of Cologne**. For this reason, the city invited citizens to make use of their expert knowledge for their own city districts. The then mayor, **Fritz Schramma**, said, “Local politics can still be seen more strongly locally: It’s about individual parts of the city, small districts and, finally, one’s own street. In this way we bring politics from city hall to the individual citizen.” In Cologne, citizens were approached with the aid of the Internet. As the first German megapolis, the city of Cologne started participatory budgeting in autumn of 2007. In the participatory phase, all Cologne citizens were able to submit suggestions for four weeks for the areas of sports, green spaces, streets, paths and squares.

An **example** from the Klettenberg district, which has many children: A concrete playground was the reason for many people here to take part in participatory budgeting. “At the end of the 1970s, a concrete landscape was created here that proved to be fully unsuitable for children to play on. That’s why I took part in participatory budgeting,” said Beate Zimmermann who, like all Cologne citizens, became aware of participatory budgeting through the informational brochure sent out in advance.

**Submitting suggestions** is easy and thanks to **Web 2.0**, comments, discussions and evaluations can be followed exactly. Each registered participant has exactly one vote per recommendation, with which he or she can agree or reject. This results not only in competition for the best ideas but also in a hierarchy of priorities which goes directly to the administration. **Peter Michael Soénius**, City Treasurer: “Through the evaluation system, there is a kind of social control in the ranking because only subjects advocated by a wide basis wind up in the first spots.” The administration agreed to list the first 100 suggestions, to assess them and to present them for decision to Cologne’s city council in a timely fashion.

Back to Klettenberg: The concrete playground landed in the top places on the suggestions list. Restructuring into a modern playground suitable for children took only nine months: from suggestion to the council’s decision and on to the restructuring itself. A **timely implementation** that makes a decision tangible.

Electronic participation, or **e-participation**, has succeeded in what is not possible with the traditional methods of civic participation such as the citizens’ assembly: reaching many city citizens with a reasonable amount of effort. The more familiar and related to daily life the subjects are, the more people can be involved in participatory budgeting and the more competent their comments.

A part of the success is also the good **PR work** which was undertaken with posters, informational letters, a citizens’ assembly and the Internet. And then there was the detailed reporting by the Cologne media in order to involve the population groups who do not use the Internet. **Ralf Huttanus**, Head Official of E-Government and Online Services: “Care must be taken not to exclude certain population groups who are unfamiliar with technology or do not like it. Through a call-centre, we offer telephone participation and also accept suggestions in writing. But the Internet platform is still the platform of reference on which all suggestions can be found.”

The attention given by the press along the way greatly increased public awareness of the participatory budgeting. Assessing the press in hindsight, **Helmut Frangenberg**, Local Press Section of the Kölner Stadtanzeiger says: “The start has been made and was successful. What was missing was the possibility of exerting influence on money distribution beyond individual, very small political areas.” However, participatory budgeting must remain manageable for all parties and lead to concrete political participation – and at the same time, the town/city must deal with the accusation of leaving important subjects out. To find out what citizens are concerned about, a survey was carried out from which the subjects of the participatory budgeting were derived. The journalist criticises that citizens are not allowed to decide where and how much money is to be saved or spent in favour of which other project: “If anyone ever also succeeds in opening up the **large matters** while keeping the procedure manageable, then this will be a great opportunity for positive metropolitan development.”

The **web-based approach** for participatory budgeting of the second generation was developed at the **Fraunhofer Institute for Intelligent Analysis and Information Systems** in St. Augustin. Unlike as in previous budget procedures, citizens are no longer merely involved so that the need to save due to tight budgets can be imparted to them; rather, the new participation methods based on **Web 2.0 technology** are targeted at the **specialist knowledge of citizens**. Their expertise is drawn on through online moderated discussion forums. The guiding idea is: through easy comprehensibility, it will be possible for all to contribute.

**Dr. Josef Wehner**, Fraunhofer Institute, explains: "We have selected a method which is oriented to the existent petition method and is very easy to use." For this purpose, the Internet has proved to be a superior medium for this purpose in comparison to traditional instruments such as citizens' hearings or surveys. **Dr. Oliver Märker** of Zebralog GmbH co-developed the method and directed moderation of the Cologne participatory budgeting through a computer: "I can take part at any time, I can write a comment or just read; there are more possibilities to participate than as would be allowed by a citizens' assembly." The Internet is favoured by more than 90 percent of those making suggestions. Dr. Josef Wehner says: "The transparency and comprehensibility, as well as the participation culture arising from this, offer a new quality that would be unimaginable without the Internet." These may well have been the **reasons for the high level of participation in Cologne**: almost 5,000 citizen suggestions were submitted and placed on the platform by the moderators. At the end of the dialogue with citizens, there were over **10,000 active participants**, over 52,000 evaluations and there had been more than 2.6 million clicks from more than 100,000 Cologne citizens – perhaps also due to the **anonymous access** and guaranteed **data protection**.

**Dr. Oliver Märker** explains: "People had to register, but they didn't have to provide any information about themselves. We didn't want to lose potential participants that way." The Internet has also proved to be a helpful medium for the city administration because here the discussions can be followed and the suggestions assessed. For the subsequent phase of **evaluation**, one can fall back on a structured product because at the end of the participation proceedings, the suggestions are in a pre-structured form that simplifies evaluation immensely.

Beginning in 2009, the city would like to expand the dialogue to permanent civic participation via the Internet. This will also **significantly reduce participation costs**. With the first participatory budgeting event, the city still calculated 30 Euro – Cents per citizen, including brochures, advertising and the citizens' assembly. On the path to routine operation, costs can be reduced by one third. City director Guido Kahlen explains: "This path is irreversible because people identify differently with their city through this form of qualified civic participation. They articulate their worries and also do not put off making suggestions for saving money. This dialogue leads to a new cooperation between citizens and political bodies. Without the participation of civil society in top subjects, we will not be able to lead this city into the future." **Whether participation of citizens is sustained** will depend on the extent to which politics and administration support this participation idea. Here, it's about more than just the technical possibilities of the Internet; it's about integrating the technology into the routine of the municipalities. Ralf Huttanus supports this: "Before participatory budgeting in Cologne, it was considered difficult to conduct participatory budgeting in a large city. We have proven that this is quite possible and have urged others – including the federation and the state of North Rhine-Westphalia – to think about it. Budget consulting is one of the finest things of democracy. It is being established on a broad basis here and through a clear division of tasks – the people suggest, the council decides – it will counteract dissatisfaction with politics."

**The film is available online as a download:**

**English version:** [http://www.iais.fraunhofer.de/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Abteilungen/KD/videos/Deine\\_Stadt\\_Dein\\_Geld\\_en.wmv](http://www.iais.fraunhofer.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Abteilungen/KD/videos/Deine_Stadt_Dein_Geld_en.wmv)

**German version:** [http://www.iais.fraunhofer.de/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Abteilungen/MP/videos/DSDG\\_fuer\\_Download.wmv](http://www.iais.fraunhofer.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Abteilungen/MP/videos/DSDG_fuer_Download.wmv)



## II. Forum I: Examples

Impulse presentations with comments,  
followed by discussion.

Moderation: Volker Vorwerk, buergerwissen



On both event days, Forum I devoted itself to German and international examples of participatory budgeting. The first day started with a presentation of the German example of participatory budgeting in Steinfurt. Then came the fairly young participatory budgets in Sweden. These were followed by a look at southern Europe: How are citizens mobilised for participatory budgeting in Spain? After the talks, the audience's questions were answered. After all the questions were examined, a commentator summarised the talks and the contributions to the discussions.

## Andreas Hoge, Mayor of Steinfurt (Germany): Participatory budgeting as part of the economic stimulus package



Steinfurt is a medium sized community in Münsterland with almost 34,000 residents. During the past 20 years, Steinfurt has repeatedly had to report an "emergency budget", most recently for the year 2010. Despite little leeway, participatory budgeting has been conducted in Steinfurt since 2005 because there are still elective expenditures – here about three percent – available for participatory budgeting.

The procedure for the participatory budget in Steinfurt, which has been formalised since 2005, is a fixed element of annual budget preparation. First, the administration draws up a budget draft which is made available to the political representatives. Immediately thereafter citizens are invited to a discussion of the draft. The Steinfurters are informed of the current budget situation through an explanatory budget brochure that is distributed to all households. 2,000 Steinfurters of age 16 or over (selected at random from the database of the residents' registration office) receive a personal invitation to the participatory budgeting forum; added to this are invitations through the press that are extended to anyone interested in participating. An average of 100 to 200 people attend the events for Steinfurt's participatory budget.

The participatory budget event takes place in the town hall. The **procedure** is fixed: After an introductory presentation by the mayor and the treasurer, the various subject areas are presented. Then the citizens in attendance are divided into four to six groups and there is a "gallery walk"

through the subject booths. There, short presentations are given by specialists and proposals for solutions are derived under the guidance of non-specialist moderators. Then the pros and cons of the measures presented are discussed and the proposals are put together and evaluated by all participants. Political representatives may attend but they may not express their opinions.

The **result** of the citizens' forum is that the proposals worked out are passed to the politicians for their deliberations on the budget in the committees and the council. The politicians are obliged to provide feedback on the results of the deliberations over the proposals from the citizens' forum and to justify these results. Each participant of the citizens' forum is informed of this. When the proposals have been brought before the specialist committees, the town council decides on each of these proposals after approximately two months.



The **procedure** is organised by the month of the year on this participatory budget clock: **information** to the public in November; **preparation** of the budget in December, **citizens' participation** with forums in January; **deliberation** in the committees in February and the council's resolutions in March, followed by the **accounting** for the citizens' hearing and the **annual statement** for the previous year.

## Questions



**Question:** How long do the groups stay at the subject booths? How concretely are the subjects prepared and who works them out? How did you set the questions the first time?

**Andreas Hoge:** At the booths there is a seven to eight minute specialist presentation, and then a discussion. For each booth, a half hour stay is planned in. The presentations are prepared by members of the specialist subject department in question together with an accompanying, external moderator. The first time, the town posed questions which were known to be of interest for Steinfurt's citizens and which could also in fact be influenced. Since this first citizens' forum, ideas from the citizens have been collected at the booths.

**Question:** How high are the costs for participatory budgeting in Steinfurt?

**Andreas Hoge:** We don't count personnel costs; printing the participatory budgeting brochure and mailing it costs 8,000 euros altogether.

**Question:** How are the proposals selected? What is the relation between the total budget and the available funds of the participatory budget volume?

**Andreas Hoge:** All measures were listed and voted on by the citizens. This was congruent with what the town council decided.

The total budget is 65 million euros. The available funds lie at approximately three million euros. To achieve four and a half million euros for participatory budgeting, an addi-

tional five to six percent have been made available from the budget.

**Question:** Can a municipality on an emergency budget conduct a participatory budget and requalify this as an obligatory task?

**Andreas Hoge:** I can confirm this for the state of North Rhine-Westphalia [location of Steinfurt]. According to the interior ministry of North Rhine-Westphalia, a paragraph of the Municipal Code on the duty to inform the people can be interpreted to mean that every municipality can allocate funds for participatory budgeting.

**Volker Vorwerk:** This is only provided for in Berlin and North Rhine-Westphalia. Section 80 paragraph 2 of the Municipal Code of North Rhine-Westphalia provides for civil participation between the time when the budget is brought forth in the council and the time when it is adopted. In most of the other federal states, the interpretation is that civil participation is only possible after the council has decided.

**Question:** Were there any suggestions from the citizens regarding debt reduction in the context of the economic stimulus package *Konjunkturpaket II*?

**Andreas Hoge:** Direct proposals for debt reduction were not presented; however, the citizens did pursue the minimal aim of avoiding new debt.

**Question:** How did you get the participatory budget through? Doesn't a participatory budget make a council superfluous?

**Andreas Hoge:** I tied my candidacy to this question... A town council represents a cross-section of the citizens; only a very few have a negative attitude toward participatory budgeting. Furthermore, integration of participatory budgeting in the municipality in combination with other processes is especially successful and thereby also strengthens civic participation in other municipal areas.

**Question:** How is it, generally speaking, that participatory budgeting comes to be established?

**Volker Vorwerk:** Participatory budgeting needs advocates: be it the mayor or the treasurer or even a stimulus from local agenda processes. It is interesting that in German municipalities the entire political spectrum is represented in the

ranks of the advocates of participatory budgeting. **Andreas Hoge:** I would like to supplement this with a negative example from a municipality in North Rhine-Westphalia. In the context of participatory budgeting, a proposal made by the citizens was rejected. This eventually led to a referendum that rendered the vote of the council void.

**Question:** I am also critical of participatory budgeting because groups not interested in politics are often excluded from participation. On the other hand, participatory elites can form in the context of the participatory budget process to block reforms.

**Volker Vorwerk:** Participatory budgeting can't solve these problems either, but we are all well advised to develop innovative ideas and procedures.

**Andreas Hoge:** I can point to the city of Essen here, which tried to mobilise all educational levels in a working-class area. A difficult but not insolvable problem.

**Question:** How will participatory budgeting have to develop further in view of tight municipal finances?

**Andreas Hoge:** Despite the financial emergency, there is a need for dialogue with the citizens. That's why participatory budgeting can also include discussions about structural reductions, tax increases and other unpleasant measures. Also, even emergency budgets have funds available that can be used for a participatory budget.

## Lena Langlet, Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (Sweden): Participatory budgeting in Sweden



Thank you for inviting us to this event – in Sweden we are in an early stage of developing participatory budgeting. Our organisation SALAR is the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions<sup>1</sup>. All the 20 county councils and 290 municipalities in Sweden are members in our association. We are 100 percent financed by members and have no state subsidies. We work to support the municipalities. In Sweden the local authorities are independent from the state level and have a strong self government. SALAR is steered by the politicians in our member municipalities and regions. Every fourth year we organise a congress to take the goal for the next four years of work. In 2007 the congress decided that "SALAR shall act to support the effort of members to create new forms for civic participation, opportunities for choice and the integration of citizens dialogue in governance processes and organisational development."

From that SALAR started a special project called 'Citizens Dialogue', In the **SALAR – Citizens Dialogue project** we work together with 188 municipalities and 19 county councils. In addition to seminars and conferences, books and information's sheets we are working with two kinds of network knowledge networks and working network, we have two knowledge networks one for politicians and one for civil servants. We work with 10 working networks for example network for citizen panels with information and

communication technologies (ICT), network for dialogue with young people, and network for participatory budgeting.

The **background** of our work is comparable to other western countries: the disenchantment of politics plus a special self confidence. This means a challenge for the municipalities because the citizens just look at the municipality as a service actor and not as a democracy actor and have difficulties' to see the need of prioritising.

### PB in Sweden

- Haninge - 76 000 inhabitants
- Hudiksvall – 37 000 inh.
- Uddevalla – 52 000 inh.
- Örebro – 279 000 inh.
- Fredrikstad – 72 000 inh.



*The first four participatory budgeting municipalities in Sweden plus Fredrikstad, Norway, which has joined the Swedish network because there is no Norwegian network*

We **started the participatory budgeting process in 2008** when we invited the municipalities to take part in the process. The project was supported by Giovanni Allegretti who is also attending this congress. Our business is to inspire and to support the municipalities' activity. They have chosen different ways of participatory budgeting by addressing different target groups and different dimensions: three of the municipalities, **Uddevalla**, **Örebro** and **Fredrikstad**, are working with young people who are commonly not involved in the political process in Sweden.

In **Haninge** the participatory budgeting is about an urban territory, a park in the city. Finally **Hudiksvall** where the whole investment budget will be subject for the participatory budgeting, there the process is still in the planning stage.

<sup>1</sup> [http://gap.skl.se/startpage\\_en.asp?C=6390](http://gap.skl.se/startpage_en.asp?C=6390)

The first municipality that started participatory budgeting in Sweden was **Örebro**. They invited their **target group, the students** who had to deal with 250 000 svkr, wish was a part of the investment budget for environment and traffic. The kick off happened in January 2009 to inspire the young people for the process. During February they worked with their proposal. The voting on proposal was in March and the inauguration of the winning proposal – the reconstruction of a beach – took place in July, six month later. In the evaluation after the process **both sides, students and politicians**, talk of the **very good experiences** they made. Consequently the next round started in Örebro with the **same target group but with the double amount** of investment budget, 500 000 svkr. Again the kick off happened in January 2010 and this time the topic will be how to find ways to develop the river Svartån.

## The inauguration!



The vice mayor and the four students behind the proposal

*The first PB project was inaugurated in Örebro, a reconstructed beach, in July 2009.*

**Fredriksstad** and **Uddevalla** cooperate in a **transnational EU-funded project** called “we want – we can – we decide” where the PB is one part. They also concentrate on the **target group of young people** who are allowed to decide over public funds. The process started in springtime 2009 asking the young people about an **event**, a special activity that should happen in the two towns.

In Fredriksstad they failed the first time so that they had to do it again in autumn 2009. However in Uddevalla proposals from people between 13 and 19 years were collected. The youth council in Uddevalla supported the process by

explaining the process and inspiring the students to join the process by giving good examples and ideas. At the end there were 21 proposals that merged into six proposals. The young people have two weeks to **vote on internet**. At the end the winning proposal was a stand-up-comedian-day.

The **problem** for Uddevalla is the **long time between decision and implementation** – the stand-up-comedian-day will happen one year after the voting. To keep the young people’s interest for participatory budgeting alive during this year, there was a matchmaking conference organized in November 2009. The politicians asked the young people: what do you want to influence? The answer was significant: They wanted to have **influence over the whole process of budgeting** and the operating budget not only over an event. Also the young people wanted to establish a regular forum to keep the communication and contact close to the politicians.

The participatory budgeting process in **Haninge** hadn’t started yet. There the topic is a park, Eskilsparken, which is in the middle of Haninge and intended to be developed. The participatory budgeting process was **prepared for a long time** and is now designed to go **step by step**:

1. Open house event on 23<sup>rd</sup> January for suggestions and discussion with the people.
2. Developing the ideas during February and March
3. Voting event 25 April on internet
4. Citizens decision formalized
5. Feedback picknick in June
6. The ideas will be delivered during the summer

The mayor of Haninge wants the park to be finished in August regarding the elections in September.

In **Hudiksvall** they are still in the **planning stage** of process. They decided that the participatory budgeting should be part of the steering process and that the people will have influence over the total investment budget of 110 million svkr. For this it will be a long process with strong political parties belonging to different and controversial positions. The main point for Hudiksvall is: **the participatory budgeting will be an integrated part of the governance process.**

To support more Swedish municipalities using the participatory budgeting our association developed a budget simulator inspired by Hamburg<sup>2</sup>. We invented the budget simulator which could be used as an open source tool for all interested municipalities. There are now about ten municipalities who want to apply for our simulator.

Thank you for your attention and we hope that we have the chance to learn from your experiences!

## Questions

**Question:** Is the Internet also used to collect and judge proposals like we do in Köln, Trier or Lichtenberg?

**Lena Langlet:** So far we have only used it for voting but we apply for different tools to organize the participation.

**Question:** Are there any political parties or other organisations that support the participatory budgeting? Why did the idea of the participatory budgeting arrive so late in Sweden? Do you think that the interest for the participatory budgeting process will be spread in Sweden? What will be the future of the Swedish participatory budgeting?

**Lena Langlet:** In Sweden we thought to live in the best democracy of the world – this may be one reason. But if we look at the challenges of the political parties we see that the people belonging to the parties are older ones – the younger people aren't interested in politics. Regarding the elections for the EU-parliament we see the new successful party called "Piraten". This success was a shock for the old parties and made them realize that people lost confidence in them. There is a big gap between politicians and citizens and to improve the communication between these stakeholders – and especially the young ones – the participatory budgeting will succeed.

**Question:** What kinds of parties are interested in the participatory budgeting?

**Lena Langlet:** Regarding our net we see more conservative parties. But it seems to be more a question of age than political orientation, because younger politicians have more interest to talk to young people than the old ones.

**Question:** The problem of Uddevalla – the long time between the decision and the implementation – leads to another problem: If there is too much time between the steps of the participatory budgeting process the idea of continuity will disappear. So people just think of an event instead of a cycle of commitment.

**Lena Langlet:** That's why they changed the process there; its duration is now only half a year. They try to keep in contact with the people and to inform them about the ongoing of the process. But still we have to talk about involving the people during the whole year of the steering process.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.buergerhaushalt-hamburg.de/discoursemachine.php?page=planning&menucontext=1>

**Dr. Ernesto Ganuza, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Spain)**  
**Participatory budgeting in Spain: Mobilisation of citizens**



Thank you for giving me the chance to talk about the participatory budgeting in Spain. I will tell you about ten different experiences of participatory budgeting. Let me first talk about the **main features** of the participatory budgeting in Spain. All participatory budgetings in Spain are always deliberative processes linked to public decision making processes by respecting technical and social justices' criteria. There are different models of participatory budgeting but it always means decision making.

All kinds of participatory budgeting in Spain use clear rules, made by the participants and the administration. Most of the participatory budgeting does an informative process to deliver information about the budget. There is an accountability process to give an answer to the public decisions once the participatory budgeting is finished. Most of the time it has been created a new structure like the participatory budgeting councils where participants can monitor public decisions.

**The typology of the Spanish participatory budgeting shows three models:**

1. REPRESENTATIVE MODEL: The participants' role is quite qualified and deliberative. The participants' implication is extremely long. Who is targeted? Due to the time obligation only organized and expert citizens can take part in the process. This model is usually lead by the social democratic party in Spain.

2. ADMINISTRATIVE MODEL: Here the participants' role is just to deliver their needs and proposals, without any deliberation. The administration is the one who gives priority to the proposals. The participants' implications are therefore extremely short. All people are targeted, ordinary and active citizens
3. PARTICIPATORY MODEL: The participants' role here is also a qualified and deliberative one. The participants implications is variable: it can be short or longer length of time, something between the two above mentioned, but never as long as it's in the representative model. Usually all people of the city are invited to this model like in the administrative model.

**Why don't people participate in participatory budgeting process?** There are three hypotheses: the first is that people don't really want to participate; it's a lack of personal motivation. The second reason is a lack of money or of political resources, or of skills, of time, etc, that means people can't do it. And the third point is that nobody invites them to participate; that's a lack of mobilisation.

I would like to show you how the Spanish administration thinks about mobilisation: So who is participating? Who takes part in the meetings? Who is talking during the meetings?

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Which are the **means the administration uses to invite the people?** **Five tools** have to be mentioned:

- traditional channels of participaton (associations and associative structures)
- advertising (local TV, radio, newspaper advertisement)
- random selection
- new technologies (Internet, sms)
- participatory means like motivation groups, participatory meetings, etc.

Respecting **three different target groups** – the ordinary (less in politics interested) citizens, the active citizens (with participatory background and interest on politics) and the organized and experts citizens – **the tools work in a different way.**

With the traditional channel you can achieve a high activation of the organized and expert's citizens, less of the active and no ordinary citizens. With publicity you can mobilize

the ordinary citizens in a medium range, the active ones in a high and the organized citizens in a low way. The random selection can mobilize ordinary people. The new technologies are good to reach the active citizens and less good for the organized and experts, you don't reach the ordinary people with this tool. With participatory means you get a low participation of ordinary citizens, a medium participation of the active group and a high engagement of the organized and experts. So you know how to generate already active but also new interested people for the participatory budgeting.

**Who is finally mobilised?** Considering the city size we have to state that small cities with less than 10.000 inhabitants register around 13 or 14 percent participation, but in large towns with more than 200.000 inhabitants the participation is around 0,3 percent.

Some data about the **sociodemographic profile** of participants. Concerning **gender** we can ascertain that women and men participate in the same way. There is no significant difference between their engagements. If we talk about the experiences of participatory budgeting the woman use to be more participative than men.

Looking at the **age** of the participating people, you see that young people from 14 to 29 years participate less than they should concerning their percentage of population. On the other hand citizens who are older than 60 years participate more than their percentage of the population structure. People between 30 and 44 years are more represented in the meetings.

Regarding the **sociopolitical profile** of the participants we see that more than 70 percent of the people participating in a participatory budgeting are already engaged in any kind of association like neighbourhood, social or other associations. Comparing this to the general population of Spain the percentage of participating in any association is around 30 to 35 percent.

The percentage of participants who are **interested in local politics** is about 75 percent; in Spain generally it's about 35 to 40 percent. Thus people who are participating in a participatory budgeting are really interested in politics.

In terms of the **ideological position** of participants in Spain most of the participatory budgeting are lead by the social democratic and the post communistic party and only 15

percent belong to the conservative party. People engaged in participatory budgeting's are often ideologically quite close to left party positions. But following the participatory budgeting through the years you see that the ideological positions of the participants change. In the beginning of the participatory budgeting there are more people from the left parties attending, but after six years it changes into more right party participants.

The **mobilisation profile in public meetings** shows that more men than woman are talking and proposing things during the meetings. But you have to consider the different roles in these kinds of meetings. The mobilisation of people who are already members in other organisations is similar to the last mentioned. These people don't use to talk more and make more proposals than others who are not used to participate in associations during the meetings.

In reference to the **sociological influence on mobilisation** in participatory budgeting we see different variables. **Gender** has a low influence on participation in public meetings, but **age** and **studies** are highly influencing. But on the other hand age and studies are only lowly influencing an active role in public meetings. **Ideology** influences a lot who is going to the public meetings but inside the meetings you don't see any influence.

The **interest for politics** has a high influence on the participation as well as on the active role in public meetings. The same is true for the ones with **experience in participatory budgeting, but being a member of a civil organisation doesn't have** a high impact on deliberative role.

## Questions

**Giovanni Allegretti:** You figured out that women are less active than men in the participatory budgeting. Why do women propose less than men? Do you have any evidence for this? And which kind of proposals go ahead? In my experiences made in Portugal and Brazil women talk less but their proposals are more voted than the ones of the men.

**Dr. Ernesto Ganuza:** In Sevilla you can trace proposals in the other Spanish cities you can't. Only in Sevilla every participant is obligated to identify his proposal.

**Prof. Dr. Leonardo Avritzer:** I can see some similar results to my research on Brazil regarding the gender participation: also the Brazilian women participate less in participatory budgeting. You can watch stratification in the participatory budgeting-structure between men and women, men are more often delegates than women. In reference to the membership is absolutely the same in Brazil. Also comparing the aspect of membership in organisation, influence on mobilisation etc.. The only difference that I see is the level of education: Highly educated people in Brazil talk much more in the meetings than the lower educated ones. Why do these two countries have so similar forms of participation?

**Dr. Ernesto Ganuza:** Participatory budgeting is an amazing experience. It seems that the people in Spain as well as the Brazilians have recognized this chance to participate.

**Dr. Anja Röcke:** Which are the problems of the participatory budgeting in Spain? Which German aspects could be inspiring for the Spanish participatory budgeting?

**Dr. Ernesto Ganuza:** One of our problems is that participants attitudes are quite ideological. The second problem is that the participatory budgeting in Spain is only peripheric for the administration because people can only decide about three or four percent of the budget. The conflict between associations and participatory budgeting is another critical aspect. Participatory budgeting means further on with participation and is involving all people. Most associations don't want this and therefore they are fighting against participatory budgeting.

What to import from German participatory budgetings? The way you get people involved into financial balance could be very interesting in Spain too.

**Question:** Concerning the age: is there any special participatory budgeting mobilisation for young people?

**Dr. Ernesto Ganuza:** In Spain, there are some cities that offer small special participatory budgetings for children under the age of 14. But for the ones older than 14 years we have no special tools to get them involved, they don't trust politicians and processes. But if they come to participatory budgeting meetings you can watch that they are electrified by the dynamic process of the participatory budgeting.

## Commentary: Nicolas Bach, Nexus Institute (Germany)



Mayor Hoge described how participatory budgeting can be structured concretely. It became clear that the approach or procedure is not an unchangeable monolith but adapts to external circumstances. The example clearly showed that there is not just one single form of participatory budgeting but a whole spectrum of models that are being developed.

Lena Langlet presented us with a nice initiative that took on the task of making participatory methods, including participatory budgeting, better known in municipalities. Here, democracy is in a critical situation and is reformed from the bottom up. Municipalities are assisted in implementing their participatory methods. Here too, it became clear that the participatory budgets in Sweden differ significantly from one another. This applies both to the type and manner of organisation as well as to the characteristics of the procedures themselves.

Ernesto Ganuza described an aspect that is important for every participatory method: mobilisation of the participants.

When we speak of **participation**, one can differentiate between the participation of those affected and the inclusion of large parts of the population. If a method such as participatory budgeting is to be carried out then some questions must be answered first. Who and what do we want to reach with participatory budgeting? What does civic participation constitute? A major point is the activa-

tion of local knowledge: the specialist knowledge of the citizens affected is to be brought into a process so that positive effects can be achieved both for the administration and for politics. Various perspectives should have an influence; particularly non-professional perspectives should also be considered. For these are not specialist committees in which expert knowledge is required; rather, this should lend greater legitimacy to the entire process and the results. This is of particular interest for matters in dispute. The question of whether it is not appropriate particularly in a critical situation to have citizens participate can therefore be emphatically answered with "Yes."

**Mobilisation** of participants is of decisive importance for all participatory methods because it can strongly influence the results of a process. Is it a homogenous or a heterogeneous group? The result to be expected from a broad spectrum of participants is different from the result to be expected from a specific group. Therefore, all participatory methods, and thus participatory budgeting too, are faced with the following decisive question. How can I structure my participant selection so that the group is as heterogeneous as possible? A few approaches have already been identified here: a special appeal to certain groups, and then there were combinations of general publicity through newspapers, mass mailing, and letters to individuals selected at random, which in my opinion is the best way to ensure broad participation of citizens.

One of the **central questions** with organizing participatory budgeting is: How do we manage to invite a broad group in order to include a broad part of the population in the process and how can we succeed at including groups that tend to be passive?

During the process one is faced with the question of how to make the expertise, the local knowledge of the citizens, accessible to the process. Here, too, there are many different variants that can likewise significantly influence the result of a participatory process. What kinds of information do the citizens receive? This information should be as generally comprehensible and neutral as possible. How are informed opinions to be developed? Do we want to proceed in a rather deliberative way by working in small groups? Do we want to use online forums to allow broad

masses to participate in the process at times of their own choosing? Do we want to use questionnaires to ask each individual about his or her ideas? I am finishing with many open questions that I hope will stimulate you to ask even more questions and engage in discussion.

## II. Forum II: Representative democracy, federalism and political education

World Café,

Moderation: Ralf Elsässer, CIVIXX



Here, experts first presented subjects to all forum participants that were then discussed in small table groups which regularly switched participants. The individual discussion results were taken up by the groups and continued. At the end, each of the table groups presented their results, which the moderator noted in summary.

## Table 1: Ulrike Löhr, attorney at law (Germany): Participatory budgeting in Germany's federal system



As an introduction, I will briefly present the **governmental structure** of the Federal Republic of Germany. We live in a federal union with 16 states. Article 20 of the constitution (GG) [Grundgesetz = "Basic Law"] formulates the division of powers: here, the powers of legislation are divided between the federation and the states, with the main tasks falling to the federation. According to Article 83 GG on execution of laws, the states normally execute the federal laws as matters of their own.

Article 28 GG forms the basis for the various state and municipal constitutions in the Federal Republic of Germany. These regulate the make-up, structure, competencies, rights and obligations of the municipal organs such as administration, advisory council, mayors etc., as well as the basis of the municipal finances and supervision of the municipalities by higher levels of government.

Regarding the positions of the **mayors**: the citizens elect the mayors in a separate election procedure by majority vote for the duration of six years as the head of a full-time administration, and simultaneously as the chairpersons of the advisory councils. In relationship to the advisory council, the mayor has the task of preparing the council's resolutions, implementing them under their control and reporting all important matters to them. The mayor is fully and solely responsible for management of the administration. This also includes the right to draw up the budget. The mayor forwards the draft confirmed by him or her to the council

and the decision on whether to adopt the budget is then made by the council.

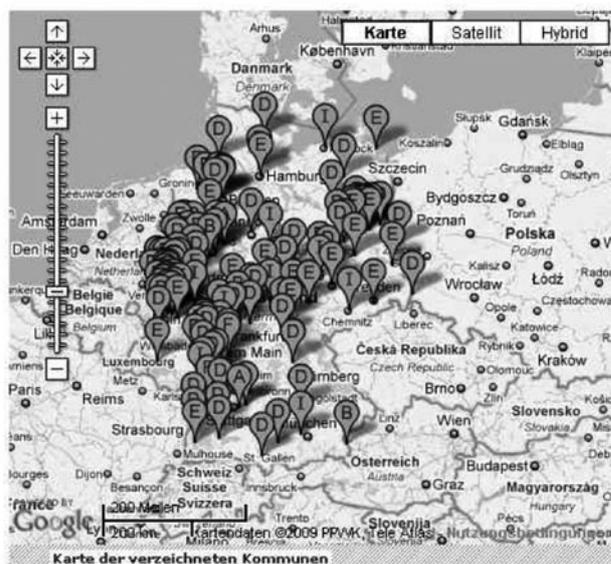
Regarding the position of the **treasurer**: in autonomous cities and towns, a city treasurer must be appointed. He or she decides on unscheduled and unforeseen expenditures. The draft of the budget ordinance with its annexes is prepared by the treasurer and presented to the mayor for confirmation. The treasurer can advocate his or her differing position during the deliberations of the council.

Regarding the **role of the advisory council**: the municipal council is the “collegial administrative organ” of the municipality. As an administrative organ, it may both make laws and execute laws; that is, it shapes, decides and executes for the municipality. The council is responsible for all matters of the municipality. The task of executing the council's decisions lies with the full-time administration. The draft of the budget ordinance is discussed and decided by the council in a public session. With regard to budget law, the council has the final say on the budget and this right cannot be taken away from it.

In order to strengthen the **legitimacy of political decisions**, the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, for example, has provided for formal participation of citizens in section 80 paragraph 3 of its municipal code. After the draft budget ordinance has been forwarded to the council it is to be made known and interpreted to the public. Residents and taxpayers must be given at least fourteen days in which to raise objections.

Is representative democracy versus civic participation, the “citizens’ municipality”, to be seen in this context? It is precisely in times of the municipal financial crisis that civic participation can be of great significance.

We do not need (further) legal bases **in support of introducing participatory budgeting**. The legislators should confine themselves to minimal provisions. The legal bases that already exist are sufficient to allow introduction of participatory budgeting. The procedure should be in line with local conditions. The important thing is that the council and administration, acting on the basis of their own convictions, are willing to enter into dialogue with the citizens and to render an account later on.



The map shows the German municipalities active in participatory budgeting: <http://www.buergerhaushalt.org/karte/> (5 January 2010)

**Financial incentives** such as the scheme for realising participatory budgeting procedures in the state of Thüringen could be important for promoting participatory budgeting. Also important: it should be possible for municipalities to realise participatory budgets in budget balancing procedures and in interim budget management.

Further **examples of federal- and state subsidies of projects** include the “municipal participatory budgets” project of the Bertelsmann Foundation in cooperation with the interior ministry of North Rhine-Westphalia, research projects that accompany participatory budgets, and inter-municipal collaboration and exchanges of experience.

**Table 2:**  
**Christa Widmaier, evaluator (Germany):**  
**Political education and participatory**  
**budgeting**



Political education should contribute to promoting **democratic awareness** in the people, to **motivating citizens** and make them **capable** of actively and critically taking part in political life in a responsible way. Knowledge, insights and understanding of societal contexts of political, social, cultural, economic and ecological processes are imparted.

The **objectives** of participatory budgeting have many sides: It contributes significantly to the people's municipality and creates a new relationship between citizens, administration and politics marked by partnership. Participatory budgeting aims for joint efforts and dialogue for solving municipal problems. It develops decision aids for politics and at the same times makes it possible for administration to be modernised.

The **framework conditions** of participatory budgeting should be structured in such a way that the municipalities, as the living space of its citizens, offer them direct influence and thereby stimulate interest in participatory budgeting. This sensitises and mobilises the people. Various methods are employed for mobilisation. These can be differentiated by various characteristics so that, for example, age, gender, origin, educational level, income are incorporated.

**Factors** that **positively influence** the **process** of political education are:

- Partnership between citizens and administration and politics
- Dialogue at eye-level
- Comprehensible decisions
- Transparency of the budget and political decisions and accountability with regard to handling the proposals [from the citizens]
- Participatory budgeting as a process

The **roles** of the various actors are clearly recognisable: The citizens prepare proposals and also set the priorities, as appropriate. They also control implementation of the proposals. The political authorities look into the proposals, discuss them with the citizens and answer to the citizens for how the proposals have been implemented. As experts, the administration provides information and co-organises the process of participatory budgeting.

When realisation of a participatory-budgeting process has been successful, the citizens assume a new role:

- When administration and the political authorities have proceeded adequately, citizens are motivated to inform themselves and intervene; there are learning processes with regard to urban development, budget planning and how the administration functions.
- Active participation in decisions in a person's direct living environment promotes awareness and skills for democratic actions and political participation – "learning democracy". Examples include school children and young people in German and Latin American cities in the context of exchange programmes.
- When members of the administration, political authorities and citizens become acquainted, prejudices can be reduced and a basis laid for all actors involved to understand political processes and consensus-building in the municipality.

The **potential for political education** of citizens lies in their being motivated to inform themselves and participate. There are learning processes that comprise understanding of urban development, budget planning and administrative functions. Political participation and sharing is lived and understanding of processes of political formation of opinions is created. Prejudices are reduced with all actors.

Certain **framework conditions** must be given for political education to be promoted and sustainably implemented in this context. Accountability and transparency of politics and administration play a central role, along with corresponding evaluation- and monitoring processes – if possible, with the participation of citizens. Political education pursues empowerment strategies with the objective of learning democracy, expanding the possibilities for individuals and groups to take action, and promoting self-determination and self-responsibility of citizens.

The result is a win-win situation for citizens as more transparency and participatory possibilities are created. Learning processes, new skills and more trust are created. The citizens can better identify with their town and develop greater commitment.

For the political authorities, it is about objectifying the budget debate and achieving greater legitimacy. They receive new suggestions and new contacts with citizens. The citizens' identification with their town also offers a decision aid for politics.

The administration gains more information and is more in tune with the people. Mutual understanding and transparency develop, as well as greater civic engagement.

**Table 3:**  
**Prof. Dr. Jochen Franzke,**  
**University of Potsdam (Germany):**  
**Challenges of civic participation**  
**in participatory budgeting**



In my view, and in summary, three especially important challenges can be discussed with a view to structuring participatory budgeting processes that are “citizen-oriented” or “citizen-friendly”.

**First**, the “citizen-oriented” nature of such approaches is shown in the **level of inclusion of citizens who have not previously been organisationally engaged**. The more decentralised and closer participatory budgeting is to the “neighbourhoods” (in Berlin, one would say “Kieze”), the more successful it can be. The participation of a significant number of these citizens is a clear indication of high deliberative quality of participatory budgets. However, this challenge is not so easy to meet.

How do the activities of a participatory budget – for example, the public events or Internet presentation – need to be structured so as to provide “barrier-free” access for citizens? Which incentives will contribute to people overcoming their “natural reticence” to participate?

**Secondly, including organised citizens** in participatory budgeting is one of the challenges of this participatory method. Here, there is a certain dilemma. On the one hand, participatory budgeting depends on the participation of the many existing local associations and other groups – these give the procedure stability, contribute their expert knowledge and can often communicate at eye level with the participating local politicians and administration delegates. On the other hand, there is the danger, which should not be

underestimated, that the participatory budgeting will be infiltrated by well-organised interest groups such as associations, the fire brigade, political parties and others who may try to push through their own particular agendas in this way.

How can this dilemma be solved or at least kept in limits? How can participatory budgeting be used to more strongly include certain organised interests that have hardly been considered before (e.g. neighbourhood associations, migrant groups)?

**Third**, for real and effective civic participation in participatory budgeting, it is necessary to **mobilise a sufficient number of citizens who are willing and able to participate in the project on a long term basis**. Selecting them is the task of the responsible political actors. Here, it is principally a question of attractiveness, particularly of public events, to create interest among such citizens. How can this specific group of active citizens be found and brought together? Is it necessary to qualify these people in some way? Which possibilities of participation of active citizens in participatory budget procedures can be used (e.g. participation in steering committees of the participatory budget, as a multiplier in certain social or ethnic groups, or with the moderation of events)? Which methods are suited for finding and bringing together these specific groups of active citizens?

**In summary**, one can put forward the thesis that the danger of participatory budgets “without citizens” (as a PR-event for local authorities and politicians) can only be counteracted when these budgets are designed to be in tune with citizens, when they aim for a high deliberative quality and when they also offer an attractive forum for citizens who have hardly been active in local politics. This requires sensible steering institutions in which the political authorities, the representatives of the administrative units involved, the active citizens and the representatives of the “organised interests” can all be included.

**Table 4:**  
**Prof. Dr. He Baogang, Australian National University (China/Australia):**  
**Participatory Budgeting in China:**  
**An Overview**



**Brief History** of participatory budgeting: Participatory budgeting was first instituted by the Workers’ Party in the city of Porto Alegre in 1989. It has developed in three stages: the experimental stage in several cities (1989-1997), the consolidation stage (1997-2000), and the spread of participatory budgeting all over the world since 2000. By 2008, it is estimated that 2000 municipal cities in the world had introduced participatory budgeting.

While the idea and practice of participatory budgeting in Brazil was introduced to **China** in the late 1990s<sup>3</sup>, Chinese villages have been practicing a form of participatory budgeting since the early 1990s<sup>4</sup>. It was not called “participatory budgeting” as such, but rather “the openness of village account” or “democratic management of village account”. At the village level there are thousands of participatory budgeting projects in place. At the town or township level there are more than a dozen participatory budgeting projects. While at city level and national level only a few participatory budgeting projects are in existence. Some of

<sup>3</sup> Zhongguo fazhan yanjiu jijin hui (China Development Research Foundation), „Zhongguo fazhan yanjiu jijin hui fu ba xi canyu shi yusuan kaochao baogao (concept)” (“The Report of China development research foundation on participatory budgeting in Brazil”), 2006; Chen Jiagang, “Canyu shi yusuan de lilun yu shijian” (“Theory and Practice of Participatory Budgeting”), *Jingji shehui tizhi bijiao (Comparative Economic and Social Systems)*, Vol.130, No.2 (2007), pp. 52-57.

<sup>4</sup> Cai Binghua and Yuan Shaozhi, “Tuijin cunwu gongkai he minzhu guanli de xin qidian: dui mishan shi guanhe luoshi zhongban shiqi hao wenjian de diaocha yu sikao” (“Promoting the openness of village affairs and a new starting point of democratic management: Investigation and reflection on Mishan city’s implementation of document No.17”), *Zhongguo minzheng (China Civil Affairs)*, Nr.1 (2005), S. 35-37; Feng Yuxia, „Guanyu cunwu gongkai he minzhu guanli zhidu jianshe de sikao” (“Reflection on the openness of village account and the construction of democratic management system”), *Dangzheng ganbu luntan (Cadres Tribune)*, No.10 (2007), pp. 238-239.

these projects are show cases, some are substantive, and others are a mix of both. The number of participatory budgeting projects is still very small compared to the number of villages and townships. participatory budgeting has only really just begun. There are a lot of problems associated with participatory budgeting experiments. Nevertheless, the direction of participatory budgeting is clear: more and more participatory budgeting experiments are being introduced.

**Definition:** In China, there are different understandings of participatory budgeting from the three logical systems.

1. Under an **administrative logic**, participatory budgeting provides citizens with a mechanism to express their preference and opinions, and seeks to match the peoples' choice with the government's plan. It examines the allocation of the budget, identifies the priority of projects, and establishes a modern public financial system. The principles of participatory budgeting are the transparency of budgeting and equitable access to public resources. It is also an administrative program to build up an administrative democracy.

2. Under the **political reform logic**, participatory budgeting is viewed as an instrument of introducing local democratisation in China. It broadens a definition of "participatory budgeting" as the agents of participation include not only ordinary citizens, but also deputies who were previously excluded from the budgeting process. Peoples' deputies are seen as citizens, or representatives of citizens. But in the unique Chinese political system deputies are powerless figures. Indeed, political participation of deputies in that program is both justifiable and central, as the main aim of participatory budgeting there is to reform the local peoples' congress system. In this sense, projects of this kind in China are deserved of the title participatory budgeting.

3. The third understanding of participatory budgeting is that it is a **process in which citizens and NGOs can decide about the budget**; popular participation being one of the important stages in budget decision-making process. This definition is very close to the one in Brazil, but it does not

dominant in terms of real politics. Notably, background conditions influence the understanding and process of participatory budgeting. In China, with the absence of regime-level democratization, participatory budgeting came to be seen as a local democratization strategy. China's participatory budgeting is more governance-centric than that of Brazil where the agenda of the Workers Party was to get more voters through participatory budgeting.

**Incentives and Motives:** Serious problems exist in budgeting processes. Problems principally include an over concentration of budget power by a few people, a lack of transparency, next to little citizen participation in the checking and monitoring of budget systems, favouritism, the influence of interest groups, a lack of social equity, and a failure to fully consider the needs of disadvantaged groups. Often, executive discretion overrides legislative oversight. The extra-budget slot fund is a source of corruption.

Dealing with these **problems**, the Chinese government has introduced budget reforms including the separation of revenue and spending for extra-budget funds, the centralisation of expenditure management and government account services, the elimination of multiple decentralised accounts, and the establishment of the account secondment system. In addition, the NPC set up the Budgeting Work Committee of the NPC in 1998, and the local Peoples' Congresses have experimented with budget deliberation reform<sup>5</sup>.

A further reform which involves citizens is necessary to deal with the common problem that peoples' needs are often not met in state budgets. An empirical study of three poverty-stricken counties finds that budgets go to the salaries of local officials rather than public service<sup>6</sup>.

Underlining this **transformation** from state to public budget has been the changing landscape of political economies. In some local counties or townships like in Zhejiang, for example, private business tax contributions constitute more than 70 percent of the local budget<sup>7</sup>. Subsequently the question is how this money is being used for public purposes. This highlights a need for greater citizen participation, transparency, consent, and deliberation.

<sup>5</sup> Dali Yang, *Remarking the Chinese Leviathan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004, pp. 235-248

<sup>6</sup> Rong Wang, „County Government Budgeting in China: A Case Study“, in *Economics of Education Research (Beida)*, November 2003, Vol. 1, No. 1, <http://www.gse.pku.edu.cn/BeidaEER/200301.asp>, accessed on 17 October 2008.

<sup>7</sup> Baogang He's interview with the local official in Zeguo and other townships in March 2005.

The **incentives of introducing participatory budgeting in China** are to curb corruption, improve governance, achieve openness and transparency, provide social services for local people, and use the results of participatory budgeting to deal with rightful resistance<sup>8</sup>. It can protect government officials from charges of corruption by increasing transparency. In cases where decisions are difficult, participatory budgeting enables leaders to deflect responsibility onto processes and thus avoid blame<sup>9</sup>. Citizens' participation provides a shield for officials who have to make tough decisions on budgets.

**Organizers of participatory budgeting:** There are many actors playing the role as organizers. **International funding** is significant. World Bank has led, developed and encouraged the spread of participatory budgeting all over the world. The Ford Foundation provided funding for research, conferences and even the cost of participatory budgeting experiments.

**Bureaucratic pluralism** is another driving force. Different governmental organizations compete for resources and influence. The Ministry of Finance in China has made efforts to build a modern financial system in which participatory budgeting is a small part. The National Peoples' Congress (NPC) and local peoples' congresses have been developing and improving how they function; budgeting committees have been established, deputies have engaged in examination and deliberation, and budgets are now required to be made public.

Most projects of participatory budgeting are **a top-down process with limited input from the bottom-up**. This is different from the case of Brazil. Chinese participatory budgeting takes place without a two party system and electoral pressure. China's one party system has an internal competition mechanism that effects the development of participatory budgeting. The Communist Party of China, CCP, plays a central role in terms of backing, approving and monitoring participatory budgeting experiments, but local party organizations often make the crucial decisions.

**Chinese NGOs** have also come to play an important role in aiding civil society through participatory budgeting assistance<sup>10</sup>. Action Aid International China, AAIC, China's branch of Action Aid International, has organized a few participatory budgeting projects at village level<sup>11</sup>. The China and the World Institute, CWI has advised on a participatory budgeting experiment in the Xinhe township. Scholars from Deakin University and Stanford University have also provided assistance to Zeguo's participatory budgeting project. But in reality **the role of civil society in China is limited**. Despite a few NGOs being involved in participatory budgeting projects, civil society alone remains ineffectual and inactive in developing participatory budgeting in China.

In China there are **significant variations** of participatory budgeting models in terms of patterns, institutions, procedures and methods. It **can be categorized** as thematic or territorial or actors.

- Thematic participatory budgeting has elements such as investment, health, road and subsidy at its core.
- Territorial participatory budgeting engages different levels of administration such as village, township and city.
- Actor-oriented participatory budgeting consists of general citizens, women, the poor, unemployed, and socially excluded groups.

Of course there are combined forms and it can be also categorized as revenue-generated, expense-distributed and budget-monitored. While village participatory budgeting includes all three aspects, township participatory budgetings are limited to expense-distributed in most cases.

Participatory budgeting usually involves the following **processes**: the administrative decision to introduce participatory budgeting and its theme, the decision on the scope of budget, the information collection stage, the proposal and its selection stage, expert consultation stage, citizens' meetings and deliberations, the final government decision stage and the implementation stage.

<sup>8</sup> Kevin J.O'Brien und Li Lianjiang, *Rightful Resistance in Rural China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

<sup>9</sup> R. Kent Weaver, "The Politics of Blame Avoidance." *Journal of Public Policy*, 1986, 6: 371-398

<sup>10</sup> Yang Ziyun, „Gongmin shehui tuidong canyu shi yusuan gaige“ („Civil society pushes the reform of participatory budgeting“), *Zhongguo Gaige (China Reform)*, Vol.310, No.7 (2009), pp.55-57.

<sup>11</sup> See <http://www.actionaid.org/china/>

One of the cases to illustrate the different patterns of participatory budgeting is the **Deliberative Polling, DP**, in Zeguo<sup>12</sup>. The process of DP represents what the public would think if it had a chance to become more informed. DP can be described as a social science investigation<sup>13</sup>. It has included the following elements or procedures:

- a scientific random sample of the township gathered together for a full day of deliberation;
- considered the choice of 30 (2005) and 35 (2006) infrastructure projects affecting the future of the town, and the total town budget in 2008 and 2009;
- participants were given carefully balanced briefing documents;
- small group discussions with trained moderators were held and questions developed in the small groups were brought to two large sessions with a panel of twelve different experts;
- Two surveys before and after deliberation.

**Problems:** High quality participatory budgeting requires citizens to understand financial figures and to develop special knowledge but often they are not equipped with financial knowledge. Consequently a shortened version of briefing material was provided. There is a trade-off between the level of deliberation and the scope of discussion. But the increasing scope of participatory budgeting led to lower levels of deliberation. The participants felt the numbers were too overwhelming to be discussed fully. To achieve a balanced budget is a difficult task under popular pressure and vested interests. This is a universal issue all participatory budgeting faces: a number of methods and practices with regards to balanced budgeting. All local governments maintain the administrative discretion to develop a balanced budget. The demand for it constrains the power of populism and delimits the empowerment of participatory budgeting. The decision to introduce these experiments was made by party secretaries and the whole process is under the control of administrators. As a result, these experiments did not promote and utilize the forces of civil society, and limited the citizen's role.

**Prospects and Conclusion:** In China participatory budgeting experiments have promoted transparency and fairness, provided opportunities for deputies and citizens to discuss examine and monitor budgets, and improved the communication between the government and citizens. In some cases, participatory budgeting has rejuvenated the local Peoples' Congress and led to the limited development of administrative reform. Participatory budgeting, however, does not lead to substantive changes in power structures. Both the system as a whole and the nature of budget processes have remained the same, and in most cases the budget is still considered a state budget, rather than a public budget.

The vast majority of participatory budgeting takes place at local level, in particular in villages. But it seems that it is difficult to extend participatory budgeting to a higher level of government. One challenging question is: how can participatory budgeting connect to national and global issues in an effort to broaden citizens' horizons?

In the next few years, we will see more participatory budgeting experiments and an increasing participation of citizens. The National People's congress is now encouraging the further spread of participatory budgeting experiments. It is likely that the government may pass regulations and laws regarding participatory budgeting in the next ten years. However, the future direction of participatory budgeting will still however be in the administrative area.

While there is a globalization of participatory budgeting activities, to establish a national network of participatory budgeting will prove difficult in China. Only in non-political areas such as fiscal education and the participation of women, can citizen-centric participatory budgeting be developed and promoted. It is still extremely difficult for NGOs to organize and campaign participatory budgeting without the government's backing. In short, the administrative logic dominates and usually wins out in the Chinese participatory budgeting experiments.

<sup>12</sup> Lin Long and Hu Guoqiang, „Guanzhu zhengfu qiandai zi zhuanli baodao: Yusuan gaige zhi zeguo shiyan“ („A Special Feature on Taking Charge of Government's pocketbook: The Budgetary Reform in Zeguo“) *Minzhu yu fazhi (Democracy and Legal System)*, No.10 (2008).

<sup>13</sup> For a detailed description on this case, see Baogang He, *Deliberative Democracy: Theory, Method and Practice*, Beijing: China's Social Science Publishers, 2008, chapters 11 and 12.

## Work results of the table groups



At the individual forum tables, group sessions were conducted on the subjects that had just been presented. In this context, for example, the experience of participants from German cities such as Bremen-Tenever, Ludwigsburg and Offenbach and aspects of participatory budgeting projects outside of Germany were discussed, including the experience of two Polish NGO's, the Centre of Promotion and Development of Civil Initiatives from Lodz and the Association of Leaders of Local Civic Groups from Warsaw, as well as that of a representative of a housing administration company in Toronto, Canada.

The composition of the groups changed several times during the discussion period. The respective table moderators noted the results of the groups and presented them to the forum at the end of the discussion period. The moderator collected the points on a central list which was continued on the second conference day.

In the following, some of the main **discussion results** of the table groups from the first day are summarised and listed:

- The various opportunities and possibilities for civic participation in local politics that already exist are to be made use of.
- The solidarity of the civic body should be a political guiding vision.
- For political education, much stronger networking and coordination of the various actors involved is important.
- Good examples from other cities and countries are important for selling the concept of participatory budgeting to the people at one's own home.

- There must be no competition between political parties because cross party approaches are more useful for implementing a participatory budget.
- It is necessary to have an implementation strategy with actions, a schedule and financing.
- The procedure should combine top-down- and bottom-up approaches.
- Participatory budgeting projects must be realised in a timely manner so as to secure civic participation over the long term.
- The municipal budget crisis – “balancing the budget” – does not exclude the implementation of participatory budgeting at all; rather, it make productive use of the resources of citizens' knowledge and commitment.
- Regarding the “Federalism reform 3” in Germany: finances should be regulated across the country in such a way that the states and local authorities have some leeway again; then participatory budgeting will progress too.
- Citizens should also have more influence with the compulsory obligations.
- Thorough information and comprehensive mobilisation of the people are fundamental for the success of a participatory budget.
- Instead of complex, abstract questions, a participatory budget should focus on low-threshold projects with local importance so as to awaken the interest of citizens and maintain it over time.

## II. 3. Forum III: Social justice and gender budgeting

Workshop,

Moderation: Marlene Grauer and  
Florian Rister, teamGLOBAL



This forum was divided into three work steps on both days: first, the presentations were given, then there was a fishbowl discussion and afterward a moderated discussion round.

With the fishbowl method (inner / outer circle method), a small group of participants of the plenum discusses the subject matter in an inner circle (in a "goldfish bowl") while the remaining participants observe the discussion from an outer circle. If a participant from the outer circle would like to add to the discussion, he or she can trade places with a member of the inner circle.

The first presentation introduced the participants to the concept of gender budgeting. The notions of gender and gender mainstreaming were explained in detail in the interests of a uniform level of knowledge. The subsequent presentation illustrated the practice of gender budgeting in the participatory budget of Rosario, Argentina.

## Manfred Köhnen, Promoting equality (Germany): basic elements of gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting



### Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Budgeting – Introduction

Today, the term "gender" denotes the social gender. It comes from the Latin term, "genus" which is also often used to denote grammatical gender. Its meaning comprises the culturally determined gender roles, setting it off from biological gender. This cultural and social determination of gender does not in any way mean that these meanings can "simply" be selected. At the level of individual people, the notions of gender are very important for our identity because most people define themselves as women or men. This circumstance exerts an unconscious influence on our social interactions with one another in many areas of daily life. Usually it is helpful that presuppositions about gender do not need to be renegotiated in every interaction: these presuppositions are generally unconscious knowledge. Questioning this knowledge is uncomfortable and, for some, also psychologically precarious. Resistance against gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting often results from this psychological constellation.

At the social level, this social knowledge of gender is deeply anchored in our culture and our institutions.

Gender is always already mainstream. Gender mainstreaming means reassessing this circumstance and regulating it again where there is discrimination or inefficiency. The popular cultural perception of people can be characterised

through the following three points in which gender is perceived in a dual, polar and hierarchical manner.<sup>14</sup>

1. **Dual gender roles** are established. In our culture, gender is always thought of in terms of two possibilities: man or woman. If you try to find generally valid adjectives for "masculine" and "feminine", you will usually find out that these only apply to a certain social class, an age group or a certain culture.
2. Genders are usually thought of as **opposites, polar**. That is, each gender is described by separating it from the other, as with the attributes (strong / weak).
3. **And, finally, genders are often placed in a hierarchy**. Jobs are distributed based on gender and gender is unconsciously assigned to jobs (women's and men's professions). Work cultures and organisational structures are characterised in this manner.

As a result, the gender of individuals exerts a strong influence on their life situations, their perception and their setting of priorities.

**Gender mainstreaming is a strategy** which at first does not comprise any concrete material objectives. It means, above all, that all actors involved in decisions take – at all levels – a gender-oriented and gender-differentiated view with the aim of promoting equal treatment of both genders. In this, women and men should not be considered as stereotypes but in their diversity. The objective of equal treatment is systematically integrated into all procedures and instruments. The idea behind this is that promotional politics, e.g. for working women, cannot take full effect if there are also discriminating mechanisms in applying for jobs or positions and other personnel development procedures.

The **objective** is equal treatment of both genders. Gender justice in all areas requires changes in the life situation for both genders. The new thing is that with gender mainstreaming men are both addressees and actors of equal treatment. Gender justice can only be created when existing injustices are dismantled. Therefore, gender mainstreaming does not replace women's politics but supplements it and also often stimulates development of gender specific supportive measures.

Equal treatment objectives that are as definite as possi-

ble should be set in the context of gender mainstreaming and budgeting processes in the various policy areas. Then they will serve as orientation for the responsible experts in administration and be made accessible to political discussion.

The relationship between **Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Budgeting** has been defined by the Council of Europe as follows: Gender budgeting is gender mainstreaming in financial politics.

It means the assessment and reorganisation of financial politics with the objective of equal treatment. For sensible implementation, analyses of effects on equal treatment should be conducted at the specialist level and the results should be documented in compact form in the public budget systems. This requires closer cooperation between financial and specialist departments, or their policies. As with "normal" budget policy, the specialist levels have highly differentiated information such as, for example, the number of positions at a facility and what kind of events it conducts. With gender budgeting there would also be a statement of which equal treatment objectives are to be achieved how and how successful the given facility has been with this. At higher hierarchy levels such as the German federal parliament (Bundestag) only densely aggregated information can be used. What is the total cost of the facility's budget? The same applies to information about the effects on equal treatment.

#### Aggregation von Genderinformationen (nach Färber u.A. 2007)



*The higher up in the hierarchy from the beneficiary up to the mayor and senate, the more the gender information must be consolidated<sup>15</sup>.*

<sup>14</sup> Stiegler, Barbara (2004): Geschlechter in Verhältnissen. Denkanstöße für die Arbeit in Gender Mainstreaming Prozessen. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Download at: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/asfo/02613.pdf>.

<sup>15</sup> Färber and others 2007

When gender budgeting is being introduced, a portion of the budget items should be integrated into the gender budgeting procedure every year. In this way, one can ensure that all items will have been assessed after a pre-determined time.

The **budget process** in Germany is divided into **three phases**: preparation of the budget, implementation and control. During **preparation** of the budget, the budget items that have been selected should first be classified roughly (1) by relevance for equal treatment so that equal treatment objectives and target values (2), or indicators, can be set for these budget items. **Budget execution** is the phase in which any data that is required should be collected and the analyses of effects on equal treatment (3) carried out. **Budget control** in Germany is only carried out as an **audit** in respect to lawfulness and is undertaken by the audit department in question. During this phase of the budget, the specialist departments should assess whether the objectives envisaged have been achieved (target/actuals comparison (4)). In the last step, the actions indicated by this comparison (5) are recommended for subsequent implementation.

One of the pioneer institutions of gender budgeting was the Secretary of the Commonwealth. Their employees differentiated between **seven instruments of gender budgeting which start with evaluation at various levels of the public budgets**<sup>17</sup>.

1. Gender disaggregated benefit analysis
2. Analysis of public expenditures
3. Evaluation of political strategies
4. Analysis of tax revenues
5. Analysis of the influence of the public budget on the use of time
6. Approach of a medium-term finance planning
7. Gender conscious budget statement

There are two main starting points for a sensible connection between **gender budgeting and participatory budgeting**<sup>18</sup>:

1. **The budget information** is to be prepared in a gender differentiated way that is oriented to equal treatment
2. **The participatory procedures** are to be structured so that all target groups are reached equally well.

### Gender Budgeting im Budgetkreislauf



*Budget cycle (Roman numerals)<sup>16</sup> with gender-budgeting steps (Arabic numerals).*

<sup>16</sup> cf. Frey/Köhnen 2007

<sup>17</sup> cf. Dr. Frey nach Budlender / Sharp / Allen 1998 [www.gender-budgets.de](http://www.gender-budgets.de)

<sup>18</sup> cf. Färber, Christine (2009): Geschlechtersensibler Beteiligungshaushalt

The **preparation of budget information** is important so that citizens can adequately consider it in their discussions of the participatory budget. With preparation by the administration, the following questions should be considered: Have the budget items been selected so that topics relevant to equal treatment are affected? Who are the target groups? What are the equal treatment objectives? What is the effect of which budget items / products on gender relations?

A gender sensitive organisation of the **participation procedures** is important so as to ensure that all target groups are reached equally well. Civic participation procedures which primarily focus on the Internet as an instrument for participation tend to reach well-educated men of middle age while the elderly, women of middle age and uneducated classes tend to be underrepresented. Also, the design of the publicity about the participatory procedures can influence the participation of the various target groups. In sum, it is important to consider the following **questions**: Which methods reach which target groups? Are disadvantaged groups represented appropriately? Are the objectives of resource allocations a subject of the participation? Is the information about the budget and its effects on equal treatment comprehensible for everyone?

One **example** of a successful participatory procedure is the project council *Stadtumbau Ost* [City Reconstruction East] of Lichtenberg, a district of (the former East) Berlin. Here, there was the challenge that urban development is a highly complex and long term subject. The traditional modes of participation in urban development consist of questionnaires and hearings with residents. The participatory content of these participation procedures is low. The citizens who "just happen to be involved" have no opportunity to qualify themselves and argue at the subject level of the administration. For this reason, the project advisory council *Stadtumbau Ost* has implemented its model of long term, qualified civic participation. Citizens were qualified through further education and worked continually in various projects. This advisory council was moderated in a gender sensitive manner and used a gender checklist for its work. To reach a variety of women and men, various local groups including ones for young peo-

ple, seniors, emigrants, and handicapped persons were approached. In the meantime, the principle of the project advisory council has been transferred to urban development in Lichtenberg as a whole.

**Graciela Ciciliani,**  
**City administration, Rosario (Argentina):**  
**Possibilities and opportunities of gender**  
**budgeting in Participatory Budgeting**



In 1996, the local government of Rosario (Argentina) started a decentralisation process. The city is organized in six districts. The Participatory Budget was first implemented in 2002 by a Municipal Order. The Participatory Budget combines the direct participation of citizens and the election of delegates as well as the local government is made accountable to neighbours and the Government commitment to process and execute the priorities decided.

How is the Participatory Budget developed in Rosario?

There are **four stages**:

- the first round of district-based assemblies
- than the District Participatory Councils
- a second round of project selection and
- finally the closing assembly.

The **first round** of district-based assemblies is based on meetings where the district needs and concerns are discussed and known. The delegates for the District Participatory Council are elected. On March and April each year approximately 50 District Assemblies are held. Approximately 500 women and men councillors are elected by neighbours.

Once the First Round is complete, **District Participatory Councils** start meeting periodically under the coordination of District Directors. What do the District Participatory Councils do? They turn needs and concerns discussed in the district-based assemblies into projects and agree on



*Election of the councillors of the District Participatory Councils of Rosario.*

projects feasibility and cost with municipal areas. The councils define the list of projects to be considered in the second Round and control the implementation of projects voted for the previous year.

How are the district Participatory Councils organized? There are three Working Committees: the Social Projects, the Urban Projects and the Citizen Participation Commission.

In the **second round** of the Project selection is done in a single day, the selection happens simultaneously in all districts. Neighbours decide which projects to prioritize among those drawn by the District Participatory Council. The most voted projects in every district – up to the total amount allocated in the municipal budget – will be included in the Project for Expense Budgeting and Resource Estimate of the Municipality of Rosario. Since 2006, the electronic vote is part of the Second Round, for the selection of projects.

The **closing assembly** shows the balance of activities performed along the year. All projects and works to be implemented the following year are presented in a single meeting held by councillors.



*Gender and the participatory budgeting in Rosario, Argentina.*

Including genre perspective in all budgets means considering the different needs, privileges, rights and obligations that men and women have in society. The political commitment of Rosario local authorities to genre equality was present in the Participatory Budget from the very beginning. The mandatory number of women councillors is required in the General Secretariat Resolution 006/2003: "Participants in the Assembly with the capacity to choose councillors will vote a maximum of three candidates, and will respect genre proportionality of one third." Since 2004, the Women Area together with the Participatory Budget team has been carrying out this programme called "Participatory Budget and Women Active citizenship".

The programme develops **councillors training** meetings on: female identity, women social participation, social issues affecting women and the formulation of project. Non sexist language and non stereotyped images are used in all Participatory Budget public dissemination materials.

The programme's **actions focus** on:

- Stimulate women participation in the public realm
- Make this presence visible by breaking stereotypes.
- Reflect on women's perspective of the Participatory Budget, training them to influence on the definition of priorities and the allocation of municipal resources.

Participatory Budget women councillors were therefore trained to identify genre needs in their districts as well as genre-based public policies with female leadership.

The municipal plan for equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women, developed in the years 2005 and 2009, based on "**Women Participation in the Public Realm**". Its actions are organized to foster and strengthen women presence in the different stages of the process, to include their demands and genre perspective in every project. The actions put forth so far are the following:

- Parity in District Participatory Councils
- Playrooms
- Participatory Budget and Women Active Citizenship Programme
- Use of inclusive language and non-stereotyped images

To ensure equal integration of women and men in District Participatory Councils, neighbours should vote one woman and one man candidate at councillor's election.

So as to increase women participation in the Participatory

Budget in the First Round Assemblies, playrooms supervised by trained staff are implemented to look after the children that come to the Assemblies.

Since **2006** the **local authorities of Rosario** and **UNIFEM** have been working jointly in the context of the "Genre-Responsive Budgets" Programme. Its focus is on valuing and strengthening genre strategies already in the Participatory Budget. UNIFEM and the Municipality of Rosario signed an agreement on several actions within the framework of the "**Genre-Sensitive Budgets**" Programme:

- 1) Training of Participatory Budget technical teams in a genre perspective.
- 2) Training of technical teams on Genre-Sensitive Budgets.
- 3) Sensitising men members of technical teams in genre perspectives and in positive actions towards genre equality.
- 4) Reflecting on the social and political positioning of women councillors in public budgets.
- 5) Strengthening of the transversalisation of genre in the Participatory Budget Programme.
- 6) Strengthening of articulation and coordination spaces between the Women Area and the Participatory Budget.
- 7) Strengthening of actions included in PIO 2005-2009 under "Women Participation in the Public Realm".

The **actions impact of the Participatory Budget** can be clearly itemized year by year:

- 2003: No genre-based proposals.
- 2004: Three genre-based proposals across the six districts. They were not selected.
- 2005: Six genre-based projects were presented. They were all selected.
- 2006: All districts presented and selected genre-based projects. 15 projects were selected across the city.
- 2007: Just like the previous year, all districts presented and selected genre-based projects. The number of projects is similar to those selected in 2006, but more resources are allocated to them.
- 2008: Genre focused projects were proposed and selected at every district. A total of 17 projects were selected with an outstanding increase in the amounts allocated

**Reflecting** the experiences of the Participatory Budget in Rosario, we are considering an open process. The experience lived along these years lead us to discuss some issues that go hand in hand with the genre-based work ...

- Women participation in the Participatory Budget does not, by itself, ensure genre equality.
- Genre perspective is not just to formulate projects, it substantially changes the relationship between women and men councillors in discussions and in the decision making process.
- The political commitment of leaders with constant discussion and training is required and should be expressed in innovative tools to empower women and to achieve genre equality.

**Our conclusion:**

**As we enhance the Participatory Budget – we enhance our democracy!**

## Fishbowl discussion round

First, all the participants had the opportunity to exchange views on their own projects and to put further questions to the speakers. In the course of the discussion, the participants tried to clarify how gender budgeting can be integrated into German as well as European participatory budgets. The impulses gathered this way were combined and clustered on a pin board by the moderator team.

In a second step, the fishbowl round was ended and the aspects that had been gathered were treated in greater detail in a simple discussion. At this time, labels for the individual clusters were found and connections between the groups were clarified. The following four main topics were discussed:

### Communication

- The necessity of gender sensitive communication of the participatory budget both to citizens, so as to avoid the danger of one-sided participation, and to the local administration.
- Adequate communication to citizens can be ensured through transparent implementation processes and visible results such as successful implementation of projects and project budgets that were already made public during voting, for example on the Internet.

### Administration

- Further education of administration staff in gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting
- Classification of individual budget items by gender criteria
- Gender sensitive structuring of the needs assessment of the budget
- Collection and analysis of statistical data by gender criteria, too

### Anonymity of Internet participation & collection of gender budgeting data

- Experience with various participatory budgets shows that the number of participants is increased by a high degree of personal anonymity but not significantly decreased by simultaneous collection of social-statistical data.

### Equal opportunities & gender budgeting

- The question of whether gender budgeting should also include other marginalised groups could not be answered conclusively. Discussion of this question was continued on the second forum day.

## II. 4. Forum IV: Media, Modernisation and Evaluation

Podium discussion,

Moderation: Benno Trütken, forum b



The participants of this forum were introduced to the central topics of media, modernisation and evaluation of participatory budgeting by means of talks. As in the other forums, German experience and developments were presented along with farther reaching questions and solutions from other countries. On the first day, the latter were reports of participatory budgets in Great Britain and Africa. The African participatory budgets were primarily concerned with aspects of modernisation, good governance and participation. The talks from Germany offered insight into the evaluation of participatory budgets and into municipal practice regarding this participation instrument in Germany. The impulse presentations were followed by a discussion in the plenum and a subsequent discussion with all the participants of the forum.

## Prof. Dr. Helmut Klages, German Research Institute for Public Administration Speyer (Germany): Evaluation of participatory budgeting



### Why should a participatory budget be implemented?

A participatory budget offers citizens the opportunity to take active part in the structuring of their common living space – this is **living democracy**. It gives the municipal decision makers in the council and administration the opportunity to plan and decide not by going around the people but in agreement with them. Furthermore, a participatory budget gives the municipal decision makers a chance to balance the budget in a way that is supported by the citizens.

### Are these opportunities already being utilised sufficiently?

**Not yet, for the most part**, for the “consultation” is often just a company suggestions box; that is, apart from isolated positive effects there is no civic participation in budget planning and preparation. Apart from counter examples such as the participatory budgets of Porto Alegre, Christchurch and Freiburg for 2009 and 2010, in many cases only particularly active subgroups of citizens participate and some of the portions of the budget influenced by civic participation are only of the order of tenths of a percent. Also, the procedure is often lacking in transparency and not binding.

**The result** is that to the extent that this applies individually or overall, participatory budgeting is of little importance for the majority of citizens and decision makers alike!

### What can and should be done?

Civic participation goes beyond the company suggestions box. Provision ought to be made for **participation of citizens in the decisions on priorities** between the various task areas, within the task areas and between programmes and projects! Also, one of the objectives should be balanced participation of the entire population in respect to general accessibility, equality of participatory opportunities and inclusion of all groups, in short: **representativeness!** Transparency of the procedure and its binding nature must be ensured because **institutionalisation** is basic!

### How can this be done?

My proposal, which has already been adopted by a large city, is as follows. In a **first step** a representative survey (citizen panel) is conducted; here, it is queries about satisfaction, levels of importance and ascertaining differences. This gives rise to a **list of priorities**. In the **second step**, the citizens' priorities and the previous budget appropriations are matched. Consequences, which can also include cuts, are derived for the new budget. **Afterwards**, the citizens can submit their own suggestions, possibly decentrally and/or with separate budgets. **Finally**, the budget is prepared.

### Ruth Jackson, PB Unit (Great Britain): Evaluating participatory budgeting in the UK



#### Values, Principles and Standards of Participatory Budgeting

The first pilots of participatory budgeting in the UK started in 2006. It was funded by Communities & Local Government. Now there are over 80 different initiatives that are allocating up to £2.4million. In the UK exists a national policy strategy, including in Policing white paper. We talk about **four main models** emerging.

The **participatory budgeting in the UK has developed differently from rest of Europe**, it is non party-political and seen as an empowerment tool. It has a high level of centralised control. Not all services are controlled by the municipal government plus different layers of municipal government.

**What is the PB Unit?** This charity project was funded by Communities and Local Government to support and promote the implementation of participatory budgeting in the UK. Its work is nationally with actual activities in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. The participatory budgeting Unit developed the values, principles and standards with practitioners.

What is the **purpose of the values?** There are three main issues: it is to encourage projects to create excellent participatory budgeting practices which provide real long term outcomes. The participatory budgeting is seen as one of many empowerment tools and the values enable it to stand out as more than just a tool. The government support of

the participatory budgeting is good, but there is a danger that local areas will implement it as a 'tick box' exercise but with no real desire for the outcomes. The values help to ensure the good practice.

The **background** to the values is versatile. The National Reference Group (national strategic policy influence group) decided that values were needed in 2007. A small group of practitioner and experts met and agreed the basic parameters of participatory budgeting values in early 2008. The principles and standards were added to them by the PB Unit in 2008, who published the first document on them. It based on community development values.

**The values are:**

**Transparency:** Participatory budgeting processes are designed to give citizens full and clear knowledge of public budgets in their area, even those over which they do not have a direct say.

**Accessibility:** Participants have good and clear access to the participatory budgeting processes.

**Deliberation:** Participatory budgeting processes should take citizens beyond personal choice and involve real deliberation around budget decisions.

**Empowerment:** Participatory budgeting events are centrally concerned with empowering local citizens in decisions over local services and shaping their local area through allocating part of a public budget.

**Local ownership:** Residents should be involved in setting budget priorities and identifying projects for public spend in their area wherever possible.

**Mainstream involvement:** Over time processes should move towards residents being involved in decisions over mainstream budgets.

**Support representative democracy:** participation mechanisms such as participatory budgeting should support representative democracy rather than undermine it.

**Shared responsibility:** Participatory budgeting should build common purpose and commitment from all stakeholders

Since participatory budgeting started being implemented in the UK, the issue of evaluation has arisen. To date, the PB Unit has tended not to focus on evaluation and leave this aspect up to the individual initiatives themselves. However, we have begun to realise, over the past two years, with the

exponential growth in number and models of participatory budgeting in the UK, that a national perspective is needed for evaluation as well as a local one.



*For further information, there is a new publication 'Unpacking the values'*

**PB Unit evaluation development:** In looking at what information was available from existing initiative evaluations, the PB Unit found that they were in no way comparable. The quality, quantity and type of data varied considerably, and most evaluations were actually a narrative of the process with some qualitative statements about how successful certain aspects of the process the organisers deemed them to be.

We felt that to provide a **national perspective of participatory budgeting in the UK**, that **consistent data was essential** and some **guidance on self-evaluation** was needed. However, but if we simply provided tools and guidance without first seeking views of practitioners and other stakeholders, we would be in danger of providing something that wasn't needed, helpful or used.

Given the **voluntary nature of participatory budgeting initiatives in the UK**, the only way of **encouraging initiatives** to provide consistent data to the participatory budgeting Unit was **to provide them with tools** that they would find useful and helpful themselves. So in conjunction with Bradford University and Confédération Fiscale Européenne (CFE) consultants, we undertook a number of interviews with different stakeholders in four participatory budgeting areas and sent out questionnaires asking the same questions to organisers in 60 further initiatives – receiving back 20 completed questionnaires. We then held

a workshop with other stakeholders such as academics, consultants and evaluation experts to obtain their views on how we should proceed. **Collecting the information** from all these sources, we have now **produced a draft approach to self-evaluation for initiatives** and **developed a number of tools** which fit within the overall participatory budgeting process cycle. We are **currently testing the approach and tools** with five initiatives.

**Other evaluation research:** Communities and Local Government, the government department responsible for participatory budgeting policy and funding of the PB Unit, has commissioned two pieces of evaluation research which include participatory budgeting.

**The first was a systematic review** of written evidence for six different empowerment tools, one of which was participatory budgeting. The review was undertaken by De Montford and Southampton Universities and the written evidence for participatory budgeting mainly focussed on evidence not from the UK. Nevertheless, **the findings for participatory budgeting were positive**, especially compared with the other five initiatives. Using Boolean analysis they identified six possible factors which influence how successful a participatory budgeting initiative could be in delivering transformative change. Given that no field research was undertaken, we cannot determine if these findings bear out, although, from anecdotal evidence, we feel they are probably right. Both De Montford and Southampton Universities are undertaking further research into participatory budgeting.

**The second is a national evaluation of participatory budgeting in England.** The evaluation is focussing on 34 government announced pilot areas and not all initiatives in the UK. From the 34 areas, eight case studies have been chosen for more detailed analysis. The evaluation is being carried out by SQW consulting<sup>19</sup>. The brief from Communities and Local Government (CLG)<sup>20</sup> focussed on cost and benefit analysis, particularly financial. The evaluation is currently part way through and SQW have recently finished developing a baseline of information against which to compare ongoing data. Again, early findings from this

research do compare with what we know anecdotally, although we are concerned with the rationale for rigid cost and benefit analysis, particularly so early on in the life of participatory budgeting in the UK.

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.sqw.co.uk/>

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.communities.gov.uk/corporate/>

**Michaela Maurer, KGSt (Germany):  
Administration and introduction of  
participatory budgets  
Participation of the citizens in preparing the  
municipal budget – Utopia?**



Examples that are not just from Germany show there can be sensible, constructive participation of citizens in preparing a municipal budget. The **type of participation and the implementation** of the participation process **vary among municipalities**.

The **objective** of having a budget adopted by the political authorities after it has been actively co-structured by the citizens and thereby also accepted in its consequences **is the same with all municipalities**.

**Realising** a sustainable development vitally depends on **mobilising** a large number of social actors who then **participate**. At the same time, the financial leeway in German cities and communities is growing ever narrower. Painful cuts that are difficult to sell to the people are often necessary in budget planning. For the citizens of the municipalities, this means that offers they are used to are restricted or cut, charges are increased, new charges are raised, etc. In view of the precarious budget situation, criteria for setting priorities can no longer be developed with exclusion of the public. When citizens are excluded their willingness to understand and accept additional burdens is likely to be low. These are just some of the reasons why it is time to involve all citizens in the decision making processes that pertain to what happens with their tax money and what future municipal budgeting will mean.

The primary **task** of sustainable political education is to fetch young people and integrate them into the decision processes. How tight resources should be used in “their” community must be co-decided by them – the young people!

**Knowledge** of how participatory processes for budget preparation are to be effectively and profitably structured is **still fragmentary**. There are not yet any key values and criteria for procedures that can be applied – with special consideration of specific framework conditions of the municipalities – to plan and implement procedures or to evaluate them with regard to cost and benefit. On top of this there is the circumstance that new approaches like participatory budgeting are, so far, either not known or not known well enough among municipal decision making authorities, or they are partly tainted with fears, false notions and expectations with the result that the potentials of such participatory procedures are not (and cannot be) exploited. Furthermore, the budget is hard for citizens to understand.

On the other hand, **participatory budgeting** has **many municipal points of contact**. Since the beginning of the 1990’s it has been possible to tie it in seamlessly with the reform of municipal administration and the great variety of civic participation approaches. The development of municipal administration from an “order municipality” through a “service municipality” and on to a “citizens’ municipality” has been characterised by an increase in effectiveness, citizen orientation and contact, as well as efficiency and economy of public administration. These characteristics offer a variety of starting points for implementing a participatory budget.

The **experience** of many municipalities shows that participatory budgeting can be implemented and financed. Key **success factors and challenges** are the presentation of the opportunities and the boundaries of participation. One of the greatest disagreements connected with participatory budgeting lies in the fact that citizens and political representatives misunderstand the citizens’ options. The decision powers of the municipal council with respect to the budget are not affected by the fact that citizens participate; rather, it is a question of initiating dialogue and drawing on the knowledge and resources of citizens to shape the community’s present and future.

**Selecting sensible procedures and methods** is key, for a municipality with only 5,000 inhabitants requires different participation methods than one with a population of over 100,000. **There is no such thing as the method!** The objectives and structure of the municipality must be considered when selecting methods. It must be avoided that the expectations of the citizens involved run in a wrong direction and there are no “usable” impulses to be had from them; it must be avoided that the entire process degenerates into a musical request programme that cannot be realised or that only the “usual suspects” are active and lobby groups dominate events.

While it is desirable for a **variety of citizens to participate**, participation of the “general” public in municipal budget preparation has been marginal to date. Above all, it is the citizens who are not organised in a certain structure or lobby group who are barely or not at all actively approached or included. Participatory budgeting, however, aims to markedly broaden the circle of participants and potentially offer every citizen the opportunity to contribute and co-structure the situation.

Despite the great effort that participatory budgets require, they can be **success strategies for a more objective, appropriate budget**, increase acceptance of difficult budget decisions and generally strengthen the **credibility of democracy**. Citizens will regain a “we”-feeling – our town, our village – and early integration of young people will connect them to their community and to society. It’s well worth it!

**Prof. Dr. Norbert Kersting:  
Stellenbosch University (South Africa):  
Participatory budgeting and direct democracy**



The new instruments always guarantee multiple perspective teamwork that leads to better results in comparison with individual engagement or the engagement of experts. The basic principle is, to improve “the plurality through inclusion”. Here, the **selection of the participants plays a decisive role**. Are only those directly concerned supposed to be included or wider social groups? Are experts to be consulted or can layman include the perspective of their day-to-day lives? In this regard a return to the main idea of the concept of “governance” which inclusion of different organized, unorganized actors as well as politicians and administration seems to be important<sup>21</sup>.

The new political participation instruments are based on a collective intelligence. They are aligned on full inclusion and try to dismantle communication barriers. Simultaneously among other things, they orient themselves towards the Habermas theory of communicative action and therefore on deliberative democratic theory. Knowledge is perceived as “valued information”. The unrelated actions of single groups are seen as centrally problematic. Through a dismantling of hierarchy, the acceptance of the argument, mutual respect and a consent orientation, optimal results are reached in the discourse. The central criterion of success lies especially in the change of the point of view, **“Cross pollinating”**. Through the connecting of different knowl-

<sup>21</sup> Kersting, N. et al 2009: Local governance reform in global perspective. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag. Series: Urban and Regional Research International (URI).

edge types, an increased special rationality is to be reached. Next to expert knowledge, the expertise of the different interest groups as well as the knowledge of the concerned local groups is brought in.

**Dialogical procedures** are criticised that they, as a political network, exclude conflict decisions that are constructed on the consent principle. Accordingly problematic subjects are not taken up, that include serious negative changes for certain groups, e.g. budget restrictions, task scrutiny. In fact in countries where referendums and initiatives exist, such as Germany, some are focusing on privatisation and trying to avoid this<sup>22</sup>. New deliberative discursive instruments are therefore seen of little help if strong conflicts are expedited. On the one hand it is argued that in conflict cases unintentional homogeneity emerges in which single participants or entire groups leave the participatory process. These conflicts can be made to a taboo and are no further discussed within the group. In such a case is to be avoided that the discourse of negotiations develops into a non-concrete intellectual argumentation. For the participation process, this means that interests are no longer unambiguously presented, agreements become impossible and compensation as well as other instruments becomes a taboo. It is demanded therefore that in cases of the pure conflict between different interests it would be better to strive for opinion surveys or majority decisions (through referendums). Other strategies lay in the shift to abstract themes to avoid conflict. Then the discourse is dominated by academics, so that other groups may no longer participate. Nevertheless the praxis of participatory budgeting shows that highly conflictual issues can be solved using dialogical instruments.

It is often criticised that participatory processes are carried out too late and rather serves as symbolic instrument for the respective initiators. The moment of political intervention within the political cycle is therefore critical. That means that a participation as early as possible is important within a decision-making process. Does participation take place before the legislation process (designation of problems, "Agenda-Setting")? Does it take place during the legislation process (formulation of policy principles) or as a

feedback of political decisions (evaluations)? Therefore the correct timing of the inclusion also belongs to the evaluation criteria. This includes a pro-active acting of the citizens and a timely incorporation into the pre-legislative political process, i.e. discursive instruments should take place before the legislative phase in the political cycle.

Political participation rarely reaches full inclusion. Moreover political actors change and new young voters and citizen become part of the arena. For this reason political participation processes are often redundant and iterative. This is especially problematic for the political administration that is often confronted over decades with generations of the politically active. Due to that political participation not always touches the interest of political parties, parliaments and administration. Political participants and organizations seem to develop institutional defensive routines in order to reduce an exertion of influence from outside. Above all continuous institutionalized (!) ways of participation such as **Referendums** initiated by citizens are for the traditional politicians a type of "Damocles' sword". They have an important influence on the pre-legislative decision-making process and exactly at this point cause the reactions of politicians and prevent theme blocking ("non decisions"). Future development will produce a stronger concurrence of consultations, dialogical discourses and decisive referendums. Setbacks appear although strong pre-emptive effects develop from "bottom-initiated" referendums, where they are possible; and politicians try to embed decision in referendums. Referendums do not always possess an intensive positive dialogical process in the forefront of elections. If this dialogue does not take place, referendums are frequently the starting point for subsequent conflict debates. In this case, the alternation between direct and representative democracy did not function. Politicians often do not hesitate to reject unpleasant referendums decisions, if a critical mass in the population supports it. The legitimacy of the referendum decision is disputed. Little participation and the deficient discourse in the fore field are frequently criticized. This post-referendum discourse can be strongly conflictual and could have been avoided through a detailed discussion in the fore field. This "incorrect sequence" could

<sup>22</sup> Kersting 2004: Die Zukunft der lokalen Demokratie. Modernisierungs- und Reformmodelle. Frankfurt: Campus.

be avoided in the future if in the fore field of referendums formalised dialogical processes, e.g. participatory budgeting can be implemented. These can have effects on the conversion of the referendum, for example in form of lower quotas. These could also, the decisions preliminary participation process; further solve a dilemma of the referendums. So it comes often to – as the discourse in the fore field of referendums shows – a variation of the question setting. The original referendum text can however as a rule no longer be changed. An intensive discourse in Participatory budgeting processes or similar participation instruments could contribute to an objectification of the question formulation in the fore field of referendums. Dialogical instruments can to this extent develop an important rationality-potential for direct democracy<sup>23</sup>.

Because of the strongly institutionalized decision-making processes, referendums are a strong legitimate element for binding decisions. A future institutional engineering must develop a smart mixture of consultative, discursive dialogue instruments and binding referendums. Together, these instruments of theme orientated direct democracy, could become an important additional element to representative democracy and therefore good government leadership<sup>24</sup>.

In the end the new dialogical procedures strengthen the confidence between the different conflict parties. The new political participation instruments are "study places for democracy". The participation instruments have radiation effects into other political institutions and organizations, such as parties and parliaments as well as into the social and economic sphere, i.e. into employment, the family and the neighbourhood. Here they also strengthen mutual respect, empathy and a democratic consent finding. Therefore, these qualifying dialogical participatory instruments contribute to the further democratization and to the transformation and innovation of democracy.

## Discussion with the podium

Following the presentations, the participants from the plenum directed questions to the speakers. The lively discussion is presented in summary; individual aspects cannot be given here.

**Question:** Which hurdles have stood out so far with the "best practice" models of participatory budgeting?

**Answer:** Each municipality applies participatory budgeting in a different way. Development of a functional participatory budgeting model that is applied throughout the country will require both time and the will of politics, administration and the citizens inasmuch as all the actors should change their behaviour in a constructive way.

**Question:** Do local projects grow in England? Do the citizens want more participatory budgeting?

**Ruth Jackson:** Yes, there is always a strong desire for services at the local level. The first interest always pertains to the own living environment; the people are not interested in controlling how the budget is spent in other areas. This leads to a problem with participation in England: a self-selection occurs, that's why participatory budgeting in England is not representative. An improvement could be achieved through direct addressing and asking the people. Comparing with Germany is difficult because the local structures strongly diverge.

In South Africa only those participate in participatory budgeting who have time. They do not include the less well-off group.

**Question:** Where can **modernisation** of the municipalities be most strongly recognised?

**Answer:** The city of **Solingen, Germany**, [160,000 inhabitants] offers a good example. The inclusion and co-responsibility of the municipality takes place here in a democratic way through the method of collecting suggestions and asking about priorities. Through these means, it has been possible to find options for savings in times of crisis without affecting the citizens' priorities. Thus their quality of life

<sup>23</sup> Kersting et al 2008 Kersting, N. 2008 Politische Beteiligung. Einführung in dialogorientierte Instrumente politischer und gesellschaftlicher Partizipation. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften (Hrsg.) Lehrbuch mit Beiträgen von Philippe Schmitter, James Fishkin, Harrison Owen u.a.

<sup>24</sup> Kersting, N. et al 2009

has been impacted least of all and it has been possible to modernise the municipality anyway.

**Question:** Was the “big [beer] barrel” – the question of how much decision-making leeway the citizens are allowed to have – even opened at all? Is it not so, that civic participation has only taken place in small dimensions?

**Prof. Dr. Helmut Klages:** Here, there are **three municipal ventures** that I can identify to you for Germany. In **Nürtingen** [40,000 inhabitants] an alternative to participatory budgeting was applied, with establishment of topic oriented forums and various task areas. Representatives of the city administration and the citizens discussed the guiding ideas of urban politics for the medium term. This is a long-term method.

In **Groß-Umstadt** [21,000 inhabitants] there is a citizens’ assembly which is informed about the “whether” and “how” of the budget. After a subsequent discussion, the ideas of the citizens are collected; however, here there was no institutionalisation, accountability or selective acceptance of suggestions. In a second phase, the idea was expanded:



citizens could now submit their suggestions in writing and receive a reply from the town council.

In **Freiburg** [220,000 inhabitants], priority surveys were conducted for the participatory budget of 2009/2010 with three methods for ensuring representativeness: there was a citizens’ survey, an online dialogue and a citizens’ forum. Bringing the priority comments together resulted in almost complete agreement of the results: reduction of expenditures in the area of culture. The weakness of this participatory budgeting is the lack of a response to

the “demands” of the citizens and lack of implementation thereof. Furthermore, 95 percent of the participants said that the method of written surveys was the best.

**Michaela Maurer:** Participation of citizens in the budget is a big step. In practice, this step is usually only an interim solution, because the citizens do not decide on the full budget volume.

**Question:** On examining the **evaluation criteria and long-term effects:** Are the citizens at all aware of any improvement of the living standard that exerts an effect on satisfaction, as is presumed?

**Ruth Jackson:** Long-term effects have not been studied. But short-term effects allow positive expectations. In England there is most certainly a subjective improvement of the quality of life. Primarily through stronger PR, there is greater civic participation in the community.

**Prof. Dr. Helmut Klages:** An ongoing communication process of surveys during participatory budgeting lets one identify the areas in which the citizens have become more satisfied and where new needs are arising. Interim evaluations indicate effects.



**Question:** How can one ensure that **people who do not use modern technologies** are reached?

**Prof. Dr. Helmut Klages:** The problem can be **solved methodically**. It is true that there is a large discrepancy between a technologically oriented population and other people who are not technologically inclined. In Cologne, every 100<sup>th</sup> person actively participated in the online procedure: this rate is too low for “empowerment”. Here, **direct surveys** of citizens who are not technologically inclined and also of those who cannot read and write can help.

**Question:** Which approaches have been investigated to date? How does one reach the **minorities** of the population in Great Britain?

**Ruth Jackson:** Participatory budgeting shouldn't feel threatening for more participation. There is no need to statically choose people, it's more important that those who want to participate can be involved, rather than limiting their number.

**Prof. Dr. Norbert Kersting:** In England, the municipalities are organised differently; there tend to be more councils there and there are no parliaments at all. For a long time, even in English municipalities only administrative work was carried out and there were no referendums at all.

In Germany, participation of minorities is insisted on in a way that is not demanded in Great Britain. Viewed systematically, Germany stands between England and Switzerland at the municipal level.

**Question:** Wherein does the **value of participatory budgeting** lie?

**Answer:** Its strength lies less in tangible things and more in the way that citizens begin to **participate in their communities**. Furthermore, there is an intrinsic value for **voter turnout**, which improves with increasing budget participation. Thus both the **political culture** and the citizens profit from implementation of a participatory budget.

**Question:** Does participatory budgeting bring **modernisation of the culture in the administration**?

**Prof. Dr. Helmut Klages:** The citizens contribute good ideas that can actually lead to improvements of the administration's effectiveness and to modernisation. However this also necessitates changes in the administration as well as a qualification process with the employees.

Some questions could not yet be answered conclusively:

- How does one achieve empowerment and modernisation?
- To what extent does one actually want to let citizens participate in decisions that pertain to the budget?
- What is the best method for uniting many ideas? Is this the form of survey described by Prof. Klages?

The podium- and plenum participants agreed at the end that there is **no single unified method** for implementing a participatory budget. Municipalities should begin by conducting a participatory budget **with a small scope** and then **develop it in practice step by step**. The forum ended by calling on participatory budgeting not be content with a few marginal **parts of the budget but also to co-structure parts of the municipal budget that go beyond this**.

## III. Plenum

### **Film about Participatory Budgeting from the Global South: Fissel in Senegal – A 100% participatory and transparent budget**

Translation: Karin Casanova

Directors: Rodrigo Saez y Martín Toulotte,

Year: 2007

The film shows the latest developments of participatory budgets in Africa. The example of the Senegalese community of Fissel clearly shows specific characteristics of African participatory budgeting. A participatory budget was prepared in Fissel in 2003. The project was supported by the NGO *“innovation environnement développement, IED, Afrique”*.<sup>25</sup>

The Senegalese rural community of Fissel in Département M'bour has 28 villages, some far away from the others, with a total of 42,000 inhabitants. Like every rural community, Fissel has a community council whose competencies are similar to those of a mayor. In this region of Senegal there is a strong tradition of civic participation. In the year 2001, the civil society and the IED Afrique directed an inquiry to the community council about introducing participatory budgeting.

The **director of IED Afrique** says: “Initiation of the process ran through the civil organisations and not the community council. Our first concern while preparing a participatory budget was that the people think about the future development of their community.” The initiative RECODEF, Regroupement communautaire pour l'auto-développement de Fissel, offers education to citizens for such participatory procedures. **Sara Diouf, coordinator of RECODEF**, explains the project: “A total of 14 moderators were trained for the workshops in two subject areas – the influence of decentralisation on local development and the question of involving the people.” During implementation, a third subject became topical: setting up an evaluation system. “After completing training, we visited the villages; then came the idea of setting up a participatory budget.”

The **community councillor Khady Sene** says: “Participatory budgeting corresponds with the political persuasion of the mayor. It's easy to prepare a budget. Accountability to the

people for the budget is much harder. The mayor and the members of the community council agreed that they would prepare the budget with the people and justify it. This decision marked the start of the project. In a next step, we visited the people in the villages and explained what a budget is and which projects had been implemented in the villages most recently. We asked the people about their needs and encouraged them to get involved in the realisation of their needs.”

**How was this work organised on site?** First, there was a village forum in each of the 28 villages. **Yacine Diouf, chairman of the women's group GPF, Groupement de Promotion Féminine**, explains the procedure: “We let the village citizens work in groups. In each group there was a chairman and a reporter who later reported on the discussion in the plenum. It was interesting that very similar subjects were discussed in the various groups. The topic of water, for example, was discussed by the men, the women and the young people. We then revised the priority lists with the individual groups. Similar topics were combined, others crossed off. These priority lists form the basis for the forum to follow in which all village residents take part. There, there is a discussion under the guidance of a monitor until the people have agreed on which problem must be solved most urgently. This is noted as the first priority. Then we go to the second priority and continue in this way until we have listed the ten most urgent problems of a village. Then this list is integrated into a village action plan.”

In each village forum, two representatives are elected to represent the village in the delegates' forum. **Yacine Diouf** explains: “The procedure in the delegates' forum is the same as in the village forums. First we consolidate suggestions and then we look to see how many villages have the same priorities. In the following discussion, the village delegates try to persuade each other of their priorities. Then it becomes clear what the most urgent problems are and a ten point priority list is drawn up.”

Now the village delegates meet with the community council in the community forum. They report to the council on the priorities and the council evaluates whether these items can be realised with the available financial means. Then a committee is elected for accompanying the project implementation.

<sup>25</sup> <http://www.iedafrique.org/>

The community councillor **Khady Sene** explains: “Each village sends a delegate to this committee. At the moment, all the members of the committee are representatives of the civil population. None is an elected politician. That is important because the task of the committee is to monitor implementation of the action plan. We tried to persuade the people that they should be accounted to regarding the status of implementation.” The president of the community council, the mayor, explains the revenues and expenditures of the community in detail.

**Why does participatory budgeting work in such a place as the rural community of Fissel?** An important reason for this development lies in the **personality and political convictions of the mayor** who sees his role as follows: “I was elected and therefore I have a mandate from the people. My task is to serve the rural community. I am not a boss but a servant. I have been called to ask the people about their concerns and problems and to find suitable solutions together with them.”

The **training of civil actors** through IED Afrique is also important, in addition to the convictions of this mayor. The director of this NGO explains: “We are setting up a programme for promoting specialist knowledge. In our first training round, it was about the decentralisation process itself. In contrast to earlier projects, not only politicians were trained. A decisive mistake of earlier projects was that the public was not trained. This time, 14 moderators were selected from the general public on the basis of various criteria agreed with the people and then trained to lead the village forums.”

**How could the training of broad social strata as in Fissel be transposed to other regions?** **Bara Gueye, director of IED-Afrique:** “The director of the office for decentralisation often took part in the sessions of the participatory budgets in Fissel and Niagianau. First, as a helper, then increasingly as representative of the nation. We now work closely together with the office for decentralisation to make participatory budgeting part of the effort to promote participation in general. The objective is to anchor participatory budgeting in the law.”

Participatory budgeting is also important because **participation of women** is made possible in this way. **Yacine Diouf** explains why it is not a matter of course in Fissel that women be involved in public affairs: “In our tradition,

when a woman is in the company of men she should just speak when spoken to. When women are by themselves, however, they are well able to formulate their needs very clearly. That is why the working groups are segregated by gender.”

Despite the successes of participatory budgeting, the people in Fissel have a long way to go before they will have set all the **difficulties** aside: thus, for example, the tax revenues that fail to materialise. The **chairman of the budget committee** explains: “To ensure financial continuity, we must depend on the revenues through the community tax. The tax receipts should be five million – up to today, we have only received 250,000.” The **village chairman** makes a suggestion **for solving this problem:** Obviously payment of the community tax causes problems. We must get the people to turn to the community, the prefecture or some other actor if they cannot pay.” Unfortunately, not all the elementary needs of the people can be covered with the financial means available to the rural community of Fissel. This is complicated by the fact that the community cannot decide in all areas that affect it and is thus dependent on cooperation with other actors.

The **mayor** on this: “We tell the people what our competencies include and what not, also which tasks are not covered by the budget of the community. We promise the people that we will also represent their interests viv-à-vis the government.”

Participatory budgeting, considered as a community work of the people and the community council is important because it makes an important contribution to democratisation and development of the rural population of Fissel.

#### Online version of the film:

[http://www.oidp.net/es/v\\_mediateca3.php](http://www.oidp.net/es/v_mediateca3.php)

**Dr. Giovanni Allegretti,  
Centro Estudos Sociais (Portugal):  
International cooperation networks for  
participatory budgeting. Possibilities  
of cooperation for local authorities**



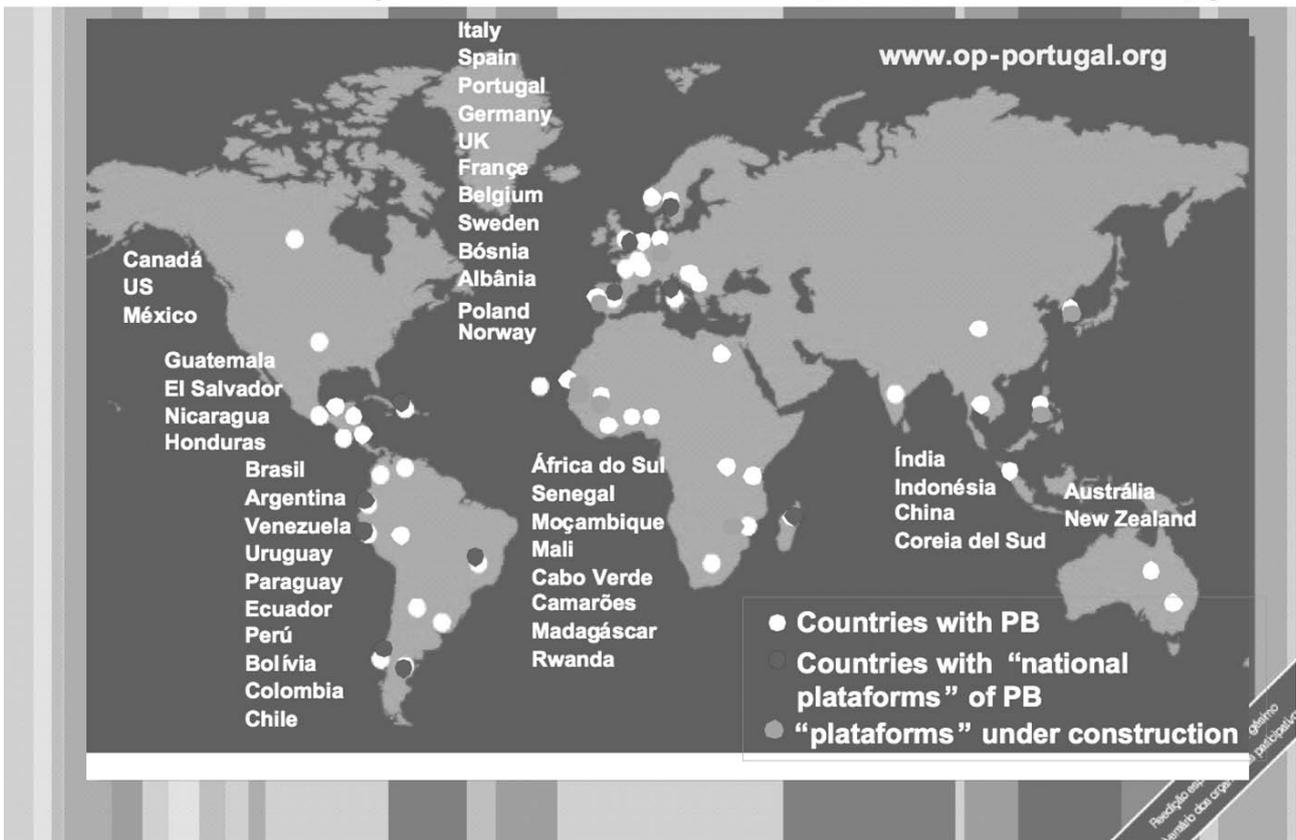
My task today is to analyse an issue which could disseminate **optimism**. This is the work and effects of national and transnational participatory budgeting networks. Which are the possibilities to work within those networks? Participatory

budgeting can be an important issue but it's not necessarily the only one. Separating it from the valorisation of other progressive managing tools can be a mistake, for instance in moments of critical situations like the current financial crisis.

The map below shows the countries in the world counting examples of participatory budgeting (white spots). The red spots represent those which also can count on national exchange platforms of participatory budgeting. The yellow marks indicate countries where platforms are under construction.

*A plural world of different participatory budgeting experiences – where to find examples of participatory budgeting and spaces of interchange and dialogue among them ...*

**MAP of COUNTRIES WITH PB and NATIONAL PLATFORMS (formal/informal – top down/bottom up)**



The networks existing at the moment are quite different one from the other. A special **“umbrella networking meeting”** will take place in March 2010 in Rio de Janeiro, during the 5th edition of the United Nations’ World Urban Forum, and definitely it will show this wide range of asymmetric experiences. In some cases, there are networks working under a formal structure. This is for example the case of **Sweden**, where the National Association of Municipalities and Regions (SALAR-SKL) organised a special network within a mid-term project on “Enhancing Democracy and Social Dialogue”. Another network existing in a more formal way is the case of the **Brazilian** one, the “Rede Brasileira de OP”, funded in October 2007, which today counts on 27 municipalities connected<sup>26</sup>.

In **Spain**, we assist to a two-track dialogue: on one side there is a National Network of Spanish cities experimenting participatory budgeting called “Red Estatal de Presupuestos Participativos de España”, funded 4th July 2008<sup>27</sup>. This is a well organised net with annual meetings hosted by different cities in rotation. There is also a formal working group on participatory budgeting within the Spanish Association of Municipalities. But the second working group is less organised, visible and productive, although being a very important tool from an institutional point of view.

In **other countries** networks rely on the will and capacities of a centre of resources, like in **Germany**, this is working to build a solid permanent network. It is also considerable as a network, because the concept of “network” is a large one, and maybe the term ‘network’ has just to be formalized in cases such as this.

Those kinds of networks which are under construction are often starting from a “development partner-structure” like NGO’s or resource centres. Other examples could be found for example in **Portugal**, where the partnership between the Centre for Social Studies of Coimbra University and the NGO In-LoCo has been the promoter of three yearly-repeated

national meetings of Portuguese participatory budgetings. In this case, a very useful start-up was provided by the EU-funded “EQUAL” programme, which gave origin to the training national project called “participatory budgeting in Portugal: more participation for a better democracy”.

Also **Senegal** organised an important “movement” on participatory budgeting around the NGO “Enda TM”, and **Cameroon** gathered a dozen of participatory budgeting’s thanks to the work of the NGO called “ASSOAL”. So they maintain a sort of “artificial” but very important dialogue between examples acting as observatories of change.

One important institution in **Latin America is CIGU**<sup>28</sup>, Centro Internacional de Gestion Urbana. It has been acting for several years as an important and pivotal centre for promoting urban reform and local innovation of management, especially dealing with participatory approaches. When UN decided to close it, many of the actors decided to create an NGO which could continue its work. Since then, CIGU has been very important in promoting participatory budgeting as a main tool of innovation for local policies, also in Europe and Africa through transnational programmes. One of CIGU’s main partners was MDP-ESA<sup>29</sup>, the Anglophone branch of a pan-African resource-centre that is working with the support of several programmes of the Worldbank and UN-Habitat<sup>30</sup> giving birth to a sort of informal network which established links between politicians and technicians in different African municipalities.

For the **Southern World countries**, some exchange projects of the European Union have been important. For example, through **German and Spanish cooperation**, the **Dominican Republic** is working on large programmes of participatory budgeting spreading, and **Spain** its also helping the **Senegalese** network of around 25 institution developing participatory budgeting. **Swiss cooperation**, through the SAHA programme<sup>31</sup> was able to set a solid network for exchanging experiences in **Madagascar**. As

<sup>26</sup> [www.pbh.gov.br/redebrasileiraop](http://www.pbh.gov.br/redebrasileiraop)

<sup>27</sup> [www.malaga.es](http://www.malaga.es) / <http://redfal.org>

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.cigu.org/cgi-bin/cigu>

<sup>29</sup> <http://www.mdpafrica.org.zw/>

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.unhabitat.org/>

<sup>31</sup> [http://www.deza.admin.ch/de/Home/Laender/Ost\\_und\\_Zentralafrika/Madagaskar](http://www.deza.admin.ch/de/Home/Laender/Ost_und_Zentralafrika/Madagaskar)

it's clear, there are many possibilities of exchanges, but they are not necessarily working through associating administrations.

A new recent phenomenon is that of **transnational networks**. It happens that participatory budgeting is not their only focus, but a major issue. Some of the international networks, as well as national ones too, are built around different actors in the municipal domain: so, not only mayors and councillors, but also NGOs, universities and social movements who interact with similar actors in other territories.

It's important to underline that **among transnational networks** we have several different typologies: (1) **networks which start with a technical point of view** and (2) **others that are more political-oriented**. The majority of world networks are concentrated in the domain of those politically-committed with a voluntary structure.

The different kind of **transnational networks** can be divided into **formalized** and still **informal ones**. Some of them are induced and stimulated by "funded programmes". There will be convergences because those **based on political commitment** usually are more excludent because they rely on ideological affinity. They are mainly based on discourse, more than practice but they are also long-lasting, because of a more internal cohesion. While those **based on projects** – like the funded projects of the EU or international institutions – are more inclusive. They don't select members for having a similar ideology. They sometimes produce more practical results, but they expire with the end of the project and the end of the funding. So, they tend to be more **ephemeral** than the politically-committed networks. In Germany, the project called "Cities of tomorrow" was one of these kinds. It died in the beginning of this century, but it probably left bilateral relationship among some of it towns.

What lessons can we learn from this brief panorama?

**First** of all it is important to have a **variable geometry and a mix of different actors** who help to reduce fragility and volatility of the networks. Different actors usually guarantee more strength.

**Secondly** we have to imagine evolutionary networks in which **participatory budgeting is readable as one of possible issues, having "a political soul and a technical heart"**. Both dimensions are important and inseparable, but if it doesn't foster an evolution of the technical machine, it will not produce very effective results. Discussing "budgets" means facing an issue that has also highly "technical" contents, while dealing with the "democratization of politics". Networks would have to promote a balanced reading of these two dimensions to make the urban management really evolve...

**Finally** the **mechanisms of networking are not necessarily "oriented-to-evolution"**, being that they can contribute to spread the idea that "minimum standards of consultative participation" could be enough to satisfy the expectations of many inhabitants. Some training sessions on participatory budgeting provided by the World Bank or other international institutions, especially in Africa, often evidenced the risks of "diluting" the idea of committed and radical hypotheses of participation, spreading "light" models of participatory budgeting (Sintomer, Herzberg, Allegretti, 2010) and making them be accepted as "noble" forms of participation.

**Three short examples** to show you that these networks **offer space for German municipalities too**:

1. The first case is a technical and political network based on a funded project; it's the **URBAL network on participatory budgeting**<sup>32</sup>. European Union created the URBAL as a cooperation programme, a space of dialogue between European and Latin American cities. Among the ten networks created within the URBAL line, all dealing with different thematic issues, one, the n° 9, was especially dedicated to participatory budgeting. It ended in 2009, but it did not die. The network of cities which took shape within the URBAL n° 9 helped to create a sort of "critical mass" that is still acting in the new URBAL call for project which opened last year.

2. The second example is **LAF/FAL**, the Local Authorities Forum for Social Inclusion<sup>33</sup>, a „migrating network“ of cit-

<sup>32</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/latin-america/regional-cooperation/urbal/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/latin-america/regional-cooperation/urbal/index_en.htm)

<sup>33</sup> <http://esf2008.org/registrations/red-fal-foro-de-autoridades-locales-por-la>

ies born in Latin America. The LAF/FAL saw the light in 2001 in Porto Alegre, Brazil, to host local representatives participating at the first World Social Forum. Seven international editions have been organised so far in different countries, together with several regional ones. They were mainly connected with European or American Social Forum events. Today LAF/FAL is a multitasking and multiactorial structure, committed in promoting experiences of social inclusion and participatory democracy, and in creating a meeting space to foster the dialogue between local/provincial/regional institutions, on one side, and organisations belonging to civil society and social movements, on the other.

**It still exists as a space to promote participatory budgeting but the focus changed: Participatory budgeting is still important, but in its relations with other governance innovations.**

LAL/FAL **main limits** are the leftist vision of its “core participants” which could be felt as a “restricted family” and prevent others – with a different political vision – to participate. Furthermore, there are so many events to be coordinated that participating requires investments. The third limit is that it is a “headless” and “informal” network, a nature which weakens the work in electoral periods. But, for example, many documents also include English translations, so to dialogue with African or American institutions. Why not taking profit of this opportunity?

The **main positive aspects** of the LAF/FALnetwork are its migration around the world and participatory budgeting is one of its central issues. It generated sub-networks and a “formalised arm” which is under the United Cities and Local Government (UCLG)<sup>34</sup> protection. There are strong contacts with the Global South in a perspective of “learning together”. The FAL developed good guidelines for participatory budgeting as the “Malaga Charter” and the “Antequera declaration”. At present is working for the construction of a world platform of participatory budgeting as a sort of “umbrella organization”.

3. The last example is the **International Observatory of Participatory Democracy**<sup>35</sup>, OI DP, which originally was

one of the sub-project of the URBAL programme. Today, it is independent and became a network of cities and research institutions based in Barcelona, whose municipality funds it. Its **main limits** are the centralisation in Barcelona and the investments of a lot of events. One **main positive aspect** is a more open attitude towards different political opinions. It provides more concrete technical work through thematic groups and English is the general formal working language. Within OI DP there are strong contacts between the North and the Global South, in a perspective of “learning together”. This is obvious in the annual conference of OI DP which alternates every year between North and South venues. The next event will be the X OI DP Forum in Mexico City in November 2010.

These **three experiences are inseparable**. Their common element is to propose the vision of a “city playing actively in the international domain”. Networks are conceived as “multilateral spaces” where bilateral relations can be activated and strengthened, and the discourse can find support in exchanging experimental practices. They have been able to merge those “beliefs” in cooperating with the global South, using funding of NGOs and national agencies, but maintaining a “municipalist approach” centred on the exchange between local territories in the world scenario.

The **personal commitment of each one of German cities is very important** for contributing to overcome the limits of these networks. Prevailing languages are just motivated by the present national belonging of member-cities. They all are open to extend their range and to communicate with other country context. Joining these networks can give the German cities something useful in term of contacts, exchanges, ideas. They can strengthen your practices, sharing mistakes and creativity, giving you the impression of not being alone, but a part of an important critical mass which may change things around the world.

Till now, critical masses have been responsible of important central government acts in several countries – look at Korea, Peru, Dominican Republic, UK and Senegal – which have been helping participatory budgeting to spread and formalize new partnerships.

<sup>34</sup> <http://www.cities-localgovernments.org/> It is called “Committee on Social Inclusion and Participatory Democracy” (CISDP), and it is based in Barcelona.

<sup>35</sup> [http://www.oidp.net/angles/h\\_que.php](http://www.oidp.net/angles/h_que.php)

The “World Report” that InWEnt funded shows clearly that many new possibilities are open, especially in the dialogue with the South. New instruments are coming out to spread knowledge in several languages, with the support of UN and EU-funded programmes. There are some handbooks to share experiences, but still no German one. Maybe it’s time to create a handbook in German, too!

Thanks a lot for your patience and enthusiasm.

## IV. Work Forums

### Second Day, Friday, 22 January 2010

On the second congress day, the forums of the first day were repeated with changed thematic points of emphasis. The inputs and discussions of the forums supplemented and further developed the forum results of the first day.

#### IV. Forum I: More Examples

Impulse presentations with commentaries  
and subsequent discussion  
Moderation: Volker Vorwerk, buergerwissen



Forum I continued the discussion of German and international experience related to participatory budgeting. On the second day, participatory budgeting of a large municipality, Berlin-Lichtenberg, was presented. This was followed by a report from Seville, Spain. The forum concluded with an overview of the participatory budgets in Africa. Discussion of questions from the audience was followed by a summary.

#### Christina Emmrich, Mayor of Berlin-Lichtenberg (Germany): Participatory budgeting in large cities: Berlin-Lichtenberg



**A participatory budget is being conducted for the fifth time** in Berlin's administrative district of Lichtenberg. Lichtenberg has 13 "city sections" [Stadtteile], whereby the word „city“ in "city sections" refers to Berlin. The 13 city sections in Lichtenberg are home to approximately 252,000 residents. Lichtenberg has 81 day care centres for children, 49 recreational facilities for children and young people, 150 playgrounds, 8 recreational facilities for seniors, 23 nursing homes, 100 sport clubs, 53 general education schools, three universities, three vocational schools, four libraries, a music school, a community college and numerous cultural facilities.

**Five participatory budgets** are currently being processed in parallel: in addition to the follow-up (rendition of account) for 2009 and the sessions for the budget of 2010, the next budget, for 2011, is being prepared and then there are the planning figures for the two years to follow. From the very beginning the objective has been that the participatory budgeting should not be a top-down matter but should be taken on by the citizens in the future. The experience gained so far shows that participatory budgeting is a building block of the civic community, that structural conditions must be given, that comprehensibility of the budget (transfer of knowledge) is basic and that transparency and the binding nature of the budget are essential elements. That is why it is a declared **objective** of the district office and administration to move toward a civic community. The model

of the Lichtenberg district office is oriented to the democratic and self-confident participation of the people in the options available for shaping the district and to creating the optimal conditions that are required for this. Thus the activation of civil engagement plays a basic role on the route to a civic community. Participatory budgeting in Lichtenberg has developed as a prerequisite for taking this route and as an important component of the community concept. Participatory budgeting and a civic community are inextricably tied to Lichtenberg.

The surprising thing is that **it is being taken over by the people** after only five years. Decisive for success is that participatory budgeting is not a project of political parties. Of course support from the parties is indispensable, but the project is not allowed to be instrumentalised by the parties. The administration, as a participating actor, is included from the beginning on.

The budget must be **comprehensible**; that means there is a readable preparation of the entire budget, a budget analysis. Citizens are comprehensively and continually informed of the budget. The discussions are related to life situations on the basis of products and not budget technicalities. There are no taboo subjects and conflicts, differences in interest are openly called by name.

There is **transparency** with regard to the participatory procedure, the budget situation and decisions as well as dealings with the individual suggestions. The budget's binding nature comes about through public accountability of the district assembly vis-à-vis the citizens; i.e. which suggestions are being included in the budget and which are being rejected, each with justification. The **budget is also binding** with regard to the district office's explanation by the of proposals that are of a general nature or lie outside of the controllable obligations. It is the obligation of the administration to regularly report on the type of implementation of suggestions of the participatory budgets. Also, a target-performance analysis of actual realisation of the suggestions is drawn up, implementation of the suggestions in the context of budget management is controlled in coordination with OE<sup>36</sup>-management and the public is regularly informed of the status of implementation. This lively, active

reporting renders implementation visible and tangible for the people. Through this, motivation grows because results can be recognised.

The top-down process that is characteristic for Germany is, in Lichtenberg, on its way to being **replaced by acceptance of responsibility by the people**. The sponsors of the city section work have been successively integrated into the organisation and conduct of the process since the participatory budget of 2009.

With the benchmark paper for participatory budgeting 2012, which is currently in the resolution phase, this responsibility will be further developed. The concept gives cornerstones and transfers the concrete structuring possibilities that have emerged from the discussion process to the city section centres.

The dialogue with and between citizens, administration and political bodies, which is oriented to the city sections, is conducted in a great variety of events. The objective is to work out suggestions for participatory budget and to ensure that the objectives of the city sections are developed. Participatory budgeting, which has been set up as an ongoing and thus living process, is accompanied by participatory evaluation. After each run, an open workshop is conducted with involved actors and interested citizens. The insight and experience gained here flow into the current process on a regular basis.

#### **What has been particularly successful?**

Establishment of a clear regulatory framework (participatory procedure) and compliance with these rules. Also, clarification of which framework is to be discussed – in other words, the content and the scope of funds. A 3-way procedure with a clear scheduled preliminary round for actual preparation of the budget plan and changes in the procedure make it possible to prepare a regulatory framework in which all actors can participate and find themselves.

The **3-way-procedure** is comprised of the written participation, the citizen assemblies, in Lichtenberg: a combination of city section conferences and the online dialogue on the Internet. Written suggestions can be submitted all year round; they are each allocated to the appropriate ongoing procedure. Voting takes place in writing via the households

<sup>36</sup> OE: abbreviation for organisation unit

survey in September/October. The city section discussion takes place in Lichtenberg in the form of city section conferences; as of 2012 there are to be various additional events in the city sections from April to July. Suggestions can be submitted through [www.buergerhaushalt-lichtenberg.de](http://www.buergerhaushalt-lichtenberg.de) from April to July and discussed with other dialogue participants. The Internet proposals are voted on in September. In the future, the households survey will be made possible online as well.

There is an annual **target-performance analysis** of the participation concept, the criteria of which are the participation channels, the participation procedures, actual participation with regard to total number and social-demographic data, the products or performance fields as a basis for participation, the social-spatial effects and the intensity degree of participation of the organised versus the non-organised citizens etc. participatory budgeting in Lichtenberg is not fed from a "special pot"; rather, the taxable portion of the budget is used for this. The budget in Berlin-Lichtenberg comprises 576 million €, of which almost 90 percent are obligatory payments. This leaves 32 million € as the subject of participatory budgeting. The lump-sum investments of approx. 5 million € per year are also a component of each participatory budget.

Last year, voting was took place on a "voting day" for the first time. Voting was conducted by the social-cultural centres and independent sponsors in various places of the district. 2,600 residents turned out to vote. The suggestions were worked through in the city section conferences. There is an exact system for this: there are 13 city sections and five suggestions can be made in each of them. These form the suggestions pool on which a vote is taken. Further suggestions that were less popular in the 13 city sections are not considered for the final list.

The district assembly is currently discussing the suggestions which are to be taken up in the budget for 2011.

The administration of the Lichtenberg district office is working on five participatory budgets in parallel: For 2010, for example, this means:

- Final report on implementation of the suggestions for **2009**
- Control and reporting on implementation of the suggestions for **2010**

- Preparation of the suggestions for **2011** for the district assembly and integration into the budget plan for 2011
- Coordination of the participatory procedures for **2012** including moderation of online participation and evaluation
- Conceptual preparation of the participation procedure for **2013**

Each year Berlin's district of Lichtenberg spends 60,000 € on participatory budgeting. This is used for the Internet presentation, brochures and rentals of event space.

The instrument of participatory budgeting allows a **win-win situation for all involved**: the citizens gain more transparency, a say on the budget and requirement-suited priorities and they see they are taken seriously. Political bodies gain objectivity and higher quality of budget-political discussions, more legitimacy and more identification of citizens with the community. The administration gains more information and proximity to the people, as well as more transparency in the setting of priorities.

## Dr. Ernesto Ganuza, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Spain) Sevilla: A Porto Alegre in Europe?

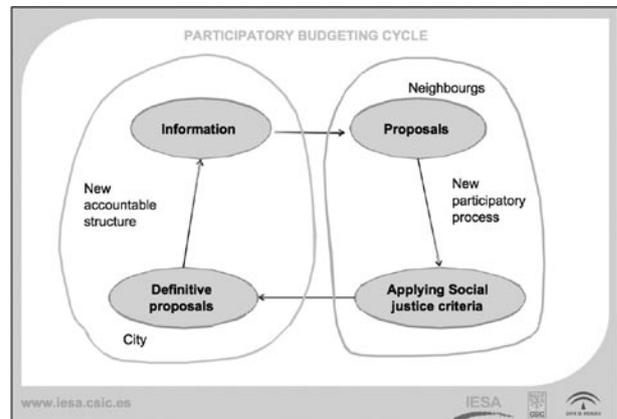


Porto Alegre got to put an idea in the world handbook: it is possible to engage citizens in public decision making process and keep both administrative efficiency and representative system. In Spain participatory budgeting means for everybody to engage citizens in public decision making process. To do so many participatory budgeting – like in Sevilla – apply a similar methodology trying to fit into European democracies.

These **are the main features of the participatory budgeting in Sevilla**: It is a decision making process (deliberation) with a universal participation and public meetings. There are internal rules which are decided by the participants. The process is subject to social justice criteria to allocate public resources. We recognize a new participatory and new accountable structure. Consequently it's necessary to give information to all interested people.

The **new participatory process consists in**: public meetings and universal participation. Deliberative rules have to be obeyed. Meetings between experts and citizens are organized. Discussions about social justice criteria give the priority to proposals which improve worse neighbours or have a positive influence on many people.

This creates a new accountable structure: first there is a structure of coordination within administration created. There is a council of participatory budgeting which is evaluated and controlled by citizens. The outcomes are public and it's possible to account the government.



The **outcomes of the participatory budgeting** are various: it has an influence on a small part of public resources. It's difficult to show its outcomes regarding social justice criteria, but participatory budgeting has changed the way of thinking about participation. The new accountable structure is weak and it depends on politicians or the city council, but Sevilla developed a very democratic procedure of social control. The new participatory structure has opened a conflict between old and new ways of participation (who should participate?). Finally participatory budgeting yet seems to offer a small room for experiments; it's not a way to manage administration as it was in Porto Alegre.

**In Conclusion there remain some questions**: Would it be possible to translate a similar methodology to Europe? Is it worth to engage citizens to talk about the public? Is it worth to introduce deliberative tools? Is it worth to talk about social justice criteria for public resources allocation? To what extent citizens can be engaged in public administration? Will it be a political, consumption or a passive role?

**George Matovu, MDPESA (Zimbabwe):  
Participatory Budgeting in Africa  
The Experience of Africa in  
Participatory Budgeting and Budgets**



My purpose is to share participatory budgeting mechanisms in selected African countries with you. **The key messages are:**

- Participatory budgeting in Africa is emerging as an effective tool in campaigns for realising good governance and improving generation of local revenues. It is revolutionizing public administration where community participation in decision making and governance are accepted and social accountability is becoming a principle.
- It is a redirect municipal investment towards basic infrastructure for poor neighborhoods.

In a number of countries the revenue side of local governments has not been performing well over the years due to political interference and poverty among communities. Quite often, both local and national politicians are not willing to tax their supporters. Lastly they lose the vote in the next elections. In Uganda, graduated tax was abolished without adequate compensation from central government.

The **meaning and implication of participatory budgeting in Africa** consists in being a mechanism that allows for **direct and indirect citizen participation** in all phases of the budget cycle, namely budget formulation, decision making, and monitoring of budget execution taking into account expenditure requirements and available income resources (Municipal Development Partnership – Eastern

and Southern Africa (MDP-ESA<sup>37</sup>). Participatory budgeting is intended to present an opportunity for a community to come together and discuss its unmet priorities and challenges and the potential within the community to address them. The process is expected to go beyond identification and prioritization of needs to engagement in program and/or project conceptualization, costing, expenditure and revenue planning, monitoring and evaluation.

Regarding the **general context of local governance** we see an urban population explosion, poverty, and rural decay. We are working to achieve the Millennium Development Goals and have therefore developed Poverty Reduction Strategies Papers e.g. Water and Sanitation, Housing, Infrastructure maintenance, HIV and AIDS. The Local Economic Development has to be seen in the context of crime, vandalism, violence and safety. Social services and mobility as well as accountable leadership are our goals as well.

**Where is participatory budgeting taking place in Africa and what is its level of sophistication?**

Participatory budgeting in Africa is still new. Of the 53 countries, there are now about 13 countries where it is known to be piloted: Cameroon (Doula), Ghana (Tema), Malawi (Lilongwe, Blantyre), Mali (Bamako), Mozambique (Dondo, Maputo), South Africa (Durban, Johannesburg, Buffalo), Senegal (Fissel and Matam), The Gambia (Banjul), Burkina Faso (Ouagadougou), Tanzania (Dar es Salaam, Mbeya, Singida), Uganda (Entebbe, Jinja, Soroti), Zambia (Kabwe, Kitwe) and Zimbabwe (Mutoko, Bulawayo, Gweru, Kadoma). Although it is not clear how many cities or towns are practicing participatory budgeting, recent trends indicate there is growing interest to pilot.

**Why should participatory budgeting be encouraged?**

The **technical aspects** are that it's an effective campaign tool for fostering good local governance – responsive to community needs, transparency, and accountability. It improves the budget targeting especially for the poorest of the poor. You can promote public expenditure transparency and accountability and increase efficiency and effectiveness in resource allocation. There are several **social aspects** like the promotion of local ownership of development. You can improve social accountability and the voice of the traditionally marginalized groups in equitable distribution of basic

<sup>37</sup> <http://www.mdpafrica.org.zw/>

needs such as: the provision clean water and sanitation services and health facilities. There are linking decisions to local preferences, too. Participatory budgeting supports to rebuild trust and confidence in local leadership resulting in effective mobilisation of local revenues. It gives meaning to an integrated strategic vision. Concerning the **political aspects** there are two main points: Participatory budgeting supports the deepening and consolidating local democracy and reducing political apathy and indifference. It is a catalyst for easing tension between different political groupings at local level.

#### **The frequently asked questions in our participatory budgeting context are:**

- Who initiates participatory budgeting?
- Does participatory budgeting change the role of the local government in budgeting?
- Who participates in the participatory budgeting process?
- How are priorities set out in a participatory budgeting process?
- Is participatory budgeting a substitute for elected councilors?
- If one group in the community fails to communicate its concerns, is it still participatory budgeting?
- Does participatory budgeting follow the same process everywhere?
- How can participatory budgeting be effectively implemented?
- Does decentralisation enhance participatory budgeting?
- Does participatory budgeting affect poverty reduction?
- How does participatory budgeting fit into the sphere of good governance?

There is a **paradigm shift** because participatory budgeting has marked a shift in the traditional thinking that budget preparation, execution, and monitoring was a preserve of the municipal treasurer and a head of departments to a participatory process characterized by dialogue, negotiation, and persuasion. The shift has changed the role of municipal staff to become a facilitators of public consultative processes designed to increase citizen participation. Community outreach by the mayor and leaders of civil society groups – Entebbe, Uganda. The purpose of the outreach is to (i) mobilise residents and (ii) reach out to members of Entebbe

community – the aged, disabled, who are unable to attend participatory budgeting meetings. However, processes are not yet as sophisticated as in Brazil where, e.g. (i) it involves elaborate systems of representation and participation at various levels (ii) involvement of GIS in determination of territorial investments (as in Porto Alegre). Or, as in Bello Horizonte where the city hall launched the digital Participatory Budget where citizens can vote through the internet on those works that they think are most needed, using computers installed in several regions of the city.

Regarding the **supportive national framework conditions** like legal, political, and institutional frameworks we can consider a constitutional and legislative support for decentralisation, participation, and inclusion as well as the political will and commitment to transformation of public administration. The participation in budget process is protected by law. There is an acceptance of the principle of subsidiarity and discretionary powers over resources. A general guide to local budget processes was created. The sound inter-governmental fiscal transfer mechanism is supported by an Act of Parliament. The existence of vibrant civil society organizations like Malawi Economic Justice Network, Uganda Debt Work, Institute for Democracy in South Africa show the dynamic evidently. There is a strong support from international community. The freedom to access information is constitutional.

National associations of municipal authorities are enforcing participation. The popular participation in budget preparation and execution seems to be more robust in countries where the right of access to information has been codified into law than countries where the right to information is yet to sign into law. (South Africa and Uganda compared to Kenya and Nigeria). This can be recapitulated:

**“Participation can be stifled, but cannot be completely ignored or denied.”**

**How a participatory budgeting takes place:** Start with the development of partnerships and alliances with supporting organizations and based on comprehensive mapping of key stakeholders and undertaking a situational analysis. Establish a shared vision and social contract regarding future expectations. Then followed by capacity building activities and establish clear-cut rules of the game, roles and responsibilities. The guidelines for participatory budgeting have to

be circulated to the public. Local media to publicize budget season has to be used. Elaborate participatory budgeting cycles that include: community outreach, deliberate inclusion of disadvantaged and marginalized groups of women, children, youth, the aged and disabled disadvantaged and marginalized groups of women, children, youth, the aged and disabled; sensitization through road shows and the media; establishment of technical committees and preparations of budget framework papers, budget conferences, additional committee, and finally council or ministerial approval.

- Participatory budgeting timetable that allows for continuous input into the operating and capital budgets, built-in monitoring mechanisms, and frequent reviews of the budget by all interested stakeholders.
- Prior development of an integrated two to three year development plan which identifies specific programs and projects to be carried out

In Entebbe, Uganda, the Mayor and his councilors attend capacity building work-shops that are intended to create awareness about the budget process. In addition, a wide range of promotional materials are produced and distributed widely to municipal officials, councilors and Entebbe residents.



*Effect of a participatory budgeting: a local clinic in Nansana, Uganda.*



*Effect of a participatory budgeting: Repairing a road in Mbeya, Tanzania*

**Studies reveal**, if a **participatory budgeting is genuinely implemented**, it can redistribute services in favour of the poor and disadvantaged communities, contribute to the creation of jobs through fostering local economic development, strengthen local democracy, foster innovative solutions and foster community solidarity. So in Mutoko Rural District Council in Zimbabwe, budget acceptance and ownership by citizens increased as evidenced by the reduction in the number of mass protests against tariff and user charges escalations by the Council. In Singida Municipality in Tanzania, revenue collection improved as a result of improved accountability and transparency in application of public resources.

### Challenges and possible mitigations

#### What are the hindrances to effective participatory budgeting dimensions?

**Political:** Participatory budgeting pilots in many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa are predominantly donor-led rather than communities driven and at central government level, there is often suspicion of donor-driven participatory budgeting. Also in many countries, it is a top-down process. At local level, there is often tension between officially elected leaders and community-based leaders. Tension is escalated in a multi-party democracy, leading to inadequate political will and commitment to sustain participatory budgeting.

**Financial:** There is often tension regarding the percentage and what aspect of budget should be put before the com-

munity for debate – one until 100 percent – operations, salaries and wages, capital investment. There is an inadequate technical budgeting knowledge by communities and limited discretion regarding local expenditure and revenue decisions. A widespread corruption at national and local government level discourages many citizens from participatory budgeting.

**Participation:** Disadvantaged citizens are often marginalised. Local government officials are often not conversant with what participation entails and often tend to be defensive and emotional when queries are raised.

**Gender:** Cultural and traditional attitudes continue to prevent women and youth from effective participation in participatory budgeting. Cultural issues are compounded by language barriers, timing and venue of participatory budgeting forums and conferences, literacy skills, and degree of outreach and information dissemination.

**Institutional and legal frameworks:** Existing laws are

not clear enough on what participation entails. Taxation and service delivery are disconnected. There is a lack of adequate feedback regarding progress on projects in progress or completed. The sustainability is kind of uncertain long-term.

**Territorial:** Intra-municipal decentralisation tends to be politicised. Capital investment decisions tend to favour rich neighbourhoods or high jacked by political elites resulting in many white elephants. There tends to be disconnecting between taxation and service delivery.

The emerging **principles of participatory budgeting in Africa** are versatile: It’s an inclusive process especially for the poor and other vulnerable groups. We have to recognize and respect local contexts and cultures and to identify and partner with protagonists. The recognition of gender and child dimension in budgeting is important as well as the support of capacity building to demystify the public budget.

Challenges	Mitigation
Securing ownership by both ruling party and opposition party	Obtain buy-ins from local politicians. Make participatory budgeting fora apolitical. Encourage co-ownership
Securing confidence and trust of both the rich and poor	Good communication and linking participatory budgeting to results. Obtain support from influential citizens
Dealing with multi-ethnicity, cultures, races, and occupations	Apply sensitivity and respect for local values
Civil society co-optation	Avoid clientilism practices
Securing adequate resources and technology for participatory budgeting	Institutionalize the participatory budgeting process and be transparent in resource application
Poverty, illiteracy and communication	Improve budget and fiscal literacy of all citizens
Building capacity in local government and civil society	Municipalities can partner with appropriate NGOs to provide capacity building
Balancing citizen expectations vs. limited local discretion regarding expenditure and revenue decisions	Set modest goals and share information with the citizens
Managing tension between councilors and opinion leaders	Encourage dialogue and institutionalize key principles of good governance
Quality of participation due to low level of education for some councilors and the high level of illiteracy among the local population	Build capacities of citizens. Avoid politicization of the participatory budgeting process
Sustainability	Lessen dependency on donor funding and avoid politicization of the participatory budgeting process

You have to establish clear rules, roles and responsibilities and make public information public and timely. Place high value on results and encourage independent budget tracking as well as participatory monitoring and evaluation.

**What lessons are to be learnt?** There is the need for a strong and sustained political leadership to enable participatory budgeting to achieve the desired results. The active use of existing traditional leadership can help in mobilizing support for participatory governance. External facilitators, including development partners, as change agents are essential in building political support for participatory budgeting, but should observe protocol in order to minimize friction. For participatory budgeting to succeed, it is essential to identify early enough national or local reform-minded champions and offer them all the necessary support or the initiative to succeed.

To end with a comment of the Chief Executive Officer, Mutoko Rural District Council: **“... use of local languages and relevant illustrations to explain the budget helps to demystify the budget and leads to a wider community understanding and ownership of the local budgets and plans.”**

**Commentary:**  
**Josh Lerner, New School for Social Research**  
**(New York, USA)**



During this Forum we discussed participatory budgeting experiences from diverse cities in Europe and Africa. Particularly interesting themes and questions emerged from these discussions, revolving around the roles of vision, deliberation, decision-making and change.

**First**, the different experiences had very **different visions of the purpose of participatory budgeting**. What kind of world should it help bring about? Most of the Germany experiences were seen as tools for modernisation, while the African experiences were more about good governance and the Spanish and UK ones more oriented towards social justice and empowerment. The vision behind the respective participatory budgeting's has in turn shaped their practice. Participatory budgeting gained fame around the world largely because of its ability to redistribute resources towards populations with the greatest needs. If social justice is not part of the vision, does this sap the energy and popular support from participatory budgeting?

**Second**, the participatory budgeting processes included very **different roles for deliberation**. In Germany, there are relatively few face-to-face forums for deliberation, with many participatory budgeting's allowing citizens to vote online without any deliberation. In Spain, deliberation is often about not only budget projects, but also about the criteria for evaluating these projects. These deeper deliberations aim to steer discussion towards the public interest, by asking people to evaluate projects through the lens of broad public priorities. In Africa, many deliberations con-

sider not only allocations, but also budget revenues, searching for new ways to raise public funds. The processes that emphasize deliberation benefit not only from better spending decisions, but also from citizen learning and capacity-building, and from community-building.

**Third, decision-making took many different forms**, depending on who decided, about what, and whether these decisions were binding. Many experiences allowed ordinary citizens to decide on allocations, but most of the German ones deferred decision-making to city staff and politicians. In Spain, citizens could decide not only on budget spending, but also on the rules of the process, criteria for evaluating projects, and grading of projects according to these criteria. These decisions were generally binding, while in Germany the decisions were more often presented as recommendations to the city.

**Finally**, there were many **concerns about change**. Some German cities were wary of launching participatory budgeting before they had found the perfect process, but as several of the international guests advised, the only way to move towards perfection is to start experimenting. participatory budgeting processes are constantly changing, and many of the most durable ones have incorporated change as a regular part of the process. Every year or every other year, participants evaluate the process and make changes. Change is inherently part of participatory budgeting and its result – each year it inspires new and better ways of organizing the process.

In **November 2009**, Alderman Joe Moore and the residents of **Chicago's 49th Ward** launched an experiment in democracy. In a series of public meetings over five months, community members are deciding how to spend Moore's \$1.3 million discretionary budget. This marks the **first time in the US** that local people are able to directly decide on city budget spending – a process known around the world as participatory budgeting. The participatory budgeting Project, a resource organisation dedicated to supporting participatory budgeting in North America, has accompanied Alderman Moore throughout this initiative. We began in April 2009 by **bringing together over 30 local organisations and institutions** (including schools, religious

institutions, community organisations, NGOs, and neighbourhood groups) to form a Steering Committee. We then facilitated **a series of participatory rule-making workshops and meetings**, in which the **Steering Committee decided the basic structure and rules** of the process.

The participatory process **began in November** with nine **neighbourhood assemblies**, in which residents identified, discussed, and prioritized infrastructure improvements for the ward, and selected community representatives. For **the next four months**, the **representatives are meeting in six committees**: Parks & Environment, Public Safety, Streets, Traffic Safety, Transportation, and Art & Other Projects. During these meetings, they are developing project proposals based on the community priorities, and consulting more with the community. **In April**, all ward **residents will be invited to vote on the project proposals**, and their votes will determine what gets built. Already, the participatory budgeting process has generated creative new spending ideas, greater understanding of budget issues, and new organizing and collaboration between residents, community organisations, and the Alderman's office. **This pilot project demonstrates that local governments and communities both benefit when local people are invited to democratically decide how to spend their tax dollars**<sup>38</sup>.

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<sup>38</sup> For more information: The Participatory Budgeting Project: <http://www.participatorybudgeting.org> and The 49th Ward Participatory Budgeting site: [http://www.ward49.com/site/epage/86601\\_322.htm](http://www.ward49.com/site/epage/86601_322.htm)

## IV. 2. Forum II: Representative democracy, federalism and political education

World Café,

Moderation: Ralf Elsässer, CIVIXX



As on the previous day, first topics were presented and then these were discussed in small table group with changing composition. On the second forum day, participation of children and young people was considered in general, followed by the special case of participatory budgeting of the college preparatory schools in an administrative region of France. A further aspect of participation was contributed through a presentation about cooperation between Portugal and Cape Verde. The discussion results of the individual table rounds were continued by the groups so that the moderator could fix the table-group results in summary form at the end of the forum.

## Table 1: Thomas Ködelpeter, Association Ecologic Academy (Germany): Beteiligung von Kindern und Jugendlichen – Erfahrungen aus der Praxis



**What does young people interest?** In an empirical **study** by the Bertelsmann Foundation entitled **“Young People and the Future of the World”**, which was published in 2009, six out of ten German young people declared that they think about the effects of their lifestyle on other people and on nature.

The young people see the biggest problems as being poverty, climate change and destruction of the environment, and lack of food and drinking water. One of the least urgent problems for them is the economic and financial crisis. This requires explanation. Some of the possible interpretations could be: 1) they do not see the connection between the economic and financial crisis on the one hand and poverty on the other, or 2) they consider that the economic and financial crisis has already been overcome to a great extent, or 3) this crisis has not arrived as a reality in their lives.

Nearly one out of every two young persons believes that individual behavioural changes are required to overcome crises. Two-thirds of the young people asked agree with the statement that young people from the entire world are heard or involved when it is a question of suggesting solutions for the problems of the world. Their engagement is most effective when it is integrated in networks and a change process that involves the whole society.

46% of German young people say that they get involved for the good of people or the environment, at school or in an organisation.

**Participation in practice and requirements for transformation:** In municipal practice of children and young people, there are far too few appropriate models for the readiness of children and young people to get involved and for their interest in being involved in the planning and structuring of their future.

To create **frame conditions** that are also, in equal measure, conducive to getting children and young people to participate in the process of participatory budgeting<sup>39</sup>, there must be an expansion of participatory rights in school and development and expansion of participation education and didactics, as well as organisation of civic commitment as participation experience.

The following should be encouraged where children and young people live:

- 1) massive development and structural grounding of participation of children / young people
- 2) massive change in the attitudes and positions of adults
- 3) optimised information policy with media that appeal to children / young people and a variety of participation forms
- 4) a variety of participation modes
- 5) hiring of qualified persons / qualification of teachers and youth workers
- 6) development of a comprehensive model for municipal child participation.

**The notion of participation:** Participation of children and young people can be defined as their right and ability to take part in democratic processes in all matters and questions that pertain to them.<sup>40</sup>

Which **forms of participation** are there for children and young people? There are **representative forms of participation** such as, for example, children's and young people's parliaments and advisory councils which normally have the

right to speak and to propose. And then there are **open forms of participation** like children's and young people's assemblies, conferences and workshops about the future, as well as **project-oriented participation**, that is, participation in projects with delimited topic and time frame with a clear objective and tangible result.

What is the **manner of participation** of children and young people? Here, one can mention **three different types of politics:** politics **by** children and young people in forms that are representative or parliamentary, open or project-oriented; politics **with** children and young people that is realised either through participation in institutions of the adult world or participation confined to certain points; and politics **for** children and young people in which adults represent the interests of children and young people.

What are the **characteristics of participation projects of children and young people in the community?**

Participation projects with children and young people in the municipality are negotiation and decision making processes between concerned and responsible adults who are affected or responsible on the one hand and children and young people who are affected or responsible on the other regarding questions of significance for children and young people for which genuine alternatives are possible<sup>41</sup>. These can be results oriented processes or processes with open result.

<sup>39</sup> cf. Schneider, Helmut/Stange, Waldemar/Roth, Roland (2009): Kinder ohne Einfluss? Eine Studie des ZDF zur Beteiligung von Kindern in Familie, Schule und Wohnort in Deutschland 2009, ZDF Mainz

<sup>40</sup> cf. Knauer, Raingard/ Sturzenhecker, Benedikt (2005). Partizipation im Jugendalter, in: Hafenecker, Benno/Jansen, Mechthild, M./ Niebling, Torsten (Hrsg.): Kinder- und Jugendpartizipation. Im Spannungsfeld von Interessen und Akteuren, Opladen, pp.63-94, p. 68  
cf. Olk, Thomas/ Roth, Roland (2007): Mehr Partizipation wagen. Argumente für eine verstärkte Beteiligung von Kindern und Jugendlichen, Bertelsmann Stiftung (Hrsg.), Gütersloh, p. 20

cf. Bukow, Wolf-Dietrich (2000): Zwischen Partizipation und Mitbestimmung, in: Bukow, Wolf-Dietrich/ Spindler, Susanne (Hrsg.): Die Demokratie entdeckt ihre Kinder. Politische Partizipation durch Kinder- und Jugendforen, Opladen, pp.171-190

<sup>41</sup> cf. Knauer, Raingard/ Friedrich, Bianca/ Herrmann, Thomas/ Liebler, Bettina (2004): Beteiligungsprojekte mit Kindern und Jugendlichen in der Kommune. Vom Beteiligungsprojekt zum demokratischen Gemeinwesen, Wiesbaden, p. 64

**Table 2:**  
**Dr. Anja Röcke,**  
**Berlin Humboldt University (Germany):**  
**Participatory budgeting of the college**  
**preparatory schools in the administrative**  
**region of Poitou-Charentes, France**



The participatory budget of the college preparatory schools (*budget participatif des lycées*) in the administrative region of Poitou-Charentes, France, is the most interesting example of participative budgeting politics in France and the **first such procedure at the regional level in Europe**. It is based on the strong political will of the regional president, Ségolène Royal, and grants the participants **direct decision-making authority** for over 10 million euros yearly, which is ten percent of the budget for college preparatory schools, as well as indirect influence on decisions of regional school politics in general.

**How does this procedure**, which the organisers have placed under the motto of “participatory democracy”, **work**? What have its **most important results** been so far? The **cycle** of participation has developed follows. The participatory budget of the college preparatory schools in Charantes-Poitou was initiated in **2004** by regional president Royal (socialist party) upon being elected and has been conducted and further developed **every year** since. The budgeting procedure is **based on two assemblies** that are organised in each of the 93 college preparatory schools in Poitou-Charentes and open to all actors affected. These sessions, all of which are attended by a representative of the regional administration and of the regional council, are animated by external discussion leaders.

At the beginning of the **first session** in the cycle (November-December), the procedure is first presented. In a **second step**, study groups are formed for the purpose of discussing projects for improving daily life at school. **Finally**, representatives of each group present their results in the general plenum.

In the **following weeks**, the **regional administration** evaluates the individual suggestions (maximum cost per suggestion: 150,000 euros), assesses whether they fall under the jurisdiction of the region, and calculates the costs. For a given project there can also be meeting of the applicants and a staff member of the regional administration for the purpose of specifying the project in greater detail.

At the **second assembly** (January-February) the projects that have been examined in this way are presented by the representative of the region. There is followed by a discussion of the necessity and the benefits of the various applications, after which a vote is taken. The regional council has agreed to realise the top priority projects of each college preparatory school within the total financial framework of ten million euros. The results of the voting and all other documents can be viewed on the Internet site for participatory budgeting. The projects are selected by the regional council in March and realised from April to July.

The **results** are: **democratisation and modernisation of administration**. Some 16,400 people attended both event rounds for the school year 2007/2008. That is **seven to eight percent of the citizens invited** (total number 120,000) as well as **40 percent from the group of students**. This is a remarkable result in comparison to many other participative procedures in which the rate of participation often lies at one percent. However, in view of the **large number of sessions**, 186 altogether, and the logistical and personnel costs involved, as well as the students’ obligation to participate which prevails in some of the schools, the **results seem to be not quite as far-reaching**. The participation level and quality of the debates in each school depend very much on whether participatory budgeting is supported by the teaching staff and the director of the school.

What is the **actual influence** of the participants? On the one hand they have **significant autonomy**, given that they set the priority of the projects by taking a vote that is

accepted by the region (de facto decision making competency); on the other hand, the process is organised almost entirely “from above”; that is, by the regional government and the moderators working under its commission. Nevertheless, the organisers increasingly take account of the perspectives of the participants regarding the procedure and the regional school priorities in general. For this reason, the participatory budget of the college preparatory schools also gives participants **indirect influence on political questions that are more far-reaching** and not just on specific projects in individual schools (more than 700 projects in the years 2004–2007).

A **second participative level** that would provide for discussion between schools has **not yet been realised**, but is planned for the period after the regional elections in 2010 (assuming the socialist party is reelected). For this reason, **no direct, social redistribution effects** can be derived from the procedure; rather, these arise when priorities are set at the regional level.

**Inclusion of all students**, who play a very minor role in the existing representative bodies in the schools, has led to new information about conditions and problems in particular schools. The regional authorities have been able to develop concrete answers to the newly discovered problems in these schools, such as better furnishings and facilities in the boarding schools, more cultural activities for students, and more local products in the cafeterias.

The participatory budget process of the college preparatory schools has led to a **comprehensive reform process in the regional administration** due to the increased transparency of decisions, better communication between school and regional administration and greater control (checks) of decisions.

Even though the organisers primarily concerned with realising “participatory democracy” in the sense of a link between direct participation and representative institutions, the new approach is first and foremost a successful example of administrative modernisation through participation and is therefore of particular interest for discussions of participatory budgeting in Germany.

Four aspects of this participatory budget of college preparatory schools can be identified as **challenges or even central problems**, as follows.

1. The so-called “Santa Claus Effect”, i.e. the loss of the political dimension (central priority of the organisers). To some extent, attention is directed more to acquisition of additional funds than to political education and teaching democracy.
2. Furthermore, there are many debates in which dominance of school staff over students and “technical” staff can be observed.
3. Despite the evaluations of the participants, up to now the region has determined the procedure to a great extent.
4. Furthermore, there are no discussions among the schools, as initially planned.

Discussions between schools were first thwarted by the resistance of the schools and then by the presidential election campaign in 2007. Thus, here we do not have participatory budgeting that meets the criteria of Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke (2009), nor is there any distributive justice among the schools included in the budget.

On the other hand, there have been **many positive results**, such as the shedding of light on problems in the schools that previously went unnoticed, namely obsolescent sanitary facilities, unhealthy food in the cafeterias, lack of culture and others too. This has resulted in an opening of the traditionally highly hierarchical institution “school” and in reduced costs (administrative costs of expenditure control; costs to schools for tasks assumed by others). The participatory budgeting of the college preparatory schools has led to more contact and better coordination between regional administration and schools. This had largely unexpected effects on the regional administration: now it moves faster and more transparently, there is better internal coordination; and new topics of focus are set in the regional administration. Thus, for example, “cultural moderators” were employed and more funds have been made available for cultural projects. Since 2006 there has been an annual evaluation by participants selected at random for the purpose of developing the procedure further.

**Which challenges must be met?** Stronger development of the political dimension should be aimed for, but with which strategy? There are two options here. One of them is community orientation, which means more self-managed projects in schools that are implemented in cooperation

between students and cultural moderators. The other is establishment of a second participatory level between the individual schools; this would make the procedure more complex. How about both options together? And what will happen after the regional elections in 2010?

[On March 21, 2010 Ségolène Royal was reelected as president of Poitou-Charentes with almost 61% of the vote.]

**Table 3:**  
**Dr. Giovanni Allegretti,**  
**Centro Estudos Sociais (Portugal):**  
**Strengthening democracy through**  
**cooperation: Example of Portugal and the**  
**Cape Verde Islands**



Despite Brazil and Portugal count many participatory budgeting's, the innovation is **still underdeveloped in other lusophone countries**, especially in those, as Angola, Guinea Bissau and Timor East, where local authorities are still named by central governments. Only Mozambique and Cape Verde count some interesting attempts.

In **Maputo**, the Mozambican capital with 1.1 million inhabitants started the first pale experiment of participatory budgeting in 2004, being part of the electoral program of the FRELIMO<sup>42</sup> candidate Eneas Comiche, which was translated into a Development Municipal Plan (PROMAPUTO<sup>43</sup>) through a participatory process. The proposed participatory budgeting model was articulated in three discussion levels (63 neighbourhood, seven districts and the overall municipality), being the neighbourhood a sort of minimum "planning unit" for individual vote on priorities, linked to the others by citizens delegates.

The **methodology** established a limit of 15 percent of local-raised and transferred resources to be used in the participatory budgeting, but only 12 percent of that sum was used for 14 micro projects, distributed over the districts proportionally to their size, population and fiscal contribution to the city budget. In May 2008, just 40 days after a technical/political delegation of Maputo Town Hall had participated to the "African Regional Seminar on participatory budgeting" organized in Durban by MDP-ESA together with

<sup>42</sup> „Frente da Libertação de Moçambique“ (*Mozambican Liberation Front*)

<sup>43</sup> <http://web.worldbank.org/external/projects/main?Projectid=P096332&theSitePK=40941&pagePK=64283627&menuPK=228424&piPK=73230>

UN-Habitat, the World Bank and the Swiss Cooperation, the Municipal Council of Mozambique capital announced a new and more organized participatory budgeting pilot-process to be started in the Catembe urban district. The following process was organized in 24 neighbourhoods, taking into special account the needs of representing the farer communities in the larger District Popular Councils. Electricity, mobility and basic infrastructures emerged as the main problems to be solved. When the Mayor Eneas Comiche ended his mandate in November 2008, participatory budgeting also entered a “stand-by period” and at present the Technical Team created for its implementation is still “frozen” and some of the prioritized demands of citizens have not still been implemented.

**Today**, hopes can raise from the fact that Maputo is still a formal partner of the Brazilian Network of Participatory Budgeting in the project “Passo-a-passo para a Implementação do Orçamento Participativo”<sup>44</sup> co-funded by Dutch Trust Fund. This is part of the programme “Stimulating the cooperation between Africa and Latin America”, a World Bank-promoted experiment launched in march 2008, which was aimed to increase the participatory budgeting experiments in Africa throughout a South-to-South cooperation.

It is worth to underline that Mozambique municipalities today counts on **differentiated typologies of participatory processes**, some of which incorporate principles of participatory budgeting as happens in the Participatory Planning system experimented in Dondo (71,600 inhabitants) and in other processes co-funded by Swiss Cooperation in Cuamba, Metangula, Montepuez, Mocímboa da Praia and Ilha de Moçambique during the period 2001 to 2007, within a project for supporting municipal decentralisation. Today, Dondo city became a reference of the UN “Training Companion”, a handbook created by UN-Habitat to foster implementation of participatory budgeting in various African countries, because – after accepting in 1999 the challenged proposed by community-based groups to implement a participatory process which could promote socio-economic growth of the communities themselves – of the set up of Neighbourhoods Development Nuclei and the

Association of Community Services, which constituted the base of a community development model of urban management. The last, in 2007, integrated specific discussions on the budget plan connected to the investments co-decided with the participation of citizens and several actors of the private sectors which joined the process. Today, the **challenge is to deepen the participatory budgeting scheme and open it to weak social groups**, adopting a specific methodology and raise the quality of debate especially at the whole city level, through a vast programme of civic education and capacity building training.

In the case of **Cape Verde 2005**, the beginning of debates on participatory budgeting started in 2005, when UNICEF signed a first cooperation agreement with some of the 22 municipalities for training local authorities on the issue. Later on, a “Project for Implementing Participatory Budgeting” was coordinated by the General Direction of Local Administration, a national governmental body and supported by the UN Fund for Good Governance. In 2007, the project involved In-LoCo, a Portuguese NGO which coordinates an EU-funded national project for training on participatory budgeting elected officials and technicians all around its country<sup>45</sup>.

The **program evolution** was tailored on the diagnosis of local needs done in the first year of the project. If the original target-municipalities were only Santa Cruz and São Miguel (Santiago Island), Paul (Santo Antão) and Mosteiros (Fogo), the Project was opened to all the interested cities, after some changes in the Ministry and the administrative elections. An international conference with examples of participatory budgeting coming from Latin American and Portugal launched this new phase, in summer 2009. Now that some “blocking-issues” (e.g. those on how to relate participatory arenas and the elected institutions in the lack of a specific law on participatory budgeting) have been overcome, the project is concentrated on how to guarantee continuity between the new participatory budgeting tool and previously existing participatory practices. In autumn 2009, the first pilot-process started in the municipality of Paul with 8,500 inhabitants, a rural area with a strong tourist potential. The **centre of the process is linked to the**

<sup>44</sup> Translation: step by step for the implementation of participatory budgeting

<sup>45</sup> [www.op-portugal.org](http://www.op-portugal.org)

**housing topic**, as a result of a consultation process among citizens which situated this as the most sensitive issue in the area.

In the near future, **another project will interact with the first participatory budgeting practices in Capo Verde**. It is coordinated by the Centre for Social Studies of Coimbra University to create a parallel monitoring of Cape Verdian and Portuguese experiences of participatory budgeting, and to strengthen relationship between the two countries' local authorities. The new project also counts with the participation of the NGO Africa 70 which operates mainly in Capo Verde and the National Training Centre for Local Powers of Portugal (CEFA). It will offer activities to the newly-created FORAL-CPLP, a consultative body of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP), created in 2009 for hosting a permanent dialogue between local authorities of 8 Countries.

What is important to remark in these example, is **how much the cooperation between countries and different typologies of institutions** like local officials, universities and NGOs **could be an important "engine" for experimenting participatory budgeting and bettering its performance**. In fact, especially when local authorities don't have enough energy to monitor the process and try to amend its rules each year in order to improve its effectiveness, the presence of other social actors committed to enhance the quality of participatory budgeting could play as an indispensable resource.

**In the Cape-verdean case undoubtedly the mistakes done by the top-down conceived original project were overcome thanks to these wide-range cooperation among different social actors.**

## Work results of the table groups

In the discussions of the second day, both the topics that had been presented and the results of the previous day were taken up. Various individual aspects were mentioned, too. Thus there was a report of the successful establishment of a youth jury<sup>46</sup> in Berlin and also of sponsorship

models in which child and youth initiatives agree on sponsorships with representatives from politics and administration. Likewise, so-called "agreement contracts" between administration and child and youth initiatives often lead to positive results.

Basically, it was established that the ideas of children and young people should be discussed at eye-level with adults because it is the children and young people who are the experts in their own sphere of life. For this reason access to the procedure of participatory budgeting that is suitable for young people was demanded. Such access would also make it possible for children with migration background to be integrated into German society successfully, along with their parents, too.

In addition to these general aspects, and as on the day before, experience from other countries was outlined in brief: thus there was a report on various approaches of participatory budgeting in Finland which is viewed as the beginning of a chain of innovations. The idea spread from the municipalities to the region and then to the state and finally to the national level. An example from Peru showed that participation is indispensable. This country has enacted a law<sup>47</sup> that requires of the municipalities that they practise participatory budgeting. The result showed that while there was a basic need for participatory budgeting, the municipalities that had already advocated such budgeting before the law was enacted were much more successful at it than those that only introduced a participatory budget because they were forced, too.

Basically, participatory budgeting is to be viewed as an element of an entire participatory concept that is implemented in a civic municipality. It should change not only political but also social processes. Participatory budgeting is a path the citizens can take to achieve greater transparency and influence in many areas.

**Gathering the results of the table discussions of both days of the congress** resulted in a list with suggestions that are arranged below according to topic. The participants of the forum weighted the individual points; the suggestions that are marked were regarded by the majority as being particularly important:

<sup>46</sup> <http://www.berlin.de/ba-steglitz-zehlendorf/presse/archiv/20091009.1150.141878.html>

<sup>47</sup> [www.internationalbudget.org/themes/PB/LatinAmerica.pdf](http://www.internationalbudget.org/themes/PB/LatinAmerica.pdf) Updated: 6 February 2010, p. 7

Guiding vision and structure:

- Development of a guiding vision is the beginning of a participatory budgeting process
- **The guiding vision of a lasting citizens' municipality that is marked by solidarity is fundamental**
- **The structure should be as follows: citizens' municipality -> participation concept -> participatory budget -> with accompanying learning processes**
- **Creation of model projects with special, statutory framework conditions (autonomous communities)**

Budget questions:

- Preliminary discussion of the budget in interest groups -> then a discussion in larger forums
- Tight finances: Obligation to inform -> citizens do not want to be a last resort
- Dialogue should be taken up with citizens even in the "absence" allocation leeway
- Also, the municipality's revenues in the participatory budget should be examined critically, the same applies to indirect and follow-on costs

On the procedure:

- Procedures must be initiated by the head of the entity that is the subject of the budget.
- Participatory procedures should already begin at school
- **Top-down and bottom-up procedures must interact harmoniously**
- Feedback of the results to participants is essential
- **It is important for the decision making processes and accountability to be as transparent as possible**
- Reflection on the decision-making processes
- Clear framework conditions must be determined and communicated at the beginning of the process
- Processes should be used to break up enemy stereotypes
- **Acceptance of failure as a possibility (-> opportunity to develop further)**

Politics and society:

- Politicians should use the specialist competence of the people
- Qualification of politicians is to be regarded as an opportunity

- Interest groups should not have too much influence in respect to their own special interests
- Learning to respect various needs of citizens
- The civil society should encourage the administration to innovate

Children and young people:

- **Political education, e.g. in schools is to be tied to concrete projects, e.g. with budgets**
- Establishment of a **child and youth jury** with money at its disposal
- Regard coupling of participation in schools with participatory budgeting as a challenge
- **Development of schools as a competence centre in their location or city city section**
- Children must be allowed to take responsibility for progressing their suggestions

### IV. 3. Forum III: Social justice and gender budgeting

Workshop,  
Moderation: Marlene Grauer and  
Florian Rister, teamGLOBAL



The main question of the second day in Forum III was: How can participatory budgets contribute to social justice? The first presentation offered an introduction to the establishment of participatory budgets in Brazil and the tangible successes there. The second presentation dealt with concepts for civic participation as an instrument for improved city planning. The closing topic was the experience of Toronto Community Housing, which is the largest housing provider in Canada and has been granting its tenants a right of co-determination with regard to the use of the budget since 2001. The condition of the housing area and even the quality of the living circumstances were improved by this co-determination. In the subsequent fishbowl discussion, the participants directed questions to the speakers; the aspects of discussion were noted by the moderator team in topic clusters.

### Steve Floros, Director Toronto Community Housing (Canada): Participatory budgeting with housing administration: Toronto



Let me first introduce **some facts** about the Toronto Community Housing (TCHC): we are working with 164.000 tenants, who mean six percent of the city population, 98.400 tenants are women and 20.600 are diverse youth between the ages of 13 and 25. Over one third of all households have a person over the age of 59 and there are over 19.000 children. 93 percent of the tenants pay Rent-Geared-to-Income and there are over 18 languages spoken across the portfolio.

As a **landlord**, our mandate is to advance the health of our communities, so the community health at the TCHC shows a **new model**, a **tenant engagement system** and work with the instrument of a **participatory budgeting**. We use the tenant engagement as a vehicle to achieve the advancements. The primary role is to create the conditions where tenants are able to break down barriers to participation and advocate on their own behalves for equity in service and civil society.

Because of the **demographics in the portfolio**, the natural focus is on single-parent female led households. For this **issue based groups** and their engagement are focusing on **social inclusion**, plus a **focus on women** who concentrate their investments in children and youth. This new tenant engagement system was built with tenants. What is outlined is the larger-scale system that have been put into place to facilitate increased participation and decision-making.

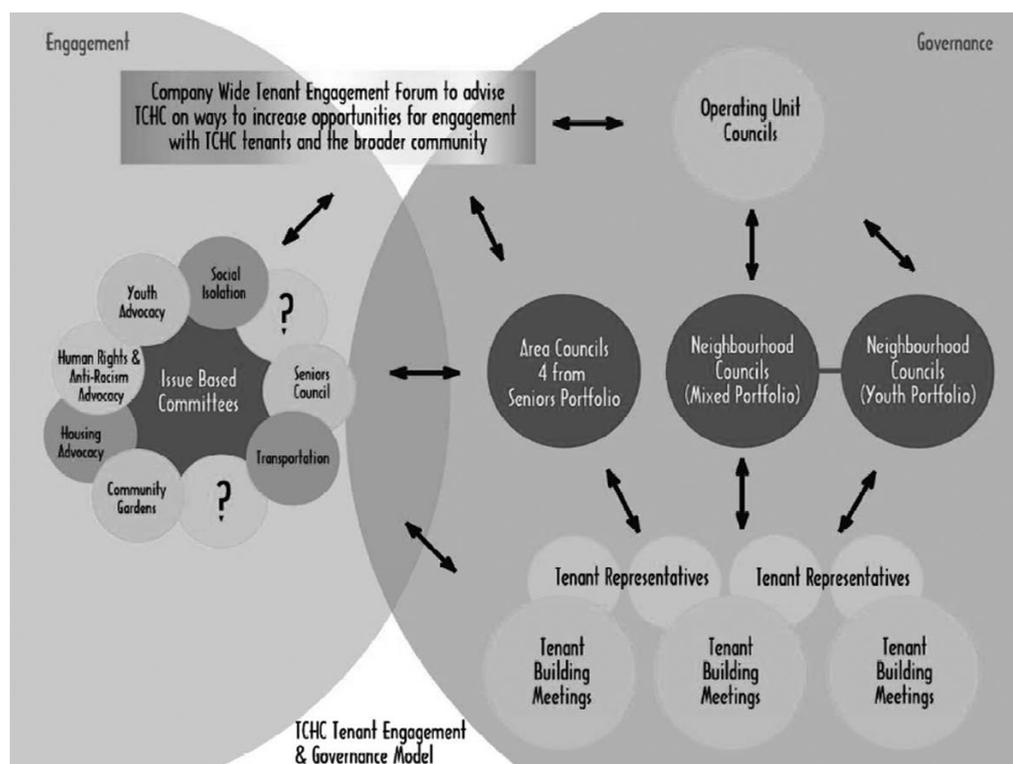
The advance organisational change processes required to achieve TCHC's strategic objectives of social development and inclusion. We achieve this using a number of different strategies including participatory planning and budgeting, tenant participation, neighbourhood development, community and tenant engagement, civic engagement and social action.

What are the **main components** of the system? These components consist in addressing building issues at the building level, strengthening local decision-making, keeping formal an electoral system and expanding opportunities for participation. This **new model was developed with tenants** to create a system that better aligns with new organisational structure. The new focus targets on **supporting tenants** to organize around their issues what impacts their lives. The **social justice** is a strong theme of the new system by virtue of the challenges faced by those who are racialized and living in poverty.

The **opportunities** for tenants are to participate in their communities, neighbourhoods and the city. The organisational accountability to tenants in their communities is

increased and we achieve meaningful ways to engage tenants that are respectful, inclusive and accessible. The **goal** is to ensure tenants to have **equal access to all services** in the city regardless of where they reside. The main components of the new system focus on **supporting tenant leaders of all kinds**. This system enables a focus on **supporting women** as a large number of households are single-parent, female-led. So we are building a **stronger relationship between the staff and the tenants** at the building level to address building issues. Our big focus is on **resident engagement** and what has emerged to date are a number of issues that are **social justice oriented**.

What is the **context** of our participatory budgeting? The Toronto Community Housing created its participatory budgeting in 2002. Doing this we have to face disparate organisational cultures. We are working with government-based accountability structures and did efforts to set new directions including the community health, inclusion and engagement and the community accountability. The Toronto Community Housing Model works with a **participatory budgeting budget of nine Million Canadian Dollars** of 53 million total budgets. 80 percent or 7,2 million Dollar



*The Tenant Engagement & Governance Model of the Toronto Community Housing.*

are divided by the unit count for building/operating the unit decision making. 20 percent or 1, 8 million Dollar are reserved for a one day allocation. The constraints we are facing are that it has to be feasible and to be capital and that the bonus if economic opportunities for tenants are featured. The **structure of the participatory budgeting** consists in building meetings, elected tenant representatives, operating unit/community sorting of priorities, spending decisions and decision for a project to be presented for consideration of part of the 20 percent.

What are the **benefits**? A survey shows that the participatory budgeting is the **most popular business improvement** undertaken. It gives **legitimacy** of the business decisions. There is a greater interest in preserving property, especially when the participatory budgeting is combined with economic opportunity for the tenants.

The **participatory budgeting evaluation** highlights in 2009 are manifold. Tenant researchers were hired to evaluate the participatory budgeting process and facilitate recommendations for the improvements in 2010. For the first time there was a strong participation of the youth in identifying priorities in the West portfolio asserted. Jobs were generated for tenants through contracts and monitoring committees worked to oversee the implementation of participatory budgeting projects.

We work with **issue-based groups: engagement focused on social inclusion**.

**Three initial groups** have been struck based on tenant interest. All are fledgling groups currently, they are work planning for 2010. The process to date has been a true community development approach- organic in nature; the role of the staff support is becoming clearer as the group continues to meet. Some barriers to the participation for women are eliminated through the provision of childcare support and transportation when required.

**Social Justice:** Interested in advancing issues related to

mental health, LGBTQ<sup>48</sup>, human rights, anti-ableism, status and immigration and refugee issues, women's issues, access to education and workers rights. The current focus is human rights, mental health, immigrants and refugee issues and income advocacy issues.

**Civic Engagement:** Interested in advancing issues related to media, voter education, community safety, revitalization, housing advocacy, youth, seniors, politics, policy advocacy and ethno-racial access.

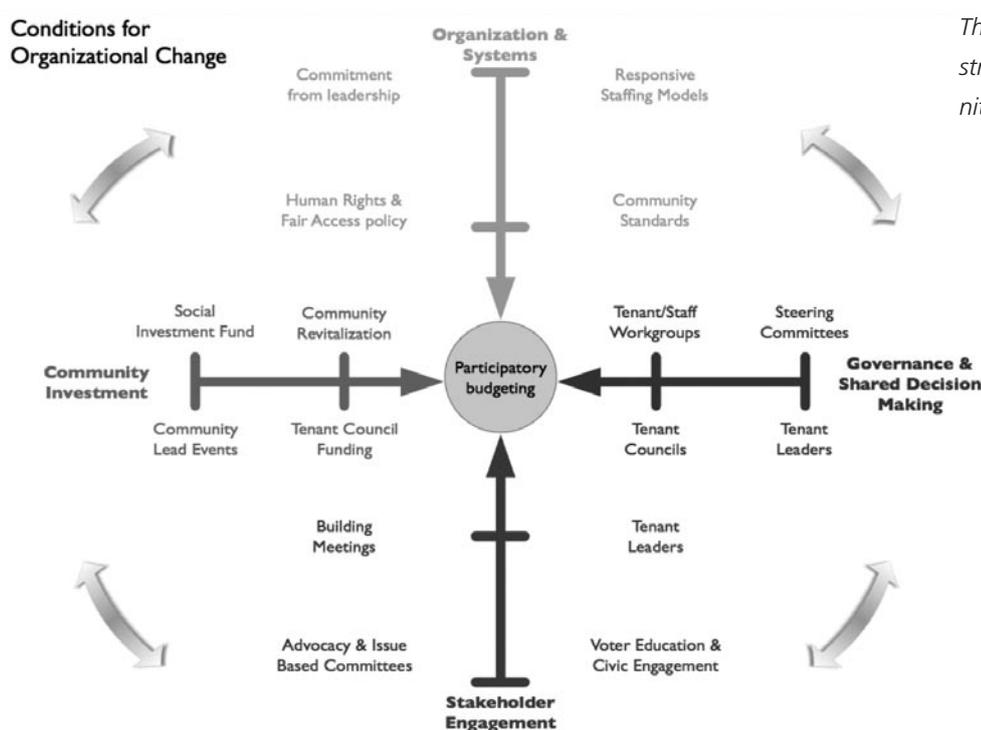
**Community Economic Development:** Interested in advancing issues of poverty reduction, food security and access, community gardens, access to trades and professions. The current focus on two streams: poverty reduction and food access.

Actually there are **four issue-based groups**: A **Hispanic tenants association** which is an umbrella group focused on social housing including TCH tenants with representation from the coop sector, shelter sector. They have focused on educating the Latin-American community on housing, Social Housing Reform Act, voter's education, community safety and other civic issues. The **anti-ableism committee** is a group focused on advocacy and education related to issues of accessibility and mental health. The **Somali tenants association** is currently under development. Being led by west community health operations team, sponsored by east director and supported by the community health unit. The **antiracism study circles** for tenants and staff are three pilot projects launched in 2007, one is successfully completed. An antiracism program put on old pending the development of the social inclusion strategy.

Our **focus is on women: investments in children and youth** have to be done.

What is the **children and youth strategy vision**? Children and youth living in TCH communities have the opportunities to develop their capacities, assets and strengths in order to reach their full potential. To reach it, they are supported

<sup>48</sup> <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/LGBT>: LGBT (or GLBT) is an initialism referring collectively to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people. In use since the 1990s, the term "LGBT" is an adaptation of the initialism "LGB" which itself started replacing the phrase "gay community" which many within LGBT communities felt did not represent accurately all those to whom it referred. In modern usage, the term LGBT is intended to emphasize a diversity of „sexuality and gender identity based cultures“ and is sometimes used to refer to anyone who is non heterosexual instead of exclusively to people who are homosexual, bisexual, or transgender. To recognize this inclusion, a popular variant adds the letter Q for queer and questioning (e.g., "LGBTQ") for those not explicitly denoted by LGBT, such as pansexuality, intersex, etc. The acronym has become mainstream as a self-designation and has been adopted by the majority of LGBT community centers and LGBT media in many English-speaking countries.



*The participatory budgeting structure of the Toronto Community Housing.*

in participating in high quality services and in the broader community that are enjoyed by all children and youth across Toronto. Opportunities are enhanced by strong partnerships with community service providers and full-time, skilled staff applying community development approaches to their work. 40 children’s programs divested to external partners across the City of Toronto between 2006 until 2009. The parent advocacy network was established to support parents (primarily women) to develop skills and a knowledge base to advocate on their own behalf for service equity in public systems

making in their communities. Employment, scholarship, internship and skills training opportunities are offered to the young people in TCH communities – about 300 youth access these annually.

The **youth** living in TCH communities will have access to opportunities that have a shared vision geared to facilitate the development of resilient youth who can sur-mount challenges and achieve successful outcomes. Economic opportunities and sustainable livelihoods as careers and not survival jobs are critical for young people to break the cycle of poverty. Leadership programs are offered in 27 communities across the portfolio. There are partnerships with the United Nations Association of Canada, Ontario Justice Education Network and others to engage youth in civic issues. Youth elections and 13 youth councils are under development to create opportunities for the youth to engage in decision-

**Nils Scheffler, certified engineer, spatial planning in urban development (Germany):  
Activation and participation of marginalised groups**



**Why is participation sensible?** Plans and solutions are often only developed “for” locations and groups “from the desk” without any deep knowledge of their problems and needs. For one to arrive at sustainable solutions that the actors “affected” support, promote or even implement by themselves, it is necessary for these groups to be included in the development of measures and solutions. This means participation is not the objective but rather an instrument for better aligning planning and measures – among other things – with the needs of the groups affected, for obtaining local knowledge and resources for planning and implementation, for winning over these groups for the needs of other groups and for sensitising these groups to the needs of other groups, thereby simplifying the implementation of plans and measures.

**Participation is an instrument, not the objective!**

Participation should serve as an aid developing and implementing solutions that have been adapted to the needs. In practice, however, involving the actors and allowing them to participate, particularly marginalised groups, is often difficult as “they simply do not participate although we organised a large citizens’ event” or “they did not participate constructively at all, they just complained.”

**Who should be included for participation?** Not just the marginalised groups but also the other groups “affected”!

**What characterises “marginalisation”?** The defining characteristic of marginalisation is that the persons “affected” have fewer options for shaping the conditions of their lives and they are often not involved in formal decision-making processes.

**How can “marginalised citizens” be involved?** Large citizen events often fail to reach the target group of the participation! Participation is supposed to help with development and implementation of solutions that are tailored to requirements. Participation should involve groups that are affected but do not otherwise have any influence or power to decide. Large, open citizen’s events usually do not reach those who are “marginalised”! Those affected must therefore be actively addressed in a way that is oriented to the target group; they must be offered opportunities for participation that are suitable for the target group.

**What are the requirements for successful participation procedures?**

General participatory possibilities and large participation events in which “anyone” can take part often lead to participation by organised interest groups and so-called “participation profis” as well as the “usual suspects” who often dominate such events. The result is that some of the needs, especially some of the needs of marginalised groups, never even come up. Part of this problem is that marginalised groups in particular are not used to articulating themselves and presenting their opinions in large groups of people. That is why many of them do not even take part in such events or only participate passively and as passive observers keep their opinions mostly to themselves.

To avoid this **shortcoming**, the target groups directly affected by the planning or measure in their daily lives should be identified at the beginning. This should ensure that those who are truly “affected” are involved and that their needs will be heard. The target groups must be included early and approached actively in a way that is suitable for their group and will activate them. The offer should be characterised by participatory options that are specific to the target group, small-scale and have low thresholds these people can be picked up from where they are and so that individual characteristics of the group can be catered to. Their opinions and needs are to be taken seriously and respected.

**Which techniques are suitable?** If a group of “affected” actors is to be included in planning and in the development and implementation of measures, it has to be activated in a first step, and then, in a second step, it has to participate. Activation and participation are important tasks that are not to be underestimated. In particular, one must first reach the point where the marginalised groups are even *willing* to participate. After all, their needs are often not considered in planning, which is why their attitudes toward participatory opportunities often range from scepticism to rejection. To activate such a group of people, one should first find out what kind of problem solution is wanted. These problems should be made the focus of activation and participation.<sup>49</sup> To this end, modes of activation and participation that are specific to a given group and its interests should be developed on site.

Here is an example of this: In the setting of district management, different modes that can be classified as direct techniques, district-related public relations work and participatory procedures<sup>50</sup> are applied:

These **techniques** serve to animate the various target groups in the district management areas to participate in the development of the district. Furthermore, the self-confidence and the capabilities of the residents are to be represented; their own interests are to be represented and they are to participate in social life. **Activation is the prerequisite for establishing self-supporting and sustainably effective structures in the district.**

Direct techniques	Participatory procedures	District-oriented PR
Informational events	City district conferences and citizen forums	Brochures, information material
Strolls through neighbourhoods	Working groups / Workshops	District newspaper
Activation via multipliers (word-of-mouth)	Participation-oriented and target-group specific projects	Art and cultural projects
Collecting signatures, street interviews, informal meetings, surveys	District funds / citizen funds	Posters, flyers
Workshops, contests	Appraisals drawn up by citizens working in groups	Documentation
Neighbourhood festivals and events	“Planning for real”	Internet offers
Citizen assemblies, regularly occurring meetings and table meetings	Future workshops	
Consulting offers	Round table / Councils	

<sup>49</sup> Kuhle, Holger: *Soviel Quartier wie nötig und soviel Gesamtstadt wie möglich*. In: Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Abt. Arbeit und Sozialpolitik (Hrsg.): *Modernisieren ohne auszuschließen: Quartiersentwicklung zur Verhinderung einer städtischen Unterschicht*. Bonn 1999: 113-128, p. 117

<sup>50</sup> cf. Franke, Thomas: *Aktivierung und Beteiligung im Rahmen des Programms „Soziale Stadt“*. In: Deutsches Institut für Urbanistik (Hrsg.) 02/2002: *Soziale Stadt info 7*. Berlin: 2-6, pp. 3-4

cf. Empirica: *Soziale Stadtentwicklung in Berlin: Evaluationszwischenbericht zum Quartiersmanagement*. Berlin 2001, p. 9

## Prof. Dr. Leonardo Avritzer (Brazil): The social effects of Participatory Budgeting in Brazil



### What is Participatory Budgeting according to the conceptual definition and practices in Brazil?

Participatory budgeting is a local participative policy, constituted of deliberative fora, responding to the demands of less-favored sectors for a more just distribution of public goods and services in Brazilian cities. It includes social actors, members of neighborhood associations, and ordinary citizens in a process of negotiation and deliberation, involving both direct and representative participation.

Participatory budgeting relates in a singular way the expansion of participation and the establishment of justice criteria in the deliberation process.

The **origin of participatory budgeting** is the experience model emerged in Porto Alegre in 1989: There were a strong grassroots association (UAMPA<sup>51</sup>) and demand for participation in budgetary decisions (since 1986) and the PT's (Workers' Party) victory in municipal elections in 1989. In Porto Alegre were and are multiple actors working.

Concerning the **methodology** we regard several aspects. First the city's regionalization and constitution of fora and regional and thematic assemblies – a presentation of demands and discussion of priorities has to be considered. Second there is an adjustment of the discussion to a set of rules and procedures to be discussed, such as poverty indices and access to public goods and services – redistribu-

tive criteria. The third aspect concerns the creation of a participatory budgeting council (delegates and councilors) that defines the investment plan and budget proposal. Finally there is control, supervision and fiscalization of the implementation of approved projects.

The **innovative aspect of participatory budgeting** is that it might be considered an innovative way of doing politics due to the capacity of combining two important variables that potentialize **justice** in the distribution of public goods and services:

- a) The direct participation of the less favoured in public investments decision-making processes;
- b) The adoption of objective criteria, such as indexes, that allow for a direct and objective comparison of regions in a same territory.

The **IQVU, the index of quality of urban life** is an indicator system. It was developed as a tool for the policies and programs. It is composed of indicators calculated with information from 16 different sources, and measures the offer and the accessibility of resources. The indicator set access to urban resources indicators, evaluated through eleven thematic variables. The indicators address the following sectors: commerce and services; culture; economy; education; habitation; health; urban management instruments; participation and organisation of social politics; urban environment; public security and transports.

The IQVU-case of Belo Horizonte shows the diversity even within one town not only between different municipalities: some of its urban districts are as good as Scandinavian municipalities but some of them are even as poor as towns in Bolivia. Participatory budgeting is an instrument to ensure the access to public goods mentioned above.

Looking at the **participatory budgetings incidence** we see those experiences emerging and spreading, up to 2008 there are about 200 participatory budgetings in the country. The emergence and spreading of participatory budgeting through municipal administration in the years between the first period – from 1988 to 1992 – and the second between 1993 until 1996 in Brazil could be counted as tripled, in the last period from 2005 until 2008 even the western region is emerged. The **diffusion** of participatory

<sup>51</sup> <http://www.hagah.com.br/locais/jsp/default.jsp?regionId=1&action=detail&uf=1&local=1&locale=C1&ingrid=286468>

budgetings through municipal administrations in Brazil is continuously increasing, especially in the southeast region. In the last years you find also participatory budgeting cases in the northern – Brazil's poorer – region.

Regarding the **poverty in Brazilian municipalities** main aspects are obvious. Participatory budgeting is mainly used in Brazilian municipalities with a higher **human development index (HDI)**<sup>52</sup> than the average. Comparing the HDI averages in general Brazil and in the Northeast region of the country with the accordant regions but participatory budgeting practicing cases it's evident that the HDI there is about the tenth part better than without.

One special feature in Brazil is the contribution of social infrastructure: the more you veer away from the city center the less social and cultural institutions you find. So, what are the **priorities for the distribution of resources**? Participation is on the first place, secondly other, the third is the poorness of the region and than, with a great distance, you find social politics and infrastructure.

That leads to another question: **Does participation really matter to the municipalities?** To answer this question the **"Municipal Index of Participation" – MIPP** will help. The index and its **components, the four "Ds"** are:

- **Density:** Measures the quantity of performance indicators (PIs) existent and their evolution
- **Diversity:** Measures the range of PIs existent over the governmental actions

- **Durability:** Measures the continuity of PIs existent over time, especially over political legislatures
- **Deliberation:** Measures both the potential for deliberation proportionated by the institutional design of the PIs, as well as the effective deliberation occurred.

The final question to answer is: **Which kind of participation is successful?**

In Brazil it's not only participatory budgeting, the most effective way is a **mixture of participatory elements and instruments** used by different institutions. Participatory budgeting has to be linked to other participatory processes to achieve the best results.

*Better social services are linked to higher participation*

DAverage growing tax of n° of employees in three areas of public policies for each level of MIPP, by legislature from 1996 to 2008 (%)			
	MIPP		
	Low intensity	Medium intensity	High intensity
Employees in Health (by thousand inhabts)	27,3	17,3	60,6
Employees in Education (by thousand inhabts)	12	24,9	29
Employees in Social Assistance (by thousand inhabts)	4,8	18,3	49,8

<sup>52</sup> <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/indices/hdi/>

## Fishbowl discussion



In the second part of the congress the topics which had been presented were taken up and discussed by the participants in greater depth. The moderator team accompanied the process and summarised the most important insights on a pin board in parallel. After the end of the 45 minute discussion, the summary was presented and discussed with the participants in brief.

The participants achieved final agreement on the following insights:

- the form of communication is extremely important for reaching the groups affected.
- a bottom up or top down of development must come from both sides
- legitimation and rules that are too strict form potential points of conflict
- there is no such thing as a model solution
- flexibility of the political decision makers is indispensable
- the process is often the objective; setbacks are to be included in the plans
- use of expert knowledge of the persons affected should be intensified

#### IV. 4. Forum IV: Media, Modernisation and Evaluation

Podium discussion,

Moderation: Benno Trütken, forum b



On the second day of the forum, three presentations regarding the use of the Internet as a medium for participatory budgeting, as well as the concrete and generally positive experience of the city of Cologne with this medium in its implementation of participatory budgeting were presented. In addition to the German reports, the random selection procedure used in China was presented as an instrument of mobilisation of participants. As on the previous day, the findings were summarised by a commentator. The questions from the plenum were answered. The forum closed with a short statement by each of the speakers.

#### Dr. Oliver Märker, Zebralog GmbH (Germany): The possibilities of the Internet and participatory budgeting



The participatory budget in Cologne is not the first or only one carried out with Internet support. It was in 2003 that the secondary centre of Esslingen, a city of approximately 90,000 inhabitants, first used the Internet as a participatory medium for a participatory budget. Back then, however, there were different **framework conditions** than today because there were fewer Internet users and the technology was not yet very user friendly. Both factors have changed for the better in the years since then.

Nevertheless: **technology is not a panacea, but a means for organisation.** Back in 1976 when broadband technology was introduced, Klaus Lenk said: "Democracy is an organisational problem and new media are a means for organising."<sup>53</sup>

The fact that the Internet does not speak for itself is important. Rather, political authorities and administration must make **participation on the Internet relevant!** If this is not a given, participation will come to nothing. If this premise is fulfilled, then use of the Internet as an additional or even primary participatory medium makes sense.

Which **advantages** are tied to the use of the Internet? The Internet functions as a **medium for information and documentation:**

- When participatory budgeting is conducted using the Internet, participation **documents itself**, for it is given

<sup>53</sup> [www.fk2.uni-oldenburg.de/InstRW/vw/download/Demokratie.pdf](http://www.fk2.uni-oldenburg.de/InstRW/vw/download/Demokratie.pdf)

in written form. The Internet is also an excellent documentation medium for those who would like to know what happened during the online or active participation phase of the participatory budget after these phases are over.

- **Information** about the budget is provided in legible, interactive, playful form. The results, such as resolutions, accounting for decisions and monitoring – are merged in a central place and presented **transparently**. This transparency applies to the entire value-creation chain of participatory budgets: from the citizens' suggestions to decision and (if decided positively) to implementation.

The Internet also offers a great variety of presentation forms. The procedure of the participatory budget can, for example, be shown efficiently by use of a traffic light: green says a suggestion has been implemented; yellow: it is being implemented; red: it will not be implemented because the political authorities have decided otherwise.

The Internet is a good **introductory medium for participation** that can be supplemented by other participatory media. That is why it is used as an organisational medium for participatory budgets, especially in cities with over 50,000 inhabitants.

Many residents are reached through the internet when it is used **in combination with good public relations**. Of these residents, approx. 10 percent participate in the process by reading and one percent of the readers are actively involved. In Cologne this was well over 10,000 participants in each round. Also, **other media** – particularly printed media – use the **Internet as a platform** for **ongoing reporting** about work on the participatory budget. This reporting is essential for mobilising participants.

What are the **main doubts** about use of the Internet as a medium? When the Internet is used as a reference and guiding medium then **people who are not politically interested** are not reached. However, every participatory method is **selective**. Affinity for the Internet is to be found predominantly in people between the ages of 25 and 55, it is centred around the middle class and tendentially there are more male users than female users present here. However, more women than men participated in the second partici-

patory budget in Cologne, which is typical for many participatory budgets that are carried through repeatedly.

A final, critical question: Will these methods be used by people organised in groups to mobilise their interests? This is true, but citizens who are not in such organisations participate as well and even speak out more and more via the Internet. Thus the **Internet** displays its inherent characteristic of **making diversity possible**.

**Jürgen Behrendt,**  
**City administration Cologne (Germany):**  
**Experience of the city of Cologne**  
**with the Internet**

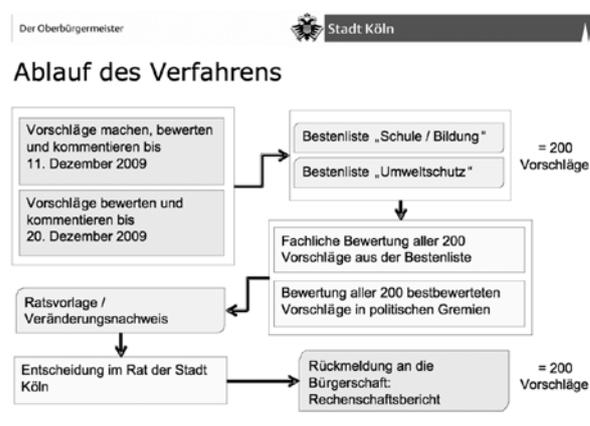


Cologne was the first large German city to conduct a participatory budget using the *Neues Kommunales Finanzmanagement* system (NKF, “New Community Finance Management”). This pilot project for the participatory budget for 2008 was accompanied by introduction of “e-participation” as a new service of the city administration with the aim of supporting civic participation through the Internet effectively, transparently and with a view to taking action. In addition to the possibility of submitting suggestions through the Internet, there were further options: citizens could also participate by telephone via a city call centre or in writing. But the Internet already proved to be the medium of choice during the first round in 2007 – more than 85 percent of the suggestions, approx. 5,000, reached us through this channel. In the second round for the budget for 2010 it was even 98 percent of all suggestions. Based on this and other experience, the theory prevalent in Cologne is that the Internet will establish itself as the basic technology of communication, particularly for the area of administration, and that participatory budgeting is making an important contribution to modernising the administration.

The e-participation approach being pursued in Cologne goes beyond the participation procedures practiced in other municipalities. With the support of the political authorities, the city administration of Cologne is setting out on a new, far-reaching path of citizen orientation and participation,

given that the participation procedure to be tested in the case of the participatory budget is to be transferred to all specialist procedures that are open to citizens.

E-participation will thus be extended to become a standard offer of the administration for its citizens. The product areas selected for this first participatory budget in Cologne were Streets/Paths/Squares, Green Spaces and Sports with a total budget of 311 million euros. Citizen participation is to be extended to additional areas of the budget for the upcoming budget planning.

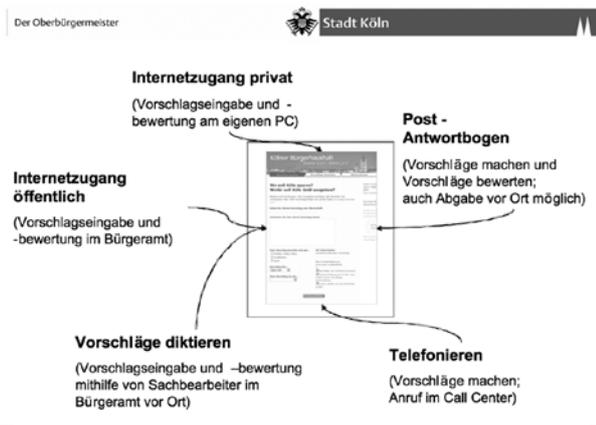


*Procedure in Cologne: Submission of recommendation, voting, best list, specialist commentary, political assessment, council presentation and council resolution, and, finally, accountability.*

The four-week online dialogue for Cologne’s participatory budget for 2008 took place from 22.10 to 19.11.2007 and was extremely successful: 10,234 participants registered on the Internet platform, 4,973 suggestions were submitted, and these suggested attracted a total of 9,184 comments and 52,746 evaluations (pro or contra votes). The suggestions were viewed about 464,000 times altogether. Pages of the participation platform received exactly 873,476 hits. Around 120,000 identifiable visitors (unique visitors) were counted. Given these participation figures, Cologne’s participatory budget greatly surpasses all comparable online procedures in Germany and throughout Europe. The media have also reported extensively on this project.

Just as many citizens participated in the second round of Cologne’s participatory budget for 2010; the number of suggestions is lower and lies at approximately 1,300.

With its Internet presentation at [www.stadt-koeln.de](http://www.stadt-koeln.de), the city of Cologne has an instrument for informing its citizens. A new participation procedure was introduced with the support of the Fraunhofer Institute IAIS and a specific, software-supported system was installed in order to obtain the knowledge and opinions of the public about the participatory budget by digital means and to use it for preparing plans and decisions. The Internet-based participation platform stands at the centre of a multi-channel offer that also includes the communication channels of telephone (call centre), letter and personal contact.



*Options for submitting suggestions in Cologne – in the participatory budget for 2010, 98 percent of the suggestions were submitted via the Internet. The others were submitted by a form through regular mail, telephone, or by dictation at city hall.*

In the meantime, the council of the city of Cologne has decided to implement the 100 top recommendations for each area and to provide an additional 8.2 million euros for further budget measures for the double budget 2008/2009. More funds will follow with the budget plan for 2010. Installation of an online workflow system is planned for the second phase of the procedure. Then, for the first time in all of Germany, the city of Cologne will integrate the entire process chain citizen participation > political acceptance > decision and accountability > monitoring of the resolutions into a professional, IT supported system of budget planning and present it publicly.

## Questions

**Prof. Dr. Helmut Klages:** The differences between the two rounds of the participatory budget are not plausible, but seem to be peculiar: in the first round, approx. 5,000 suggestions were submitted, but in the second it was only 1,300. How is this drop to be explained? Is this the typical shrinkage before the end of the process?

**Dr. Oliver Märker:** I don't think that the second participatory budget in Cologne was worse than the first because it's the number of participants that counts and this is just as high. On the other hand, the number of suggestions is not to be understood as a quality attribute or as a conceptual hint. The people have understood that it's not about producing lots of suggestions; rather, it is the evaluation of a suggestion that leads to its being realised. Please separate the Cologne concept and the Internet in your thinking. There are cities that only use the Internet for discussion of the administration's proposed cuts and confine the citizen suggestions to the background.

**Jürgen Behrendt:** It's true that we had fewer suggestions the second time, but the number of participants was just as high. Here there is a qualitative aspect to consider. The first time there was a large number of duplicate suggestions on the same topic. Now the people are familiar with the procedure so there are far fewer duplicates than the first time. Every single suggestion was discussed far more intensively. That's why the number of comments per suggestion has doubled. Also, this time there are only two subject areas rather than three.

**Question:** E-participation is to be continued; do the various authorities also submit suggestions for the voting? What is the relationship between suggestions for savings and requests for expenditures. What is the budget situation in Cologne; I see no financial limits on the citizen suggestions, how do you handle expensive suggestions?

**Jürgen Behrendt:** We made a conscious decision against presenting suggestions from the administration because we want the citizens to formulate their own suggestions. The city council decides on the individual suggestions that are to be realised as part of an overall concept. At the present time, 26 percent of all suggestions are suggestions for savings, but these still need to be assessed as well. Regarding

the budget situation in Cologne: now Cologne is about to start balancing the budget and has a structural deficit of over 300 million euros. Nevertheless, we have not abandoned the approach of participatory budgeting. Now politics must decide how it handles this. Whether and how the third participatory budget will be handled depends on the evaluation of the current budget. In general, this following applies: if the deficits do not shrink then savings will have to move more to the forefront.

**Question:** How many citizen suggestions were realised?

**Jürgen Behrendt:** 67 percent from the lists of best suggestions were implemented.

**Dr. Elke Löffler:** Regarding extension of the online procedure to other administrative areas, I wonder if it wouldn't be sensible to institutionalise participatory budgeting in Cologne in the sense of active complaint management; because here it was less about budget suggestions. The suggestions of the first round of the participatory budget in Cologne show this: only 0.1 percent of the entire financial volume was affected by them. Why should citizens only be allowed to submit suggestions for a certain time and not all year for all areas? Shouldn't it be more about setting priorities?

**Jürgen Behrendt:** We are certainly thinking in this direction because when such technology is used it seems reasonable to conclude that a comprehensive dialogue system should be installed. However, this would not replace participatory budgeting because the latter is embedded in the budget planning procedure with certain deadlines that reoccur each year.

**Margarete Gallhof:** In the sense of quality assurance, I see bottlenecks in the procedure that are more discouraging than motivating for the people.

**Jürgen Behrendt:** This is the actual administration routine with preliminary discussions, deadlines and consulting cycles that cannot be leveraged out by participatory budgeting. With participatory budgeting we try to accelerate the work flows.

**Andrea Burzacchini:** How can it be avoided that participatory budgeting becomes a second Local Agenda 21? How is

it that the suggestions of the citizens are not binding on the city but are still considered in a cyclical process?

**Dr. Oliver Märker:** Concerning the significance this procedure has in the total system of a city: participatory budgeting is one among many contributions to political culture that should not be overtaxed. Generally speaking, participatory budgeting should not expect too much; such approaches cannot achieve everything but are limited.

**Prof. Dr. He Baogang,  
Deakin University (China/Australia):  
Random selection as an instrument  
for mobilisation?**



First I like to assert that the random selection looks like a technical issue but it is more than this, it's one of the most important issues in the participatory budgeting process. How do we select the participants? There are **four methods of selecting participants**:

The first method is the **administrative selection**. Here we talk about stakeholders who are used to decide. The argument against this method is that this selection is subject to manipulation. In this case the whole process of the participatory budgeting is likely to be manipulated. This undermines the whole participatory budgeting fundamentally.

The **voluntary participation** is the second way of selection, here the administration is avoided and people decide voluntarily. People are interested in the participatory budgeting, so they come to the meetings and talk about it. But this method faces some problems: only those who have an interest will participate and the one without won't come. In the case of Brazil we see that almost poor people come to the participatory budgeting events and dominate the process and issues, so consequently the distribution of the funds is in favour of the poor. Another example to show how unfair this type of selection can be is in one Chinese city where often old people participate in, so the issues are dominated by interests of the older population, the concerns of the younger generation are not respected. This is far from the representation of the population, it's a biased representation.

The **random selection** offers a scientific representation of the population. The idea of a random selection process is to apply statistical methods to social surveys. The scientific technique of the random selection represents the whole population; it reflects the principle of equality and represents the community. That prevents the government officials from manipulating participants and gives the administration the legitimacy. One main advantage of the random sampling is that it makes deliberative polls more representative and democratic. The result has a direct impact on the policy because the random selection enjoys a high level of representation and legitimacy. Other advantages are related to fairness and equality, because statistically everyone has the same chance to be selected and to participate. Finally the random selection ensures a full inclusion of marginalized people because everyone is statistically equal, no one is excluded, and minorities are included.

**How is a random selection carried out?** The easiest way is to use the computer software, which is done very cheaper. In China Zeguo town uses 'Ping Pang Ball Drawing'. It prepares electoral registration number for each citizen and the Ping Pang Ball Drawing decides numbers. In China people mistrust computing, they prefer the local selection by drawing the numbers directly in the face of villagers when people are assembled. This generates higher costs because one has to go with the administration officials to each village for two or three days. But it's an open and fair method and sends the message of transparency in China.

**What are the disadvantages of the random selection?** Administrative selection method usually doesn't reach illiterate people, but the random selection method gets ten percent of the illiterate. They aren't able to understand the budgeting papers and consequently they aren't good at articulating and discussing during the process. Another issue is uncertainty. It is not clear who will come, this is completely out of control. Besides we notice a low level of deliberation because the persons concerned aren't always attended. Concerning specific issues, like gender for example, we see in one case only few women attending, that's not balanced. So one can't ensure that all stakeholders are coming, it might be that some of them are excluded from the participatory budgeting process.

The last selection type, the **mixed method**, is probably the best method for selection. In case of the Chinese village

we start with advertising calling for voluntary participants and among them the random selection is used. So you got a combination between the voluntary participation and the random selection, as result there are people with a high level of interest participating in the process.

By comparing the above methods each has advantages and disadvantages; but the **random selection in combination with the voluntary participation** shows the most advantages. See the table below:

	Representation	Participation	Cost
Random	High	not sure	high
Voluntary participation	low	high	low
Administrative appointment	uncertain ?	high	low
Mixed Method	high	high	high

*Abstract of advantages and disadvantages of the different selection types used in Chinese participatory budgeting cases*

## Questions

**Question:** In Berlin-Marzahn-Hellersdorf we applied a random selection procedure based on age groups and achieved only three percent participation; this is hardly representative. I don't see any constitutional way to make anyone participate. Now we're going to organise this with direct approach. How do you achieve this high participation?

**Prof. He Baogang:** The random selection method is nothing new as a democratic instrument; it goes back to the Greek history. Your point is right: you can't force people to participate. So we spent some money: after a full day of participation people get a little material benefit as an incentive.

**Dr. Elke Löffler:** Congratulations on your presentation, but I disagree with your statement. Participatory democracy cannot be, must not be and shouldn't be ever representative. The first reason is that we already have elected local politicians. Opening up another form which claims to be representative is highly dysfunctional so to be shown in the participatory budgeting of Cordoba consists of a lot of committees and a hundred-page handbook which no one understands. The second reason: the most citizens aren't interested in abstract numbers in budgets. That is why the Cologne participatory budgeting-experience is so cunning – people are asked about topics and not about numbers. So the administration all over the world has to be better in finding out what people are really interested in. Each of us is caring about one or two issues but not interested in everything. If we want to improve participation levels we have to do market research to know what is relevant. Also the places where people are asked is important: it's not the town hall it's the pub on a Friday evening where you find out what is relevant to them.

**Prof. He Baogang:** The participatory budgeting should not be representative because we already have a representative democracy. If you are the mayor of a council, you have to consider the question of legitimacy and representation. If people are coming and not representing the community – shall I accept this or refuse it? I think representation is embedded in the whole process of a participatory budgeting.

Two issues come out of my experiments: The first is a chal-

lenging: We random select people but – some people are really interested in public budget and they are not random selected, but those who are random selected don't represent their views. The second issue is that we need a balance between the social sciences and the political impartment of the process. But if we give too much emphasize to the social sciences like random selection and surveys there is a decrease of the political aspect.

**Question:** What is the content of Chinese participatory budgeting? Which budgets can be voted on in the villages and other communities?

**Prof. He Baogang:** In the years 2004 and 2005 they discussed about 40 percent of the budget, in 2007 and 2008 the whole budget is discussed but with a focus on infrastructure. Many budget points are fixed, so this can't be discussed.

**Prof. Dr. Hans Lietzmann:** Does the budget that is decided on really pertain to all the questions of the municipalities and are these comparably autonomous in their decisions or are these only subareas? In our research office "Citizen Participation Wuppertal" (*Bürgerbeteiligung Wuppertal*) we conduct many planning cells with random selection and achieve participation rates of 30 to 60 percent. We don't attach any great importance to representativeness and still achieve, viewed de facto in the social sciences context, high representativeness with the participation. How does it come to 80 percent participation in your municipalities?

**Prof. He Baogang:** This has to be seen in the context of the political culture in China and the social-communistic practice. The strong mobilisation is linked to a traditional Chinese attitude: if you organize those public things most people will come.

**Question:** What are your experiences with already established interest groups? There is a strong suspiciousness within civil society, that an ordinary public budgeting process is already influenced by interested citizens, by powerful and wealthy ones. So that the process of a participatory budgeting becomes a means of increasing the possible influence of those who are at present marginalized. The

British model which was reported yesterday seems to be a deliberative effort to handle this problem. What are the Chinese experiences towards this problem?

**Prof. He Baogang:** The whole idea of a participatory budgeting using deliberative polling is about an open process. We not only random select the people we also divide the people into small randomly formed groups. So they can't form any kind of particular interest group

## Podium Discussion



**Stefan Kreuzberger:** As a citizens' initiative, the Local Agenda 21 in Cologne, we got this process of participatory budgeting started. The city administration has implemented it well and the success has been publicly presented and praised. The problem with our current participatory budget is not the reduced number of suggestions but a loss of trust in the political authorities because, in the current participatory budgeting, no financially relevant matters are being decided. Therefore, the citizens cannot exert any real influence on the municipal budget. The "sacred cows" such as large community projects and promotion of the economy continue to be untouched.

**Jürgen Behrendt:** No participatory budget can replace any processes of political decision-making. A participatory budget is solely an additional element that can only exert influence to a limited extent. The fact is that in view of Cologne's budget situation, voluntary and mandatory expenditures have to be reduced. However, the following statement applies in principle: participatory budgeting does have effects because it creates transparency. Furthermore it can serve to shift priorities.

**Dr. Oliver Märker:** We shouldn't expect too much of participatory budgeting because in the context of the entire, municipal, political culture it is only a small, new element that can bring about changes when implemented pragmatically.

**Martin Burwitz:** In what kind of detail are the suggestions presented? How exactly is the presentation of the procedure on the Internet?

**Jürgen Behrendt:** A semi-annual report is planned so that the key figures are presented in a transparent and clear manner. Regarding the future of participatory budgeting in Cologne: Naturally we can no longer carry it out in this form because the focus will have to shift to the subject of savings. A further question: How can we combine the modern technology of the Internet with traditional approaches, such as community orientation? Only through the Internet can social initiatives be networked with each other on and included in a participatory process.

**Prof. Dr. Hans J. Lietzmann:** In Wuppertal, which likewise has a deficit budget, civic participation serves to generate suggestions for saving money. Here in Wuppertal, the process is quite different from the one practiced in Cologne. Also, because the political environment is different in Wuppertal, civic participation here is more exciting than in Cologne. Participatory budgeting is a form of politics. In view of the situation of impoverished municipalities, administration and councils are grateful for citizen participation because it serves as resource of legitimacy.

**Question:** How can Internet-supported participatory budgeting procedures be structured so that manipulation from the outside is impossible? In the case of our participatory budgeting in Berlin Marzahn-Hellersdorf, over 75 percent of the entries were obviously manipulated. How can I be sure that the rest of the participation and even the evaluation are not manipulated?

**Dr. Oliver Märker:** If participatory budgeting is embedded in good public relations work and is also conducted throughout the entire city and with high civic participation then abuse is only marginal. In Cologne, in the first round, only four of approx. 15,000 written contributions had to be faded out because of statements that did not conform to the rules. Here, both the city and the citizens were active themselves.

**Question:** How can participatory budgeting or participative models be treated in school lessons? Do political and economic education overlap?

**Dr. Oliver Märker:** Generally speaking, participatory budgeting addresses the people. Our experience shows that young people participate far less than older people.

In Bergheim, for example, pupils were approached in the schools in order to make them more aware of the concept of civic participation. The city budget was presented to them and a “laptop class” was given the task of helping elderly citizens in the town hall to evaluate and comment on suggestions. The pupils received a task and were thereby won as active participants. This had a further positive side effect: the percentage of participants in this age group was greater than the corresponding percentage of the population.

The Cologne procedure should be viewed in an abstracted way; the positive experience made there can certainly be transferrable: the proximity of the participatory budget to the administration, which makes the procedure transparent and makes a learning process possible, as well as the fact that it has awoken the interest of many people in the budget. But it's not about assessing the Cologne concept; rather, every community needs its own concept.

**Michael Beseler:** I would like to emphasize that a municipal budget is subject to strict statutory regulations and an administration cannot proceed arbitrarily. In Offenbach am Main (120,000 inhabitants), we conduct a so-called citizens' forum similar to participatory budgeting. In Offenbach, however, there is more information and discussion than advice provided by the citizens. Due to the manageable size of our city this is done; for large municipalities this would hardly apply.

**Prof. He Baogang:** In China there exists a public law regarding the Internet. What is the problem? On the national level the number of submissions is overwhelming, and there are only few people to work on the submissions. So the internet becomes a burden for the administrators. In consequence they created a software to summarize the submissions.

**Erik Jansen:** Two questions about the Cologne Internet offer: How can influences from people who do not belong to the municipality be prevented? How much influence does the moderator have on the process?

**Jürgen Behrendt:** Good recommendations are ideas, regardless of whom they come from. In practice, there are rarely suggestions from other municipalities and these are then also heard.

**Dr. Oliver Märker:** Moderation must be neutral and professionalism is part of this. Moderation can also be taken over by the administration or the citizens themselves. In principle, the offer should be moderated so that misuse by a few is prevented.

**Peter Wilberts:** Regarding the educational aspect and including young people: In Rösrath there is a youth parliament that would be suitable for including young people. The 1970's was the time of the socio-cultural centres. These approaches should certainly be included in the current participatory procedures.

**Wolfgang Prauser:** The Cologne model is encouraging because how was it possible for so many people to be included? How can marginal groups such as, for example, immigrants, be included and activated?

**Jürgen Behrendt:** A broader basis can serve in increase participation, including participation by marginal groups.

**Benno Trütken:** Some people brought up the fundamental changes in the municipal situation. How do we react to these changes methodically and how can we progress the participatory budget process? What lessons do we take with us from the experiences of others?

**Dr. Oliver Märker:** When it's about large infrastructures used jointly by several municipalities, then there is the question of whether a participatory budget based on a city network can be conducted so as to save money. Are there any thoughts or experience here on the part of political bodies and administration?

**Peter Wilberts:** In Rösrath (27,000 inhabitants), so-called special-purpose associations were founded with neighbouring municipalities in the 1970's. It can however turn out that the municipalities involved make very different use of the jointly supported services. This could be investigated ahead of time through a participatory budget and regulated accordingly.

**Prof. Dr. Hans J. Lietzmann:** With the so-called “sacred cows” of municipal politics, such as promotion of high culture or the economy, there is the question: can the long-term considerations and complex contexts associated with them be conveyed during the relatively short-term procedure of

a participatory budget? Wouldn't a corrective of the politics that are responsible over the long term be more suitable?

**Request to speak:** I agree with you, it is precisely considerations oriented to the good of the community and not to the representatives of certain interests that would be much better represented via face-to-face communication and not via the Internet.

When leeway for redistribution approaches zero it is certainly possible for the councils of city districts to discuss compact suggestion packages based on suggestions from planning cells.

**Nils Jonas:** Participatory budgeting is the instrument of the many, small concerns of the citizens and not an instrument for handling large projects. Regarding communication: every participatory instrument that uses only one form of communication will have problems because every communications channel has its advantages and disadvantages. One should open up as many channels as possible for participation.

budgeting experiments which in China are internally often criticised. One of the differences compared to the participatory budgeting here is the general condition: in Germany you talk about saving money. The topic in China, because of its good economic development, is how to use the amount of money wisely? Secondly I realised that there is a similar discussion in China concerning the administrative logic which is always concerned about how to improve the government machinery. But the participatory budgeting is only a small part of the process and should not take over the government decision making process. The other aspect is the citizens' impartment logic, that intends to give people more and more power, they want to decide the allocation budget – this means a great motivation. Those two logics are overlapping, discovering this can be interesting for the future development of the participatory budgeting to make it more sustainable and based on reality. How can participatory budgeting improve at the same time the administrative machinery and the empowerment of the people?

## Concluding statements

**Jürgen Behrendt:** I have been able to gain many different views and reports of experience on the subject of participatory budgeting. In the end, every municipality will have to find its own path to more civic participation. The Internet is now the only medium that can bundle communication processes so that a good overview is possible.

**Dr. Oliver Märker:** There is no such thing as THE Internet – but there are special, technical infrastructures that are more or less well-suited for civic participation. First, conceptual considerations on which the technical implementation will depend should be put in place the Internet should serve. Using the Internet makes sense for the development of participatory infrastructures because when municipalities agree to joint use with other cities and municipalities, they can each avoid paying all the development costs for a system for their own private use. Intermunicipal cooperation serves the use of socio-technical concepts!

**Prof. He Baogang:** Comparing your experiences to the Chinese situation I feel confidence for the participatory

## V. Closing Plenum

Representatives of the groups reported to the plenum on the impulses and perspectives that they had worked out for participatory budgeting in Germany and all over the world. During the short presentations, the participants were able to gain insight into the individual, thematic, very different forums. The results were then reviewed critically in a general discussion.

### Forum I, First day, Presentation: Volker Vorwerk

The first forum, which was organised as a classic presentation forum, offered a broad spectrum of subjects: The mayor of the comparatively small German municipality of Steinfurt, Andreas Hoge, shared his experiences with participatory budgeting there. Here, the focus was mostly on the organisation of the process and the institutional structuring of the participatory budget, which in Steinfurt revolves around a central one-day assembly with participants selected at random. In the further course of the presentations and questions from participants it turned out that there are many different possibilities for organisation. Then the participants received an impression of participatory budgeting in Sweden which is still at the beginning of implementation. Lena Langlet presented three examples strongly focused on the target group of young people. The fact that participation of young people in participatory processes had been lacking was taken as an occasion for focusing primarily on this target group. The Internet proved to be particularly successful in the effort to reach them. The participant structure is different in Spain, as Ernesto Ganuza reported on the basis of a comparative study of participatory budgeting in Spain. In Spain, approximately one to three percent of the population is reached by participatory budgets. Men are first overrepresented; however, after a few rounds, there are more women. As for age groups, the citizens aged 30 to 59 years are more strongly represented than in the population. The proportion of people in political organisation increases over time. Participation in assemblies is, overall, strongly influenced by age, the ideology represented, interest in politics and the level of organisation. Of note: in this southern European country young people are especially underrepresented.

These Spanish results are in agreement to a great extent with the situation in Germany; that is why there one of the tasks here and there is to more strongly involve certain population groups in the participatory process. Depending on the process, 0.5 to 2.0 percent of the population is reached. The heterogeneous composition of these person groups can be structured to be more representative by means of random selection methods as this will help reach less active people rather than only those who are already in a organisation. For a central task of participatory budgeting in all countries is to reach a sufficiently large number of people from all population groups.

### Forum I, Second day, Presentation: Josh Lerner

During this conference scholars and practitioners discussed participatory budgeting experiences from diverse cities in Europe, Africa, Latin America, and North America. Four themes and questions emerged from these discussions: the roles of vision, deliberation, decision-making, and change. First, we talked about the **vision behind** participatory budgeting and we realised that there are **very different visions of its purpose**. Most of the German participatory budgeting's, like the one in Berlin-Lichtenberg, seem to have the focus on modernisation, while the African focus is mainly on good governance and the Spanish ones are more oriented towards social justice and empowerment.

What does that mean for the **practice** of their participatory budgeting? Who benefits? Should participatory budgeting have a social justice vision? If it doesn't is it still participatory budgeting or if not, something else?

Secondly we talked about how that effects **deliberation and decision making**. Who deliberates about what and who decides about what? Deliberation is not just about projects it's also about bigger themes like social justice criteria. So the roles for deliberation are very **different**. In Germany, there are relatively few face-to-face forums for deliberation, whereas in Spain, deliberation is very important for instance between staff and citizens, as a way to build up community not only to get better decisions and understandings to learn about the different perspectives. In Africa, many deliberations consider not only allocations,

but also budget revenues, searching for new ways to raise public funds.

Third, **decision-making** can be more than deciding on projects or funding, it can also be participatory by deciding on the rules of the process, or on the criteria to evaluate projects and how to apply these criteria like it is in Spain. Many experiences allowed ordinary citizens to decide on allocations, but most of the German ones deferred decision-making to city staff and politicians. The decisions in Germany were more often presented as recommendations to the city while in Spain decisions are binding.

Finally we talked about **change**. Change is inherently part and a result of participatory budgeting – each year it inspires new and better ways of organising the process. Participatory budgeting processes are never static, they are always changing. So a good participatory budgeting inspires changes. People generate new ideas through the act of participating. Some German cities won't launch a participatory budgeting before they had found the perfect process, but as we've seen, the only way to move towards perfection is to start experimenting. Every year or every other year, participants evaluate the process and make changes. Hopefully the rich discussions in Berlin will encourage more cities to adopt participatory budgeting, and to continue making the process more democratic, participatory, and empowering.

## **Forum II, Presentation: Ralf Elsässer**

Forum II dealt with political education and participatory budgeting. The results of the forum from both days were combined into a list of suggestions and weighted by the participants of the forum. On both days the question of embedding participatory budgeting in the municipal strategy was taken up again and again. Ideally, there should be a **guiding vision of a citizens' municipality** with a **participation concept** that is derived from it and in which the participatory budget is implemented with accompanying learning processes. The guiding vision should be that of a citizens' municipality that is lasting and marked by solidarity. When the **process structuring** was considered, it was agreed that neither a purely "bottom-up" nor "top-down" process is desirable, for doing both together is more promising and has greater potential.

Regarding **political education**: this should be tied to concrete projects and real budgets in schools. The further development of such projects should let the schools become local competence centre. They should be positioned in the city district as a general learning location, not only for children and young people.

For the **procedures** themselves, it was clearly pointed out that best-possible transparency is to be achieved in the communications processes. This is of special importance after the citizen recommendations have been handed in.

I emphasise two points that came out of the **international debate of the forum**: participatory processes are development processes. Civil society too should encourage the administration to accept the possibility of risks. To be a failure is not shameful but an opportunity to learn and develop further. It would be desirable for certain communities to be redefined as legally special, autonomous communities in which other regulations beyond those customary in German communities are allowed.

**Supplement:** Two further aspects should also be mentioned: Which things come into the budget? Is the participatory budget of today just a part of a more comprehensively formulated budget of tomorrow? To what extent does the budget have financial items that have previously not been found in any municipal budget? The key terms here are externalities and voluntary commitment, which can be mobilised as additional resources through a participatory budget.

## **Forum III, Presentation: Marlene Grauer and Florian Rister**

In this forum, various topics were discussed on the event days. On the first day it was about gender budgeting. The first presentation, by Manfred Köhnen, introduced us to the concept of gender budgeting. Manfred Köhnen went into the terms "gender" and "gender mainstreaming" so as to ensure a uniform level of knowledge. The presentation by Graciela Ciciliani from Rosario, Argentina, illustrated a practical application of gender budgeting in the participatory budget of the municipality Rosario. We became acquainted with the procedure, the successes but also the hurdles of gender budgeting. After the two presentations, the partici-

pants continued their work in a fishbowl discussion round in which all participants were able to trade experience about their own projects and ask further questions. Here, the primary question was how gender budgeting can be integrated into German and European participatory budgets. For this, four main topics were discussed:

In the area of **communication**, gender sensitive communication of participatory budgeting to the citizens and local administration is necessary. Adequate communication can be secured through transparent implementation processes and presentation of visible results; in other words, successful implementation of the suggestions. Project budgets should be made public by the time of voting, e.g. on the Internet.

To create a gender sensitive attitude on the part of the **administration**, further education in gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting should be conducted for administration staff. The individual budget items should be classified by gender criteria and the structure of the needs-analysis for the budget should be gender sensitive. Here, it is useful to collect and analyse statistical data by gender criteria, too.

**Internet participation** was brought up in this context. The degree of anonymisation with Internet voting is interesting because the experience of various participatory budgets shows that a high degree of personal anonymity increase the number of participants, whereas this figure does not fall when social statistical data is collected too.

When looking at the topic of equal opportunity, we also asked whether other marginal groups should be included in gender budgeting too. This was not clarified conclusively, so the discussion was continued on the second forum day.

### **Forum III, Second Day, Presentation: Florian Rister**

The guiding question of this day was: How can participatory budgeting contribute to social justice? Prof. Leonardo Avritzer from the university Minas Gerais in Brazil gave an introduction to the establishment of participatory budgets in Brazil and their tangible successes. As part of his research, Prof. Avritzer has developed various criteria for assessing the effects of participatory budgets and their qualities. In addition to the Human Development Index, he also examined the extent to which cities and regions with

participatory budgets are increasing their investments in educational and health facilities.

Nils Scheffler presented concepts for using civic participation as an instrument for improving urban planning. The focus shifted to direct approaches by political decision makers and administrators. Rather than merely anticipating the people's will or falling back on the strongly represented interest groups, one should apply measures for involving the marginal groups affected.

Then Steve Flores described the experience of Toronto Community Housing, a Canadian housing association. The largest government housing provider in Canada has been granting its tenants a far-reaching right of co-determination for the use of the budget since 2001. This co-determination has led to increases in the quality of living conditions and improvements in the condition of the facilities. Successes can be particularly seen in larger rental facilities with potentially socially weaker residents. But here, too, setbacks cannot be avoided but lead to an improvement of the process and thus to a better result, too.

The following theses were worked out in the fishbowl discussion: the mode of communication is extremely important; the groups affected must be reached. A bottom-up or top-down development must take place from both sides. Legitimation and excessively rigid regulations continue to be a source of conflict. There is no model solution. Flexibility of political decision makers must be given. The process is often the goal; setbacks are to be expected. The expert knowledge of those affected should be used.

### **Forum IV, First day, Presentation: Dr. Hilmar Sturm**

The podium discussion led by Benno Trütken began with the presentation of Prof. Helmut Klages who devoted his presentation to fundamental aspects: Why are there participatory processes and what are the possible approaches? His preferred model consists of a mix of written, representative surveys and collection of suggestions. This should be included in the total process of the budget planning. Ruth Jackson reported on participatory budgeting experience in Great Britain; there are participatory budgets in all four parts of the nation. The PB-Unit recently published a

manual together with the municipalities involved in which standards and certain values for participation were given. Michaela Maurer presented the experience with participatory budgets in German municipalities. Her conclusions were clear: Customised instruments are important for the municipalities; however, expectations should not be excessively perfectionistic. Important is, above all, that the information flow within the administration improves. She advocated beginning with the awareness that mistakes can be made too! After this, Prof. Norbert Kersting presented a system of differentiation: Which functions do participatory budgets have and which approaches are there? The South African experience of participatory budgeting leads to questions about the effects of the participatory approach and it was ascertained that it is difficult to understand these effects. Prof. Kersting's suggestion for this is: participatory budgets should more strongly tied in with elements of direct democracy, so as to create a binding aspect of political co-determination.

In the discussion, Prof. Klages pointed out that the content of many participatory budgeting processes is not the actual budget plan but rather a forum that is more like a company suggestion box. If it is only about distribution of a tiny piece of the budget then a term that is more pertinent than participatory budget should be found. Furthermore, there was the question of the real measurable results of participatory budgeting: is there a measurable quantitative change in the city districts with participatory budgeting compared to those without it? A further discussion point resulted from this: What is the relationship between the citizens and the elected political representatives? More information and dialogue between these actors is demanded because it is these kinds of participatory approaches that often make problems visible for the first time. But the success of this visibility, which is certainly an important aspect, is hardly measurable. Josh Lerner responded by differentiating between two different types of participatory budgeting: a political and a apolitical approach. The political approach is directed more toward empowerment and a collective approach and often takes places without the use of technology. The apolitical approach focuses more on modernisation, tends to be oriented to the individual and employs technical means to solve the problems in the administration and possibly elsewhere. This resulted in a discussion about whether it is nec-

essary for participation to be representative. If legitimation is intended, then it is necessary. If, however, empowerment is the focus, then it is not necessary.

As internationally diverse municipal constitutions were discussed, the diversity of the political cultures also became clear. Is this political culture a requirement for participatory budgeting or do participatory budgets change the political culture? Our forum ended with the demand that participatory budgeting dig into the depths of budget planning and not be satisfied with a few, marginal parts of the budget. But this is a field of conflict because there is resistance such as the acceleration law, for example, which could quickly put an end to civic participation.

#### **Forum IV, Second Day, Presentation: Benno Trütken**

After the film about the first participatory budget in Cologne, the forum continued with a presentation about second participatory budget in Cologne. There were learning- and change processes for the people and the administration: For example, in the second round of the procedure, fewer suggestions were submitted but the number of comments grew. Here, the citizens drew appropriate conclusions from the fact that only 200 suggestions had made it to an assessment by the council. Also in this forum, the previously heard criticism rose again as to whether large projects should not also be the subject of participatory budgeting. That is why it's important to realise: Which instruments did we apply correctly and for what purpose? How can we further develop participatory budgeting with these methods in view of new challenges?

New aspects of participation were also delivered by the report from China by Prof. He. There, various considerations regarding participatory structures and procedures were included in participatory budgeting: Administrative participation "from above" would have to face the charge of manipulation and voluntary participation "from below" would raise the question of whether the participatory structure is truly representative. To address both problems, the random selection of citizens was introduced. This has proved to be a suitable approach in China.

The subsequent discussion dealt with the question of what

kind of challenges we currently face with participatory budgeting. Once again, we are only entrusted with portions of the budget in participatory budgeting processes, but these portions are empty. That is, a participatory budget can only be about the total municipal budget. It is necessary to develop appropriate methods for this and here it is helpful to look beyond one's municipal boundaries and horizon in the sense of intra-municipal participatory budgeting. That is, it is time to change participatory budgeting!

### Chatting phase

During this brief phase, participants have the opportunity to exchange directly with their seat neighbours. When the chatting phase has been ended, the moderator gathers further impressions in the audience.

**Request to speak:** For me, the contents were new and the entire congress was therefore very informative. I see the democratic aspect of participatory budgeting as being more the focus, less the distribution of funds.

**Request to speak:** In our municipality, we are standing before the decision about whether participatory budgeting should be introduced or not; therefore the experiences shared here are a useful aid for me.

**Request to speak:** For me as a representative of the participatory budget in Potsdam [Germany] the insights presented and discussed were valuable. With our participatory budget in Potsdam we achieved a high participation rate of four percent of possible participants with our third run. We have also gathered other experience: a participatory budgeting process was rejected by the city councillors due to a lack of representativeness. Now we are conducting a large survey to activate participants and collect suggestions. This has proved to be successful and will be continued in the years to come.

**Request to speak:** We are speaking of the relation between social justice and participatory budgeting – this subject could be discussed in greater detail.

**Ruth Jackson:** I realised for the first time how many participatory budgeting models exist around the world. Plus I

see now how different are the reasons for wanting to do a Participatory Budget.

**Andreas Hoge:** The variety of participatory budgeting worldwide and, above all, the implementation of participatory budgeting in Africa are very impressive to me. Here, we can learn a lot from the south!

**Request to speak:** I see many things in a more differentiated way now – however, many questions that lead farther have resulted. But that's just what I expected from a good event!

**Request to speak:** I'll be using the many suggestions from the municipalities and the countries as an argumentation aid for implementing participatory budgeting.

**Request to speak:** My conclusion is: Participatory budgeting is a social learning process that should include political authorities, administration, citizens and intermediary organisations. How could it continue?

**Steve Floros:** In my experience: It starts with a small model, but don't wait for the perfect model, it won't come. Do it slowly and listen to your constituents.

**Request to speak:** There are further organisations that deal with participatory budgeting; that's why I see the necessity to bring the various actors together in a network so that participatory budgeting will become a major element of sustainable further development of the municipalities.

**Request to speak:** I thank all the organisers for these two thematically differentiated days with so many different methods. An exact selection of the interesting subjects was thereby possible.

**Request to speak:** How will the resources of experience gathered here be used? Will there be a follow-up event?

**Benno Trütken:** Here, the network participatory budget with its major representatives – the Service Agency Communities in One World / InWEnt and the German Federal Agency for Civic Education – are the right contact

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partners. Keep working on participatory budgeting and civil society!

**Svetlana Alenitskaya:** All the contents of this congress have been documented and will of course be made available to you. We shall discuss in detail the suggestions that there be a follow-up congress. Publication of the congress material can be found on our website: [www.buergerhaushalt.de](http://www.buergerhaushalt.de), which is kept up to date. Please use this site for your questions and ideas, too. We look forward to your participation!

# VI. Annexes

## Programme

### First day (Thursday, 21st of January 2010)

#### 12.00 – 13.55 Opening & Thematic introduction

- Greeting, *Thomas Krüger, President Federal Agency for Civic Education*
- Greeting, *Dr. Béatrice von Hirschhausen, Centre Marc Bloch*
- Greeting and Presentation: Challenges for the local development cooperation  
*Anita Reddy, Head of Service Agency Communities in One World, InWEnt gGmbH*
- Models of participatory budgeting and the transformation in Germany  
*Dr. Anja Röcke and Dr. Carsten Herzberg, Centre Marc Bloch*
- Filmlet on a local experience of participatory budgeting

#### 14.10 – 17.40 Workshops (incl. coffee break)

Forum I: National and international examples of participatory budgeting

Forum II: Representative democracy, federalism and civil education

Forum III: Social justice and Gender Budgeting

Forum IV: Media, modernisation, and evaluation of participatory budgets

#### 17.45 – 18.30 Learning from the Global South?

- Film on an international experiences of participatory budgeting
- International networks. Possibilities of cooperation for municipalities,  
*Dr. Giovanni Allegretti, Centro Estudos Sociais, Portugal*

#### 18.30 Dinner & End

### Second day (Friday, 22nd of January 2010)

#### 09.30 – 12.45 Forums (repetition with modified focuses)

#### 12.45 – 14.00 Lunch break

#### 14.00 – 15.00 Presentation of the workshop's results

Report of the several groups and discussion

#### 15:00 End

## Forums 1st day (21st of January 2010)

Forum I: National and international examples of participatory budgeting	Forum II: Representative democracy, federalism and civil education	Forum III: Social justice and Gender Budgeting	Forum IV: Media, modernisation and evaluation
Moderator: Volker Vorwerk, buergerwissen  Method: presentations/commentary	Moderator: Ralf Elsässer, CIVIXX  Method: World Café	Moderators: Marlene Grauer, Florian Rister, teamGLOBAL  Method: Fishbowl	Moderator: Benno Trütken, forum b  Method: Panel discussion
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Participatory budgeting in the context of the governmental economic stimulus package against the financial crisis <i>Andreas Hoge, mayor of Steinfurt</i></li> <li>- Participatory budgeting in Sweden <i>Lena Langlet, Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions</i></li> <li>- Participatory budgeting in Spain: Mobilisation of citizens <i>Dr. Ernesto Ganuza, IESA (Spain)</i></li> <li>Commentary: <i>Nicholas Bach, Institute Nexus</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Table 1: Participatory budgets in the federal system of Germany <i>Ulrike Loehr, lawyer</i></li> <li>Table 2: Civic education and participatory budgeting <i>Christa Widmaier</i></li> <li>Table 3: Proximity Participation – Which challenges? <i>Prof. Dr. Jochen Franzke, Potsdam University</i></li> <li>Table 4: Experiences with participatory budgeting in China, <i>Prof. Dr. He Baogang, (China)</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Introduction to Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Budgeting <i>Manfred Köhnen, Gleichstellung bewegen</i></li> <li>- Possibilities and Chances of Gender Budgeting through participatory budget institutions <i>Graciela Ciciliani, Municipality of Rosario (Argentina)</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Evaluation of participatory budgets <i>Prof. Dr. Helmut Klages, German Research Institute for Public Administration Speyer</i></li> <li>- Quality criteria of participatory budgets in the UK <i>Ruth Jackson, PB Unit (Great Britain)</i></li> <li>- The role of public employees in the implementation of participatory budgeting <i>Michaela Maurer, KGSt</i></li> <li>- Governance, modernisation and Participation <i>Prof. Dr. Norbert Kersting, Stellenbosch University (South Africa)</i></li> </ul>

## Forums 2nd day (22nd of January 2010)

<b>Forum I: National and international examples of participatory budgeting</b>	<b>Forum II: Representative democracy, federalism and civil education</b>	<b>Forum III: Social justice and Gender Budgeting</b>	<b>Forum IV: Media, modernisation and evaluation</b>
<p>Moderator: Volker Vorwerk, buergerwissen</p> <p>Method: presentations/commentary</p>	<p>Moderator: Ralf Elsässer, CIVIXX</p> <p>Method: World Café</p>	<p>Moderators: Marlene Grauer, Florian Rister, teamGLOBAL</p> <p>Method: Fishbowl</p>	<p>Moderator: Benno Trütken, forum b</p> <p>Method: Panel discussion</p>
<p>- Participatory budgets in big cities <i>Christina Emmerich, mayor of the district Berlin-Lichtenberg</i></p> <p>- Sevilla: A Porto Alegre in Europe? <i>Dr. Ernesto Ganuza, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas (Spain)</i></p> <p>- Participatory Budgets in Africa <i>George Matovu, MDPESA (Zimbabwe)</i></p> <p>- Commentary: <i>Prof. Dr. Josh Lerner, New School for Social Research (New York, USA)</i></p>	<p>Table 1: Participation of children – experiences from several cases <i>Thomas Ködelpeter, Association Ecologic Academy</i></p> <p>Table 2: Participatory budgeting in high schools – the experience of the French region of Poitou-Charentes <i>Dr. Anja Röcke, Humboldt University Berlin</i></p> <p>Table 3: Strengthening democracy through cooperation: the example of Portugal and Cape Verde <i>Dr. Giovanni Allegretti, Centro Estudos Sociais (Portugal)</i></p>	<p>- Participatory budgeting and community housing: Toronto <i>Steve Floros, Director Toronto Community Housing (Canada)</i></p> <p>- How to activate marginalised target groups? <i>Nils Scheffler, Certified engineer</i></p> <p>- Social effects of participatory budgeting in Brazil <i>Prof. Dr. Leonardo Avritzer (Brasil)</i></p>	<p>- Possibilities of participatory budgeting via Internet <i>Dr. Oliver Märker, Zebralog</i></p> <p>- The example of the German city of Cologne <i>Jürgen Behrendt, Municipality of Cologne</i></p> <p>- Random selection as instrument for mobilisation? <i>Prof. Dr. He Baogang, (China)</i></p>

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## List of abbreviations

AAIC	Action Aid International China
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CCP	Communist Party of China
CEFA	Centre for Local Powers of Portugal
CFE	Confédération Fiscale Européenne
CMB	Centre Marc Bloch
CPLP	Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa
CWI	China and the World Institute
EU	European Union
FRELIMO	Frente da Libertação de Moçambique - Mozambican Liberation Front
GB	Gender Budgeting
GG	Grundgesetz (the German constitution)
GPF	Groupement de Promotion Féminine
HBS	Hans Böckler Stiftung
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICT	Information and communication technologies
IED Afrique	innovation environnement développement Afrique
InWEnt	Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung gGmbH
KGSt	Kommunale Gemeinschaftsstelle für Verwaltungsmanagement
LAF/FAL	Local Authorities Forum for Social Inclusion
MDP-ESA	Municipal Development Partnership – Eastern and Southern Africa
NGO	Nongovernmental Organisation
NKF	New Community Finance Management
NPC	National Peoples’ Congress (NPC)
NRO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OE	Organisation Development
OIDP	International Observatory of Participatory Democracy
PB Unit	Participatory Budgeting Unit
PI	performance indicator
PPPP	Partizipatives Public Privat Partnership
RECODEF	Regroupement communautaire pour l’auto-développement de Fissel
SAHA	Programme d’Appui au Développement Rural
SALAR	Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions
SKEW	Service Agency Communities in One World
TCHC	Toronto Community Housing
UCLG	United Cities and Local Government
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UN-Habitat	United Nations Human Settlements Programme

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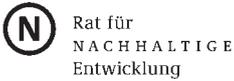
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