

HOPE FOR DEMOCRACY

25 YEARS OF PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING WORLDWIDE

THECNICAL FILE

“HOPE FOR DEMOCRACY – 25 YEARS OF PARTICIPATORY
BUDGETING WORLDWIDE”

ORGANISATION
NELSON DIAS

COLLABORATION
SIMONE JÚLIO

TRANSLATION / ARTICLE
CARLOTA CAMBOURNAC (FREEFLOW LDA.)

TEXT REVIEW
PATRICK CANNING

EDITION
IN LOCO ASSOCIATION
AVENIDA DA LIBERDADE, 101
SÃO BRÁS DE ALPORTEL, PORTUGAL
TEL. +351 289 840 860
FAX. +351 289 840 879
E-MAIL: GERAL@IN-LOCO.PT
WWW.IN-LOCO.PT

APRIL 2014

EDITORIAL DESIGN
SIGMASENSE - DESIGN CONSULTANCY

ISBN
978-972-8262-09-9





To In Loco Association, for their 25 years.

IN DE X

PREFACE (ENGLISH VERSION) 6

PREFACE 8

INTRODUCTION 10

GLOBAL DYNAMICS 18

25 years of Participatory Budgets in the world: a new social and political movement? 21 *Nelson Dias*

Transnational Models of Citizen Participation: The Case of Participatory Budgeting 28 *Yves Sintomer, Carsten Herzberg & Anja Röcke*

Paying attention to the participants' perceptions in order to trigger a virtuous circle 47 *Giovanni Allegretti*

Beyond the line: the participatory budget as an instrument 65 *Ernesto Ganuza & Gianpaolo Baiocchi*

REGIONAL DYNAMICS 76

Francophone Africa 78

PB: Overview, Gains and Challenges of a Process for Promoting Citizenship and Building Local Democracy in Africa 79 *Mamadou Bachir Kanoute*

Sub-Saharan Africa 88

The dynamics of the diffusion of the Participatory Budget in Sub-Saharan Africa: from Dakar to Maputo 89 *Osmany Porto de Oliveira*

Africa 100

Participatory Budgeting experience in Cameroon 101 *Jules Dumas Nguebou & Achille Noupeou*

PB and the budget process in the south Kivu Province 107 *Emmy Mbera & Giovanni Allegretti*

The mozambican experiment of Participatory Budgeting 127 *Eduardo Jossias Nguenha*

Latin America 134

Participatory budgets in Argentina: evaluation of a process in expansion 135 *Cristina E. Bloj*

Participatory Budgets in Brazil 153 *Luciano Joel Fedozzi & Kátia Cacilda Pereira Lima*

The emergence of the Participatory Budget and its expansion in Brazil: analysing the potential and limitations 165 *Leonardo Avritzer & Alexander N. Vaz*

Analysis of PB in Chile. A reflection of the national public policy evolution? 177 *Pablo Paño Yáñez*

Democratic participation in Colombia 189 *Carolina Lara*

Mandating Participation: Exploring Peru's National Participatory Budget Law 203 *Stephanie McNulty*

Dominican Republic: 14 years of participatory local management 215 *Francis Jorge García*

Participatory Budgets in Uruguay. A Reflection on the cases of Montevideo and Paysandú **221** *Alicia Veneziano & Iván Sánchez*

North America 240

Building Sustainable Empowerment: Participatory Budgeting in North America **241** *Donata Secondo & Pamela Jennings*

Asia 254

Civic engagement through Participatory Budgeting in China: three different logics at work **255** *Baogang He*

Innovations in PB in China: Chengdu on-going experiment at massive scale. **269** *Yves Cabannes & Ming Zhuang*

Europe 286

Participatory Budgeting in Germany: Citizens as Consultants **287** *Michelle Anna Ruesch & Mandy Wagner*

The Participants' print in the Participatory Budget: overview on the Spanish experiments **301**
Ernesto Ganuza & Francisco Francés

Participatory Budgets in Italy: Reconfiguring a collapsed panorama **313** *Giovanni Allegretti & Stefano Stortone*

A decade of Participatory Budgeting in Portugal: a winding but clarifying path **325** *Nelson Dias*

Participatory Budgeting in Sweden: telling a story in slow-motion **353** *Lena Langlet & Giovanni Allegretti*

Participatory Budgeting Polish-style. What kind of policy practice has travelled to Sopot, Poland? **369**
Wojciech Kęblowski & Mathieu Van Crielingen

Oceania 378

PB in Australia: Different designs for diverse problems and opportunities **379** *Janette Hartz-Karp & Iain Walker*

THEMATIC DYNAMICS 390

Childhood and youth Participatory Budgeting, foundations of participatory democracy and the policy of the polis **393** *César Muñoz*

Electronic Participatory Budgeting: false dilemmas and true complexities **413** *Rafael Cardoso Sampaio & Tiago Peixoto*

Building a democratic pedagogy: Participatory Budgeting as a "school of citizenship" **427** *Pedro Pontual*

Participation as of the gender perspective from the analysis of specific participatory processes **431** *Cristina Sánchez Miret & Joan Bou I Geli*

Psychological *empowerment* in participatory budgeting **443** *Patrícia García-Leiva*

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES **452**

BIBLIOGRAPHY PER ARTICLE **464**



EMMY MBERA & GIOVANNI ALLEGRETTI

PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING AND THE BUDGET PROCESS IN THE SOUTH KIVU PROVINCE

Abstract

Very often, Participatory Budgeting (PB) is examined as a separate process from regular budget processes, being read as a sort of “sectorial policy” which provides, at the same time, dynamization of local institutions and the social fabric, but has a limited impact on the general budget process. In this respect, the experience which started in 2011 in the South Kivu Province of the Democratic Republic of Congo represents a rare case. This is because since the beginning PB was set imagining that it could have a meaningful impact on the local budget of involved municipalities, and in relation to the transfer of resources granted to them by the Provincial Government. For this reason, this article examines the Participatory Budgeting process of South Kivu from the perspective of the general budgeting process. It tries to highlight a number of activities and decisions in relationship with the PB process that were able to go further than the mere promotion of more democratic decision-making and budget transparency. The PB hierarchy structure and its backup structure, as well as political commitment, contributed to facilitate the success of the process. Decentralized entities have been trained on how to associate citizens during the preparation of budget estimates and key stakeholders have been involved to facilitate the process. Revenue collections have registered improvements as well as intergovernmental transfers to be received by decentralized entities from the provincial government, while local authorities became more realistic in doing their estimates about the future revenues and expenditures. Up to now, citizens have been associated with the determination of investment priorities for the fiscal year 2012 & 2013. This has disclosed some new interesting challenges for the future improvements and scaling-up of the experiment.

Introduction

Public budget refers to the document that contains a forecast of governmental expenditures and revenues for the ensuing fiscal year, which in many countries does not correspond to the calendar year. It constitutes the key instrument for the expression and execution of all government policies in the sense that it enables the guidance of economic, social, political and other activities of a community in a certain direction, in order to realise predetermined goals and objectives. It is also supposed to be a central tool for making executive governments accountable through the control of assemblies (which also include members of the oppositions) and to inform citizens about how their taxes are being used. So, it is a “core” political tool, despite having been gaining a progressively high level of technical complexity that has distorted its public perception, so that many people think it is mainly a “technical tool of gover-

Keywords

Participation,
Budget process,
Participatory,
Budgeting,
Budget .

¹ Jack R. Huddleston: *An introduction to local government budgets: A guide for planners*, Madison, Wisconsin, 2005, pág. 2

² Mihály Hôgye: *Theoretical approaches to public budgeting*, Budapest, 2002, pág.

³ Anwar SHAH: *Public sector governance and accountability series, local budgeting*, Washington, 2007, pág. 27

⁴ DRC: *Law No 11/011 of 13 July 2011 on Public Finances*, Bukavu, article 3 (4) & (5)

⁵ Ugandan Local government budget committee: *General Guide to the Local Government Budget Process for District & LLG Councillors, NGOs, CBOs & Civil Society*, online accessed: www.lgfc.go.ug/archives.php, p. 13

⁶ Mihály Hôgye: *Idem*, p. 6

ment”. As has happened in other continents, during the African decentralization and democratisation processes, many countries have transferred central government responsibilities to local, provincial and/or regional governments. One of the advantages recognized for local governments is that they are keener to relate their fiscal and budgetary tasks with principles of responsiveness, citizen participation, accountability and improved revenue mobilisation. Being that it is the local government’s budget that usually determines which public priorities will be addressed each year and how public funds will be generated and who will pay local taxes, it is possible to imagine that local governments’ budget tends to reflect the overall health of the local economy, and so becomes the place where public scrutiny is focused¹

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is a late-comer to the process of decentralization, which started in 2006 as a new mode of management of public affairs. Through its activities program for five years, from 2007 to 2011, the DRC government has raised a number of options related to the principle of good governance, decentralizing some functions to the Provincial level, and others to Cities, Districts, Sectors and Chiefdoms. The South Kivu Province, which is one of the 10 provinces of the DRC, is in a difficult zone plagued by several years of ethnic and political tensions (and so hosting a very large number of international aid institutions), decided to experiment with the Participatory Budgeting process (PB) in April 2010 as an option for enhancing the transparency in both the budget process and improving the budget itself.

This paper intends to describe how PB is working within the budget process of the South Kivu Province and to figure out its possible contribution to the transparency and improvement of the budget. Therefore, it is structured in three parts. The first summarizes the local budget process and its major steps; the second is devoted to understand the participatory budgeting process in South Kivu province; and the third tries to depict the trend of some activities carried out in relationship with the process, mainly in the administrative and financial domains.

1. Public budget and local budget process

Public budget, according to Mihály Hôgye², can be regarded as the key instrument for the expression and execution of governments’ economic policies, being the “core³” of the system of fiscal administration and a sort of “filter” between political promises and the measures that an administration concretely implements. Its functions include coordination and control of public spending to reach predetermined goals which constitute the spine of political/administrative programmes of public institutions. By definition, public budget is the process of planning, adopting, executing, monitoring and auditing the fiscal program for the government for one or more future years. An important aspect that is worth underlining – because it is often the object of a spread of misunderstandings, even among members of public institutions – is that a provisional budget does not immediately constitute an amount of resources in a safe-box which could be immediately spent. It is just a “forecast” of governmental expenditures and revenues for the ensuing fiscal year. These may not correspond to the real amount which will enter in the institutional accounts, depending on how much tax collection, cost-recovery of service providing, transfers of resources and

other processes will perform. On the side of expenditures, a provisional budget can also be under- or over-estimated in relation to the “consolidated budget” which will be calculated only at the end of the referred fiscal year.

In the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo, the State budget is a document containing revenues and expenditures estimates of the central government which include those of the 10 provinces, whose budgets also contain revenues and expenditures of decentralized local entities⁴. The latter often act as national laboratories for governmental experimentation, testing innovations through success and failures.

Although budget approval is far from being the only task of local and provincial authorities, it is undoubtedly one of the most important Political activities undertaken each year. It usually involves consultations and negotiations between the council and various relevant parties, compilation of planning and budgeting inputs from lower levels of local and sub-local government, public hearings, and so on... If formal obligations in terms of final deliverables exist, the budget process can be organized in many ways and may vary slightly from one local authority to another and from one year to another. Notwithstanding these variations, which are often due to different financial and political local conditions, would require a democratic, participatory and transparent budgeting process⁵, In many Congolese administrative institutions this is far from happening. Although the process of preparing and discussing a public budget has progressed considerably during the last decades, the quality of both the process and the final documents is still far from what it would supposed to be in order to fulfil the requirements of the legal framework. Especially, forecasts of the revenues and expenditures are often widely at variance with reality, changes to accountability documents reflect the use of cosmetic political practices, and certain distinctions (such as those between capital and current expenditures) are frequently blurred deliberately.⁶ So, expenditure allocations in the annual work plan and budget are often not realistic or achievable.

In DRC, the annual provisional financial budget of provincial and local governments is approved by the legislative body and is, thus, most often, a combination of many different elected officials’ views of how public money should be raised and spent for the upcoming year. The diagram below summarizes the budget process in the South Kivu province which is divided into two parts. In the first part, that takes place from March to May, the budgets of the decentralized entities are elaborated and approved by the provincial government while the budgets of provincial services start to be elaborated in May and are approved in August, whereby the governor of the province publishes a budget law, after approval by the provincial council.

Diagram 1 Standard budget process in the South Kivu province

⁷ In Emmy MBERA : Feasibility study of the Participatory Budgeting in the South Kivu province of the DRC, Bukavu, 2009, p. 37

⁸ Presentation delivered on 26th August 2009.



It must be underlined that such a tight schedule is determined by the complex multi-level interdependency which a still centralized country has established among different entities' budgets. So obliging local authorities to receive and send continuous feedback to the provincial government, from whose transfers of their revenues strongly depend. In this framework, participatory budgeting can be seen as a decision-making process through which citizens, either as individuals or through civic associations, may voluntarily contribute to decision-making over a part of local authorities annual budget, during a series of public meetings scheduled with government officials within the first period of the year. It must be clarified that only members of provincial councils are elected in DRC, while the other authorities are still appointed by the central government (as in the case of the mayors of municipalities) or belong to traditional customary authorities. These usually run public budgets in countryside territories and have a very small degree of accountability during their action. Thus, their mandate is not submitted to discretionary nor electoral confirmation.

South Kivu, which is one of the 10 provinces of the DRC (to which it has to be added the Kinshasa City, that also has the status of a province), is marked by very poor living conditions of households, being the third province in DRC with the highest poverty incidence (84%) after Equateur (93%) and Bandundu (89%) provinces⁷. In its pluriannual activities program 2007/2011, the government of the Democratic Republic of Congo recognized the weaknesses of its public administration as materialized by the low performance on both the quality and quantity of services expected by citizens and the poor management of available resources. The solution indicated in the government document included the implementation – at different levels of intervention – of a series of mechanisms to ensure more traceability, visibility and control of activities and investments. This indicated that they could be achieved through a participatory approach, valuing the role of media, public reports on the state of funding programs to eradicate poverty, as well as the role of parliament and beneficiaries in the monitoring of public spending. Taking into account this commitment of the DRC government, the South Kivu Province decided to introduce the Participatory Budgeting as an opportunity to make such measures more concrete and remediate to some of its administration weaknesses mentioned above.

In 2009, the Governor of South Kivu – during the presentation of budget estimates for 2010⁸ to council members – summarized some structural constraints that the Province faced: a very low tax compliance; systemic corruption affecting both civil servants and

state officials; the archaic way of delivering public services; the huge informal sector development; the low capacity of industries and the deficit of policy incentives, and so on. He gave evidence of the consequences that such a situation determines on the budget structure, highlighting how the leaks in tax collection, together with evasion, tax fraud and embezzlement of public funds happen at several levels, so inducing a “vicious circle” because of the tight interrelation existing between provincial and local budgetary systems. Taking this framework into account, he proposed to test an experiment of participatory budgeting in 8 out of 27 decentralized entities with the idea of strengthening at the same time both the local budgets and – consequently – the provincial one. He said that – in the previous years – the province had barely transferred the due amounts to decentralized entities because it was sceptical on their capacity to manage the budget and delivery services and to implement public works.

The idea of experimenting with PB took strength and a concrete form during a seminar held in April 2010 in the framework of the Project for Capacity Building in Governance (PCBG) which the Provincial Government of South Kivu ran in collaboration with the World Bank Institute (WBI). Such a project commissioned a feasibility study of participatory budgeting in this province. It identified a wide number of challenges and opportunities. The 8 officials that volunteered for joining the experiment supported by the province were the customary authorities running five rural areas (Luhwindja, 64,300 inhabitants spread around 26 villages; Kabare, 618,452 inhabitants distributed in 67 villages; Wamuzimu, 552,997 inhabitants in 184 villages; Bafuliro, 440,000 inhabitants spread around 152 villages; Ngweshe, 617,034 inhabitants distributed in 656 villages) and three urban municipalities that together compose Bukavu, the capital of South Kivu (Ibanda, 249,793 inhabitants; Kadutu, 268,991; Bagira, 199,357 inhabitants).

How was PB imagined and does it work in the South Kivu province?

Participatory Budgeting in the South Kivu Province was defined in Article 2 of the Provincial Order no 12/03/GP/SK of October 5, 2012 on the Institutionalisation of PB in the Decentralized Entities of the Province as the “grassroots investment process which proceeds with the collaboration of citizen and the state and non state actors in the decentralised entities”. The process that has been built since 2011 consists of opening spaces to citizens to debate and (in some decentralized entities) vote for part of the investment component of the provisional budget. It has two main sub-cycles. The first cycle consists of the elaboration of the budget proposal, taking into account priorities chosen by citizens in collaboration with political and technical actors. The second is more related to the implementation of co-decided priorities, which is imagined as indispensable for creating trust in the local authority on its capacity for producing concrete results and management of citizens’ tax payments. The first step is usually concluded by a budget voting session during a general meeting of population in the different decentralized entities; nevertheless, in some chiefdoms this voting has not been done and the PB process was closer to a “selective listening” than to a real co-decisional space.

The diagram below, gives the summary of the main common moments that characterized the PB process in the different administrative entities (from budget orientation to the priorities’ voting for the 2013 fiscal year). The figures show some mismatching between the real budgetary process which happened in 2011, and the standard time-lines which usually govern the budgetary cycle in the South Kivu Province.

Diagram 2 First sub-cycle of the Participatory Budgeting 2013⁹
Source Workshop report on capacity building of PB actors and stakeholders (28th February/1st March 2011). Report elaborated by the Project for Capacity Building in Governance, authors’ design.

⁹The diagram has been designed using information provided in the Workshop report on capacity building of PB actors and stakeholders which took place from 28 February to 1st March 2011, report elaborated by the Project for Capacity Building in Governance. Participants elaborated and agreed on the activities plan of PB for 2012 as well as 2013 fiscal years.



Compared to diagram 1, which describes the normal budget cycle in South Kivu, diagram 2 shows that the PB moves forward the normal process and the investment priorities as voted can be integrated into the standard process. Somehow, PB enroots in the traditional budgetary process so enriching the preparation of the decentralized entity's draft that is then presented to the province. This enables the provincial government's transfer of the due amounts of resources to the local levels, after having received the central government inputs.

As far as it regards the second sub-cycle, which is devoted to the monitoring of the execution of the budget of the decentralized entities and the realisation of the participatory projects, its functioning can be summarized in Diagram 3. The diagram represents the action plan established during the Capacity Building workshop that was organized from 28th February to 1st March 2011 by the World Bank Institute with the presence of a PB specialist from the Assoal association in Cameroon, an NGO that since 2003 has been working in that country on experiments of Participatory Budgeting. The interesting aspect of such a training event was that it enlarged the scope of the first PB experiment. In fact, in the April 2010 event, only 6 decentralized territories had volunteered to experience PB in 2011, but – provided that the February 2011 workshop was open to more local authorities – two new chiefdoms decided to join the experiment and were convinced by the explanation given during the training. It must be also underlined that

several of the local authorities who joined the training course in 2011 (including the three mayors of Bukavu municipalities) were not the same officials who had committed to PB in 2010, due to a round of management shift in government; but the new officials confirmed the commitment of their predecessors, convinced by the Provincial Governor who was imagining PB as a structural reform to enable a new trust-based relationship between the provincial and the local level of the administrative structure.

Diagram 3 represents a common action plan for all the decentralized territorial entities of South Kivu, but it doesn't reflect the delays which concretely happened (in different manners) in the territories experimenting PB for the first time during 2011. As it is possible to see, the original ideas were to send some monitoring commissions to on-going public works that could start operating in 2011, while the first PB experiment was taking place. This idea originated from the will to imagine PB as an "enabling environment" that (since its birth) could promote a major transparency on budgetary management and so make local authorities more accountable; also that (even before the first participatory cycle was completed) citizens could gradually gain trust in their political administrators.



Diagram 3 Second sub-cycle of Participatory Budgeting, for fiscal year 2011
Source Workshop report on capacity building of PB actors and stakeholders which took place from 28 February to 1st March 2011, report elaborated by the Project for Capacity Building in Governance, authors' design

Below, in Diagram 4, the general standard structure of the participatory budgeting experiment in South Kivu Province is represented. The chart represents a graphic translation of the Provincial Order that – in October 2012 – consolidated an average model for all the decentralized entities, based on the first year functioning. It represents a sort of “minimum common denominator” that can introduce some differences in the local territories, depending on the specificities of both village/sectors structure and the hierarchy in powers and responsibilities/task, which may differ a bit in the different typology of decentralized authorities (municipalities, chiefdoms, sectors and so on...). During the PB annual cycle, needs and proposals launched by citizens in the general meeting of each decentralized authority are usually discussed and detailed in neighbourhoods’ forum, and then voted on at the general citizen assembly depending on their urgency, relevance and the available resources. After, fixed priorities are approved by the deliberative official council of each entity in conformity with laws on budgets.

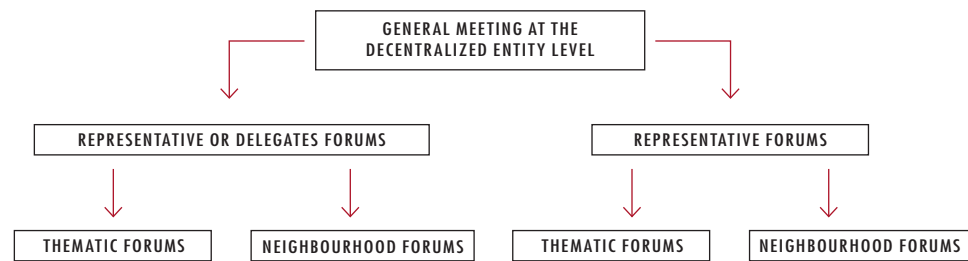


Diagram 4 PB in the South Kivu Province
Source Graphic translation of Provincial Order no 12/03/GP/SK of 05th 2012, Emmy M’Bera’s design

¹⁰ According to the legal provision on PB in South Kivu, citizens can enter everywhere, but responsibilities of delegates which belong to “representative forums” (in French “forum des délégués”) shape the priorities emerged during other forums in order to turn them into eligible proposals.

¹¹ See, for example, the Provincial Order no 12/03/GP/SK of 05th October 2012.

The discussion structure of PB in South Kivu is pyramidal. At its top there is the general meeting, which is a sort of mixed assembly made up of members of parliaments originating in a given decentralized entity, together with its Executive Board, members of the “Representative Forums,” development partners of a given decentralized entity and other individuals invited by the decentralized entity official authority. So, it’s a structure composed “by invitation”. In its composition the “open part” – where citizens can enter¹⁰ – is that called “Representative Forums,” which have the task to debate on priorities coming from other sub-local forums (neighbourhood and thematic forums), synchronise proposals according to thematic fields and fix priorities subject to a deep evaluation from experts. In fact, the “Representative Forums” are composed of delegates from these other forums (neighbourhood and thematic ones). The latter, constitute the “base” of the participatory domain. Specifically, the thematic forum is made up of social actors living in a specific given area, and of people having experienced particular problems in some sector of activity of the decentralized entity; they mobilise other actors such as economic stakeholders, the youth, women, and people with disabilities, religious representatives and local development committees. On their side, the neighbourhood forums are composed of associations working in each neighbourhood, religious institutions, household representatives and development committees: they mobilise citizens in order to debate on neighbourhood problems, defining priorities to be submitted to municipal authority and choosing their representatives in the “Representative Forums”. Not all of the local authorities rules

show clearly how to indicate members of these different spaces so that it is possible to say that they minimize problems of co-optation. But, undoubtedly, such a complex structure activated a tide of citizens' mobilization that did definitely not exist before 2011, especially in the chiefdom which has a high number of isolated villages, where it would not be possible the transmission of sub-local priorities without the existence of a sort of "representative structure" included in the PB process.

Finally, it is important to underline the existence of a "back-up structure" that supports in every decentralized entity the implementation of PB. It comprises two important features: (1) the steering committee (in charge of overseeing the whole process, giving new orientation to the process annually, and regularly carrying out an impact study of the process in order to come up with recommendations to the entities and to the provincial government, too); (2) the coordination of PB. Since 2011 (as provided by the official PB rules issued by the Province⁴⁴), the latter is composed by the budget overseer, the credits manager, and the tax collector, and it is responsible for giving budget orientations, defining budget components that can be subject to debates in specific workshops or participatory forums.

Trends and the ambiguities of the experiment in the administrative and financial domains

As already mentioned, the pilot phase of the participatory budgeting experiment in South Kivu started in April 2010, but only became concrete in February 2011, when the new local authorities took part in a training course aimed at imagining the start-up of the PB process in 8 decentralized entities. It must be highlighted that the selection of administrative entities was not as easy as one can imagine. In fact, at the training course, almost the majority of the top-leaders of the first-level decentralized entities (the mayor of Bukavu city, the mayors of its three municipalities, the heads of chiefdoms and heads of sectors) participated; and many of them wanted their entity to be considered for the pilot phase. Unanimously, in the first workshop, participants agreed to start, first, with a small number of local administrations. During the workshop held in April 2010, other resolutions (concerning the establishment of a provincial Steering Committee, the schedule of activities related to the PB process, the capacity building of stakeholders, the wide dissemination of the feasibility study's results and the principles of participatory budgeting, to name a few) were taken. As far as it concerns the capacity building, the training seminar held from 28th February to 1st March 2011 was important for establishing the activities of the pilot-PB project for years 2011, 2012 and 2013. They included the identification and awareness-raising of stakeholders and the public, the capacity building for creating multipliers which could help to enroot PB in the 8 local territories, the creation of alliances and networks among actors, budget orientation meetings, neighbourhood and thematic forums, etc. From 25th to 29th April 2011 another workshop on public finances and participatory budgeting in South Kivu province was held, it was attended by three trainers from the World Bank Institute. Ambiguously, a lot of freedom was left to the local authorities to establish both the method of PB (consultative or co-decisional) as well as the criteria for communication and involvement of citizens. The choice itself of the members of the provincial Steering Committee of PB was not the focus of a deep discussion: later on some problems arose. They were

¹² The great majority of actors interviewed during the collective evaluation promoted by the WBI in October 2011 agreed that insisting on setting a more organized and properly monitored start-up would have only led to a “lost year” (as defined by one Mayor), i.e. an impossibility of starting a concrete experiment for 2011.

¹³ See: World Bank Institute Evaluation Report, 2012.

mainly related to the presence of some people that were not strictly linked to the organized social fabric (as in the case of an ICT entrepreneur) or others that made the “rotation of members” difficult, because they intended their mandate as a “personal task” rather than as a representative role for some social stakeholders. When they stopped belonging to the organization they supposedly represented in the moment the Steering Committee was elected, they struggled for remaining in the Steering Committee, instead of stepping back and making room for other colleagues that still belonged to that social institution. Other weaknesses were determined by the short time which lapsed between the training course and the beginning of public assemblies. These were related to the absence of a proper monitoring structure in charge of following the 8 pilot-projects and the provision of a comparative evaluation through direct observation of public meetings and distribution of questionnaires to participants. As specific funds were not provided for this monitoring task (or a pot for reimbursements for the Steering Committee members to travel to the furthest villages of all the decentralized entities involved in the project) it became difficult to systematize the difference in the organization and consequent results of the eight different PB processes which developed that year. The only gathered data which supported the general evaluation done by the World Bank Institute in the end of 2011 had to rely on those provided by each local administration. This data could not be considered as neutral, so a collective “evaluation seminar” (held on 26th/27th October 2011) had to be organised, where more than 80 actors of the 8 administrations and stakeholders of civil society involved in the pilot-project had the opportunity to present in working groups (and in some detailed questionnaires) their views on the first year of experimentation. Undoubtedly, it was the hurry of starting public meetings in April 2011 without losing the opportunity of a concrete experiment already in 2011 that made this “imperfect start” acceptable to the Provincial Government of South Kivu and the World Bank Institute which co-funded the training space and some other facilities to support to the incoming experiment. In fact, they knew that starting soon was the only way for not losing the enthusiasm created in local authorities for PB during the training events. On the other hand, the legal framework of the Congolese budget approval timeline did not allow for a push to the public discussion on investments further than May of that year. This was because of the need to present the local budgetary estimates to the Provincial Government and then to the National one. Under this perspective, the acceptance of the compromise to quickly start a series of public meetings, even without having the time to make the 8 experiments more perfect and properly monitored, was an understandable one. This taken from the point of view of the need for starting an immediate reformist action on budget approval procedures without losing the only real opportunity as it appeared for 2011.¹² Nevertheless, such a rush seemed to disperse with some potential benefits of the process. This was true especially for the investment done in the three urban municipalities (Bagira, Ibanda and Kadutu), where an added experiment was done through the “ICT4Government” project of the World Bank Institute. It mainly consisted of providing an agreement with the major mobile phone company active in the area in order to inform the citizens about public meetings with SMS messages sent to all the telephone numbers active within the range of the local aereals; and in one case a “beta test” was also done to experience

priority voting by citizens through mobile phones. Despite during the October 2011 evaluation, some anecdotal evidence was gathered that several participants were attracted to the PB meeting thanks to these SMS, the fast setting of this experiment of ICT support did not allow the gathering of reliable statistical data on the added value represented by such a facility for the entire process.

What is important to underline is that, despite these imperfections, which appeared clear to the majority of actors involved, the start-up of the 8 experiments in April 2011 was considered by the province and the 8 decentralized entities as a major challenge to their traditional procedure of budget approval, and an opportunity to renew the relationship with civil society¹³. In fact, participatory budgeting was read at the same time as a “learning environment” for all the actors involved (i.e. a space in progressive and incremental transformation whose quality could increase observing each year the weaknesses and strengths of the previous year experiment), but also as an “enabling environment” for local authorities. In fact, as shown by the October 2011 evaluation workshop, several of the top-authorities in the 8 administrative experimenting areas interpreted PB not as a simple mechanism of discussion and co-decision with civil society on the public investments, but also as an opportunity to renew some internal bureaucratic procedures of their local administrations, in order to make results more suitable and effective, and their commitment in the PB experiment more efficient. Just as an example, in two of the municipalities of Bukavu, the will of increasing the positive performance of PB helped an important reform to be approved: they did not allow anymore tax-payments in cash, so introducing bank-transfers as an important measure to grant accountability through the traceability of money transfers. In this perspective, it is possible to say that participatory budgeting acted as a very positive “enabling environment” for other reforms that – on their side – could retroact on the participatory process, making it more effective and attractive for citizens. In less virtuous local governments (as some of the five guided by traditional customary authorities), the first year outputs of PB were public works which could create a “good precondition” for the better management of the second year process: as – for example – construction of roads and bridges between rural villages, purchase of transportation vehicles for allowing public officials to be more capillarly present in villages, and the construction of spaces for hosting decentralized branches of local government offices. Somehow, such measures tried to consolidate pre-conditions for a more effective second year of participatory budgeting in 2012. This exploited a moment of enthusiasm that not only affected the experimenting by local authorities, but also the commitment of the Province to offer a more solid collaboration for them to gradually reform the entire process of budget approval and finance management.

Such a “virtuous collaboration” between local and provincial institutions in South Kivu, could be exemplified as presenting some examples in four specific fields of activity, as can seen in the following.

1. Stimulating presence in the Province

The capacity of the provincial government was represented in each of the building and evaluation workshops by the visible presence of the Governor or the Deputy Governor (always accompanied by a large number of provincial Ministers and top-level technical officers). A number of decisions vis-à-vis the participatory budgeting process were taken which appeared as fundamental in order to strengthen and consolidate the political will supporting the experiment. In circular N° 2/2011 issued by the Minister of Planning and Budget (also the Government spokesperson for the PB experiment) stated that: “the budget estimates of the decentralized entities for 2012 fiscal year will be developed with reference to the principles of the PB, which require that the base is associated in the preparation of the budget estimates”. Also, as part of public participation in the process of budget preparation and monitoring during the execution of the budget, the provincial government negotiated a green number with the Bukavu agency of the mobile-phone company Airtel This made possible the sending and receiving of SMS as a contribution not only to the phase of invitation of people to the public meetings, but also (for the future) to the monitoring phase of implementation of public investments for 2012. In the explanation letter to the company we can read an interesting synthesis of the project goals: “... *this process involves a strong participation of the population in the preparation of the budget for the Chiefdom/Municipality and monitoring during the execution of the budget. We hope to increase our transparency in the management of public affairs and thus rekindle the flame of tax compliance in the population in a burst of patriotism and development. Thus, the Information and Communication Technology (ICT) as the mobile phone with its various applications, seems to be an essential tool to reach as many as possible and regularly interact with people*”

The presence of the Governor or his Deputy Governor in the general citizen’s meeting held in the three municipalities of Bukavu between April and May 2011 – aiming at discussing and voting priorities for investment for 2012 fiscal year – undoubtedly testified a political commitment to the process.

Apart from that visible presence during the process, in 2011 the provincial government (unlike in the previous years) committed to quickly transfer to the 8 municipalities and chiefdoms involved in the process the resources for investments due to them in accordance with their size, number of inhabitants and contributions to the provincial budget, as provided by law.

Furthermore, following the results of the evaluation workshop held in October 2011 (where an important discussion group was dedicated to the issue of which measure could be taken in order

to make the general budgetary process more friendly to the insertion of the public discussions on investments), the Provincial Government decided to introduce some variation in the time-line of budget approval. This was to relax some tight rules and flexibilize deadlines in order to allow some months more for the decentralized authorities to undertake their participatory activities before detailing their budgetary proposals.

As a final result of the Provincial Government’s commitment to help consolidate PB as a constitutive part of budget elaboration methodology, the Provincial Governor’s Order 12/03/GP/SK was issued on the 5th October 2012. This new legal measure not only institutionalized participatory budgeting in the South Kivu province, providing a progressive extension to all the 27 decentralized authorities, but also consolidated the vision of PB as an important feature for the Province, and not only to its lower-level administrations. In 2013 it will be important to see how such a challenge will be translated into the general budgetary process.

2. Invitation and investment priorities

In April 2011, the procedures aimed at inviting citizens to public assemblies, and communicating and informing the entire territories about the process, counted on several different channels: beyond the SMS experiment (limited to the three urban municipalities), radio announcements were used, posters displayed in public areas (such as churches, markets, schools, streets, local administration offices) and even street-theatre – in places as the chiefdom of Luhwindja – tried to attract citizens, in continuity with more traditional tools already used in the past for other processes of social dialogue. The announcements on PB meetings (except those sent by SMS) were usually written both in French and Kiswahili, languages that are largely spoken in the province, especially in Bukavu city. The time that elapsed between the release of announcements and the meeting was relatively acceptable to facilitate attendance (five days on average). It is interesting that the concept of “participatory budgeting” was never mentioned in public announcements, in order to not confuse people about a *new word* that could be misleading due to its technicality. Invitations to neighbourhood and thematic meetings released did not indicate any special selection of actors, the message only said that “all citizens are invited to attend”. Some individualized invitations were issued by local administrations, depending on the recognized social centrality of some people (pastors, priests, sheikh, technical experts, community leaders, etc.). The creation of mobilizing commissions composed of managers of chiefdoms, religious leaders, schools leaders and civil society representatives (including

young students) were aimed at a large scale sensitization of inhabitants.

Several meetings were scheduled to take place during weekends to allow for higher numbers of attendants. As regards the places for public meetings, they were chosen in order to be big enough to accommodate large numbers of people, and often were open-air spaces (stadiums, football fields, school compounds, etc.). Invitations usually used words to encourage meeting attendance and remark on the uniqueness of the opportunity: for example, some announcements underlined “*absents will regret*”; others “*let us together build our entity*” or “*let us discuss our future as community*” etc.

The announcement provided an encouraging agenda for the meeting (“*selection and validation of priorities*”). The voting procedure was usually by raising hands, and the three urban municipalities adopted the criteria to allow for the selection of two main priorities for each neighbourhood in order to equalize chances and the distribution of public resources in the territory. The same was not possible in the rural chiefdoms, where too many villages existed (up to 600 in some cases).

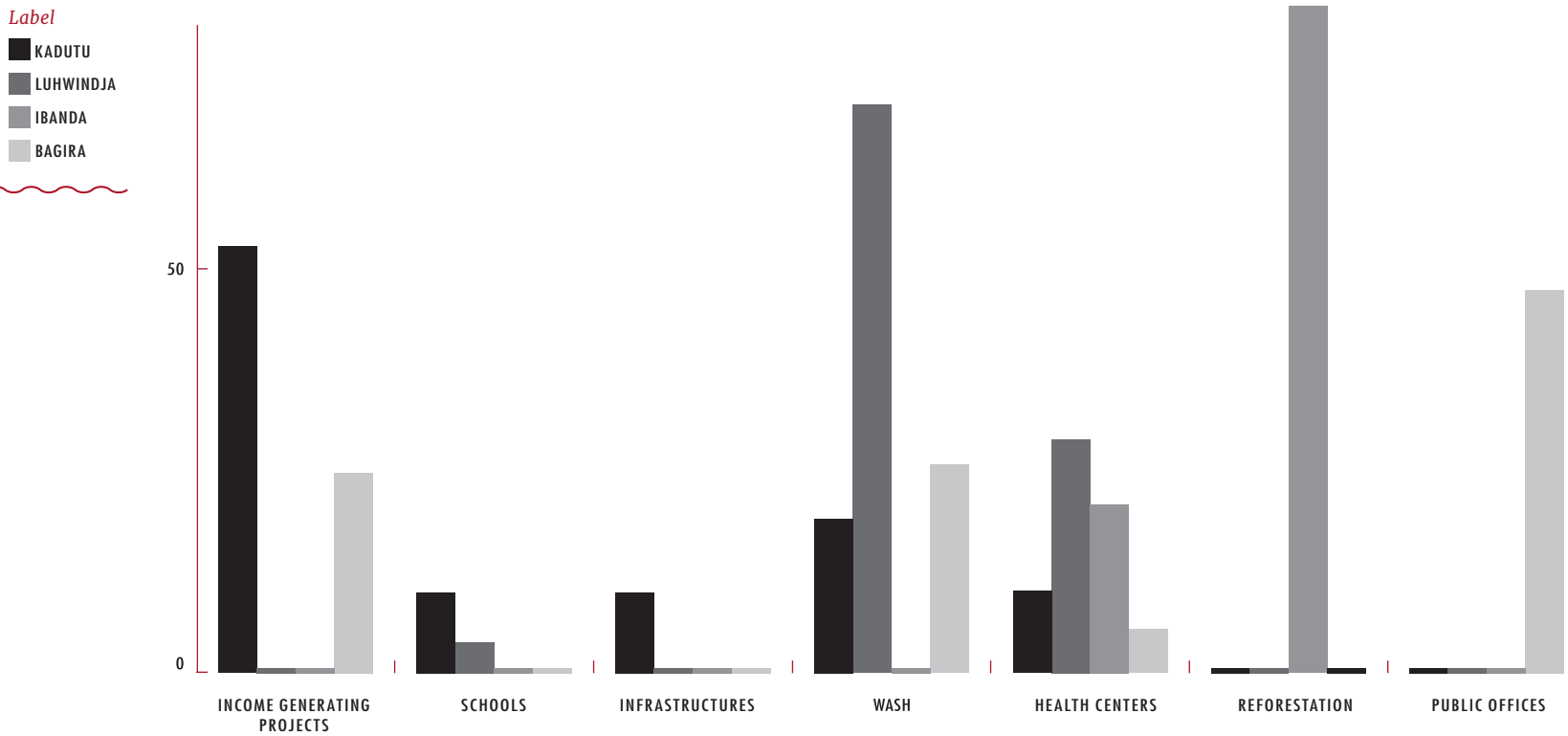
Minutes and proceedings of the meetings were always signed by a high official of the decentralized entity and countersigned by the so-called “President of civil society” of each decentralized entity (this person could be a representative of all the civil society organizations voted annually in each municipality, according to the use of South Kivu’s umbrella-network of NGOs and CBOs which could represent them at provincial level). Unfortunately, many of these documents were lost in a fire which destroyed the WBI offices in the first semester of 2011, so that today it is not possible to provide an advanced comparative study of the different methods and results of public assemblies in each of the 8 experimenting local authorities.

In any case, it is possible to say that some effects of this diversification strategy used for expanding participation in PB public meetings were clearly visible. Finally these priorities emerged as the most important. If we take as an example the 4 decentralized entities whose data are more easily available and organised, these priorities can be grouped into six main categories: water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH), education, health, reforestation, rehabilitation of small infrastructures and construction of decentralized public offices.

From the graph n° 1 (above), it appears that in the urban area of Bagira, participants focused on the construction and rehabilitation of public offices (over 50% of its investment), followed by the WASH (20%) and the rest is shared between the infrastructures, health and reforestation. Instead, Ibanda’s participants decided to allocate over 60% on WASH, followed by infrastructures and reforestation, while in Luhwindja more investments were allocated to the construction and rehabilitation of schools (80%), the rest being devoted to basic infrastructures (20%). Kadutu’s participants have, for their part, decided to invest in income generating projects by rehabilitating an attractive park for children and volleyball and a basketball stadium; such a decision was followed by the decision to build decentralized public offices

Graph 1 Investment priorities emerged and voted for 2012 in general citizen meetings

Source Provincial Finance Office; elaboration by Emmy Mbera



and some basic infrastructures. From the analysis of these choices, one can easily imagine that the construction of public offices cannot be the number one choice for the population that has limited access to basic public services such as education, health and others, but this can be a significant strategic choice for managers who want to offer other services that people may need for the future. Also, investing in income-generating projects can also be seen as a strategic choice to invest – in a mid-term perspective – on activities which can continuously generate resources for the decentralized entity. In this perspective, the cases of Bagira and Kadutu raise doubts about the possibility that public officers that conducted the public meetings in the areas could have had a strong influence on the final voting for priorities. Although they corresponded to a strategic vision of the territory, they possibly did not exactly reflect on the basic-needs of the participants. It is only a doubt, but it indicates that for the future it will be important to guarantee that the methodologies used for gathering citizens' priorities during public meetings should guarantee the real autonomy of participants. Although it is very important that the adminis-

tration could give information about its plans and vision, in order to add quality and complexity to the debate. In this perspective, it is interesting to point out that in Ibanda district the SMS voting results for 2013 fiscal year (which guarantee more secrecy of the voters) gave completely different priorities (as visible in the graph n° 2, below). In fact, out of 533 voices, almost 40% of participants voted for construction of public toilets, followed by drinking water facilities (29%), reforestation and bridges (accounted respectively for 17% and 13%).

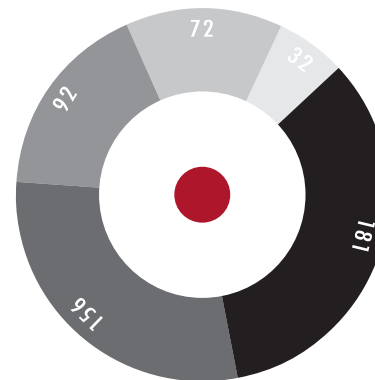
3. Budget estimates and implementation

Subsequent to the results of the feasibility study of the PB in the South Kivu province, in 2011 it was agreed to introduce this process in only 8 decentralized entities before expanding to others in the province. The idea was to test if the process can open a virtuous circle in the management of local authorities. Among the weaknesses identified by the feasibility study, in fact, there were: the still low level of revenue collected against the annual estimates, the low amount of the investment budget (which could made the PB process a bit unattractive for people), the past accumulation of projects approved but still not implemented, and mainly the low level (or in certain circumstances the total inexistence) of inter-governmental resource transfers. As matter of fact, the 2010 feasibility study about PB in South Kivu indicated that, out of the 8.9 billion Congolese Francs which were to be transferred to the 27 decentralized entities in 2009; only 20 million had been really transferred from January to June 2009.

The study also revealed that the revenues estimated for the Province were achieved at 30 % and 16% respectively during 2008 and 2009, which means that the budget estimates were following a track marked by a visible lack of realism¹⁴

The graph n° 3 helps to formulate an hypothesis on the weight that PB could have had on the municipal revenues, showing how tax collection in the Kadutu municipality changed in the first five months of 2012 fiscal year, compared to 2011 while the graph n° 4, related to the Ibanda municipality, shows how much the intergovernmental financial resource transfers from the Province changed between the first five months of 2011 and 2012. In fact, in 2012, it constantly received 7.5 million Congolese Francs each month, while in 2011 it only received 4.5 million Congolese Francs both in January and February.

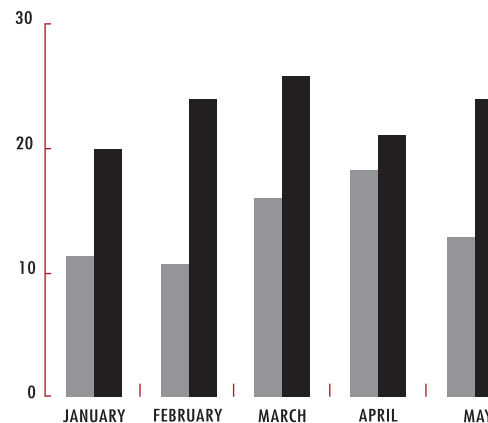
As underlined by several actors during the evaluation process, the participatory budgeting experiment was an important engine for the Province to entrust investments' resources to the Ibanda local government (which at the beginning of 2012 started to implement the PB priorities co-decided in the previous cycle), but also the municipality financial team, learning from the experience, reviewed downward its budget estimates. In 2010 (and previously) the achievements of transfers had not surpassed 4% of the estimated transfers. Instead, in 2012, the financial resources transferred by the Province in the first five months had already covered 15% of the expected transfers¹⁵



Graph 2 IBANDA 2013 SMS voting results

Source Provincial Finance Office; elaboration by Emmy Mbera

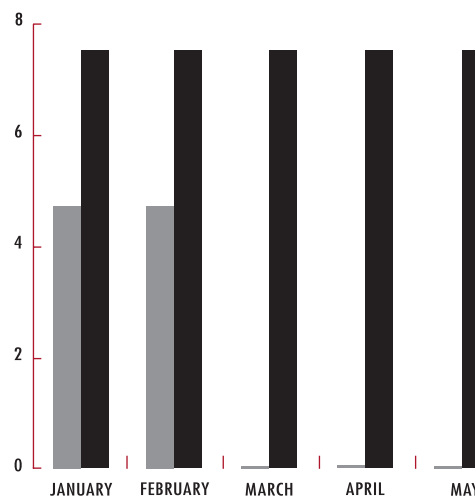
- Label**
- CONSTRUCTION OF 3 PUBLIC TOILETS
 - 4 DRINKING WATER SPRING
 - RELORESTATION OF ELAKATE SITE
 - CONSTRUCTION OF 12 SMALL BRIDGES



Graph 3 Comparisons of Kadutu collections from Jan to May 2011 and 2012 (million)

Source Provincial Finance Office; elaboration by Emmy Mbera

- Label**
- 2011
 - 2012



Graph 4 Comparison of financial resources received by Kadutu Municipality from Jan to May 2011 and 2012 (million)

Source Provincial Finance Office; elaboration by Emmy Mbera.

- Label**
- 2011
 - 2012

¹⁴ Emmy MBERA : Feasibility study of the PB in the South Kivu Province, Bukavu, 2009, p. 30.

¹⁵ Ibanda District Budgets from 2009 to 2012, authors' computation.

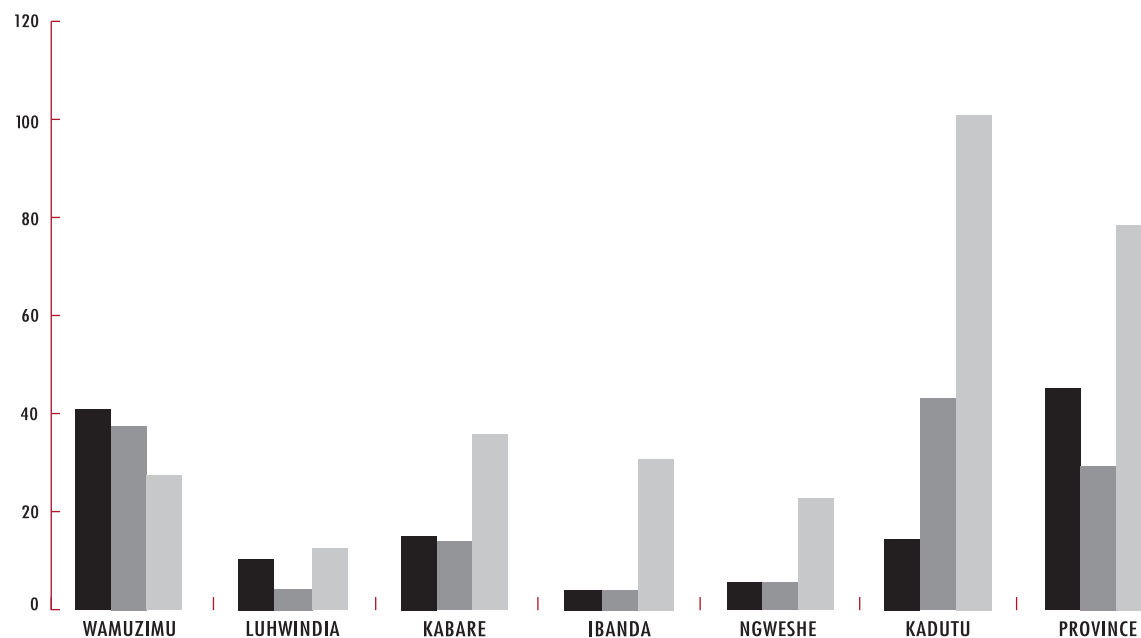
Graph 5 Percentage of taxes collected from 2009 to 2011 (with extrapolation of 2011 data Jan to March multiplied by four)

Source Provincial Finance Office; elaboration by Emmy Mbera.

Label

- 2009
- 2010
- 2011

¹⁶Data on taxes collected in 2011 were extrapolated multiplying those from the first trimester, being that the distribution usually tends to be more or less regularly fractioned among the 12 months.

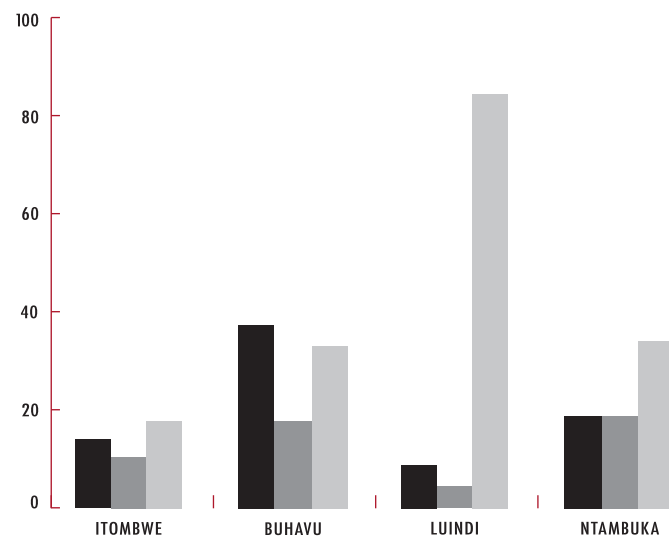


Graph 2 Percentages of revenues effectively collected in 4 decentralized entities of South Kivu Province on the whole annual estimates for 2009-2011

Source Provincial Finance Office; elaboration by Emmy Mbera

Label

- 2009
- 2010
- 2011



4. *PB as an added value for the development of experimenting territories?*

One of the important questions to be answered while the South Kivu legal system worked to expand the 8 PB experiments to all the 27 decentralized entities of the province is which kind of added value did participatory budgeting provide to these administrations (if any), including in fiscal/financial terms. In order to understand the incidence of the PB on the improvement of the budget, a comparison of budget data between some of the decentralized entities with and without PB could be useful. As shown in the graph n° 5 (below), the comparison between the resources collected by six of the eight pilot administrations from 2009 to 2011¹⁶ reveals a meaningful growth, except in one case (Wamuzimu chiefdom).

Improvements could be interpreted as the convergent result of different intertwined factors, which can be related to PB if it is regarded as an “enabling environment” which attracted major transfers by the Province but also stimulated the local authorities to build a more effective tax collection. By the way, the comparison of the percentages of revenues collected during the period 2009–2011 (on the whole amount estimated in the previous year) in Bukavu – whose three municipalities piloted PB – and in a control group of other decentralized entities which did not experience participatory budgeting show a not dissimilar trend (see graph n° 6 below).

It could be imagined at a first sight, these results do not support a simplistic conclusion that PB has not been significant in revenue collection. Indeed, they require further analysis, and the disaggregated data on revenues collection of 2012 (which have still not been made public) could be very helpful in this deduction. Anyway, the provincial financial officials and local authorities involved in the 2011 collective evaluation workshop provided their own interesting interpretation of such data, which is linked to the general benefit produced by PB on the entire budgetary cycle in the province, and on the capacity of decentralized entities to formulate their budgets in a more realistic and grounded way than in the past. This vision is supported by the fact that – since 2010 – almost all the 27 decentralized entities have been involved in a profitable dialogue with the Province for the gradually expanding the pilot phase of participatory budgeting. So many of the issues related to the modernization of the budgetary process have been shared among all South Kivu local administration, even though only eight municipalities and chiefdoms received specific training on how to involve citizens in the public discussions on public investments in order to contribute to shape local budget drafts. It must be recalled that – in the April 2010 workshop that opened the way to the first 8 pilot-projects of participatory budgeting – the decentralized entities not directly involved in the pilot phase were given the opportunity, after huge debates, to begin their PB process according to their own pace; but – at the same time – the Circular note no 02/MINIPLAN&BUDGET/2011 of 04/04/2011 (issued by the Provincial Minister of Planning and Budget) partially reformed the budget estimation procedures for the entire provincial territory. In fact, if on one side it clearly stated that “...all decentralized entities should follow the principles set by participatory budgeting, which require that the population is involved in the preparation of budget estimates”, on the other, it also launched a new cooperative relationship with provincial offices, committing the supra-local institutional level to a more careful and punctual distribution of transfers than in the past, but also to favour a dialogue with local authorities which could lead to the presentation of

¹⁷ Other RDC Provinces, and the same capital Kinshasa, started in 2012 to forge proposals inspired to the South Kivu experience.

more realistic annual estimates and budget drafts. Indeed, if in many places (independently from having or not experienced the pilot-PB) the budget estimates for 2012 were reviewed accordingly to a more realistic vision which could learn from the trends of the past, such a transformation would become more visible in the 8 local authorities with PB. This is possibly due to the fact that management of citizens' expectations is felt as a central feature for the success of any participatory experiment. As publicly explained by the Mayor of Ibanda during the October 2011 evaluation workshop: *“For estimating the budget for 2012 we evaluated the realization of budget estimates during the first three months of 2011 and then we extrapolated data, projecting them on the entire year. This was to avoid unrealistic estimates which could create high expectations in PB participants, and then obvious frustration. It has no meaning to create a voluntary participatory process that then risk to act like a boomerang for its creators...”*

Looking to the future

Taking into account the conditions in which the Participatory Budgeting has been introduced in the South Kivu Province, some of the activities carried out so far and its first achievements give hope for the future.

The hierarchical structure composed of neighbourhood, thematic, representative forums and the general citizen assemblies in charge of identifying, discussing and voting the investment priorities of the decentralized entities can be undoubtedly bettered, and the qualitative level of public debates must be increased – for example producing more printed and online material for supporting public discussion on investments. The same “back-office structure” that supports the PB experiment (including the general Steering Committee at provincial level and the PB coordination boards in each decentralized entity) needs to be strengthened and supported more by a capacity building effort which then becomes indispensable especially for the 19 local authorities which must sum-up the scaling-up of PB experiment. This is provided for by the South Kivu Regulations which gradually institutionalized the experiment done in 2011, and especially the Governor Order no 12/03/GP/SK of 05th October 2012. The World Bank Institute and other international partners could do a lot to help the Congolese experiment evolve, especially through transnational networking and supporting peer-to-peer learning¹⁷ This will be an easier task, if we take into account the new pan-African framework of support to the multiplication and qualitative growth of PB opened by the commitment of UCLGA (the African section of the world association called United Cities and Local Governments) during the “Africities” meeting held in Dakar in December 2012.

Nevertheless, it has to be underlined that the experience, despite its contingent fragilities in the first moment, seem to contain important elements of strength that can help it to enroot, scale up and spread in other contexts. The first is, certainly, the visible commitment of the provincial government, shown by the presence of the Governor (or the Deputy Governor accompanied

by a large number of Ministers) during many of the training activities and public discussions on the budget. The second is the political will shown by local authorities of the experimenting administrative entities, which not only confirmed the commitment of their predecessors, but also engaged in “evolutionary” processes and in re-setting some administrative procedures in order to make PB more effective. So enabling immediate practical results that could attract more sceptical citizens and stakeholders for the future. Being that the 2012 fiscal year revenue collection in many of the experimenting cities seemed to confirm the improvement register in 2011, we could say that the goal of “fiscal civism” (for many local authorities a central one when deciding to adhere PB) started to prove its feasibility, and could be pursued with more innovative measures and methodologies in the next years. Until now, the PB experiment in South Kivu proved not only that – through an ambitious project of participation – it is possible to rationalize public investments and raise the accountability of public spending procedure (especially in customary-driven chiefdoms, which are very seldom politically accountable by definition), but also that it is possible to activate a “virtuous circle” between administrative reforms and participatory control of the decision-making in delivery of public services and in the planning of territorial transformations. In this perspective, the more realistic budgetary planning proved by the 2012 and 2013 budget drafts of both the Province and several of its decentralized entities represents a good start indeed, being that it can reduce the scepticism that “inflated” estimates generated in the last decade.

In South Kivu, the growing effectiveness of participatory budgeting between 2011 and 2012 depicts well the possibility of a positive “mutual influence” of structural reforms of government and participatory reforms of governance. If the few existing studies done in Brazil in the last decade (mostly by the World Bank) did not prove a specific impact of participatory budgeting on revenue collection and financial autonomy of local authorities, the South Kivu case allows us to imagine that improvements in this field are possible. PB could be envisioned as an “enabling environment” for promoting richer reforms. This could be seen in both the acceptance in the increase of the role of citizens in the setting of public policies and in working on the ground of a new inter-institutional relationship based on “mutual trust” among different governmental levels.

BI
BLIO
GRA
PHY

PER

AR

TI

CLE

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF PARTICIPATORY BUDGETS IN THE WORLD A NEW SOCIAL AND POLITICAL MOVEMENT?

NELSON DIAS

TRANSNATIONAL MODELS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION: THE CASE OF PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING

YVES SINTOMER

BOBBIO, Norberto (2002) *O Futuro da Democracia*, São Paulo, Paz e Terra.

FRANCO, Augusto de (2007) *Alfabetização Democrática: o que podemos pensar (e ler) para mudar nossa condição de analfabetos democráticos*, FIEP e Rede de Participação Política do Empresariado, Curitiba, Brazil.

PNUD (2004) *A Democracia na América Latina – ruma a uma democracia de cidadãos e cidadãs*, PNUD, Santana do Parnaíba (São Paulo).

TOURAINÉ, Alain (1994) *O que é a Democracia?* Lisbon, Instituto Piaget.

ABERS, R. *Inventing Local Democracy*. Grassroots Politics in Brazil. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers. 2000.

ALLEGRETTI, G. *L'insegnamento di Porto Alegre*. Autoprogettualità come paradigma urbano. Firenze: Alinea. 2003.

AVRITZER, L. *Democracy and the Public Space in Latin America*. Princeton: University Press Princeton. 2002.

AVRITZER, L. *Participatory Institutions in Democratic Brazil*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press. 2009.

AVRITZER, L, WAMPLER, B. *The Expansion of Participatory Budgeting in Brazil* (Report, Belo Horizonte). 2008.

BAIERLE, S. *Urban Struggles in Porto Alegre: between Political Revolution and Transformism*. Porto Alegre: ONG Cidade. 2007.

BAIOCCHI, G. *Militants and Citizens. The Politics of Participatory Democracy in Porto Alegre*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2005.

Baogang H., "Civic Engagement through Participatory Budgeting in China: Three Different Logics at Work?" *Public Administration and Development*, 31, 122-133. 2011a.

— "Authoritarian Deliberation. The deliberative turn in Chinese political development," *Perspectives on Politics*, v. 9, n. 2 (June), 269-289. 2011b.

CABANNES, Y. (ed.) *Participatory budgeting and Local Finances*. Porto Alegre: Network Urbal N°9 European Community. 2003.

CABANNES, Y. *Answers to 72 Frequently Asked Questions About Participatory Budgeting*. UMP-LAC, UN-HABITAT and UNDP. Quito: 2004. Disponível em: www.unhabitat.org/documents/faqpp.pdf.

CHAUDHURIS, S.; HELLER, P. *The plasticity of participation: evidence from a participatory governance experiment*. 2002. Disponível em: www.siteresources.worldbank.org/INTEMPowerment/Resources/13892_chaudhuri_heller.pdf, acessado em 24 de Novembro de 2009.

FEDOZZI, L. *Orçamento participativo: Reflexões sobre a experiência de Porto Alegre*. Porto Alegre: Tomo. 1999.

FEDOZZI, L. *O Poder da aldeia*. Porto Alegre: Tomo: 2000.

FEDOZZI, L. *Observando o Orçamento participativo de Porto Alegre*. Porto Alegre: Tomo. 2007.

FUNG, A.; WRIGHT, E. O. (eds.) *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*. London/New York: Verso. 2003.

GANUZA, E.; Francés F., *El Círculo virtuoso de la democracia: los presupuestos participativos a debate*, Madrid: CIS. 2012.

GENRO, T.; de SOUZA, U. *Orçamento Participativo. A experiência de Porto Alegre*. São Paulo: Editora Fundação Perseu Abramo. 1997.

GRET, M.; SINTOMER, Y. *Porto Alegre. A esperança de uma outra democracia*. Lisboa: Campo das Letras. 2003.

GUEYE, B. *Le budget participatif en pratique*. Dakar: IED-Afrique. 2008.

HERZBERG, C. *Der Bürgerhaushalt von Porto Alegre*. Münster : Lit. 2001.

JAIN, L.C. *Decentralisation and local governance*. New Delhi: Orient Longma. 2005.

KANOUTE, M. B. *Manuel du budget participatif en Afrique Francophone*. Dakar ONU HABITAT and ENDA T. 2007. Disponível em: www.unhabitat.org.

LERNER, J.; WAGNER, E. *Van Participatory Budgeting in Canada: Democratic Innovations in Strategic Spaces*. Amsterdam: TNI. 2006. Disponível em: www.tni.org.

MARQUETTI, A. *Characteristics of Brazilian Cities Experimenting with participatory Budgeting*. Working Paper. Porto Alegre: PUCRS. 2005.

MARQUETTI, A.; DE CAMPOS, G.; PIRES, R. (eds.) **Democracia Participativa e Redistribuição: Análise de Experiências de Orçamento Participativo**. São Paulo: Xamã. 2008.

MATSUBARA, A. Participatory Budgeting in Japan: the case of the City of Ichikawa. 2013. In: SINTOMER et al. 2013c.

MORORÓ R.R. **Participatory Budgets as a Mean of Promoting More Equitable Distribution of Public resources: Potential and Contradictions**, paper presented at the Conference “Beyond Accra: Practical Implications of Ownership and Accountability in national Development Strategies”. London. 2009.

NEUNECKER, N.; MASTUTI, S. S. Indonesia: Engendering Participatory Budgeting to Reach Poor People: Tanah Datar – Indonesia Experience. In: SINTOMER et al. 2013c.

OLOWU, D. **Local Democracy, Taxation and Multi-level Governance in Africa**. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies. 2003.

RAZA, A.; WEISER, E.T. **Fostering Participatory Budgeting**. Manila: Asian Development Bank and The Asia Foundation. 2006.

Röcke, A. **Framing Citizen Participation. Participatory Budgeting in France, Germany and the United Kingdom** (to be published). 2013.

SANTOS, B. de Sousa Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre: Toward a Redistributive Democracy. **Politics & Society**. v. 26, n.4, p. 461-510. 1998.

SHAH, A. (ed.) **Participatory Budgeting**. Washington: World Bank Publications. 2007.

SINTOMER, Y., HERZBERG, C.; RÖCKE, A., ALLEGRETTI G., (2012), “Transnational Models of Citizen Participation: The Case of Participatory Budgeting”, **Journal of Public Deliberation**, v. 8, n.2, Article 9.

SINTOMER, Y., HERZBERG, C.; RÖCKE, A., ALLEGRETTI G., LOPES ALVES M. **Learning from the South: Participatory Budgeting Worldwide – an Invitation to Global Cooperation**. Bonn: Engagement Global. 2013a. Disponível em: www.service-eine-welt.de/

SINTOMER, Y.; HERZBERG, C.; RÖCKE, A. **Participatory Democracy and Public Service Modernisation**. Farnham: Ashgate. 2013b.

SINTOMER, Y., TRAUB-MERZ R., JUNHA Z., HERZBERG C. (eds.) **Participatory Budgeting in Asia and Europe, Key Challenges of Participation**. Houdmills: Palgrave Macmillan. 2013c.

SMITH G. **Democratic Innovations: Designing Institutions for Citizen Participation (Theories of Institutional Design)**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2009.

SONGMIN, A. Participatory Budgeting in Korea: the case of Dong-Ku, Ulsan. 2013. In: Sintomer et al. 2013c.

TALPIN, J. **Schools of Democracy. How Ordinary Citizens (Sometimes) Become More Competent in Participatory Budgeting Institutions**. Colchester: ECPR Press. 2011.

UCLG (ed.) **Decentralization and Local Democracy in the World: First Global Report**. Barcelona: UCLG. 2008.

UN-HABITAT e MDP (eds.) **Participatory Budgeting in Africa: A Training Companion**. Nairobi/Harare: UN-Habitat/MDP. 2008.

WAMPLER, B. **Participatory Budgeting in Brazil: Contestation, Cooperation, and Accountability**. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2010.

WORLD BANK (ed.) **Brazil Toward a More Inclusive and Effective Participatory Budget in Porto Alegre**. Washington: World Bank. 2008.

ZAMBONI, Y. **Participatory Budgeting and Local Governance: An Evidence-Based Evaluation of Participatory Budgeting Experiences in Brazil**. Working Paper. Brasília: Controladoria Geral da União. 2007. Disponível em: www.bvc.cgu.gov.br.

Abers, R. (2000), *Inventing Local Democracy: Grassroots Politics in Brazil*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder

Allegretti, G. (2005), *Porto Alegre: una biografia territoriale. Ricercando la qualità urbana a partire dal patrimonio sociale*, Firenze University Press, Florence

Allegretti, G.; Alfonsin, B. (2003), “Dalla gestione consensuale alla riprogettazione condivisa del territorio”, in D. della Porta e L. Mosca (org.), *Globalizzazione e movimenti sociali*, Roma, Manifestolibri, pp. 121-153.

Allegretti, G.; Paño, P.; García, P. (2011), *Viajando por los presupuestos participativos: buenas prácticas, obstáculos y aprendizajes.*, CEDMA. Málaga

PAYING ATTENTION TO THE PARTICIPANTS' PERCEPTIONS IN ORDER TO TRIGGER A VIRTUOUS CIRCLE

GIOVANNI ALLEGRETTI

- Allegretti, G. (2011), «Le processus d'économie participative de la région Lazio. Quand l'expérimentation devient le symbole d'une gestion politique», in Sintomer, Y. ; Talpin, G. [orgs.], *La démocratie participative au-delà de la proximité. Le Poitou-Charentes et l'échelle régionale*, Presse Universitaire de Rennes, Rennes
- Allegretti, G. et alii (2012), *Estudio comparativo de los presupuestos participativos en en República Dominicana, España y Uruguay*, CEDMA, Malaga
- Allegretti, G. (2013), “Os orçamentos participativos sabem escutar? Reflexões para reforçar a sustentabilidade dos orçamentos participativos”, in Lima, K., Boson, C.: (2013, eds.), “Orçamento Participativo olhares e perspectivas”, Livraria Paulo Freire Ed.
- Allegretti, U. (2011), entrada “Democrazia partecipativa”, in *Enciclopedia del diritto. Annali IV*, Giuffrè, Milão
- Allulli, M. (2011), “Pratiche partecipative e istituzionalizzazione. Tra ritualità e decision-making”, in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, n. 3/2011, pp. 443-475
- Alves, M. (2012), *What happens when concepts travel? Discussing the emergency of participatory processes in inhospitable political contexts.* (working paper, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, dep. of Political Sciences). 5th Seminar on Sociological and Political Research. RCC; CIS; Harvard University, Sept 2012, Cambridge.
- Alves, M, Allegretti, G. (2012) “(In) stability, a key element to understand participatory budgeting: Discussing Portuguese cases.” *Journal of Public Deliberation*: Vol. 8: Iss. 2, Article 3. Descarregavel de: <http://www.publicdeliberation.net/jpd/vol8/iss2/art3>
- Appadurai, A. (1991), “Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology”, in *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, ed. R. Fox, Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press, pp. 191-210.
- Avritzer, L. (2012) “Democracy beyond aggregation: the participatory dimension of public deliberation”, *Journal of Public Deliberation*: Vol. 8: Iss. 2, Article 10. Descarregavel de: <http://www.publicdeliberation.net/jpd/vol8/iss2/art10>
- Avritzer, L.(2009) *Participatory Institutions in Democratic Brazil*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Washington.
- Baiocchi, G. (2005) *Militants and citizens: the politics of participatory democracy in Porto Alegre*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.
- Banco Mundial (2010), *Evaluación del Presupuesto Participativo y su relación con el Presupuesto por Resultados*, World Bank Press, Washington/Lima.
- Benasayag, M.; Del Rey, A., (2010), *Elogio del Conflitto*, Feltrinelli, Milano
- Bobbio, L. (2010), “Le specificità del dibattito pubblico sulle grandi infrastrutture. Il caso della variante autostradale di Genova”, in U. Allegretti (a cura di), *Democrazia partecipativa. Esperienze e prospettive in Italia e in Europa*, Firenze, Firenze University Press, pp. 285-297.
- Caponetto, M. (2002), *Scenari di progetto identitario. Il caso di Lucca*, Alinea, Firenze
- Dias, N. (2010), “Orçamentos Participativos em Portugal” in *Vez e Voz* nº 97, June 2010, ANIMAR, Lisbon
- Fedozzi, L. (2000), *O poder da aldeia : gênese e história do orçamento participativo de Porto Alegre*, Tomo Editorial, Porto Alegre
- Freedom House (2012), *Freedom in the World 2012, Report Annuale*, www.freedomhouse.org
- Ganuzo, E. (2008) *Control político y participación en democracia: los presupuestos participativos*, Ed. Fundación Alternativas, Madrid
- Ganuzo, E.; Frances, F. (2012), *El círculo virtuoso de la democracia: los presupuestos participativos a debate*, Cit, Madrid
- Ibarra, P. (2007), “Participación y poder: de la legitimación al conflicto”, em Gurrutxaga, Igor A. e Pedro I. Guell, *Democracia Participativa y Desarrollo Humano*, Madrid, Instituto Internacional de Sociología Jurídica de Oñati, Ed. Dykinson, pp.37-56.
- Langelier, S. (2011), “Que reste-t-il de l'expérience pionnière de Porto Alegre ?”, in *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Ottobre 2011
- Mbera, E. (2012), “Towards budget transparency and improvement in the South Kivu Province”, in Parycek, P.; Edelmann, N.; Sachs, M. (eds), *CeDEM12. Proceedings of the International Conference for E-Democracy and Open Government*, Danube University of Krems, Austria, pp. 47-58
- McNulty, S. (2012) “An Unlikely Success: Peru's Top-Down Participatory Budgeting Experience”, *Journal of Public Deliberation*: Vol. 8: Iss. 2, Article 4. Descarregavel de: <http://www.publicdeliberation.net/jpd/vol8/iss2/art4>

- Norris, P. (2011), *Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited*, Cambridge University Press, New York/Cambridge
- Pateman, C., 2012, "Participatory Democracy Revisited," APSA Presidential Address, *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 10/No. 1
- Pomatto, G. (2011), *Gioco strategico e deliberazione. Il dibattito pubblico sulla Gronda di Genova*, SPS University Press, Torino
- Rizzo, S.; Stella G. (2007), *La Casta*, Rizzoli, Milano
- Romano, I. (2012), *Cosa fare come fare. Decidere insieme per praticare davvero la democrazia*, Editore Chiarelettere, Torino
- Santos, B. (2008), "Sintese Final," in *Actas do I Encontros dos Orçamentos Participativos Portugueses*, In-LoCo, S. Brás de Alportel.
- Santos, B. De Sousa; Avritzer, L. (2003), "Introdução: para ampliar o cânone democrático," in Santos, B. De Sousa (org.). *Democratizar a democracia: os caminhos da democracia participativa*. 2ª Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, p. 39-81
- Santos, B. de Sousa (2003) *Democratizar a democracia. Os caminhos da democracia participativa*, Edições Afrontamento, Porto (introdução geral para a chancela "Para nova emancipações").
- Sintomer, Y.; Allegretti, G.(2009) *I bilanci partecipativi in Europa. Nuove esperienze democratiche nel vecchio continente*, Ediesse, Rome and Allegretti (2009)
- Sintomer, Y.; Allegretti, G (2013, no prelo), *Os Orçamentos Participativos na Europa. Entre democracia participativa e modernização dos serviços públicos*, Almedina, Coimbra
- Sintomer, Y.; Allegretti, G; Herzberg, C.; Röcke, A. (2013, versão atualizada da edição 2010), *Learning from the South: Participatory Budgeting Worldwide –an Invitation to Global Cooperation*, InWENT gGmbH, Bonn (edições em Portugues, Ingles, Alemão)
- Sintomer, Y.; et al. (2008), "Participatory Budgeting in Europe: Potentials and Challenges," in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Volume 32.1 March 2008
- Smith, G. (2009), *Democratic Innovations*, Cambridge University Press
- UN-Habitat (2008), *Participatory Budgeting in Africa – A Training Companion with cases from eastern and southern Africa* (2 volumes), UN-Habitat, Nairobi
- Wampler, B.. (2007), *Participatory Budgeting in Brazil. Contestation, Cooperation, and Accountability*; Penn State Press
- Allegretti, G (2011), "Los presupuestos participativos en África y en Asia" en Falck, A y Paño, P (eds.) (2011), *Democracia participativa y presupuestos participativos*, Málaga: Diputación Málaga y Unión Europea.
- Avritzer, L (2006), "New Public Spheres in Brazil: Local Democracy and Deliberative Politics" in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30(3): 623-637.
- Bassoli, M (2011), *Participatory budgeting in Italy: as analysis of (almost democratic) participatory governance arrangements in International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2427.2011.01023.x
- Cooke, B, and U Kothari (2001) "The case for Participation as Tyranny" in Cooke, B y Kothari, U (eds.) (2001) *Participation: The New Tyranny*, London: Zed Press (pp 1-15).
- Ganuzza, E y Baiocchi, G (2012), "The Power of ambiguity: How Participatory Budgeting Travels the Globe" in *Journal of Public Deliberation* 8 (2), article 8.
- Ganuzza, E y Francés, F (2012) *El círculo virtuoso de la democracia: los presupuestos participativos a debate*. Madrid: CIS.
- Ganuzza, E; Nez, H y Morales, E (2013) "The struggle for the voice: associations against citizens in participatory budgeting" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (forthcoming)
- Goldfrank, B (2012), "The World Bank and the Globalization of Participatory Budgeting" in *Journal of Public Deliberation* 8 (2), article 7
- Goldfrank, B (2007), "Lessons from Latin American Experience in Participatory Budgeting," in **Anwar Shah, ed., Participatory Budgeting**. Washington, DC: World Bank Institute
- He, B (2011), "Civic engagement through participatory budgeting in China: three different logics at work," **Public Administration and Development**, 31 (122-131)
- Lascombes, P and Le Gales, P (2007), "Introduction: Understanding Public Policy Through Its Instruments? From the Nature

BEYOND THE LINE: THE PARTICIPATORY BUDGET AS AN INSTRUMENT

ERNESTO GANUZA
GIANPAOLO BAIOCCHI

**THE DYNAMICS OF THE
DIFFUSION OF THE
PARTICIPATORY BUDGET
IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA:
FROM DAKAR TO MAPUTO**

**OSMANY PORTO DE
OLIVEIRA**

of Instruments to the Sociology of Public Policy Instrumentation” *Governance* 20(1): 1–21.

Leubolt, B; Novy, A y Becker, J (2008) “Changing Patterns of Participation in Porto Alegre” in *International Social Science Journal* 59 n°193 (435–448)

Marquetti, A. (2003): “Participação e redistribuição: o Orçamento participativo em Porto Alegre”. en *Avritzer, L. y Navarro, Z. A inovação democrática no Brasil*. São Paulo: Cortez.

Peck, J and Theodore, N (2010), “Mobilizing Policy: Models, Methods, and Mutations”. *Geoforum* 41(2). Elsevier Ltd: 169–174.

Pont, R (2003) *Democracia, igualdade e qualidade de vida: a experiencia de Porto Alegre*, Porto Alegre: Veraz.

Sintomer, Y; Herzberg, C and Röcke, A (2008), “Participatory Budgeting in Europe: Potentials and Challenges” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 32(1): 164–178.

Sintomer, Y; Herzberg, C. y Allegretti, G (2010), *Learning from the South: Participatory Budgeting Worldwide – an Invitation to Global Cooperation*. Bonn: InWEnt gGmbH.

Songmin, A. (2009), “Korean cases: participatory budgeting in Dong-Ku, Ulsan”, **paper presentado en la Conferencia Participatory Budgeting in Asia and Europe: key challenges of participation**, 17–19 August, Hangzhou (China)

Talpin, Julien (2011), *Schools of Democracy: How ordinary citizens (sometimes) become competent in participatory budgeting institutions*, Colchester: ECPR Press.

Utzig, J. “Notas Sobre o Governo do PT em Porto Alegre.” *Novos Estudos Cebrap* 45, n° 6 (1996): 209–22.

Wampler, B. (2007) “A Guide to Participatory Budgeting” in *Participatory Budgeting* edited by Shah, A. Washington: World Bank.

AFRICITÉS (2012) Évaluation du Processus des Africités et Suivi des Recommandations. CGLUA, Rabat.

ALDECOA, Francisco & KEATING, Michael (1999), *Paradiplomacy in Action: The Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments*. Frank Cass: London.

WORLD BANK: <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/MOZAMBIQUEEXTN/0,,menuPK:382138~pagePK:141159~piPK:141110~theSitePK:382131,00.html>

BUNCE, V. Wolchik, S., (2009), “Transnational Networks, Diffusion Dynamics, and Electoral Change in the Postcommunist World”. Paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto.

DOLOWIZ D., MARSH D. “Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy Making”, *Governance*, Vol. 13, N° 1, 2001, p. 5–24.

GAYE, B, (2008), “Le Budget Participatif en Pratique: Un guide pratique destiné aux acteurs locaux.” IED.

GOOD GOVERNANCE LEARNING NETWORK (2012). Putting participation at the heart of development//Putting development at the heart of participation: A civil society perspective on local governance in South Africa. The State of Local Governance Publication, South Africa.

HASSENTEUFEL P., « De la comparaison internationale à la comparaison transnationale, les déplacements de la construction des objets comparatifs en matière de politiques publiques », *Revue Française de Science Politique*, N°1, Vol. 55, February 2005, pp. 113–132.

NGUENHA, E. (2009). ‘Governação Municipal Democrática em Moçambique: Alguns Aspectos Importantes para o Desenho e Implementação de Modelos do Orçamento Participativo,’ Paper presented at the 2nd IESE Conference on ‘Dynamics of Poverty and Patterns of Economic Accumulation in Mozambique,’ Maputo.

NGUENHA, E. (2009). Orçamento Participativo em Moçambique: Modelos, Práticas e Indicadores de Medição de Desempenho. No data.

PORTO de OLIVEIRA, O. 2010. Le transfert d’un modèle de démocratie participative: Paradiplomatie entre Porto Alegre et Saint-Denis. Collection Chrysallides, IHEAL/CREDA. Paris.

PORTO de OLIVEIRA, O. 2011. “L’implication des réseaux dans la circulation des politiques de gouvernance participative : Le cas du Forum des Autorités Locales”. Papier présenté au XIème Congrès de l’Association Française de Science Politique. Section Thématique – 26

“Agir par réseaux : Les réseaux en science politique : méthodes et objets”. Strasbourg 28 août – 1 Septembre.

PORTO de OLIVEIRA, O.2012. “Embaixadores do Orçamento Participativo: Um prelúdio à circulação internacional de um dispositivo de governança participativa”. Paper prepared for presentation at the 6th Latin American Congress of Political Science (ALACIP) Symposium: Participation, representation, institutionalisation: where are the relations between state and civil society in Latin America heading? Quito 12 – 14 June.

SINTOMER, Y., HERZBERG, C. e ALLEGRETTI, G. (2012). Aprendendo com o Sul: O Orçamento Participativo no mundo – um convite à cooperação global. Engagement Global gGmbH, Bonn.

SMITH, T. (2004). “The potential for participatory budgeting in South Africa: A case study of the “People’s Budget” in eThekweni Municipality”. Centre for Civil Society, University of KwaZulu Natal.

TEIXEIRA, A. C., ALBUQUERQUE, M. do C. (2006). “Orçamentos Participativos: Projetos políticos, partilha de poder e alcance democrático”. IN: DAGNINO, E., OLVERA, O., ALDO, P. (Org.). A disputa pela construção democrática na América Latina. Paz e Terra. Campinas.

WORLD BANK. (2000). Entering the 21st Century: World Development Report 1999/2000. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

WORLD BANK. (2009). Municipal Development in Mozambique: Lessons from the First Decade. Volume I: Synthesis Report, Washington.

Allegretti G. (org., 2011a), **Estudio comparativo de los presupuestos participativos en República Dominicana, España y Uruguay**, CEDMA, Málaga

Allegretti, G. (2011d) “From Skepticism to Mutual Support: Towards a Structural Change in the Relations between Participatory Budgeting and the Information and Communication Technologies?” in **Mindus**, P., Greppi A. et Cuono M. (orgs.), *Legitimacy_2.0. E-Democracy and Public Opinion in the Digital Age*, Goethe University Press, Frankfurt am Main

Allegretti, G.; Paño, P.; Garcia, P. (2011), **Viajando por los presupuestos participativos: buenas prácticas, obstáculos y aprendizajes.**, CEDMA. Málaga

Governo da RDC (2006), Programa do Governo para 2007–2011, Kinshasa

Governo da RDC (2011), Lei n.º 11/011 de 13 de Julho de 2011 relativa às Finanças Públicas, Kinshasa

Frères des hommes (2006), **Les budgets participatifs**, dossier thématique trimestriel, FDH, Paris

Hôgye, M. (2002), “Theoretical approaches to public budgeting”, Budapeste

Huddleston, J.K. (2005), **An introduction to local government budgets: A guide for planners**, Madison, Wisconsin

E (2009). Estudo de viabilidade do Orçamento Participativo na Província do Kivu Sul, Bukavu

Mbera, E. (2012), “Towards budget transparency and improvement in the South Kivu Province” in Parycek, P.; Edelman, N.; Sachs, M. (eds), *CeDEM12. Proceedings of the International Conference for E-Democracy and Open Government*, Danube University of Krems, Áustria, pág. 47-58

McNeil, M.; Malena, C. [org.](2010), *Demanding for Good Governance. Lessons from Social Accountability Initiatives in Africa*, Banco Mundial, Washington, D.C.

Shah, A. (2007, ed.), *Participatory Budgeting, Public Sector Governance and Accountability series*, **World Bank Publications**, Washington, D.C.

Sintomer, Y, Herzberg, C., Röcke, A., Allegretti, G. (2012): “Transnational Models of Citizen Participation: The Case of Participatory Budgeting”, **Journal of Public Deliberation**, Vol. 8, Ed. 2, Artigo 9.

Sintomer, Y.; Herzberg, C.; Röcke, A. (2008), « From Porto Alegre to Europe: Potential and Limitations of Participatory Budgeting », **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**, volume 32/1, Mach, pág. 164–178.

Governo Provincial do Kivu Sul (2012), Decreto Provincial n.º 12/03/GP/SK, de 5 de Outubro de 2012, sobre a Institucionalização do OP nas Entidades Descentralizadas da Província do Kivu Sul, Bukavu

Ugandan Local government budget committee: General Guide to the Local Government Budget Process for District & LLG Councillors, NGOs, CBOs & Civil Society, www.lgfc.go.ug/archives.php, acedido a 14 de Março de 2013

UN-HABITAT (2004), **2 Perguntas Frequentes sobre Orçamento Participativo**, UN-Habitat, Nairobi

PB AND THE BUDGET PROCESS IN THE SOUTH KIVU PROVINCE

EMMY MBERA
GIOVANNI ALLEGRETTI

**THE MOZAMBICAN
EXPERIMENT OF
PARTICIPATORY
BUDGETING**

**EDUARDO JOSSIAS
NGUENHA**

AZEVEDO, N.; GOMES, M. (2008). Um Balanço da Literatura sobre o Orçamento Participativo de Belo Horizonte: Avanços e Desafios. In Democracia Participativa – a experiência de Belo Horizonte, Azevedo, A.; Nabuco A. (organiz.), 2008. Editora Leitura, Belo Horizonte.

CAMBRAIA, Alexandre; NGUENHA, Eduardo (2008). Dissemination paper on Participatory Budgeting Experiments: Approaches to Brazil's Patterns and to African Context. Participatory Democracy Project. The World Bank and Municipal Development Partnership for Eastern and Southern Africa.

FEDOZZI, Luciano (2001). Orçamento Participativo: Reflexões sobre a Experiência de Porto Alegre, 3ª ed. Tomo Editorial e FASE, Porto Alegre, Brasil.

FEDOZZI, Luciano (2000). O Poder da Aldeia: Gênese e História do Orçamento Participativo de Porto Alegre, 1ª ed. Tomo Editorial e FASE, Porto Alegre, Brasil.

GIACOMONI, James (2005). Orçamento Público, 13ª ed. Editora Atlas SA, São Paulo, Brasil.

MUSGRAVE, Richard; MUSGRAVE, Peggy (1989). Public Finance in Theory and Practice, 5ª ed. McGraw-Hill, New York.

NGUENHA, Eduardo (2011). Orçamento Participativo em Moçambique: Modelos, Práticas e Indicadores de Medição de Desempenho. Comunicação à Conferência sobre Democracia Participativa promovida pela Universidade São Tomás de Moçambique, Instituto Florence para Desenvolvimento e AWEPA Moçambique. Maputo, Moçambique.

NGUENHA, Eduardo (2008). A Governação Municipal Democrática em Moçambique: Alguns Aspectos Importantes para o Desenho e Implementação de Modelos de Planificação e Orçamento Participativo. IESE, Maputo, Moçambique.

PEREIRA, Paulo Trigo; AFONSO, António; ARCANJO, Manuela; SANTOS, José Carlos G. (2005). Economia e Finanças Públicas. Escolar Editora, Lisboa. Portugal.

YVES, Cabannes (2004). 72 Perguntas Frequentes sobre o Orçamento Participativo. UN-HABITAT.

SANTOS, B.; AVRITZER, L. (2002). Democratizar a Democracia: os caminhos da democracia participativa. Civilização Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro.

YVES, Cabannes (2004). 72 Perguntas Frequentes sobre o Orçamento Participativo. UN-HABITAT.

SAMUELSON, Paul; NORDHAUS, William D. (1993). Economia, 14ª ed. McGraw-Hill.

SANTOS, B.; AVRITZER, L. (2002). Democratizar a Democracia: os caminhos da democracia participativa. Civilização Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro.

TENGLER, H. (2007). Relatório de Levantamento de Materiais de Formação sobre a Planificação Participativa no Âmbito Municipal e Distrital e Análise de Boas Práticas. Projecto de Governação Autárquica Democrática / USAID. Maputo.

WAMPLER, Brian (2007). Participatory Budgeting in Brazil: Contestation, Cooperation, and Accountability. The Pennsylvania State University Press, USA.

WORLD BANK (2008). Brazil Toward a More Inclusive and Effective Participatory Budget in Porto Alegre. Vol. I: main Report. The World Bank, Washington.

**PARTICIPATORY BUDGETS
IN BRAZIL**

**LUCIANO JOEL FEDOZZI
KÁTIA CACILDA PEREIRA
LIMA**

AFONSO, José R. (2012). Desafios do Federalismo Brasileiro: A Dimensão Econômica-Fiscal. Senado/Interlegis, Brasília, 19/10/2012.

ALLEGRETTI, G.; HERZBERG, C. El retorno de las carabelas. Los presupuestos participativos de América Latina en el contexto europeo. Amsterdam/Madri: TNI Working Paper/FMI, 2004.

AVRITZER, L. Instituições participativas e desenho institucional: algumas considerações sobre a variação da participação no Brasil democrático. Opinião Pública, Campinas, vol. 14, nº1, Junho 2008.

BANCO INTERNACIONAL DE RECONSTRUÇÃO E DESENVOLVIMENTO (BIRD). Rumo a um Orçamento Participativo mais inclusivo e efetivo em Porto Alegre. Relatório. 2008. (www.wds.worldbank.org).

BOURDIEU, P. Le capital social: notes provisoires, Actes Rech. Sci. Soc., 31, 1980, pp. 2-3.

DAGNINO, Evelina. Os movimentos sociais e a emergência de uma nova noção de cidadania. In: DAGNINO, Evelina (org) Anos 90 Política e Sociedade no Brasil. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1994.

FAORO, R. Os donos do poder. Porto Alegre: Globo, 1958.

FEDOZZI, L.; MARTINS, A.L.B. Novas instituições participativas, processos de elitização e o Orçamento Participativo de Porto Alegre. 35º Encontro Anual da ANPOCS. Águas de Lindóia: 21 a 25 de outubro de 2012.

FEDOZZI, Luciano. Os Orçamentos Participativos e a discussão sobre as questões práticas envolvidas na construção dessa instituição da democracia participativa. (<http://www.ufrgs.br/democraciaparticipativa>). In: ZICCARDI, A. (coord.) CIUDADES DEL 2010. Entre la sociedade del conocimiento y la desigualdade social. México:UNAM, 2012, p. 1065-1105.

FEDOZZI, Luciano. O poder da aldeia. Gênese e história do Orçamento Participativo de Porto Alegre. Porto Alegre:Tomo Editorial, 2000.

FEDOZZI, Luciano. Orçamento Participativo. Reflexões sobre a experiência de Porto Alegre. Porto Alegre: Tomo Editorial; Rio de Janeiro: FASE-IPPUR (UFRJ), 1997.

FERNANDES, Florestan. A Revolução Burguesa no Brasil. Ensaio de interpretação sociológica. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1976.

GURZA LAVALLE, A. (Org.) O horizonte da política. Questões emergentes e agendas de pesquisa. São Paulo:Unesp e Cebrap, 2011.

HARVEY, D. Social Justice and the City. London:Edward Arnold Ltd, 1973

HOLANDA, S. B. Raízes do Brasil. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1993.

INSTITUTO BRASILEIRO DE GEOGRAFIA E ESTATÍSTICA - IBGE. Censo Demográfico (1970, 1980, 1991, 2000, 2010). Rio de Janeiro.

____.Conselhos Municipais estão presentes no país. Censo Demográfico 2000. Rio de Janeiro, 2000.

KOWARICK, Lúcio. A espoliação urbana. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1979.

LEFEBVRE, H. O Direito à Cidade. São Paulo: Ed. Documentos, 1969.

MENEGUELLO, Raquel. PT: a formação do partido. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1989.

MULTI CIDADES. Finanças dos Municípios do Brasil. Anuário Estatístico. Ano 8. Frente Nacional de Prefeitos, 2012. <http://www.fnp.org.br/Documentos/DocumentoTipo107.pdf>.

PIRES, R. R. C.; VAZ, A. C. N. Participação faz diferença? Uma avaliação das características e efeitos da institucionalização da participação nos municípios brasileiros. In: AVRITZER, L. (Org.). A dinâmica da participação local no Brasil. São Paulo: Cortez, 2010. p. 253-304.

PÓLIS, Instituto. Levantamento das cidades brasileiras que realizaram o orçamento participativo (1989-2004). 2006. Disponível em: <<http://www.polis.org.br/download/239.pdf>> Acesso em: 10 ago. 2012.

REDE BRASILEIRA DE ORÇAMENTOS PARTICIPATIVOS (RBOP). Guarulhos: RELATÓRIO TÉCNICO, 2012

REVISTA LUA NOVA. Após a participação. São Paulo, 84: 353-364, 2011.

RIBEIRO, A. C., GRAZIA, G. (2003). Experiências de Orçamentos Participativos no Brasil. Petrópolis: Vozes.

RIBEIRO, L. C. Q. (Org.); SANTOS JUNIOR, Orlando Alves dos (Org.) . As Metrôpoles e a Questão Social Brasileira. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Revan; FASE, 2007.

RIBEIRO, L. C. Q. e SANTOS JUNIOR, O. A. (orgs). Globalização, fragmentação e reforma urbana: o futuro das cidades brasileiras na crise. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1994.

SADER, Eder. Quando novos personagens entram em cena: experiências e lutas dos trabalhadores da grande São Paulo. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 1988.

SANTOS JUNIOR, Orlando Alves dos (Org.) ; MONTANDON, D. T. (Org.) . Os Planos Diretores Municipais Pós-Estatuto das Cidades: balanço crítico e perspectivas. 1. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital, 2011.

SCHUMPETER, J. A. Capitalismo socialismo e democracia. Rio de Janeiro: Fundo de cultura, 1961.

SINGER, André. Os sentidos do lulismo. Reforma gradual e pacto conservador. São Paulo: Cia das Letras, 2012.

SINTOMER, Y., HERZBERG, C., RÖCKE, A. (2008). Participatory Budgeting in Europe: Potentials and Challenges. Berlin: International Journal of Urban Regional Research. (32), 1, p. 164-178.

SINTOMER, Y.; HERZBERG, C.; ALLEGRETTI, G.; Aprendendo com o Sul: O Orçamento Participativo no Mundo - um convite à cooperação global. Diálogo Global Nº 25. Alemanha: Engagement Global GmbH, 2012

THE EMERGENCE OF THE PARTICIPATORY BUDGET AND ITS EXPANSION IN BRAZIL: ANALYSING THE POTENTIAL AND LIMITATIONS

LEONARDO AVRITZER

TEIXEIRA (2003) E ROVER (2003). AVRITZER, L. e NAVARRO, Z. A inovação democrática no Brasil. São Paulo:Cortez, 2003.

TELLES, Vera da Silva. Sociedade civil e a construção de espaços públicos. In: DAGNINO, Evelina (Org.). Anos 90 Política e Sociedade no Brasil. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1994. p.91-102.

TRIBUNAL SUPERIOR ELEITORAL, 2012 <http://www.tse.jus.br/partidos/partidos-politicos> acesso em 20/12/2012

VAINER, Carlos B. Pátria, empresa e mercadoria. Notas sobre a estratégia discursiva do Planejamento Estratégico Urbano. In: ARANTES, O; VAINER, C. ; MARICATO, E. A cidade do pensamento único. Petrópolis:Vozes, 2000, p. 75-104.

WEBER, M. O socialismo. GERTZ R. E. (org.) Max Weber & Karl Marx. São Paulo: Hucitec, 1994, p. 252-77.

AVRITZER, L. .(2002a). **Sociedad civil**, espacio publico y poder local:un analisis del presupuesto participativo. In: Evelina Dagnino. (Org.). **Sociedad civil**, esfera publica y democratizacion en America Latina. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 2002.

AVRITZER, L. .(2002b). **Democracy and the public space in Latin America**. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

AVRITZER, L. (2006). **Models of democratic deliberation: participatory budgeting in Brazil**. In: Boaventura de Sousa Santos. (Org.). **Democratizing democracy: beyond the liberal democratic canon**. 1 ed. New York: Verso, 2006.

AVRITZER, L. (2009). **Participatory Institutions in Democratic Brazil**. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

BAIOCCHI, Gianpaolo. (2005). **Militants and citizens: the politics of participation in Porto Alegre**. Stanford: University Press, 2005.

DAGNINO ET AL, 2006. **La disputa por la construccion democrática em América Latina**. Mexico. Fondo de Cultura.

MARQUETTI, A. A.(2003). **Participação e Redistribuição: o Orçamento Participativo em Porto Alegre**. In: Avritzer, Leonardo; Navarro, Zander. (Org.). A inovação democrática no Brasil. 1 ed. São Paulo: Cortez Editora, v. 1, p. 129-156.

SANTOS, Boaventura de Souza. **Orçamento Participativo em Porto Alegre: para uma democracia redistributiva**. IN: Democratizar a democracia: os caminhos da democracia participativa. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2002.

SILVA, Marcelo Kunrath. (2002). **Cidadania e exclusão: os movimentos sociais urbanos e a experiência de participação na gestão municipal em Porto Alegre**. Porto Alegre: Editora da UFRGS.

SINTOMER, Y. e BACQUÉ, M.-H. (orgs.). **Gestion de proximité et démocratie participative: une perspective comparative**. Paris: La découverte, 2005.

TORRES RIBEIRO, Ana Clara; GRAZIA de Grazia. (2003). **Experiência de Orçamento Participativo no Brasil: Período de 1997 a 2000**. São Paulo: Editora Vozes.

WAMPLER, Brian. (2003) **Orçamento Participativo: uma explicação para as amplas variações nos resultados**. In A inovação democrática no brasil. Edited by Leonardo Avritzer and Zander Navarro. (São Paulo: Editora Cortez). (Title in English: "Participatory Budgeting: An explanation of the broad variations in outcomes").

WAMPLER, Brian; AVRITZER, L. (2005). **The Spread of Participatory Budgeting in Brazil: From Radical Democracy to Participatory Good Government**. Journal Of Latin American Urban Studies, New York, v. 7, Fall, p. 37-52

WAMPLER, Brian. (2008). **Participatory Budgeting in Brazil: contestation, cooperation, and accountability**. Pennsylvania State University Press

ANALYSIS OF PB IN CHILE. A REFLECTION OF THE NATIONAL PUBLIC POLICY EVOLUTION?

PABLO PAÑO YÁÑEZ

AA.VV (2012). **Construyendo democracias y metodologías participativas desde el Sur**. Ed. LOM. Santiago de Chile, Chile.

Allegretti, G., García, P. y Paño P. (2011). **Viajando por los Presupuestos Participativos: buenas prácticas, obstáculos y aprendizajes**. Proyecto Parlocal. CEDMA. Málaga, España.

Allegretti, G., Barragán, V., Chavez, D., García-Leiva, P., Gutiérrez, V., Navascués, J., Paño, P., (2011). **Estudio comparativo de los presupuestos participativos en República Dominicana, España y Uruguay**. Proyecto Parlocal. CEDMA. Málaga, España.

Baierle, S. (2010). **Porto Alegre neoliberal: la decapitación social-capitalista de líderes comunitarios y los límites del Nuevo Gerencialismo Público inclusivo en Diálogos entre Militantes**. Participación, territorio y ambiente. Ed. Casa Bertolt Brecht. Montevideo, Uruguay.

Falck, A. y Paño, P. (eds.) (2011). **Democracia Participativa y Presupuestos participativos: acercamiento y profundización sobre el debate actual**. Manual Escuela Políticas de Participación Local. Proyecto Parlocal. CEDMA. Málaga, España.

Ganuzza E. y Francés F. (2012). **El círculo virtuoso de la democracia**: los presupuestos participativos a debate. Centro de Investigación Sociológicas, CIS. Madrid, España.

Ganuzza, E., Olivari L. y Paño P. (2011). **La democracia en acción: participación de la ciudadanía en la acción pública**. Metodologías participativas y Presupuestos Participativos en Falck, A. y Paño, P. (eds.) (2011). **Democracia Participativa y Presupuestos participativos**: acercamiento y profundización sobre el debate actual. Manual Escuela Políticas de Participación Local. Proyecto Parlocal. CEDMA. Málaga, España.

Guerra, C. (1997). **Nueva estrategia neoliberal**: la participación ciudadana en Chile. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Centro Regional de Investigaciones Multidisciplinarias. México.

Klein, N. (2008). **La doctrina del shock**. El auge del capitalismo del desastre. Ed. Paidós, 1ra ed. Argentina.

Mayol, A. (2012). **El derrumbe del modelo**. La crisis de la economía de mercado en el Chile contemporáneo. Ed. LOM. Santiago de Chile, Chile.

Montecinos, E. (2011). **El presupuesto participativo en Chile**: Diseño institucional y condiciones para su desarrollo. ¿Complemento o subordinación a las instituciones representativas locales? en Mascareño, C. y Montecinos, E. (coords). **Democracia participativa vs Representación**. Tensiones en América Latina. Universidad de Los Lagos (Chile) y CENDES (Universidad Central de Venezuela). Caracas, Venezuela.

Morales Labbé, M. (2009). **Presupuestos Participativos en Chile**. Percepción de la comunidad respecto de la participación social que este mecanismo participativo genera. El caso de la comuna de Peñalolén. Memoria para optar al título de Master en Participación y políticas Locales. Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona. Mimeo.

Municipalidad de La Serena (2012). Ciudadanos transformando ciudades. El presupuesto participativo en La Serena. Participación Ciudadano Activa en los Espacios Locales. La Serena, Chile.

Ochsensus, C. y Delamaza, G., (2010). “Redes de participación institucional y gobernanza democrática local. El caso de los Presupuestos Participativos en Chile”. **Revista del CLAD Reforma y Democracia**; n°46.

Paño Yáñez, P (2013). **Sobre malas prácticas en la realización de Presupuestos Participativos**. Una reflexión para su mejora tras más de 20 años de implementación en AA.VV (2012) Construyendo democracias y metodologías participativas desde el Sur. Ed. LOM. Santiago de Chile, Chile.

Ramos, J. y Fontalba, I. (2006). **Presupuestos Participativos en el sector Salud**. Una experiencia innovadora en el servicio de Salud Talcahuano: Chile. en Fernández. M. (compiladora) (2006). Innovaciones en la gestión participativa de la salud. Lecciones y Aprendizajes 2006. Universidad de Los Lagos – Unidad de Participación Social. Subsecretaría de Redes Asistenciales. Ministerio de Salud. Santiago de Chile, Chile.

Sousa Santos B. (2005): **Reinventar la democracia**. Reinventar el Estado. CLACSO Libros. Colección Biblioteca de Ciencias Sociales. Argentina.

Sousa Santos, B. (2004). **Democracia y participación**: El ejemplo del presupuesto participativo de Porto Alegre. Ed. Viejo Topo. España.

Arroyo, Juan, and M. Irigoyen,. 2005. **Desafíos de la democracia participativa local en la descentralización**. CARE Perú. Lima, Peru.

Defensoría del Pueblo. 2003. **Descentralización y buen gobierno**: Compendio de normas. Lima: Defensoría del Pueblo.

Conaghan, Catherine. 2005. **Fujimori's Peru: Deception in the Public Sphere**. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Grupo Propuesta Ciudadana. 2011. “Hacia un Presupuesto Participativo basado en Resultados.” XVI Ciclo de Formación Módulo 1. (<http://www.propuestaciudadana.org.pe/node/846113>, Acedido em 19 de Fevereiro de 2013).

2009. “Presupuesto participativo: Boletín de vigilancia #2.” Lima: Peru.

(<http://www.descentralizacion.org.pe/vigilaperu-gobiernosregionales.shtml>, Acedido em 1 de Novembro de 2010).

Kenney, Charles. 2004. **Fujimori's Coup and the Breakdown of Democracy in Latin America**. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

McClintock, Cynthia. 1993. “Peru's Fujimori: A Caudillo Derails Democracy.” *Current History* (Março): 112-119.

McNulty, Stephanie. 2012. “An Unlikely Success: Peru's Top-Down Participatory Budgeting Experience.” **Journal of Public Deliberation** 8(2). Artigo 4.º.

**MANDATING
PARTICIPATION:
EXPLORING PERU'S
NATIONAL PARTICIPATORY
BUDGET LAW**

STEPHANIE MCNULTY

- 2011. **Voice and Vote:** Decentralization and Participation in Post-Fujimori Peru. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha Contra la Pobreza (MCLCP). 2011. Presupuesto participativo 2008-2009. Lima, Peru.
- 2007. **I Informe nacional de monitoreo:** Resultados del proceso participativo. Lima, Peru.
(<http://www.mesadeconcertacion.org.pe/contenido.php?pid=87>, Acedido em 12 de Dezembro de 2009).
- Ministerio de Economía y Finanzas (MEF). Sem data “Qué es el Presupuesto por Resultados?” (http://www.mef.gob.pe/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2122&Itemid=101162&lang=es, Acedido em 7 de Março de 2012).
- 2009. **Líneas de base de los programas estratégicos 2008-2009.** Lima, Peru.
- 2004. “Una breve reseña de los avances del presupuesto participativo en el Perú 2003-2004.” Lima: MEF.
- ProDescentralización (PRODES). 2012. Proceso de descentralización: Balance y agenda a Julio de 2012. Lima, Peru.
- 2011. **Proceso de descentralización:** Balance y agenda a Julio de 2011. Lima, Peru.
- 2010a. “Guía del Presupuesto Participativo Basado en Resultados.” Lima, Peru. (http://www.mef.gob.pe/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1940&Itemid=100288, Acedido em 19 de Fevereiro de 2013).
- 2010b. “**Participación y descentralización:** Percepciones y expectativas ciudadanas.” Evaluación Rápida de Campo. Lima, Peru.
- Ramírez Huaroto, Beatriz. 2009. “**El reto de formalizarse:** Enseñanzas recogidas de los procesos de formalización de organizaciones sociales de base promovidas por el CMP Flora Tristan.” Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán. Lima, Peru.
- Remy, María Isabel. 2011. **Participación ciudadana y gobiernos descentralizados.** Cuadernos Descentralistas 28. Grupo Propuesta Ciudadana, Lima, Peru.
- 2005. **Los múltiples campos de la participación ciudadana en el Perú.** Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Secretaría de la Descentralización. 2012. Propuesta de Plan Nacional de Descentralización y Regionalización (2012-2016). Lima, Peru. (<http://descentralizacion.gob.pe/images/stories/pdf/PNDR.pdf>, Acedido em 21 de Fevereiro de 2013).
- Shack, Nelson. 2006. **Presupuestar en Perú.** Santiago: Naciones Unidas.
- Banco Mundial. 2010. “**Peru: Evaluación del presupuesto participativo y su relación con el presupuesto por resultados.**” Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- 2008. “**Brazil: Toward a More Inclusive and Effective Participatory Budget in Porto Alegre.**” Report 40144-BR. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Zas Friz Burga, Johnny. 2004. **La insistencia de la voluntad:** El actual proceso Peruano de descentralización política y sus antecedentes inmediatos (1980-2004). Lima: Defensoría Del Pueblo.

**PARTICIPATORY
BUDGETS IN URUGUAY
A REFLECTION ON THE
CASES OF MONTEVIDEO
AND PAYSANDÚ**

ALICIA VENEZIANO
IVÁN SÁNCHEZ

- ALLEGRETTI, G.: “**Estudios comparativos de Presupuestos Participativos en República Dominicana, España y Uruguay**” en ALLEGRETTI, Giovanni (Comp.). PROYECTO PARLOCAL (FEDOMU-DM-IDP-UE). Edit. CEDMA. Málaga.
- BARRAGÁN, V.; ROMERO, R; SANZ, J (2011) “**Fundamentos políticos y tipología de los presupuestos participativos**”. En FALCK, Andres y PAÑO, Pablo (Edits) Democracia Participativa y Presupuestos Participativos: acercamiento y profundización sobre el debate actual. Proyecto PARLOCAL (FEDOMU-DM-IDP-UE). Edit. CEDMA. Málaga.
- BOU, Joan (2011). “**Funcionamiento Operativo de los Presupuestos Participativo**”. FEDOMU (Federación Dominicana de Municipios). En FALCK, Andres y PAÑO, Pablo (Edits) Democracia Participativa y Presupuestos Participativos: acercamiento y profundización sobre el debate actual. Proyecto PARLOCAL (FEDOMU-DM-IDP-UE). Edit. CEDMA. Málaga.
- BURJEL, Fernando (2006). “**Una mirada sobre la izquierda en el gobierno de Paysandú: con el cambio en la frente**”. Cuadernos del CEP N°1., Centro de Estudios Paysandú. Paysandú- Uruguay.
- CHÁVEZ, Daniel (2011): “**Origen y funcionamiento de los Presupuestos Participativos**”. En ALLEGRETTI, Giovanni (comp.): Estudios comparativos de Presupuestos Participativos en República Dominicana, España y Uruguay. Proyecto PARLOCAL (FEDOMU-DM-IDP-UE). Edit. CEDMA. Málaga.
- CONGRESO DE INTENDENTES (2007): “**Experiencias de Presupuesto Participativo en Uruguay**”, Programa de Fortalecimiento Institucional del Congreso de Intendentes y los Gobiernos Departamentales, OPP, AECID y PNUD, Montevideo.
- EP-FA (2005): “**Cambia Paysandú. Por un municipio honesto, transparente, humano, justo y participativo. Ejes**

programáticos”. Programa electoral de EP-FA. Paysandú-Uruguay.

FERLA, Paula; MARZUCA, A; VENEZIANO, A (2012).: **Democracia y descentralización**; rol de los Concejos Vecinales y su aporte sobre la cuestión metropolitana. Defensoría del Vecino, UCUDAL, UDELAR, Plan Cuenca Arroyo Carrasco, Center for research on Direct Democracy y Fundación ANIMA, Universidad de Zürich. Edit. Defensor del Vecino. Montevideo.

HEINZEN, Helena (2006). **Presupuesto Participativo en Paysandú**: el desafío de construir ciudadanía. Cuadernos del CEP N°1. Centro de Estudios Paysandú. Paysandú.

INTENDENCIA DEPARTAMENTAL DE PAYSANDÚ (2010) **“Presupuesto Participativo en Paysandú “mas ciudadanía...más democracia”**. MARTÍNEZ GUERRA, Viviana (Edit). Programa de Desarrollo Local del Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana (CLAEH) . Paysandú

PARLAMENTO DE LA REPÚBLICA ORIENTAL DEL URUGUAY (2009): **“Ley de Descentralización y Participación Ciudadana 18.567”**, del 13 de setiembre del 2009, Montevideo.

- (2010) **“Ley modificatoria 18.644”**, del 12 de febrero del 2010. Montevideo

SÁNCHEZ, Iván (2012). **“Políticas de participación en el país: lecciones del Presupuesto Participativo”**. En Municipios: una política en el tintero. Andreoli, Alejandra et.al (coords.) Universidad de la Republica-Comisión Sectorial de Investigación Científica. Ediciones Art 2. Paysandú.

- (2010) **“Lógicas y actores en la descentralización político-territorial en el Uruguay. Un abordaje desde las dimensiones cultural y política”**. En A 100 años de la Ley de creación de la figura del intendente. Oficina de Planeamiento y Presupuesto – Programa Uruguay Integra (UE).

VENEZIANO, Alicia (2012): **“Relaciones Intergubernamentales, Intragubernamentales y Socio- gubernamentales en la ley de descentralización y participación ciudadana y en los decretos de Montevideo”**. Ponencia presentada al IV Congreso Uruguayo de Ciencia Política AUCIP. Montevideo.

- (2008): **“La participación ciudadana en la Descentralización de Montevideo: Aprendizajes y reflexiones desde los noventa”**, Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política. Instituto de Ciência Política. Volume 17, Número 1. Janeiro – Dezembro, Montevideo.

- (2005) Evaluación y reflexiones para Iberoamérica de la implementación de una reforma del estado orientada al ciudadano: la `descentralización participativa` del gobierno de Montevideo (1990-2002)”. Premio Internacional “Andres Bello”; INAP (Instituto Nacional de Administração Pública) do MAP (Ministério das Administrações Públicas) de Espanha. Edit. INAP, Madrid.

- (1999): **“Escenarios e incertidumbres de lo local en Uruguay: los posibles impactos de la Reforma Constitucional en la descentralización”**, en Sociedad em Debate N° 4, Universidade Católica de Pelotas, Pelotas.

Baiocchi, Gianpaolo, and Josh Lerner. “Could Participatory Budgeting Work in the United States?” **The Good Society**. Vol. 16, N.º 1 (2007), pág. 8-13

Barr, Andy. “2008 Turnout Shatters All Records.” **Político**. 5 de Novembro de 2008.

<http://www.politico.com/news/stories/1108/15306.html>

Community Development Project at the Urban Justice Center, “A People’s Budget: A Research and Evaluation Report on the Pilot Year of Participatory Budgeting in New York City,” Setembro de 2012.

Pinnington, Elizabeth, Josh Lerner and Daniel Schugurensky. “Participatory Budgeting in North America: The Case of Guelph, Canada. ” **Journal of Public Budgeting, Accounting & Financial Management**, 21 (3), 455-484, Outono de 2009.

Ang YY. 2009. **Centralising treasury management in China: the rationale of the central reformers**. Public Administration and Development 29: 263-273.

Bates R H. 1991. **The economics of transitions to democracy**. PS Political Science and Politics 24: 24-27.

Baiocchi G. 2005. **Militants and Citizens: The Politics of Participatory Democracy in Porto Alegre**. Stanford University Press: Stanford.

Cai B, Yuan S. 2005. **Tuijin cunwu gongkai he minzhu guanli de xin qidian: dui mishan shi guanche 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) 1: 35-37.**

**BUILDING SUSTAINABLE
EMPOWERMENT:
PARTICIPATORY
BUDGETING IN NORTH
AMERICA**

DONATA SECONDO
PAMELA JENNINGS

**CIVIC ENGAGEMENT
THROUGH PARTICIPATORY
BUDGETING IN CHINA:
THREE DIFFERENT
LOGICS AT WORK**

BAOGANG HE

- Cai Y. 2008. **Power structure and regime resilience: contentious politics in China**, *British Journal of Political Science* 38(3): 411-432.
- Chen J. 2007. **Canyu shi yusuan de lilun yu shijian (Theory and Practice of Participatory Budgeting)**. *Jingji shehui tizhi bijiao (Comparative Economic and Social Systems)* 130 (20):52-57.
- Chen J, Chen Y. 2007. Difang zhili zhongde Canyu shi yusuan: guanyu zhejiang wenling shi xinhe zhen gaige de anli yanjiu (Participatory Budgeting in Local Governance: A Case Study of Reform from Xinhe Town, Zhejiang Province). **Gonggong guanli xuebao (Journal of Public Management)** 4 (3): 76-83.
- Chen Y. 2008. **Canyu shi yusuan de Wenling moshi (The Wenling Model of Participatory Budgeting)** *Jinri zhongguo luntan (China Today Forum)* 5: 95-98.
- Chu S. 2008. Dangqian nongcun gonggong changpin gongji jizhi chuanguan de yige shijiao: canyu shi yusuan (A new perspective of innovation mechanism of rural public goods supply: Participatory Budgeting) **Guangdong caijing zhiye xueyuan xuebao (Journal of Guangdong College of Finance and Economics)** 7 (4):18-21.
- Collins P, Chan. HS. 2009. **State capacity building in China: an introduction**. *Public Administration and Development*, 29:1-8.
- Cooke B, Kothari U (eds). 2001. **Participation: the new tyranny?** Zed Books: Londres.
- Feng Y. 2007. **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)* 10: 238-239.
- Fishkin J, He B, Luskin RC, Siu A. 2010. **Deliberative Democracy in an Unlikely Place: Deliberative Polling in China**. *British Journal of Political Science*, 40(2):435-448.
- He B. 2006. **Participatory and deliberative institutions in China**. In *The Search for Deliberative Democracy in China*, Leib E and He B (eds). Palgrave: Nova Iorque; 176-196.
- He, B. 2007. **Rural Democracy in China**. Palgrave/Macmillan: Nova Iorque.
- He, B. 2008. **Deliberative Democracy: Theory, Method and Practice**. China's Social Science Publishers: Pequim.
- He, B. Wang CG. 2007. **Deliberative democracy in rural China: a case study of Bianyu experiment**. *Sociological Studies*. 3: 56-73
- He, B, Warren, M. 2011. **Authoritarian deliberation: The deliberative turn in Chinese political development**, *Perspective on Politics*, próxima Edição de Junho.
- Hess S. 2009. Deliberative institutions as mechanisms for managing social unrest: the case of the 2008 Chongqing taxi strike, China: **An International Journal** 7(2): 336-352.
- Hickey S, Mohan G (eds). 2004. **Participation, from tyranny to transformation? exploring new approaches to participation in development**. Zed Books: Londres.
- Huang H. 2008. Shenzhen gongmin de gonggong yusuan zhilu (Shenzhen citizens' journey of Participatory Budgeting) *Nanfang zhoumou (Nanfang Weekend)*, 6 de Novembro: 13-14.
- Leib E, He B (eds). 2006. cap. 12. **The Search for Deliberative Democracy in China**. Palgrave: Nova Iorque.
- Li F. 2008. **Zhongguo jiceng gonggong zhengce canyu de xin fazhang (New Development of China's Grassroots Participation in Public Policy)**. *Minzhu yu Kexue (Democracy & Science)* 5.
- Li W, Lu Y, She Y. 2008. **Lun yusan minzhu yu canyu shi yusuan (On Budgetary democracy and Participatory Budgeting)** *Dangdai Jingji (Contemporary Economics)* 3: 142-3.
- Lin L, Hu G. 2008. **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)* 10.
- Ma J. 2005. **China's Public Budgeting Reform**. Central Translation and Compilation Publisher: Pequim.
- Ma J. 2007. The politics of Chinese budget reform. *Journal of Sun Yat-sen University (Chinese)* 3: 23-34.
- Ma J, Niu ML. 2007. Chonggou Zhongguo Gonggong Yusuanjizhi (Reconstruction of the Chinese Public Budget System). **Zhongguo Fazhan GuanCha (China Development Observation)** 2:13-.
- Ma J. 2009. If you can't budget, how can you govern? *Public Administration and Development*, 29, 9-20.
- Nylen WR. 2003. **Participatory Democracy versus Elitist Democracy: Lesson from Brazil**. NY: Macmillan.
- O'Brien KJ, Li L. 2006. **Rightful Resistance in Rural China**. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

- Rodan, G, Jayasuriya K. 2007. **Beyond hybrid regimes: more participation, less contestation in Southeast Asia.** *Democratization* 14(5):773-794.
- Santos B. 1998. **Participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre:** toward a redistributive democracy, *Politics and Society* 26(4): 461-510.
- Su Z. 2007. **Canyu shi yusuan de gonggong touzi xiaoyi** (The Efficiency of public Investment of participatory budgeting). *Gonggong guanli xuebao (Journal of Public Management)* 4 (3): 84-89.
- Wang H. 2007. **Shiyan canyu shi yusuan, jianshe yangguangxing caizheng** (Experimenting participatory Budgeting and building transparent budget) *Jiangnan Luntan (Jiangnan Forum)* 2: 31.
- Weaver RK. 1986. **The politics of blame avoidance.** *Journal of Public Policy.* 6: 371-398.
- Yang D. 2004. **Remarking the Chinese Leviathan.** *Stanford University Press: Stanford.* 235-248.
- Yang Z. 2007. **Canyu shi yusuan tuidong defang zhengfu zhili gexin: fang shijie yu zhongguo yanjiu suo suozhang Li fan** (Participatory Budgeting promotes innovation of local governance: an interview with Li Fang, the head of the World and China Institute). *Zhongguo gaige (China Reform)* 6: 22-29.
- Yang Z. 2009. **Gongmin shehui tuidong canyu shi yusuan gaige** (Civil society pushes the reform of participatory budgeting). *Zhongguo Gaige (China Reform).* 310 (7):55-57.
- Zhang N. 2007a. **Canyu shi yusuan gaige shiyan** (The Experiment of participatory budgeting reform) *Jue Ce (Decision-Making)* 7:36-37.
- Zhang N. 2007b. **Canyu shi yusuan gaige shiyan: jinsheng leguan** (Reform and experiment of participatory budgeting: caution and optimism) *Zhongguo fazhan Guancha (China Development Observation)* 2: 21-22.
- Zhang S, Zhang L. 2007. **Woguo jiceng minzhu jianshe zhong de canyu shi yusuan** (Participatory Budget in the building of grassroots democracy in China). *Hua Shang (Chinese Businessman)* 24: 67-68.
- Zhang X. 2008. **Shenhua gonggong yusuan gaige, zengqiang yusuan jiandu xiaoguo: guanyu Zhejiang Wenlin shi canyu shi yusuan de shijian yu sikao** (Deepening the reform of the public budget and enhancing the effect of budget monitoring: the practice and thinking of participatory budgeting in Wenlin city, Zhejiang Province) *Renda yanjiu (People's Congress Study)* 11.
- Zhongguo fazhan yanjiu jijin hui (China Development Research Foundation). 2006. **Zhongguo fazhan yanjiu jijin hui fu ba xi canyu shi yusuan kaochao baogao (Draft) (the Report of China development research foundation on participatory budgeting in Brazil).**
- Zhu S. 2007a. **Canyu shi yusuan yu zhengzhi shengtai huanjing de chonggou: Xinhe gonggong yusuan gaige de guocheng he luoji** (Participatory budgeting and reconstruction of political ecological environment: the process and Logic of Xinhe's public budgetary reform) *Gonggong guanli xuebao (Journal of Public Management)* 4 (3):90-95.
- Zhu S. 2007b. **Cong yuansheng dao luansheng: jiceng minzhu zhengzhi jianshe- Wenlin minzhu kentan he canyu shi yusuan zhi bijiao yanjiu** (From the origin birth to twins: present continuous building of grassroots democratic politics: a comparative study of Wenlin's democratic heart-to-heart forum and participatory budgeting) *Gansu xingzhen xueyuan xuebao (The Journal of Gansu Administration Institute)* 3: 13-20.
- Zhu S. 2008. **Wenling canyu shi yusuan de yanjin yu shenhua: jiyu yusuan minzhu kentan shiyan shangjing de jiedu** (The Evolution and deepening of Wenling participatory budgeting: An explanation of the talkfest of "experiment scene") *Hunan rongye daxue xuebao (The Journal of Hunan Agricultural University)* 9 (3): 1-9.
- Cabannes, Y. (2010) **Versão chinesa de 72 Perguntas Frequentes (FAQ) sobre Orçamento Participativo, Programa Habitat dos Estados Unidos,** China Social Press, Pequim.
- Cabannes, Y. (2013), **Contribution of Participatory Budgeting to the provision and management of basic services at municipal level,** IIED Research report for Global Observatory on Local Democracy 33 pág. + imagem anexa,
- He, Baogang (2011). **Civic Engagement through participatory budgeting in China: three different logics at work.** John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- He Baogang (2012), **Participatory Budgeting through Deliberative Polling: A Case Study of Zeguo Town, Zhejiang, China,** não publicado.
- Naisbitt, J (2011), **Innovation in China:** Chengdu Triangle. Beijing, Zhong Hua Gong Shang Lian He Chu Ban she.

INNOVATIONS IN PB IN CHINA: CHENGDU ON-GOING EXPERIMENT AT MASSIVE SCALE.

CABANNES YVES
MING ZHUANG

**PARTICIPATORY
BUDGETING IN
GERMANY: CITIZENS AS
CONSULTANTS**

MICHELLE ANNA RUESCH
MANDY WAGNER

Shuwen Zhou (2012), **A way to achieve social justice**. A case study of an ongoing participatory experiment in Chengdu, Tese de Mestrado, Unidade de Planeamento do Desenvolvimento, Londres, 2012.

Wu Yan and Wen Wang (2012), **Does PB improve the legitimacy of the local government?** A comparative case study of two cities in China, *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 2012 Vol. 71, n.º 2, pág.122-135.

Ahlke, Joseph (2008). **Bürgerhaushalte in Deutschland – Anfänge und Ansatzpunkte**. Recuperado em 15 de Março de 2013 de <http://www.buergerhaushalt.org/article/b%C3%BCrgerhaushalte-deutschland-anf%C3%A4nge-und-ansatzpunkte>

Amrhein, Uwe (2012). **Der große Bluff: In Deutschland ist der Bürgerhaushalt real schon gescheitert**. *Engagementmagazin Enter*. Recuperado em 12 de Março de 2012 de <http://www.entermagazin.de/2012/09/debatte/titel-der-groese-bluff/>

Bertelsmann-Stiftung (n.d.). Carl Bertelsmann-Preis 1993: **Kommunalverwaltung**. Recuperado em 15 de Março de 2013 de http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/cps/rde/xchg/SID-FDE4D94A-CFC3149C/bst/hs.xsl/5703_5713.htm

Franzke, Jochen & Kleger, Heinz (2010). **Bürgerhaushalte: Chancen und Grenzen**. In **Modernisierung des öffentlichen Sektors**, 36, Edition Sigma.

Günther, Albert (2007). **Der Bürgerhaushalt: Bestandsaufnahme – Erkenntnisse – Bewertung**. Richard Boorberg Verlag.

Herzberg, Carsten & Cuny, Cécile (2007). **Herausforderungen der technischen Demokratie: Bürgerhaushalt und die Mobilisierung von Bürgerwissen. Eine Untersuchung von Beispielen in der Region „Berlin-Brandenburg“**. PICRI/Centre, Marc Bloch/Hans-Böckler-Stiftung: Berlin.

Herzberg, Carsten (2005). **Bürgerhaushalt in Großstädten: Arbeitsmaterialien für die Umsetzung**. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung: Bona.

Herzberg, Carsten (2010). 10 Jahre Bürgerhaushalt in Deutschland – eine Bilanz. In H. Glasauer, C. Hannemann, V. Kirchberg, J. Pohlen & A. Pott (Eds.). **Jahrbuch Stadtregion 2009/10**. Kreativität und städtische Kultur (pág. 107-119). Barbara Budrich: Leverkusen-Opladen.

Herzberg, Carsten, Sintomer, Yves, Allegretti, Giovanni & Röcke, Anja (2010). **Learning from the South: Participatory Budgeting Worldwide – an Invitation to Global Cooperation**. *Dialog Global N.º 25*. InWent/Serviceestelle Kommunen in der Einen Welt: Bona.

Herzberg, Carsten, Röcke, Anja & Sintomer, Yves (2009). **Der Bürgerhaushalt in Europa – eine realistische Utopie? Zwischen partizipativer Demokratie, Verwaltungsmodernisierung und sozialer Gerechtigkeit**. VS-Verlag: Frankfurt.

Holtkamp, Lars & Fuhrmann, Tobias (2013). Stellungnahme zur Anhörung der Enquete-Kommission 16/2 „**Aktive Bürgerbeteiligung für eine starke Demokratie**“, 1 de Março de 2013. Tema: „Bürgerhaushalte und offene Haushalte“.

Klages, Helmut (2010). **Qualitätskriterien für die Gestaltung von Bürgerhaushalten**. Recuperado em 14 de Março de 2013 de <http://www.buergerhaushalt.org/article/qualit%C3%A4tskriterien-f%C3%BCr-die-gestaltung-von-b%C3%BCrgerhaushalten>.

Märker, Oliver & Wehner, Joseph (2011). **Bürgerbeteiligte Haushaltskonsolidierung, der gemeindehaushalt**, 112, pág. 3 – 6.

Märker, Oliver & Nitschke, Ulrich (2008). **Bürger als Ideengeber für die Haushaltsplanung**. *Der städtetag* (4), pág. 17 – 21.

Märker, Oliver & Rieck, Sophia (2008). **Bürgerhaushalte in Deutschland Statusbericht – 3 de Dezembro de 2008**. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, InWent/Serviceestelle Kommunen in der Einen Welt.

Märker, Oliver & Rieck, Sophia (2009). **Bürgerhaushalte in Deutschland ein Überblick – Statusbericht** Versão de 01.07.2009. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, InWent/Serviceestelle Kommunen in der Einen Welt: Bona.

Märker, Oliver & Rieck, Sophia (2010). **Bürgerhaushalte in Deutschland – Statusbericht** Versão de 01.03.2010. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, InWent/Serviceestelle Kommunen in der Einen Welt: Bona.

Märker, Oliver (2011). **Bürgerhaushalte in Deutschland – Statusbericht** Versão de 12.04.2011. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, InWent/Serviceestelle Kommunen in der Einen Welt: Bona.

Märker, Oliver (2012). 5. **Statusbericht Buergerhaushalt.org**. Março de 2012. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Engagement Global/Serviceestelle Kommunen in der Einen Welt: Bona.

Rüttgers, Martin (2008). **Bürgerhaushalt: Information, Partizipation, Rechenschaftslegung**. Arbeitskreis

Bürgergesellschaft und Aktivierender Staat der Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung: Bona.

Ruesch, Michelle (2012). **Erfolg oder Misserfolg? (Wie) ist eine Evaluation von Bürgerhaushalten möglich?** Bericht zum Workshop der Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung und der Engagement Global/Serviceestelle Kommunen in der Einen Welt, 22 de Novembro de 2012, Frankfurt am Main. Engagement Global: Bona.

Schröter, Nina (2013). 6. **Statusbericht Buergerhaushalt.org** Janeiro de 2013. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Engagement Global/Serviceestelle Kommunen in der Einen Welt: Bona.

Schruoffeneger, Oliver & Herzberg, Carsten (2008). **Diskussionspapier: Ist ein grüner Bürgerhaushalt möglich?** Vorschläge und Überlegungen zur Gestaltung von Bürgerhaushaltsverfahren in Berliner Bezirken. Fraktion Bündnis'90/Die Grünen im Abgeordnetenhaus von Berlin.

Serviceestelle Kommunen in der Einen Welt (2012). **Achtes bundesweites Netzwerktreffen Bürgerhaushalt**, 22 e 23 de Maio de 2012. Documentação. Material N.º 56. Engagement Global/Serviceestelle Kommunen in der Einen Welt: Bona.

Sintomer, Yves, Herzberg, Carsten, & Röcke, Anja (2012). **Transnationale Modelle der Bürgerbeteiligung: Bürgerhaushalt als Beispiel**. In C. Herzberg, H. Kleger & Y. Sintomer (Eds.). Hoffnung auf eine neue Demokratie: Bürgerhaushalte in Lateinamerika und Europa (pág. 27 – 60). Campus Verlag: Frankfurt am Main.

The Participatory Budgeting Project (n.d.). **What is PB?** Recuperado em 18 de Março de 2013 de <http://www.participatorybudgeting.org/about-participatory-budgeting/what-is-pb/>

Wehner, Josef & Oliver Märker (2013). **E-Partizipation – Politische Beteiligung als statistisches Ereignis**. In J.-H. Passoth & J. Wehner (Eds.). Quoten, Kurven und Profile – Zur Vermessung der sozialen Welt. Springer VS: Wiesbaden.

Wehner, Joseph & Märker, Oliver (2011). Online-Bürgerhaushalte. Elektronische Partizipation in der kommunalen Haushaltsplanung. Panerin, 4, pág. 21 – 23.

Alves, M. y Allegretti, G. (2012) **“(In) stability, a key element to understand participatory budgeting: Discussing Portuguese cases.”** Journal of Public Deliberation Vol. 8: Iss. 2 (1-19)

Avritzer, L. (2006), **‘New public spheres in Brazil: local democracy and deliberative democracy’**, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 30(3): 623-639.

Baiocchi, G. (1999), **‘Participation, activism and politics: the Porto Alegre experiment and deliberative democratic theory’**. Working Paper University of Wisconsin – Madison. Retrieved 11 October 2004 from <http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~wright/Baiocchi.PDF>

Baiocchi, G. (2003), **‘Emerging public spheres: talking politics in participatory governance’**, American Sociological Review 68(1): 52-74.

Fedozzi, L. (2005), **Perfil Social e Associativo dos Participantes do OP de Porto Alegre**, POA: UFRGS Editoria.

Ganuza, E. y Francés, F. (2012a) **El círculo virtuoso de la democracia: los presupuestos participativos a debate**, Madrid: CIS

Ganuza, E. y Francés, F. (2012b) **“The deliberative turn in participation: the problem of inclusion and deliberative opportunities in participatory budgeting”**, European Political Science Review (2012), 4:2, 283-302

Ganuza, E. y Baiocchi, G (2012), **“The power of ambiguity: how participatory budgeting travels the globe”** Journal of Public Deliberation 8 (2), 1-19.

Ganuza, E. Nez, H y Morales, E (2013), **“The struggle for a voice: tensions between associations and citizens”** International Journal of Urban and Regional Research (forthcoming 2013)

Ganuza, E. (2010) **“Les origines des budgets participatifs”** en La démocratie participative inachevée en Bacqué, M-H and Sintomer, Y (eds), Paris : Adels/Yves Michel (pp23-43).

Sintomer, Y y Gret, M. (2003): **Porto Alegre, la esperanza de otra democracia**, Barcelona: Debate.

Sintomer, Y., Herzberg, C. and Röcke, A. (2008) **Budgets participatifs dans Europe**, Paris: Découverte.

Sintomer, Y y Ganuza, E (2011), **Democracia Participativa y Modernización de los Servicios Públicos: los presupuestos participativos en Europa**, Ámsterdam: La Decouvere-TNI.

Verba, S, Scholzman, K.L, Brady, H.E (1995): **Voice and equality. Civic voluntarism in American politics**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**THE PARTICIPANTS’
PRINT IN THE
PARTICIPATORY BUDGET:
OVERVIEW ON THE
SPANISH EXPERIMENTS**

**ERNESTO GANUZA
FRANCISCO FRANCÉS**

**PARTICIPATORY BUDGETS IN
ITALY: RECONFIGURING A
COLLAPSED PANORAMA**

**GIOVANNI ALLEGRETTI
STEFANO STORTONE**

Allegretti, G. (2010), “Os Orçamentos Participativos na Itália: inovações dentro de um quadro em rápida transformação” in Schettini Martins Cunha, E. e Moreira da Silva E. (org), (org.), *Experiencias Internacionais de Participação*. S. Paulo: CORTEZ/UFMG, pp. 67-110.

Allegretti, G. (2011a), «Le processus d'économie participative de la région Lazio. Quand l'expérimentation devient le symbole d'une gestion politique», in Sintomer, Y. ; Talpin, G. [orgs.], *La démocratie participative au-delà de la proximité. Le Poitou-Charentes et l'échelle régionale*, Presse Universitaire de Rennes, Rennes

Allegretti, G. (2011b), “Descentralización infra-municipal y participación en Italia y Portugal. Una lectura “en movimiento” entre el conflicto y la cooperación”, *Revista “Voces”*, nº 5-2011, January, Santo Domingo, p. 42-63.

Allegretti, G. (2012) “From Skepticism to Mutual Support: Towards a Structural Change in the Relations between Participatory Budgeting and the Information and Communication Technologies?”, in Mindus, P., Greppi A. et Cuono M. (orgs.), *Legitimacy_2.0. E-Democracy and Public Opinion in the Digital Age*, Goethe University Press, Frankfurt am Main

Allegretti, G.; Paño, P.; Garcia, P. (2011), *Viajando por los presupuestos participativos: buenas prácticas, obstáculos y aprendizajes.*, CEDMA. Málaga

Allegretti, G.; Rispoli, F. (2007), “Toscana: verso la costruzione partecipata di una legge sulla partecipazione”, in *URBANISTICA*, 134, 92-96.

Allulli, M. (2011), “Pratiche partecipative e istituzionalizzazione. Tra ritualità e decision-making”, in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, n. 3/2011, pp. 443-475

Allulli, M.; Allegretti, G. (2007), “Os Orçamentos Participativos em Itália”, in *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 77, 101-130

Alves, M.; Allegretti, G. (2012) “(In) stability, a key element to understand participatory budgeting: Discussing Portuguese cases.”, *Journal of Public Deliberation*: Vol. 8: Iss. 2, Article 3. Available at: : <http://www.publicdeliberation.net/jpd/vol8/iss2/art3>

Amura, S.; Stortone, S. (2010), *Il manuale del buon amministratore locale. Buone prassi da imitare per sindaci, assessori, cittadini attivi*, Altraeconomia, Roma

Avritzer, L. (2012), “The different designs of public participation in Brazil: deliberation, power sharing and public ratification”, in *Critical Policy Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 113-127

Bagnasco, A. (1984), *Tre Italie. La problematica territoriale dello sviluppo italiano*, Il Mulino, Bologna

Bobbio, L. (2013, no prelo), *La qualità della Deliberazione*, Carocci, Roma

Caltabiano, C. (2006), *Gli anticorpi della società civile. Nono rapporto sull'associazionismo sociale*, Roma: IREF/ACLI

Diamanti, I. (2008), “I media e le mappe. Due diversi modi per leggere il voto del 2006”, in M. Bertoincín-A. Pase (org.), *Territorialità. Necessità di regole condivise e nuovi vissuti territoriali*, Franco Angeli, Milano

Elia, L. (2002), “Le prospettive dell'assetto costituzionale”, in *Rassegna parlamentare*, n.1/2002.

Floridia, A. (2008), “Democrazia deliberativa e processi decisionali: il caso della legge regionale toscana sulla partecipazione”, in *Stato e Mercato*, n. 1

Floridia, A. (2012), *La democrazia deliberativa: teorie, processi e sistemi*, Carocci, Roma

Ganuza, E.; Frances, F. (2012), *El círculo virtuoso de la democracia: los presupuestos participativos a debate*, Cit, Madrid

Pateman, C., 2012, “Participatory Democracy Revisited”, *APSA Presidential Address, Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 10/No. 1

Peixoto T. (2008), *E-Participatory Budgeting: e-Democracy from theory to success?*, E-Democracy Centre/Zentrum für Demokratie Aarau, e-Working Paper.

Picchi, M.(2012), “Il «sostegno» ai progetti di bilancio partecipativo attraverso la l. r. Toscana n. 69/2007”, in Bortolotti, F.; Corsi, C. (2012), *La partecipazione politica e sociale tra crisi e innovazione. Il caso della Toscana*, Ediesse, Rome

Putini, A. (2010), *Esperimenti di democrazia. I bilanci partecipativi in Italia*, Aracne, Roma

Putnam, R. (1996), *Comunidade e democracia. A experiência da Itália moderna*, Rio de Janeiro, Fundação Getúlio Vargas, tradução de Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy (1993)

Santos, B. de Sousa (coord.) (2003) *Democratizar a democracia: os caminhos da democracia participativa*. Rio de Janeiro:

Civilização Brasileira, 2002; Também publicado em Portugal, Porto: Edições Afrontamento

Sintomer Y.; Allegretti, G.; Herzberg, C.; Röcke, A. (2010), **Learning from the South: Participatory Budgeting worldwide – An invitation to Global Cooperation**, numero especial de “Dialog Global”, n° 25, GIZ/Bonn

Sintomer, Y. (2010), “Saberes dos cidadãos e saber político”, in **Revista Critica de Ciencias Sociais**, n° 91, pp. 135 – 153

Sintomer, Y. (2011), **O Poder ao Povo**, Editora UFMG, Belo Horizonte

Sintomer, Y. ; Talpin, G. [orgs] (2012), **La démocratie participative au-delà de la proximité**. Le Poitou-Charentes et l'échelle régionale, Presse Universitaire de Rennes, Rennes

Sintomer, Y.; Herzberg, C.; Röcke, A.; Allegretti, G. (2012) “Transnational Models of Citizen Participation: The Case of Participatory Budgeting”, **Journal of Public Deliberation**: Vol. 8: Iss. 2, Article 9. B- Available at: : <http://www.publicdeliberation.net/jpd/vol8/iss2/art9>

Sintomer, Y; Allegretti, G. (2009), **I Bilanci Partecipativi in Europa**. Nuove esperienze democratiche nel vecchio continente, Roma, Ediesse.

Spada, P. (2010); “The Effects of Participatory Democracy on Political Competition: the Case of Brazilian Participatory Budgeting”, **paper presented at the APSA Conference 2010**, Washington, D.C., USA.

Stortone, S. (2010), “Participatory Budgeting: towards a “civil” democracy?;” in **M. Freise, M: Pyykkönen e E. Vaidelyte (eds.) A Panacea for all Seasons? Civil Society and Governance in Europe**, Baden-Baden, Germany, Nomos.

UCLG (2008), **The 2nd Global Report on Decentralization and Local Democracy**, UCLG, Barcelona

Wainwright, H. (2007), **Reclaim the State: Experiments in Popular Democracy**, London, Verso.

Wampler, B.; Hartz-karp, J. (2012) “Participatory Budgeting: Diffusion and Outcomes across the World”, **Journal of Public Deliberation**: Vol. 8: Iss. 2, Article 13. Available at: : <http://www.publicdeliberation.net/jpd/vol8/iss2/art13>

Allegretti, Giovanni, 2007, “Teorie ed esperienze di riprogettazione territoriale partecipata con gli abitanti: dal consenso alla condivisione”, in **M. Bertoncin; A. Pase (org.)**, Territorialità. Necessità di regole condivise e nuovi vissuti territoriali, Franco Angeli, Milão.

Dias, Nelson, 2006, **O Orçamento Participativo como Novo Experimentalismo Democrático – o caso do Município de Guaraciaba/SC (Brasil)**, Master Thesis, Lisbon, ISCTE.

Dias, Nelson e Allegretti, Giovanni, 2009, “The Variable Geometry of Participatory Budgeting: Which Lessons from the new Portuguese Explosion?” pp. 623-637, in **DALY, Katherine et all, Learning Democracy by Doing: Alternative Practices in Citizenship Education and Participatory Democracy**, Transformative Learning Centre, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Dias, Nelson e Allegretti, Giovanni, 2009a, “Orçamentos Participativos em Portugal Em busca de uma democracia de maior proximidade ou de uma racionalidade funcional?” in **Revista Cidade – Comunidades e Território** n° 18, Junho, Centro de Estudos Territoriais/ISCTE, Lisboa, pp.59-78.

Fedozzi, Luciano, 2001, **Orçamento Participativo – reflexões sobre a experiência de Porto Alegre**. Porto Alegre: Tomo Editorial.

Pinto, Teresa Costa et al (Coord.), 2010, **A Tona de Água I – Necessidades em Portugal, Tradição e Tendências Emergentes**, Tinta-da-china, Lisboa.

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa, 2008, “Síntese Final”, in **Actas do I Encontro Nacional sobre Orçamento Participativo**, Lisbon, Associação In Loco e Câmara Municipal de São Brás de Alportel

Touraine, Alain, 1994, **O que é a democracia?** Lisbon, Instituto Piaget.

Adolfsson, P.; Solli, R. (2009), **Offentlig sektor och komplexitet : om hantering av mål, strategier och professioner**. Lund, Studentlitteratur.

Adolfsson, P.; Wikström. E. (2007), “After quantification: Quality Dialogue and Performance in a Swedish municipality”, in **Financial & Accountability Management** 23(1): 73-89.

Allegretti, G. (2003); **Autoprogettualità come paradigma urbano**, Florence: Alinea

Allegretti, G. (2011), “Which role for the participation of citizens in the management of water services? The spread-

**A DECADE OF
PARTICIPATORY
BUDGETING IN
PORTUGAL: A WINDING
BUT CLARIFYING PATH**

NELSON DIAS

**PARTICIPATORY
BUDGETING IN SWEDEN:
TELLING A STORY IN SLOW-
MOTION**

LENA LANGLET
GIOVANNI ALLEGRETTI

- all-around dialogue strategy of VA SYD in Malmö, Sweden” in **Alberto Ford, Cintia Pinillos, Gisela Signorelli, Mariana Berdondini (org.)**, “Profundizando la democracia como forma de vida. Desafíos de la democracia participativa y los aprendizajes ciudadanos en el Siglo XXI”, Rosario: Universidad de Rosario, 560–570.
- Alves, M.; Allegretti, G.(2011), “The longevity of the new democratic participatory instruments: discussing the stability of participatory budgeting. In **Challenging Citizenship** – International Conference – June 3-5, 2011 – Universidade de Coimbra
- Brorström, B.; Solli, R.; Malmer, S. et al. (2005), **Förvaltningsekonomi** : en bok med fokus på organisation, styrning och redovisning i kommuner och landsting. Lund, Studentlitteratur.
- Brunsson, N.; Sten A. Jönsson (1979), **Beslut och handling** : om politikens inflytande på politiken. Estocolmo, LiberFörlag.
- Cabannes, Y. (2004), Participatory Budgeting and Local finances, **BaseDocument for the network URBAL N° 9**, Porto Alegre: PGU-ALC/Comissão Europeia/Prefeitura de Porto Alegre (versão actualizada, 2005)
- Cohen, S. A. (1993), “Defining and Measuring Effectiveness in Public Management”, in **Public Productivity & Management Review**, 17(1): 45-57.
- Cornwall, A.; Gaventa, J. (2001), PLA Notes 40: deliberative democracy and citizen empowerment. Londres: **International Institute for Environment and Development**.
- Demediuk, P. (2010), The form and function of local government community engagement initiatives – **Swedish case studies**. Universidade Victoria, Melbourne.
- Lindberg, K.; Blomgren, M. (2009), **Mellan offentligt och privat : om styrning, praktik och intressen i hälso- och sjukvården**. Estocolmo, Santérus Academic Press.
- Lindberg, S.; Svensson R. (2012), Rösträtt till salu. **World Values Survey-undersökningen i Sverige 2011**, Premiss förlag
- Luhmann, N.(1979), **Trust and power : two works**. J. Wiley, Chichester
- Muñoz, C.(2004), **Pedagogia da vida cotidiana e participação cidadã**, Cortez: Instituto Paulo Freire, São Paulo
- Rossini, N. (1998), **De l’aventure à l’expérience**. Des conseils municipaux d’enfants et de jeunes forment-ils de nouveaux acteurs ?, Institut National de la Jeunesse et l’Education Populaire (Marly-le-Roi) – Document de l’Injep, n°36
- Sintomer, Y; Allegretti, G.; Herzberg, C.; Röcke, A. (2010), “Learning from the South. Participatory Budgeting Worldwide – an invitation to global cooperation”, **Global Dialog**, n° 25/2010, Bona: InWent/GIZ (versão em Inglês e Alemão) – versão actualizada, 2013
- SKL (2008), **Local Government Financial Equalisation**, SKL, Estocolmo
- SKL (2010), **Levels of Local Democracy in Sweden**, SKL, Estocolmo
- SKL (2011), **Medborgarbudget i Sverige, Europa, och Världen**. Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting, Estocolmo, Suécia, pág. 83-96.
- Solli, R.; Demediuk, P.; Adolfsson, P. (2011), “Young People, Big Ideas: Participatory Budgeting Fixes a River”, **The international journal of environmental, cultural, economic and social sustainability**.
- Solli, R.; Demediuk, P.; Adolfsson, P. (2011); “Varför medborgarbudget nu?” In: **SKL (2011)**, Medborgarbudget i Sverige, Europa, och Världen. Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting, Estocolmo, pág. 83-96
- Solli, R.; Demediuk, P.; Adolfsson, P. (2012); “People Plan their Park: Voice and Choice through Participatory Budgeting”, **International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences**, Vol. 6, n° 5, pág. 185-198
- Solli, R.; Demediuk, P.; Burgess, S. (2011), “We Can Get Something More Complete: Participatory Budgeting to Enhance Sustainability”, **The International Journal of Environmental, Cultural, Economic and Social Sustainability**, Vol. 7, n° 1, pág. 179-192
- Sverige Studien. The Swedish National Values Assessment Study 2012 (2012), Preera, Skandia and Volvo IT, disponível em: http://www.sverigestudien.se/images/sverigestudien2012_eng.pdf
- Tonucci. F. (2003), *Se i bambini dicono: adesso basta!*, Laterza, Torino

Baiocchi, G. (2003) Participation, activism and politics: The Porto Alegre experiment. In Fung, A. & Wright, E. O. (Eds.), *Deepening Democracy*. London, New York: Verso, 45–76.

Cabannes, Y. (2004) Participatory budgeting: a significant contribution to participatory democracy. *Environment & Urbanization*, 16, 1, 27–46.

Czajkowska (2011) Seminarium: Budżet partycypacyjny w dużym mieście – Budżet obywatelski w Sopocie cz.1. YouTube video of a seminar. Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=21THC9J1q3s>.

Ganuza, E. & Baiocchi, G. (2012) The power of ambiguity: How participatory budgeting travels the globe. *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 8, 2, 1–12.

Gerwin, M. (2011) Sopot ma budżet obywatelski. *Krytyka Polityczna*. Available at: <http://www.krytykapolityczna.pl/Serwissamorzadowy/GerwinSopotmabudzetobywatelski/menuid-403.html>.

Gerwin, M. (2013) 8 kryteriów budżetu obywatelskiego Available at: <http://www.sopockainicjatywa.org/2013/01/31/8-kryteriow-budzetu-obywatelskiego/>

Gerwin, M. & Grabkowska, M. (2012) Budżet obywatelski. In *Partycypacja. Przewodnik Krytyki Politycznej*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, 100–111.

Gonzalez, S. (2010) Bilbao and Barcelona ‘in motion’. How urban regeneration ‘models’ travel and mutate in global flows of policy tourism. *Urban Studies*, 48, 1397–1419.

Górski, R. (2007) *Bez państwa. Demokracja uczestnicząca w działaniu*. Kraków: Korporacja ha!art.

Harvey, D. (1989) From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation in urban governance in late capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler Series B, Human Geography* 71, 1, 3–17.

Harvey, D. & Potter, C. (2009) The right to the Just City. In Connolly, J., Novy, J., Marcuse, P., Olivo, I., Potter, C. & Steil, S. (Eds.), *Searching for the Just City. Debates in Urban Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge, 40–51.

Harvey, D. (2012) *Rebel Cities*. London, New York: Verso.

Kębłowski, W. (2013) Budżet partycypacyjny. Krótka instrukcja obsługi. Warsaw: Instytut Obywatelski. Available at: http://www.instytutobywatelski.pl/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/budzet_partycypacyjny.pdf

Kębłowski, W. & Van Criekingen, M. (forthcoming) How ‘alternative’ alternative urban policies really are? Looking at participatory budgeting through the lenses of the right to the city. *Métropoles*. Issue topic: Alternative Urban Development Policies. Soon available at: <http://metropoles.revues.org/4623>

Kębłowski, W. (forthcoming) Budżet partycypacyjny w Polsce. [Participatory budgeting in Poland]. Warsaw: Instytut Obywatelski.

Małewski, D. (2012) Co nam zostało z kongresów kultury. In *Partycypacja. Przewodnik Krytyki Politycznej*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, 246–253.

Marcuse, P. (2012) Whose right(s) to the city? In Brenner, N., Marcuse, P. & Mayer, M. (Eds.), *Cities for people, not for profit*. London: Routledge, 24–41.

Mayer, M. (2012) The ‘right to the city’ in urban social movements. In N. Brenner, P. Marcuse & M. Mayer (Eds.), *Cities for People, not for Profit*. London: Routledge, 63–85.

Mergler, L. (2014) Ruchy miejskie do rad! *ResPublica*. Available at: <http://publica.pl/teksty/ruchy-miejskie-do-rad>.

Nasze Miasto (2013, March 25) Budżet obywatelski w Sopocie to wzór do naśladowania dla innych miast? Available at: <http://sopot.naszemiasto.pl/arttykul/budzet-obywatelski-w-sopocie-to-wzor-do-nasladowania-dla,1786548,t,id.html>.

Pearce, J. (2010) Introduction. In J. Pearce (ed.), *Participation and Democracy in the Twenty-First Century City*. Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 1–33.

Płaszczyc, E. (2005) Poland. Case study: Płock. In: Sintomer, Y., Herzberg, C. & Röcke, A. (Eds.), *Participatory Budgets in a European Comparative Approach. Perspectives and Chances for the Cooperative State at the Municipal Level in Germany and Europe. Volume II (documents)*. Available at: <http://construisons-democratie-participative.com/documents/budgetparticipatifeneurope.pdf>

**PARTICIPATORY
BUDGETING POLISH-
STYLE. WHAT KIND OF
POLICY PRACTICE HAS
TRAVELLED TO SOPOT,
POLAND?**

WOJCIECH KEBŁOWSKI
& MATHIEU VAN
CRIEKINGEN

Pretty, J. N. (1995) Participatory learning for sustainable agriculture. *World Development*, 23, 8, 1247-63.

Purcell, M. (2013) Possible worlds: Henri Lefebvre and the right to the city. *Journal of Urban Affairs*. Online version of record published before inclusion in an issue.

Shah, A. (Ed.) (2007) *Participatory Budgeting*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Silver, H., Scott, A. & Kazepov, Y. (2010) Participation in urban contention and deliberation. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34, 3, 453-477.

Wampler, B. & Hartz-Karp, J. (Eds.) (2012) The spread of participatory budgeting across the globe: adoption, adaptation, and impacts. Special issue of the *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 8, 2.

Ward, K. (2006) 'Policies in motion' urban management and state restructuring: the trans-local expansion of business improvement districts. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30, 54-75.

Ward, K. (2011) Policies in motion and in place. The case of business improvement districts. In McCann, E. & Ward, K., *Mobile Urbanism*, Minnesota/London: University of Minnesota Press, 71-95.

White, S. C. (1996) Depoliticising development: the uses and abuses of participation. *Development in Practice*, 6, 1, 6-15(10).

**CHILDHOOD AND
YOUTH PARTICIPATORY
BUDGETING,
FOUNDATIONS OF
PARTICIPATORY
DEMOCRACY AND THE
POLICY OF THE POLIS**

CÉSAR MUÑOZ

Benedetti, M.: **El amor, las mujeres y la vida**. Alfaguara. 2001.

Bettelheim, Bruno: **Con el amor no basta**. Fondo Cultura Económico. 1973.

Brook, Peter: **Espacio vacío**. 2002.

Carieri, Francesco: **El andar como práctica estética**. Ed. Gustavo Gili. 2002.

Ceballos, Paloma: **Un método para la investigación-acción participativa**. Ed. Popular.

Cristiane Rochefort: **Primero los niños**. Ed. Anagrama. 1977.

Deligny, F. : **Los vagabundos eficaces**. Ed. Estela. 1971.

Doltó, Françoise: **La causa de los niños**. Paidós. 1990.

Freire, Paulo: **Concientización**. Ed. Zero.

Freire, Paulo: **Educación como práctica de la libertad**. Ed. América Latina. 1965.

Freire, Paulo: **Educación liberadora**. Ed. Zero.

Freire, Paulo: **Educación y cambio**. Ed. Búsqueda. 1976.

Freire, Paulo: **Pedagogía y acción liberadora**. Ed. Zero.

Freire, Roberto y Brito, Fausto: **Utopía y Pasión**. Tupac Ediciones. 1990.

Guerau, Faustino: **La vida pedagógica**. Roselló Impresions. 1985.

Klein, Naomi: **No logo**. Paidos. 2002.

Korczak, Janusz: **Cómo amar a un niño**. Ed. Trillas, 1986.

Korczak, Janusz: **Si yo volviera a ser niño**. Ed La Pleyade.

Kundera, M.: **La insoportable levedad del ser**. Ed. Tusquets. 1987.

Lefebvre, H.: **LA vida cotidiana en el mundo moderno**. Alianza Ed.

Lispector, Clarice: **Aprendizaje o el libro de los placeres**. Ed. Siruela.

Makarenko, A. S.: **El poema pedagógico**. Ed. Paidós. 1979.

Marcuse, Hebert: **Eros y Civilización**. Ed. Planeta Agostini.

Marina, J.M.: **El rompecabezas de la sexualidad**. Ed. Anagrama. 2002.

Muñoz, César y otros: **El niño en Europa**. La participación en la vida cotidiana y su relación con la prevención de la violencia .Programa Daphne. Comisión Europea. 2000.

Muñoz, César: **Vivir, Educar: desde la seducción, el amor y la pasión**. Centro de Investigaciones Pedagógicas de la Infancia,

la Adolescencia y la Juventud. Programa Daphne. Comisión Europea. 2003.

Muñoz, César: **Pedagogía da Vida Cotidiana e Participação Cidadá**. Ed. Cortez. Sao Paulo. 2004.

Nadolny, Sten: **El descubrimiento de la lentitud**. Ed. Edhasa.

Offe, Claus: **Partidos políticos y nuevos movimientos sociales**. Ed. Sistema. 1988.

Pániker, Salvador: **Primer testamento**. Ed. Seix Barral.

Pániker, Salvador: **Segunda memoria**. Ed. Seix Barral. 1988.

Pániker, Salvador: **Variaciones 95**. Ed. Areté. 2002.

Proust, Marcel: **La fugitiva** El País. 2002.

Redl, F. y Wineman, D.: **Niños que odian**. Ed. Paidós. 1970.

Sánchez, Félix: **Orçamento Participativo, teoria e prática**. Cortez Editora. 2002.

Séller, A.: **Sociología de la vida cotidiana**. Ed. Península. 1977.

Senté, Richard: **Carne y piedra: el cuerpo y la ciudad en la civilización occidental**. Alianza Editorial. 2002.

Sorman, Guy: **Los verdaderos pensadores de nuestro tiempo**. Seix Barral.

Thoreau, Henry D.: **Desobediencia civil y otros escritos**. Ed. Tecnos. Clásicos del Pensamiento. 2001.

Vaneigem, Raoul: **Aviso a escolares y estudiantes**. Ed. Debate. 2002.

Vaneigem, Raoul: **Tratado de saber vivir para uso de la jóvenes generaciones**. Ed. Anagrama. 2002.

Varios Autores: **Malaguzzi y la educación infantil en Reggio Emilia**. Barcelona. A.M. Rosa Sensat. Col. Temas d'Infância. 1996

Varios Autores: **Discurso sobre la vida posible**. Quemar los puentes. El comienzo de una nueva época. Sediciones nº 11

Winterson, Janette: **La pasión**. Ed. Edhasa. 1990.

Yourcenar, Margarita: **Memorias de Adriano**. Ed. Edhasa.

ALLEGRETTI, Giovanni, "From Skepticism to Mutual Support: Towards a Structural Change in the Relations between Participatory Budgeting and the Information and Communication Technologies?" **in MINDUS**, P.; GREPPI, A.; CUONO, M. (orgs.), *Legitimacy_2.0. e-democracy and public opinion in the digital age*. Frankfurt am Main: Goethe-University Press, 2012, p. 145-181.

ARTERTON, Christopher F. **Teledemocracy: can technology protect democracy?** London, Sage Publications 1987.

ÅSTRÖM, Joachim; GRÖNLUND, Åke. In: COLEMAN, S.; SHANE, P.M. (Orgs.). **Connecting Democracy: Online Consultation and the Flow of Political Communication**. Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2012, p. 75-96.

BAEK, Y. M; WOJCIESZAK, M. E.; CARPINI, M. X. D. **Online Versus Face-to-Face Deliberation: Who? Why? What? With What Effects?** *New Media & Society*, v. 13, n. 7, p. 135-162, 2011.

BANDEIRA, P.S. **Atitudes em Relação a Participação no Rio Grande do Sul**. Fundação de Economia e Estatística do Rio Grande do Sul. Disponível em:

<http://www.fee.tche.br/sitefee/download/jornadas/2/e12-04.pdf>

CADDY, Joanne; PEIXOTO, Tiago; MCNEIL, Mary. Beyond public scrutiny: stocktaking of social accountability in OECD countries. **Relatório OECD**. Disponível em:

<http://www.sasnet.org/documents/Curriculum/Strategic%20Communication/J%20Caddy.pdf>

CASTELLS, Manuel. **A Galáxia Internet: reflexões sobre a Internet, negócios e a sociedade**. São Paulo: Jorge Zahar Editor Ltda, 2003.

COLEMAN, Stephen; BRUMLER, Jay G. **The internet and democratic citizenship: theory, practice and policy**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

COLEMAN, Stephen; SAMPAIO, Rafael Cardoso. **Institutionalising a democratic innovation: A study of three e-participatory budgets in Belo Horizonte**. Em avaliação para *New Media & Society*.

DALE, Allison; STRAUSS, Aaron. Don't forget to vote: Text message reminders as a mobilization tool. **American Journal of**

**ELECTRONIC
PARTICIPATORY
BUDGETING: FALSE
DILEMMAS AND TRUE
COMPLEXITIES**

**RAFAEL CARDOSO
SAMPAIO
TIAGO PEIXOTO**

Political Science, 2009, 53.4: 787-804.

DAVIS, Richard. **Politics Online: Blogs, Chatrooms and Discussion Groups in American Democracy**, Routledge, London and New York, 2005.

DAVIES, Todd; CHANDLER, Reid. Online deliberation design: choices, criteria, and evidence. In: NABATCHI, T.; GASTIL, J.; WEIKSNER, G. M.; LEIGHNINGER, M. (orgs.). *Democracy in Motion: evaluating the practice and impact of deliberative civic engagement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 103-131.

DOWNS, Anthony. **An economic theory of democracy**. New York: Harper and Row publishers, 1957.

FARIA, Antonio e PRADO, Otávio. "Orçamento Participativo Interativo". In: LOTTA, Gabriela S. BARBOZA, Hélio B. PINTO, Marco Antonio C. T. e VENERA. *20 experiências de Gestão Pública e Cidadania*. São Paulo: Programa Gestão Pública e Cidadania, 2003. Disponível em: <http://www.eaesp.fgvsp.br/subportais/ceapg/Acervo%20Virtual/Cadernos/Experi%C3%AAncias/2002/8%20-%20orcamento%20participativo%20interativo.pdf>.

FERREIRA, D. E. S. Inclusão, participação, associativismo e qualidade da deliberação pública no Orçamento Participativo Digital de Belo Horizonte. **Paper apresentado no 34º encontro anual da Anpocs, 2012**. Disponível em: http://www.anpocs.org/portal/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=1322&Itemid=350.

GOMES, Wilson. Participação Política Online: Questões e hipóteses de trabalho. In: MAIA, R. C. M.; GOMES, W.; MARQUES, F. P. J. A. *Internet e Participação política no Brasil*. Porto Alegre: Sulina, 2011, p. 19-45.

GOODIN, Robert E. *Innovating democracy: democratic theory and practice after the deliberative turn*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

GOODSPEED, Robert. The Dilemma of Online Participation: Comprehensive Planning in Austin, Texas. **Working paper**. Disponível em: http://web.mit.edu/rgoodspe/www/papers/RGoodspeed-Austin_Online_Participation_9-19-10.pdf.

GRAHAM, Todd. Beyond "Political" Communicative Spaces: Talking Politics on the Wife Swap Discussion Forum. **Journal of Information Technology & Politics**, 9:31-45, 2012

GRÖNLUND, Åke. Emerging Electronic Infrastructures: Exploring Democratic Components. **Social Science Computer Review**, vol. 21, n. 1, p. 55-72, 2003.

Gronke, P., Galanes-Rosenbaum, E., Miller, P. A., & Toffey, D. (2008). **Convenience voting**. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.*, 11, 437-455.

LAUDON, Kenneth C. **Communications technology and democratic participation**. New York: Praeger, 1977.

LÉVY, Pierre. **Cibercultura**. São Paulo: Editora 34, 1997.

MACINTOSH, A.; WHYTE, A. **Towards an evaluation framework for eParticipation**. *Transforming Government: People, Process and Policy*, Vol. 2, N. 1, p. 16-30, 2008.

MANSBRIDGE, J.; BOHMAN, J.; CHAMBERS, S.; CHRISTIANO, T.; FUNG, A.; PARKINSON, J.; THOMPSON, D.F.; WARREN, M.E.. A systemic approach to deliberative democracy. In: PARKINSON, John; MANSBRIDGE, Jane (Orgs.). *Deliberative Systems: Deliberative Democracy at the Large Scale*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 1-26.

MALHOTRA, Neil, et al. Text messages as mobilization tools: the conditional effect of habitual voting and election salience. **American Politics Research**, 2011, 39.4: 664-681.

MARQUES, F. P. J. A. **Government and e participation programs: A study of the challenges faced by institutional projects**. *First Monday*, v. 15, p. 1-25, 2010.

Miori, V and Russo, D. (2011). "Integrating Online and Traditional Involvement in Participatory Budgeting" **Electronic Journal of e-Government**, V. 9, N. 1, p. 41 -57.

NABUCO, Ana Luíza. MACEDO, Ana Lúcia. FERREIRA, Rodrigo Nunes. **A Experiência do OPDigital em Belo Horizonte: O Uso das Novas Tecnologias no Fortalecimento da Democracia Participativa**. *IP - Informática Pública*, Ano 11, n. 1, Jun/2009, p. 139-155.

OLSON, Mancur. *The logic of collective action: public goods and the theory of groups*. Harvard University Press, 1965.

PEIXOTO, Tiago. (2009). Beyond Theory: e-Participatory Budgeting and its Promises for eParticipation. **European Journal of ePractice**. Disponível em: <http://www.epractice.eu/files/7.5.pdf>

PRATCHETT, Lawrence; WINGFIELD, Melvin; POLAT, Rabia Karakaya. Local democracy online: an analysis of local government web sites in England and Wales. **International Journal of Electronic Government Research (IJEGR)**, 2006, 2.3: 75-92.

RYFE, David M.; STALSBURG, Brittany. The participation and recruitment challenge. In: NABATCHI, T.; GASTIL, J.; WEIKSNER, G. M.; LEIGHNINGER, M. (orgs.). *Democracy in Motion: evaluating the practice and impact of deliberative civic engagement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 43-58.

ROSE, Jeremy; RIOS, Jesus; LIPPA, Barbara. **Technology support for participatory budgeting**. *Int. J. Electronic Governance*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2010.

SALTER, Lee. **Structure and Forms of Use**. A contribution to understanding the ‘effects’ of the Internet on deliberative democracy. *Information, Communication & Society*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 185-206, 2004.

SAMPAIO, R.C.; MAIA, R. C. M.; MARQUES, F. P. J. A. Participation and Deliberation on the Internet: A case study on Digital Participatory Budgeting in Belo Horizonte. *JOCI - The Journal of Community Informatics*, v. 7, p. 1-22, 2011.

SINTOMER, Yves; HERZBERG, Carsten; RÖCKE, Anja; and ALLEGRETTI, Giovanni (2012) “Transnational Models of Citizen Participation: The Case of Participatory Budgeting” *Journal of Public Deliberation*: Vol. 8, N. 2, Article 9. Disponível em: <http://www.publicdeliberation.net/jpd/vol8/iss2/art9>.

SÆBØ, Øystein; ROSE, Jeremy; FLAK, Leif Skiftenes. **The shape of eParticipation: Characterizing an emerging research area**. *Government Information Quarterly*, v. 25, n.3, p. 400-428, 2008.

TRECHSEL, Alexander H. **E-voting and electoral participation**. *Dynamics of Referendum Campaigns—An International Perspective*. Palgrave, London, 2007, 159-183.

VAZ, J. C. **Using the Internet for collaborative local governance: the digital participatory budget in Brazil**. In: PAULICS, V. (Org.). *The Challenges of democratic management in Brazil*. São Paulo: Brasil, 2009, p. 127-148.

VEDEL, Thierry. **The idea of electronic democracy: origins, visions and questions**. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 2006, 59.2: 226-235.

WILHELM, Anthony. **A democracia dividida**. In: EISENBERG, J. e CEPIK, M. (orgs.) *Internet e Política. Teoria e pratica da democracia eletrônica*, Humanitas, 2001.

WOLTON, Dominique. **E depois da Internet?: para uma teoria crítica dos novos médias**. Lisboa: Difel, 2000.

WRIGHT, Scott. (2012). **Politics as usual? Revolution, normalization and a new agenda for online deliberation**. *New Media Society*, 14(2) 244-261.

WRIGHT, Scott; STREET, John. **Democracy, deliberation and design: the case of online discussion forums**. *New Media Society, Londres*, vol. 9, p. 849-869, 2007.

FREIRE, Paulo in **FÓRUM DE PARTICIPAÇÃO POPULAR NAS ADMINISTRAÇÕES MUNICIPAIS**. 1995. Poder local, participação popular e construção da cidadania. s/l.

PONTUAL, Pedro de Carvalho. 1995. Construindo uma Pedagogia Democrática do Poder. **La Piragua: Revista Latino Americana de Educación y Política**. Santiago, Chile: CEAAL, nº 11, pp. 25-35.

PONTUAL, Pedro de Carvalho 2000. O Processo Educativo no Orçamento Participativo: aprendizados dos atores da Sociedade Civil e do Estado. **Tese de Doutorado PUC-SP**.

PONTUAL, Pedro de Carvalho. 2003. Pedagogia de la gestión democrática. **Documento apresentado ao Encontro sobre municipalismo na América do Sul**. Barcelona Espanha.

ASTELARRA, Judith (comp.): **Participación política de las mujeres**. Madrid, CIS, 1990.

BARRAGÁN, V., ROMERO, R. y SANZ J. M. (2012). **Análisis de los Presupuestos Participativos a través de las propuestas expresadas por la ciudadanía en ALLEGRETTI (comp.)**. Estudio comparado de los presupuestos participativos en República Dominicana, España y Uruguay. Parlocal. Málaga: CEDMA.

BOU, J. (2004-2009): **Publicación de las propuestas del Consejo de Ciudadanía en la web virtual de los**: Pressupost Participatiu. www.santacristina.net.

BOU, J. (2011). La experiencia de presupuesto participativo de Santa Cristina d’Aro, en BOU, J. (Coord.). **Refundar la democracia**. Atrapasueños Editorial (2011).

BOU, J.; GARCÍA-LEIVA, P.; PAÑO, P (2012). **La pobreza, la igualdad de género y el medioambiente**. Análisis de tres Objetivos de Desarrollo del Milenio a través de procesos de presupuestos participativos en República Dominicana, España y Uruguay. Parlocal. Málaga: CEDMA,

**BUILDING A
DEMOCRATIC PEDAGOGY:
PARTICIPATORY
BUDGETING AS A “SCHOOL
OF CITIZENSHIP”**

PEDRO PONTUAL

**PARTICIPATION AS OF THE
GENDER PERSPECTIVE
FROM THE ANALYSIS OF
SPECIFIC PARTICIPATORY
PROCESSES**

**CRISTINA SÁNCHEZ
MIRET
JOAN BOU I GELI**

Butlletins del Pressupost Participatiu (2009) de l'Ajuntament de Santa Cristina d'Aro: propostes prioritzades pel Consell de Ciutadania per al pressupost participatiu 2009.

FREIXENET, M. (2011) Dones joves i política; una tensió no resolta. Programa Ciutats i Persones. **Col.lecció CiP, Articles Feministes, n.11.**

GUTIÉRREZ- BARBARRUSA, V. (2012). Análisis sobre la participación en los Presupuestos Participativos en ALLEGRETTI (comp.). Estudio comparado de los presupuestos participativos en República Dominicana, España y Uruguay. Parlocal. Málaga: CEDMA.

LAGARDE, M. (1999) Claves feministas para liderazgos entrañables. **Memoria del Taller, Managua, 6.8 de octubre**, edición a cargo de Sofia Montenegro

SÁNCHEZ, C. (2008) La participación como instrumento de transformación social, **comunicación presentada en el Congreso de Innovación Democrática**, Santa Cristina d'Aro.

SÁNCHEZ, C. (2011) Análisis social de la Participación en el municipio de Santa Cristina d'Aro en BOU, J (Coord.): **Refundar la democracia**. Atrapasueños Editorial, 2011.

SÁNCHEZ, C. (2011) Metodología de análisis de los presupuestos participativos. El Análisis de la Participación; grupos sociales presentes, grupos sociales ausentes y transformación social en BOU, J (Coord.): **Refundar la democracia**. Atrapasueños Editorial, 2011.

SÁNCHEZ, C.(2009) El procés participatiu de Santa Cristina d'Aro des de la perspectiva del gènere, en **M. DE LA FUENTE, M. FREIXANET (Coords.)** Ciutats i persones- Polítiques de gènere i participació ciutadana al món local. Col.lecció Grana, n. 26, ICPS. Barcelona.

SÁNCHEZ, C.; VALL_LLOSERA, L (2008): Gènere i conciliació de la vida personal, familiar i laboral. A **Condicions de vida i desigualtats a Catalunya**. Polítiques n.65 Editorial Mediterrània i Fundació Jaume Bofill.

**PSYCHOLOGICAL
EMPOWERMENT
IN PARTICIPATORY
BUDGETING**

PATRICIA GARCÍA-LEIVA

Allegretti, G. (comp.) (2012). **Estudio comparativo de los presupuestos participativos en República Dominicana**, España y Uruguay (pp. 259-321). Málaga: Cedma. Diputación de Málaga. Proyecto Parlocal. ISBN: 978-84-694-7156-2

Bellamy, C. D. & Mowbray, C. T. (1998). Supported education as an empowerment intervention for people with mental illness. **Journal of Community Psychology**, 26 (5) 401 - 414.

Brown, L. D. (1993). Social Change through collective reflection with Asian nongovernmental development organizations. **Human Relations**, 46, 249-273

Chesler, M.A. (1991). Participatory action research with self-help groups: an alternative paradigm for inquiry an action. **American Journal of Community Psychology**, 19, 757-768.

Cornell Empowerment Group (1989). Empowerment and family support. **Networking Bulletin**, 1(2), 1-23

Cronbach, L. J. y Meehl, P. E. (1955). Construct validity in psychological test. **Psychological bulletin**, 52, 281-302.

Elden, M. & Chisolm, R.F. (Eds) (1993). Emerging varieties of action research: Introduction to the special issue. **Human Relations**, 46, 121-142.

Ganuzo, E. (2007). Tipología y modelos de presupuestos participativos en España. Córdoba: **IESA Workingpaper series**. Nº 1307. IESA-CSIC.

García-Leiva, P., Domínguez-Fuentes, J. M., Hombrados-Mendieta, M^a. I.; Morales-Marente, E. y Palacios-Gálvez, M^a. S. (2009). Los presupuestos participativos y el fortalecimiento comunitario. **Presentado en el Congreso Nacional de Psicología Social**, celebrado desde el 1 hasta el 3 de octubre en Tarragona.

García-Leiva, P., Domínguez-Fuentes, J.M., Hombrados, M. I., Palacios, M. S, Marente, E. & Gutierrez, V. (2011). Evaluación de los presupuestos participativos en la provincia de Málaga. In M.A. Morillas, M. Fernández y V. Gutierrez. **Democracias participativas y desarrollo local** (pp 145-196). Málaga: Atrapasueños.

García-Leiva, P. y Paño, P. (2012). Construcción de ciudadanía desde la percepción de los actores de los presupuestos participativos En G. Allegretti (comp.) **Estudio comparativo de los presupuestos participativos en República Dominicana, España y Uruguay** (pp. 259-321). Málaga: Cedma. Diputación de Málaga. Proyecto Parlocal. ISBN: 978-84-694-7156-2

Hall, R.H: (Ed.) (1992). Participatory research, **Part I. American Sociologist**, 23 (Whole issue)

Hombrados, M.I., & Gómez-Jacinto, L (2001): Potenciación en la intervención comunitaria. **Intervención psicosocial**, 10, (1), 55-69

Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía (2010). Andalucía pueblo a pueblo. Extraído a 8 de Janeiro de 2010 do endereço <http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/institutodeestadisticaycartografia/sima/>.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística, INE (2010). Demografía y población. Extraído a 8 de Janeiro de 2010 do endereço <http://www.ine.es>.

Montero, M. (2003). Teoría y práctica de la Psicología Comunitaria. La tensión entre sociedad y comunidad. Buenos Aires: Paidós Tramas Sociales.

Montero, M. (2004). El fortalecimiento de la comunidad, sus dificultades y alcances. *Intervención Psicosocial*, 13, 1, 5 – 19.

Montero, M. (2010). Fortalecimiento de la ciudadanía y transformación social: área de encuentro entre la psicología política y la psicología comunitaria. *Psyke*, 19, 51-63.

Rappaport, J. (1987). Terms of empowerment/exemplars of prevention: Toward a theory for community psychology. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 15, 121-148.

Rappaport, J. (1990). Research methods and the empowerment social agenda. In P. Tolan, C. Keys, F. Chertok & L. Jason (Eds.) *Researching community psychology: integrating theories and methodologies* (pp. 51-63). Washington, DC: **American Psychological Association**.

Rich, R. C., Edelstein, M., Hallman, W. K., & Wandersman, A. H. (1995). Citizen Participation and Empowerment: The Case of Local Environmental Hazards. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 23, (5), 657-676.

Talpin, J. (2011). *Schools of Democracy: How ordinary citizens (sometimes) become competent in participatory budgeting institutions*. Colchester: **ECPRpress**

Whyte, W. F. (1991). **Participatory action research**. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Yeich, S. & Levine, R. (1992). Participatory research's contribution to a conceptualization of empowerment. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 22, 1894-1908.

Zimmerman, M. A. (1990) Taking aim on empowerment research: on the distinction between individual and psychological conception. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 18, 169-177.

Zimmerman, M. A. (1995). Psychological Empowerment: Issues and Illustrations. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 23, (5), 581-599.

Zimmerman, M. A. (2000). Empowerment theory: psychological, organizacional, and community level of analysis. En J. Rappaport y E. Seidman (Eds.) *Handbook of Community Psychology* (pp. 43 – 63). Nova Iorque: Kluwer Academic.

Zimmerman, M. A. & Rappaport, J. (1988). Citizen Participation, perceived control, and psychological empowerment. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 16, 725-750.

Zimmerman, M.A & Warschausky, S. (1998). Empowerment Theory for Rehabilitation Research: Conceptual and Methodological Issues. *Rehabilitation Psychology*, 43 (1), 3-16.