

HOPE FOR DEMOCRACY

25 YEARS OF PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING WORLDWIDE

THECNICAL FILE

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

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To In Loco Association, for their 25 years.

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LENA LANGLET & GIOVANNI ALLEGRETTI

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

Sweden has a long tradition of local self-government, officially stated more than 150 years ago, when the municipalities were assigned the task of running the recently established elementary schools. But it was after the World War II, when the development of the Swedish welfare state accelerated, that the Swedish Parliament decided to place on the municipalities wider responsibilities in terms of public services delivery, imagining the local needs could best be met at the local level context. In the mid-1800s the Swedish county councils were also created, leaving it up to them to deliberate and decide on matters such as the economic situation, agriculture, communications, healthcare, higher education and law and order. Nowadays, Sweden is divided into 290 municipalities, 18 county councils, and two regions (Västra Götaland and Skåne). There is no hierarchical relation between municipalities, counties and regions, since they are just responsible for different activities¹. The current Local Government Act came into force in 1992, redefining the roles of county councils and municipalities, which are today the major employers in the country (around 1,1 million of individuals or 25% of Swedish workers, 80% of which are women and 85% are serving in the care and education sectors, see SKL, 2010).

Today, while counties have a more reduced number of tasks (with healthcare being the main one, almost representing 90% of the expenditures), municipalities have a strong self-governance mandate on matters related to the inhabitants and their immediate environment (primary and secondary education, childcare, care of elderly and disabled people, culture, leisure activities, water supply, sewerage, roadways, spatial planning, waste collection and disposal, fire departments and so on) and since 1862, they have the right to decide on the level of income tax and financial municipal operations. Only around 16% of the municipal average revenues is represented by transfers from the upper levels of Government: the rest is collected at local level through taxes (68%), fees and charges, leases and sale of services and contracts (SKL, 2012). Anyway, a complex system of local government financial equalization exists, which was updated in 2005, to try to counterbalance local differences and to put all municipalities and county councils on an equal footing for conducting their activities. The size of the municipalities varies greatly: the smallest municipality has 2,400 inhabitants and the largest (Stockholm) 868,000, while an average municipality in Sweden counts around 16,000 residents.

In Sweden, a strong national Association of Local Authorities and Regions (called SALAR, or SKL) exists. It represents the governmental, professional and employer-related interests of Sweden's municipalities and county councils. It strives to promote and strengthen local self-government and development of regional and

¹The only exception is Gotland, an island in the Baltic Sea, whose municipality also has the responsibilities and tasks normally associated with a county council.

local democracy, providing training and consultancies to politicians and public employees. Since the mid 80's, it has an International branch which supports global democratic community planning and administration at the local and regional levels, using knowledge and experience from Swedish local and regional governments. Since August 2000, SKL International is a joint stock company, currently employing 15 people full time and more than 500 experts. It also works in cooperation with the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida).

The political panorama counts on approximately 42,000 political assignments in the municipalities (around 1% of the adult population in Sweden): 42% of the elected officials are women and more than 50% are between 50 and 65 years old. The rate of councilors between the age of 18 and 29 doesn't exceed 5%. Political parties have always been strong at the local level and citizens vote for a party list, not for individuals. Because of the parties' strong position in Sweden, both nationally and locally, and because of a well-developed welfare system citizens have not had much influence over the decision-making, and Sweden remains one of the countries with a higher level of confidence in political authorities and even in parties. Over the past twenty years, however, a trend has been focusing on the ability of citizens to freely choose their providers of services. This has proceeded (especially since the 90's) alongside a growing program of outsourcing of some services. Although a sort of monopoly has been preserved in some sectors, such as water supply and management. Here there has been a shy attempt to introduce new forms of private-owned management that has proved very unpopular and were strongly opposed by the Swedish population (Allegretti, 2011). Anyway, the choice of giving citizens a real influence over decisions about how public resources are to be used has maintained a limited profile, and therefore a reduced impact. Somehow, the existence of a system of checks-and-balances for granting a strong level of accountability has prevented the raise of a strong movement in favor of specific participatory measures, as has happened in less transparent countries.

1. A recent switch that led to "discover" PB

But in the last decade, Sweden is testament to a changing society that has been progressively marked by a slowly growing loss of confidence in political institutions, or at least, a diminished interest in participating in political parties, especially from the part of young generations. The findings of the "World Values Survey (WVS) 2011", for example, demonstrated a widespread disenchantment with the foundational structures of democracy. The survey found that 20% of young people between 18 and 29 years old declared that they would be willing to sell their vote for a modest amount of money, and 28% in exchange for a job. Furthermore, 30% of the young interviewed declared that they would support "a strong leader who does not worry about Parliament and general elections", 14% a military junta, and only 23% proved very convinced that "it is important to live in a democracy" (Lindberg and Svensson, 2012). As a matter of fact, in the last years, as memory of the hard struggles to conquer a full and well-functioning democracy seems vanishing, changes in the political panorama have been becoming more visible: after the 7.1% and the two euro deputies gained in 2009 by the single-issue Pirate party, the national elections held

in September 2010 revealed a more worrying phenomenon, being that more than 5% of votes went to the neo-Nazi movement called “Swedish Democrats”. Luckily, in parallel with the raise of these undemocratic tendencies, a counter phenomenon has also taken place: increasingly, well-educated citizens with greater access to information have given shape to new forms of community engagement so demanding new models of working together to create greater involvement in the development and decision-making of their municipal governments.

In this new panorama, the political leadership of the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions has, therefore, taken the decision to support municipalities and regions in the development of new citizens’ participation and engagement methods, for enlarging and renovating governance models. With such a mandate by the general assembly, in 2007 SALAR started a large project of “Citizens’ Dialogue” (Mergborgadialog). This established a technical coordinating committee to be in charge of organizing training and consultancies on different participatory methodologies, both for elected officials and technical personnel. One of the lines of such a program was dedicated to Participatory Budgeting (PB, or in Swedish MB - “Medborgarbudget, literally civic budget”) which was somehow “discovered” during some seminars organized in the UN-Habitat World Urban Forum of Vancouver (2006) by a growing international network of scholars and international consultants working with PB in several different countries.

With the goal of trying to develop some pilot-experiments of PB in the Swedish context, SALAR signed a 4 year cooperation agreement with the Centre for Social Studies of Coimbra University, which has already been renovated twice, until 2014. The most interesting aspect of such an agreement is represented by the will of “learning from countries of the South” (both Southern Europe and other world development areas), recognizing that they have come much further than central and northern Europe in the development of PB and other effective tools of citizens participation. Such an admission, if compared to the international cooperation tradition of Sweden, could be considered as an important cultural shift, which has produced cooperation links and field-visits (specifically devoted to on-site learning from participatory budgeting experiments) with cities of Portugal, Italy, Spain, France, Germany and the United Kingdom. It’s worth underlining that through SKL international, established by SALAR, some other collaborative relations with participatory budgeting examples in Albania have been made, so contributing to the development of two cities’ experiences and the construction of a training handbook in Albanian (2012), aimed at the fostering of an expansion of the experiment into other local administrations.

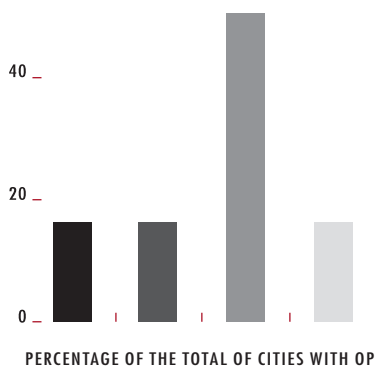
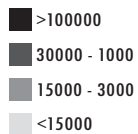
2. The changing panorama of PB in Sweden

Undoubtedly, the above described context is very valuable in order to better understand the peculiarities of the present existing panorama of participatory budgeting experiences in Sweden, because it has put its accent on a lower level of need of innovation. This characterizes the Swedish political cultures as compared to other countries where PB has been felt to be an indispensable tool for fighting local government inefficiency, corruption or disenchantment for representative democracy institutions and their “passive relation” with the market’s imperatives. But such

Graph 1 Percentage of cities with PB in Sweden, according to different size classes (2012)

Source SALAR/SKL (2012)

Label



an explanation wouldn't be complete if another detail hadn't emerged, which relates to the fragmentation of society in terms of social bonds and cohesion of the social fabric. In fact, if we wonder why, at certain point, namely around 2007, the hypothesis of experimenting with participatory budgeting emerged, there was an interesting "official explanation" proposed by the SALAR officials which has been more committed in pushing in that direction. Their view, reflecting the political debates that happened in the SALAR general assemblies around 2006, was well expressed during the networking seminar "Participatory Budgeting: Balancing resources for balanced development" at the 4th World Urban Forum of Nanjing (3-6 November 2008). Here, the SALAR representatives opened their speech showing the final map produced by the "World Values Survey 2008", pointing out the specific isolated position of Sweden, whose culture appears to have gained the maximum of capacity of "individual expression" while losing all its anchors in term of traditional societal values related to "living in common". During the event, they added that this concern for a gradually imploding social fabric dominated by individualism and shrinking of social bonds was made even more serious by observing "the growing lack of interest shown by new generations for everything regards politics," which underline "a major passivity in the relation with the State". The State was seen almost as a paternalist body that became self-responsibilized for the majority of the citizens' practical needs, as if this could continue forever without it being refilled with new meanings and energies for action by the commitment of the inhabitants and voters. The SALAR officials added worries linked to other two issues: (1) the socioeconomic factors that explain the inequality of political disengagement in different territories; and (2) the growth of counterpoised extremism which mix political approaches and religious overtones. More recently, another issue appeared, which is more related to some surveys (Sverige Studien, 2012). This shows that companies are abandoning a traditional behavior of promoting a horizontal dialogue among the employees and between them and the managing staff. They are becoming less open to incorporate management ideas come from employees, preferring to focus more on security issues and high-efficiency requirements that may affect the working environment negatively. In such a framework, a new discussion is going on within the political bodies of SALAR: whether municipalities and counties (whose techniques of management were also affected by major changes in the organizational forms, control systems and modes of operation) have to promote different standards of co-decision and so contribute to maintain (or even potentiate) a tradition of involvement of their personnel in the creation of more shared-visions and methods of management of public goods.

Such a dense expression of concern about the "sustainability of political activity without a critical and committed role of citizens in society" somehow marked the specific approach of Swedish Municipalities to participatory budgeting, and also the typology of experiments that where conducted in the last six years. For example, the fact of having privileged (in some of the first pilot cities) models of "actorial" PBs, meaning a "target-oriented" experience which mainly focused on involving young generations in the construction of public projects at municipal level. The declared goals of such a perspective (as in cases like the experiences of Örebro, 137,000 inhabitants, or Uddevalla, 31,200) where mainly the following: reactivating the interest of young generations for political institutions and party life, while at the same time enhancing social relations among teenagers (and, possibly, between them and the adults) through the discussion of common goods and public facilities. Somehow, an important role in this choice as identified in the literature (as Rossini, 1998, Tonucci, 2003 or Muñoz, 2004) discusses how – in other countries – the participatory experiences that put young generations in

contact with territorial decision-making affected their vision of life, usually opening a new interest for active commitment in society through grassroots-bases or even political initiatives.

But the first generation of Swedish participatory budgeting experiments was not at all homogeneous, nor the first declared commitments necessarily generated concrete participatory processes. For example, if we take into account the first small group of cities that entered the “PB network” opened by SALAR in 2007 in the framework of the “Citizens’ Dialog” project, only three of them (namely Örebro, Uddevalla and Haninge, 79,000 inhabitants) went on producing concrete pilot-experiments of PB between 2008 and 2009, while the cities of Hudiksvall (around 15,000 inhabitants) and Huddinge (around 100,000 inhabitants) stepped back soon after the first year of training, due to a lack of technical and/or political support – preferring to advance with other types of social dialogue. While, since the beginning, the Norwegian city of Fredrikstad (around 75,500 inhabitants) joined the network in 2010, another Swedish city (Avesta, around 21,500 citizens) stepped in. This group grew in 2012, with the start of new experiments in the municipalities of Orsa (6,800 inhabitants), Upplands Vasby (40,200) and very recently Pitea (41,000 inhabitants).

These cities are located in different parts of the country (but rural and more urban ones), only two of them being in the metropolitan area of Stockholm (Haninge and Upplands Vasby), where SALAR is located. Today, the municipalities who have tried and are still experimenting PB in Sweden are few, only representing around 2% of the total number of local institutions. Their sizes are quite different, even if the graphic above shows a small prevalence of municipalities between 30,000 and 40,000 inhabitants (which, by the way, correspond to the more common group of municipal size in the country). The nature of their PB is not homogeneous, it is very diverse as are the scopes and the year cycles.

The graph 2 below shows that there are also differences in terms of imagining participatory budgeting as a co-decisional space (in which citizens are entitled to decide how resources should be used) or just a consultative arena from whose civic dialogue politicians “cherry-pick” single proposals or alternative hypothesis of dealing with a project or a policy.

Political majorities which took the decision to experience participatory budgeting had also been diverse, and – unlike in the majority of other countries – there has been until now a slight prevalence of conservative governments or liberal-conservative coalitions. The situation, however, is evolving.

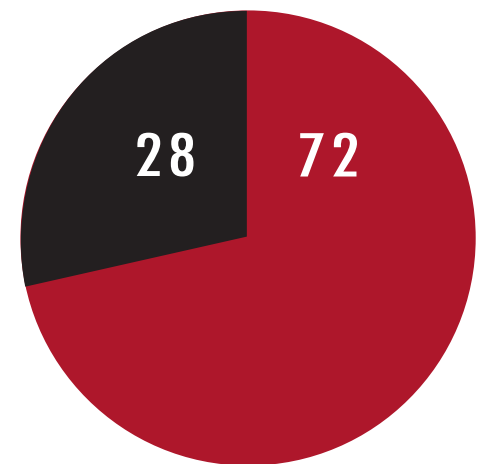
What the different Swedish cities experiencing PB mainly have in common are (1) the positive dedication of their PB teams, (2) the use of a series of ICT tools elaborated and provided by SALAR (as for example a “budget simulator” that was customized in the different cases) and (3) the relative shyness of their projects, which up to now seemed limited to pilot-experiments intended to “test the waters” without huge investments on PB. An exception is the small municipality of Orsa, which in 2012 allowed citizens to participate in the prioritization of the entire operating budget. Although this city uses a consultative model of PB that is supported by a series of very high level accountability tools which aim to create an intense dialogue among

Graph 2 Percentage of cities with PB in Sweden, according to de decisional model (2012)

Source SALAR/SKL (2012)

Label

■ CO-DECISIONAL PB
 ■ PURELY ADVISORY PB



WHO HAS THE FINAL DECISION IN PB?

Graph 3 Percentage of cities with PB in Sweden, according to the political colour (2012)

Source SALAR/SKL (2012)

Label

■ CONSERVATIVE COALITION
 ■ SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

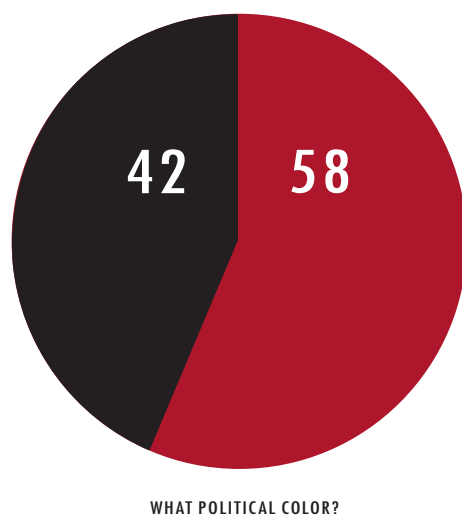


Table 1 Average resources on which PB discusses in each city (2008–2012)

Source SALAR/SKL (2012)

* This is the operating budget of Orsa, being that the city opens this slice of budget to public discussion.

NAME OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITY	CITY-LEVEL INVESTMENT BUDGET USED FOR PB	CITY-LEVEL OPERATING BUDGET USED FOR PB	PB RESOURCES TO BE SPENT ONLY ON A SPECIFIC AREA OF THE CITY	PB RESOURCES FOR THEMATIC DECISIONS	OVERALL INVESTMENT BUDGET (AS FOR 2011)	PB-RELATED RESOURCES PER CITIZEN (2011)
Haninge			40.000€		9.700.000€	0,5€
Uddevalla		20.000€	35.000€	50.000€	22.500.000€	1,0€
Upplands Vasby			20.000€		20.300.000€	0,5€
Avesta	1.000.000€		500.000€		13.500.000€	47,0€
Örebro				50.000€	49.300.000€	0,4€
Orsa		34.000.000 €			34.000.000€*	495€

participants and the government and is committed to answer all proposals so as to explain why they have (or have not) been taken into account. All the other municipalities have tended to implement participatory budget in relation to specific projects on issues related to local development, so only opening reduced parts of the investment budget (except in the case of Uddevalla, that for three years used money coming from an Interreg project funded by the European Union and could not apply PB to investments). In all the PB processes that took place in Sweden since 2007, the decision on the size of resources to be publicly put under discussion was taken by the Municipal Council, on the base of the Executive Committee Proposals. SALAR did not intervene in this very sensitive issue, although its project managers repeatedly stimulated the different cities to increase progressively their financial commitment with PB. The table below clarifies separately each municipality with at least one year experience of PB in relation to the resources (in Euro) submitted yearly to PB. There still isn't any comparative data available to clarify the costs of organizing the PB process, provided that the majority of cities used ICT tools elaborated by SALAR (which also covers by its own the costs of general consultants and training sessions) and covered personnel costs internally, eventually contracting project-leaders or consultants that were also in charge of other wider tasks.

3. Some peculiarities of the first wave of PBs in Sweden

Undoubtedly in Sweden, Participatory Budgeting is still at an early stage, and not only because SALAR network started in 2007 (being that in other countries, six years proved enough to see a large multiplication of mature projects), but also because the context still doesn't show an urgent need to introduce fast modifications in the political panorama. This is most evident in the models of PB adopted which are either consultative (as in the cases of Orsa or Pitea) or – if they are co-decisional – still prefer a “micro-local participation” model. So, the panorama of Swedish PB could be related to what Sintomer and Allegretti (2010) defined as “Consultation on public finances” or in the majority of cases to a mix between the idealtypes models called “proximity democracy” or “community development funds” which are generally

more common in Northern Europe, as the cases of Germany and UK prove (Sintomer and Allegretti, 2013). In Sweden, the important role of ICTs is undeniable. For example, the need to take advantage of the high level penetration of broadband for the specificity of weather conditions which do not facilitate at the same extent in every season the physical communication among citizens and community gathering in public spaces. Despite this, ICTs have never been regarded as a pivotal center of the PB processes, but more as a support. Is not by chance that the majority of Swedish PBs count mainly on public meetings, and they usually calendarize them in Spring or early Autumn, even if the institutional/legal framework of the country would let the yearly cycle organization more open than in any other context, provided that there are no bureaucratic constraints and requirements for having the annual municipal budget approved in a specific period of the year. Possibly, this specificity is not to be related with a copy-paste approach to the emulation of other PB models, but for the need to maintain a coherence between the means used for shaping the architecture of PB and the declared aims to stimulate a horizontal dialogue among citizens and not a mere communication space among individuals and the administrative/political structures.

In terms of approach and per capita investments on participatory budgeting, the municipality of Avesta (21,500 inhabitants in the southern Dalarna region) has been the major experiment in Sweden. It started in 2009, thanks the commitment of its coalition progressive government – led by the Socialdemocrat party – and, unexpectedly, at the time the city was not a member of the SALAR network on PB. Joining only some months after having started to conceive its processes. Anyway, the latter (which was limited to the urban planning sector) benefited from the discussion of other tools presented in other thematic SALAR network devoted to deal with different techniques allowing and facilitating the participation of inhabitants in the setting of public policies and projects. Famous for its ironworks, Avesta changed its productive profile in the last decade, so that the ironwork dominance gradually declined, although, it is still a significant employer in the municipality and the change was not able to modify a certain “service spirit” in the local culture. A local culture which has “a low confidence in the inhabitants’ own ability to influence their destiny” and seems not to be very interested to invest in training and experimental innovations (Palm, in SKL, 2011). The new progressive political majority elected in 2006 visualized participation as an opportunity to dynamize society and break down this lazy “spirit of service” through giving citizens more opportunities to directly influence their life and that of their community. The idea was to start from a sector, that of the physical transformation of the city, that could progressively attract more participation, due to the production of a visible transformational. So, provided that the political program contained guidelines for a comprehensive development of the city center, with a long term perspective, this became the privileged spot for experiencing PB. Therefore, a Working Group was appointed by the Municipal Government in 2009 to develop the participatory process, consisting of a project managers, and representatives from the administration departments responsible for technology and construction issues. The maximum limit investment initially established was 10 million Swedish crowns (around 1 million Euros at the time). The goal was to allow citizens to decide which part of the program would be prioritized and addressed

first. Seven different parts of the Center Development Program were listed for being submitted to public decision, excluding those of more technical nature (among them the reorganization of an existing avenue): implicitly, such a choice had a certain degree of paternalism, tending not to recognize citizens as already prepared to face more complex issues, and showing the cautious approach of the municipality to the opening of decision-making to inhabitants. The first round of voting on the 7 priority areas marked (in September 2010) the opening of the PB project. Advertising for this phase used announcements in local and regional media, Facebook, distribution of flyers and “outreaching presentations” that tried to attract people in shopping malls, primarily in schools, grocery stores and the municipal swimming baths. The votes (after registration) were cast through the Internet (www.avesta.medborgarbudget.se), and people could choose on the basis of seven “dossiers” with a simplified language, including sketches and photos and budget costs of different options for development. Winner of this first round – chosen by the 110 participants to the poll – was a still un-named “little square” and the walkways linking it down to the bridge”.

The second step was about discussing an alternative design for the “Little square”, opening a space for citizens to submit their suggestions and decide on the best one. Strangely, despite several proposals and sketches being submitted, in the end were only 23 voters, but the Municipality decided to respect their choice, as promised. The “turning factor” was represented by the ribbon-cutting ceremony of the first lot of the new square, which happened in early September 2011, in the form of a work of art. In a few days, more than 1300 unique visitors visited the webpage of PB (SKL, 2011) and 220 people created an account, the largest majority being older than 50 years. The municipality analyzed this fast-changing answer, in order to reformulate the project. It recognized that the only concrete implementation of the co-decided measure had been the ability to break the difficulty of creating a municipal collaborative culture. Anyway, most positive for the municipal administration was discovering the unimagined levels of skill and competence on the part of the citizens that participated, which showed the gradual development of confidence throughout the entire process. Based on the encouraging signals received in Autumn 2011, the Avesta government decided to incorporate the participatory budgeting processes in the “Strategic framework for public dialogue in Avesta”, appointing a political steering committee to work on reframing the experiment (also in dialogue with representatives of the Youth Council), within a larger “hybrid” structure that allowed different types of tools for influencing and directly controlling municipal choices. Therefore, in 2012, new training activities were undertaken, also modifying communication instruments and creating a Guide for Trustees modeled on that of the Örebro Municipality. The second year of PB concentrated on a larger recreational area which needed to be adjusted for sport and community meeting, and involved a privileged dialogue with Youth Council members to try and attract to the process targets that had not spontaneously participated to the first year of the experiment. A pot of around 500.000 euros was dedicated to develop the park. Three articulated options, based on citizens’ proposals, were submitted to a public vote, getting a clear majority for one of them, which started to be implemented at the beginning of 2013. Temporarily, the city stepped out from the SALAR network on PB, wishing to complete the experiment alone, before moving to the next step in the development of its PB model.

A not dissimilar experience (based on the replanning of a specific site) also started in the city of Haninge in Sweden’s 25th largest municipality, located on a dynamic route between Stockholm and Nynäshamn, whose borders include a large archipelago and wild natural areas. The

municipality was an important part of the “Million Programme” (Miljonprogrammet), an ambitious housing program implemented in Sweden between 1965 and 1974 by the Social Democratic Party to demolish part of the old inadequate housing stock and make sure to provide a home at a reasonable price to 1 million families. But, after more than three decades, several of the buildings realized by that Programme started to be inadequate, as in the district of Jordbro, where many investments did not achieve considerable longlasting results of requalification. Governed by a coalition of five parties (Moderate Party, Liberal Party, the Greens, the Christian Democrats and the Centre Party), Haninge created a special Council Committee to implement participatory reforms, considered a “precondition” for any sustainable development. The idea of starting a pilot-project of participatory budgeting was seen as an important opportunity to concretize this idea. For this first attempt (which was area-based) 400,000 SEKs were invested for transforming one of the corners of Eskil Park, a centrally located and partially-misused green void that combines playgrounds, pine woods, open lawns, a fountain and an amphitheater. The Democracy Committee – in suggesting this area – expected that Eskil park reclamation would make a vibrant meeting place, while involving many participants and working as a test for new participatory methods. A project manager was appointed in Autumn 2009, coming from a background of similar “hybrid” projects in England, laying between participatory budgeting and participatory planning processes. The total cost for setting the PB and distributing information, amounted to around 16,000 Euros (almost 1/3 of the investment’s cost). Unlike in Avesta, public meetings represented an important feature, although the first round of citizens’ proposals could be also submitted through Haninge Municipality websites. After this first part of the cycle in January 2010, a two-months phase of technical evaluation of citizens’ ideas was often followed by voting: the rules stated that the 40,000 euros could fund longlasting investments and not events or temporary installations. Due to the type of equipment under discussion, the right of voting was also extended to interested people which were not resident in Haninge and no age limit was established. The outreach strategy involved local newspapers, radio, posters, meetings with various representatives of charitable organizations and schools in the vicinity of the park; some secondary schools were directly involved in the project. Several diverse methodologies were used: for example, face-painting was used to attract families to a civic workshop on the issue, where 70 people attended. Exactly 30% of the 101 ideas received was delivered during the meeting, having a clear “more collective” approach. It’s worth to underline that – unlike the Internet submissions – the public meeting

gave the opportunity to clarify issues and overcome problems related to proposals that looked inadequate with the original design language of the park, or that could create public safety problems. A proposal to leave that corner untouched and move the investments to another more flexible and “open” part of the park was also discussed, but in the end not approved. Once removed from the list the proposals that didn’t meet the pre-established criteria (but were also part of clear policies of Haninge’s administration, as with the one against graffiti) were merged some similar ideas with the collaboration of proposers. The remaining 21 ideas were submitted to public voting: 12 were related with projects aimed at transforming part of the area into a “stage” for different events. The proposal with the lowest budget was a barbecue, which was priced at 30,000 crowns. Even if the vote took place online for one month, an important public meeting was put in agenda to give proposers the opportunity to defend their ideas in front of other citizens and politicians, before the closing of the voting period. More than 100 people attended the last meeting, and a total of 250 voted. An online tool, adapted from the budget simulator created by SALAR, was used to allow citizens to choose between one or more less expensive proposals at one time; for some ideas – as that of realizing new flowerbeds – it was possible to choose the amount of money, depending on the size, duration and typology of plants. The winning proposal – submitted to the City Council that ratified it with a formal decision – was that of building a “mobile stage structure” that could be protected against risks of vandalism and maintain the amphitheater as a mainly “open space” when plays and shows were not happening.

Unlike other PB-pilots in Sweden, that of Haninge was monitored and evaluated in a report (delivered in August 2010) which aimed to give to the municipality ideas for the follow-ups. Some citizens also took part in the evaluation. The main criticism was concentrated on the difficult voting system, even if the Report recognized that it allowed respect for the complexity of the possible choices, serving as a pedagogic tool for citizens to learn new skills about decision-making alternatives. Although the investments for PB were quite reduced for such a big city, the pilot created broader impacts than its size. It generated enthusiasm in elected and administrative officials, and partially reshaped the traditional way of acting. In that they coordinated themselves and interacted with inhabitants. A discussion inside the administration led to the idea of implementing some other proposals presented through PB inside the municipal general budget, for improving the park as a hole, and other public spaces. Possibly, the most interesting effect – revealed by some performance evaluation interviews – was that PB favored a self-mobilization of citizens to defend their propos-

als, and raised their interest in other municipal issues external to PB. Also, media attention received by the experiment called “You decide on Eskil Park” proved high compared to that gathered by other innovations in Sweden (SKL, 2011).

A new PB project was then started in 2012 in the former “Millennium Programme” neighbourhood of Jordbro, focussing on security-building efforts, under the supervision of a newly elected Democracy Advisory Council that emerged from the elections. Meanwhile, the start of the second PB cycle was slowed a bit. This time, around 100 proposals were submitted by inhabitants, which were merged by officers in order to arrive at 10 proposals to be submitted for vote. The winner was the project of a “Parkour park” proposed by a school-class of 11 year olds children: works started in the end of 2012 and are almost completed.

As far as it regards the PB experiences of Sweden that specifically targeted young generations, that of Örebro (the country’s seventh largest municipality, with a population of around 135,000 inhabitants, with many refugees coming from more than 150 different countries) presented some interesting innovations. Located in the center of Sweden, at an equal distance from the East and the West coast, Örebro is a multifaceted business town, no longer dominated by any particular industry or sector, where several government agencies are located; its University hosts about 17,000 students. During the mandate 2006–2010 it was controlled by a coalition consisting of Conservatives, Liberals, Centre Party, the Christian Democrats and the Green Party. A special statement introduced in the 2008 Budget Act declared that “The municipality intends to try new ways to increase participation on municipal finances and on how economic policies will be broadened,” and in 2009 Örebro was the first municipality in Sweden to start a pilot of participatory budgeting.

For the first year, 250,000 SEKs (taken from the investment budget plan) were put under discussion with a target audience constituted by a group of approximately 80 high-school students from the schools Risbergsgka, Rudbecksskolan and Tullängsskolan in order to test the methodology. A Reference Group of public officials helped students to formulate the technical aspect of proposals and calculate the average costs, paying attention to maintain them within the “environmental and mobility” thematic area, to which the investment money belonged. The proposals presented between January and February 2009 ranged from new bike lanes to volleyball courts, and in March students voted on which one would have to be realized. Each class could present a maximum of one proposal, so that there were three final ideas to vote on: the renovation of a river bathing beach in Hästhagen (Hästhagsbadet); a Beach Volley field in the main city park; and the construction of

a network of digital traffic signs called “green wave”. The method of voting (free vote for any proposal, instead of excluding that presented by their own school) was decided by the participants themselves. The first proposal got two-thirds of the vote, and then something unexpected happened. In fact, instead of sending the proposal to the next year’s budget, the Mayor’s Cabinet decided to approve a modification of the budget and to complete the refurbishment of the river beach in that same semester. This involved putting new sand on the beach and in the volleyball court, new grass, flower beds and more barbecue areas and trash-bins. A large mass of students attended the bath opening in July 2009, with a high media coverage. This granted a critical mass of potential participants for the following years, and the need to assess lights and shades of this first experiment. Among the improvements requested for 2010 there were: (1) the need to have a clearer timetable for the different activities and project phases from the beginning; (2) the need to grant (as formulated by students’ request) a more direct and permanent contact with politicians during the entire cycle of PB; (3) to expand contact with public officials and allow participants to present more and more detailed proposals, so as to take a better advantage from the pedagogic potential of the tool; (4) to increase the number of involved schools; (5) to provide students more training and examples of possible investments to be proposed, while also looking at other cities as examples (as for examples in the French experience of Poitou Charentes with which Örebro soon entered in contact).

According to these needs, in 2010 a second PB cycle was put in place, and was still conceived as a large pilot but not as a city-wide project. This time, the target audience was extended to include several High School Classes in Karolinska school, Kvinnerska School, Risbergsgka school and Rudbecksskolan, and the resources were doubled to 500,000 SEKs from the investment budget. Approximately 100 students participated. The criteria established for accepting proposals were reformulated and in some way related to river improvement and development. A consolidated Officials’ Reference Group helped students to detail proposals (and calculate prices) during January–March 2010. The number of proposals per class was extended to two, with seven of the the ideas being admitted for the final vote. The vote chose the construction of a wooden deck in the Svartån area (receiving around 1/3 of the votes). The media coverage followed the event and also the implementation phase of the co-decided project, and was ratified by the City Council. The committee of the students that had proposed the winning idea was also involved in the monitoring of implementation. They discussed officially their proposal with the Technology Board, an experience that was evaluated by them as a very positive

experience. Before the municipal elections, the Executive stated that “Participatory Budget in Örebro means that the municipality transfers to citizens the responsibility to develop proposals and decide on the use of a pre-decided amount” (SKL, 2011). For the future follow-ups, the evaluation suggested the need to: (1) further increase the participants; (2) increase transparency by making better use of the municipal website; (3) increase the number of channels and tools of communication. The technical structure composed of the project manager, steering committee, teachers and students together (even making together some rules of the process) proved successful. One of the key-words that inspired the entire experiment was “simplicity”, which helped setting “clear rules and roles” of all the actors involved. In the evaluations done, the majority of participants underlined that “there has been fun in feeling involved in Örebro development” and “in meeting senior politicians and officials”. The project was stopped by the new government, which began office after very troubled elections in 2010, and led to a new round of reelection in 2011, where the voting turnout lowered to more than 20% (from 83.4 to 63.3). It restarted in the second part of 2012, and is ready now for a strengthening of such kinds of projects in collaboration with schools.

A second and less linear experience that targeted young citizens was that of Uddevalla, a ship-building town in Bohuslän province, which has a very active social life today, counting on more than 350 non-profit organizations. Here the City Council, after a disappointing result of some social and entrepreneurial surveys of 2005 on the performance of the local government, decided to undertake a political shift for developing methods of empowerment and dialogue with citizens. In this venture, they found a partner in Norway, in the close-by city of Fredrikstad. Together, after 18 months of research and planning, in Autumn 2008 they started a three-years EU-funded project called “MSM- Meeting Nationals” centered on collaboration and networking with other partners, such the University of Østfold and the Chalmers University of Gothenburg. This partnership was to develop and test new methods of citizen participation that could be used in the Swedish and Norwegian municipalities. With the formal goal of increasing participation of at least 10% before Autumn 2011. The project decided to cooperate with SALAR in applying PB on the two territories with a variable geometry in time, in order to “test” different possibilities and results (from the field of schools’ activity development to the sector of environmental protection and safe walks).

The first PB experiment was called “Udda Valet” (“Odd choice”), which has an assonance with the city’s name. Emulating the “U Decide” process of the English city of Newcastle, Uddevalla offered a pot of 200,000 SEKs to be used by students which had to be involved not only in the planning and voting of spending priorities, but also in the implementation of results. The first year result (2009) was successful, funding a “Comedy Day” with a mix of famous and young comedians performing in a central park in Uddevalla. The voting selection of priorities (to be chosen out of the 21 final proposals presented by the youngsters themselves) were submitted to all young people aged 13–19 years in Uddevalla, including non-residents. This choice, suggested by the Advisory Council for Integration and Democracy, was natural, because the “MSM” project-goal was to broaden the possible inclusion (the project also having a part dedicated to dialogue with immigrants). The Uddevalla Youth Council, an open forum for young people which was involved in the planning of the process’ rules, suggested that “the information would have to be handled by us young” (SKL, 2011); the massive informational campaign conducted by this consultative body had a huge effect on participation, involving schools through class presentations and the distribution of written materials. The Youth Council also had a major role in the “merging” of similar proposals (which were finally reduced to 7), in mobilizing student and

other Youth Associations for the voting phase, as well as in the managing and monitoring of implementation. The voting phase was conducted online on the municipal website, and about 10% of potential voters aged 13–19 years expressed a preference, responding to customer satisfaction questionnaires with a 90% rate of positive comments: many asked to be given influence to a greater extent, affecting permanently the municipality's choices and future investments.

Following this success, which was carefully reported by local media, Uddevalla City Government and its Technical Board for the implementation of PB tried to emulate some elements of the Portuguese experience of São Bras de Alportel. In 2010 a process called “Develop the school environment” was created. This process asked the students to photograph and describe their problems, and then prioritize improvements and solutions for bettering their school environment. The budget set was of € 25,000. It lasted four weeks (in two schools with children from 6 to 14 years) from the launch to the voting of children's priorities. Identified among other things, was the refurbishment of a school lounge, an amphitheater and a new playground and were then funded and implemented. Many of the techniques used in this project were inspired by a field-visit in Seville that SALAR organized in May 2010 (the first year in which Sevillans children conquered the right to vote in the PB). The children were given information both verbally and through information booklets, and parents were also invited to help children with proposal submission and voting. Web-tools supported the process allowing to mix texts, pictures and drawings for every proposal. A Working Group consisting of project management, school staff and responsables for technical management calculated the costs and tested proposals' feasibility, and suggested the merging of similar ideas. The kids had a week to vote via web. Being that the proposed budget only represented a “ceiling”, many small low-cost proposals (out of the 24 that went to the final voting) could also be approved, in some cases under the regular budget of the educational sector: this means that there had been a real political commitment in listening to children and trying to make the most out of all the proposals that emerged during the process. There was an interesting process of collaboration between the elderly children, who helped the younger to vote. The turnout was very high, reaching 87% in one school and 76% in the other.

A third different pilot in Uddevalla was made in 2011 through the so-called “Environmental and Safety Tours”. This took inspiration from a long tradition of security walks organized through time by housing agencies, municipalities, schools and other actors dealing with security issues in the built environment. In this case, the idea was to merge some principles of PB with a method able to raise questions about what makes an area feel unsafe, and what can be done to lower these perceptions. After the tours, politicians and officials gathered all proposals that had emerged and transferred the final decision to all the inhabitants of the area.

One of the trekking tours was organized by the children of a small village outside the central city, another was proposed by adult citizens of foreign origin in a typical neighborhood of the Million Housing Programme. The limit to a full participation of citizens in this experiment was that the selection of 14 proposals (out of around 20 presented) that were going to be voted on took place in a Workgroup of representatives from technical management. The ceiling for funding the winning proposals, in each neighborhood, was established by the Advisory Council for Integration and Democracy in 175,000 SEKs. The two final area-referendums (opened to all residents aged 10 years and more) were supported by advertisements in local newspapers, posters in public venues (libraries, billboards, etc.), leaflets sent in every home, Facebook and information given through local clubs. Special launching efforts occurred in schools in both

areas. The voting was conducted via Internet with the opportunity to discuss the proposals in the previous two weeks. Libraries and other venues were arranged to allow for people to vote who did not have a personal computer at home. Between 5% and 10% of residents in the selected areas participated in the voting. Among the suggestions received in the evaluation phase was that of improving the information work, creating “targeted-information” material, especially where there were a lot of residents of non-Nordic background.

In the three years of “MSM” project, Uddevalla managed to increase by 8,3% the participation of its citizens, a rate which was a little bit lower than imagined, but an important outcome, as the SCB Citizen surveys’ Satisfaction Index of 2011 proved (SKL, 2011). Possibly, the different experiences had been a bit fragmented and the interruption of every methodology to experience a new one could have created a general frustration in the inhabitants. Inhabitants that had possibly hoped to increase and further develop each experience in which they had taken part. The decision – for 2013 – to modify again the participatory experience is a bit unexplainable, being that it seems unable to take advantage of the positive past experiences, preferring to enter into a new unexplored territory.

As far as it regards the Norwegian partner, the city of Fredrikstad (the first in Norway to have experimented with PB), it is worth underlining that the twin-project of “Udda Valet” called “We want, we can, we decide” had an initial false start in spring 2009, because it relied too much on the schools’ administrations (that boycotted the experiment) but then managed to have positive results. Directed towards young people aged 13 to 19 years who attended school or lived in Fredrikstad municipality, the project invested 200,000 Norwegian Crowns (around 20,000 euros), which would be used for choosing a priority to implement, among the several proposed projects. Given the lack of cooperation of school directors, the Municipal PB Team decide to use Facebook to launch a campaign on PB, and to involve (as in Uddevalla) young volunteers in advertising the process. So, in Autumn 2009 a wide series of large and small meetings took place in all the schools of the city, resulting in 11 proposals elaborated by the students. A workshop was organized to discuss and merge some of them, and using the methods of “young Entrepreneurship” they were helped to transform their ideas into more detailed proposals (finally five, but more complex than the original). The idea of making the “week of voting” being conducted (through ballot boxes in the schools) by student representatives themselves, was the key of a big success: 61% of all students participated in the election, reaching 86% in some schools. The winning proposal – which won with 62% of preferences – was to implement a Data Party (LAN) for young people aged between 13 and 25. It was done in November 2010 and resulted in a major success, thanks to the role of the Fredrikstad Youth Council that undertook the implementation responsibility. After managing this event, ten of the involved young citizens (between 15 and 27 years) started their own association called Fredrikstad LAN, replicating the event in 2011 and 2012².

A second PB pilot-project in 2010–2011 took the name of “lokalsamfunnsordningen”, and tried to update a tradition developed in Fredrikstad throughout the last 12 years. The city is divided in 21 local geographic areas, each one with a steering committee consisting of representatives from schools, culture and sports clubs, business, churches and so on. A sort of “neighborhood funds” have been created – receiving each year between 20,000 and 80,000 Norwegian crowns. But the methodology was not conceived to involve the citizens in decision-making (beyond the steering local committees) so this experiment should possibly be associated with other typologies of processes, rather than a real PB. Unfortunately both experiences seem at a deadlock

² See www.fredrikstadlan.no

² Consultar www.fredrikstadlan.no

after the last municipal elections and the end of the MSM, despite the large success achieved by the pilot-project.

4. An open conclusion

Although in slow-motion, participatory budgeting experiments in Sweden have been able to reach some interesting results. They undoubtedly have feedback to share with the other contexts with which they have shared a dialogue over the last few years. Undoubtedly, the context does not seem to help these experiences to dare to sort out of the nature of “permanent pilot projects”. And their major difficulty seems that of entering in the daily routine of Swedish municipalities and overcoming their shy experimental approach. During these past years a lot of capital has been created in Sweden through PB: through the commitment of SALAR and the passion shown by the majority of municipal teams that have been involved in PB. But the mutual respect (and a sort of “distance”) existing between the different roles of technical personnel and elected officials makes it difficult to replicate some “hybrid model” that other countries have experienced, where politicians were convinced to invest in PB in the aftermath of serious PB projects set by groups of committed technicians. Another limit is – undoubtedly – the general confidence that still exists in institutions and political parties, unlike in other countries, and the substantial good-function (effective and also accountable) of elected governing administrations. Such a “lack of need” of introducing participatory innovations that could help to renovate the political culture is possibly the main reasons for the slow process of enrooting participatory budgets in Northern Europe as a whole. Research on other different participatory mechanisms in Sweden (as the Water price Groups in Malmö, see Allegretti 2011) show that this “lack of need of change” can block the development of very well designed tools, despite all the good intentions that lay beyond them. And it seems to combine (activating a sort of vicious circle) with the fact that politicians are rarely paid for their “service to community” so that they skeptically look on even more than many other Southern European professional politicians at the sharing or devolving of a part of their discretionary power back to the citizens. This could explain why in Sweden (in 2012) some new PB took place, with more resources at stake, but choosing a cautious consultative method. Maybe, the natural evolution of society and demographic change will be, for the future, the decisive factor which will allow a structural change and a gradual growth of PBs in quality and quantity. And possibly, PB will become indispensable, should the principles be applied to critical areas such as some difficult neighborhoods when ethnic differences of problems that are linked to the gradual perishing of architectural quality leads to a higher level of crisis. For now, it is important that SALAR maintains the commitment of granting networking and critical mass to the existing experience, and a constant dialogue with other bolder models around the world.

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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

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BEYOND THE LINE: THE PARTICIPATORY BUDGET AS AN INSTRUMENT

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

**OSMANY PORTO DE
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PB AND THE BUDGET PROCESS IN THE SOUTH KIVU PROVINCE

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**THE MOZAMBICAN
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**BUILDING SUSTAINABLE
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PARTICIPATORY
BUDGETING IN NORTH
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DONATA SECONDO
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INNOVATIONS IN PB IN CHINA: CHENGDU ON-GOING EXPERIMENT AT MASSIVE SCALE.

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

**ERNESTO GANUZA
FRANCISCO FRANCÉS**

**PARTICIPATORY BUDGETS IN
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**A DECADE OF
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BUT CLARIFYING PATH**

NELSON DIAS

**PARTICIPATORY
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TELLING A STORY IN SLOW-
MOTION**

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

WOJCIECH KEBŁOWSKI
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**ELECTRONIC
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RAFAEL CARDOSO
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**BUILDING A
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PARTICIPATORY
BUDGETING AS A “SCHOOL
OF CITIZENSHIP”**

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

**CRISTINA SÁNCHEZ
MIRET
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**PSYCHOLOGICAL
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IN PARTICIPATORY
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PATRICIA GARCÍA-LEIVA

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