

# 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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# PARTICIPATORY BUDGETS IN ITALY: RECONFIGURING A COLLAPSED PANORAMA

## *1. Introduction*

Over the last decade, Italy has undergone extensive political transformations that focused in different ways on the panorama of participatory innovations at the local level. The country, which hosted the first and most enduring of European Participatory Budget experiments (Grottammare, a small tourist town on the Adriatic coast, which began in 1994), has gone through at least four generations of experiments, each marked by single features which have already been identified in the recent literature (Putini, 2010; Allegretti, 2010; Sintomer and Allegretti, 2009). This article aims to briefly address these waves of experiments, to focus on a concise description of the last and least known one, which began to take shape in the last three years.

## *The importance of context on variations in participation in Italy*

The first true experiments of Italian participatory budgets began in 2002, coinciding with a phase of “destabilizing” reforms undertaken by the Italian central government (particularly during the three governments lead by Silvio Berlusconi), and are still in full development.

The Italian PBs were founded on the Constitutional Charter’s encompassing principles and on a municipal culture, that in the last forty years, carried out many experiments in “social dialogue”, where innovative practices created illustrative examples for other levels of government. In this setting, PBs tried to merge elements of continuity and discontinuity with the past, while simultaneously seeking to build spaces for innovation, keeping open the channels for dialogue with past experiments, less radical but that had been able to partially open the way for citizen intervention, as far as decision making, on economic and financial matters. The success of such interactions generated a “creative chaos” leading to the hybridisation between participatory budget experiments and other participatory actions (such as various forms of participative urban planning and the so-called “social report”).

It should be noted that Italy’s physical geography, together with political events preceding the exhaustive achievement of unification in 1960, and the establishment of the First Republic in 1946, seems to have weighed greatly in the construction of its political geography, contributing to an articulated and complex analysis<sup>2</sup>. For example, the smaller municipalities, more financially dependent on intergovernmental funds, have insisted on privileging individual, ‘face to face’ dialogue, between elected representatives and residents, or at most create advisory public spaces focused on

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<sup>1</sup> For subsequent interpretive documents of social or socio-environmental impacts of all the public policies of an institution, see: [www.bilanciosociale.it](http://www.bilanciosociale.it).

<sup>2</sup> The ‘Paese dei cento campanili’ (‘Land of a hundred towers’), 67% urban, currently has 8,102 municipal administrations, of which less than 150 exceed 50,000 inhabitants. The 100 most populous cities of the country comprise just over 30% of the total population, while 72% of municipalities have less than 5,000 inhabitants and comprise 19% of the 60 million Italian citizens.

<sup>3</sup> Bringing together local administrators, research groups and associations, the network worked together on issues of environmental sustainability, social justice and shared construction of choices, devoting an annual national seminar to exchange practices among local entities experimenting with participatory budgets and other structured practices of social dialogue. See [www.nuovomunicipio.org](http://www.nuovomunicipio.org).

<sup>4</sup> Both Grottammarre and Pieve Emanuele were marked by past bad governance, municipal outsourcing (*commissariamento*) and corruption scandals. While Rome XI sought to find its own style of governance for an innovative institution which at the time existed only in the capital, and that a few years later would be replicated in other big cities like Venetia and Napoli: with the establishment of local councils with greater autonomy called ‘municipalities,’ although still sub-municipal entities with no right to an autonomous budget from the Municipality.

‘selective listening’ of the citizen’s ideas and wishes. On the contrary, larger municipalities have created formulas for more diverse and sophisticated social dialogue, so that associations, movements, committees at local or district level, and other socially ‘organised’ associations (also informal) have acquired strength. Besides their scale, participatory processes were also influenced, perhaps even more so, by political and civic traditions of the ‘Three’ or ‘Four Italys’ (Bagnasco, 1984; Puttnam, 1996; Caltabiano, 2006; Diamanti, 2008) and by the existence of an ‘oasis of good governance’ which, especially in the North and Centre of the country, often offered adequate preconditions without which any path of social dialogue would only add chaos to the work of institutions. In an ever-changing geography, another constant in the Italian panorama is the difficult rooting of PBs in the south, marked by a political culture where the weight of patronage relations seems to have greater strength.

For many years, a “myopic” reading of the Constitutional Charter prevailed, in which the term “participation” had little space, even if the topic was glimpsed in some of its encompassing principles, and this resulted in the administration “staying behind” and allowing to be towed along by “factors related to their technical and “heavy” nature” (U. Allegretti, 2009) that prevented the construction of a structured, two-way, dialogical relationship between institutions and citizens. Only in the 90s, in the wake of European guidelines focused on a complex subjective right of citizens to good administration (see Art. 41 of the Nice Treaty), the national administrative framework began to change, based on Law No. 241/90 on administrative reforms, in an attempt to unite the concepts of decentralisation and efficiency and provide the possibility for citizens to intervene in administrative proceedings. This novelty found ways of distorting the concept of participation, restricting it often to mere “consultation” and “negotiation” between strongly organised subjects and even confusing it with an administrative action developed increasingly through the outsourcing of services and of partnership with the private or third sector, without the New Public Management culture of “checks and balances” provided in other countries.

Finally, it is worth noting that during the same years there was a special conjuncture in the setting of representative democracy, affected both by corruption scandals revealed by the magistracy’s “Operation Clean Hands,” and by an attempt to reduce the most visible and endemic factors of the ungovernable Italian political situation. In this way, forms of semi-presidential systems were introduced within a regulatory framework marked by a parliamentary bias and electoral methods with a majority rule. The direct election of mayors, paved the way for the direct election of provincial and regional presidents, and determined the explosion of the phenomenon of “civil lists,” formally independent of traditional political parties, which promote the presence of youth and women in local politics (Colloca, 2004). In this framework, the media and especially private television, developed in the 80s outside the law’s limits, thanks to the strong relations between the magnate Silvio Berlusconi and some political parties, started assuming a central role in reinforcing the “personalisation of politics” and focus political battle in makeshift leaders, without adequate institutional training.

Despite this, creative experiments were developed locally redesigning the procedures of developing policies and public projects. Participatory budgets also became a part of these innovations from 2002 onwards, whose birth had concrete objectives of combating both corruption and the increasing political distrust set by scandals publicised in the 90s. They were also seen by the political left as an opportunity to ‘differentiate’ from the methodologies of the centre-right government that was in power at the national level, with Prime Minister Silvio Ber-

lusconi, as had also happened in Spain during the government of the popular José María Aznar.

### *From the explosion to the deflation of the geography of Italian PBs*

In the setting described above, the first generation of Italian participatory budgets took shape with remarkably politicised features around 2002. In that year, nearly 100 Italian local administrators participated in the II World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, and in the 2nd Forum of Local Authorities for Social Inclusion (FAL), where a group of university researchers and mayors presented the “Charter for the New Municipality”, from which started the homonymous Network (Allegretti/Allulli, 2007)<sup>3</sup>. The theme of PBs found an ever-growing space in social movements, non-governmental organisations and leftist political forces. This allowed for the visible appearance of “an Italian story”, the small town of Grottamare (14,500 inhabitants), which started to become generating interest in a scene in which the international debate on the PB was undoubtedly much broader than the number of real European experiments (Wainwright 2007).

Until 2005, the few concrete examples of existing PBs in Italy, which included the small town of Pieve Emanuele, near Milan, and Rome’s District XI, quickly became the sudden object of interest, also rising as a “model” on an international scale and setting important precedents for their subsequent diffusion. Their debate helped recover the memory of the “cubist” panorama with practices of social dialogue (U. Allegretti, 2009) that had a strong development (with a strong political/ideological charge) between the 50s and 70s, when schools, universities, district civic centres, the entertainment business circles for workers and factory councils, had been especially privileged spaces.

The “ideology” that marked the first generation of Italian participatory budgets between 2002 and 2005, became visible in the lack of involvement from the administrative structure. The PBs were therefore understood more as “a pact between citizens and administrators underpinning political will” (Allegretti, 2010) that saw it as an opportunity to reform the relationship between policy-making, administrative management and citizen knowledge and visions. While in Rome’s District XI and in Pieve Emanuele greater attention was given to structuring a department to facilitate the entry of the participatory budget in the political-administrative routine, this was in reality not much beyond processes of “organisational outsourcing” to groups of professional facilitators capable of ‘oiling’ the public machine, without leaving a trace or changing the culture and technical praxis.

The first Italian PB experiments aimed to transform participation, from a symbolic to an instrumental resource (Sintomer & Allegretti, 2009), marking “the right of citizens to influence the choices of general interest”. Despite the specificities of each experiment, the ideal type of procedure, which served as reference for the pilot experiments of the first generation of Italian participatory budgets, was inspired by an adaptation of the Porto Alegre model. This city has become a symbolic reference for the first generation “training vessels” pursuing an idealised model of participatory democracy often associated with the need for a restoration of confidence in the relationship between politics and citizenship, after its dramatic breakdown<sup>4</sup>.

With the spread of cases of participatory budgets, from 2002 to 2009, the direct reference to Porto Alegre was gradually lost. Until mid 2005 it was possible to count up to 16 PB experiments, the number then grew exponentially, and in 2010 there were between 160 and 200 experiments, including more than 130 municipalities in the Lazio Region, winners of a public notice that since 2006 funded these activities for public consultation on an annual basis (Allegretti, 2011). As described in Sintomer and Allegretti (2009), this second generation was marked by a progressive removal of ideology.

The theme of PBs gradually entered political agendas of other forces across the country, and some of them began to “limit the target” of the objective of rebuilding democracy. The great initial expectations were replaced by a more realistic understanding of the real difficulties linked to the activation of an ongoing praxis of social dialogue on issues of economic planning, and attention started to be shifted to the recovery of the objectives initially considered secondary, of a cultural or administrative nature, and the reflection on the methodologies and procedural tools for the involvement of inhabitants was becoming richer and plural.

The geographical spread and scale of experiments represented another discriminating element between the first and second generation of Italian PBs. The diffusion of new experiments, which gradually shifted its core towards the centre of Italy, was articulated through three fundamental lines of development. The first political one was with the Communist Refoundation Party that presented the participatory budget as an “indispensable” element in the negotiation of the coalition governments’ programmes. The second was linked to the role of supra-municipal entities (and particularly in the regions of Lazio and Tuscany) that, through public notices, funds and other coordination actions, promoted a “guided development” for PBs, which was also a decisive factor in other countries like France, Spain, Poland and Brazil. The third type of



diffusion operated by “parthenogenesis”, generated around poles of attraction considered “exemplary” models. While medium/small municipalities prevailed in the first generation, often on the margins of local geopolitics (while the experiments in major cities, like Venice or Rome, had been limited to infra-municipal levels), the relation to size changed over time. PBs also emerged in medium-sized municipalities, provincial capitals or important centres of cultural life and regional politics, such as Modena, Cinisello Balsamo, Parma, Reggio Emilia, Arezzo and Bergamo.

It should be noted that in 2005, the increased interest in new Italian and European experiments, which in the meantime had been implemented such as Seville, Cordoba, Berlin and also some English cases, allowed incentives coming from different sources to be valued, such as the URB-AL programme, and particularly network 9, especially dedicated to the PB and local public funding. Not least important was the disseminating role, since 2006, of institutions like the “Forum P.A.” (under the Ministry of Public Service) or the annual fairs ‘Dire e Fare’, promoted by the National Association of Municipalities, and the public notice “E-Democracy”, sponsored by the Ministry of Technological Innovation, in 2005, which re-launched a strong debate on the use of digital tools for managing participatory processes.

It should be highlighted that the relationship between procedural quality and power of decision (Sintomer and Allegretti, 2009) was a critical factor in the evolution of the first two waves of PB in Italy. The first generation had found it difficult to combine the understanding of needs and the time devoted to the co-decision of financial priorities. The emphasis was given to the moment of choosing priorities, based on the “one vote per head” principle. This determined a gradual impoverishment of deliberative quality, focusing on superficial dynamic assemblies or even the use of written and electronic forms as a primary source of information and interaction.

To tackle these risks, after 2005, a generation of experiments started gaining momentum that, without abandoning the top-bottom logic that characterised Italian PBs from the beginning, was paying more attention to the structuring of discursive processes. Thus, specific “technical support functions”, aimed at spreading a culture of participation through publications, workshops, seminars, cultural mediations, diversification of communicative strategies and building synergies with other forms of pre-existing institutional participation were activated.

The progressive and remarkable transformation that marked the geography of the areas in which new PB experiments clustered, started including municipalities that were traditionally participa-

tive (in Tuscany and Emilia, for example), where the relationship between the consolidated organisation of local civil society and processes inspired on participatory democracy wavered, case by case, between collaboration and open conflict. In southern Italy, after the failure in the first year of the attempts of Campobasso (50,700 inhabitants) and Termoli (31,000 inhabitants), there was only one successful experiment with some continuity, Galatina (with approximately 28,000 inhabitants, in the Puglia region). Since 2007, it experienced a “hybrid” path that explicitly involved, divided in four themes, both organised associations and individual inhabitants.

Like this, a third generation of participatory budgets took shape gradually, and even though reduced in their ambitions and active in areas with physical proximity to citizens, were giving greater weight to “deliberative quality”, connecting strictly to other paths for public deliberation that focused directly on the quality of the proposed interventions. The cases of Bergamo (118,000 inhabitants) and the district of Rome IX (134,000 inhabitants) have introduced ways of more careful public discussion focusing on “tense” projects (and therefore attractive, due to the pre-existence of public factions in conflict), supported methodologically by academic institutions, and enriched by the use of theatre to relieve the excesses of “seriousness” during moments of public debate.

Unfortunately, such “sophistication” proved unsustainable over time, due to changes in political will or institutional support for the costs of these new “hybrid” processes. Therefore, the third generation of Italian participatory budgets eventually led to a visible deflation of the trend of the previous four years. This crisis of the PBs was reinforced by populist measures of great national impact, such as the abolition of property tax on first homes promoted by Berlusconi (which represented 30% of the wealth of many cities), as well as the abolition of local councils in many cities of medium and small size, and by changes in political leadership.

It is therefore not by chance that, in early 2011, only 10 participatory budgets survived in Italy, including some in the Lazio Region and Grottammare. The latter municipality – to help the PB survive the difficult economic conditions (although in an unaltered political panorama, always dominated by the social movement “Solidarietà e Partecipazione” born in 1994 and re-elected four times to guide the city) – transformed the PB within a broader programme of social dialogue called “Grottammare partecipativa”. And so it began applying the PB methodologies not only to the discussion of costs, but also to decisions on revenue. It was mainly between 2006 and 2012 that Grottammare questioned the conditions of various public-private partnerships, opening in 2010 a broad par-

ticipative process on non-repayable funding to a banking foundation, which almost doubled the value of the city's budget for 2011, allowing for the construction of a large multipurpose centre planned by the renowned architect Bernard Tschumi.

Nevertheless, in recent years, Italy has faced many changes and seemed to go through a consistent trend reversal, which led to a new awareness on civic participation. This development is also a result of the growing interest from academics in the PB, especially in subjects related to education, law, communications and political science, having relied for years only on the commitment of professionals in urban planning and sociology. The introduction of dynamics linked to trials of a more “deliberative” nature within participatory practices, also reveals a change in the political psychology of Italian academic culture, which up to now had associated participation to studies on experiences of resistance and mobilisation of social movements, and solidarity and welfare practices of the tertiary sector. Another factor that influenced this transformation was the rooting of new technologies (ICTs) in everyday life and in the Italian government: the widespread use of social networks gave strength to some social movements that became aware of the issue of participation, particularly valuing practices developed on the web (such as open data, crowd sourcing, etc.) and going beyond the traditional players. New participative platforms grew with contributions from citizens that started to relate to awards for innovation and new administrative practices.

In this sense, the participatory budget experiment of the Province of Pesaro Urbino also stands out; not only for being the first at the provincial level and to fund cultural initiatives, but also because of the centrality it gained through new technologies. Due to the lack of resources needed to organise a face-to-face process within such a broad territory above the local level, the presentation of projects and consensus on priorities was transferred to an articulated computer platform<sup>5</sup>. The project also stands out for using technology in the preparation of citizens' votes. For the first time, winning projects were chosen by a simulator that considered every vote as if it were a small amount of money, valuing those projects that were gaining greater contributions than the cost of the project itself.

It is worth mentioning that the importance of technologies also became visible in the defeat of the traditional left in the Italian elections of 2013, which saw the true numerical explosion of the so-called Five Star Movement (M5S) founded just three years earlier by the comedian Beppe Grillo, through his blog, and is today the leading political force in many parts of the country. This movement has grown through the Internet, giving rise to local grassroots groups motivated in promoting participatory practices and environmental protection. The M5S political standing has led to a strong emphasis on the issue of direct democracy, opening discussions on the urgent need to reform referendums and increase administrative transparency through open data systems. Despite this shift in priorities, the interest on the PB matures and the theme reappears today in local political programmes of various parties, as well as in many online discussion forums and even begins to gain time on TV.<sup>6</sup>

### *The Region of Tuscany as a multiplier of municipal experiments*

In an ideal map representing the panorama of municipal participatory budgets in Italy today, early 2013, the area of highest concentration is undoubtedly located within the territory of the Region of Tuscany. This area, as well as Emilia Romagna, slowly discovered the PB, as of 2003, even though it hosted the national headquarters of the Network for the New Municipality. This

<sup>5</sup> [www.piucultura.org](http://www.piucultura.org).

<sup>6</sup> On 10 April 2013 (coinciding with the beginning of the 'Biennale Democrazia' in Turin), the national channel RAI3 devoted an episode of 'Agora' to the subject of participatory democracy, and several newspapers gave visibility at a national level to the Capannori PB experiments.

<sup>7</sup> The exact title of the Law 69/2007 is: "Guidelines on promoting participation in the preparation of regional and local policies."

<sup>8</sup> Annual 2012 Report on Funding at the website: <http://www.consiglio.regione.toscana.it/partecipazione>.

may be because of its past advisory traditions.

The discovery of the participatory budget began in 2005 with the proposal of 29 municipalities from various Mountain Communities (an administrative entity that gathers second-level municipalities in areas at a high altitude) and Circondario Empolese Valdelsa to work with common models of socialisation for budgetary documents. Although many municipalities have not gone beyond the "communication" of data on the organisation of public accounts, some of them as Fabbriche di Vallico or Abbadia San Salvatore, took the opportunity to build a path of great quality, innovation and creativity.

In parallel, in Tuscany, two autonomous processes took shape that tried to overcome the mere "selective listening" while respecting the Tuscan administrative tradition, centred on the "delegation" to political representatives and marked by the "right to decision" of many presidents. The first was Campiglia Marittima (12,500 inhabitants), whose Participation department did not "close for holidays" in the summer, in order to engage its numerous tourists in public debate. The second was the Local Council No. 3 (Saione) in Arezzo, one of six in that municipality, which had about 28,000 inhabitants in a city of almost 98,000. Led by an inspired group of centre-left young politicians, and in close connection with the Local Social Forum, it developed independently in relation to the Municipality (at the time, centre-right), invading squares and public parks to attract citizens to discuss their problems and solutions to improve the quality of the neighbourhood. It is probable that the shy but brave experiment in Saione contributed to the citizen's victory of the centre-left and paved the way for a "bigger" PB, extending to the entire city of Arezzo from 2009. The cycle of the new participatory budget presented immediately some interesting novelties in Italy: the "rotating" development on various thematic sectors (starting with public works, culture, innovation and alternative energy), the inclusion of some statistical samples drawn from citizens to increase the diversity of participants, and measures of positive action (Ludobus to entertain children and presence in social networks such as Facebook) to ensure greater co-involvement of the youth and women. The recognition of the innovative features of Arezzo's experiment occurred in November 2009, when this city's PB (called "Io conto", i.e. "I count") won the "Montaione" prize awarded by a jury of randomly selected citizens from the regional territory, for 'good practice' in the involvement of citizens in political decisions.

The maturing of the two independent paths in Arezzo undoubtedly results from the support of the Participation Guarantor Authority, which was established by the Regional Law 69/2007 on Participation<sup>7</sup> (Floridaia, 2008; Allegretti/Rispoli, 2007) and provides annual financial support (700,000 euros per year) for participatory experiments.

In fact, this support represented a strengthening of political determination to go ahead in this direction (Picchi, 2012; Floridaia, 2012), and also improved tools for communication and inclusion. It also allowed for the growth of a new category of professionals, experts in participatory methodologies that were monitoring various experiments and training staff of several municipalities. An interesting case of this is the "Sociolab", a cooperative based in Florence and formed by young women (sociologists and communicators) who produced a number of interesting tools such

as regulations and summaries of public accounts tested in citizen focus groups, which have now become standard in many municipalities within and outside Tuscany.

It is worth highlighting that the number of requests for support for participatory budget projects submitted from 2009 until 2012 to the Tuscan region grew gradually. The same Participation Guarantor Authority became more aware of the issue and declared participatory budgets as a strategic participatory practice, granting an increasing number of positive responses to requests for support. Thus, and according to a study by Marta Picchi (2012), only 13% (7 experiments) of the 52 approved projects by the Region between 2009 and 2011 targeted this type of processes, as opposed to 2012, there were 16 co-financed PBs, representing 41 % of total projects supported<sup>8</sup>.

Under this protection/stimulation, guaranteed by a superior administrative authority, municipalities and local councils that became more consolidated with PB experiments in the Tuscan territory, maintained strong local characteristics and visible differences in organisational models. For example, while the Municipality of S. Giuliano Terme (31,800 inhabitants) potentiated the use of tools to assess the impact of using the public budget in promoting gender equality, the Municipality of Colle Val d'Elsa (21,500 inhabitants) created a “mock PB” centred on the possibility of involving young people between 16 and 25 in investments related to youth policies. Moreover, the Municipality of Quarrata (25,400 inhabitants) made one of the first experiments in co-decision involving current expenditure, while the Mountain Community of Media Valle del Serchio (about 33,230 potential inhabitants) focused the debate on the funds coming from a specific tax for the recovery of wetlands, to demonstrate how families can make a collective and transparent management of a tax, thus convincing citizens of the need and usefulness of this additional financial sacrifice. In this sense, the Mountain Community also entailed a ‘mock PB’ directed only at the participation of inhabitants of the areas where this particular tax is charged, but to broaden the benefits of this new knowledge development, linked a “Social Report” document to the PB.

Municipalities that tried the PB in the last three years have also created different tools to control and monitor the participatory path, forming ‘monitoring committees’ or ‘guarantee’ of a mixed composition – including the political opposition, citizens, and in some cases, even the local ombudsman.

In the generation of Tuscan PBs, developed between 2009 and 2011, there have been different durations of participatory cycles (5–9 months depending on the case), as well as the percentage of

the budget placed under citizen discussion. In Arezzo, the value is about 7% of the previous year’s budget for the thematic areas of interest (about 650,000 Euros), in Cascina it is 50% of the investment budget, and only in the Local Council of Saione, is 99% of the investment budget annually put through the participatory process (Picchi 2012, p.275). The analysis of overheads for the organisation of the last generation of Tuscan PBs, developed between 2009 and 2011, reveals that the costs per capita (calculated in relation to the number of potential participants) are lower (with an average 1.54 Euros) when the PB is directed at a specific audience, rising to an average of 2.36 Euros when the PB is open to the entire population (Picchi 2012, p. 284). This demonstrates the need to move forward with measures that rationalise costs and enhance effects and attractiveness to potential participants, in order to reduce the risk of non-sustainability of the process and dependence on regional funding. This is especially true if we evaluate the numbers of participation in Tuscan PB experiments of the last generation that (although increasing in time) average around 2.87% of potential beneficiaries, peaking at 3.5% in the Local Council of Saione, and 5.6% in other local councils in the Municipality of Arezzo (Picchi, 2012, p.282).

Regarding the “support” given by the Participation Guarantor Authority, it may have introduced some form of “dependency” on external resources, which would explain the intermittency of some experiments that are neither linear nor continuous in time (such as S. Marcello Pistoiese or Media Valle del Serchio) because they are not solidly grounded in local political will (as the experiment in the Lazio Region between 2005 and 2009 has shown). But one cannot deny that this support has allowed the increase in quality of participatory spaces, having the role of monitoring and stimulating in its evolution through time. This was evident with the birth of ‘spin-offs’ i.e., side participatory processes generated by “mainstream” PBs. The “hybridisation” between the classical models of Italian PBs and other participatory spaces, more focused on the quality of deliberation and debate, has marked the experiments of Tuscany in the last biennium. In fact, it was thanks to the sensitivity and the specific interest of Prof. Rodolfo Lewanski, coordinator of the actual Authority, that Tuscan PBs have recently increased their interest in training staff in conducting social dialogue, and have also been looking into methodologies that could bring new vitality to the process through the presence of randomly selected citizens or other forms of involvement unrelated to self mobilisation. In this sense, local experiments gradually benefitted from the positive results of initiatives that the Tuscan Region had already done at a higher territorial level, connecting (as with the Lazio Region) with methodologies of the World Café, Open Space Technology or

Town-Meeting, and with mechanisms rarely used in Italy up until then, especially deliberative methodologies focused on randomly selected statistical samples representative of citizens (Sintomer, 2011). The Tuscan Law No. 69/2007 was marking because the model supporting participation that it launched was the subject of attention inside and outside Italy. As an example, it was a stimulus for the Emilia Romagna Region to formulate its own Participation Law (No. 03/2010), and received a major award by the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2).

The most representative cases of this hybridisation, and of this “dialogical-deliberative” format are the participatory budgets of Capannori (47,000 inhabitants) and Cascina (44,200 inhabitants). The first focuses on the internal activity of a working group of 80 to 90 citizens, randomly selected based on a statistical sample representative of the population. The group is involved in a structured path to first understand the municipal budget, and then analyses the common needs and opportunities of the territory, aimed at listing the best solutions and projects to be voted on by the public. The presence of expert facilitators in consolidated participatory methodologies helps citizens make decisions through deliberative practices of high quality. One objective of this hybrid PB model is to train, each year, a group of citizens to become more aware of the complexity of the city’s problems, as well as administrative rules and structural limits. Also, the aim is to gradually increase the quality of proposals, multiplying forms of horizontal dialogue between citizens. On the other hand, there is a specific objective of reducing the influence of groups and more organised interests and appreciate the problems and the most common issues. In this sense, the Capannori PB, just as other experiments of the Tuscan model, centres its methodology in seeking the inclusion of all views (including minority ones) and civic training, giving less importance to the number of players in the PB process. In 2013, the Capannori’s participatory budget reached its second year; the first included more than 1,000 citizens in the voting phase, although this was apparently dominated by well-organised groups that had managed to elect the rehabilitation of some schools in four districts of the city as main projects.

Despite the model being innovative, and with the difficulty of merging a deliberative process with universal voting, such a model seems to limit some of the potential for social innovation that the PB of a city like Porto Alegre always had, illustrating how the absence of social movements, associations and organised groups is impairing to the deliberative process. The dependency of the participatory process on professional facilitators, who “motivate” and “help” the participation of “unstructured” citizens (that do not belong to any association), reduces the potential of self-organised society, and this has marked many PBs from the start.

In turn, the PB of the Municipality of Cascina is an attempt to compromise between the “dialogical-deliberative” and the “participatory” model. The Cascina Partecipa! project (broader than a mere PB) was developed with the support of the association “Centro Studi Democrazia Partecipativa” located in Milan, that had already supported the PB experiment of the Municipality of Canegrate (with the same name: Canegrate Partecipa!). Still active today, this case was supported by the Regional Authority for Participation, and focused on the establishment of a working group composed of ‘randomly selected’ citizens and “delegates”, that were appointed by the population, based on specific proposals submitted at the start of the process. The idea is to value the uniqueness of both processes, deliberative and participative:

- a) The neutrality of results, guaranteed by the presence of other people that are “indifferent” to the interests of organised real estate groups;
- b) The inclusion of people with community interests that are rooted in the territory, which

were demonstrated by the number of votes received.

The exchange between delegates elected by participants and those that are randomly selected, could also stimulate the contagion of ideas, and help go beyond the limits of one's specific interests and know what other people think.

### *The experiment of the Municipality of Canegrate as a method*

The “Cascina Partecipa” experiment had power of contagion from the Canegrate PB experiment (a small town of 12,400 inhabitants in the province of Milan) also coordinated by the association “Centro Studi Democrazia Partecipativa”. The “Canegrate Partecipa!” PB was also very important, having started as a very basic experiment, favouring the diffusion of the idea and values of the city's PB, rather than promoting a true deliberative quality. The phases of the process were simply:

- a) collecting proposals through cards and ballot boxes distributed throughout the municipality;
- b) selection of the most common and viable proposals;
- c) voting by citizens via the Internet, cards and in the final open assembly.

The results so far have been positive: in two years of implementation, participation doubled reaching 1,800 people in total, with a good number of people in public meetings and good quality of proposals.

Since the beginning of 2012, interest in the process has grown so much and even beyond municipal boundaries (Amura/Stortone, 2010), that government parties have placed participation as the first item in their political programme, with a renewal of the elected representatives, opting to include more young people and women. After the recent elections, the success of this proposal continued (which had indirect support in the broad preferences collected through votes), and popular representatives began working for the construction of an experimental Charter for Participation that can control participation in a more structured and advanced way as a right of citizenship.

### *An open conclusion*

The analysis of participatory budget experiments undertaken in Italy in the last decade reveals the existence of three different generations that faced the “democratisation” of choices, transparency, citizen autonomy, inclusion, technical coordination and ‘responsiveness’ of the experimenting entities with dedication and various tools.

The first generation, more closely related to the Porto Alegre example, developed from a few scattered cases within the territory that wanted to assert a marked “discontinuity” with the past, but also inclusion in the dynamics of global exchanges to offer contributions to the thoughts on, and the construction of a “new possible world”. Those experiences that survived, like Grottammare, and intermittently, the Municipality XI of Rome, have undergone important changes, correcting some mistakes, better structuring their own rules and opening up to other forms of social dialogue with a broader long-term vision. However, they were not able to leave a real print in Italian political practices: islands in an ocean, these first-generation PB experiments were not able to leave formulas and strong elements of resistance and originality to avoid the dramatic participative crisis of the subsequent years.

The second generation of Italian PBs set less ambitious and more realistic objectives with re-



gard to local context, by placing limits on expenditure which had to be discussed, and linking it to pre-existing participatory paths. There was an attempt to articulate it with the administrative decentralisation, but this was done precisely at the moment that the experiment of local councils was finishing by the central government's imposition. This generation was more peaceful in relation to the past looking for "continuity" and feeling the weight of the national setting, which obliged municipalities to waste energy and creativity to survive the budget cuts, stricter rules and the rigors of the Stability Pact. With less confidence in the citizen's creative role, these experiments advanced cautiously through trials that expanded timidly and gradually, "rehearsing" results and taking more care than in the past. The collaboration with associations, consulting firms, research institutes and universities accentuated the sense of "experiment" and "pilot tests," up against practices that were at times more intuitive and improvised in the past.

In the historical moment in which this PB generation was consolidating, the economic crisis and political situation acted against it, making the role of supra-local administrative entities central in the consolidation of experiments. The "jump in scale" of interest in the participatory budget has had positive effects on the consolidation of less cohesive political will, and has reinforced the boldness and the quality of experiments. The contribution that provinces and regions offered municipal experimentalism was diverse, but no doubt they also had a role as 'transmitters' of innovations tested at the local level, to modify the political-administrative culture and transform legislation.

A typical feature of Italian experimentalism was to propose ideas and methodologies for varied and creative actions but that were often "incomplete" forcing them to take "leaps" and "intermittent jolts". Participatory budgets are not exceptions to this scenario, as shown by the new generation of experiments that slowly arises from the ashes of a general evacuation at a national level that occurred around 2010.

Besides the substantial political fragility that determines them, there are five main content shortcomings that the new Italian generation should record: (1) the objectives of "social justice" are rarely explicit; (2) The commitment to address the participation needs of weaker social sectors (particularly, immigrant and disabled) is still very limited; (3) Measures to promote "gender equality" remain weak, regardless of the efforts made by many experiments to promote the "mixing" and "plurality" of the presence of different inhabitants; (4) The involvement of technical and administrative structures in the creative phases of participatory paths is still far from being complete; (5) The integration of PBs with other forms of shared planning (on topics such as urban redevelopment, or sustainable development) remains slow.

If the "hybrid" experiments of 2008-2009 (such as Bergamo and Rome IX), which openly assumed some of these "failures" and started trying to rebalance them, did not last for cyclical reasons of transformation in the political sphere, today it seems possible to imagine a small leap forward in the participatory culture, especially in some "concentrated" areas in the country (such as Tuscany). At the national level, much has changed in the first months of 2013, and the elections that led to a tripartite division of Parliament in the hands of three apparently irreconcilable forces (Berlusconi's People of Liberties, the Democratic Party and the new Five Star Movement) does not facilitate the task of overcoming two key limitations that preclude the growth of participatory experiments:

- 1) The habit of "institutional strangulation" of local authorities, with the progressive

reduction of their autonomy;

2) The habit of concentrating a lot of energy in events such as the “primaries” (which have become central to the democratic internal life of leftist party coalitions since 2006), without realising that they are set in a context of “conceptual pre-eminence” of representative democracy, which at most establishes a “democracy of investiture” (Elia, 2002).

If the new national political scenario brings a discourse focused on the need to renew traditional forms of political institutions, with ways of increasing the openness of citizen’s choices, the PB could be a concrete answer to this issue. However, more recent experiments do not converge on a single innovative direction, because along with proposals that suggest new ways of tackling, for example, the use of new technologies and the construction of spaces for more “deliberative” debate (as in the aforementioned proposals for Capannori and Cascina), there also new processes (such as the Municipality of l’Aquila<sup>9</sup>) that turn back ten years to propose advisory models that leave the decision in the hands of traditional political forces once again.

In this framework, the way to meet again the lesson of Porto Alegre, the initial reference of Italian participatory budgets is still far and necessarily involves a new multiplication and diversification of experiments. There are already several new elements and positive experiments that allow us to expect the emergence of a new generation of PBs in Italy, supported by a new creative role of the Internet and able to share good practices, expanding public debate on issues of common interest and sensitizing each day more citizens to participate directly in the political life of the country. If there is no certainty about the survival of participatory budgets in the long term, there is no doubt that if a wave weakens, any experimental innovation that will take their place in the future will find a wealth of material on which to work and certainly many examples with which to learn from.

<sup>9</sup> The city of L’Aquila suffered a severe earthquake in 2009, which left thousands of people homeless and without a centre for community life. Recently the municipality organised a process called “participatory budget” with 3 million euros for investments in the city. In reality, it is a classic process of popular consultation or “selective listening” with open meetings to just listen to suggestions from citizens, but without structured deliberation and concrete co-decision process on that value.



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

**GIOVANNI ALLEGRETTI**

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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**

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## **PB AND THE BUDGET PROCESS IN THE SOUTH KIVU PROVINCE**

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

**LEONARDO AVRITZER**

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

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**MANDATING  
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**BUILDING SUSTAINABLE  
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PARTICIPATORY  
BUDGETING IN NORTH  
AMERICA**

DONATA SECONDO  
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**CIVIC ENGAGEMENT  
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**INNOVATIONS IN PB IN CHINA: CHENGDU ONGOING EXPERIMENT AT MASSIVE SCALE.**

CABANNES YVES  
MING ZHUANG



**PARTICIPATORY  
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CONSULTANTS**

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**THE PARTICIPANTS’  
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OVERVIEW ON THE  
SPANISH EXPERIMENTS**

**ERNESTO GANUZA  
FRANCISCO FRANCÉS**

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

**GIOVANNI ALLEGRETTI  
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**A DECADE OF  
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BUT CLARIFYING PATH**

NELSON DIAS

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

LENA LANGLET  
GIOVANNI ALLEGRETTI

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

WOJCIECH KEBŁOWSKI  
& MATHIEU VAN  
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**CHILDHOOD AND  
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BUDGETING: FALSE  
DILEMMAS AND TRUE  
COMPLEXITIES**

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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**

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MIRET  
JOAN BOU I GELI**

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**PSYCHOLOGICAL  
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IN PARTICIPATORY  
BUDGETING**

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