



**Asian Regional Conference
Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB) Narratives:
Transforming Institutions, Empowering Communities
Bayview Hotel Georgetown, Penang, Malaysia
24-25 February 2014**

Session 1: Gender Responsive and Participatory Budget Narratives from Around the World

**Women in budgeting: a critical
assessment of empowering
effects, limits and challenges of
Participatory Budgeting
experiences**



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CES (Center for Social Studies - University of Coimبرا)

1) Different forms of protagonism

2) Political activism

3) Technical support

4) Intergenerationality A new research agenda focusing on a wider concept of "gender" and age differences



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Definitions

As Pedro Ibarra wrote (2007) there are two types of participation:

- 1) BY IRRUPTION (which take and occupy spaces**
- 2) BY INVITATION (in spaces conceded by institutions). This one suffers more of the “double disease of liberal democracy (Santos, 2008)**

They could mix, in reality....



THERE ARE TWO MACRO-FAMILIES OF PERSPECTIVES RELATED TO PARTICIPATORY PRACTICES BY INVITATION (Archon Fung, 2011):

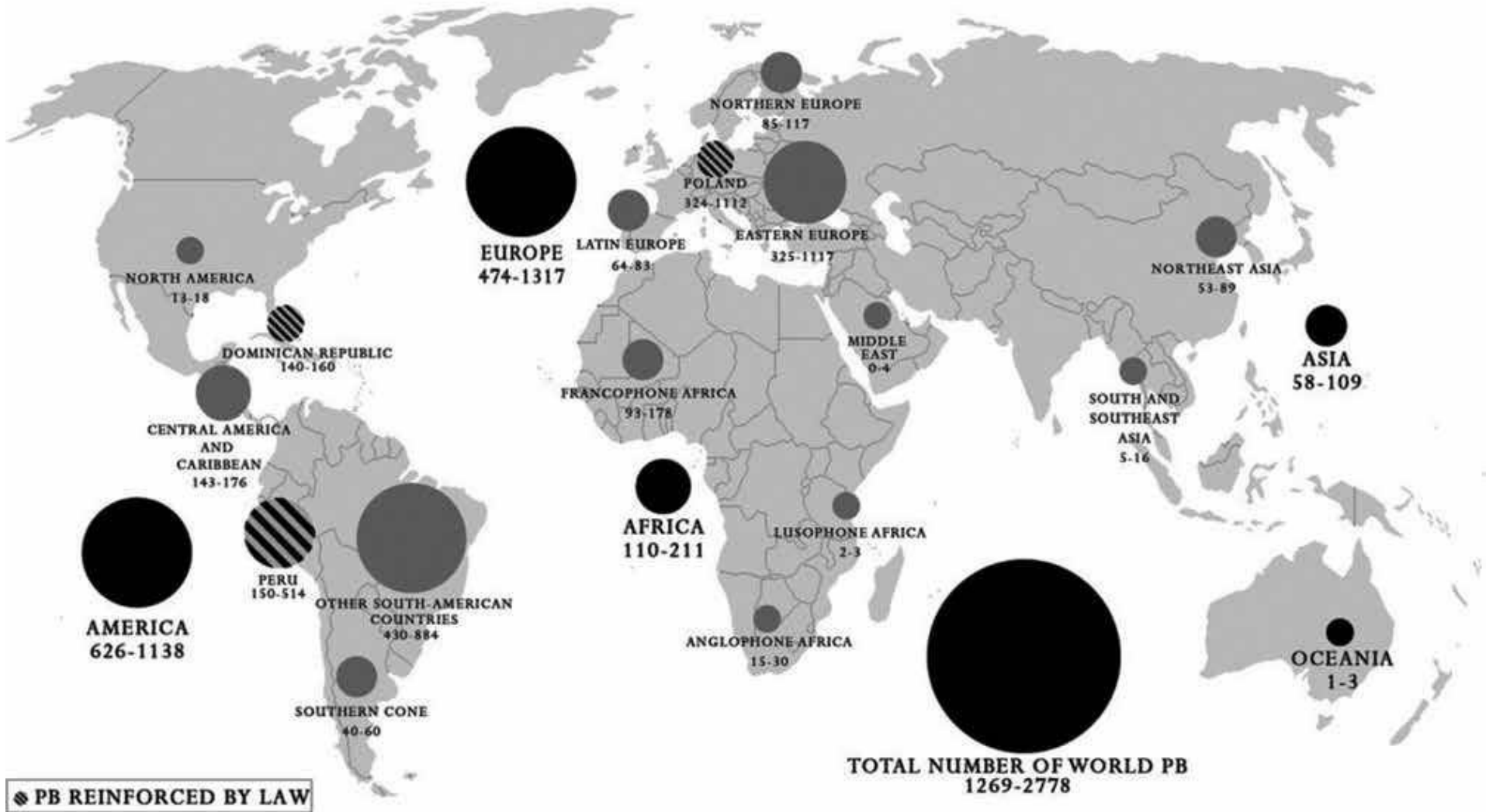
- (1) **The “deontological” ones** represent experiences in which the participatory innovations are valued because “they help to create right relationships among citizens and between citizens and the state”, so they look to participation as “a norm of institutional appropriateness” in itself .
- (2) **The (2) “consequentialist” perspective** would entail those experiences in which democratic innovation is considered more or less valuable “according to the extent to which it secures other values that we care about — policies that are responsive to citizens’ interests, social justice, state accountability, wiser policies, and so on”.

PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING are located in the two categories, but **those which produce “important gender sensitive effects” are in the second...**

When we talk about Participatory Budgeting (PB), we are referring to an IDEOSCAPE, i.e. a model travelling around the world, which becomes real in the different places where it happens, and whose name is not necessarily that representative...

participativo - Budżet Partycypacyjny - **Bilancio Partecipativo** - **deltagend**
Deltagende Budsjet - **Buxhetimi me pjesëmarrje** - Orzamentos participativos
Budget Participatif – **Bilancio Partecipativo** – الميزانية التشاركية
Medborgarbudget – **Orçamento Participativo** – **Burgerhaushalt**
- **Participatory Budget** – **Bilancio Partecipativo** - **Pressupostos Participativos** – **Presupuestos Participativos** – **Budget Participatif** – **Bilancio Partecipativo** – **Medborgarbudget** – **Orçamento Participativo** - **Burgerhaushalt** - **Participatory Budgeting**
– الميزانية التشاركية – **Bilancio Partecipativo** – **참여 예산** – **Budget Participatif** – **Bilancio Partecipativo** – **Medborgarbudget** – **Orçamento Participativo** – **Burgerhaushalt** - **Participatory Budgeting**
Budget – **Bilancio Partecipativo** - **参与式预算** – **Participatory Budgeting**
Presupuestos Participativos – **σ υ μ μ ε τ ο χ ι κ ο ς π ρ ο ὕ π ο λ ο γ ι σ μ ο ς** – **תקציב השתתפותי** - **Budget participativo**
Orçamento Participativo – **participační rozpočet** - **Participatory Budgeting** – **П А Р Т И С И П А Т И В Н Ы Й Б Ю Д Ж Е Т** - **Bilancio Partecipativo**

PBs in 2012 – almost 2,800



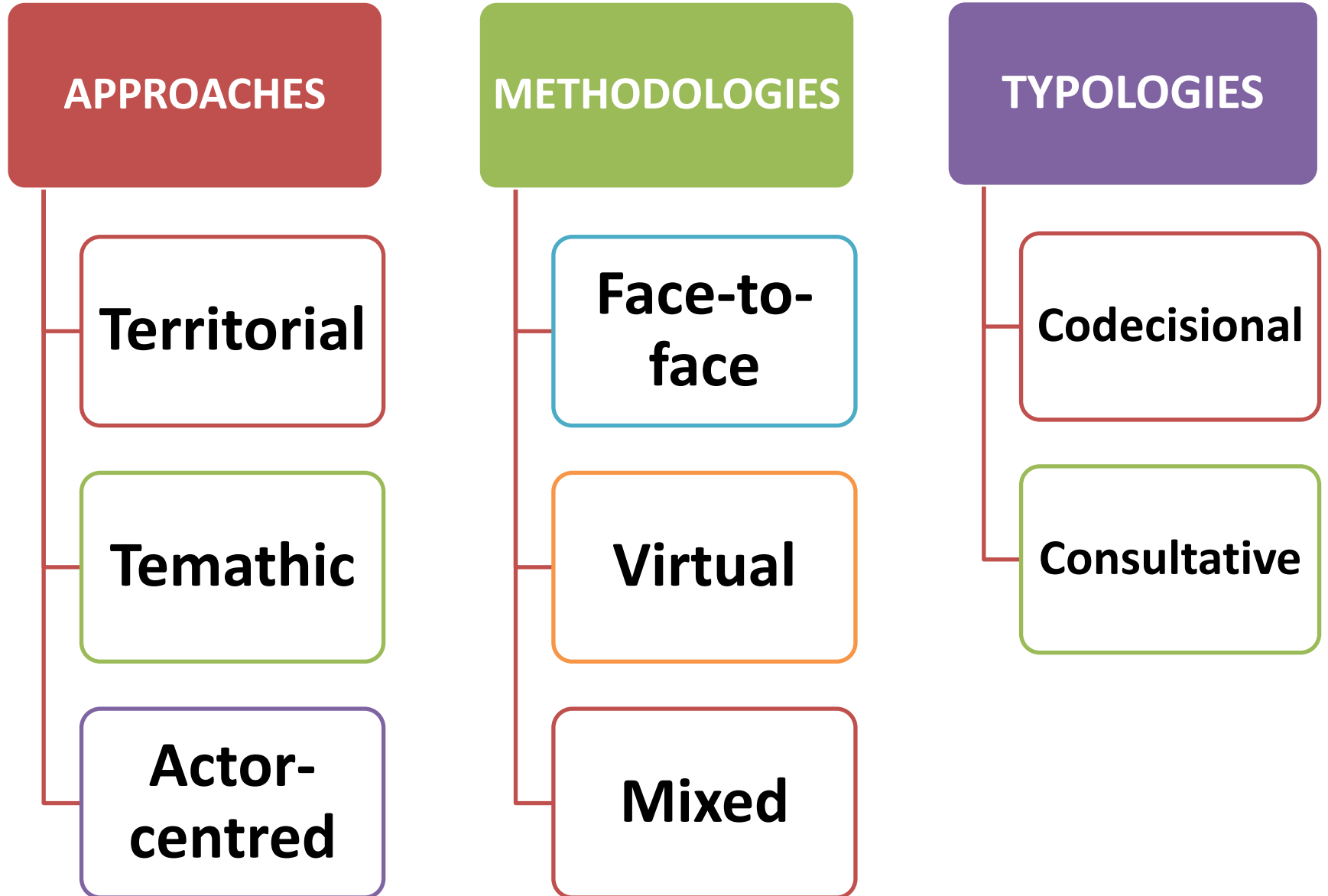
What is Participatory Budgeting?

Participatory budgeting is a democratic process which **ENTRUSTS CITIZENS** (*and non citizens, too*) to decide how to allocate part of a municipal budget or another budget that affects them...

Usually is applied to part of the “capital investments” of a local budget (especially infrastructures, more flexible and visible in a public space...)



Main models mix:



A process with 2 cycles

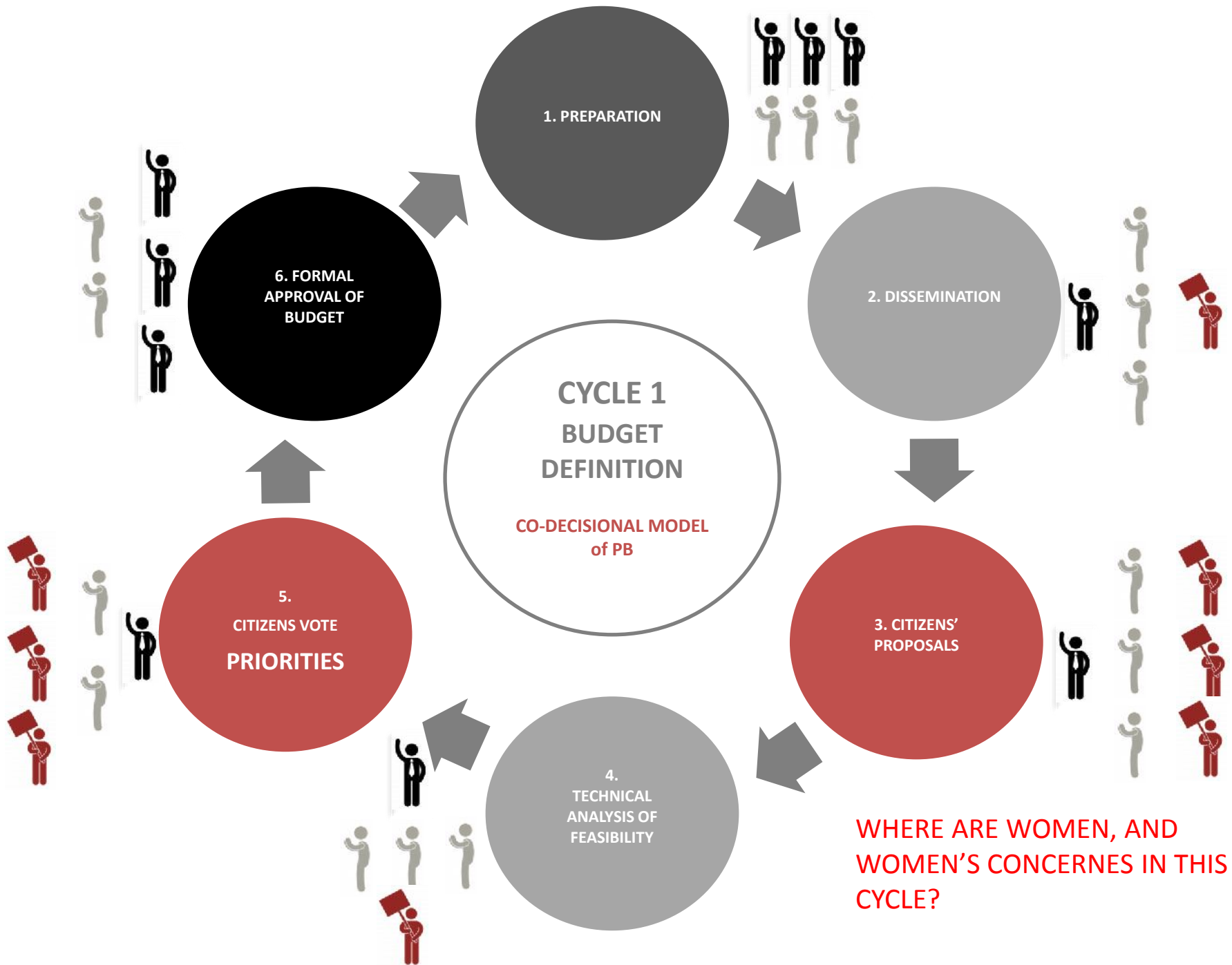


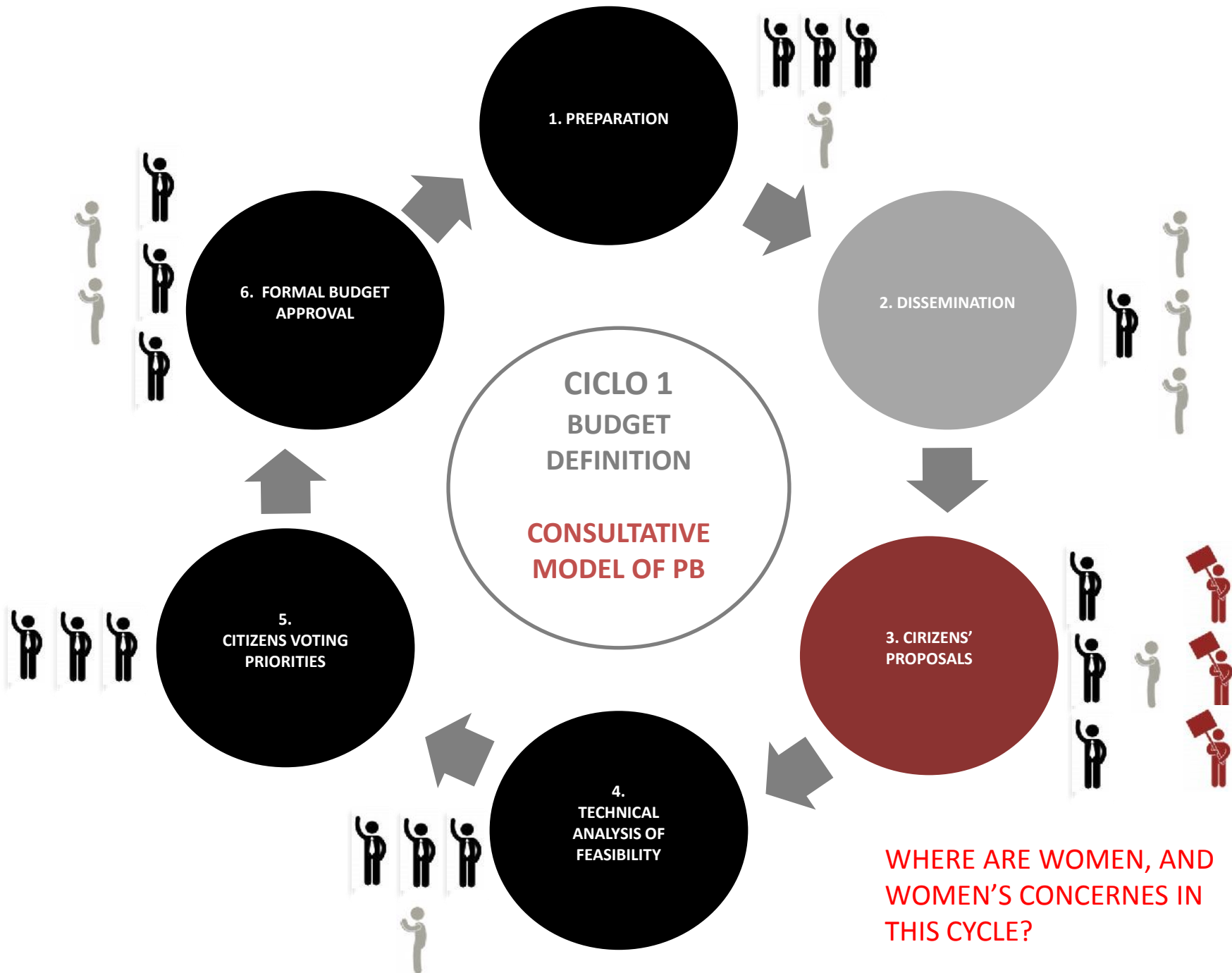
CYCLE 1

Decision

CYCLE 2

Implementation





Main Limits of Participatory Budgeting

- 1) It deals with microeconomics and mainly at local level (even if not only, nowadays...)
- 2) It is mainly focused on expenditures (and within these on capital investments) while rarely dealing with revenues
- 3) Tends to produce fragmented and scattered choices when is not linked to participatory planning



1

Provocations

A PROVOCATION (1): HOW TO DEFINE GENDER?

I would like to use Scotts definition of gender as (1) “a constitutive element of social relations, based in differences perceived by sexes”, because it imagines gender as a category or a variable of analysis of positions and social relations; and (2) a “primary field [...] through which power is articulated” (Scott, 1988, pp. 42-44).

I would add Nancy Fraser’s bidimensional vision of gender justice as a combination of “redistribution [of resources] and recognition”, seeking to reach an “equality of participation” which could guarantee that every member of society could act as “pares”, whose “voice and independency” receive the same “respect” and social esteem (Fraser, 2002, p. 67). In such a vision, equality is imagined as a “qualitative condition”, referring to the interaction of different factors linked also to race, ethnicity, age, disability, condition of parenthood, sexual orientation, religion and so on...

A PROVOCATION (2):

WHAT WOMEN CAN GIVE through PB?

AN ONTOLOGICAL DIFFERENCE?

“We, as women, we deal with all give and maintain life, including funerals, and we are naturally used to negotiated everything with others – including our visions of life. That’s why, I guess, we have a natural predisposition for participatory budgeting and nobody better than a woman can manage everyday reality, also at community level, and imagine a future...” (Rondromalala Andriamahasoro, Mayor of Ampasy Nahampoana, Madagascar; December 2013)



UCLG AFRICA
United Cities and Local Governments of Africa
Cités et Gouvernements Locaux Unis d'Afrique
CGLU AFRIQUE

A PROVOCATION (3):

WHAT WOMEN CAN RECEIVE from PB?

Thanks to participatory budgeting, I finally was able to divorce...

My husband used to keep me walled-up at home. He was very jealous of me. One day he discovered PB as a possibility to improve the area around our home, and raising its value... But it did want to stay home to watch TV, so he asked me that it was worth to go... I started going to public meetings and making friendships. In PB I discovered what is love among human beings: listen and respect the other. So I understood my husband did not love me. And now I had new friends that were not leaving me alone in such a difficult moment of my life...

Marina P., participant of Participatory Budgeting in Rosario, 2006 – oral story collected by Josh Lerner, PBP



It's necessary to be careful with ontological sentences, being that they often proved harmful for women: 2 examples are contained in a Porto Alegre Report on PB called "Olhar de Mulher" (2003,2007) containing points of view of women-delegate of participatory budgeting::

1) emphasis used by public institutions on the concept of "community" (as a progressive thing in itself) could be suspiciously used in order to hide and conceal social differences, especially among sexes.

1) Many women seems to interiorize the acceptance of a sort of "natural incapacity of women to play a role in the public domain and develop a political intervention" (Rodrigues Alves and Viana, 2008). Such an acceptance is often so strong that it succeeds in identifying politics, including participation and collective actions, "as something belonging to [the] male world", to the point that men feel almost "naturally empowered to deal with politics, exert power, occupy public space..."



2

PB and gender:
an ambiguous
relation

Many different possible goals are enlightened by the most radical experiences of PB (the ones that create his image of tool fitting with “liquid modernity”)



For a long time, it has been taken for granted that participatory budgeting is a gender-sensitive tool *per se*, or is - at least - “closely related” to gender budgeting. Paradoxically, several studies demonstrated that there are goals not obtainable as “side effects”, if they are not pursued with special measures of affirmative action....



This is especially true for social inclusion effects when inclusion is not among PB goals. So, being that PBs rarely put gender issues at the center of their concern while shaping their goals and methodology,

where the gender mainstreaming was a focal point of the PB process design



Few actions for mainstreaming gender in PB have been done even by top-level women who promoted PB....(as Segolène Royal in France and Hazel Blears in UK)

There are many perspectives usable for looking to “women in PB”.

One is top down, and deals with representative institutions experimenting PB.



Let's take Portugal, **women are 7.15% out of 308 mayors**, but **23.52% of cities with PB in 2013 had a woman as a Mayor**. Furthermore, 30% of these cities as a woman as a councilor in charge of PB.

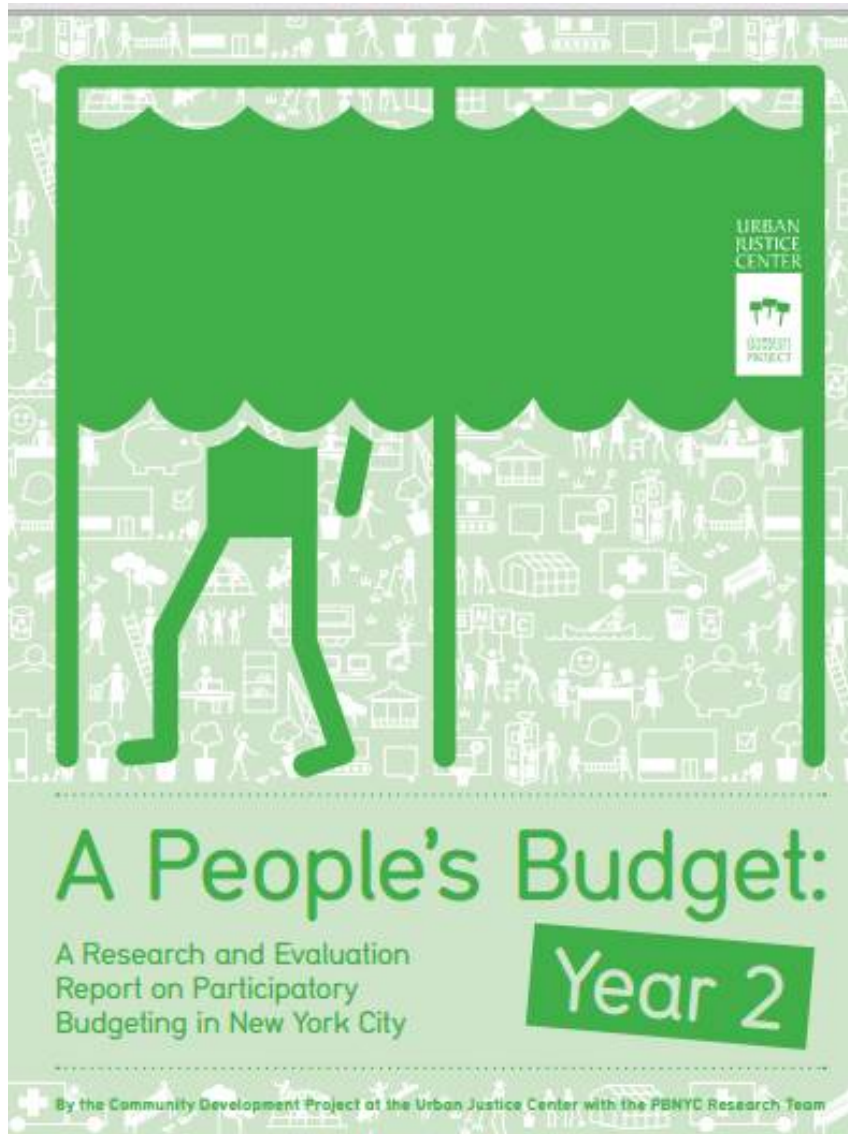
As far as it regards **technical staff members in charge of PB organization**, in Portugal Amadora's and S. Bras' Teams of PB have 100% women, Lisbon's team 82%, Trofa 78%, Cascais 75% Condeixa 50%....

Is this just a reflex of the “feminization of municipal employees” in general and in “marginal departments” even more?

AND IF WE WATCH FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF PARTICIPANTS (from bottom up)?

In a comparative analysis on Dominican Republic, Spain and Uruguay, Virginia Gutiérrez Barbarrusa (2012, p. 177) describes a phenomenon of **“feminization of PB spaces”** which seems to be a growing reality, especially at a time in which many of them see their resources shrinking **and men show progressively less interested in “losing time” on small decisions** that no longer guarantee a slice of solid power.

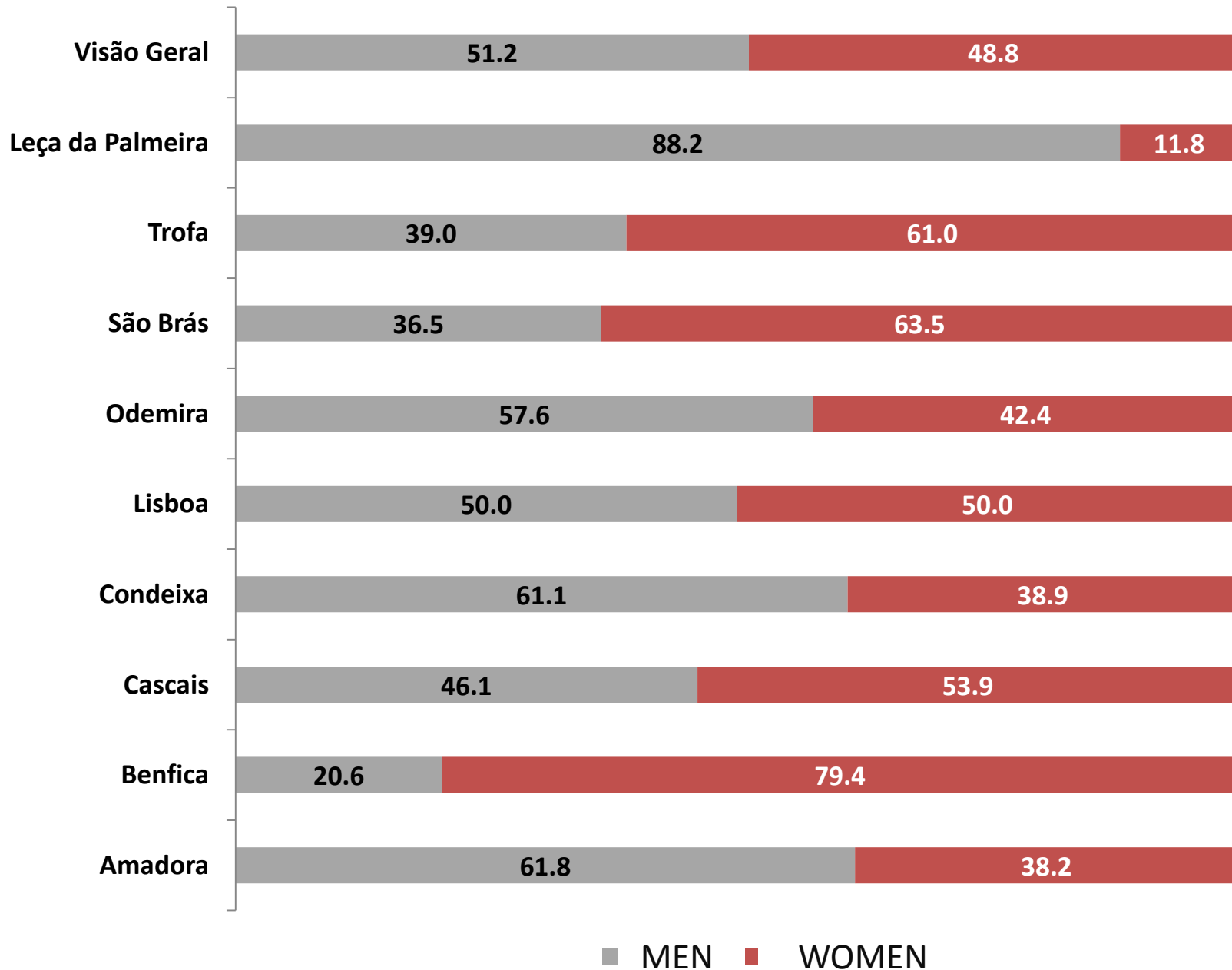
NEW YORK's PB confirms: Challenging the patriarchal paradigm?

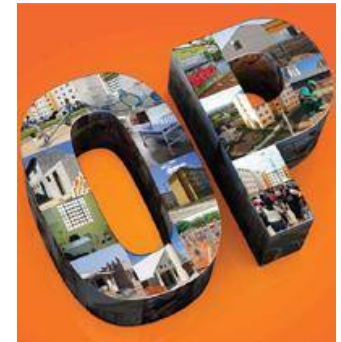


From monitoring participants emerged that:

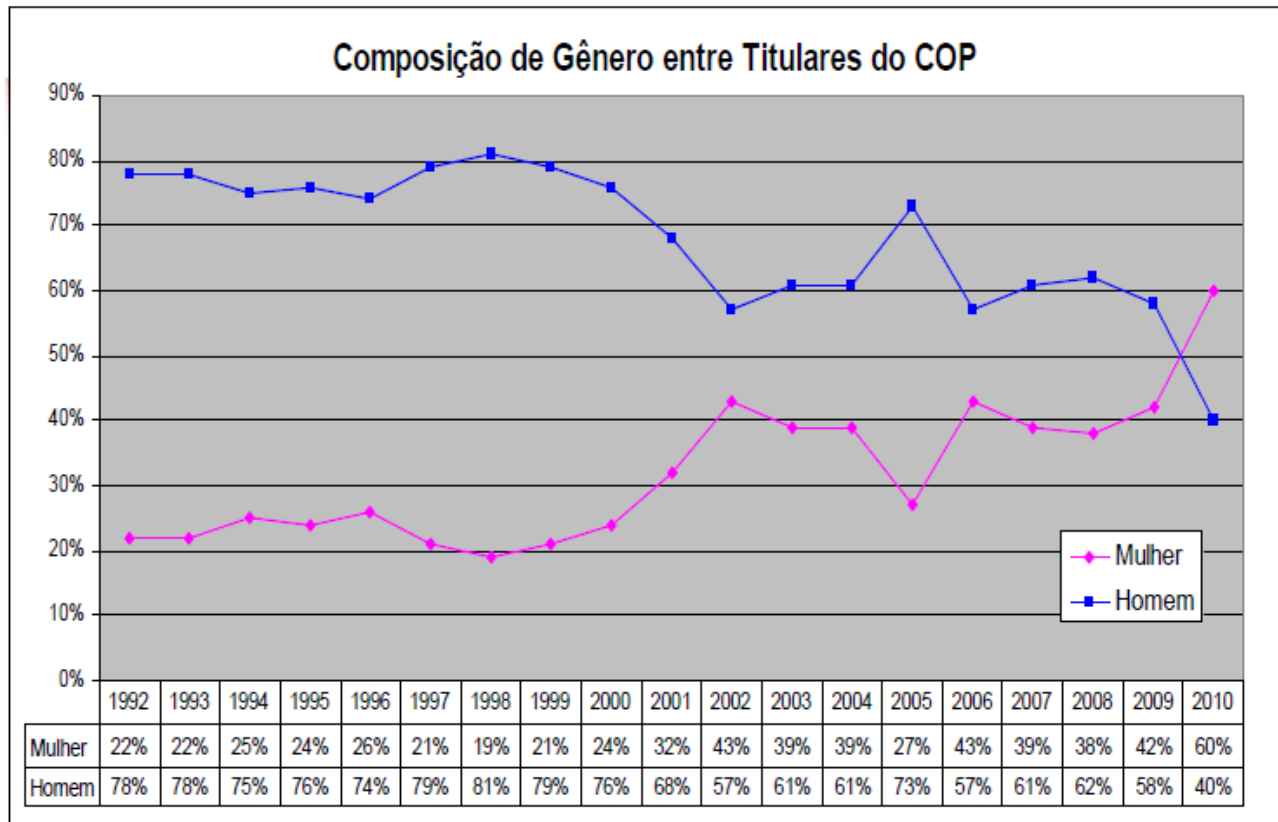
- 1) “women were more likely to participate in all the stages of PB; in 2012-2013 women were **66% of neighborhood assembly participants, 60% of budget delegates and 62% of voters** in the PB process (as for the previous year).
- 2) women also were active in their participation: **92% of them declared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

IN PORTUGAL STUDIES were INCLONCLUSIVE: too locals the factos determining participation of women in PB (2012)...





Participação



**Critics on the low level of investments for Gender Mainstreaming
(TRANSPARENCY OF PB HELPS A LOT)**

INTERESTING FINDINGS:

- 1) Women tended to **concentrate their presence on some issues** (in the "Health and Welfare" thematic assemblies they were 80%, already in 2005).
- 2) Women always **tended to prevail in the average range** (34-60 years) while men tended to prevail both among young people (16-33 years) and over 60 years.
- 3) Women **in leading positions in PB tended to be often "single" or "divorced"** (62-65 %), so more "independent" from men's "permissions"
- 3) Many women (especially in the lower social classes) **tended "to feed prejudices on women's role" avoiding any extension of their militancy out of issue related to the everyday life** in their neighborhood, and often accepting to leave men "the monopoly of family representation".
- 4) Throughout the first 20 years of PB, there was **a visible growth of women belonging to "organized groups"** (as NGOs and clubs of mothers) taking part to PB and motivating their members.
- 5) Women **still needed to achieve proper awareness of their potential**, but they were conscious of their "commitment to change" and their specificities (in relation to men) in the capacity of having a more integrated vision of urban problems.

Such observations, in 2009, were translated into a real "Manifesto of Action" during the 4th "Porto Alegre Conference on Public Policies for Women", but the idea of quotas remained just a recommendation...

RECIFE (Brazil) and its Women Coordination Forum as a capacity building and empowering space



Transparency and accountability measures guaranteed in all Brazilian PBs have acted as an important element to allow women's call for major investments dedicated to their empowerment,

BARRIERS: The central idea of the study in Recife was that “gender inequalities create different conditions of participation” for different subjects, so demanding public policies aimed at gender equality must become a “structuring elements of PB”, whose main recognized added-value is that of “**breaking with the confinement of women to domestic space**” and “**tensioning the routinization of daily activities strengthening their political presence**” (Ávila et alii, 2006).

Multilayer approach to plural and convergent exclusions

Critic to the top-down “creation of rules” which reopens space for *clientelism*, pushing participatory processes into the corner and reducing their structural impact on the urban space (Brabender et alii, 2011).

FORTALEZA: Men and women must work together with a same goal of equality, reading the many dimensions of exclusion



The case of Cotacachi in Ecuador (OIDP Prize 2006)

Cotacachi, Ecuador:
The inclusion of indigenous women in a Local
Participatory Budgeting Process¹

This narrative is one out of 15 that were originally developed in 2007 as part of a project on innovative practices for social inclusion jointly developed by the Assessment Working Unit (OWU), University College London with the Curricular on Social Inclusion and Participatory Democracy (CSIPD) of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG). This narrative was commissioned and edited in 2010 by the Centre for Social Justice, College University (CEJ), to a standard format for the Observatory on Social Inclusion and Participatory Democracy.

Name of the policy: Participatory budgeting (with a focus on the inclusion of indigenous women)

Start year: 2001
Completion date: ongoing

¹ The Indigenous Cities Observatory is a space for analysis and reflection on local social inclusion policies. It provides user and case studies on innovative policies for community development across its basic services, urban mobility, environmental protection and the inclusion of women, among others. The initiative has been developed with the scientific support of the United College of London (UCL) and the Centre for Social Justice (CEJ) and is a result of cooperation from the Centre for Social Justice (CEJ) at the University of Glasgow, which has worked under the auspices of the Institute for Social Justice (ISJ) study cases. The Observatory aims to identify and investigate successful experiences that might be replicated, also identify strengths and weaknesses of their own social inclusion policies.

The Indigenous Cities Observatory has been created by the Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Local Rights of UCLG. United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) is the global network of governments and sub-national entities of local governments before the international community and works to give cities more political influence on global governance. The Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights aims to contribute to building a common vision for the cities of UCLG in the areas of social inclusion, participatory democracy and human rights. It also aims to guide local governments in designing their policies and to be the main, visible public channel for the exchange of experiences and peer learning among cities across the world.

For more information: www.uclgobservatory.com

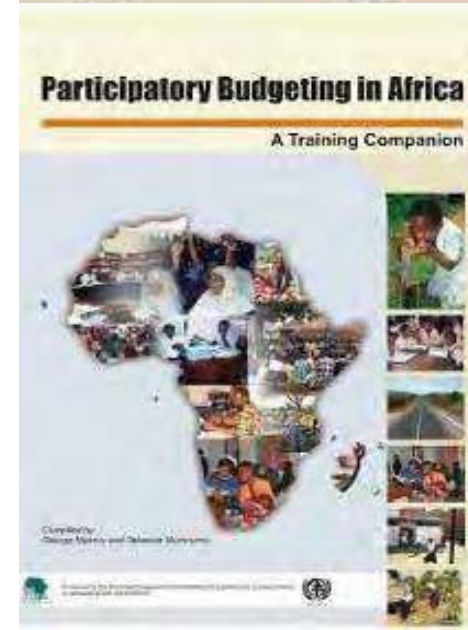
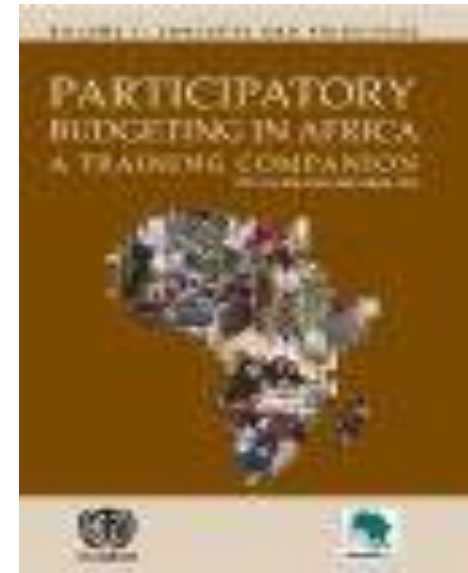


El ciclo del Presupuesto Participativo es permanente, funciona durante los doce meses, y se realiza una vez al año: como partes reales, élita, no existe un punto de llegada, el bus seguirá girando permanentemente. ¡Ojalá e caso como de diferente color se lo denomina Espacios.

¡Qué emocionante ser parte de este ciclo del Presupuesto Participativo!

The Campaign “Yes we ca” from 2003...
The Oversight Monitoring Committee
2/3 of resources to Rural Areas
Visible effects on children mortality and alphabetization

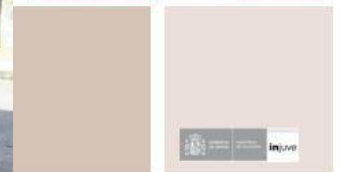
Challenging self-censorship and cultural exclusionary traditions in Rural Africa: the case of Senegal.



Seville (Spain): Not only Quotas (50%) , but coordination of PB with Women Political Secretariat; a larger vision of gender issues (including race, ages, sexual orientation) and a careful *gender vision* also in Youth PB...



Los presupuestos participativos y las políticas de juventud:
Un estudio de caso sobre la cultura de la participación social en España



How random selection in PB intervenes on women's numbers? Does it do it alone?

The cases of
Geraldton
(Australia)
and Zeguo
(China)



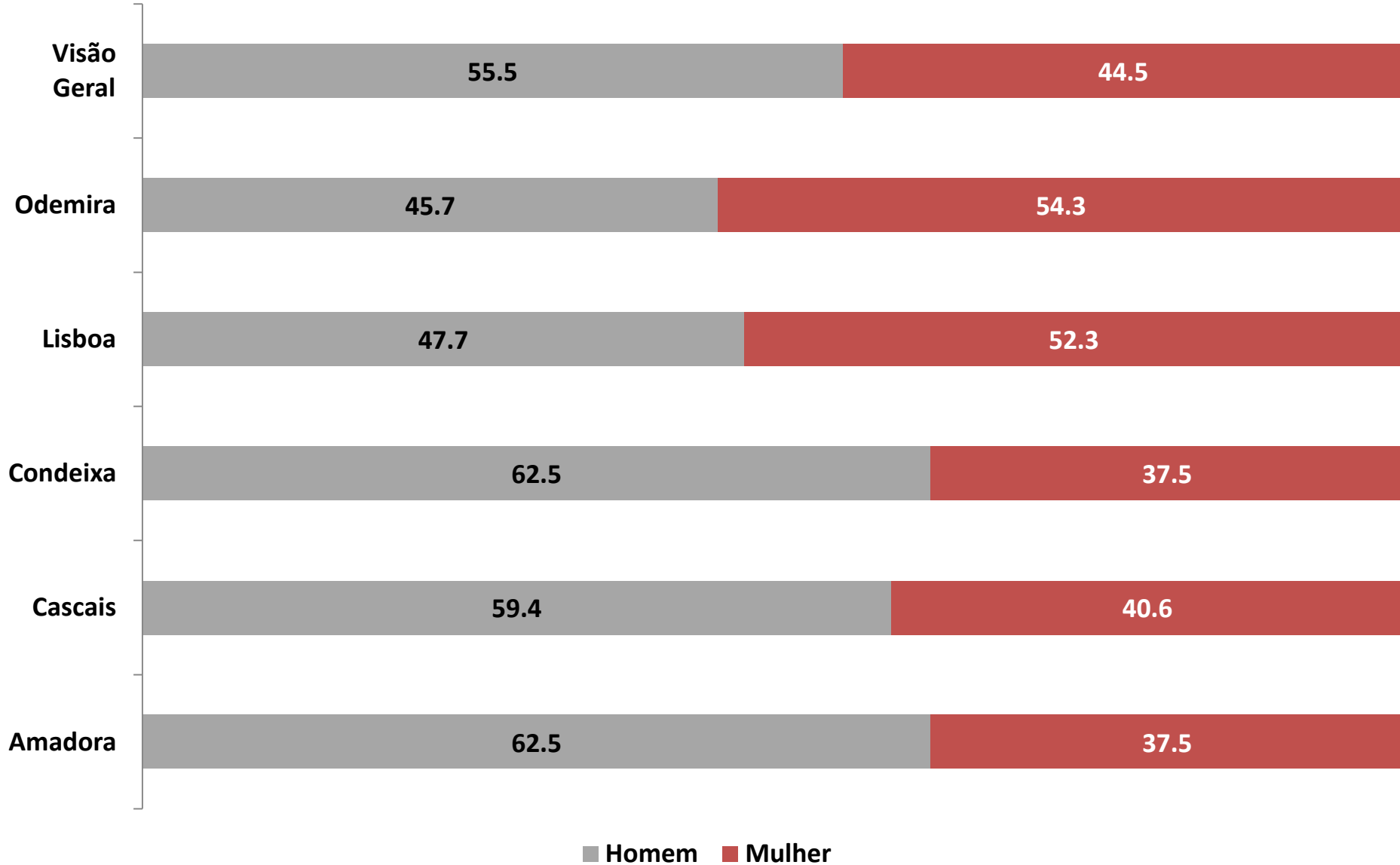
Other Mediterranean cases to fight “low numbers” of women In PB (with babysitting, forum in streaming, rescheduling...)



Pieve
Emanuele;
Arezzo; Modena

Is the efficacy of these SUPPOSEDLY INCLUSIVE TOOLS verified?

Sex of PB participants ONLINE (Portugal, 2012)

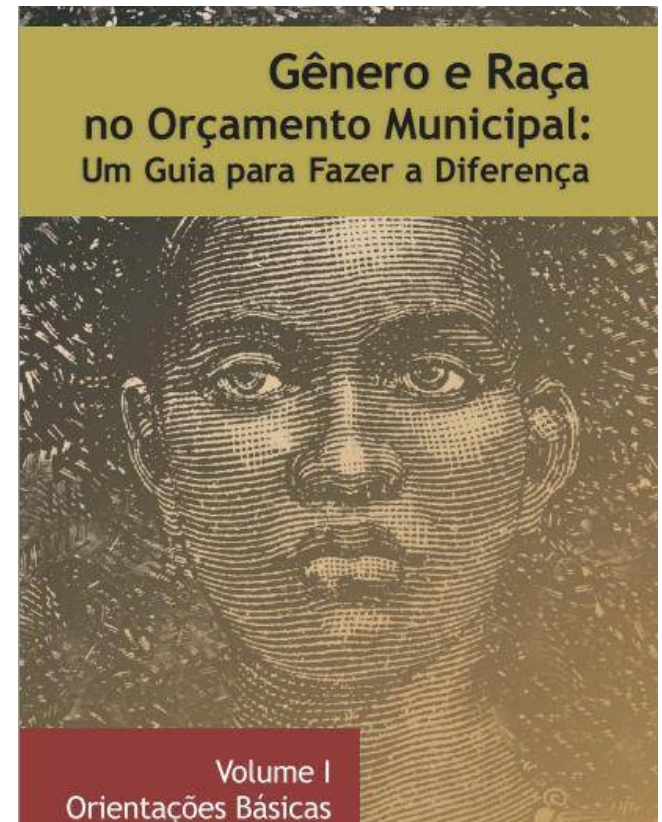


FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG

**INTERNATIONAL
SUPPORT for increasing
knowledge**



United Nations Entity for Gender Equality
and the Empowerment of Women



www.presupuestoygenero.net/



Brazilian Institute of public
administration

3

Conclusions: a
research
agenda?

“What we cannot measure, we cannot manage”



Michael Bloomberg, sindaco di New York

HOW GUILTY is THE RESEARCH DOMAIN?

Data reveal several problems in the reality of the country, by showing, for example, to what extent our society is still patriarchal: women struggle for their rights, when they are not subjected to men, who usually do this for them or do not allow them to be active (L. Fedozzi, 2007, p. 1).

“The studies on participatory democracy look blind to the gender differences and women’s participation” at the same extent that “feminist studies on women and/in politics seem everyday more focused in the presence of women in representative institutions, and not in the participatory ones” (Cecilia McDowell Santos, 2007, p. 240).

COMPARATIVE STUDIES and not-anecdotic data on “recognition” of women presence and voice in participation are deeply needed (DELIBERATIVE EQUITY)



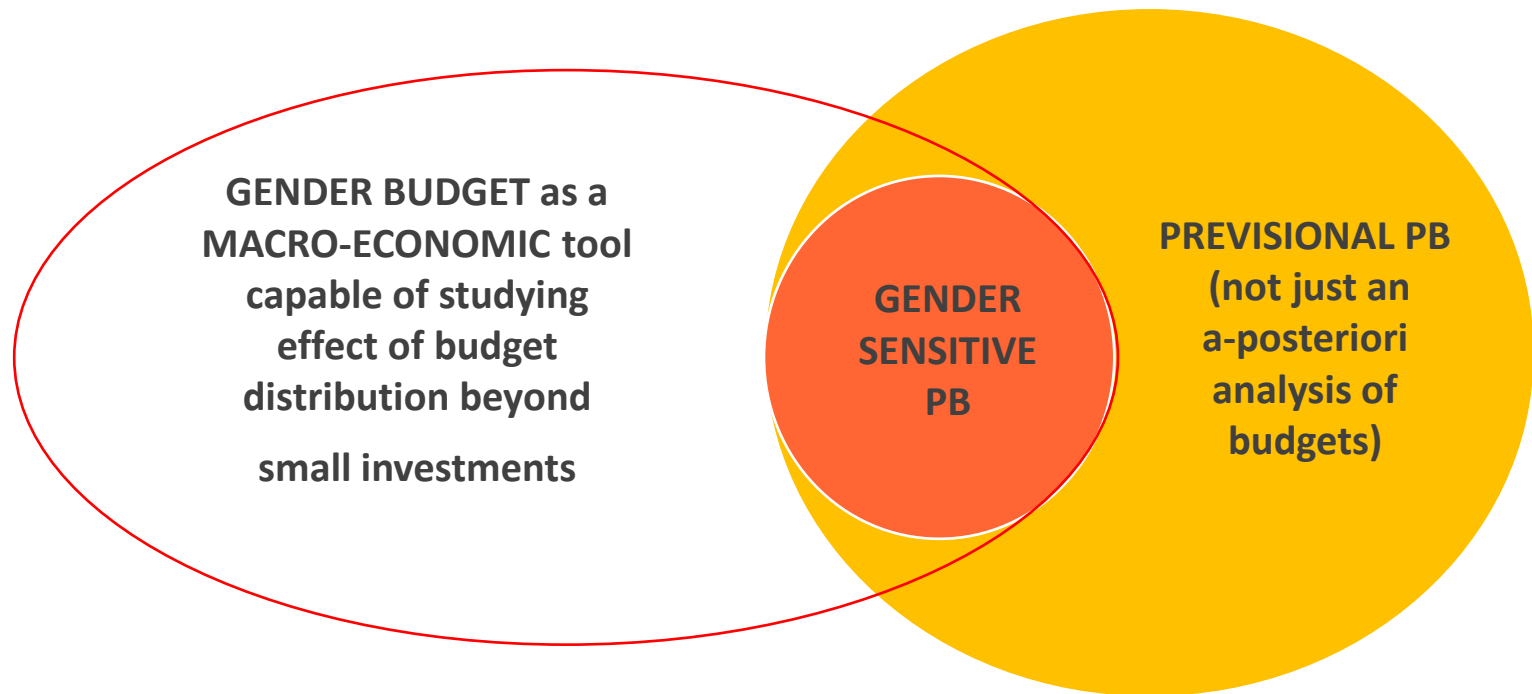
Combatting methods of “hyper-simplification” of PB voting (like SMS) is basic, because it leads to loose contact with the audience of a PB.

Working on multilayered exclusions is necessary, as well as working on a larger idea of “gender” (with men and women at the same time)

Studies on the “empowerment” and “constraints of NGOs and collective organizations within PB are also NEEDED

Finally, PB itself has to expand its borders, as far as its dilution/marginalization can only have a disempowering effect on social inclusion (so, also on gender...).

Where is located a GENDER-SENSITIVE PB?



Thanks for your patience!

Giovanni Allegretti



Questions are
very welcome!



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