



Why did Participatory Budgeting adoption decline in Brazil, and what can we learn from this?

Carla de Paiva Bezerra

Outline

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2. What we already know
3. The problem
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6. Methods
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1990

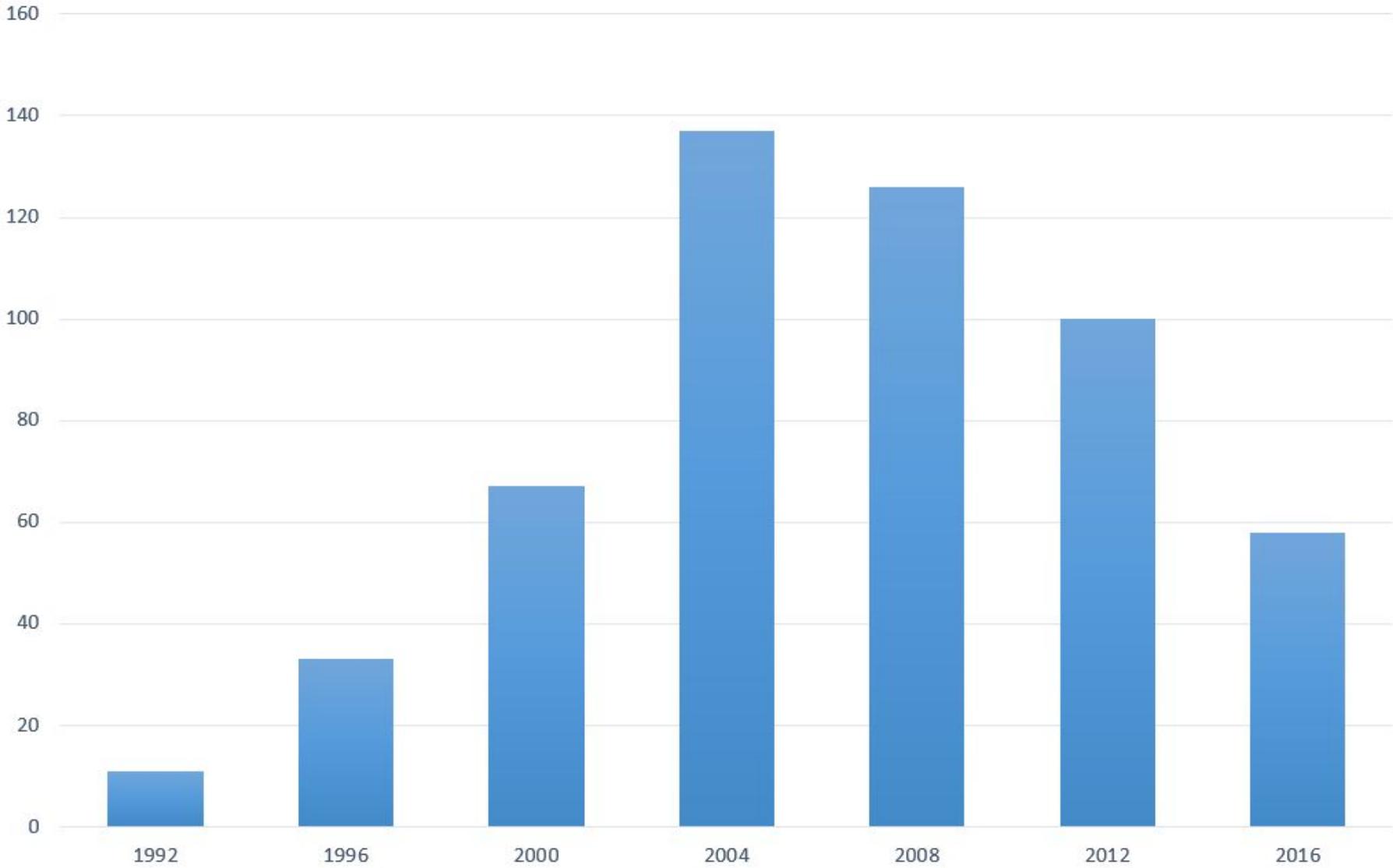
**City of Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil
Participatory Budgeting Neighborhood Assembly**



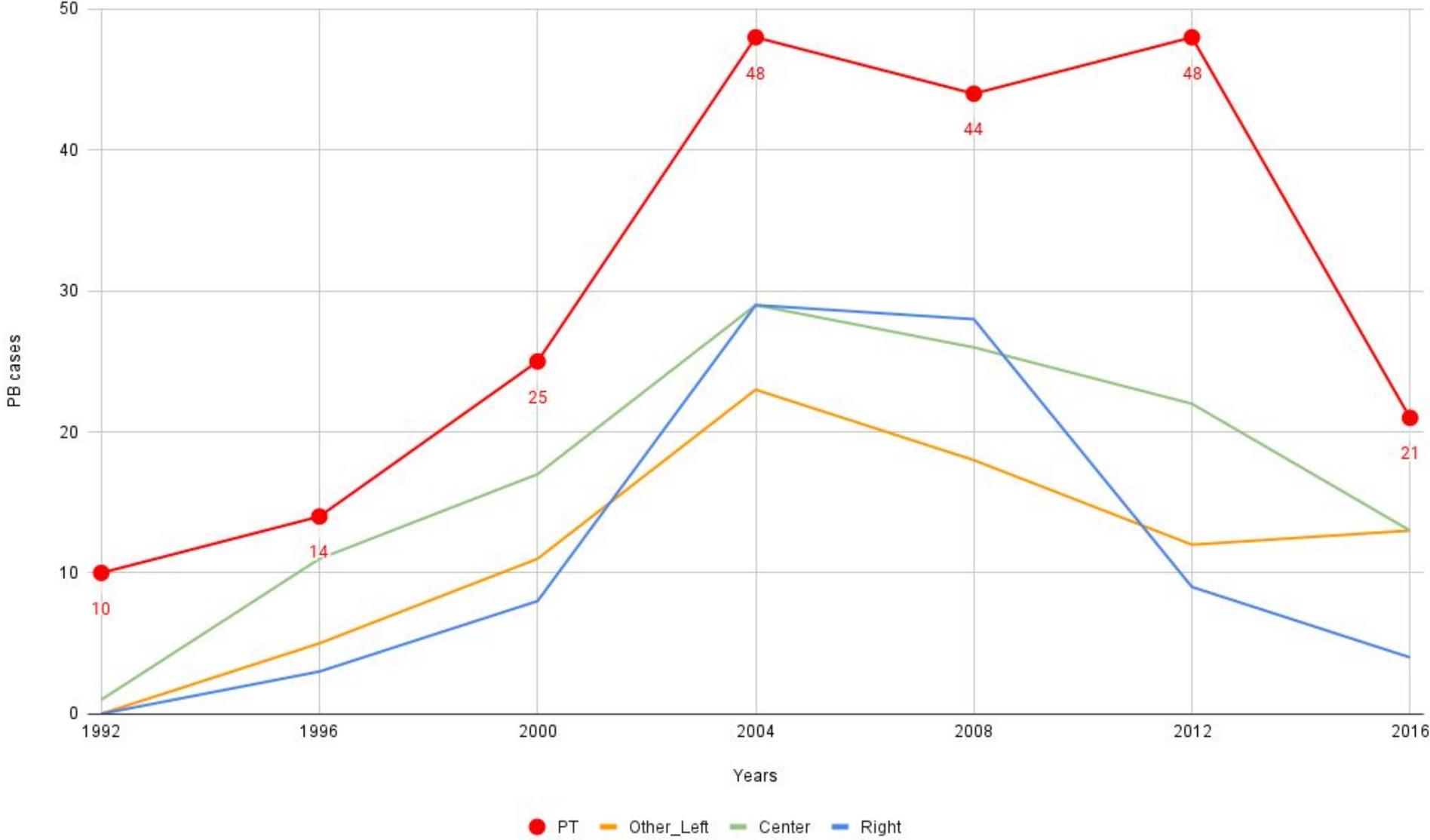
2012

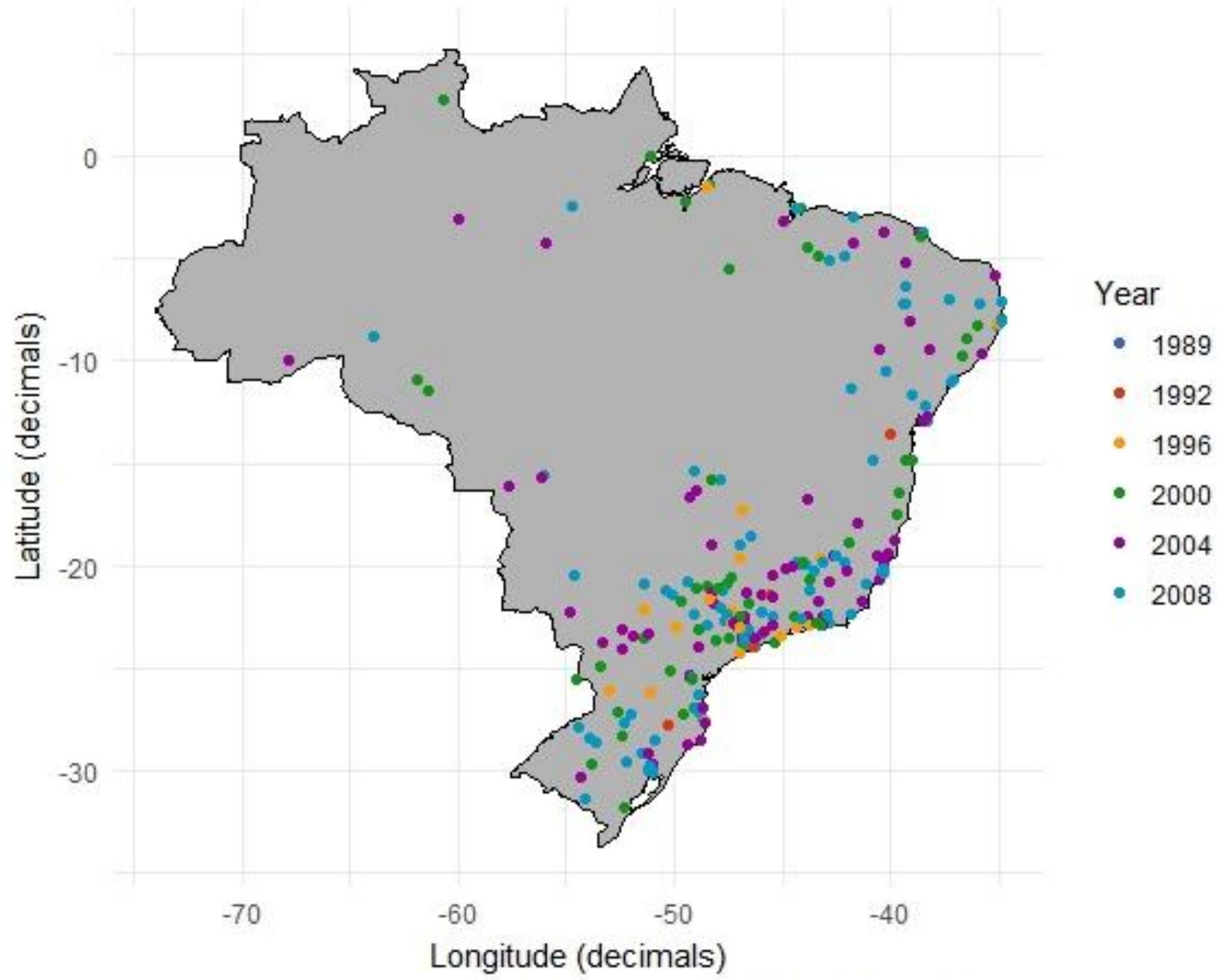
**Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil
State Digital Participatory Budgeting**

PB per year



PB per party





What we already know

- PB diffusion in Brazil is related to several factors:
 - *Political*: PT incumbency, party continuity, low mayor vulnerability (votes plus city council majority).
 - *Economic*: investment resources.
 - *Geographical*: proximity

The problem

Why did Participatory Budgeting decline in Brazil?

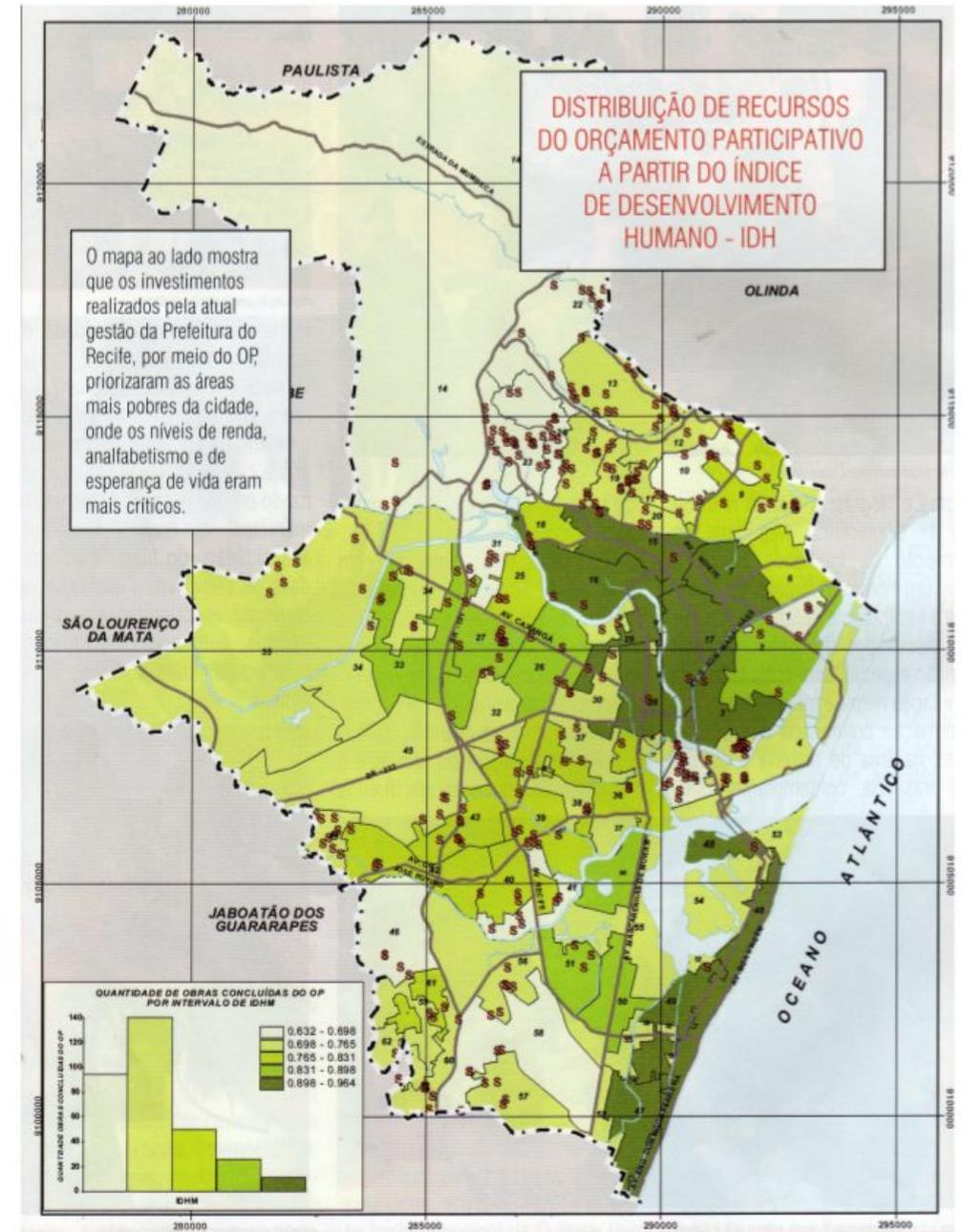
- Political factors: PT stopped acting as a promoter. Why?
- Economic factors: Budgetary restrictions?
 - Strong qualitative evidence, but null results on previous works

Recife

“Created by the PT 14 years ago, the Participatory Budgeting of Recife still has overdue demands

(...)From the 1,045 work demands received by Geraldo Julio, only 180 had an executive project.”

Blog do Jamildo, UOL columnist, published in April 5th, 2017



Belo Horizonte

“BELO HORIZONTE: Participatory Budgeting adds up to R\$ 1 billion [US\$ 267 million] in unfinished works

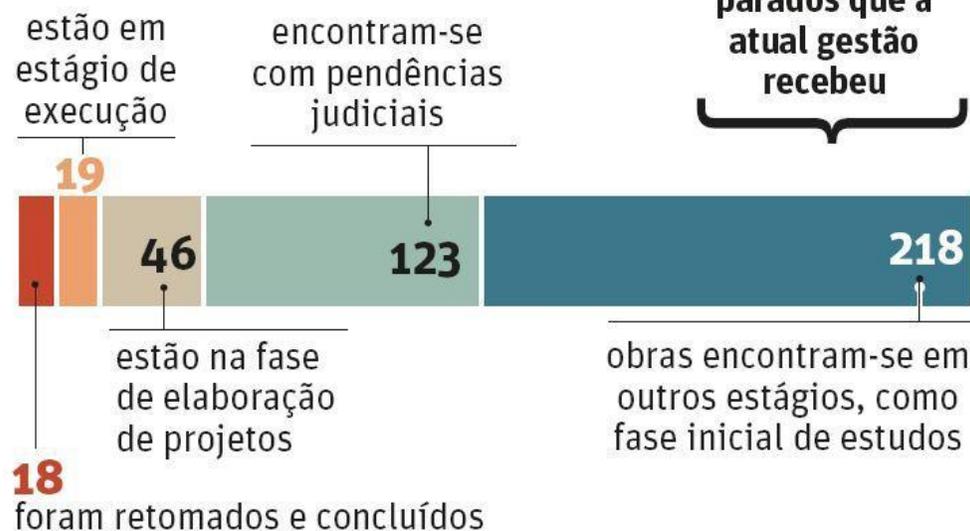
(...) Without own resources to complete the 441 interventions, that would account for 9% of the total Budget for 2017 (R\$ 11 billion) [US\$ 2.9 billion], the City Hall will start looking for loans.”

O Tempo Newspaper, published in March 29th, 2017

EDITORIA DE ARTE / O TEMPO

PENDÊNCIAS

Raio X das obras do Orçamento Participativo (OP) da Prefeitura de Belo Horizonte



PROJETO

O Orçamento Participativo na capital mineira teve início em 1994 com a proposta de envolver a população na escolha das obras para a cidade. Mais tarde, foi implantado o OP Digital.

FONTE: SUBSECRETARIA DE PARTICIPAÇÃO POPULAR DA PREFEITURA DE BELO HORIZONTE

O Tempo Newspaper, published in January 23rd, 2018.

Hypothesis

Local governments gradually stop adopting PB because of a combination of:

1. increasing fiscal and administrative constraints and
2. no longer having a central political actor as its promoter (PT).

Methodology

To test it, we used a panel data model that tests the probability that PB will be adopted and maintained in Brazilian municipalities.

Its variables include the following dimensions:

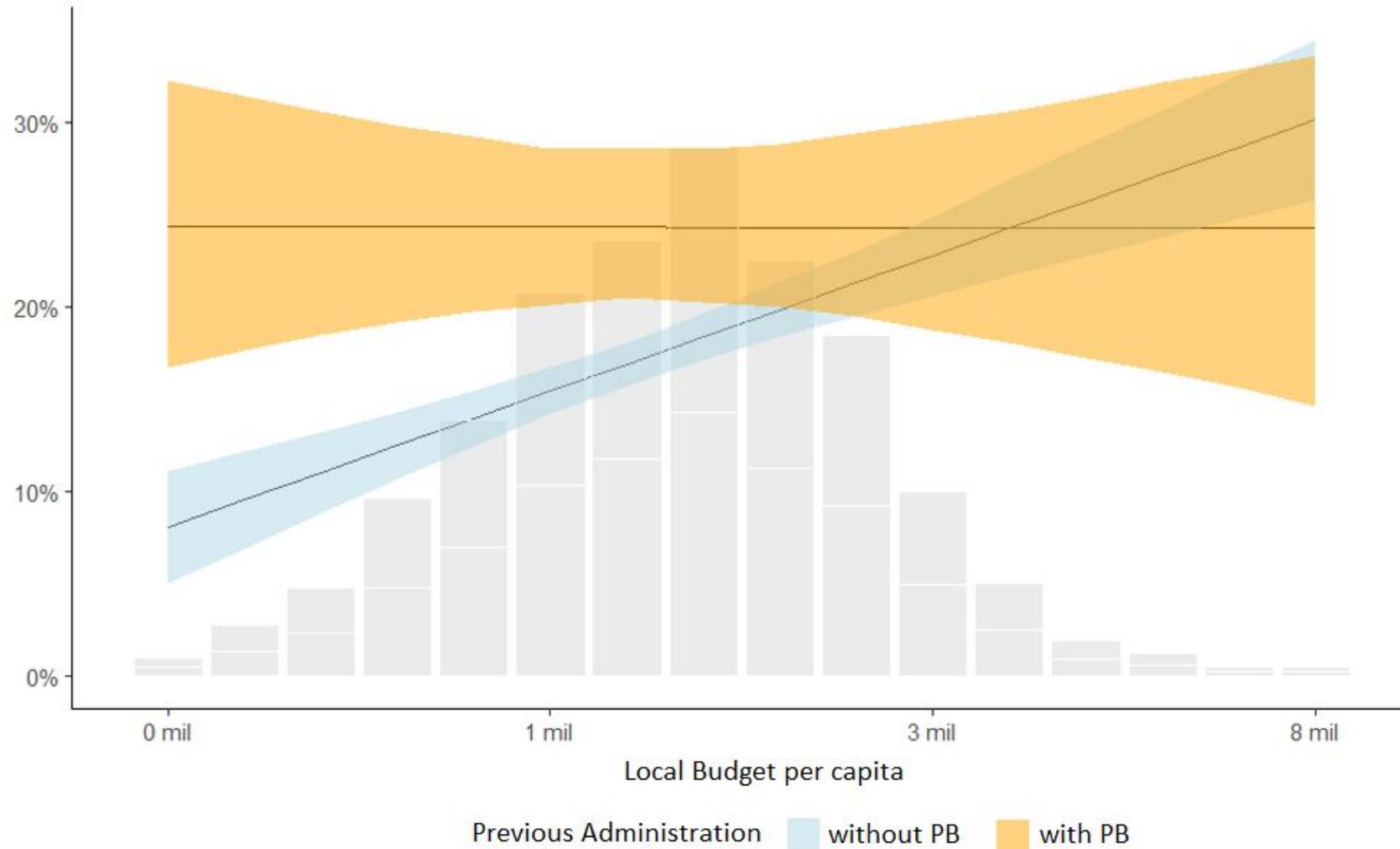
- Political variables
- Economic and Fiscal Variables
- Population or scale variables
- Interaction, lagged and fixed effects

Main findings

- What better explain PB first time adoption:
 - PT as incumbent party
 - bigger population
 - higher budget per capita
- What better explain PB continuity:
 - Political-administrative continuity
 - higher investment rate.

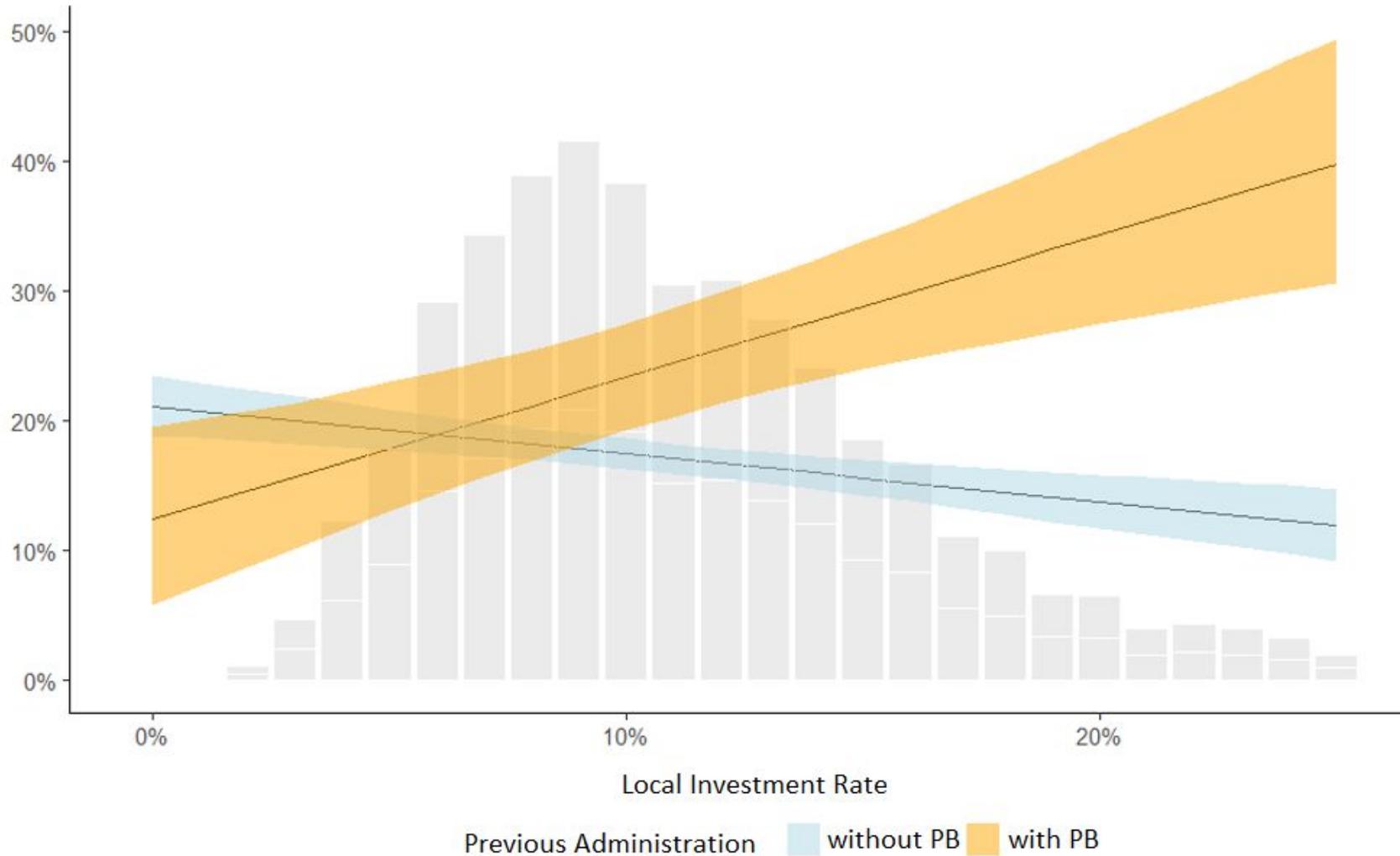
PB Adoption/Continuity rate

Previous PB and Budget per capita interaction



PB Adoption/Continuity rate

Previous PB and Investment rate interaction



Steps in the argument

1. Increasing fiscal and administrative constraints
2. Lower effectiveness of citizen's decisions
3. Negative Feedback (frustration)
4. Lower electoral returns
5. PT stops promoting PB
6. Gradual policy abandonment

Lessons for practitioners

- Understanding policy failure is as important learning about outstanding innovations
- Having an active political promoter is a key issue
- The amount of money decided in PB processes matters
- City works have to be delivered for PB effectiveness and citizenship accountability

Extra: a national PB?



"When we were in government, we were not able to create the [national] participatory budgeting, which we are going to try now as a way to end the secret budget. We are going to try to create a way for society to participate in the budget. It is a difficult task, but we will have to find a way to do it"
said Lula on a campaign meeting on July 4th, 2022

References

- Bezerra, C. P., & Junqueira, M. O. (2022). **Why has Participatory Budgeting Declined in Brazil?**. *Braz. political sci. rev.*, 16(2), e0002. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1981-3821202200020001>
- Bezerra, C. P. (2022) **Why do political parties promote participatory governance?** The Brazilian Workers' Party case, *Critical Policy Studies*, 16:2, 181-203, DOI: [10.1080/19460171.2022.2027256](https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2022.2027256)
- Bezerra, C. P. (2019). **Os sentidos da participação para o Partido dos Trabalhadores (1980-2016)**. *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* [online]. 2019, v. 34, n. 100, e3410016. <https://doi.org/10.1590/3410016/2019>.

Obrigada! Thank you!

<https://linktr.ee/carlabezerra2022>