CONTENTS

List of Illustrations		ix
Notes on the Authors		xi
Fore.	word to the English Edition	xiii
Ack	nowledgements	xv
Intr	roduction	1
	Discontent with Democracy 1	
	The Rue Jourdain' Example 3	
	The Research 6	
PAR	T I	
The	e Return of the Caravels	9
1	'It All Began in Porto Alegre'	11
	The Porto Alegre Experiment 11	
	The Spread of Participatory Budgeting in Brazil and Latin America 17	
	What is Participatory Budgeting? 18	
	The Development of Participatory Budgeting in Europe 20	
2	European Convergence?	29
	Low Levels of Convergence between Local Political Systems 29	
	Crisis of Legitimacy and Changes in Representative Democracy 32	
	Local Governance and Participation 35	
	Connected Histories 38	
	A Paradox 41	
3	Six Participatory Models	45
	Participatory Democracy 48	
	Proximity Democracy 49	
	Participatory Modernisation 50	
	Multi-stakeholder Participation 5 %	
	Neo-corporatism 53	
	Community Development 54	

'Two, Three Many Porto Alegres?'		59
4	Porto Alegre in Europe? (Spain and Italy) Spain: All Power to the People? 61 Italy: Is Another Town Possible? 71 Conclusion: The Challenges of Reproducing Porto Alegre 77	6:
5	'Proximity Democracy is in the Air' (France) The Erosion of Republicanism 80 Redeveloping Political Links and Neighbourhood Management: Saint-Denis and Bobigny 82 The Challenge of a Regional Participatory Budget 89 Conclusion: A Paradoxical Situation 97	79
6	Proximity: Springboard or Trap? (Belgium, Portugal, Netherlands) Mons (Belgium): Urban Regeneration Policy and Citizen Participation 99 Utrecht (Netherlands): Neighbourhood Funds and Neighbourhood Management 103 Palmela (Portugal): Taking Proximity Seriously? 107 Conclusion: The Challenge of Neighbourhood Management 110	99
7	Participatory Modernisation (Germany and Finland) The Beginnings of the Bürgerhaushalt 113 Berlin-Lichtenberg: The Renaissance of a People's Republic? 117 Hämeenlinna (Finland): Small Democracy 122 Conclusion: Conditions for Participatory Modernisation 125	113
8	Between Community Development and Public-Private Partnerships (United Kingdom, Poland) From the Grassroots to the National Policy Agenda 131 Consumer-orientation or Community Empowerment? 140 Participatory Budgeting: A National Strategy' for Local Community Empowerment 144 A Fourth Way'? 148 Participatory Neoliberalism? The Case of Plock (Poland) 156 Conclusion: Empowerment, Minimal State and Big' Politics 159	129
Con	clusion of Part II: The 'Porto Alegre Effect'	163

CONTENTS

PART III Challenges and Outcomes of Citizen Participation 16		
Cha	Challenges and Outcomes of Citizen Participation	
9	Public Services Serving the Public? 'Making Public Services Competitive In Order To Avoid Privatisation' 167	167
	The Roles of Citizens in the Modernisation of Public Services 169 An Empirical Evaluation 172	
	Towards Technical Democracy 176	
10	An Instrument of Social Justice? An Alternative to Neoliberalism? 185 Further Dimensions 189	185
11	Democratising Democracy? Towards a Deliberative Democracy? 196	195
	A Governo Largo? 201	
Cor	clusion: Housing, Building and Painting	207
Glossary Bibliography Index		211 227 245
Inue.	^	243