

Full-Fledged Gender Inclusion in Participatory Budgeting in Villa El Salvador:

Participation, Representation and Political Equality

by

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ABSTRACT

This study assesses the degree of gender inclusion in Empowered Participatory Governance (EPG) in Villa El Salvador, Peru. Research consisted of ethnographic investigation, field observation, and semi-structured interviews. The thesis analyzes gender inclusion around three concepts: participation, representation, and political equality. Limitations to full-fledged inclusion are unravelled, and discussed in relation to gender.

In Villa El Salvador, norms of gender equity, embodied in quotas for registration and representation in power structures, are in place. However, quotas do not guarantee equal attendance to workshops or equal representation of women. The variables limiting full-fledged gender inclusion relate to gendered productive and reproductive roles, social and cultural aspects of machismo, and the male-dominated nature of the membership of organizations. Quotas are a step in the right direction, but the study concludes that as long as other limitations are not addressed, full-fledged gender inclusion remains an unfulfilled aspiration.

Keywords: Citizen Participation; Deliberative Democracy; Gender; Gender Inclusion; Gender Participation; Gender Political Equality; Gender Quotas; Gender Representation; Participatory Budgeting; Peru

**To Camille
Who left us too soon
But left an indelible mark**

“Democratic theory, including the theory of deliberative democracy, should understand itself primarily as a critical theory which exposes the exclusions and constraints in supposed fair processes of actual decision making, which make the legitimacy of their conclusions suspect.”
- Iris Marion Young

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Over the last twenty years, experiments with deliberative democracy have proliferated around the world. In parallel, the academic literature on deliberative democracy has been extensive. Deliberative democracy suggests that the legitimacy of deliberative minipublics¹, such as ‘Empowered Participatory Governance’ (EPG)², rests ‘on the process itself.’ Deliberative democrats conceptualized ideal conditions for processes to yield legitimate decisions. One of these concepts is inclusion.³ This study looks at gender inclusion as an objective in EPG. It identifies participation, representation and political equality as three components of full-fledged inclusion.

Feminist scholars, international development agencies, development banks, governments, as well as non-governmental and civil society organizations, have emphasized the importance of including gender as a core concern in local governance and the development of democratic institutions. In terms of decision-making on budgetary matters, scholars and practitioners have developed the concept of gender budgeting. Andía Pérez and Beltrán Barco (2002) define gender budgeting as budgeting concerned with the differentiated impact budgetary decisions have on gender, and the inclusion of men and women in budgetary decision-making. What does gender budgeting entail for participatory budgeting, in terms of gender inclusion and exclusion in decision-making? This empirical study of participatory budgeting in local settings in Peru draws on

¹ Fung (2007) terms ‘minipublics’ a relatively small group of citizens, representing the public sphere, and convening to make decisions through public deliberations.

² Fung and Olin Wright (2003) theorize Empowered Participatory Governance as a deliberative minipublic design consisting of six dimensions: deliberation, action, monitoring, centralized coordination and power, school of democracy and outcomes. Chapter two defines these dimensions.

³ Chapter two defines inclusion, and discusses concepts of participation, representation and political equality in relation to this ideal.

theoretical frameworks in gender theory to discuss gender inclusion in EPG. Gender inclusion is important for EPG because it means that: 1) men and women's interests are represented, voiced, and reflected upon directly from their differentiated perspectives, bringing legitimacy to both the processes and their outcomes, and 2) men and women are included as citizens on an equal footing, giving them, among other things, the opportunity to develop skills such as leadership.

Central questions emerge: Are participatory budgeting processes in Villa El Salvador (VES) inclusive of gender? What are the variables influencing the degree of gender inclusion of processes? What strategies should be adopted to reach the ideal of gender inclusion, in light of the variables influencing the degree of full-fledged inclusion of these processes? The following hypotheses are considered: 1- Participation and representation quotas help reaching gender inclusion but are not sufficient; 2- Some limitations in terms of participation and representation are gendered; and 3- Even though men and women speak and participate in workshops, political inequality persists, and social and organizational variables affect the capacity of women to influence processes and outcomes.

Specific measures towards political gender equality need to be taken to ensure deeper gender inclusion. In the context of deliberative democracy, which emphasizes the use of public reason and a focus on the common good, the representation of all points of view, including women's points of view, is the basis of legitimacy. Women's political opinions and interests are as important as men's, and will never be better represented and voiced than by women themselves.

Processes should implement measures promoting equal voice and opportunity to influence processes when political inequalities remain. In settings where participatory budgeting is based on deliberation in which gender is an important component, processes should be shaped to allow women and men to voice their demands equally. In cases in which either men or women are at a disadvantage, processes should encourage and facilitate their participation, representation, and political equality.

At the theoretical level, this empirical study supports the claim that political equality is important in reaching gender inclusion and for the legitimization of deliberative processes and their outcomes. It also supports inclusion as an institutional objective of EPG, apart from the current objectives Fung and Olin Wright (2003) have defined, namely effective problem solving, equity, and broad and deep participation. From the analysis of limitations in terms of gender inclusion, this study shows that full-fledged inclusion is attained when ideals of participation, representation and political equality are reached. Social and organizational gender inequalities affect inclusion. This study calls for the identification of gender inequalities and the analysis of their impacts on political gender equality. Subsequently, this study calls for the search for practical solutions to diminish the impacts of social and organizational gender inequalities on political equality within participatory deliberative processes.

Only a handful of scholars have written on participatory budgeting and gender. Moreover, studies involving gender have often focused on the inclusion of men and women in terms of quantitative representation and participation. This study links inclusion, and related concepts of participation, representation and

political equality, to political legitimacy of EPG⁴. This study is not advocating for more deliberative democracy in democratic decision-making. Democratic theory is rich in analyses of the pros and cons of different models of democratic decision-making. There is no one ideal model that all scholars agree upon. This study builds on the current literature on deliberative democracy and gender theories and introduces new elements of discussion on the significance of gender inclusion in deliberative democracy.⁵

This analysis of gender inclusion of an empirical case, participatory budgeting in the community of Villa El Salvador in Lima, Peru, provides lessons for similar cases elsewhere. Dryzek (2007) suggests that “research on deliberative democracy is at the cutting edge of the integration of political theory and empirical social science” (p.250). Johnson (2008) reports that empirical research describing deliberative experiences, and normative theorizing of deliberative democracy, have the ability to influence each other. They can help by defining and questioning normative ideals as well as by helping to recognize possibilities and limits of concrete experiences. Mansbridge (2003) echoes this sentiment about the importance of an interconnection between theory and practice for deliberative democratic theory, in her commentaries on the EPG model.

⁴ Inclusion often encompasses concepts of participation and representation. In this study, participation refers to the possibility to take part, in terms of registration and attendance. Representation refers to the capacity of minipublics to provide citizens, groups and/or interests a voice, not only in decision-making processes but also within power settings. Political equality refers to the capacity of expressing one’s voice and influence processes. These three concepts form full-fledged inclusion.

⁵ This study refers to ‘gender theory’ broadly. Chapter two discusses the theorization of gender, gender and development, gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting more specifically.

VES is an urban poor district of 367,436 inhabitants⁶ in the South of the municipal province of Lima (INEI, 2005). VES makes an interesting case because the district is recognized around the world for the strength of its civil society. It faces development challenges similar to various urban poor municipalities in Latin America. Indeed, the municipality struggles with scarce resources to respond to multiple needs and varied demands from citizens. In 2009, the budget allocated to participatory budgeting was roughly three million dollars. This represents a budget of less than nine dollars per capita. Every year, men and women are involved in participatory processes, and the municipality's administration claims that gender is a core component of its development strategy.

In 2003, amidst democratization and decentralization processes, Peru's national government changed the nature of local governance in the country when it enacted a law making it mandatory for all municipal districts in Peru to conduct annual participatory budgeting processes, involving the participation of citizens in deliberative decision-making processes. Goldfrank (2007) identified VES as one of the rare successful experiences of participatory budgeting since the law was enacted. The fact that VES is one of the few districts that had implemented participatory budgeting processes before the enactment of the national law, along with the strength of its civil society, might explain this success.

⁶ INEI (2005) reports that 183,559 are women and 183,887 are men.

1.1 Structure of the thesis

Chapter two of this study situates EPG in deliberative democracy and democratic theory. Participatory and deliberative democratic models are often used to complement liberal representative democracy in local governance. Participatory budgeting is an 'Empowered Participatory Governance' minipublic when it aims to achieve EPG objectives and dimensions. Deliberative democracy bases its legitimacy on the process of decision-making. It has to be inclusive, involve actors as political equals, autonomous and free from domination. Inclusion relates to concepts of participation, representation, and political equality. Chapter two suggests adding inclusion as an institutional objective of EPG, and assessing inclusion within the dimension of deliberation. It discusses strategies for attaining full-fledged gender inclusion. It explores the pros and cons of gender quotas, and argues that even though they are a progressive step, they are not sufficient to ensure gender inclusion as defined within deliberative democracy. It defines gender and discusses related conceptualizations of gender budgeting, gender mainstreaming, and 'gender and development.' Chapter two presents the most appropriate methodology for studying gender inclusion and exclusion from the dimension of 'deliberation' in EPG.

The research conducted in Villa El Salvador, Lima, Peru, drew on ethnographic approaches, observations in participatory budgeting workshops, semi-structured interviews of participants, former participants and municipal employees, as well as the review of key documents associated with these processes. The data collected assesses gender inclusion in participatory

budgeting processes based on the six dimensions of EPG, and more specifically the dimension of deliberation.

Chapter three provides the context in which participatory budgeting emerged in Latin America and Peru. At the end of the 1980s, democratization processes in Latin America often encompassed constitutional changes aimed at encouraging more citizen participation in political decision-making. Social movements exerted pressure for more participatory governance at the local level. The positive international recognition of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre, in Brazil, encouraged other municipalities in Latin America and in other parts of the world to implement such processes. In Peru, the national government made it an important component of its participatory decentralization in 2003.

Chapter four presents and discusses results. It analyzes participatory budgeting processes in VES in relation to the six dimensions of EPG. In terms of participation, this study presents the norms in place for gender equity in terms of quantitative participation and assesses how they translate in terms of registration and attendance. It also analyzes gender-differentiated limitations participants identified in terms of registration and attendance. In terms of representation, it assesses the representation of men and women at the territorial level, and the extent to which men and women's demands are discussed, and men and women's interests represented within processes. In terms of political equality, this study assesses the extent to which men and women have the opportunity to voice their demands and influence processes.

Chapter five summarizes the main results and themes of this study,

discusses its biases and methodological limits, and concludes with a call for more research on key themes. Gender quotas, in terms of participation and representation, are a good first step toward gender inclusion. However, quotas do not address limitations at the source of low attendance rates and the non-renewal of registration, two main problems of processes in terms of participation. Some of these limitations are gender-differentiated, which suggests that participatory budgeting processes need to implement gender-differentiated strategies to encourage the renewal of participation and higher rates of attendance. Moreover, disparities exist between men and women in terms of voice, and their capacity to influence processes. Strategies need to be adopted to ensure deeper gender inclusion, thereby addressing the relative lack of political equality.

Figure 1. Summary of the main concepts of this study

Deliberative Democracy	Gender and Budgeting	Participatory Budgeting
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legitimacy: based on the process itself • Processes must be inclusive (participation, representation and political equality) • Political equality: equal voice, freedom from domination, autonomy, equal opportunity to influence outcomes • The legitimacy of processes and their outcomes is threatened by exclusion • Participatory budgeting is a deliberative minipublic Fung has categorized under 'Empowered Participatory Governance' (EPG). • The six dimensions of EPG form an ideal model. The dimension of 'deliberation' should aim to create ideal conditions for gender inclusion. • EPG has three institutional objectives: effective problem-solving, equity, and broad and deep participation. This study suggests that another objective should be inclusion. Equity and broad and deep participation can be reconceptualized under 'inclusion'. • How does the analysis of gender inclusion and exclusion in participatory budgeting in VES help the conceptualization of gender inclusion for EPG and deliberative democracy more broadly? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feminists have fought for women's social, economic and political rights • Budgets often have a neutral approach to gender, thus not recognizing that programs and policies have different impacts on men and women. • Women should be involved in decision-making: the literature centres on participation and representation. Moser and Moser (1995) suggest that gender budgeting should not only assess the differentiated impacts of policies and programs but also identify inequalities between men and women in their capacity to intervene and participate in decision-making. • When budgetary decision-making involves participatory processes, what should this entail for 'gender' participatory budgeting in terms of women's inclusion? What are the factors of gender exclusion? • 'Gender' participatory budgeting should emphasize the inclusion of men and women, in terms of participation, representation and political equality. It should be concerned with exclusion along gender lines. It should be concerned with gender-differentiated demands. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Peru, local participatory budgeting institutionalizes the participation of civil society in deliberation on budgetary decision-making. • Case study: Men and women are involved in participatory budgeting. Gender is a recurrent concept in discourses on development in Villa El Salvador. The municipality constantly reiterates that gender is important to its development. Normatively, each organization needs to register one woman and one man- for gender equity; positive discriminatory measures for the representation of women at the territorial level are also in place. • But- is that enough to ensure gender inclusion in participatory budgeting? Inclusion should be based on elements of participation, representation and political equality (based on deliberative democratic theory) in its conceptualization.

CHAPTER 2: 'EPG' AND GENDER INCLUSION

Democratic theory is concerned, among other things, with the legitimacy of political decisions. Legitimacy rests, in part, on the authority of certain actors to make decisions, either for themselves or on behalf of others. Democratic models, such as participatory and deliberative democracy, are concerned with, respectively, increased participation of citizens and public deliberations in political decision-making. Such models bring up important questions regarding inclusion and exclusion within decision-making processes. With this in mind, this chapter discusses deliberative democracy, EPG, and gender. It also presents the methodology of this study.

2.1. Participatory and deliberative democracy

In the United States, Pateman has been central to the re-emergence of debates concerning participatory democracy. In Europe, the writings of Habermas on the public sphere have had a tremendous influence, and, in South America, De Sousa Santos has been a prominent figure in the development and advocacy of participatory democracy. In the last thirty years, participatory and deliberative processes were implemented in local governance around the world. Social movements and citizens' initiatives have had a central role in placing participatory democracy, and deliberative democracy, on the political agenda. Two successful cases are worth noting in particular: the case of community policing in Chicago, in the United States, and the case of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre, in Brazil. These experiences have stimulated social capital, increased citizens' participation in decision-making processes and civil society,

and helped responding more efficiently to citizens' needs and concerns. Participatory budgeting has often encompassed increased citizen participation and the use of deliberative decision-making based on principles of deliberative democracy, such as public reason. In South America, the success of participatory budgeting in Brazil has given visibility to participatory deliberative democracy and provided empirical data to support a hybrid model. In the academic literature, EPG, a participatory minipublic defined under deliberative democracy, represents an opportunity to analyze hybrid minipublics involving both elements of participatory and deliberative democracy. However, the aims of participatory and deliberative democratic models are somewhat conflicting. It becomes harder to deliberate effectively when participation is high. EPG minipublics have to find a balance between these conflicting objectives.

There is an ongoing debate in the literature between scholars who argue that democracy is threatened by too much democracy, and others who argue that democracy is threatened by too little. For example, Barber (2003) argues that liberal representative democracy tends to be 'thin democracy', while participatory and deliberative democracy are examples of 'strong democracy'. De Sousa Santos (2004) argues that more democracy is needed for democracy to have positive effects for all citizens. For participatory democrats, the problem with current models of democracy is that they are not democratic enough. In the 1970s, Pateman built on the ideas of Rousseau and Mill on the importance of citizen participation in decision-making to advocate and develop a participatory democratic model. Participatory democrats have argued that their model

generates positive outcomes such as the creation of a 'real' citizenry, informed, interested in politics, aware of their rights and responsibilities, and trained to act and think democratically, through political participation (Mill, 1862). Participatory democracy serves as a school of democracy, hence its emergence in democratizing processes, especially in local governance. Pateman (1970), echoing Mill, stresses the educative function of participatory democracy. According to Pateman's views, representative democracy at the national level is not enough for democracy to fulfil its objectives because citizens themselves need to be democratically trained. Democratic views are developed through participation. Pateman's recommendation is therefore to involve popular classes in participatory governance, in all spheres of life, to remedy for the tendency of citizens pertaining to those classes to think undemocratically. The phrase 'democratizing democracy' (De Sousa Santos, 2004) has appeared recurrently in the literature, along with models of participatory and deliberative democracy.

Deliberative democrats suggest that their model generates positive outcomes for deepening democracy. Fung (2002) recommends deliberative democracy as a public-creation approach to solving problems, arguing that the solution to the lack of political legitimacy in democratic processes lies in "participation, deliberation, empowerment, and equality" (p.66-67). Gutmann and Thompson (1996) argue that deliberative democracy provides political legitimacy to decision-making on moral conflicts, ill-resolved from the perspective of political legitimacy under other models. In their view, deliberative democracy, with its deliberations based on reason, enhances the possibilities of reaching 'mutually

acceptable decisions' (p.1). They argue that the problem with current models of democracy is their 'deliberative deficit', an echo to the idea that today's democracies are not democratic enough to fulfil democratic objectives. Cohen (2007) offers three different arguments in favour of deliberative democracy: (1) its link to justice, as results are the closest to what they could be under ideal conditions; (2) its outcomes driven by reasoned and reflective arguments; and (3) its decision making process based on reasoning rather than interests. Participatory deliberative processes might also: 1- curb corruption by involving citizens in local management and accountability, especially when such processes are linked to budgetary decision-making; 2- inform and make citizens sensible to development issues, including immediate and long-term needs; finally, 3- teach citizens to think and act democratically. In sum, participatory democrats have suggested that participatory democracy 'democratizes democracy' because of its emphasis on increased, mostly direct, participation. Deliberative democrats have suggested that deliberative democracy 'democratizes democracy' because of its emphasis on procedures, and deliberations based on public reason. Participation and deliberation, in a hybrid model, remain conflicting aims, as the quality of deliberation tends to diminish with increased participation.

A mix of experiences of participatory and deliberative democracy have appeared in Latin America, with aims at involving citizens more directly in decision-making, and addressing development issues in a more consensual manner. Until now, most experiences involving participatory and deliberative democracy have served complementary purposes to processes of liberal

representation. There is a debate as to whether participatory and deliberative democratic models should substitute or complement other models such as liberal representative democracy.

Fung (2002) argues that modern democracies, based on variants of liberal representative democracy, remained silent to Dewey's concerns, voiced in the 1930s. These concerns are: "low voters turnout, distrust toward government, and a cynical sense that the whole state apparatus of political activities is a kind of protection coloration to conceal the fact that big business rules the government roost in any case" (Fung, 2002, p.66). Fishkin (1995) recalls the concern of American anti-federalists that "no elected representation would be representative. Ordinary people [...] – farmers, laborers, people without a great deal of education- would tend to get left out" (p.25). Some scholars have criticized liberal representative democracy because political representatives are somewhat disconnected from other citizens. De Sousa Santos (2004) suggests that the current liberal representative model is synonymous with democracy based on the privatization of the public good, privileging a limited elite, generating both a growing distance between citizens and their representatives, and false political inclusion limited by social exclusion.¹ Deliberative and participatory democratic models address some of the problems liberal representative democracy is not able to address at the local level, especially in the context of democratization and development. In the event that participatory and deliberative democratic models

¹ However, De Sousa Santos (2004) acknowledges that representative democrats have argued that representation is needed because modern states are big and complex.

address contextual flaws of liberal representative democracy, they might complement the latter to deepen democratic legitimacy.

Key definitional concepts of deliberative democracy have emerged in the literature. First, deliberative democracy has implied the use of deliberations in decision-making. Deliberations rest on public reason, which is an intrinsic feature of the deliberative model.² Deliberative democrats have generally agreed that deliberations should be reflective, reciprocal, free, public, and based on the principle of accountability. They have stressed that deliberations need to be inclusive of politically equal³ actors, mutually respecting each other, and willing to be bound to the outcomes of deliberations. Deliberative democrats have sustained that deliberative processes should be inclusive of the parties impacted by decisions. The common good has ideally been the aim of deliberations. However, there is a debate within the field between scholars about whether the participants' first concern is their self-interest or the common good (Valadez, 2001)⁴, attained through public reason.⁵ Moreover, Young (1997-1) challenges the idea that deliberations should be geared toward the common good. Instead, she states:

² Rawls (1996) has written intensively on the need of public reason in political decision-making. Deliberative democrats such as Cohen (1997) and Valadez (2001) stressed the importance of public reason in deliberations.

³ Radical democrats have argued that political equality is impossible without social and economic equality. Others, such as Arendt (1958) have defined political equality as the 'equality of unequals'. This study takes the stance that addressing social and economic inequalities is a long-term project but that processes should try to reduce the effects they have on political equality within processes. Political equality, for deliberative democrats, has referred to concepts of equal voice and equal opportunities to influence processes and their outcomes.

⁴ Gutmann and Thompson (1996) have argued that participation does not come from self-interest, but rather from a 'desire to justify to others' (p.53).

⁵ Scholars have considered 'consensus' a key concept of deliberative democracy. In fact, Habermas (1996) tends to see it as the objective of deliberation, and the key to its legitimacy. Others have argued that deliberations are highly unlikely to generate consensus. Cohen (1997) is among them. This study looks at deliberative settings in which deliberations occur, and where procedures are in place to make decisions when consensus cannot be reached, recognizing the limitations to reaching consensus.

With theorists of deliberative democracy, I define the democratic process as a form of practical reason for conflict resolution and collective problem solving. So defined, democratic process entails that participants have a commitment to cooperation and to looking for the most just solution. These conditions of openness are much weaker, I believe, than what many thinkers mean by seeking a common good or a common interest (p.400).

Scholars such as Valadez (2001) suggest that “deliberative democracy would likely have important positive effects on a society’s political culture” (p.34), such as the development of elements building a ‘democratic citizenship’. This is an argument similar to the ‘school of democracy’ argument in participatory democracy. As citizens deliberate, they learn to make decisions democratically. However, scholars have acknowledged certain limits to deliberations. Shapiro (1999) suggests that “[p]eople with opposed interests are not always aware of just how opposed those interests actually are. Deliberation can bring differences to surface” (p.31). On one hand, Przeworski demonstrated that deliberation creates conflict rather than consensus and/or agreement, and viewed democracy as a mechanism for managing conflict. On the other hand, Gutmann and Thompson claimed that deliberation “reduces disagreement and increases mutual accommodation of differences that cannot be resolved” (Shapiro, 1999, p.32). The shape and design of deliberative settings, and the actors involved, have been among the variables influencing outcomes of deliberations, and leading to these opposed views.

2.1.1 Participatory budgeting

Processes of participatory budgeting have taken different shapes depending on the context in which they were implemented. Participatory budgeting is usually an instrument or a process of decision-making in which a

certain percentage of a government's budget is decided upon by citizens or interested actors. Citizen participation and deliberations, basic features of, respectively, participatory and deliberative democracy, are usually important components of participatory budgeting. Over the last twenty years, participatory budgeting has emerged in Latin America, and subsequently scholars of various fields have analyzed these processes as empirical cases. In Latin America, the pioneering city of Porto Alegre is probably the most studied case⁶. Other well-known Brazilian cases of participatory budgets were examined in the communities of Minas Gerais and Novo Horizonte. Scholars have recently started to study experiences outside of Brazil.⁷ Scholars have studied participatory budgeting under both participatory and deliberative democratic models, depending on intrinsic characteristics of processes. Deliberative democrats have studied the extent to which participatory budgeting is deliberative. EPG helps in determining the deliberative nature of participatory budgeting processes.

The literature on participatory budgeting looks at reasons and contexts for its implementation and evolution, its outcomes and effects. Some of them are closely linked to ideal conditions and suggested outcomes of deliberative democracy. Baiocchi (2003) suggests that, contrary to the views of many scholars, the urban poor of Porto Alegre have succeeded in creating 'civic discourses' and participating in 'deliberations' through their involvement in

⁶ See, for example, Abers, 1996; Baiocchi, 2001, 2003, 2005; Bruce, 2004; Genro and Souza, 1997; Gret and Sintomer, 2005; Navarro, 1996, 2002; Nylén, 2002; De Sousa Santos, 1998, 2004; Souza, 2001; Wampler and Avritzer, 2004; Wampler, 2004.

⁷ Cabannes (2004) and Shah (2007), among others, provide analyses based on the comparison of case studies outside of Brazil, broadening understanding of limits and possibilities of participatory budgeting across contexts.

participatory budgeting. Baiocchi also reports that, “while no comprehensive evidence exists yet about [the] impacts [of participatory budgeting (PB)] across contexts, in a number of individual cases PB has been linked to redistributive outcomes [...], increased governmental efficiency [...], increased civic activity, and a transformed political culture” (Baiocchi, 2006, p.71). Participatory budgeting, through the increased participation of poor and marginalized groups, also has positive effects in terms of social inclusion (IADB, 2005). Wampler and Avritzer (2004) suggest that participatory budgeting develops and reinforces the strength of civil society, and has helped to curb clientelism in local governance, in some of the Brazilian cases. Wampler (2004) looks at the positive potential outcomes of participatory budgeting on accountability, and suggests that such processes have mixed results in this regard. Nylén (2002) sustains that, as participatory and deliberative democratic theorists have suggested, participatory budgeting empowers citizens.

In recent years, participatory budgeting has emerged at the local level in other countries in Latin America. The multiplicity of experiences, some more successful than others, has allowed the literature to diversify and compare cases across context. The development of ideal models, such as EPG, has permitted the analysis of empirical cases based on certain common premises, as well as a reflection toward improving theoretical ideals based on lessons learned from the study of these cases.

2.1.2 EPG and inclusion

The recent literature on deliberative democracy has heavily depended on the study of empirical cases (Johnson, 2008). This has generated a need for their categorization and the development of models. Models provide a basis to compare cases. Over the last ten years, Fung has written extensively with other deliberative democrats on the categorization of minipublics⁸ and the development of deliberative models.

One of the institutional models of deliberative democratic minipublics is called 'Empowered Participatory Governance' (EPG), which refers broadly to a minipublic in which citizens are encouraged to take part in decision-making through deliberations. Scholars have generally understood this model as an ideal⁹ to attain, based on six dimensions Fung and Olin Wright (2003) have developed:

- 1- Deliberation, referring to the extent that decision-making is deliberative;
- 2- Action, referring to the extent that results of deliberation are implemented;
- 3- Monitoring, referring to the extent that the implementation of results is monitored;
- 4- Centralized coordination and power, referring to the extent that experiences and lessons learned from processes are shared;
- 5- School of democracy, referring to the extent that processes serve the development of a democratic citizenship; and,
- 6- Outcomes, referring to the extent that processes generate fairer outcomes than other models (p.30-33).

Fung and Olin Wright (2003) suggest that EPG has three institutional objectives: generating effective problem solving, equity, and broad and deep

⁸ Fung (2007) defines the concept of minipublic, deriving from earlier conceptualization of the public sphere. The objective of minipublics dictates their composition. For example, it might aim to be representative of the population as a whole or involve all interested actors of a specific topic.

⁹ Baiocchi (2003) suggests that "the EPG proposal is an ideal-typical design proposal for deliberative decision-making and pragmatic decision-solving among participants over specific common goods" (p.46).

participation. They argue that EPG creates equity through: 1- the delivery of goods to disadvantaged people; 2- the inclusion of disadvantaged people; and 3- the deliberative nature of its decision-making. Equity, in minipublics, represents both an objective and a set of strategies to adopt to create more legitimate settings. Strategies mostly centre on quantitative norms of participation and representation. This study calls for the reformulation of this objective into one based on full-fledged inclusion, through strategies based on deepening: 1- participation; 2- representation; and 3- political equality. Norms of equity in terms of participation and representation are necessary but not sufficient to reach inclusion in deliberative settings. Political equality is also a necessary condition of inclusion. The assessment of the dimension of deliberation should be more comprehensive and measure the level of inclusion of processes. EPG suggests that deliberations should be inclusive of political equals. This would aid in diminishing the possibility that the legitimacy of deliberations becomes undermined because of the domination of certain actors within deliberative processes. Inclusion might be understood to encompass the ideals of EPG of broad and deep participation and equity, and be assessed within the dimension of deliberation based on ideals of deliberative democracy.

The basis for the legitimacy of deliberative democracy is the procedures and the process of deliberation itself. The assessment of the legitimacy of the process has become essential for the acceptance of deliberative democracy as a democratic model. Young (2000) argues “that the model of deliberative democracy implies a strong meaning of inclusion and political equality which,

when implemented, increases the likelihood that democratic decision-making processes will promote justice” (p.6). Not only should inclusion be understood in terms of participation and representation; it should also be understood in terms of political equality. Scholars have sustained that inclusion is important for deliberative democracy. For example, Dryzek (1996) sustains that inclusion of the marginalized and disadvantaged makes democracy more substantial and effective. Young (2004) suggests that inclusion “motivates participants in political debate to transform their claims from mere expressions of self-regarding interest to appeals to justice [and] maximises the social knowledge available to a democratic public” (p.26). These points link inclusion to important precepts of legitimacy in deliberative democracy, namely ‘public reason’, ‘reflection’ and ‘publicity’.

Participation, the possibility to take part, is an important feature of inclusion. EPG calls for similar measures as models of participatory democracy in terms of participation, as its objective of broad and deep participation suggests. Fung (2007) suggests “the outcomes of deliberation depend critically upon who it is that deliberates” (p.162). In the particular case of participatory budgeting, settings should aim at including as many citizens as possible, as they are the parties affected by the decisions and outcomes of processes. In this sense, processes should not only establish norms to facilitate participation, but should also identify the most frequent obstacles and limitations to participation, while finding creative, direct or indirect, ways of addressing their impact on participation.

Maximizing participation means that the chances of having all interests and points of view represented are higher. It also means, in the case of certain actors, a renewed sense of civic duty and interest in politics, and the reinforcement of civil society. The literature suggests that participation at the local level touches citizens at a more personal level, which might be a motivation for them to become more involved or interested in politics. Feminist scholars, such as Vargas (2008), suggest that women, sometimes considered a disadvantaged group, become more involved in politics at the local level. EPG might then represent a way to include women in decision-making.¹⁰

Maximizing participation means that an effort should be made to include disadvantaged groups that are generally absent in decision-making processes. Weatherford and McDonnell (2007) suggest that inclusion necessitates measures such as “purposive recruitment of the sorts of local residents who might not take part otherwise” (p.187). EPG should be concerned with identifying ‘series’ within the population that are not participating, ‘series’ that are not renewing their participation because of their situation, and those scarcely attending workshops. They should identify the factors limiting participation, and take measures to encourage it. Participation should be based on certain premises and impact processes in ideal ways. For example, participation should not be mandatory. Democratic citizen participation should be based on the premise of voluntarism and will. Participation should be shaped to serve as a system of checks and

¹⁰ This is particularly important for this study, as it looks at gender inclusion. Women are typically underrepresented at the political level in Peru. Women have traditionally been more involved in social organizations in VES, while men have traditionally dominated the political scene. If women are more likely to involve themselves at the local level, as feminists tend to argue, the creation of participatory processes involving civil society encourages women’s political inclusion.

balances on local governments. As residents involve themselves, they learn how local politics work, and, in the case of participatory budgeting in particular, develop skills to make local officials more accountable in terms of spending and money allocation.

Representation is another important albeit complex feature of inclusion. The definition and extent of inclusion in terms of representation vary greatly within the literature. Rosenberg (2007) sustains that inclusion in deliberative democracy means the representation of all parties potentially impacted by decisions or 'all the relevant points of view.' Young (1997-1) argues that "public discussion that includes all social perspectives in their partiality and gives them a hearing, [...] are most likely to arrive at just and wise solutions to [...] shared problems" (p.402). The identification of actors, points of view, and social perspectives is certainly not as straightforward as it might seem, and neither is inclusion in processes. A more classical definition of representation is concerned with group representation. Deliberative democracy is less concerned with quantitative group representation because deliberation is based on public reason, and therefore, as long as a group or its interests are represented, equal representation is not necessary. However, as deliberation through public reason remains an ideal, group representation should be assessed.

The depth of group representation poses a problem. What is a relevant point of view? Is having one representative from each party or point of view enough? For example, if fifty percent of the population is female, should fifty percent of participants be female, or is one enough? If the latter, this poses the

question of heterogeneity: How can a woman represent all women and their points of view? Women have different socioeconomic backgrounds, different levels of education, some are part of the economically active population, others not, etc. In terms of representation, in ideal conditions, therefore, representation according to demographics, and having more than one representative per series, are probably best.

Whether the ideal balance has to be achieved through positive discrimination or other means is another debate. Generally speaking, in political decision-making, deliberative democracy should represent all actors that decisions impact. One way to look at it is to evaluate exclusion in terms of representation and participation within processes, and analyze the extent to which it challenges their legitimacy. Transparent, inclusive decisions should then be made as to whether or not there is a need to implement strategies to counter these forms of exclusion, and whether these strategies should aim to maximize participation or deepen representation.

For various feminist theorists, following the framework of democratic citizenship, quantitative participation and representation, although a progressive step, are not sufficient to deem deliberative processes inclusive (Andersen and Siim, 2004; Young, 2004). Consequential forms of exclusion still remain, in part linked to the quality of participation within processes. For this reason, their definition of inclusion considers key concepts of political equality. Dryzek (2007) defines political equality as “the right, capacity, and opportunity to participate in

deliberation” (p.243), stressing the importance of having an ‘equal voice’ and an ‘equal capacity to influence processes’.

Within specific participatory deliberative processes, forms of exclusion come from two different aspects of processes: intrinsic characteristics of processes¹¹ and dynamics in play between participants, which themselves can derive from external inequalities. Various feminist theorists argue that the designs of decision-making processes favour male participation over female participation (Fraser, 1998). Other scholars emphasize the risk of group polarization, domination, or lack of autonomy within processes. The concern is not only to have a voice but to have an equal voice, an equal opportunity to influence reasoned, reflective decision-making processes¹².

There is a debate in the literature on political equality about the impact of social and economic inequalities. Some scholars suggest that political equality does not need social and economic equality. Others sustain that political equality is not possible without social and economic equality. In her commentaries on EPG, Mansbridge (2003) suggests that social and economic inequalities have an impact on political equality when they: 1- generate differences in interests; 2- create differences in perspectives; and 3- prevent the mutual respect of individuals. Mansbridge (2003) sustains that social and economic inequalities that do not generate such consequences do not impact political equality.

¹¹ By this I mean both the way processes are shaped and which actors are in a situation of authority, such as the facilitator, mediator, or other actors involved with the processes, besides participants themselves.

¹² Valadez (2001) and Dahl (2006) both affirm that political equality is based not only on rights but also on equal opportunities to exercise those rights.

What does this conceptualization of inclusion mean for the analysis of inclusion? This study suggests that, based on the premises established in this section, the analysis of gender inclusion in EPG should encompass the following dimensions:

Figure 2. Dimensions of gender inclusion

Dimension	Components
Participation	Broad participation Gender equity in terms of registration Gender equity in terms of attendance Are limitations gendered?
Representation	Group representation (WID) Gender equity in structures of power Are limitations gendered? Representation of interests (Practical and strategic needs; Politics of difference; GAD) – Are gendered demands represented through the process?
Political Equality	Right and opportunity to have a voice Right and opportunity to influence processes Are limitations gendered?

In terms of participation,

- 1- A quantitative assessment of participation based on relevant criteria; and,
- 2- A qualitative assessment of measures taken to ensure broad participation, and limitations to participation.

In terms of representation,

- 1- A quantitative assessment of representation in structures of power; and,
- 2- A qualitative assessment of measures taken to ensure representation.

In terms of political equality,

- 1- A qualitative assessment of an equal voice, meaning that all actors have an equal opportunity to express their voice, and that their differentiated situation does not impede them to do so; and,
- 2- A qualitative assessment of the degree of equal opportunity to influence processes, meaning that each actor's differentiated situation does not impede them to do so.

2.2 Gender analysis

The implementation of participatory and deliberative democratic models at the local level has meant more direct involvement of civil society in decision-making processes, especially in Latin America. These processes introduce new dynamics, in which social actors are involved in the budgetary decision-making processes of municipalities, blurring the lines between social and political participation¹³. International organizations, national and local governments, non-governmental organizations, and scholars have all stressed the importance of gender in local governance and development.

Andía Pérez and Beltrán Barco (2002) state that gender is concerned with the differentiated situations of men and women, both in their interactions with one another, and in relation to social, cultural, economic, and political variables. The concern about gender in development literature and in the academic world comes from the recognition that studying men and women without assessing their differentiated situations or their relations with one another leads to inaccurate conclusions. Men and women represent highly broad and heterogeneous groups. For this reason, even though gender literature, across fields of study, is extensive, issues remain on the validity of studying men and women as groups. Women are individuals with differing political leanings, and social and economic statuses. Women also relate differently to women's issues and civil society. Vargas (2008), a prominent feminist in Peru, characterizes women's groups in Latin America along three categories: (1) feminists; (2) 'rebelled' women or

¹³ This study understands social participation as participation in civil society, and political participation as participation in the political arena. The political arena is composed of political parties and institutions.

women's groups emerging from 'popular' neighbourhoods; and (3) women's groups emerging from traditional patriarchal groups. Women, including women involved in participatory budgeting, the focus of this study, represent a heterogeneous group. Young (1997-2) suggests considering 'women' not as a 'group' but rather as a 'series', based on Sartre's concept of seriality (1960). This framework is interesting for many reasons. On the one hand, it solves the problem of heterogeneity, as women are situated along a certain spectrum for each issue, and their situation can be driven by other variables defining who they are: their level of education, or their socioeconomic status, for example. On the other hand, this framework permits the analyst to place women's opinions on certain issues along a spectrum from their status as 'women', and define patterns around this status. Young explains that seriality allows the placement of women in variable positions emerging from their relation to gender 'practico-inert' objects. For example, access to education becomes a 'practico-inert' object that men and women relate to in different ways, along a certain spectrum. This study adopts this framework to discuss gender, using the terms 'men' and 'women' loosely, as series, not as groups.

In the 1970s, main theories of development followed precepts of 'Women in Development' (WID), and then 'Women and Development' (WAD). Pearson and Jackson (1998) report that WID and WAD were a "policy response to the concern that the fruits of development were not trickling down to women; the response was therefore that women should be factored into such programmes" (p.2). More recently, 'Gender and Development' (GAD) has influenced the

theorization of gender in development. GAD has emerged from the recognition that “the relations between men and women are social and therefore not immutable and fixed” (Pearson and Jackson, p. 3), and studies of men and women should consider these social aspects. Therefore, while WID and WAD pertain to a categorization based on biological differences, and look at the roles of and impacts on women in development, GAD has moved forward by looking at social structures and relations between men and women, the social construction of gender, gender-differentiated roles in development, and the differentiated impacts development has on men and women. GAD stresses the social situation of women as ‘subordinated’ to men.

Feminist literature has also looked at social structures and relations between men and women, and offered strategies to include women in political decision-making. For example, feminists have contributed to the development of politics of difference, which is based on identity groups, to a certain extent, but have gone further in considering relationships between groups. Scholars have argued that politics of difference is based on social interactions, and therefore implies that identities are moving and transforming. Young calls for a democratic view based on a politics of difference, which she describes as an emphasis on “the need to include different social perspectives in politics, [...] to accept difference and create mutual recognition and a respect that transcends difference - that is, to reinforce as well as to transform existing group identities” (Andersen and Siim, 2004, p.4-5). Current strategies toward gender inclusion are in large part in the form of quotas. A quota might be in the form of a certain percentage of

women as participants or representatives. Strategies of gender equity based on quotas might not translate into the implementation of a gender perspective in the projects presented, nor address the causes behind the limitations men and women face in their participation. These causes, rooted in cultural, social, economic, and political inequalities, need to be addressed, directly or indirectly, to fully include men and women. Some feminists thus believe that gender quotas, while addressing imbalances in the quantitative representation at the political level, do not necessarily address the causes behind these imbalances.

For many difference democrats, implementing quotas addresses the inclusion of disadvantaged groups such as women. Quotas generally translate into a greater representation of women at the political level, and a more even participation between men and women. Scholars have argued that gender quotas have mixed results in terms of raising concerns about gender issues. However, scholars have challenged the idea that more representation should translate into more concerns for a specific group's issues. Indeed, Phillips argues that quotas are enough, and that representatives do not have to represent the interests of the disadvantaged group they represent in the statistics (Dryzek, 1996). This contradicts the idea in deliberative democracy that the representation of interests is more important than equal group representation. While men and women do not have to represent gender identities, men and women might have different priorities. When men and women are duly represented, deliberations allow for the representation of different points of view, which do not necessarily have to be gendered. Quotas allow for a more even participation of men and women.

However, quotas do not address other limitations men and women have in expressing their voice and influencing discussions and outcomes.

The 1995 UN Conference on Women in Beijing has developed strategies of gender mainstreaming to deepen gender inclusion in politics and development. Moser and Moser (2005) summarize the conceptualization of gender mainstreaming as the recognition that 'planned actions' have differentiated impacts on men and women, and therefore the design and implementation of planned actions should consider these impacts with the aim of reaching gender equality. Gender mainstreaming is often implemented through two strategies: the 'institutionalization of gender concerns' and 'gender empowerment'. Moser and Moser stress that gender empowerment means more than female participation in decision-making, as it encompasses the capacity of women to influence agendas and decisions¹⁴.

In the last few decades, experiences of gender budgeting have emerged. They represent a strategy of gender mainstreaming in development. Gender budgeting has caught the attention of feminist scholars. Fraser (1997) defines gender budgeting as "determining if the government's budget integrates gender issues in all policies, plans, and programs, or whether, due to a supposed gender neutrality and a focus on traditional women's roles, their rights and needs are not being considered". This definition fits well within the first strategy of gender mainstreaming, which is based on addressing the differentiated impacts policies and programs on men and women. While gender budgeting focuses on the first

¹⁴ Andersen and Siim (2004) provide a useful definition of empowerment as "the process of awareness and capacity-building, which increases the participation and decision-making power of citizens" (p.2).

strategy of gender mainstreaming, namely the 'institutionalization of gender concerns', 'gender participatory budgeting' should focus on the second strategy of gender mainstreaming, namely 'gender empowerment'.

In Peru, experiences of participatory budgeting have become an important process for the implementation of strategies to work on gender issues in local governance. UNIFEM, channelling resources through municipalities and Peruvian non-governmental organizations, has funded various projects of gender budgeting. The implementation of participatory and deliberative democratic models at the local level means more direct involvement of civil society in decision-making processes. Radical democrats argue that unless it addresses power imbalances based on gender, ethnicity and economic classes, democratization 'remains an empty promise' (Philips, 2004, p. 43). Gender participatory budgeting represents an opportunity to address these imbalances.

The links between the theorization of gender budgeting and introducing a gender perspective into participatory budgeting are not straightforward. Gender budgeting looks at the differentiated impacts of government policies and programs based on gender, and the involvement of men and women in decision-making processes. It mainly calls for the development of indicators and studies to understand the non-neutral nature of policies and programs on men and women, as well as the development of policies and programs to respond to the gender-differentiated impacts of budgets. Gender budgeting also advocates for the participation of women in budgeting decision-making. Following precepts of deliberative democracy, the objective of gender participatory budgeting should be

to include men and women as political equals, autonomous and free from domination. Gender participatory budgeting might therefore be used as a tool to empower men and women and encourage them to value their respective social perspectives, demands and needs. Gender participatory budgeting aims at generating leaders who value equal participation and representation, as well as political equality based on the recognition of differences between plural identities and points of view.

Gender participatory budgeting is concerned with exclusion and limits to men's and women's participation, representation, and political equality. The motivations behind men and women's involvement in the processes, whether they voice their demands and concerns, and whether their demands and concerns are represented, are important to assess. Gender participatory budgeting needs to assess the extent to which gender impacts citizen participation. After studying and assessing the variable 'gender' and its relation to inclusion, the municipality and participants alike might respond to these through the normative implementation of certain rules and codes of conduct.

The impacts that programs and projects, prioritized through participatory budgeting, have on gender become a secondary objective, but still an important part of gender participatory budgeting. There are many ways in which processes might influence participants to consider issues of gender in the formulation of their projects. Participatory budgeting processes might involve workshops on the implementation and importance of a gender perspective in the development of ideas for projects. Supporting organizations, such as non-governmental

organizations, might work more closely with participants designing ideas for projects to ensure that these consider gender. In participatory budgeting, ideas for projects come mainly from the participants. Processes and strategic lines and objectives of their municipality's development plan sometimes dictate, in part, the possibilities and shapes of these projects. Processes can include some measures aiming at incorporating a gender perspective in the development and thinking of ideas for projects. Processes can also reward ideas for projects that consider gender, as some of the criteria of participatory budgeting processes have demonstrated. However, it is not until the participants accept the importance of considering gender that ideas for projects will start responding to this logic.

Feminist scholars have analyzed gender differentiations in relation to the public and private spheres. In varying degrees, women have taken up more roles in the private sphere, while men have taken up more roles in the public sphere. In the last fifty years, however, women have somewhat increased their participation in the public sphere, while men have become more involved in the private sphere. Some scholars have closely linked the dichotomy between the differentiated roles men and women play in the public and private spheres to specific productive and reproductive roles of men and women. Moser (1993) defines the conceptualization of productive and reproductive roles, based on the gendered division of labour. Moser argues that women generally 'undertake reproductive, productive and community managing activities, while men primarily undertake productive and community politics activities'. Moser (1993) identifies childbearing and rearing as women's reproductive roles, for example, and

sustains that men's reproductive roles are less defined. Moser (1993) reports that the western idea of the household understands that women are mostly in charge of providing food, clothing and domestic goods while men are in charge of providing housing and education. Gender theorists have stressed the importance of reproductive and productive roles in impacting gender social, economic, and political inclusion. They have stated that reproductive and community managing activities are mostly unpaid work, while productive and community politics activities are usually paid work. When men and women identify their role in the family unit or constraints due to work, as causes limiting their participation, it provides insights on the extent to which reproductive and productive roles impact political participation in certain socio-cultural contexts.

Some scholars have theorized gender issues according to gender needs. Molyneux (1985) is the first to theorize gender strategic and practical needs, while Moser (1993) links productive and reproductive roles to these needs. Strategic needs emerge because of the need to fight the subjugation of women. Strategic needs are often considered to pertain to feminist thinking, as they challenge gendered roles. Molyneux (1985) lists political equality as a gender strategic need, calling for strategies to attain it. Practical needs emerge from the need to fulfil basic, more immediate needs. For example, as mothers -a reproductive role linked to the private sphere-, women advocate health services for their children. Padilla (2004) reports that some scholars challenge this separate denomination between practical and strategic needs, suggesting that

women's practical needs sometimes become or lead to the fulfilment of strategic needs.

2.3 Research methodology

This qualitative analysis of EPG and gender inclusion and exclusion in participatory budgeting in Peru encompasses the case study of VES. A case study through ethnography is best suited to study gender inclusion and exclusion in participatory deliberative processes. This provides a detailed descriptive analysis of a particular context from which lessons can be learned about analogous contexts, especially within other Latin American urban poor districts using similar participatory deliberative processes. In VES, the municipality has shown an interest in working on gender issues through participatory budgeting, implementing norms of gender equity within annual municipal bylaws regulating processes. In terms of participation, representation and political equality, gender theory provides useful analytical frameworks to understand gender-differentiated results. The study of this case within EPG provides a framework for comparisons of other cases in the future, as well as helps theorizing gender inclusion within deliberative democracy. This study assesses the extent to which processes in PP2009 were deliberative, and their level of gender inclusion, in terms of participation, representation and political equality.

I arrived in Lima, Peru, in June 2008, and spent approximately six months in VES. During the first three, I became familiar with the district, its residents, its organizations and local politics. During those months, I helped Desco in its

activities on local governance in Lima *Sur*. The research itself started at the end of August 2008, when participatory budgeting workshops were held.

In the course of this study, Desco, a non-governmental organization that has worked in VES for more than twenty years, hosted me. The organization is not only a well-known organization in the municipal district, it is also directly involved in its participatory budgeting processes. Desco has participated in PP2009's methodological workshops, and has provided a facilitator to conduct workshops in territory four.

From June until August, I participated in some of Desco's activities in the district. Among other things, I participated in the *Semana Urbana*, a week of institutional activities involving the presentation of VES's women's political agenda, a list of ten priorities that organized women of VES sought to prioritize through participatory budgeting. Due to my involvement in these activities, participants might have perceived me not only as a female foreigner, but also as a development worker involved with non-governmental organizations. While participants' perceptions of non-governmental organizations are usually positive in the district, and Desco is especially well regarded, I observed that some participants question their influence on participatory budgeting processes. Some participants would rather have participants decide on processes' methodological frameworks than have municipal and non-governmental organizations' representatives make these decisions.

Two people were key to the success of my investigation, as they walked and drove me around the sandy streets of VES. These two people, one man and

one woman, work for the municipality, distributing promotional flyers, and running errands for the mayor's office. Two other permanent employees of the municipality spent a lot of time with me in their respective territories and recruited participants to unofficial workshops that I conducted. For this reason, some participants might have associated me with the municipality.

In 2006 and 2007, I lived in Lima with the family of a woman who was in charge of a soup kitchen. During that six-month period, I worked closely with a non-governmental organization and various social organizations, and developed sympathies for these individuals, their hard conditions of living, and the volunteer work they do in their neighbourhoods. These experiences have shaped my perception of Peruvian civil society. I usually interacted in a familiar manner with men and women, using the local expression *mamita* or *señora* to talk to women, and *amigo* or *señor* to talk to men. Most talked to me using the local *mamita*, *amiga* or *señorita* as well. I believe that this, and their willingness to invite me into their homes and share a meal or a drink while conducting interviews showed a certain level of acceptance and a propensity to share their experience with me.

The data gathered over the course of this research came from three different sources: 1- observations made in and content of discussions in public workshops, as well as in the many contacts I had with the local population; 2- the review of processes' normative and official documents, especially those related to the three territories under study; and 3- semi-structured interviews of participants and former participants.

I made observations in, and analyzed content of, discussions in workshops 4 and 5 of territories 4, 6 and 9. I had to restrict this research to three territories (out of nine) of VES because workshops 4 and 5 were held in three territories on the same night. I chose territories according to the number of participants registered in PP2009. The ideal scenario was to conduct research in the territory with the highest number of participants, the lowest one, and the median one. This ideal scenario meant that I should have conducted research in territories 2 (115 registered participants), 6 (86 participants), and 9 (15 participants)¹⁵. However, workshops in territories 2 and 6 were held on the same night. I therefore chose the territory with the closest overall percentage of participants as a replacement. In the end, I conducted research in territories 4, 6, and 9, replacing territory 2 with territory 4 (108 registered participants).

I reviewed processes' normative and official documents. Norms usually came from published documents, while results came from non-published documents provided by the municipality of VES. The municipality provided me with non-published documents with general information on participants, registration and attendance, results of workshops and specificities of projects presented and prioritized for the territories under study.

Finally, I conducted semi-structured interviews of different groups: 1- men and women registered in PP2008 but not in PP2009; 2- men and women registered in PP2009 only; and 3- men and women registered in both PP2008 and PP2009. I randomly chose interviewees from the alphabetical lists provided

¹⁵ These numbers come from the official documentation the Municipality of VES provided participants on August 18, 2008.

by the municipality on its website, and conducted interviews according to the ability to reach participants¹⁶ and their willingness to participate in the study¹⁷. I did not use random snowball sampling, as I did not want to have participants with similar profiles, and I wanted to reach both participants who attended most workshops and participants who did not attend any. I interviewed participants in PP2008 who had not registered for the following year, as I wanted to add this data to the analysis of exclusion in terms of attendance and registration, and more specifically unravel causes behind the non-renewal of participation, and low rates of attendance to workshops. I interviewed participants in PP2009 who did not participate in PP2008, to examine more in depth their participation in processes, and their interests in participating. I interviewed participants who registered both in PP2008 and PP2009 to analyze more deeply their interests in processes and their perception on gender participation. Registered participants who did not attend any of the workshops were the most difficult to reach. For each group of participants mentioned above, I selected five men and five women in each territory, as presented in Table 1. This means that in territories 4 and 6, I conducted interviews with fifteen men and fifteen women, ten of which registered in processes for at least the last two years. The only exception was territory 9.

¹⁶ I mean by this that I tried to reach participants three to four times. In certain cases, however, I was not able to reach them, especially the ones without phone numbers or working long hours. The families of some participants told me they were 'cama adentro', meaning that they live and work in someone else's house, outside the district. Another man was ill in the hospital. In Territory 9, women were particularly hard to reach. Most of them do not work for the organization they represent, nor live at the address provided on the list. Many of them are the wives or daughters of members of their organization. When I tried contacting them through their organization, I was told many times that they could not help me as they had not participated in processes: the organization registered them only to meet the requirement of gender equity. These cases are examples of participants who were extremely hard to reach. After three to four times, I made the decision to switch to the next person on the list.

¹⁷ Only three participants refused to participate in the study. In fact, many active participants came to me asking whether they could participate in the study. When they were not on my list, I usually met them informally to discuss processes. If I would have conducted an interview with them, the data would not have come from a random sample, and it would be skewed toward providing a portrait of the most active participants. It was not the intent of this study, concerned with inclusion and exclusion.

The number of registered participants in that district was really low. For this reason, group lists often did not contain five names. I decided to conduct interviews with all participants that were on the lists, when I could reach them, if they agreed to participate. Although the absolute number of interviewees in this territory is low, the percentage of participants interviewed is higher than for territories 4 and 6. For territory 9, I interviewed nine participants out of fifteen who participated in PP2008. In total, I interviewed seventy-two participants, including forty-seven who registered in PP2009. I interviewed thirty-two women and forty men. In terms of percentage, I interviewed, roughly, 19% of registered participants in territory 4, 23% in territory 6, and 60% in territory 9.

Table 1. Number of men and women interviewed, per territory

	Territory 4			Territory 6			Territory 9		
	PP2008	PP2009	Both	PP2008	PP2009	Both	PP2008	PP2009	Both
Men	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	3	3
Women	5	5	5	5	5	5	1	0	1
Total	10	10	10	10	10	10	5	3	4

Appendix 1 provides the list of semi-structured interview themes, and close-ended questions. Data regarding participants in participatory budgeting is relatively scarce. For this reason, I included a series of written close-ended questions to interviews to gather basic information on interviewees. Results are presented in Table 2. Through semi-structured interviews, I gathered data on whether participants attended all workshops, causes behind their lack of attendance and renewal or non-renewal of participation, as well as perceptions on their own participation, and that of women and men. Interviews also provided

insights on men and women's demands and priorities, and associated motivations leading them to participate in processes.

Table 2 highlights certain territorial and gender specificities of interviewees. First, the majority of them from territory 9, covering the industrial park of VES, are male business owners who do not live in the territory. In general, men are older than women interviewed. The majority of participants are older than forty-five years old, and interviewees represent this tendency. In terms of education, the majority of interviewees completed high school, and more men than women attained technical degrees. Some interviewees were involved in other participatory budgeting committees such as their territory's management committee, the local coordination committee (CCL), or the vigilance committee.

Table 2. Portrayal of participants interviewed, per territory

Indicators		Territory 4		Territory 6		Territory 9	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Type of Organization	Neighbouring committee	6	6	7	5	1	0
	Mothers' Committee	0	0	3	1	0	0
	Soup Kitchen	0	0	3	2	0	0
	Youth Organization	2	0	0	0	0	0
	Glass of Milk Committee	0	0	3	5	0	0
	Association-Business Cooperative	3	1	0	0	8	2
	Women's Organization	0	0	1	2	0	0
	Civil Association	1	3	2	1	1	0
	Church	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Other	3	5	1	1	0	0
	N/A	0	1	0	0	0	0
Age	19-24 years old	2	0	0	0	1	0
	25-34 years old	1	1	2	3	0	1
	35-44 years old	3	5	6	2	1	0
	45-54 years old	1	6	1	7	2	1
	55 years old and more	7	2	6	3	5	0
	N/A	1	1	0	0	1	0
Education Completed	No level	1	0	1	1	0	0
	Elementary School	4	2	5	6	1	0
	High School	5	8	5	6	5	0
	University Degree	2	3	0	1	2	1
	Technical Degree	3	0	2	1	1	1
	Other	0	1	1	0	0	0
	No response	0	1	1	0	1	0
Live in the territory in which they participate	Yes	14	13	14	15	5	2
	No	1	1	1	0	5	0
	N/A	0	1	0	0	0	0
Involved PP Committees	Yes	3	1	2	3	3	2
	No	12	13	13	11	7	0
	N/A	0	1	0	1	0	0

Finally, most of the data presented in chapter four comes from simple qualitative coding analysis of some of the participants' answers. Qualitative coding analysis provides the basis for categorizing answers according to themes and contexts. Qualitative assessment of gender inclusion made through the analyst's observations and participants' interventions in public workshops complete the analysis.

CHAPTER 3: PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING IN PERU AND VES

The twentieth century witnessed successive waves of democratization. Huntington (1992) reports that most countries in Latin America have re-democratized during the period dubbed the 'third wave of democratization'. Decentralization¹ has been a key feature of democratization. Most countries in Latin America have pursued political, fiscal, functional, and participatory decentralization, although the actual implementation of these processes is ongoing and somewhat fragmentary. Political decentralization generally refers to the creation of sub-national governments, and the election of political representatives. Fiscal decentralization encompasses the transfer of funds toward sub-national governments, along with the right to collect taxes and generate revenues. Functional decentralization defines the devolution of certain responsibilities from national to sub-national governments. Participatory decentralization refers to increasing citizen participation in decision-making in sub-national governance.

Scholars have studied both the reasons for the implementation of decentralization processes, and the effects of their implementation. Scholars have argued, among other things, that countries decentralize because: 1- those in power foresee short-term electoral gains (O'Neill, 2005); 2- governance at the local level is closer to citizenry, and that officials might be more accountable as citizens become more involved (Grindle, 2007); 3- local governments are a good 'school of democracy' (Adamson, 1989)²; 4- the provision of goods and services

¹ For example, Brazil started an on-going decentralization process in 1988, Argentina in 1991, Colombia in 1991, Paraguay in 1992, Bolivia in 1994, and Ecuador in 1997-1998.

² This 'school of democracy' argument is recurrent in the literature on participatory and deliberative democracy.

might be more efficient (Finot, 2002; Grindle. 2007; McGuire, 2005; Willis, Haggard and Garman, 2001); 5- there is pressure to do so from below (Willis, Haggard and Garman, 2001); 6- there is pressure to do so from international financial institutions (Bardhan and Mookherjee, 2006); and, 7- they are facing a regime or fiscal crisis (O'Neill, 2005). Scholars have challenged some of these assumptions. For example, Tendler (1997) claims that decentralization creates a fiscal imbalance, as responsibilities are often transferred without the proper level of funding or without fiscal decentralization (Garman, Haggard, and Willis, 2001), and local governments lack the capabilities to assume those responsibilities (Murphy, 1995). Smoke, Gómez and Peterson (2006) suggest decentralization generates fiscal deficits, corruption and a fiscal imbalance between levels of governments. Despite these arguments, most countries in Latin America continue the implementation of ongoing decentralization processes.

Participatory decentralization has been a frequent feature of decentralization over the last twenty years. In Brazil, local governments have autonomously decided to implement processes featuring citizen participation, including participatory budgeting processes. Participatory budgeting first appeared in Porto Alegre, in Brazil, in 1989. Participatory budgeting is usually understood as being a 'bottom-up initiative' because social movements have exerted pressure, from below, on local political parties, for its implementation. Moreover, in Brazil, because processes are not institutionalized, the decision to conduct participatory processes is an annual political decision, often depending on pressures from social movements and actors, and the perceived positive

assessment of these processes. Three contextual features have been determinant in the emergence of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre:

- 1- The country was undergoing a democratization process involving decentralization;
- 2- The new constitution allowed the implementation of citizen participation at the local level; and
- 3- Social movements influenced the Workers Party to include features of citizen participation in its political platform in exchange for its support. The Workers' Party won the elections and followed through with the implementation of these processes.³

The success of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre has impacted Latin America's development, in terms of national and local governance. International aid agencies, development banks and other actors deem the experience of Porto Alegre a success. This, in turn, has convinced them to advocate for the implementation of citizen participation and participatory budgeting in local governance.⁴ Porto Alegre is well known around the world because of this initiative. The city provides an example of the processes' possible positive effects on governance.

Other cities across Brazil and South America have followed Porto Alegre's example and implemented participatory budgeting. Cabannes (2004) divides the spread of participatory budgeting in two historical waves: the first one, covering the beginning of the 1990s, in which participatory budgeting spread to other cities in Brazil; and the second one, from the mid-1990s on, in which participatory budgeting spread to municipalities elsewhere in Latin America and other parts of

³ For more detail on the emergence of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre, see Abers, 1996; Avritzer, 2004; Baiocchi, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2006; De Sousa Santos, 1998, 2004; and Genro and Souza, 1997.

⁴ The UNESCO and its program 'Most Best Practices' rewarded participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre under the category 'Community Participation and Urban Governance'. For more information, see the organization's website: <http://www.unesco.org/most/bpcomm.htm>. The World Bank's Social Development Group also rewarded Porto Alegre under the category 'Public Expenditure Management'. For more information, see its website: <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/0,,contentMDK:20502562~menuPK:1304725~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:244363,00.html>

the world. Goldfrank (2007) reports that the number of participatory budgeting experiences in the world varies from '250 to 2,500', depending on the definition given to such processes.

3.1 Democratization and decentralization in Peru

In recent years, after the fall of Alberto Fujimori, Peru has followed the regional pattern of democratization and decentralization. Fujimori was the President of Peru for the decade spanning from July 1990 to November 2000. During the first three years of his presidency, Fujimori was highly popular. The President managed to stabilize Peru's economy, and succeeded in restraining the Shining Path's terrorist attacks. In 1992, Fujimori, banking on his success and popularity, orchestrated a self-coup d'état, referred to as the Fujicoup. Kenney (2004) reports that various explanations were given for the coup, including

an undemocratic and plebiscitary political culture, [...] acute economic and military crises, [...] a loss of democratic legitimacy linked to these crises, [...] the need to strengthen a much-weakened state, [...] myopic and corrupt political parties and politicians, [...] an authoritarian, power-hungry executive, [...] an interventionist military and [...] the presence of criminally corrupt individuals in official positions [and,] institutional factors- especially the president's lack of legislative majority⁵ (p.3).

According to Barczak (2001), Fujimori took the opportunity of this political crisis to draft a new constitution, which both centralized power in the hands of the president⁶ and introduced features of direct democracy, including the possibility to call a referendum and remove authorities⁷. In terms of gender issues and

⁵ Kenney (2004) discusses other factors such as the weak Presidential veto power, constitutional and partisan powers and weak political coalition.

⁶ According to Matsuda (2001), during Fujimori's Presidency, Peru followed the country's "historical trend of *hipercentralismo* (extreme centralization) in which the President dominates other political actors, Lima dominates the provinces, and even, [...] mayors dictate to municipal councils" (p.1).

⁷ Aguilar et al. (2004) report, however, that, at least until 2002, the right to call a referendum and to remove authorities was not used.

women's inclusion, from a feminist perspective, results under Fujimori are mixed and questionable. Vargas (2008) suggests that women had never occupied as many ministerial positions as they did under Fujimori⁹. In 1997, Law 26864 introduced discriminatory measures, in the form of a 25% quota, to ensure women's political representation in the legislature¹⁰. Smith (2005) reports that women's representation in the legislature rose from 11% before the law to 18% under the law, reaching 20% in 2000. However, Vargas and Blondet (1999) argue that Fujimori created electorally opportunistic relations with women¹¹. Feminists such as Vargas have argued that the creation of social programs, such as family planning and the 'Glass of Milk' program, had mixed impacts on women. On the one hand, these programs concentrated the involvement of women in unpaid and therefore often unvalued 'community managing activities' roles instead of 'productive' roles. On the other hand, Fujimori helped in developing women's populist movements and their leadership.

The year 2000 represents a rupture in the Peruvian political context. In August, Fujimori's right-hand man and security chief Vladimir Montesinos was caught dealing arms with Colombia's FARC. In September, the media released what is now known as the Montesinos videos¹², showing the extent of the

⁸ Adelman (2002) reports that Fujimori promised a constitution based on less 'politics' and more 'effective government'. This announced the progressive demise of democracy in Fujimori's post-Fujicoup period.

⁹ Schmidt (2006) writes a detailed account of women's place in Fujimori's administration and the motivations and contextual features that led Fujimori to give women a prominent place.

¹⁰ The quota was increased to 30% in the 2001 elections.

¹¹ However, Blondet (2004) argues that Fujimori has had favourable impacts and offered opportunities for increased women political participation that lasted beyond his presidency. Fujimori provided women with the confidence to participate. Peruvians, especially women, increasingly valued women's participation, which translated into the increased acceptance of women in politics and the election of more women in the political arena. Fujimori built important political capital for women. Blondet (2004) suggests that some women became more Fujimoristas than Fujimori himself.

¹² Montesino recorded illegal transactions involving influential Peruvians. In the end, this strategy turned against Montesinos and Fujimori, as the videos documented the extent of the corruption within their administration.

corruption¹³ of Fujimori's administration. Fujimori then fled to Japan and resigned as president in November¹⁴. Shortly afterwards, a transitional government was put in place, with Valentín Paniagua at its head. This launched Peru into a new phase of its political history, featuring re-democratization and an acceleration of decentralization processes.

Following the fall of Fujimori, Paniagua assumed the presidency until the 2001 elections. Alejandro Toledo won the balloting under the banner of *Perú Posible*. Under Toledo's leadership, Peru started a new decentralization process in 2001, with the Law of Constitutional Reform in Chapter XIV- Title IV- on Decentralization. McNulty (2007) reports: "politically, the reform was designed to increase citizen participation at the local level, strengthen civil society, and improve Peru's fragile democratic system"¹⁵ (p.231). Arroyo (2006) suggests that decentralization, and more specifically the implementation of participatory processes in the legal framework of decentralization¹⁶, was believed to be the best way to promote development and social integration in Peru, a country facing serious problems of political representation, social fragmentation and exclusion.

Regardless of the motivations behind the implementation of these processes, from 2001 on, decentralization laws and Presidential resolutions were adopted, reforming the Peruvian state apparatus in terms of levels of government, their responsibilities and revenues. More specifically, between May

¹³ Aguilar et al. (2004) report that Transparency International has given Peru a score of 4.1/11 for 1999-2001, while the World Economic Forum has given 2.31/7 in 2001, on their respective indicator measuring perceptions on corruption (for both indicators, the lower the score, the higher the level of perceived corruption).

¹⁴ On April 7, 2009, Fujimori was charged for crimes against humanity during his presidency and sentenced to twenty-five years of prison.

¹⁵ This is my translation. In Spanish: "[p]olíticamente, la reforma se diseñó para incrementar la participación de los ciudadanos en el ámbito local, para fortalecer a la sociedad civil y para mejorar el frágil sistema democrático del Perú" (McNulty, 2007, p.231).

¹⁶ Arroyo (2006) dubs the implementation of participatory processes in decentralization processes as 'participatory decentralization'.

and July 2003, the Peruvian national government enacted two important laws institutionalizing citizen participation at the local level: Law 27972- Organic Law of Municipalities (Ley Orgánica de Municipalidades), Law 28056 - Normative Law of Participatory Budgeting (Ley Marco del Presupuesto Participativo), and related Supreme Decree 171-2003-EF: Ruling of Law 28056- Normative Law of Participatory Budgeting. The Organic Law of Municipalities transferred some responsibilities from the national to local governments. Law 28056 was the first national law regarding participatory budgeting in Peru, introducing participatory budgeting as a top-down initiative. The law has defined the responsibilities of each level of government in the introduction of participatory budgeting at the local level. The national government, through the Ministry of Economy and Finances, has retained the responsibility of establishing general annual guidelines for municipal governments to follow (Desco, 2005).

A series of National Accords was signed, defining the main characteristics of these processes and involving political as well as social actors. The first provision of these Accords states that Peru recognizes representative democracy as the basic organization of the state, reinforced and deepened through ongoing citizen participation. The tenth provision of the Accords calls for the state to strengthen women's participation, as social and political actors involved in dialogue and consultation with the state and civil society.¹⁷ The materialization of the policies of the Accords has been uneven, because of time and other institutional constraints, but it remains an ongoing process.

¹⁷ See the government's National Accords website for more detail: <http://www.acuerdonacional.gob.pe>

At the political level, gender imbalances remain. Decentralization has not meant a more even proportion of women elected to local offices. In the most recent municipal elections, in 2006, 97% of elected mayors and 72% of municipal councillors were men. Men still dominate municipal politics. For the same year, 14% of candidates to mayoral positions and 44% of candidates to councillors' positions were women. In VES, only two out of twelve elected councillors were women. In total, out of twelve mayoral candidates, one was a woman; and out of one hundred forty-two councillor candidates, fifty-nine were women (JNE, 2006). In the municipality, an imbalance remains in terms of the gender percentage of candidates and of elected mayors and councillors.

3.2 Participatory budgeting in Peru

In 2003, national accords established political and social wills to involve civil society in decision-making, especially in local governance. Participatory budgeting was introduced as a top-down initiative. The expression 'top-down' refers to the fact that the national government has institutionalized citizen participation, making it mandatory for local governments to conduct annual participatory budgeting processes. Various national and international actors have militated for participatory governance. However, the national government made the ultimate decision, and Peru became the first country to implement participatory budgeting through national legislation.¹⁸

Before the national law on participatory budgeting, a few municipalities in Peru had gained experience with similar processes. The municipal districts of

¹⁸ Goldfrank (2007) states that this is one of the specificities of the Peruvian case. Goldfrank also identifies another specificity in the fact that a centre-left government introduced participatory budgeting in Peru.

Villa El Salvador and of Ilo¹⁹, for example, had encouraged citizen involvement through participatory initiatives in budgetary decision-making at the local level as early as the 1980s, although these initiatives were not dubbed 'participatory budgeting' (*ParticipaPeru*, 2003). Such initiatives emerged as bottom-up initiatives at the local level. The implementation of processes under the 'law of participatory budgeting' is quite different. All regional and local governments have to implement annual participatory budgets. The Department of Economy and Finance (MEF) publishes annual guidelines in a document called *Instructivo*. Municipal governments then publish their district's calendar and rules, through municipal bylaws. Law 27972 defines municipal districts' responsibilities and stresses the importance of citizen participation in local governance. Therefore, even though participatory budgeting processes are mandatory through national legislation, municipalities can introduce local specificities through annual bylaws.

¹⁹ Arroyo (2006) dubs these two experiences as 'precursors' of local participatory processes in Peru.

Figure 3. Normative framework: Participatory budgeting in VES

Level of Government	Law or Norm	Main Characteristics
National Government	Law 27972 – Organic Law of Municipalities	Defines responsibilities for municipal districts
National Government	Law 28056 – Law of Participatory Budgeting (Supreme Decree 171-20030EF)	Dictates that regional and local governments must conduct annual participatory budgets
National Government	Law 28983 – Law of Equality of opportunities between men and women	Sets objectives for men and women to have equal opportunities at the political, social and economic levels.
National Government (through the Department of Economy and Finances)	Annual <i>Instructivo</i>	Dictates general annual guidelines to municipal districts on how to conduct participatory budgeting
Municipal District (in this case Villa El Salvador)	Annual Municipal Bylaws of Participatory Budgeting	Dictate the rules of participatory budgeting for the municipal district, according to local specificities
Municipal District	Concerted Development Plan	Provides lines of intervention and objectives for the development of the district

3.3 Villa El Salvador (VES)

VES is an urban district in the periphery of the municipal province of Lima. VES represents an interesting case study. Internationally, practitioners recognize the strength and specificities of its civil society. VES ranks similarly to other urban poor districts of Lima, and other municipalities in South America, on social, economic and demographic indicators. VES's concerns with development, including gender issues, and related indicators, also compare to various experiences throughout the region.

The nature of VES's civil society is tightly linked to its historical foundation. In the 1970s, the military government of General Juan Velasco recognized the imminent threat for invasions of the land in the southern part of Lima. The government therefore decided to actively monitor the invasions in the South of

the municipal province and intervene. The military created lines in the sand to divide the land of the area called *Tablada de Lurín*. The military moved invaders from another zone to the newly delimited plots of land and permitted them to take possession of these plots as long as they built a house within a certain time and limited the number of people on each plot of land.

The military divided the land into groups of sixteen squares composed of twenty-four plots of land each with a park in the middle. Each square formed a neighbourhood committee with a president at its head. In 1973, these committees became the basis of power of CUAVES²⁰, the Self-Managed Urban Community of VES. The organization's motto 'Because we have nothing, we will do it all' summarized well CUAVES's aspirations and its central role in the development of the district, most notably from 1973 until 1983. In 1983, VES officially became a municipal district. The mayor, Miguel Azcueta, signed a series of agreements with CUAVES, which resulted in the adoption of the principle 'communal law is municipal law'. The organization CUAVES and VES's citizens were directly involved in the governance of the municipality through participatory processes called *cabildos abiertos*, which were general assemblies of citizens. Presently, elected political representatives run the district. However, neighbourhood committees and CUAVES still represent an important characteristic of VES's civil society.

Since its foundation, men and women have taken important yet somewhat distinct roles in VES. Andía Pérez and Beltrán Barco (2002) report that men have typically dominated CUAVES and local politics while women have taken

²⁰ In Spanish, CUAVES stands for *Comunidad Urbana Autogestionaria de Villa El Salvador*.

important roles in social organizations delivering goods and services to the poor. Women have typically dominated organizations such as soup kitchens and 'Glass of Milk' committees. This follows the idea developed in chapter two that women usually take on reproductive and 'community managing activities' roles, while men generally take on productive and 'community politics activities' roles. VES has relied on FEPOMUVES, the Popular Federation of Women of VES, whose membership has consisted of various representatives of social organizations composed mostly of women.

In the 1990s, various events impacted the nature of VES's civil society. At the beginning of the decade, the government of Alberto Fujimori reinforced the role of women in politics at the national level and in the delivery of goods and services at the local level. Social programs geared towards the poor were multiplied, and their success depended heavily on the volunteer work of women. Women's organizations became important in popular districts. However, Blondet (1999) and Vargas (2008) argue that this also changed the nature of relations between governments and civil society in urban poor districts, including VES, by establishing deep clientelist networks.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the Shining Path was also present in VES. The Shining Path is a Peruvian maoist-leaning communist organization, which was responsible for many internal terrorist attacks from the beginning of the 1980s until 1993. This is important in understanding the current political and historical context in VES. The presence of the Shining Path was especially important in the municipal districts in the periphery of Lima. In VES, some organizations had leftist leanings. The Shining Path attempted recruiting

members among the district's leaders. The Peruvian police became suspicious of leaders in leftist social organizations. Leaders of civil society then became caught in the crossfire. Adelman (2002) reports that the Intelligence Services, under Montesinos, not only waged war against the Shining Path but also against civil society in Peru. Leaders of civil society in VES organized marches demanding the end of violence from both the government and the Shining Path. VES was particularly hard hit by the violence. On February 15, 1992, the Shining Path assassinated an important figure in VES, María Elena Moyano, ex-president of FEPOMUVES.

Despite those events, women remained deeply involved in the development of their district. Andía Pérez and Beltrán Barco (2002) report that women represented the majority of participants involved in the elaboration of the district's first concerted development plan at the end of the 1990s. Following their analysis of VES's participatory budgeting in 2002, Andía Pérez and Beltrán Barco (2002) claim that men have dominated participatory budgeting processes since their implementation in the district. While VES's civil society remains relatively strong compared to other local districts in Peru, the 1990s have undoubtedly impacted its nature, drawing distinctions along gender lines.

Besides these specificities, VES has struggled with development issues similar to other urban poor local municipalities in Latin America. Scholars and practitioners have dubbed urban poor districts in the outskirts of Lima as '*pueblos jóvenes*', or 'young districts', both because of their recent foundation and the relatively young population established in the district at the moment of its foundation. Others have used the term 'shantytown'. It is important to note that

VES is now a municipal district. Large parts of the district are consolidated: residents have property titles, access to water, sewage, and electricity. On the other hand, the majority of inhabitants live on sandy streets that lack pavement, where stray dogs wander around. Some residents have running water only for part of the day, and stock water in cement tanks in front of their houses. In all three territories under study, *asentamientos humanos*- human settlements, some of them with no property titles, no running water and no electricity-, are present²¹. In territories 4 and 6, some of the interviewees live in *asentamientos humanos*. The term 'urban poor district' translates best the idea of a populated urban district, which is relatively poor, that has to negotiate constantly, because of its scarce resources, between pressing short-term needs and long-term development goals. The number of citizen's complaints about the lack of resources relative to the needs of the community illustrates well the complexities of developmental issues of the district.

VES is located in the Southern Cone of Lima, which is amongst the lowest districts of Lima in terms of human development. The Concerted Institutional Development Plan of VES (PIDCVES) provides, based mostly on 2003 indicators, an assessment of the district in terms of development issues, and identifies development objectives through 2021. Among other things, the plan reports that the quality of education in the district is relatively low. Tuberculosis, HIV, respiratory and gastrointestinal disease, teenage pregnancies, malnutrition and family violence are amongst the most acute health problems. Contamination

²¹ The district's concerted institutional development plan (PIDCVES) reports that sixty-five human settlements exist in the district, which encompass 18% of the total population. The majority of them do not have drinkable water.

due to litter and the release of toxic gas is another important issue. Other problems include: the significant concentration of wandering dogs²²; the numerous fatal traffic accidents; the rarity of green spaces; the scarcity of water resources; the lack of street paving; the low monthly earnings of the active population²³; the informal character of industries and businesses²⁴; the presence of street gangs; the high levels of drug addiction; and the high level of petty crimes such as stealing.

3.4 VES and participatory budgeting

VES implemented participatory budgeting in its governance in 2000. The district was one of the municipalities that served as pilot experiences in the country. For the purpose of participatory budgeting, the territory of VES is divided into nine territories, each with their own specificities.²⁵

²² Municipality of VES (2003) reports that there is one dog for every seven inhabitants in VES.

²³ Municipality of VES (2003) shows that 22.6% of the active population earned monthly less than 250 soles (in 2003, it corresponded roughly to US\$72; in 2008, it corresponded to roughly US\$100), 45.4% between 251 and 500 soles, and 18.3% earned between 501 and 750 soles.

²⁴ Municipality of VES (2003) reports that 55% of industries and business in the Industrial Park are informal.

²⁵ Territory 1 corresponds to sector 1, which has 57,842 inhabitants. Territory 2 encompasses the sector where the municipality's main offices are located. Territory 3 is composed of sector 3. Territory 4 corresponds to 'Pachacamac', by far the most populous territory with 102,654 inhabitants. Territory 5 is composed of the areas of the beaches, the agro-fisheries, and sector 5. Territory 6 consists of sector 6, with 34,718 inhabitants. Territory 7 covers the human settlement 'Lomo de Corvina', and sectors 7, 9 and 10. Territory 8 corresponds to the area of the human settlement of the metropolitan park. Territory 9 covers the area of the industrial park. As such, the nature of the zone is mostly industrial or commercial, composed of small- and medium-sized business. Few people live in the industrial park. Numbers are not available, as people are not supposed to live in an industrial zone. Territories 1, 2, 3, and 4 are considered more consolidated in terms of housing: most houses have property titles, electricity, running water and sewage (Municipality of VES, 2003).

Figure 4: Workshops - PP2009 in VES

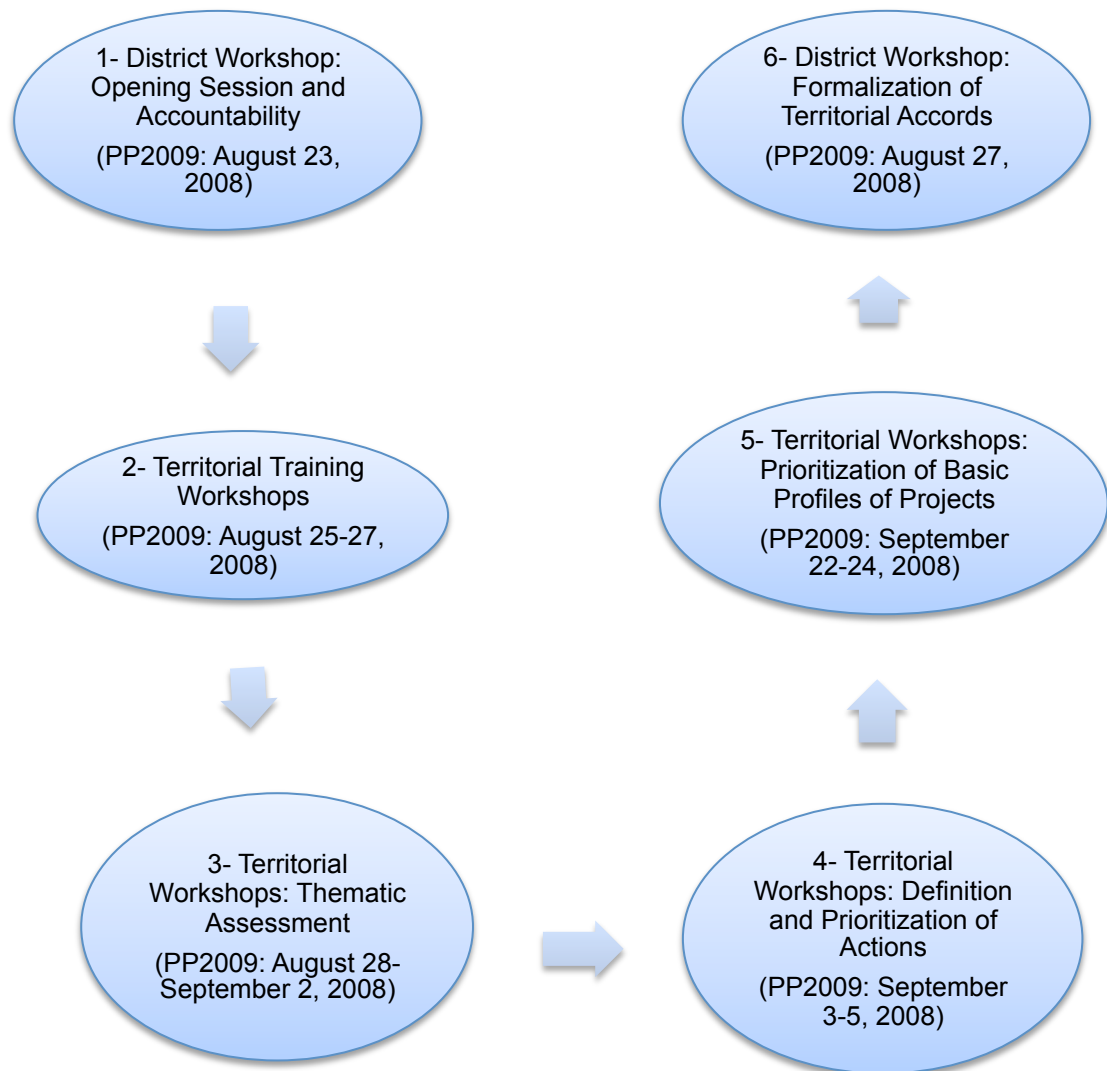


Figure 4 schematizes PP2009 in VES. The workshops represented in the figure are the ones directly involving all participatory agents. Workshops 1, 2, and 3 are mostly informative in nature. I observed that workshop 1 was district-wide and consisted of opening speeches from related elected representatives, municipal employees, and key representatives of the civil society. Workshops 2 and 3 were territorial and consisted of training to participants (*agentes*

participantes’) regarding processes and related themes. These workshops assessed the problems each territory had for the three lines of the district’s concerted development plan prioritized for the purpose of PP2009: ‘Healthy City’, ‘Modern City’, and ‘Education with Equity and Quality’. Workshops 4 and 5 were territorial, and consisted of deliberations and decision-making on the prioritization of problems and actions based on a series of criteria defined in municipal bylaws. Workshop 6 was district-wide. Municipal elected representatives and employees presented and commented on the results of this year’s processes for each territory and the district, representatives of civil society and the mayor commented on processes in broader terms.

Some important questions emerge based on EPG and gender literature regarding these workshops: How deliberative were they? What was the level of gender inclusion, in terms of participation, representation, and political equality? What were the limitations to this ideal of gender inclusion? The next chapter attempts to answer these questions.

CHAPTER 4: GENDER INCLUSION IN PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING IN VES

This chapter discusses the extent to which PP2009 in VES fits within the six dimensions of EPG, and more specifically the dimension of ‘deliberation’, and analyzes gender inclusion within these processes, in terms of participation, representation, and political equality, based on the theoretical frameworks discussed in chapter two. Decisions in participatory budgeting processes involve procedures based on deliberation for the attribution of values to certain criteria for the prioritization of problems and projects (called ‘actions’ in these processes’ nomenclature). The literature on deliberative democracy suggests that deliberation should be inclusive of political equals. Are current norms of participation ensuring full-fledged gender inclusion? What are the limitations of processes in reaching this ideal? This chapter attempts to provide answers to these questions from the ethnographic study of participatory budgeting in VES, exposing the lessons learned from this concrete experience of a participatory deliberative minipublic. The following hypotheses are explored: 1- Participation and representation quotas help reaching gender inclusion but are not sufficient; 2- Some limitations in terms of participation and representation can be gendered; and 3- Even though men and women speak and participate in workshops, political inequality persists, and social and organizational variables affect the capacity of women to influence processes and outcomes.

4.1 Results: The six dimensions of EPG and gender inclusion

The six dimensions of EPG are useful for a more in depth description of Participatory Budgeting 2009 (PP2009) in VES. The dimension of ‘deliberation’ in EPG serves as the basis of the analysis on gender inclusion. The following

section assesses the relationship between participatory budgeting in VES and dimensions of EPG.

The first dimension of EPG, 'action', considers the extent to which decisions were translated into action (Fung and Olin Wright, 2003, p.30). In the case of PP2009, it is still too soon to tell. PP2009's bylaws guidebook (Municipality of VES, 2008) had a section describing the state of past years' prioritized projects. The municipality reported that, as of July 31 2008, ten out of forty-three projects prioritized in Participatory Budgeting 2007 (PP2007) were underway, and twenty-four were either inaugurated or completed. Four out of twenty-five projects prioritized in Participatory Budgeting 2008 (PP2008) were about to start, eight were in execution, and two were inaugurated. Therefore, for PP2007, almost eighty percent of all projects were in execution or completed. For PP2008, fifty-six percent of projects were about to start, in execution or completed. Every year, projects followed a series of steps, including technical approval, before being executed. Although there was a delay longer than one year for the execution of some projects, in past years, most decisions did tend to translate into action.

In terms of 'monitoring', Fung and Olin Wright (2003) ask: 'To what extent [were] deliberative bodies able to effectively monitor the implementation of their decisions' (p.30)? As reported above, the municipality presented official information to monitor the implementation of projects in its annual guidebook. Apart from that, the 'Committee of Vigilance', the entity responsible for monitoring processes for civil society, published an annual pamphlet assessing the implementation of projects. In August 2008, the committee provided a detailed

assessment of projects prioritized in PP2007 and published a list of achievements and difficulties related to the committee's work (Committee of Vigilance, 2008). Among other things, the committee mentioned that although relations between members of the committee and the municipality had improved, the municipality showed little interest in responding to the committee's formal proposals. The committee also identified some of its own weaknesses: some of its members were inactive, and not all attended workshops directed to them.

Another question relates to the extent to which "reforms incorporate[d] recombinant measures that coordinate[d] the actions of local units and diffuse[d] innovations among them" (Fung and Olin Wright, 2003, p.30). This happened at two levels. First, at the local level, the technical team discussed territorial results and made changes to rules for the entire district, in accordance to problems identified in past years. However, the municipality did not do a systematic aggregation of information provided by territorial entities. Rather, the municipality provided aggregated information on the basis of needs and demands. I noted that three factors explained the scarcity of aggregated information: time and resource constraints, and the fact that a lot of information remained available in paper copy only.

At the national level, the Ministry of Economics and Finance provided annual guidelines that were revised on a yearly basis, in an attempt to improve processes, and supplied documents and information to participants and municipalities on its website. Through what the Ministry named *Aplicativo*, each district annually posted basic information, data, and statistics on participants and main instances involved in participatory budgeting processes. The Ministry then

aggregated and analyzed information to improve participatory budgeting through normative rules.

The extent to which processes were a 'school of democracy' is another dimension of EPG. Through participatory budgeting, members of civil society played an active role in budgetary decision-making in their territory. Municipalities held workshops on certain key themes such as 'gender issues', 'accountability' and 'development issues'. Representatives of civil society monitored processes, and held the municipality responsible. The municipality was required to provide reasons for the non-completion of projects when civil society formally filed a complaint. The transformative outcomes of processes in terms of democratic knowledge of citizens, and the extent to which they act democratically, remain to be studied and assessed. At first glance, results remained limited at least in terms of democratic leadership: most leaders involved in participatory budgeting had been active members of civil society in the district for a long time, and very few new and/or young leaders had emerged. Also, I observed that the vast majority of participants were older than thirty-five years old, with a high proportion above fifty-five years old, in all territories. Youth is therefore highly underrepresented, especially considering the high percentage of the population between the age of twenty and thirty-five years old (INEI, 2005).

The last dimension Fung and Olin Wright put forth consists in assessing whether or not processes generated better outcomes than would otherwise be generated. The question is complex. I observed a tension between short-term needs and long-term development goals. Some actors identified limitations of processes in generating outcomes that responded to objectives of the

municipality's development plan. The short-term needs and interests of participants did not necessarily correspond to the district's long-term development goals. Processes geared outcomes towards these goals in a very limited way. Most projects prioritized through these processes consisted of street paving. Actors justified street paving as a means of decreasing respiratory infections and other health problems linked to the presence of sand in the air and on the ground. Another problem is that processes categorized problems and projects according to the plan's strategic lines in a restricting way. Problems and solutions did not always pertain to the same strategic line, and this created confusion among participants. In terms of problem identification, respiratory infections corresponded to the line 'Healthy City'. One of the problem's solutions, 'street paving', corresponded to the line 'Modern City'. Participants discussed problems and solutions according to the line to which they pertained, and participants raised issues of street paving and respiratory infections under both lines mentioned above, making it more likely that street paving be prioritized. More effective or more diverse outcomes might come from assessing which projects represent solutions to the most pressing development problems or to multiple problems, across strategic lines. Moreover, links between the prioritization of problems and actions remained weak. The identified problems were numerous but the majority of participants were requesting projects that would alleviate the problems associated with unpaved streets. Links between identified problems and street paving remained vague, and processes responded, with their limited resources, to immediate short-term needs of participants in terms of infrastructure, rather than long-term development goals.

Table 3. Results for five dimensions of EPG

Dimension	Positive aspects	Negative aspects
Action	Projects did tend to be implemented	Delay - often more than a year
Monitoring	Annual guidebook with 'status' of projects; monitoring of Committee of Vigilance	Weaknesses of committee and uneven power relations with municipality
Central coordination and power	Local level: Technical team discussed territorial results and made changes to rules for the entire district	No systematic aggregation of information, and limited diffusion of information
	National level: MEF provided annual guidelines and information on processes, municipalities, participants and related actors	The information was in some cases incomplete
School of democracy	Workshops on development and democratic themes	Limited results in terms of democratic leadership: few new and/or young leaders
	Citizens involved in decision-making processes, monitoring processes and results, and holding the municipality accountable	
Outcomes	Projects were voted upon by participants	Budget allocated is limited.
		Money went mainly to projects concerned with street paving. Few long-term development problems were addressed through these processes

Fung and Olin Wright (2003) identify 'deliberation' as one dimension of EPG. They ask the following question: "How genuinely *deliberative* [were] the actual decision-making processes" (Fung and Olin Wright, 2003, p. 30)? The answer is complex. In PP2009's processes, participants made decisions based on public deliberation and, when consensus could not be reached, based on set

voting procedures, in workshops 4 and 5. Participants took each problem and project presented in their territory and deliberated on the value to give each of them for each criterion defined in the processes' annual guidelines. The sum of all values then served to rank and prioritize problems in workshop 4, and projects (actions) in workshop 5.

I observed that in territories 4, 6, and 9, not all participants were explicitly voicing their preferences. Rather, usually, only one or two participants were given the right to voice their preferences clearly. I noted that most who did were male participants, especially in territories 6 and 9, but more women voiced their preferences in territory 4. In territories 4 and 6, when it was time to make a decision on criteria, the facilitator repeated voiced preferences and asked participants which one they agreed upon. In the majority of cases, a cacophony of voices emerged as various participants voiced their preferences all at once. Many participants remained silent. From this chaotic decision-making procedure, the facilitator then identified the value that seemed to be the most consensual among participants. In rare instances, participants voiced their dissent about the value given to a criterion. When it was the case and no agreement could be reached, the facilitator put the decision to a vote. However, I observed, in all three territories, that this procedure rarely happened in workshops 4 and 5.

Following the framework developed in chapter two, the assessment of how 'deliberative' decision-making processes were also depends on their degree of inclusion. In EPG, this not only depends on participants' deliberations but also on who is deliberating. The municipality of VES stated that gender is important in participatory budgeting, and, as a result, implemented norms of gender equity.

Therefore, it seems more than appropriate to assess the degree of inclusion of processes based on two variables of gender, the series 'female participants', which I also refer to using the generic word 'women', and the series 'male participants', which I also refer to using 'men'. The degree of inclusion of the processes is assessed and the three hypotheses on the three concepts of inclusion stressed in this study, participation, representation, and political equality, are explored through the analysis.

Different norms defined the scope of participation for participatory budgeting processes in VES. Municipal bylaw N°157-MVES (Municipality of VES, 2007), title 5, article 34, setting norms for PP2008, stated the following:

“requisites for registration: Each organization must elect two (02) representatives for the process. The representatives must be one man and one woman- in no circumstance two women or two men will be admitted-, and they should try to have one male or female representative below the age of 30.”

This article remained the same in municipal bylaws regulating PP2009. Therefore, according to the norm, fifty percent of registered participants should have been female, and fifty percent male.

Despite the norm, discrepancies existed in each territory. As Table 3 shows, registration numbers in territories 4 and 6 were close to the ideal of gender equity of fifty-fifty. In territory 9, however, numbers show that men were twice the number of women. In territories 4 and 6, some participants mentioned that their organization's membership was exclusively composed of women. They would register a man who was not a member of their organization to comply with the norm. This was particularly the case of organizations such as soup kitchens and 'glass of milk' committees. However, they represented a small number of

cases. Moreover, the registration of men and women was more or less equal in these territories, suggesting that the norm generated the expected results of quantitative equity in terms of participation. In interviews, the vast majority of participants from territories 4 and 6 provided a positive assessment of the norm. However, the majority of interviewees from territory 9 expressed their dissent with the norm, because of difficulties their organizations faced in complying with it. I observed that territory 9 was the most problematic in relation to the relative number of women registered. Many organizations in that territory were business unions, and their membership was primarily if not exclusively male. Many participants indicated that most women registered in their territory did not pertain to the organizations per se but were either the daughter or wife of the president or another member of their organization, registered in an attempt at complying with the norm. Most interviewees argued that although the norm was a good idea in theory, it was hardly applicable for territory 9, because of the nature of their organization's membership. Many organizations simply decided against registering women to represent them. In terms of participation, registration quotas therefore worked relatively well in territories 4 and 6, in which roughly fifty percent of registered participant were male and fifty percent were female. In these territories, organizations whose membership was exclusively male or female accommodated to the norm, even though this meant looking outside of their regular membership. In territory 9, some organizations accommodated to the norm, but many did not, showing the limitations of gender quotas in ensuring gender equity. In this case, an organizational variable, the nature of organizations' membership, represented an obstacle to gender inclusion.

Table 4: Number of men and women registered, per territory

Year	District		Territory 4			Territory 6			Territory 9		
	2008	2009	2008	2009	Both	2008	2009	Both	2008	2009	Both
Men	427	315	64	50	13	34	32	13	10	8	3
Women	421	321	65	47	16	37	38	15	5	4	1
Total	849*	636	129	97	29	71	70	28	15	12	4

* The *Aplicativo* lists 1 participant in neither 'men' nor 'women', keeping the headline blank.

Table 3 demonstrates that the number of registered participants drastically declined from 2008 to 2009, and this seemed particularly problematic in territory 4. Yet, the number of participants who had renewed their participation from one year to the other was very low, in all three territories. In terms of gender inclusion, this raises the following questions: What were the reasons and causes for the non-renewal of participation? Did these vary along gender lines?

Table 4 reports categorized answers provided in interviews of eleven women and fourteen men who registered in PP2008 but did not in PP2009. It is worth noting that some participants of the series 'women' identified reasons linked to both productive and reproductive roles as a reason for non-renewal. Results tend to corroborate the argument in gender literature that women assume a multiplicity of roles, and that this, in turn, creates a burden on them in terms of time. Indeed, six women had answers I categorized under time constraints or the undertaking of other roles as the reason for not renewing their participation, while only three men did. Although this limited sample does not allow for generalizations, it is interesting to note that three women provided reasons linked to their roles as mothers and wives, and two from their productive roles, as

limiting their capacity to renew their participation in participatory budgeting processes. While women specifically referred to reproductive roles as limiting the renewal of their participation, men did not. If one looks at these results looking at men and women as series along a certain spectrum, some women in VES directly link their roles in the private and the public sphere as impeding their participation. Reproductive and productive roles are therefore variables to take into consideration to deepen gender inclusion. For example, women had limitations because they had to take care of their children, because their husband did not want them to participate, or because they had to cook dinner, and these limitations should be taken into consideration to deepen gender inclusion.

Most reasons, for men and women alike, were linked to processes' procedures, norms and results. Indeed, limitations in complying with legal requirements of processes seemed to impact both men and women. The norm of gender equity impacted negatively on the renewal of participation of some men. Men's participation was sometimes limited because the norm stated that organizations needed to register one woman and one man under the age of 30. For women organizations, the norm of gender equity meant that some of them registered a man not directly involved with their organization to represent them. Some men and women mentioned that their perception that the municipality and other actors influenced results led them to the non-renewal of their participation. Some women mentioned that they knew ahead of time that their projects would not be prioritized, and this was the reason for the non-renewal of their participation, while no male interviewees provided this reason.

Table 5: Reasons for the non-renewal of participation, per gender

Categorized reasons given by participants	Number of men whose answer fell in this category	Number of women whose answer fell in this category
Limitations from responsibilities linked to reproductive roles (or the private sphere)	1	3
Limitations from responsibilities linked to productive or community politics activities	1	2
Other time constraints	1	1
Disagreed with processes, decisions, results, or methodology	3	3
Project was or would never get funded	2	1
Processes limitations or norms	7	5
No reason provided	3	2

The registration of participants did not ensure their attendance to workshops. Attendance was very low for both men and women in all three territories. Interviews somewhat contradicted the fact that attendance to workshops was very low. Indeed, ten men and seven women reported having attended all workshops in their territory, which represented a relatively high percentage of interviewees compared to attendance rates provided by the municipality. I see two reasons that might explain this discrepancy: either participants were not aware they missed workshops, or they did not want to admit that they had. Tables 5 and 6 show reasons for non-attendance. It is worth noting that reasons varied but most involved time constraints. Both men and women identified a schedule conflict with their work as the reason for missing a workshop, although more men did, showing that the burden of participation was also heavy on men. This burden came primarily from their productive roles. Once again, more women cited private or reproductive roles, such as their roles as

mothers or wives, as impeding their attendance. Both men and women identified a schedule conflict with other community management activities as a reason for not attending workshops. Therefore, gendered distinctions in terms of productive and reproductive roles seemed to impact men and women differently in terms of attendance, but men seemed to have invested in 'community managing' activities, which were traditionally perceived as a women's field.

Moreover, many women reported that personal reasons impeded them from attending workshops. Personal reasons ranged from time constraints because of studies, health problems and travel. More women than men also stated that they did not attend certain meetings because they disagreed with processes' norms, procedures, or decisions, showing in some cases their dissatisfaction with participatory budgeting processes.

More men than women maintained that they were not notified of impending meetings, and I observed that notifications were often given to male representatives' wives in the man's case, while they were given directly to female representatives. When the male representative's wife was absent from her house or organization's locale, notification was usually given to the female representative. This was the case because notifications were distributed during the day, and it was easier to encounter women than men at home or in the organization's locale. The fact that in many cases the notification was not given directly to male participants might explain in part why more men than women stated this reason to explain their non-attendance to workshops.

Table 6. Reasons for non-attendance, per gender

Categorized reasons given by participants	Number of men whose answer fell in this category	Number of women whose answer fell in this category
Limitations from responsibilities linked to reproductive roles (or the private sphere) or community managing activities	4	9
Limitations from responsibilities linked to productive or community politics activities	12	4
Other time constraints	1	2
Personal limitations (health problems, travelling, studies)	8	13
Disagreed with processes, decisions, results, or methodology	2	6
Processes limitations, or norms	5	1
Other reasons	0	1

Table 7. Participants' perceptions of attendance, in relation to gender

Questions	Answers	Total	
		Men	Women
In general, were there more men or women attending workshops in your territory?	Men	15	6
	Women	8	11
	More or less even	9	8
Why do you think more men attended?	Women's personal limitations, reproductive roles and roles in the private sphere	9	5
	Most members of their organization are men	5	1
	PP does not address themes women are interested in	3	0
	Men are more responsible; machismo	1	2
Why do you think more women attended?	Women are more interested or women are leaders in organizations interested in PP	3	3
	Women have more time or time is more convenient to them	2	2
	Men work	0	5
	Do not know	0	1

I asked participants whether they perceived more men or women usually attended workshops. Answers differed greatly in territory 4 and 6, while all

participants in territory 9 responded that men attended most. This reflects what I observed in workshops. I then asked participants to explain why they thought more women or men attended workshops. It is interesting to note that most answers involved the other gender's limitations. In territory 9, answers were lined to the nature of organizations' membership, composed mostly of men. For many participants, more men attended workshops because of women's limitations due to their roles as mothers and wives. For others, more men attended because women were not interested in participatory budgeting. Other participants referred to cultural perceptions, such as men being more responsible than women, or the cultural aspect of machismo, as explaining why more men attended workshops. Some of the participants who perceived that more women attended have answers linked to women's interest in participatory budgeting, their spare time allowing them to get involved, or men's time constraints linked to their gendered productive roles. These variables therefore need to be considered to ensure deeper gender inclusion of processes.

Another dimension of gender inclusion concerns representation. Deliberative democracy bases representation not on group representation but on the representation of all interests and points of view. In the case of gender participatory budgeting, both group representation and the representation of gendered interests are important. The analysis of such criteria poses various problems: What are gendered interests? What are gendered points of view? As gender analyses often encompass assessments of gender power distribution, I briefly analyzed group representation in the Committee of Territorial Management

(CGT), the entity in charge of ensuring the proper functioning of territorial workshops, composed of members of civil society.

In terms of gender representation, the norm for PP2008 stated that “the Committee of Territorial Management is comprised of six members, which occupy the positions of president, vice-president, technical secretary, secretary, secretary of vigilance, and member. The composition of the Committee of Territorial Management should be 30% female and 30% below the age of 30” (Municipality of VES, 2007). For PP2009, the norm changed and stated that “the Committee of Territorial Management is comprised of six members, alternating between women and men or men and women assuming positions of president, vice-president, technical secretary, secretary, secretary of vigilance, and member”, thus increasing the percentage of women in the composition of such committees to fifty percent. I observed that the membership of the CGT for territories 4 and 6 was mixed, although both presidents were male. The norm changed from PP2008 to PP2009 to request the alternate appointment of men and women, and it is too soon to tell whether territories will comply with the new norm. It is however interesting to note that, for the first year of the norm, PP2009, all three territories had a man at the head of the committee. For territory 9, the problem raised in terms of participation was recurrent in terms of representation: the lack of women involved in the territory’s organizations made it difficult for the committee to be mixed. Although one female participant was a member of the committee, I noted that active members for PP2009 were male. Each time I visited the committee’s office, only male representatives were present. Moreover, each territory assigned one representative to the ‘Committee of Vigilance’. The

latter was formed of nine territorial representatives and two members of the Local Coordination Committee (CCL). As of August 2008, it comprised three women and eight men. Territories 4, 6, and 9 all had male representatives. The two representatives of CCL were both male. Gender quotas failed to translate into equal group representation along gender lines, and, at least for the moment in these territories, into women overtaking the highest position in the Committee of Territorial Management.

The representation of interests, because of the nature of decisions made through participatory budgeting processes, was inevitably linked to problems or projects participants wanted to prioritize in their respective territory. Very few projects per territory per year have been funded through participatory budgeting processes in recent years, so participants had to limit their interest to one priority, amongst all their immediate needs and development goals. Scarce resources might explain in part low levels of participation. In a gender analysis, this poses the question as to whether men and women in each territory had differentiated demands, and if so which one of these demands was prioritized through participatory budgeting processes. In territory 4, in a public workshop, a male participant stated, reflecting on demands formulated through participatory budgeting: “both men and women, we wanted to obtain road paving and sidewalks.”¹ This statement well summarized demands formulated by men and women, both in public workshops in participatory budgeting processes and in interviews. For each territory, table 7 presents demands that men and women

¹ Territory 4 male participant's intervention: (Observation, 18 November, 2008).

wanted to prioritize through participatory budgeting processes, and the ones that were prioritized in PP2009.

Table 8. First priority, and projects prioritized, per territory

First territorial priority	Projects prioritized in PP2009			Demands voiced in interviews	
	Territory 4	Territory 6	Territory 9	Men	Women
Road paving, tree-lined boulevard, sidewalks	3	4	2	11	10
Parks and green spaces	0	0	0	3	3
Public safety (and related problems of street gangs, drug addiction and alcoholism)	0	0	0	6	4
Projects for youth	0	0	0	1	4
Public cleanliness and garbage	0	0	0	4	5
Water and sanitation	0	0	1	3	3
Other demands	0	0	0	11	3
Did not know	0	0	0	1	0
N/A	0	0	0	1	2

Perhaps the most striking finding of this study was the lack of gender-differentiated demands prioritized in participatory budgeting. The majority of men and women prioritized road paving, the construction of sidewalks, and the need for public safety. Out of ten projects prioritized in PP2009, nine entailed road paving and the construction of sidewalks. In territory 4, the first project prioritized consisted of the construction of internal roads and sidewalks and the other two consisted of road paving on small internal roads. All four projects prioritized in territory 6 consisted of the construction of sidewalks. Territory 9 was different in that the first project prioritized was the construction of basic sewerage and sanitation, while the other two consisted of the construction of sidewalks. Overall, infrastructure projects were therefore the main priorities, and these demands

exhibited no apparent differentiation along gender lines in the way they were formulated.

This raises questions regarding the importance of gender needs and demands. Over the years, gender became an important theme, not only in participatory budgeting, but also in the district's development. I observed that many non-governmental organizations in the district were focusing on gender issues. For example, Desco worked with women in VES on a women's political agenda, with the aim of identifying the ten most pressing demands made by women. The agenda specifically stated that these demands should be prioritized in participatory budgeting processes. However, in PP2009, I noted that none of the proposed projects referred to the women's agenda. Some demands were voiced or discussed in participatory budgeting processes, such as demands for projects for youth, but the agenda was never mentioned, at least in the workshops I attended. The municipality offered workshops to participants raising the importance of gender and explaining what it meant in terms of development. This, in terms of projects being prioritized, generated limited results. As mentioned earlier, projects were prioritized according to the sum of points allocated to each project through deliberation. Two criteria in particular were worth noting: Criterion *d*, asking whether the project contributed to improving conditions of social inclusion, and criterion *e*, asking whether the project contributed to generating or improving conditions of gender equity (Municipality of VES, 2008). The latter encompassed whether the project contributed to reducing the gender gap, modified discriminatory gender relations or provided goods and services for women. It is worth noting that, in the assessment of projects

according to the above two criteria, similar infrastructure projects in one territory gained the same amount of points. The number of points allocated varied across territories, demonstrating the differentiated understanding of gender or differentiated importance participants accorded to it. Deliberations on these two criteria in all three territories took little time. I observed that in territory 4, it was agreed upon beforehand that every project would be assigned the maximum number of points for these two criteria. In territory 6, every project gained four points for criterion *d*, and gained two points on criterion *e*. In territory 9, every project was assigned zero point on both criteria. The basis for the allocation of points therefore followed a different logic across territories, but similar projects in one territory were assigned the same number of points in relation to their impact on gender.

In deliberations on allocation of points, I observed that a smaller number of participants greatly influenced the quality of deliberation but had mixed results in terms of reaching consensual decisions. A greater number of participants resulted in very few participants voicing their opinion but in more consensual decisions. In territory 9, the small number of participants in deliberative workshops meant that participants could express their opinion without having meaningful time constraints. Deliberations were more heated in terms of what participants wanted to prioritize in their territory. In territory 9, a suggestion was made to prioritize the paving of one road to provide a second entrance for customers to come to the park. For this territory, this meant that no other project could get funded. Participants expressed their opinions but did not come to a consensual decision, and therefore a vote was required. Although the relative

number of participants able to voice their preferences was greater, this was the territory with the lowest relative number of women registered and in attendance. This demonstrated the limitations in terms of gender inclusion, which was affected by the nature of membership of this territory's organizations, according to participants.

Men and women therefore seemed to have similar interests in relation to their demands, at least in their expectations towards participatory budgeting processes. The gender-neutrality of these demands raises questions regarding participatory budgeting processes and their capacity to include gender differentiated interests, especially when resources are so limited. A gender-neutral budget generally means that gender inequalities, or differences, are not addressed. Strategies to introduce a gender perspective into PP2009 in VES were therefore rather ineffective, with the exception of the introduction of gender quotas in terms of participation and group representation in territorial power structures.

Political equality is the third condition for full-fledged inclusion, other than participation and representation. It is the hardest to assess, as the dimension is not explicitly tangible. Political equality in deliberative democratic theory is defined as the right and opportunity to voice one's preferences and opinions, and the right and opportunity to influence processes, autonomously and without the domination of other actors.

Table 8 presents categorized responses from the interviews regarding these rights and opportunities. It is worth noting that most men and women, regardless of the territory they pertained to, intervened in processes at one point

or another, and most felt comfortable doing it. It therefore seems that both men and women had the right and opportunity to voice their opinions and demands.

Table 9. Participants' voice, per gender, per territory

Questions	Answers	Territory 4		Territory 6		Territory 9		Total	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Did you usually intervene in workshops?	Yes	9	10	8	11	8	2	25	23
	No	2	2	5	2	1	0	8	4
Did you feel comfortable intervening in public in workshops?	Yes	7	9	6	7	8	2	21	18
	No	2	1	4	3	0	0	6	4
	More or less	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0

Participants' perception of other participants' relative capacity to express their voice was very telling in terms of gender. Men tended to perceive that men intervened most while women tended to perceive that women intervened most. More telling, in terms of gender, were reasons men and women provided for explaining these differences. Participants perceived the lack of experience of women, machismo, and women's timidness were the main reasons for which women intervened less than men. Men were perceived to intervene more than women, because of the latter's lack of capacity. On the opposite, some interviewees responded that they perceived women intervened more and stated that women were more capable to intervene than men.

Table 10. Participants' perception of other participants' voice

Questions	Answers	Total	
		Men	Women
Were there more men or women intervening in workshops in your territory?	Men	8	5
	Women	5	7
	More or less even	12	9
Why do you think more men intervened?	Women mostly listened, lacked experience in intervening or were more timid	3	3
	Facilitator mostly gave voice to men	1	0
	Machismo	2	0
	Men were leaders	1	0
Why do you think more women intervened?	Women intervened a lot, discussed more between themselves	1	2
	Women were more decisive	1	0
	Men were more quiet	1	0
	Women knew more about PP themes, their neighbourhood	1	4
	Women complied with their responsibilities	0	1
	Does not know	0	1

Table 11. Participants' perception of other participants' influence

Questions	Answers	Total	
		Men	Women
Were men or women influencing processes the most?	Men	8	4
	Women	1	3
	More or less even	14	9
Why do you think men influenced processes the most?	Because more men attended/ Fewer women attended	4	1
	Machismo	3	0
	Men were more involved in PP committees	1	0
	Men's capacity to make decisions, use their voice	0	2
	Role of women as mothers	0	1
	Women's projects lacked orientation; there were not as many projects presented by women	1	1
Why do you think women influenced processes the most?	Women were more decisive, impulsive	0	1
	Women knew more about PP themes	0	2

Table 10 suggests that participants' perception of men and women's relative capacity to influence processes was uneven. Many participants perceived that men and women had an equal capacity to influence processes, but most of those who perceived inequality tended to believe that men had a greater influence on processes than women. Some participants considered that this was the case because more men attended workshops. Some male participants identified machismo as a cause of men's influence on processes. Participants also identified some deficiencies in women's capacities to participate, and

women's reproductive roles within the private sphere as limiting the relative capacity of women to influence processes.

4.2 Conclusion

Norms of gender equity in terms of participation and representation were implemented in participatory budgeting processes in VES to increase the level of gender inclusion. However, this chapter hinted at limitations of such quotas. Perceived causes regarding the non-attendance to workshops and the non-renewal of participation were differentiated across gender lines, and often found their roots in traditionally differentiated roles. Men and women assume these roles in both private and public spheres. The interests of men and women were represented, as far as their main priority is concerned. They seemed to understand the kind of projects prioritized in participatory budgeting processes, and adapted their demands accordingly. This raises questions about the lack of demands of men and women linked to their respective practical and strategic needs. A certain degree of political inequality persisted, as some participants perceived that men influenced processes most. The results emerging from territory 9 demonstrated that the structure of organizations impacted processes, and challenged the quality of deliberations in terms of 'who is deliberating'. In territory 9, men were dominating processes in terms of attendance, and, at least from the perception of participants, in terms of influence.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This study analyzed the extent to which participatory budgeting processes in VES fit within the EPG model, assessing the relation of these processes with each dimension of the model. It is important to stress that EPG is an ideal, and therefore no empirical case fits each dimension perfectly. One of the dimensions of EPG is deliberation, and involves a component of inclusion. The municipality of Villa El Salvador sustained that gender is a key component of participatory budgeting processes and VES's development strategy, and, therefore, gender became the basis for the assessment of full-fledged inclusion. Literature on deliberative and participatory democracy raises questions about gender inclusion, as did this case. Were participatory budgeting processes in VES inclusive of gender? What factors limited women's and men's participation, representation and political equality, and therefore inclusion? Which ones were gendered, and in what way?

One of the main hypotheses of this study was inspired by Jackson and Pearson's (1998) affirmation that "50-50 statistical equality [does not] reflect genuine equality and a cultural change towards valuing women's interests" (p.30). This affirmation raises questions about the degree of political inclusion of women, and whether norms of gender equity in participatory budgeting processes in Peru, requiring that each organization registered one male participant and one female, were enough to reach full-fledged inclusion. Was gender equity in terms of registered participation and representation in CGT enough to ensure gender inclusion? The first hypothesis was that norms of gender equity in terms of participation and representation were probably not sufficient to ensure full-fledged

gender inclusion. Results tended to support this hypothesis. Even though norms of gender equity in terms of participation and representation were put in place, this did not ensure that fifty percent of participants were male and fifty percent were female, especially in the case of territory 9. The quotas failed to ensure equal registration and attendance to workshops, which was their end goal. In terms of participation, equal registration and attendance were two conditions of full-fledged inclusion. In terms of representation, these norms of gender equity failed to translate into equal representation of men and women in different committees in all territories: CGT, the Committee of Vigilance, and CCL. Regarding the representation of interests, results are more difficult to assess because most demands, in the formulation of projects, within PP2008 and PP2009 in VES, were not gendered.

Moreover, these norms of gender equity did not ensure that male and female participants had equal voice and opportunity to influence processes, two conditions of political equality. Although some discrepancies exist, male and female participants tended to agree that they had equal right and opportunity to voice their demands within processes. However, results were somewhat different in terms of having the right and opportunity to influence processes. In territories 4 and 6, more participants believed that both men and women influenced processes. When they believed there was inequality, however, there was a strong tendency to believe that men influenced processes most. In the case of territory 9, once again a great inequality persisted in relation to gender, and most participants believed men influenced processes most. In territories 4 and 6, reasons provided for the inequalities were based on men or women's capacities

to intervene or cultural and social variables linked to machismo. In territory 9, reasons were once again linked to the low registration and attendance rates of women, explained by the nature of membership in organizations in the territory.

The results of the analysis of participatory budgeting 2008 and 2009 in VES lead me to conclusions that can be useful for improving processes or as lessons for other experiences of participatory budgeting. Norms, under the form of participation and representation quotas, succeeded in bringing relative gender equity in terms of registration and attendance, and to some degree group representation, in territory 4 and 6. However, the analysis of territory 9 demonstrated that women's participation in terms of attendance and registration, and their representation within power structures were relatively low compared to men, even if quotas existed, because organizational characteristics limited the inclusion of women. In this specific case, the corporate nature of organizations in territory 9 limited the representation of women in participatory budgeting, as they were underrepresented in territorial organizations. In territory 9, in workshops in which decisions were made in participatory budgeting 2009, I observed that one or two women were in attendance, in comparison to six or seven men. This, in turn, came from gender inequalities in terms of business ownership and involvement in the territory. Men still dominated economic and political activities in the industrial park. As long as women remain relatively absent of these organizations, their inclusion in participatory budgeting will remain difficult, despite some efforts to implement quotas of gender equity.

Given the reasons provided for the non-attendance and non-renewal of participation of women in workshops, roles in the private sphere, it can be

concluded that mostly reproductive roles were determinant in limiting the full-fledged inclusion of women. The roles of women as mothers and wives limited their participation, and influenced their decisions to attend and renew their participation in participatory budgeting processes. The multiplicity of roles women undertake, and related time constraints, also played an important role in limiting their inclusion. The roles of men as providers of the family limited their participation, especially in terms of their capacity to attend workshops. Various men sustained that they were not able to attend because of work.

Most demands and projects prioritized through participatory budgeting responded to practical rather than strategic needs. Demands expressed by both men and women through processes generally did not represent gender interests, or interests “arising from the social relations and positioning of the sexes” (Molyneux, 1998, p.75). In a context in which resources were limited and where only one or two projects were prioritized per territory, gender preoccupations tended to be absent from deliberation, despite efforts to make them an important component of processes. Indeed, the municipality and non-governmental organizations involved with participatory budgeting processes were concerned with gender, but few participants put gender issues forward within these processes. In general, neither men nor women had adopted gender issues as central to their participation in participatory budgeting. In a context in which the budget represents less than nine dollars per capita, and in which the population prioritizes costly infrastructure projects, raising and addressing gender issues become difficult. The priority for participants is not to address gender imbalances but rather to address the lack of infrastructure.

The normative integration of gender quotas and criteria, and workshops for municipal employees and participants on gender issues reiterated the importance of gender. The production, in 2009, of a municipal document focusing on 'gender equality of opportunities', is important toward gender inclusion, at the municipal level, but was not enough to attain complete inclusion of women. Non-governmental organizations were working intensively, mostly with women, on gender issues. Desco, for example, formulated concerted women political agendas, but this did not translate directly into participants voicing and integrating these issues in their discourse within participatory budgeting. From these observations, this study suggests that gender should be considered more thoroughly in terms of how projects of road paving, sidewalks and access to water and sewage can consider gender needs. The focus of gender participatory budgeting, however, should be to address the gender-differentiated limits to attendance and renewal of participation, as a first step, and limitations of women in their capacity to influence processes, as a second step.

One obstacle to participation remained to be time constraints, which affected male and female participants differently. The time-consuming nature of participatory budgeting processes was a reason for the non-renewal of registration. Participants weighed the cost of participation in processes relative to what they gained from it, and often decided that other activities were more important, or their roles outside these processes limited their capacity to participate. Various strategies could be adopted to limit the impact of time constraints on inclusion. For example, processes could try accommodating gendered time constraints mainly linked to productive and reproductive roles, and

try reducing the amount of time participants spend waiting in meetings. Indeed, in some cases, workshops started one to two hours after participants were convened, and as a result, workshops also finished later than expected.

5.1 Methodological limitations and need for future research

Gathering data through interviews was extremely time consuming because of the conditions in the municipality. Each interview required establishing a first contact with participants, and then meeting up with them again, either at their house or their organization's locale. Many participants did not have a phone number, making it difficult to confirm appointments and meetings. Even though they voluntarily agreed to participate, participants sometimes evaded answering questions directly. Interviews provided valuable insights into participants' experiences and points of view, and allowed the researcher to connect personally with participants. However, a well-developed survey might have provided the same basic information in a more efficient manner and facilitated the categorization of answers. More research is needed to assess which series of the population influence processes most and the reasons for which this is the case. More research is also needed to understand the relative absence of gender issues that participants voice within processes.

5.2 EPG, gender inclusion, and participatory budgeting

EPG is concerned with questions of equity and broad and deep participation. This study suggested that it should be concerned with full-fledged gender inclusion more widely. Strategies to attain gender inclusion should go beyond the implementation of quotas. Quotas have their limitations, and are not sufficient to reach full-fledged inclusion. Gender participation budgeting should be

more concerned with gender inclusion in terms of participation, group representation, gendered demands, and political equality.

This study brought forward results in terms of gender inclusion in a specific context, participatory budgeting processes in VES, Lima, Peru, studied under the EPG model. Various scholars have called for the broadening of our understanding of participatory budgeting processes, their characteristics, contextual implementation and effects from the analysis of cases outside of Brazil. This study humbly analyzed and discussed gender inclusion through one empirical case in Peru. I hope that other studies will pursue similar assessments of processes in other municipalities in Peru and in other similar urban poor municipalities in Latin America. I believe that through similar studies scholars and practitioners will better understand variables impacting gender inclusion and processes of deliberation, allowing them to find better strategies to improve processes and reach full-fledged inclusion. However, without more budgetary resources allocated to participatory budgeting, addressing women's practical and strategic needs through women's inclusion in decision-making will remain a great challenge.

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APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire: Interviews - Participants 2008 and/or 2009

Participant #

I. Close-ended questions

IDENTIFICATION OF THE PARTICIPANT:

1- What type of organization did you represent? Put an 'X' where appropriate

A- Neighbourhood Organization
B- Mothers' Club
C- Soup Kitchen
D- Youth Organization
E- Glass of Milk Committee
F- Representative of the Local Government
G- Association- Business Cooperative
H- Women's Organization
I- Civil Organization
J- Church
K- Other- Specify if possible: _____

2- Sex – Put an 'X' where appropriate

A- Male
B- Female

3- Age – Put an 'X' where appropriate

A- Between 19-24 years old
B- Between 25- 34 years old
C- Between 35-44 years old
D- Between 45-54 years old
E- 55 years old and more

4- Level of education Completed – Put an 'X' where appropriate

A- No level of education completed
B- Elementary school education completed
C- High school education completed
D- University degree completed
E- Other – Specify if possible:
F- No response

5- Which territory of Villa El Salvador do you live in? Put an 'X' where appropriate

A- 1
B- 2
C- 3
D- 4
E- 5
F- 6
G- 7
H- 8
I- 9
J- No response
K- I do not live in Villa El Salvador

6- Which roles did you take on in PP2008 and PP2009? Put an 'X' where appropriate

A- Participant
B- Member of the Local Coordination Committee (CCL)
C- Member of the Vigilance Committee
D- Representative of the Municipality
E- Member of the Technical Team
F- Member of a Commission
G- Others- Specify if possible: _____
H- I did not participate in PP2008 or PP2009

II. Themes and examples of (open-ended) questions

Themes:

Reasons for participating
Participant's attendance and registration
Reasons for non-attendance and non-renewal/renewal of participation
Right, capacity, and opportunity to speak
Right, capacity, and opportunity to influence processes
Priority in terms of problems and projects
Relative participation of men and women
Norms of gender equity
Lower registration rate in PP2009

Examples of questions:

- Why did you want to participate in participatory budgeting?
- Did you participate in all the PP workshops?
- The workshops you missed, why did you miss them?
- Is there a better time for you to participate?
- Did you usually speak and/or ask to speak when participating in participatory budgeting workshops?
- Did you feel comfortable speaking in front of other participants in participatory budgeting workshops?
- Did you feel that you had a direct influence on workshops, that you were able to influence outcomes?
- Were there more men or women attending the workshops you went to?
- Why do you think more men/women attended workshops?
- Were men or women speaking the most in workshops you attended?
- Why do you think men/women speak the most?
- Do you think men or women were influencing the process the most?
- Why do you think men/women were influencing the process the most?
- Why did you not register in PP2009 process?
- Why did you decide to register again in PP 2009?
- Do you think you will participate again in PP?
- From PP2008 to PP2009, participation in Villa El Salvador's participatory budget lowered, why do you think it did?
- If there would be one problem or a project to prioritize in your territory's participatory budget, what would it be?
- What do you think about the norm requesting the registration of 1 woman/1 man per organization?