Impacts of Participatory Budgeting: What We Know

Research Brief · April 2022

This research brief offers a global picture of the current state of research on the short-term outcomes and long-term impacts of participatory budgeting (PB) on people, communities, and governments. Thousands of governments and institutions have implemented PB, giving people the power to decide how to spend part of a public budget. In many cases, PB has been found to positively impact well-being and governance, education and learning, as well as civil society and political participation.

These impacts, however, depend on the design and context of the PB process. Understanding these impacts and how the factors that produce them can help advocates to promote PB more effectively, practitioners to design better PB processes, and researchers to produce more useful data and analysis.

We present **19 key research findings** and share **practical recommendations for advocacy; planning and design; and research, monitoring, and evaluation**. You can find more explanation on how different inputs, contexts, and activities lead to these impacts in the PB Theory of Change.

Key Findings: What We Know

Impacts on People

Finding 1: PB participants acquire new civic and political knowledge.

- Porto Alegre (Brazil) and Rosario (Argentina): PB participants reported substantial increases in their **knowledge of politics, community needs, and citizens' rights**. They also learned about the inner workings of city hall and mechanisms and regulations used to allocate public funds. (Schugurensky 2006 & 2009; Lerner & Schugurensky, 2007; Lerner 2010; Luchman 2010)

- Maribor (Slovenia) and Reykjavík (Iceland): Participants reported significant knowledge gains from their involvement in PB, including the management, obligations, and work of public enterprises; community needs; **the importance of constructive discussion for reaching consensus**; city government responsibilities, public funds, and municipal politics; and citizens' rights and duties (Gregorčič & Krašovec, 2016 & 2017).

- Boston (United States): **Youth participants reported a better understanding of government processes** and democracy, and of needs in other neighborhoods. (Grillos, 2016)

- Chicago (United States): Participants reported new knowledge about the needs of their ward, the **interests of their neighbors**, and the city budgeting process (Crum et al., 2013).

- Similar findings were reported for Guelph (Canada), Cluj (Romania) and many other cases (Pinnington & Schugurensky, 2010; Brennan, 2015).

Finding 2: PB participants develop stronger civic, political, and deliberative skills.

- Porto Alegre (Brazil), Montevideo (Uruguay), and Rosario (Argentina): PB participants developed new competencies to monitor government actions, contact government agencies and officials, rank priorities, and develop proposals for local projects. Beyond these instrumental skills, participants gained **analytical skills** like the ability to understand and interpret official documents and to "read" political dynamics in the city.

Practical Recommendations

📢 **Advocacy:**

- Form alliances with civil society organizations focused on civic engagement, electoral democracy and voter turnout.

- Emphasize that PB can build participants' understanding of other civic activities.

🔍 **Research:**

- Conduct longitudinal studies to track participant learning over time.

📢 **Advocacy:**

- Make the case to politicians and government officials that PB increases the public's ability to engage with government, which can lead to greater support for public decision-making.

Impacts on People

Participants also strengthened their **social and leadership skills** (working in groups, interacting with neighbors, coordinating teams, organizing meetings, etc.) and **deliberative skills** like listening, speaking in public, negotiating, persuading, making collective decisions, dealing with conflicts, and reaching consensus (Schugurensky, 2002; Lerner & Schugurensky, 2007; Luchman, 2010).

- Maribor (Slovenia) and Reykjavík (Iceland): PB participants reported increases in careful listening and analytical skills and in their ability to **make collective decisions and engage in teamwork**, including intergenerational cooperation and consensus-building. They also reported gains in their ability to organize group work, develop and defend proposals and projects, interpret official documents, seek out relevant social and political information, and social skills and leadership skills (Gregorčič & Krašovec, 2016).

- Boston (United States): Participants reported gaining specific skills including **leadership, teamwork, networking, communication, and professionalism** (Grillos, 2016).

Practical Recommendations

📣 Advocacy:

- Make the case to educational leaders that PB can build skills in a variety of areas used to measure student, teacher, and school performance.

✏️ Planning & Design:

- Facilitate activities aimed at developing and refining civic and deliberative skills like role-playing and campaigning.

🔍 Research:

- Investigate how the design of deliberative activities during PB affects decision-making and other skills.

- Investigate the impacts of PB on problem-solving, research, critical thinking, math, and communication skills.

A school PB participant in Spain. Image used with permission of Coglobal.

Impacts on People

PB participants in Rosario, Argentina.

Finding 3: PB participants adopt new attitudes, values, and dispositions.

- Studies have found that participation in PB processes promotes tolerance, an orientation towards the common good, and a **disposition to solve conflicts**. (Schugurensky, 2006; Gregorčič & Krašovec, 2017; Albornoz-Manyoma et al., 2020)

- Andalusia (Spain): Participation in diverse primary school groups led to an **increase in positive interactions between participants** and gradually reduced negative interactions between participants. The processes increased the group identification of participants, psychological empowerment (Albornoz-Manyoma et al., 2020; Albornoz-Manyoma et al., 2021; García-Leiva et al., 2021), subjective well-being (García-Leiva et al., 2021), group cohesion, and popularity of previously isolated students among their peers (Albornoz-Manyoma et al., under review).

- Greensboro (United States): PB participants reported **increased interest in voting and participating in civic and community life** (Jovanovic et al., 2016).

- PB participants reported **greater concern for the problems of the community**, stressed higher interest in community participation, and expressed greater responsibility for the preservation of the city and more respect for other community members after the process than before the process (Schugurensky, 2006; Gregorčič & Krašovec, 2017).

- Longitudinal studies show that **the acquisition of these traits in childhood and youth has consequences for civic engagement later in life**. Children and youth involved in civic activities show more empathy, more democratic interactions with other people and greater civic engagement as adults (Metzger et al., 2019).

Practical Recommendations

✏️ Planning & Design:

- Work with participants to reach agreement on the main values guiding the process, so that there is explicit understanding of the values behind PB.

🔍 Research, Monitoring, & Evaluation:

- Use questionnaires before and after the PB process to measure indicators for variables like learning, empowerment, subjective well-being, and institutional trust. By including a similar non-participating group in pre- and post-measurements, it's possible to isolate participation as an independent variable.
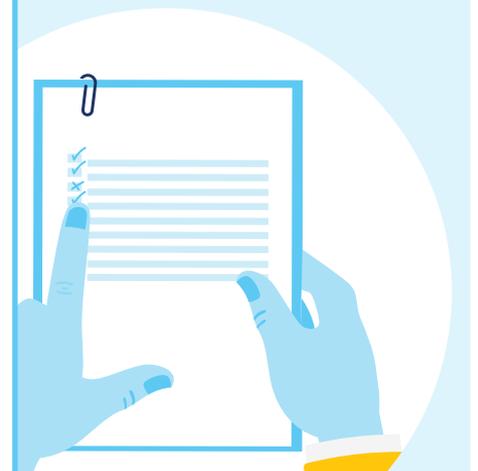
Impacts on People

Finding 4: PB promotes mutual trust between participants, governments, and educational institutions.

- New York City (United States): Residents in city council districts with PB reported **feeling that local government was more accessible**, and they often **viewed government officials more positively**. (Swaner, 2017)

- Andalusia (Spain): Participants in primary schools developed reported **gaining trust in government institutions**, increased their number of friends, and found a community (García-Leiva et al., 2021).

- Arizona (United States): Students participating in a pilot project on inclusive school PB reported **improved relationships with their teachers and classmates**. Project proposals also reflected the priorities of students with disabilities. (Bartlett et al., 2020) In the long run, this increased responsiveness can lead to greater trust.

Finding 5: PB can increase voting in regular elections, especially among historically disenfranchised constituents.

- New York City (United States): PB voters' **likelihood to vote in ordinary elections increased by 8.4 percentage points**, after voting in PB. The effect is stronger for local than for national elections. The effect is strongest for groups who are less likely to vote (people under 30, residents from low-income neighborhoods, ethnic minorities). Even residents who live in a PB district but did not vote in PB were more likely to vote in ordinary elections, after their district introduced PB. (Johnson et al., 2021)

- Prague (Czech Republic): In districts that introduced PB, **voter turnout in local elections increased by 3 percentage points** compared to districts without PB. (Kukucková & Bakos, 2019)

- The above findings are comparable in size to research on the effects of referendums/ballot initiatives (Dvorak et al., 2017; Tolbert & Smith, 2005) and jury participation on voting in general elections (Gastil et al., 2008).

Practical Recommendations

🔊 **Advocacy:**

- In places where trust in government and public institutions is low or declining, emphasize to decision-makers that PB can improve relationships between community members and institutions.

🔊 **Advocacy:**

- Make the case to politicians that implementing PB can lead to higher voter turnout.

🔍 **Research:**

- Ask PB participants (at meetings or voting stations) to opt in to data collection via email, social media or phone, to better measure longer-term impacts on political participation.

- Collect data on variables that could explain the link between PB and voter turnout, like access to information or membership in informal networks.

Impacts on People

PB meeting, Argentina

Finding 6: PB can enhance non-electoral, individual-level political participation, such as contacting elected officials and proposing solutions to community problems.

PB can change participants' behavior and lead them to perform everyday acts of political participation

- Rosario (Argentina), Montevideo (Uruguay), Porto Alegre (Brazil): PB participants were more likely to engage in new political practices, including **monitoring public budgets, attending and speaking at community meetings, contacting elected officials, and proposing solutions for community problems**; they also reported gains in deliberative skills and political capital, and in intentions to engage in civic and political participation in the future (Lerner and Schugurensky, 2007; Schugurensky, 2013, 2006, 2005, 2001).

- New York City and Vallejo (United States), Leith (Edinburgh, Scotland), London Borough of Tower Hamlets (United Kingdom): PB participants learn about how governments work and make decisions in ways that facilitate future mobilization. They become **more likely to advocate for community needs through other channels**, such as local community boards and elected officials. (Johnson 2017).

Practical Recommendations

📢 **Advocacy:**

- Frame the process as inclusive, democratic, and educational to encourage open-minded participation.

✒️ **Planning & Design:**

- Use techniques that encourage democratic communication and learning by doing: term limits for delegates, time limits for speakers, and designated facilitators for meetings. (Lerner, 2010).

📈 **Monitoring & Evaluation:**

- Monitor which other participatory processes and collective action campaigns PB participants take part in, and which they do not.

Impacts on People

Finding 7: Different PB designs and implementation can narrow or widen the civic engagement gap.

- **The civic engagement gap refers to the fact that all potential PB participants do not have equal opportunities to participate in civic and political spaces**. Historically marginalized groups are often excluded from civic opportunities. When this gap starts from a young age, it can lead to less engagement later in life. (Bartlett et al., 2020)

- Designs that rely on **self-selection or the selection of individuals** with leadership experience are more likely to widen the civic engagement gap (Bartlett et al. 2020).

- Designs that emphasize **outreach to marginalized groups and randomized selection** of participants are more likely to narrow the civic engagement gap (Bartlett et al. 2020; García-Leiva et al. 2021) because they reduce self-selection bias.

- Andalusia (Spain): Schools provide an ideal setting for a cost-efficient, quasi-random selection because they divide students in classrooms. When full class groups are chosen as participants in a PB process, isolated students become **better integrated in participatory dynamics** and increase their popularity among their peers. (Albornoz-Manyoma et al., under review)

- Rosario (Argentina): Much of the learning that occurs in PB processes happens through **informal mechanisms, including repetitive interactions with other participants**. (Lerner 2010)

- **The impact of informal democratic learning increases significantly when PB is paired with formal learning**.

    - Arizona (United States): Citizenship learning is richer when informal learning is **complemented with curriculum and pedagogical interventions** in the classroom (Cohen et al. 2015).

Practical Recommendations

🖊 Planning & Design:

- Use random selection to recruit PB participants, to reduce learning gaps. (Process designs can be creative, combining random and volunteer groups of participants.)

- Complement informal learning experiences with formal education interventions.

    - Encourage informal learning by creating spaces for participants to network and build relationships, such as peer mentorship opportunities and social events. (Lerner, 2010)

- Connect the process to curricular content on civics, democracy and government whenever possible

Impacts on People

Finding 8: **These impacts on knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviors depend on participants' prior experiences, roles played in the process, intensity of participation, and duration of engagement.**

- Studies have found that **learning and change tends to be more significant among participants with fewer prior experiences of civic engagement**, political participation, and leadership. In addition, participants who take on leadership roles during the process (e.g. steering committee members, delegates, councilors, change agents) experience more change than participants who take on peripheral roles (e.g. only voting) (Grillos, 2016; Schugurensky, 2006).

- These impacts are also correlated with the **intensity of participation** (e.g. frequency of meetings, opportunities to deliberate and make decisions, support structures, mentorship, development opportunities). More intense participation is associated with greater knowledge of government institutions, self-efficacy, and likelihood to vote, to work with others to solve problems, and to volunteer in community projects (Grillos, 2016).

- The duration of participation also affects learning: the longer the engagement, the stronger the impact. In Andalusia (Spain), when the process was repeated a second year, psychological empowerment and group identification increased. (Albornoz-Manyoma et al., 2021).

Practical Recommendations

Advocacy:

- When advocating to renew a PB process, emphasize that sustained engagement over time is associated with greater impacts on learning.

Planning & Design:

- Work with community partners to recruit potential participants who have less civic and political experience.

- Design the process to include more time for deliberation and teamwork, to increase the impacts on learning.

- Design the process to extend across more weeks and months, to increase the duration of participation

Research:

- Investigate the impacts of PB on "second tier" participants, who vote but do not engage deeply.

- Investigate the impacts of PB on organizers and facilitators (government officials, teachers, school and university administrators)

Impacts on Communities

Finding 9: PB is associated with lower infant mortality.

Municipalities using PB programs in Brazil have lower infant mortality than comparable municipalities without PB. **The effect grows stronger after more than eight years of PB**. (Gonçalves, 2014; Touchton and Wampler, 2014)

The strong associations between PB and reductions in infant mortality are **likely associated with broader governance shifts**. When residents demand more health spending, governments implement new projects, like health clinics and services in poor communities, and increase spending in these communities. Community leaders also gain valuable networking access, including to a broader range of public health officials. These factors, combined, may lead to increases in well-being.

Finding 10: PB with "social justice rules" is associated with lower infant mortality.

Municipalities using specific social justice rules in Brazil have lower infant mortality than comparable municipalities that don't use these rules. **These rules require more resources to flow to neighborhoods with higher poverty**, as identified by the Quality of Life Index. Increased funding motivates low-income residents to participate, allowing them to prioritize projects that meet their needs. Social justice rules also reduce the ability of wealthier residents to disproportionately influence the PB process. (Wampler and Touchton, 2019; Wampler et al., 2021).

Practical Recommendations

🖊 Planning & Design:

- Include spending on health infrastructure and programs as eligible projects, when possible.

🖊 Planning & Design:

- Adopt social justice rules that explicitly allocate more resources to low-income communities.

- Partner with local universities and organizations to identify underserved neighborhoods.

Impacts on Communities

Finding 11: Building budget literacy among community leaders has a greater impact on well-being than educating all PB participants.

Municipalities with PB that build budget literacy and knowledge by holding **informational workshops specifically for PB delegates and leaders** are associated with lower infant mortality rates than municipalities that seek to educate all participants. On the other hand, there is no connection between informational workshops for all participants and infant mortality. (Wampler & Touchton, 2019).

Finding 12: Communities that allocated more money per capita through PB have seen greater community participation.

- United States and Canada: PB processes with larger budgets (per capita) allocated to projects proposed and voted on by residents saw higher voter turnout. **The more communities increased their PB budgets from one year to the next, the more voter turnout increased at the same time**. (Hagelskamp et al. 2016, A process; Goldfrank & Landes 2018)

- Porto Alegre (Brazil): **Participation rates did not increase until significant funds were allocated through PB**, and participation rates were higher and grew faster in districts that received more resources. (Goldfrank 2011)

PB meeting, USA

Practical Recommendations

🖋 Planning & Design:

- Target informational workshops to the most active community leaders, particularly budget delegates.

- Support budget delegates to educate other community leaders.

📢 Advocacy:

- When making the case for PB to decision-makers, emphasize that communities that allocate more through PB tend to see greater participation.

🖋 Planning & Design:

- Consider following the Paris example. Start with a significant budget, or if initial funds are limited, commit to investing larger budgets in future years. (Veron 2015).

🔍 Research:

- Use publicly available records or reports to estimate correlations between per capita allocations and voter turnout in PB across and within different countries and over time.

Impacts on Communities

Finding 13: Outreach strategies and collaboration with civil society organizations also impact participation.

- Brazil: A large experiment involving over 40,000 PB voters found that a **get-out-the-vote campaign** (text messages and email) can increase participation in PB voting by 4.7 percentage points, without biasing voting preferences. (Peixoto et al. 2020)

- Canada and the United States: Districts that worked with CSOs in the design and implementation of PB saw **greater voter turnout from traditionally underrepresented groups**. Lower-income residents and communities of color were more likely than white and higher-income residents to report they heard about PB from a CSO. Person-to-person outreach was associated with greater turnout of lower-income residents and people of color (Kasdan & Markman 2015; Hagelskamp et al., 2016, Public spending)

Practical Recommendations

🖊 **Planning & Design:**

- Invest in participant outreach and training: Include a get-out-the-vote campaign to increase participation, using different modes of communication to reach community members.

PB meeting, USA

Impacts on Communities

Finding 14: PB can mobilize and lead to more civil society organizations and more collaborations by such organizations, if it includes certain institutional design features.

- Brazil: Municipalities with PB have a greater number of CSOs than those without PB. This number expands as PB is sustained over time. Touchton and Wampler find that PB is associated with an 8% increase in the number of CSOs in a municipality, holding other variables constant. There is evidence of not just correlation but causation, in that the number of CSOs is not a significant predictor of PB. **The institutional rules of PB encourage collective action**. (Touchton & Wampler, 2014)

- New York City and Vallejo (United States), Leith (Edinburgh, Scotland), London Borough of Tower Hamlets (United Kingdom): In localities with PB, there was some evidence of **more CSOs collaborating with government, as well as more collaborations between groups**. 13% of 418 organizations that participated in PB reported starting new collaborations with other groups as a direct result of their involvement in the process. Johnson suggests that these connections are additional ones, not a crowding out of existing organizations or relationships. **Design features make a difference**, e.g. the festive environment of a community fair and the requirement that participants vote on all projects. (Johnson, 2017) In New York, good facilitation and a focus on equity helped to encourage greater participation and discouraged domination by well-organized groups. (Su, 2017)

Without the right design features, PB can also be vulnerable to domination by elite groups.

- Spain: **PB that doesn't engage CSOs can lead to participatory frustration**. This is a vicious cycle, in which CSOs tuned out or burned out, the local governments lost legitimacy, and PB ended in 4 of the 6 cities studied. (Fernández-Martinez et al., 2019)

- Mexico City (Mexico): Without a strong civil society, local authorities could forward their ideas to make them look like citizens' proposals, and **winning projects can go unimplemented**. A strong civil society can punish governments that organize weak PB processes by voting out officials or through protest. However, weak PB can also exacerbate a weak civil society, in a vicious cycle. (Rumbul et al., 2018)

Practical Recommendations

Planning & Design:

- Design the process to facilitate citizen engagement and the formation of CSOs.

- Include a preferential bias in favor of poor groups, such as weighted voting or quality of life or equity index, to encourage participation of poor communities that are not already well represented.

- Include multiple channels for participation so that different CSOs can engage in PB, e.g. additional issue-specific forums

Research:

- Investigate what types of CSOs are involved in PB processes, to better understand the influence of government and which interests are over- or underrepresented.

Impacts on Communities

Finding 15: PB can also facilitate less formal collective action, outside of CSOs.

- Philippines: Local PB processes formally engaged existing housing rights and organized tenants groups of the urban poor. **Youth and workers in informal sectors felt left out, but ended up engaging in less formal collective action through PB**. One PB project brought different factions of senior citizens in town to work together. By making the municipal meetings social events, as well as incentivising perfect attendance with free groceries, local fisherman groups succeeded in implementing PB projects to reach poorer communities that were otherwise neglected. (Maravilla and Grayman, 2020)

- South Africa: In contexts where PB is not implemented well, or where one political party dominates, such as the African National Congress in South Africa, PB can still facilitate alternative modes of collective action. PB allows migrant workers and refugees from other African countries, HIV-positive residents, and residents of informal settlements to **relay concerns, access information, and advocate for neighborhood projects without formal membership or via CSOs**. (Piper & von Lieres, 2016)

Practical Recommendations

🖌 Planning & Design:

- Build in flexibility (and some fun!) into the process, and allow communities to make each PB process their own, even in informal ways.

- Facilitate both top-down, institutionalized spaces and assemblies for PB and bottom-up, informal pop-up spaces where people might gather as well.

Impacts on Governments

Finding 16: Municipalities using PB generate more local tax revenues.

In Brazil, there was a **30% increase in local taxes in municipalities using PB** compared to comparable municipalities without PB. Extra amounts collected are roughly the same as the amounts dedicated to PB. (Touchton et al., 2020 and 2019)

Residents in municipalities using PB may be more willing to pay taxes because they **believe that the government is working on their behalf and can be held accountable** — even if they don't participate directly in the participatory process. The government is incentivized to collect more taxes in order to fulfill its public spending commitments. It then dedicates more revenue to areas that benefit the public, advancing a virtuous circle.

Finding 17: PB programs tend to spend money differently.

Studies show that districts and cities using PB allocate resources to different issues than places without PB, confirming step 1 of the theory of change

- New York City (United States): PB is associated with **increased** spending on **schools, public housing, and streets and traffic improvements**, and **decreased** spending on **parks & recreation, and middle income housing preservation and development**. (Hagelskamp et al., 2020)

- Porto Alegre (Brazil): PB is associated with greater spending on **water and sewage infrastructure**. (World Bank, 2010)

- Brazil: Adopting PB leads municipalities to allocate more resources to **health care** (Touchton & Wampler, 2014) and **education** (Boulding & Wampler, 2010)

Some PB processes, however, do not shift spending, especially when there is **little government capacity, political commitment, or mobilization of low-income residents to participate**. For example, evidence from Peru suggests no impact of PB on water coverage or service continuity.

Practical Recommendations

📢 **Advocacy:**

- Make the case to decision-makers that PB can help to raise tax revenues, keeping in mind that the effect may not be immediate.

📢 **Advocacy, Planning & Design:**

- Mobilize residents, especially low-income residents, so that the new budget will align with their interests.

Global Hub for Participatory Democracy

Impacts on Governments

Finding 18: PB redirects spending to low-income communities, when it uses equity criteria.

Several studies show that PB shifts funding toward communities with the greatest needs, when cities use equity criteria for determining what projects go on the ballot and how funds are distributed across districts. **These criteria may be incorporated into formulas that determine points for each project, into deliberation processes, or into determining the pot of money available in different areas**.

- Porto Alegre and Belo Horizonte (Brazil): PB generated greater levels of spending per capita in poorer districts. (Marquetti 2003 and 2008; Pires 2008; Wampler 2015)

- New York City (United States): PB shifted spending from the top 50% income neighborhoods to the lower 50% income neighborhoods. (Shybalkina & Bifulco 2018)

- Seoul (South Korea): PB shifted spending to poorer neighborhoods. (Hong and Cho, 2018; Cho et al., 2020)

When governments do not use equity criteria, however, funds are not consistently directed to lower income communities at a greater rate through PB.

Finding 19: These impacts differ across locations.

The outcomes above depend on local circumstances and context.

Government responsibilities

- Depending on the country, different levels of government have control over different policies, e.g. health policy in Germany.

- In some countries, increased tax collection doesn't work as an incentive to local governments because other levels of government control most tax revenue, e.g. in Argentina.

Practical Recommendations

Planning & Design:

- Use equity criteria for selecting projects and distributing funds across districts.

Research:

- Use georeferenced data to track which neighborhoods PB funding goes to.

- Investigate the impact of PB investments on reducing territorial inequalities. Does PB better reduce territorial inequalities than other non-participatory policies?

Advocacy:

- When making the case for PB, explain that you can expect different impacts in different places, depending on local economic and political factors.

Impacts on Governments

State capacity

- When governments can mobilize local state capacity, they are more likely to be able to implement projects selected through PB.

- As state capacity diminishes, there is likely going to be a lower rate of project implementation, which will in turn lower the PB's impact on well-being.

Resources

- When governments dedicate greater resources to PB programs, they are more likely to generate broader impacts.

Scope of PB projects:

- In places where PB is limited to investments in certain types of urban infrastructure (like parks and streets), impacts on health outcomes may be harder to measure. Example: Quebec.

Practical Recommendations

🔍 Research:

Investigate the effects of a range of contextual variables, including political systems, economic systems, level of government centralization, and state capacity. Key research questions and areas for investigation include:

- Can PB be effective in authoritarian or hybrid regimes?

- Is PB effective when mandated by national governments or promoted by international donors?

- As PB moves from mostly local or municipal spaces into more rural areas and villages, what impacts will it generate?

- Where local governments have little influence over certain policies or limited capacity, how does PB impact well-being?

- What are the impacts of specific models and features of national PB laws?

References

Albornoz-Manyoma, N.G., García-Leiva, P., & Palacios-Gálvez, M.S. (2020). Participation as a mechanism to favour psychological empowerment and positive interaction: The "Ágora Infantil" participatory democracy programme. Journal Community Psychology, 48, 1347-1364.

Albornoz-Manyoma, N.G., García-Leiva, P., & Palacios-Gálvez, M.S. (2021). Longitudinal study of the psychosocial effects of political participation by children: The 'Ágora Infantil' programme. Child Indicators Research, 14(5), 2083-2096.

Albornoz-Manyoma, N.G., García-Leiva, P., & Palacios-Gálvez, M.S. Democratic inclusion and cohesion in the classroom after a participatory democracy program (under review).

Bartlett, T., Rock, M., Schugurensky, D., & Tate, K. (2020). School participatory budgeting: A toolkit for inclusive practice. Center for the Future of Arizona & Participatory Governance Initiative.

Bartlett, T., & Schugurensky, D. (2021). Reinventando Freire no século XXI: educação para a cidadania, protagonismo infanto-juvenil e orçamento participativo nas escolas. Educação e Cultura Contemporânea, 18(55).

Boulding, C., & Wampler, B. (2010). Voice, votes, and resources: Evaluating the effect of participatory democracy on well-being. World Development, 38, 125-135.

Cho, B.S., No, W., & Park, Y. (2020). Diffusing participatory budgeting knowledge: lessons from Korean-language research. Asia Pacific Journal of Public Administration, 42(3), 188-206.

Cohen, M., Schugurensky, D., & Wiek, A. (2015). Citizenship education through participatory budgeting: The case of bioscience high school in Phoenix, Arizona. Curriculum and Teaching, 30(2), 5-26.

Crum, T., & Faydash, K. (2018). Youth citizenship in action - Evaluation of participatory budgeting in schools pilot (Rep.). Great Cities Institute.

Crum, T., Salinas, E., & Weber, R. (2013). Building a people's budget: Research and evaluation report on the 2012-2013 participatory budgeting process in Chicago. Tech. rep., Great Cities Institute: University of Illinois at Chicago.

Dvořák, T., Zouhar, J., & Novák, J. (2017). The effect of direct democracy on turnout: Voter mobilization or participatory momentum? Political Research Quarterly, 70(2), 433–448.

Fernández-Martínez, J. L., García-Espín, P., & Jiménez-Sánchez, M. (2020). Participatory frustration: The unintended cultural effect of local democratic innovations. Administration & Society, 52(5), 718-748.

Ford, A., Frizzera, A., Pinillos, C., & Signorelli, G. (2020). Presupuesto Participativo de la Universidad Nacional de Rosario. Una experiencia digital de participación a gran escala.

García-Leiva, P., Palacios-Gálves, M.S., Morales, E., Martos, M.J., Rodríguez, I., Domínguez, J. M., Hombrados, M. I., and Falck, A. (2021). The effects of children's participation in local governance on empowerment, subjective well-being and institutional trust: Ágora Infantil programme. Under review.

Gastil, J., Deess, E. P., Weiser, P., & Meade, J. (2008). Jury service and electoral participation: A test of the participation hypothesis. The Journal of Politics, 70(2), 351-367.

Gibbs, N. P., Bartlett, T., & Schugurensky, D. (2021). Does school participatory budgeting increase students' political efficacy? Bandura's 'sources', civic pedagogy, and education for democracy. Curriculum and Teaching, 36(1), 5-27.

Goldfrank, B. (2011). Deepening local democracy in Latin America: Participation, decentralization, and the left. Penn State Press.

Goldfrank, B. & Landes, K. (2018). Participatory budgeting in Canada and the United States. In N. Diaz (Ed.), Hope for democracy. 30 years of participatory budgeting worldwide (pp. 161-176). Opoeia Records.

Gonçalves, S. (2014). The effects of participatory budgeting on municipal expenditures and infant mortality in Brazil. World Development, 53, 94-110.

Gregorčič, M., & Krašovec, S. (2016). Social and learning practices in participatory democracy process The case study of self-organized communities in Maribor, Slovenia, contextualised through the e-participatory budgeting in Reykjavík, Iceland. Journal of Contemporary Educational Studies/Sodobna Pedagogika, 67(4).

Gregorčič, M. & Krašovec, S. (2017). Pedagogical dimensions of participatory democracy: Learning through self-organized communities and participatory budgeting in Maribor. In Adult education and lifelong learning in Southeastern Europe (pp. 27-39). Brill Sense.

Grillos, T. (2014). Youth lead the change: The city of Boston's youth-focused participatory budgeting process. Pilot year evaluation, Harvard University.

Hagelskamp, C., Rinehart, C., Silliman, R., & Schleifer, D., (2016). A process of growth. The expansion of participatory budgeting in the United States and Canada in 2015-16. New York: Public Agenda.

Hagelskamp, C., Rinehart, C., Silliman, R., & Schleifer, D. (2016). Public spending, by the people. Participatory budgeting in the United States and Canada in 2014–15. New York: Public Agenda.

Hagelskamp, C., Silliman, R., Godfrey, E. B., & Schleifer, D. (2020). Shifting priorities: Participatory budgeting in New York City is associated with increased investments in schools, street and traffic improvements, and public housing. New Political Science, 42(2), 171-196.

Hong, S., & Cho, B. S. (2018). Citizen participation and the redistribution of public goods. Public administration, 96(3), 481-496.

Johnson, C. (2017). Engaging democracy: An institutional theory of participatory budgeting. PhD thesis, University of Washington.

Johnson, C., Carlson, H. J., & Reynolds, S. (2021). Testing the participation hypothesis: Evidence from participatory budgeting. Political Behavior, 1-30.

Jovanovic, S., & Russell, V. (2016). Greensboro participatory budgeting 2015–2016 research and evaluation report. Tech. rep., University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Kasdan, A., & Markman, E. (2015). A people's budget: Cycle 4: Key research findings. New York, NY: Urban Justice Center Community Development Project.

Keidan, O. (2020). "Now with the PB we showed them we can do big stuff": Participants' perspectives of first year school participatory budgeting. (Master of Arts thesis) – Arizona State University, Tempe.

Kinzle, L. (2019). School participatory budgeting in Carson Junior High. Tese (Honors thesis) – Arizona State University, Tempe.

Kukučková, S., & Bakoš, E. (2019). Does participatory budgeting bolster voter turnout in elections? The case of the Czech Republic. Network of Institutes and Schools of Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe. The NISPAcee Journal of Public Administration and Policy, 12(2), 109-129.

Lerner, J. (2010). Learning Democracy through Participatory Budgeting: Who learns what, and so what? In E. Pinnington & D. Schugurensky (Eds.), Learning citizenship by practicing democracy: International initiatives and perspectives (pp. 242-251). Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Lerner, J., & Schugurensky, D. (2007). Who learns what in participatory democracy: Participatory budgeting in Rosario, Argentina. Democratic Practices as Learning Opportunities.

Luchmann, Ligia (2010). Participatory democracy and political learning: Lessons from the Brazilian experience. In E. Pinnington & D. Schugurensky (Eds.), Learning citizenship by practicing democracy: International initiatives and perspectives (pp. 269-285). Cambridge Scholarly Press.

Maravilla, G.A.R., & Grayman, J. H. (2020) Understanding participatory budgeting through formal and informal processes of inclusion: a case study in the Philippines. Development in Practice, 30(4), 448-458.

Marquetti, A. (2003). Participação e Redistribuição: o Orçamento Participativo em Porto Alegre. In L. Avritzer, L. & Z. Navarro (Org.), A inovação democrática no Brasil (pp. 129-156). Cortez Editora.

Marquetti, A. (2008). Orçamento Participativo, redistribuição e finanças municipais: a experiência Porto Alegre entre 1989 e 2004. In A. Marquetti, G. Campos & R. Pires (Org.), Democracia participativa e redistribuição: Análise de experiências de Orçamento Participativo (pp. 31-54). Xamã Editora.

Metzger, A., Ferris, K., & Oosterhoff, B. (2019). Adolescents' civic engagement: Concordant and longitudinal associations among civic beliefs and civic involvement. J Res Adolesc, 29(4), 879-896. doi: 10.1111/jora.12423.

Peixoto, T., Sjoberg, F., & Mellon, J. (2020). A Get Out The Vote (GOTV) experiment on the world's largest participatory budgeting vote in Brazil.

British Journal of Political Science, 50(1), 381–389.

Pinnington, E., & Schugurensky, D. (2010). Civic learning and political engagement through participatory budgeting: The case of Guelph, Canada. In E. Pinnington and D. Schugurensky (Eds.), Learning citizenship by practicing democracy: international initiatives and perspectives (pp. 286-305). Cambridge Scholarly Press.

Piper, L., & von Lieres, B. (2016) The limits of participatory democracy and the rise of the informal politics of mediated representation in South Africa. Journal of Civil Society, 12(3), 314-332.

Pires, R. (2008). Aspectos regulamentação da participação no OP em Belo Horizonte: eficiência distributiva aliada ao planejamento urbano. In: A. Marquetti, G.A. de Campos & R. Pires (Org.), Democracia participativa e redistribuição: análise de experiências do orçamento participativo. São Paulo: Xamã.

Rumbul, R., Parsons, A., & Bramley, J. (2018). Elite capture and co-optation in participatory budgeting in Mexico City. In International Conference on Electronic Participation (pp. 89-99). Springer, Cham.

Schugurensky, D. (2013). Volunteers for democracy: informal learning through Participatory Budgeting. In F. Duguid, K. Mundel & D. Schugurensky (Eds.), Informal learning, volunteer work and social action (pp. 159-176). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Schugurensky, D. (2009). Apprendre en faisant: Démocratie participative et éducation à la citoyenneté. In G. Brougere & A. Ulmann (Eds.), Apprendre de la vie quotidienne. Collection APPRENDRE, Presses Universitaires de France.

Schugurensky, D. (2006). This is our school of citizenship. Informal learning in local democracy. In Z. Bekerman, N. Burbules & D. Silberman (Eds.), Learning in hidden places: The informal education reader. Peter Lang.

Schugurensky, D. (2005). Aprendizado para a cidadania e engajamento democrático: o capital político revisitado. In D.R. Streck, E. Eggert & E.A. Sobottka (Eds), Dizer a sua palavra: Educação cidadã pesquisa participante orçamento público. Pelotas, RS: Seixa, 141-158.

Schugurensky, D. (2002). Transformative learning and transformative politics: The pedagogical dimension of participatory democracy and social action. In E. O'Sullivan, A. Morrell & M.A. O'Connor (Eds.), Expanding the boundaries of transformative learning. Essays on theory and praxis (pp. 59-76). New York: Palgrave.

Schugurensky, D. (2001). The enlightenment-engagement dilemma and the development of the active citizen: Lessons from the Citizens' Forum and the Participatory Budget. Proceedings of the 20th anniversary conference of the Canadian Association for Studies in Adult Education (CASAE), Quebec City, May, pp.159-164.

Shulga, I. (2019). Can local participatory programs enhance public confidence: Insights from the local initiatives support program in Russia. World Bank.

Shybalkina, I., & Bifulco, R. (2019). Does participatory budgeting change the share of public funding to low income neighborhoods? Public Budgeting & Finance, 39(1), 45-66.

Signorelli, G. (2021). Presupuesto Participativo en Universidades Públicas Argentinas: ¿se atreven a hacer lo que recomiendan a otros que hagan?. En "Experiencias participativas en el sur global. ¿Otras democracias posibles?" Mariano Suárez, Gisela Signorelli, Juan Mérida y Leonel Del Prado Coords. Ed. CLACSO- UNR. En edición.

Su, C. (2017). Beyond inclusion: Critical race theory and participatory budgeting. New Political Science, 39(1), 126-142.

Swaner, R. (2017). Trust Matters: Enhancing Government Legitimacy through Participatory Budgeting. New Political Science, 39(1), 95-108.

Tolbert, C.J., & Smith, D.A. (2005). The educative effects of ballot initiatives on voter turnout. American Politics Research, 33(2), 283-309.

Touchton, M., & Wampler, B. (2014). Improving social well-being through new democratic institutions. Comparative Political Studies, 47(10), 1442–1469.

Touchton, M., & Wampler, B. (2020). Public engagement for public health: Participatory budgeting, targeted social programmes, and infant mortality in Brazil. Development in Practice, 30(5), 681-686.

Touchton, M., Wampler, B., & Peixoto, T. (2019). Of governance and revenue: Participatory institutions and tax compliance in Brazil. World Bank Group Policy Research Working Paper 8797.

Touchton, M., Wampler, B., & Peixoto, T. (2020). Of democratic governance and revenue: Participatory institutions and tax generation in Brazil. Governance. 1– 20.

Véron, P. (2015). Why Paris is building the world's biggest participatory budget. Blog, NewCities. Access: https://newcities.org/why-paris-is-building-the-worlds-biggest-participatory-budget/

Wampler, B., McNulty, S., & Touchton, M. (2021). Participatory Budgeting in Global Perspective. Oxford University Press.

Wampler, B., & Touchton, M. (2019). Designing institutions to improve well-being: Participation, deliberation and institutionalisation. European Journal of Political Research, 58(3), 915-937.

Wampler, B. (2015). Activating democracy in Brazil: Popular participation, social justice, and interlocking institutions. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

World Bank. (2008). Brazil : Toward a more inclusive and effective participatory budget in Porto Alegre, Volume 1. Main Report. Washington, DC.