

PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING IN ALBANIA: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

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Abstract: The focus in this paper is on Participatory Budgeting in Albania, its application and the factors that contributed to PB' implementation, as an innovative model of public budgeting. Participatory budgeting constitutes a model of budgeting and the related initiatives to promote citizen engagement, participation and input in public budgets. Participatory Budgeting is a recent model of public budgeting and initially was applied in different municipalities in Albania. The aim of this article is to analyse Participatory Budgeting, when and where it was applied initially, the factors that contribute to the advancement of this model and the barriers to implement it. The first initiatives were strongly related with necessary trainings of the local governments' employees about PB, and with the application of some limited aspects of the model, in order to attract citizens to engaging in some activities that were referred to as PB. These activities or initiatives were mostly public hearings about the way in which local communities will direct their limited resources year to year. The organized public hearings, were related with the local governments' units concerns and plans about investments, projects and public services for every municipality program, in each budgetary year. The analysis is based on primary and secondary sources of information in order to understand the contextual factors that help and the challenges faced for the implementation of Participatory Budgeting in Albania.

Keywords: Participatory Budgeting; local governments' employees; budgetary year

The Application and Advancement of PB in Albania

Participatory Budgeting in Albania constitutes an innovative model of public budgeting, governance and democracy. Participatory budgeting is a model of budgeting and of the related initiatives to promote citizen engagement, participation

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and input in public budgets. Initially PB was applied in different municipalities in Albania. The first initiatives were strongly related with necessary trainings of the local governments' employees about PB, and with the application of some limited aspects of the model, in order to attract citizens to engaging in some activities that were referred to as PB. These activities or initiatives were mostly public hearings about the way in which local communities will direct their limited resources each year. The organized public hearings, were related with the local governments' units concerns and plans about investments, projects and public services for every municipality program, in each budgetary year. The analysis is based on primary and secondary sources of information in order to understand the contextual factors that help and the challenges faced for the implementation of Participatory Budgeting in Albania.

The new administrative-territorial reform in Albania started in 2013-2014 and in 31 July, the parliament approved the Law no. 115/2014. In accordance with this reform, now there are 12 regions, 61 municipalities, and different functional zones, by merging approximately 5-6 towns or communes. These new administrative areas continue to offer citizens public services. The reform was intended to help the local government units to improve their capacities, towards the achievement of good governance, so that they can offer qualitative public services, closer to the citizen's needs.

Articles 155 to 160 of the Constitution of the Republic of Albania and the Article 20, paragraph 2, of the Law No. 139/2015, On Local Self-Government, state that proposals coming to the council as civic initiatives when they have a financial impact on the budget of the local level of government unit are reviewed by the council in the agenda and cannot be approved without the opinion of the mayor of the local level of government unit. Local government units are responsible to ensure that participatory budgeting is executed in accordance with the law.

The Spread of Participatory Budgeting

Participatory Budgeting, PB, is mainly concerned with the participation of citizens and interested actors from one community in the decisions regarding the allocation of the scarce resources. The process that happens annually, represent possibilities for the different interest groups and the general public to try to affect the governmental decision-making. The budget calendar in a democratic system, gives the citizens the opportunity to be informed about the accomplishments of the government and to participate in the decision-making. The citizens in a democracy

can participate in politics, especially at the local level of government, when they are given the possibility to interact, deliberate and make requests about the resources' allocation.

Participatory budgeting started in 1989 in the municipality of Porto Alegre, the capital of Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil. Porto Alegre is wealthy considering Brazilian standards. In 1988, the Workers' Party, a progressive political party won the local elections and its campaign was based on democratic participation. Thus, in the beginning the levels of citizen participation were low, then dramatically increased and participation was a vital part of the local government. According to Wampler, in 1989 and 1990, the first two years of participatory budgeting, fewer than 1000 citizens participated in the participatory budgeting process; by 1992 the number of participants had jumped to nearly 8000. After the Workers' Party was reelected in 1992, the participation increased to more than 20000 people a year, as citizens realized that participatory budgeting was an important decision-making venue (Wampler, 2007, pp. 23-24). For the authors Sintomer, Herzberg, Rocke and Allegretti, the invention of PB was the result of a conjunction of top-down and bottom-up processes, because of the dissatisfaction with widespread corruption and clientelism and the civil society demands for more co-decision-making authority (Sintomer, Herzberg, Rocke, & Allegretti, 2014).

Participatory budgeting (even if there is no agreed upon definition) refers to the process by which citizens take part or contribute to the decision-making process for allocating scarce resources in their community. Different countries associate Participatory Budgeting, PB with different procedures to participating in the allocation of resources. Based on Sintomer and al., procedures called PB in some places would not get that label in others, but basically, PB allows the participation of non-elected citizens in the conception and/or allocation of public finances. The authors also add five further criteria to the above definition (Sintomer, Herzberg, Rocke, & Allegretti, 2014).

- Discussion of financial/budgetary processes; PB is dealing with scarce resources;
- The city level has to be involved, or a (decentralized) district with an elected body and some power over administration and resources (the neighborhood level is not enough);
- It has to be a repeated process over years;

- Some forms of public deliberation must be included within the framework
 of specific meetings/forums (The inclusion of ordinary citizens into the
 institutions of "classic" representative democracy represents no PB process);
- Some accountability on the results of the process is required.

For Sintomer and al, based on the criteria above, globally, there were between 1,269 and 2,778 participatory budgets in 2013. In Latin America, there are between 626 and 1138 participatory budgets today; in Europe between 474 and 1,317; in Asia between 58 and 109; and in Africa between 110 and 211 (Sintomer, Herzberg, Rocke, & Allegretti, 2014).

In the same line, according to the author Dias, the dissemination process of Participatory Budgets is unprecedented and it has covered five different periods (Nelson, 2014): The first phase corresponds to a period of trials between 1989 and 1997, which highlighted the initiatives in Porto Alegre and Montevideo, Uruguay, with roughly two local government electoral mandates in Brazil (1989/1992 and 1993/1996) where more than 30 municipalities started PB experiments. The second phase, Brazilian' PB wide expansion, occurred in the next mandate, i.e. between 1997 and 2000, during which more than 140 municipalities applied PB, albeit with significant variations. The third phase emerges mainly after 2000, with the expansion of PB in Latin American and European cities, inspired by existing models, particularly Porto Alegre, adapted to each location, which in some cases involved substantial changes to the original design. The fourth phase began in 2007/2008 where both a national and international PB network was built. Here the Brazilian, Colombian, Argentinean, Spanish and German networks stand out, as well as the Chilean PB Forum, the Portuguese Participatory Budget Initiative, the PB Unit (UK), the Participatory Budgeting Project (United States) among others. The focus of this phase is the network of PB experiments and players that work on the subject. The fifth phase is related with numerous Participatory Budgets and their integration into larger and more complex systems of citizen participation, as the result of the simultaneous recognition of the potential and the limits of the PB. These five phases can be summarized in two major distinct periods in the dissemination process of Participatory Budget in the world. The grouping of the first three phases, is related with different practices of PB in various parts of the world, where social groups and the political left, were more aware of the issue, and that had the Porto Alegre PB as an international landmark. Whereas the second major period is related with the fourth and fifth phases and constituted Participatory Budgeting' organized supply, with the creation of specialized websites, conferences and thematic meetings, trainings, publication of guides and manuals, among other activities, with the objective of strengthening the ongoing experiences and encouraging the emergence of new ones. For Dias, the PB has won the sympathy and recognition from different sectors of society, ensuring a presence in all continents, with particular emphasis on Latin America, Europe and Africa (Nelson, 2014).

Based on Sintomer and al., at the most radical level, participatory budget programs aim to fundamentally change prevailing conditions and are one component of a broader movement for renewal. The outcomes of participatory budgeting in Europe and Africa appear to have less radical impacts. Sintomer and al., state that a second trend involves the use of PB to drive a reform agenda. The local government is the lead player here, but citizens are not absent. In many countries they include a focus on modernizing public administration and improving the lives of socially disadvantaged groups, while retaining the basic structure of the system and existing patterns of allocation. The greatest impact of reform, however, involves an improvement in relations between local governments and their citizens. In the global south and in Eastern Europe, this kind of PB is often supported by international organizations. Some of the examples of the second group are part of the third trend, meaning that PB is largely of a symbolic nature. Here the aim is no longer really to consult citizens (Sintomer, Herzberg, Rocke, & Allegretti, 2014).

Based on the Sintomer, Herzberg and Rocke there are six conceptual models of citizen participation in PB, and this serves as a typology to classify the varieties of PB (Sintomer, Herzberg, Rocke, & Allegretti, 2014):

- Participatory Democracy: Participation has real repercussions in terms of social justice and relations between civil society and the political system, like Latin-American PBs, in Europe and Asia.
- Proximity Democracy: it showcases proximity both in terms of geographical closeness and increased communication between citizens, public administrations and local authorities. Its logic is that the decision-makers cherry-pick citizens' ideas.
- Participatory modernization: the participatory process is top-down, is not
 political and has only consultative value. Civil society has only limited
 independence.
- Multi-stakeholder participation: although participatory procedures may have decision-making powers, they remain caught in a top-down approach. Civil

society is weak and has little autonomy. International organizations, like the WB or the UN play an important part in dissemination.

- Neo-corporatism: local government plays a strong role by surrounding itself
 with organized groups, social groups and various local institutions. Civil
 society procedural independence is limited; essentially top-down processes.
- Community development: participation includes the phase of project implementation. There are clear procedural rules and relatively high quality of deliberation. The role of NGOs is often decisive, with participation being aimed at disadvantaged or marginalized groups.

Regarding the types or varieties of PB, Folscher based on McGee (2003) distinguishes between five types of participation in the budget process (Fölscher, 2007): information generation, information sharing, consultation, joint decision making, and initiation and control by stakeholders. As participatory practices move up this ladder, they become more effective instruments of participation (the first one is an addition from the author Folscher). These five types can be grouped into: initiatives that are dependent on the state's providing information and space for engagement (information sharing, consultation, and joint decision making) and initiatives that can survive more independently from local government administrations (information generation and direct initiation and control) (Fölscher, 2007).

Nevertheless, according to De Vries and al, the practices of PB as they evolved in European countries can be seen as an inferior form of policy transfer in which the original was inspirational, but nothing more. De Vries and al., underline that when the terminology of Participatory Budgeting remained, the goals and tools used, resulted only in minimal or marginal changes in municipalities in European countries practicing PB, instead of radical changes to increase spending in favor of marginalized groups. (De Vries, Juraj, & Spacek, 2022).

This means that the undertaken initiatives of PB in Europe were limited and have not produced the desired levels of citizen' participation in the decision-making about resources allocation.

The undertaken PB initiatives in Albania

The World Bank, in collaboration with Urban Research Institute, URI and two other Albanian NGO-s, NACSS and Co-Plan, has embarked in an initiative to support the implementation of activities aimed at building a demand side for better government and strengthening city participation in the governance in Albania. Participatory

Budgeting Pilot (PBP) was designed to improve local governance and accountability for three LGU: Kashar, Baldushk and Prrenjas (before the Territorial Administrative Reform, TAR). The long-term objective of the project was to create opportunities for public participation in decision-making. The PBP phases: Joint Citizen-Government Budget Formulation and Citizen Budget Monitoring and Local Government Feedback on Budget Expenditure. The PBP entered its second phase during the period February-June 2005. A comprehensive manual for implementing participatory budgeting in Albania was developed. Meantime four local government units, two communes and two municipalities have been implementing the first and the second phases of the participatory budgeting for year 2006 (Urban Research Institute, 2006).

In relation with LGUs experience with PB after TAR, there are several initiatives undertaken in different time periods. The municipality of Durrës has undertaken PB and claims that has applied some forms of PB model, to engage its citizens and their views and opinions about the way in which some projects will continue in the future. The main activities undertaken by the municipality are public hearings, regarding the medium-term budgetary program, and specifically PBA 2021-2023 was organized online from the municipality council, because of Covid 19' regulations (The official website of Durres Municipality). Based on the public hearing online this municipality has done for four years public seances for the community and interest groups to present investments projects and public services for every municipality program (from 2018 and on, required by the central government formal regulations). The local government unit claimed that has taken under consideration the proposals and suggestions made by different actors that participated in the public hearings' sessions. The online public hearing due to Covid 19 pandemics, on 26.11.2020, lasted about 2 hours and 7 minutes and was the sixth hearing session. Mainly it was a general presentation of the municipality of Durrës' programs and objectives, of the realized investments in the preceding year, and the medium-term engagements or activities of the municipality. In this context, it was a mere presentation of the budgetary objectives in the medium term, regarding three main programs: the fiscal package program, from the Directory of Taxes; the program of services and investments in the pre-school and pre-university education from the Directory of Education, Culture, Youth and Sports, and Religious Communities, and the program of Sheltering and Social Services from the Directory of Social Services. In general, the number of participants was very low, especially from the public, and the questions were done by members of the Municipality Council, and some participants from the associations and interest groups of the civil society organizations.

Participatory Budgeting, PB was undertaken as an initiative in the context of the project 'The improvement of the budgeting process with consultation and participation' implemented in 5 municipalities: in Durrës, Fier, Kamza, Puka and Vlora, sponsored by the International Center Olof Palme and funds by the Swedish government. According to one of the organizations of the civil society operating in Durres area, the Civil Society Development Center, CSDC, the PB project in Durres, has organized several activities in order to promote PB, that mainly consist in: Focus groups, face to face in the community in the summer of 2020; Data exchanging with the municipality staff and the Council; Sharing of the experiences; Meetings in the municipality; Meetings in the institution that covers the region (Prefektura); Online public hearings; Public hearings in the CSDC. The same situation can be seen even in the other municipalities that are in the center of the project. Based on the reports¹ and data from the 5 involved municipalities we can summarize that: in relation with the questions about the initiative of implementing PB, in all the municipalities involved there is uncertainty about the actors that have introduced first PB. In four municipalities it is believed that the process of PB was an initiative of the civil society organizations and local interest groups, with only the municipality of Kamza respondents that believed that the process was initiated by the mayor and the municipality staff.

In November 2021 the project from A.L.T.R.I Center was focused on improving the performance and the budgetary transparency of the local government units with the citizens participation in decision-making, as part of the regional project WeBER 2.0, financed by European Union and implemented by the IDM in the municipalities of Lushnja, Kruja, Cërrik, Gramsh and Malësi e Madhe about the implementation of the public consultations with a focus on budgeting and medium-term Budgetary Program, PBA.² In the developed consultations with the public for the budget, the number of the citizens was no more than 10, because of the anti-Covid 19 governmental measures. It was not possible the use of online platforms for consultation because of the lack of access to Internet and of information about these platforms or even other technological devices. Even if these municipalities have

¹ Olof Palme International Center and Sweden government, *Findings from the evaluation report*: On the practices of the PB mechanism and consultation on the local level in the Durres municipality, September 2019, with 10 interviews by the municipality staff.

² Instituti Shqiptar për Studime Ligjore dhe Territoriale (Qendra A.L.T.R.I)/ Albanian Institute for Legal and Territorial Studies (A.L.T.R.I. Center). 2021. Raport Monitorimi mbi Buxhetimin me Pjesëmarrje dhe Përfshirjen e Prespektivës Gjinore në Programin Buxhetor Afatmesëm dhe Buxhetin e Bashkive/ Monitoring Report on Participatory Budgeting and the Inclusion of the Gender Perspective in the Medium-Term Budget Program and the Municipal Budget.

assigned one of their employees as a coordinator of public consultation and have conducted public consultations, the participation of citizens in these meetings is very low, because of the high level of distrust about public institutions, including the local governmental units' administration. Above all, only the citizens requests and recommendations that are in line with the municipalities' priorities are taken in consideration, leaving the other part out of the picture, because there are a considerable number of services to offer with a low level of funding.

Another project that gave the citizens the possibility to participate in the decision-making of the local level of government was the website (The project "Buxhetim.al: Active participation of citizens in the budget formulation with the support of Lëviz Albania and implemented by Agenda Institute) (this website now is not functional) where they could express their views and opinions about the municipality of interest' major functions or programs and projects for improvement and their opinions about the issues they face daily. On the website are listed all the municipalities and every interested citizen can choose their municipality and except for the data about their gender, age category and level of education, they have the possibility to choose three of all the listed programs and functions offered by the municipalities.

Agenda Center is implementing a project about PB in the municipalities of Durrës, Elbasan and Korca, that aims to increase the citizens participation in the formulation of the budget, by employing a phone application or social networks, where every interested individual can express their views about the way in which the municipalities spend the respective funds (LEVIZ ALBANIA).

The Institute for Development and Research Alternatives (IDRA) conducted the project "The Development of Innovative Approaches to Communities Involvement in the Local Governance", funded by Lëviz Albania, in the municipalities of Shkodra, Tirana, Durrës, Elbasan, Fier and Korca. It was based on interviews and focus groups in the period August-October 2016, about the relevance or the need that citizens participate in decision-making. The findings of the project were that there is a high sensitivity for civic engagement in decision-making and in other important matters for the public, but not all the citizens are informed about the mechanisms for their participation in decision-making or in solving the problems. The respondents generally accepted that there is an increase of the public consultation about different decisions. Uniformly, they agreed about the relevance of citizens participation, although some attitudes reflected that the participation does not have real or appropriate influence. The involvement of citizens is not only an obligation by law, but also is required in order to achieve participatory 126

democracy, the citizens' engagement level is not very high to achieve co-governance or partnership. There is a high participation of the community in the public hearings to allocate the upcoming yearly budget or about the environmental strategic assessment and the general local planning, but except for that for other issues there is a low level of participation. The public, motivated by CSOs tend to participate in public meetings or debates related with local decision-making process, but they lack organization (except for the land-field case in Porto Romano, in Durrës Municipality). Even that, NGOs are active only for periods when there are financed to implement their projects. Their role is seen mostly in supporting marginalized groups for sheltering, education or for food. The collaboration between civil society and local government units is not stable. The instruments used for sharing information from local administration are: the official website of the municipalities, the Facebook page of municipalities; visual medias; newspapers, journals; "one stop shop" offices; information corners; press declarations and e-mails. For IDRA, PB constitutes a successful practice of citizen involvement (best example is Elbasan Municipality)1.

Even though there is a positive trend in Albanian municipalities towards implementing participatory budgeting at local level, better implementation would enable more transparent and accountable local governments. Local public officials are either not very used to engaging with people on technical planning and budgeting, or find them ill-equipped to do so, or simply do not see the importance of the voice of the people. The municipality of Elbasan is one of the pioneer municipalities that have implemented participatory budgeting since 2004. Currently, the budgeting process works through consultation meetings organized in boroughs and villages under the jurisdiction of Elbasan, taking into account the views of women and men (Council of Europe, 2022)

Drawing on internationally accepted criteria developed by multilateral organizations, the Open Budget Survey measures public participation, by the degree to which the government provides opportunities for the public to engage in the budget cycle. Albania's score of 2 out of 100 indicates that it provides few opportunities for the public to engage in the budget process (few, limited, adequate) and it is lower than the global average participation score of 12. ² The OBS 2019 also assessed the formal opportunities offered to the public for meaningful participation

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¹ Instituti Për Kërkime dhe Alternativa Zhvillimi/ Institute for Research and Development Alternatives – IDRA. 2017. *Udhërrëfyes për përfshirjen e Qytetarëve/Komuniteteve në Qeverisjen Vendore/ Roadmap for Citizen/Community Involvement in Local Governance.*

² Albania Open Budget Survey, 2017 summary.

in the different stages of the budget process. It uses 18 equally weighted indicators, aligned with the Global Initiative for Fiscal Transparency's and scores each country on a scale from 0 to 100. Albania has a public participation score of 7 (insufficient, sufficient) (out of 100).¹

Recommendations of OBS are that to further strengthen public participation in the budget process, Albania's Ministry of Finance and Economy should prioritize: pilot mechanisms to engage the public during budget formulation and to monitor budget implementation; actively engage with vulnerable and underrepresented communities, directly or through civil society organizations representing them.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Participatory Budgeting in Albania has started in 2004 with different pilot projects in several municipalities in order to increase the participation of the citizens and other interested groups in the local governmental unit' budgeting process. This initiative serves the need to involve citizens and groups of CSOs and NGOs to the decisions regarding the allocation of municipalities resources, and represent a major step towards the country democratization.

PB represents an initiative to democratization that in Albania has started mainly from international organizations, that have supported and financed part of CSOs or other NGOs, in order to apply PB in different municipalities. PB in the country is in the initial phase and has a long road ahead, in order to gain relevance and that the citizens have a voice in the decisions regarding the allocations of the local budgets.

The outcomes of the several initiatives for the application of PB in Albania, in all these years, are not satisfactory, as a result of several factors that inhibit the advancement of PB, like:

Even though the local level of government legislation requests public
consultation and the involvement of citizens in decision-making, the initiative
did not spread in all of the municipalities (except for the online initiative with
the website 'buxhetimi.al' that now it is not accessible) and is far from being an
integral part of the municipalities functioning. Based on the available
information only about 25% of the municipalities have had an experience of the
PB.

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¹ Open Budget Survey, Albania 2019.

- The different projects of PB carried out by parts of CSOs ang NGOs, are limited
 in time and most of them demonstrate that the citizens participation is very low
 and the organized public meetings (public hearings) are mostly in line with the
 priorities if LGUs.
- PB in Albania is dependent on different contextual factors that make it difficult
 for the general public to take part in the decisions regarding the budget, like the
 apathy or distrust of the citizens to participate in the public hearings, a lack of
 information regarding the government way of functioning, problems with
 government capacity, a culture of secrecy and an inherited mentality of not
 participating in politics and other vital matters and issues for a functioning
 democracy.

Some of the recommendations are that the CSOs and NGOs to undertake initiatives and projects that are in the direction of informing and educating the general public with the principles of a functioning democracy, especially in participating in the budgeting process of the local level of government (that is closer to them), for allocating the scarce resources. The former should create stable relations with LGUs, as much as possible. By participating in the governance matters, the citizens will start to gain trust in the public institutions and this will increase the levels of participation in PB initiatives and the requests and recommendations will be within reasonable limits. Nevertheless, the local public administration should be open and transparent with the citizens and promote initiatives that are in line with citizens requests and needs.

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