

Participatory Governance, Neoliberal Restructuring and Participatory Budgeting in Chicago, IL

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the relationship between participatory democracy and neoliberal restructuring in cities through an empirical examination of the practice of participatory budgeting in Chicago, IL. Using a critical institutionalist approach, in conjunction with scholarship on neoliberalization and colourblind racism, I examine how participatory budgeting in Chicago operates in a broader context of budgetary austerity, and race- and class-based inequity.

My main argument is twofold. First, I argue that the emergence of participatory budgeting in Chicago is intimately related political histories of machine governance, especially patronage relations and racial exclusions. In a context of declining legitimacy of both clientelism and explicit racial exclusion from governance, participatory budgeting is a useful strategic tool for aldermen to solicit political support and distance themselves from the legacy of patronage in municipal governance. The political and institutional context helps explain why participatory budgeting in Chicago has been initiated primarily by political elites.

Second, I find that in Chicago, as an elite-driven governance tool, the democratic possibilities of participatory budgeting have been limited. Participatory budgeting has sometimes enabled new social solidarities to emerge, particularly when community members creatively mobilize through the process to address shared social struggles. Nonetheless, the articulation of participatory budgeting in Chicago largely within a neoliberal framework has limited its ability to challenge budgetary austerity, and systemic race- and class-based exclusions in local democracy. In the absence of a more comprehensive shift towards participatory democratic politics in other arenas, participatory budgeting risks manifesting as an isolated and commodified form of participatory democracy: a stand-alone initiative that is palatable to elites, rather than a more substantive transformation of the exercise of political power more broadly.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

CBA - Community Benefit Agreement

CCA – Chicago Community Area

CDOT – Chicago Department of Transportation

CHA – Chicago Housing Authority

CIP - Capital Infrastructure Program

CMSA – Chicago Math and Science Academy

CPS – Chicago Public Schools

JPF – Jefferson Park Forward

JPNA – Jefferson Park Neighborhood Association

Menu – Aldermanic Menu Program

NCBG – Neighborhood Capital Budget Group

NIP – Neighborhood Infrastructure Program

OIG – Chicago Office of the Inspector General

OMA – Illinois Open Meetings Act (2010)

PBP – Participatory Budgeting Project

PB Chicago – Participatory Budgeting Chicago

TIF – Tax Increment Financing District

UIC – University of Illinois, Chicago

VRA – Voter Rights Act

Chapter 1: Participatory Budgeting as a Policy Practice

The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you (Arnstein, 1969: 198).

Participatory budgeting is the allocation of a public budget by people who are directly affected by the funding under consideration. Both a public policy and a democratic intervention, participatory budgeting has been taken as an example of a “silver bullet” or a “policy that works”, as evidenced by its rapid proliferation and diffusion as a policy practice, and the existence of non-partisan support for participatory budgeting from stakeholders identifying across the political spectrum (Peck and Theodore, 2015). As the origin story goes, in 1989 the left-leaning Brazilian Workers Party won municipal elections in Porto Alegre, Brazil, and sought to implement more representative decision-making as a means of both increasing the propensity of citizens to pay property taxes, and more equitably distributing municipal funds (Bräutigam, 2004). Since 1989, participatory budgeting has spread to thousands of municipalities across the world as a policy practice that reinforces norms and practices of good governance.

Participatory budgeting can be situated as part of a broader resurgence in participatory governance: the facilitation of popular input in the apparatus of governance as a means of deepening democracy (Fischer, 2012; Wampler and McNulty, 2015).¹ Indeed, the notion that direct resident participation in governance is both desirable and necessary has become dominant logic in contemporary public policy circles, and has resulted in a multitude of participatory policy experiments particularly at the municipal level (Baiocchi and Ganuza, 2017; Pateman,

¹ Participatory governance includes a variety of participatory and deliberative democratic interventions, including citizen assemblies, participatory urban planning, and deliberative polls.

2012; Johnson, 2015).² Participatory democracy was initially associated with less institutionalized forms of organizing and activism, with the term gaining prominence in North American social movements during the 1960s (Polletta, 2005). With the emergence of institutionalized forms of participatory governance has come the development of credentialed and professionalized public service roles structured around the cultivation of participation, including the employment by municipalities of professional managers of public engagement and consultation (Fischer, 2012; Addie, 2013).

Notwithstanding the expansion of participatory governance practices, in many ways public budgets have remained driven by neoliberal imperatives, and rigid executive control (Purcell, 2006). Emphasis on budgetary dynamics as a key locus for neoliberal restructuring is present in much of the literature on neoliberal urbanism, and neoliberal state restructuring more broadly (Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2010).³ Budgetary austerity – the dominance of low-spending, low-tax budgets - benefits urban elites who contribute more to redistributive taxation programs but are less dependent on municipal services like public transportation, subsidized housing, or public recreation programs, because they acquire these amenities through private markets. Ofttimes the divide between those reliant on public services and those who acquire amenities through the private market is stratified along lines of race and class (Goldburg, 2009).

² Throughout the dissertation, I use the language of “resident” rather than “citizen” to describe community members to emphasize participatory budgeting in Chicago takes residency, not citizenship, as the criterion for participation, privileging geographic proximity over legal citizenship status. Moreover, “resident” is the dominant language used by most staff, politicians, and volunteers involved in participatory budgeting in Chicago. Some scholars (for example, Archon Fung) have suggested using citizen in an expansive sense to refer not to legal structures of citizenship but to those who claim a right to civic involvement regardless of citizenship status. I avoid adopting this practice because I am concerned that using the language of “citizen” in this way may contribute to the erasure of those with precarious citizenship status by giving the impression that all residents involved in participatory budgeting benefit from the protections of formal citizenship.

³ I use neoliberalism to refer to the extension of market rationalities of governance to aspects of social life that had previously been governed primarily through different logics (Brown, 2003). While the logic of neoliberalism is consistent, the consequences are variegated and manifest with social and spatial heterogeneity (Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2010). An extended discussion of my conceptualization of neoliberalism occurs later in this chapter.

At a time when austerity is the dominant logic of municipal budgeting, the promise of popular control of budgets has piqued interest in the empowerment potential of participatory budgeting as a pragmatic challenge to elite decision-making. Avritzer suggests participatory budgeting is, “one of the most important of the recent experiments in participatory and deliberative governance” (2005: 623). Similarly, Sintomer et al. call participatory budgeting, “one of the most successful participatory instruments of the past 20 or 30 years” (2012: 1). Wampler and Hartz suggest participatory budgeting “is the modern day, urban version of the New England Town Hall meeting process...a practical response to pressing political and policy problems” (2012: 3). Proponents suggest participatory budgeting can produce “better” democracy by grounding budgetary decision-making, and therefore power, in communities. Underlying the adoption of participatory budgeting is the hope that residents asserting authority over public budgets will reduce the inequities and power imbalances that dominate budgetary practices, while leading to a more efficient allocation of scarce public resources (Lerner, 2006; Wampler, 2000).

Statement of the Problem

This dissertation examines the relationship between neoliberal restructuring and participatory governance in cities through the experience of the city of Chicago, Illinois with participatory budgeting. Participatory democratic endeavors, like participatory budgeting, are typically approached in popular and academic discourse as democratic interventions in governance that challenge elite rule (Lerner, 2006; Wampler, 2000; Wampler and Hartz, 2012). Yet in the case of North America, participatory budgeting has become popular concurrent with the dominance of neoliberal policies and practices at the municipal level, including budgetary

austerity (Albo, 1993; Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2010; Brown, 2003; Coulter, 2009; Ranson, 2004; Siegel, 2006). This observation suggests that closer interrogation of the relationship between participatory governance and neoliberalization is warranted.

In a context of state retrenchment, neoliberalization solicits certain types of participation in governance from residents, remaking democratic practice as individual self-responsibility and the exercise of market-based choices (Caldeira and Holston, 2014). Some forms of democratic participation may be very compatible with ongoing neoliberalization, and indeed, scholars have suggested this is sometimes the case with participatory budgeting (Peck and Theodore, 2015). After all, participatory budgeting has been promoted by the World Bank, hardly a radical democratic organization, as a model form of good governance.⁴ If participatory budgeting is sometimes empowering, then, this is not an inherent quality of its participatory character but rather stems “from the politics with which it is infused” (Peck and Theodore, 2015: 22).

This dissertation examines the politics with which participatory budgeting is infused in Chicago. I use participatory budgeting as an entry point to examine how calls for participation are initiated, and how popular participation in select avenues of budget-making interacts with other aspects of municipal governance. Through an empirical case study of participatory budgeting projects in Chicago, I hope to contribute to the literature that adopts a “studying through” approach, using detailed investigations of small social changes grounded in particular contexts to illuminate larger scale systems of power (Wright, 2011: 33). My analysis is

⁴ The World Bank was established in 1945 as an international financial institution to provide loans to assist with post-war reconstruction in Europe. In the 1980s and 1990s, the World Bank imposed fiscal structural adjustment programs on a variety of developing countries, primarily in Latin America and Africa. These programs intervened in nations domestic affairs by mandating financial restructuring as a term of accessing loan funds, which typically led to significant cuts in social welfare programs, including education, healthcare, and social assistance. The World Bank continues to push for the opening of domestic markets to international capital investment, and other forms of fiscal management, which largely act in the interests of global capital by reducing barriers to trade. For a more sustained discussion of the historical and contemporary role of the World Bank in international governance see Bayliss, Fine and Van Waeyenberge, (2011).

approached through a critical institutionalist lens, attentive to the raced and classed dimensions of sociopolitical life in contemporary Chicago, as produced through racial neoliberalization (Goldburg, 2009).⁵ I examine the relationship of participatory budgeting to dominant structures of political and social organization through interrogation of the governance practices concerning municipal budgeting in the City of Chicago; detailed discussion of the electoral and neighbourhood dynamics of existing participatory budgeting projects; and investigation of residents' experiences with participatory budgeting.

Elite actors do not simply abdicate powerful positions. In many ways, this dissertation research reaffirms that we should turn a skeptical eye to narratives that describe elites as generously devolving power to communities, as often the processes that are occurring are merely reconstituting elite power in new ways. The practice of participatory budgeting in Chicago has sometimes opened up space for new social solidarities to emerge that challenge elite authority structures, particularly when community members creatively mobilize through participatory budgeting to address ongoing social struggles. At the same time, the widespread initiation of participatory budgeting projects in Chicago by political elites, and the articulation of these projects within a neoliberal framework, fundamentally limits their capacity to disrupt social hierarchies of race and class. As overt patronage has become less acceptable, Chicago's municipal governance system has shifted to a professionalized model of public service, within which participatory budgeting exemplifies practices of good governance and engaged citizenship.⁶ Nonetheless, the shift from patronage to professionalization has rarely challenged

⁵ The theoretical frameworks identified here: critical institutionalism, neoliberalization, and colourblind racism, are taken up later in this chapter.

⁶ By professionalized I mean adapting the notion of an impartial, independent and individualist model of service provision. Rather than receiving municipal services through personal relationships with elected officials or their staff, as is the case in a patronage system, in a professionalized model theoretically all residents are entitled to services and benefits based on individual residency and/or citizenship.

the broader orientation of public budget-making in the City of Chicago towards elite interests. The broader theoretical contribution of my dissertation research is to demonstrate how popular alienation from formal political institutions, like municipal governments, can engender a crisis of democratic legitimacy that establishes alternative processes of democratic participation that are used to “sell” governance as democratic but do not necessarily challenge dominant power relations.

Structure of the Chapter

The main objectives of this chapter are 1) to introduce research on participatory budgeting and discuss how my project will build on the existing literature; 2) to develop the theoretical concepts that will be mobilized throughout my analysis; 3) to provide a detailed accounting of my research process and methodology and 4) to provide a chapter by chapter overview of the arguments I will develop in support of my central argument.

I start by conceptualizing participation and describing how the process of participatory budgeting operates in Chicago. Next, I review the existing literature on participatory budgeting, arguing that while there is a rich body of work on participatory budgeting in South America and Europe, there have been few detailed case-studies of participatory budgeting in North America, a gap my work seeks to address. I also discuss the dominant approaches to participatory budgeting in the existing literature, arguing that participatory budgeting is rarely brought into explicit dialogue with neoliberalization and the attendant class and racial dynamics. In particular, racial dynamics have primarily been considered on an individualist demographic level in existing participatory budgeting research, a significant shortcoming when considering the practice of participatory budgeting in a place like Chicago where pervasive and structural race-based

socioeconomic inequity persist. I follow my literature review with a discussion of the theoretical concepts that animate this dissertation. Drawing loosely on critical urban theory as a framework, I justify the choice to ground my work in critical institutionalism, political economy approaches to neoliberalism, and critical race theory, and discuss how the relationship between neoliberalization and colourblind racism informs the articulation of participatory democratic processes. Next, I provide a detailed discussion of my research methods, specifically interviews, participant observation, and use of secondary data. I conclude with a description of the substantive chapters of the dissertation, and their contributions to the existing literature on participatory budgeting, participatory democracy, and neoliberal restructuring.

Participatory Budgeting as a Policy Practice

In Arnstein's (1969) landmark article "A Ladder of Citizen Participation", she unpacks the positioning of "participation" as uncontroversial and benevolent, akin to "eating spinach". Arnstein conceptualizes different degrees of citizen involvement in governance, differentiating "participation" from "tokenism" by equating participation with citizen power. In her telling, participation requires a redistribution of power, while tokenism maintains the exclusions of the status quo. Participatory budgeting claims to operate at the higher rungs of Arnstein's ladder as a form of "citizen control" and/or "delegated power": an example of true participation, rather than merely consultative or tokenistic involvement in government decision-making processes.

Citizen control and delegated power can be taken as aspirational normative objectives of participatory democratic processes, but they tell us little about the specific mechanics of participatory budgeting. In more procedural discussions, some scholars have attempted to distill participatory budgeting into a series of replicable steps. Sintomer et al. (2015) suggest five

minimal requirements that a practice must fulfill to constitute participatory budgeting.

Participatory budgeting must 1) revolve around the question of how a financial budget should be used; 2) include local government either at the municipal or regional level; 3) involve multi-year repetition of the process rather than a one-time referendum; 4) include deliberation over budgetary priorities; and, 5) incorporate accountability to citizens on the implementation of chosen projects or budgetary priorities (2015: 3). These steps generally reflect how most participatory budgeting projects are actualized. Of note is the emphasis on public funds, highlighting that participatory budgeting focuses on government budgets, and the inclusion of deliberation as a requirement. Reinforcing the latter point, most researchers argue that participatory budgeting requires some degree of collective discussion among participants in formulating projects and prioritizing funding allocations (Sintomer et al., 2014; Avritzer, 2005; De Sousa Santos, 1998; Pape and Lerner, 2016). It is insufficient for a process to involve individual residents submitting project ideas and voting on the distribution of funds. Rather, participatory budgeting must also include a forum where residents can come together to discuss different community members' needs and interests and consider neighbourhood problems and potential project solutions. A crucial benefit attributed to this model is the possibility of setting aside individual interest in favour of the "common good" as negotiated through sincere discussion (Mansbridge et. al., 2010). The deliberation fostered through participatory budgeting has been theorized to develop social affinities that may lead to community building and collective action on other fronts (Pape and Lerner, 2016).

In Porto Alegre, participatory budgeting was used to disburse both operating and capital funds, and, at its peak, approximately a third of the entire municipal budget was allocated through participatory budgeting (Bräutigam, 2004). In contrast, in North America, participatory

budgeting is typically used to allocate discretionary capital funds limited to a specific line-item in the municipal budget. Typically, these funds provide residents with an opportunity to collectively develop proposals for local infrastructure projects. Potential projects might include public art, pedestrian infrastructure, improvements to parks and green spaces, the installation of bicycle lanes, or street resurfacing. In North America, several municipalities have engaged with participatory budgeting, including New York, Chicago, Boston and Vallejo in the United States, and Guelph, Hamilton and Montreal in Canada.⁷ In 2015, Toronto embarked on a multi-year participatory budgeting pilot project.

Chicago was the first municipality in the United States to adopt participatory budgeting. Alderman Joe Moore introduced the process in the 49th ward in 2009. Since 2009, the practice has spread to a number of other wards in the city (see Table 1). In the 2016-2017 participatory budgeting cycle, nine wards participated disbursing approximately \$8.1 million in public infrastructure funds.⁸

Table 1. Overview of Participatory Budgeting in Chicago

Ward	Years with an active process	Currently active?	Cycles completed to date	Total funds disbursed (USD)
49	2009-2018	Yes	8	\$7,933,550
45	2012-2018	Yes	5	\$5,026,350
5	2012-2013	No	1	\$803,000
46	2012-2013	No	1	\$1,061,000
22	2013-2015	No	2	\$2,185,250
10	2015-2018	Yes	2	\$1,992,000
17	2015-2018	Yes	2	\$634,500
31	2015-2018	Yes	2	\$1,990,000
35	2015-2018	Yes	3	\$3,138,500

⁷ Guelph, Montreal and Hamilton have all ceased to use participatory budgeting, though they had active participatory budgeting projects at various times in the past 20 years. In all three cases, scholarship suggests declining political support played key role in the decision to abandon the process (Pastias et al. 2013; Pin, 2016).

⁸ All figures in this dissertation are unadjusted US dollars, unless otherwise stated. The funding for participatory budgeting in Chicago stems from discretionary local infrastructure budgets called “menu funds”. Menu funding is discussed in detail in chapters 2 and 3 of the dissertation.

36	2015-2018	Yes	3	\$3,094,500
29	2016-2018	Yes	1	\$962,500
41	2016-2018	Yes	1	\$1,040,000

Note. Data compiled from the PB Chicago website: <http://www.pbchicago.org> The disbursement data is approximate and assumes all projects receiving funding were implemented and implementation costs were as estimated in the voting process.

The participatory budgeting process in Chicago operates on an annual cycle. While each ward exercises some autonomy over the structure of their local process, the logistical assistance provided by Participatory Budgeting Chicago (PB Chicago), a not-for-profit partially funded by the University of Illinois, does engender broad similarities in the participatory budgeting processes across wards. Generally, the process begins with the establishment of a steering committee – that may consist of volunteers from the previous year, or respondents to volunteer recruitment efforts by the local alderman or their staff.⁹ The steering committee meets on a regular basis, typically several times a month. With assistance from an aldermanic staff person, this committee plans all the necessary steps of the participatory budgeting process.¹⁰ Typically, three to six “idea collection” events are held at prominent public locations in the community, such as schools or community centres. At these idea collection events, residents can submit their suggestions for projects, and sign up to become participatory budgeting volunteers. Next, with guidance from an aldermanic staff person, the steering committee conducts an initial vetting of all the project ideas submitted by residents. Ideas for projects that fall outside the scope of participatory budgeting funds, would cost more than the funding available, or are not technically

⁹ “Alderman” is the term for Chicago’s elected municipal officials. The City of Chicago is divided into 50 electoral districts, which vary in physical size and compactness, but each have a roughly equal number of residents. Every four years, each district elects a single alderman to represent that district on Chicago City Council. While the gender-neutral “councillor” is the more common designation for elected municipal officials in North America, Chicago continues to use the term aldermen for all elected members of council irrespective of gender.

¹⁰ Minimally, all wards have a volunteer steering or leadership committee that facilitates the participatory budgeting process. Some wards have more complex structures that include additional committees focused on particular demographics (for example, a Spanish language committee) or particular issues (for example, a parks and recreation committee).

feasible, are disregarded. If too many ideas remain, the list may be further whittled down by combining similar projects, and prioritizing others. The final selection of project ideas is worked up into complete project proposals by residents in partnership with aldermanic and city staff. A complete project proposal includes cost estimates, completion timelines, design schematics, and anticipated community benefits.

Next several “project expos” are held at public locations in the ward, where community members can visit posters of different project proposals and ask questions of steering committee members or other volunteers. A ballot is created featuring the final selection of costed projects. Finally, voting occurs over the course of a week at the aldermanic office and other community locations. Some wards incorporate “mobile polling stations” that temporarily locate at busy neighbourhood hubs like transit centres or grocery stores.¹¹ Anyone who is a resident of the ward and over the established age threshold – 14 or 16 depending on ward – may cast a ballot. Once voting closes, the votes are tallied and the projects with the most votes are funded until the budgetary threshold is reached. In Chicago, usually \$1,000,000 is allocated per ward, per participatory budgeting cycle. After the vote, the steering committee may continue to meet and liaise with the aldermanic office to ensure that projects are implemented in a timely fashion. The whole process, excluding implementation, takes approximately four to six months.

Scholars and activists tend to agree that, by definition, participatory budgeting requires a process where residents have final authority over the expenditure of funds. For example, Avritzer describes participatory budgeting as a “delegation of sovereignty” from elected officials to participatory assemblies (2005: 624). Similarly, De Sousa Santos suggests participatory budgeting is, “a model of co-government... for sharing political power by means of a network of

¹¹ Costs associated with voting and mobile polling stations are primarily borne by the Aldermanic office, though PB Chicago does provide some staff support.

democratic institutions geared to reaching decisions by deliberation, consensus, and compromise” (1998: 491). This vesting of final authority, “real decision-making power” as the Participatory Budgeting Project (PBP) frames it, differentiates participatory budgeting from forms of popular participation in policy that restrict participants to an informational role, with public authorities retaining power over the final decision (PBP, 2017) ¹². In contrast to these citizen-power focused definitions, the World Bank defines participatory budgeting as primarily a procedural policy instrument enabling “stakeholders” to discuss and prioritize expenditure decisions (Peck and Theodore, 2015: 189). Other scholarly work has taken what are primarily consultative exercises as legitimate examples of participatory budgeting (for example, Alves and Allegretti, 2012). An initial point of tension arises, then, as to whether participatory budgeting is merely the local administration of a budget by participating residents and stakeholders or involves a more radical restructuring of power relations in democratic governance.

Literature Review: Geographic Scope and Analytical Currents

Despite the longstanding presence of several participatory budgeting projects in North America, much existing research on participatory budgeting is situated in Latin America and Europe (see Table 2). Among case study research, there is heavy focus on Brazil, especially Porto Alegre, which has attracted attention as the originating locus of participatory budgeting (for example, De Sousa Santos, 1998; Avritzer, 2005; Wampler, 2010; Marquetti et al., 2012). There is also a growing body of work concerning participatory budgeting projects in Europe, where the policy practice has been more rapidly adapted than in other parts of the world,

¹² The Participatory Budgeting Project (PBP) is an American not-for-profit that provides support to municipalities and other organizations seeking to establish local participatory budgeting projects. PBP was launched in 2009 by Josh Lerner and Gianpaolo Biaocchi, and Josh Lerner currently serves as executive director. For more information about the organization’s mandate and history, see: <https://www.participatorybudgeting.org>.

particularly comparative studies of participatory budgeting in different European cities (for example, Sintomer et al. 2008; Alves and Allegretti 2012; Röcke 2014).

Table 2. Participatory Budgeting Studies: Geographic Distribution and Type

Region	Case studies	Comparative studies
Latin America & Caribbean	De Sousa Santos (1998); Koonings (2004); Novy & Leubolt (2005). Rodgers (2010); Wampler (2010); Marquetti et al. (2012); Célérier & Cuenca Botey (2014); McNulty (2015);	Souza (2001); Nysten (2002); Avritzer (2005); Boulding and Wampler (2010); Postigo (2011);
Europe & Middle East	Nitzsche (2012); Davidson and Elstub (2014);	Allegretti & Herzberg (2004); Sintomer et al. (2008); Talpin (2011); Alves and Allegretti (2012); Röcke (2014); Sintomer et al. (2016);
Asia	He (2011); Wu & Wang (2011);	Cabannes & Ming (2014);
North America	Pinnington (2009); Johnson (2011); Pastias et al. (2013); Stewart et al. (2014); Weber et al. (2015); Baiocchi and Ganuza (2017);	Baiocchi and Lerner (2007); Pape & Lerner (2016);
Multiregional		Bräutigam (2004); Cabannes (2004; 2015); Sintomer et al. (2012); Wampler & Hartz-Karp (2012)

Note. Research is classified as a case study unless it compares multiple participatory budgeting processes in different cities. Thus, some of the “case studies” have comparative elements, for example, comparing participatory budgeting to other participatory democratic processes.

In addition, there are a number of multiregional studies that collect qualitative information and seek to generalize concerning the factors that are associated with the initiation and continuation of participatory budgeting projects. Some examples of this type of research include work by Cabannes (2004, 2015) and Sintomer et al. (2012) that provides overviews of participatory budgeting projects in dozens of cities across the world, according to strict evaluative schematics

that enable comparison. More focused comparative studies include Bräutigam's (2004) investigation of participatory budgeting in six cities in South America, Central America, and Europe; and Talpin's (2011) work examining participatory budgeting in Italy, Spain and France. With the exception of Talpin's detailed ethnographic study, these studies are limited in terms of the depth of primary data gathering, and rarely include interviews or participant observation as part of their research. Rather they tend to be syntheses of existing research and documentation, drawing individual case studies into comparative dialogue. While useful for mapping similarities and differences between different jurisdictions' experiences with participatory budgeting, a limitation of this broadly comparative research is difficulty adequately historicizing and contextualizing individual cases.

My research addresses a relatively straightforward geographic gap in the literature. Overall, the number of studies concerning participatory budgeting in North America is low, and many of these are case studies of Canadian experiences with participatory budgeting (for example, Pastias et al., 2013; Pinnington et al., 2009; Johnson, 2011). Focusing on the United States, Baiocchi and Lerner (2007) provide a theoretical analysis of how participatory budgeting in North America might differ from Latin America's experience, based on the differing democratic and economic contexts, however this is a discussion paper with no primary data gathering. Maley (2010) examines the relationship between participatory budgets, alternative budgets, and participatory democracy in North America. Lerner and Secondo (2012) provide a general discussion of potentialities of participatory budgeting in North America, largely written from their observations as staff and board members at the PBP, themes further developed in Pape and Lerner's (2016) overview of participatory budgeting in the United States. None of these studies are detailed case studies of an American city's experience with participatory budgeting.

Turning more specifically to my proposed case study of Chicago, existing scholarship focused on participatory budgeting in Chicago, tends to be narrowly focused on specific aspects of the process. Stewart et al. (2014) examine whether participatory budgeting led to different allocations of neighbourhood infrastructure funds, finding that wards with participatory budgeting projects were more likely to fund “boutique” projects (for example, public murals, community gardens) over basic infrastructure projects (for example, street resurfacing, sidewalk repairs). She further argued that the results were mixed in terms of social justice and suggested better outreach to diverse communities and the use of funds for non-capital programming may improve social justice outcomes (Stewart et al., 2014). Weber et al. (2015) examined the role of community organizations in Chicago’s participatory budgeting process across four wards, finding that different wards had different levels of associational involvement, and a community organization’s proclivity to engage with participatory budgeting depended on their own mandate and relationship to the aldermanic office. Meléndez’s (2017) discussion of the decision to form a Spanish language committee in the 49th ward in 2012, raises the exclusion of Spanish speaking participants from leadership roles as an issue, and casts light on the intimate conversational dynamics of meetings using a discourse analysis approach. Finally, Baiocchi and Ganuza devote a chapter to participatory budgeting in their 2017 book *Popular Democracy – the Paradox of Participation*. Focusing exclusively on participatory budgeting in the 49th ward, they argue that the project was closely managed by the alderman and many key volunteers had a close relationship to the aldermanic office. Baiocchi and Ganuza’s analysis suggests that during the timeframe of their analysis, roughly from 2008 to 2013, the empowerment potential of participatory budgeting has not been realized in the 49th ward. While these papers draw attention to important dimensions of participatory budgeting in Chicago, their objectives are neither a

comprehensive examination of participatory budgeting as a policy practice, nor to situate participatory budgeting in terms of broader sociopolitical trends in municipal governance. Chicago was the first municipality in the United States to adopt participatory budgeting with ongoing participatory budgeting projects in various wards since 2009, making it an important case for considering factors that lead to the establishment and continuation of these projects. Detailed study of Chicago's experience with participatory budgeting enables a concretized discussion of some of the hypothesized consequences of the translation of participatory budgeting from Brazil to North America. Further study of Chicago also creates the possibility of further exploring some of the insights Meléndez, and Baiocchi and Ganuza, raise concerning the reproduction of exclusionary class and race dynamics, and conversely, attempts to challenge these dynamics, through participatory budgeting.

The existing body of research on participatory budgeting projects emanates from different theoretical traditions, which are concerned with different elements with the process. For the purposes of this general overview, I have divided the research as follows: studies focused on explaining the emergence of participatory budgeting projects; studies; studies focused on the outcomes of participatory budgeting in terms of service provision, democratic engagement, and/or redistribution; and studies taking a critical approach, that is, studies primarily concerned with the dominant power relations governing the process (see Table 3). Some studies cross these imperfect and artificial categories and are referenced in multiple sections.

Table 3. Participatory Budgeting Studies: Analytical Orientations

Research cluster	Key questions	Dominant theoretical frames	Treatment of class	Treatment of race	Key examples
Explanatory	What conditions (state forms, civil society, social movements) are associated with the emergence of participatory budgeting?	Historical; institutional	Some attention to pre-existing conditions of social inequality	Largely absent	De Sousa Santos (1998); Pastias et al. (2013)
Outcomes	What are the effects of participatory budgeting? Is participatory budgeting more inclusive than other forms of democratic participation? Does participatory budgeting lead to civic learning?	Sociological; deliberative	Pluralist; presence / absence of low-income participants	Pluralist; presence / absence of racialized participants	Stewart et al. (2014); Bräutigam; (2004); Talpin (2011);
Critical	What are the dominant social power relations working through participatory budgeting?	Sociological; critical urban theory;	Pluralist; presence / absence of low-income participants	Largely absent	Baiocchi and Ganuza (2014); Maley (2010); Peck and Theodore (2015)

The first current of research I identify, explanatory studies, examine which social, political and institutional factors explain the emergence of participatory budgeting in different locales. Many of these studies take an institutionalist approach and focus on the conditions necessary for participatory budgeting projects to emerge, including evaluating the political orientation of the state; assessing of the role of pre-existing social organizations; and examining

institutional forms. Some studies in this group also consider how institutional factors contribute to the permeance and stability of participatory budgeting projects.

An early group of studies focused on the role of civil society organizations in fostering participatory budgeting projects especially in Porto Alegre, where the practice emerged. In the case of Porto Alegre, the emphasis on civil society has included detailed discussion of the city's sociopolitical history and institutional structure (Avritzer, 2005; Leyshon and Eildh, 2013). Leyshon and Eildh argue that the development of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre, “reflected the unique social, political, cultural and historical geography of the city” (2013: 1009). The presence of well-developed networks of civic society organizations are also discussed as a factor that contributed to the development of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre (Avritzer, 2005; Baiocchi, 2003; De Sousa Santos, 1998) and other locales across the globe (Avritzer, 2002; Baierle, 1998; Wampler, 2000).

Some scholarship has emphasized the role of the state and political parties in establishing and maintaining participatory budgeting projects (Baiocchi, 2003; Goldfrank, 2007; Pastias et al., 2013;). An overview of participatory budgeting in six cities in South America, Central America, and Europe, found that participatory budgeting alone was insufficient to shift municipal spending patterns. Rather the tendency to shift budget-making in a “pro-poor” direction largely depended on the election of pro-poor governments: “strong, democratic, and ideologically left-of-centre political parties” (Bräutigam, 2004: 654). In the North American context, Pastias et al. (2013) found that support from political elites was crucial in establishing a participatory budgeting project in a borough of Montreal from 2006-2008. Research on the role of government and political parties in implementing participatory budgeting tends to minimize the role of participatory budgeting in political campaigns and elections. Rather, the process is

taken as a form of policy experimentation embarked upon once a supportive politician has taken office. Cabannes notes that participatory budgeting may be an important means of linking the government with the population in situations where the relationship between the elected officials and the populace is clientalistic and the legislative branch of government has low levels of representation (2004: 29). Thus, in cases where existing mechanisms of representative democracy are underdeveloped, participatory budgeting may be more likely to be adopted.

Conclusions from explanatory studies suggest that an active and organized civil society is an important factor in establishing participatory budgeting projects, as is a measure of support from elected officials and other elites. The strength of explanatory studies is their contextualization of participatory budgeting in terms of broader political and social developments, seeking to link the process to the interests of existing actors and institutions. This is important because it recognizes participatory budgeting as a process embedded in broader social and political currents. Nonetheless, while explanatory studies explore the role of political and social dynamics, they have paid less attention to political economy broadly speaking, and budgetary dimensions more specifically. As a result, they tend to avoid addressing the relationship between the participatory budgeting process and other aspects of the municipal budget and budgetary restructuring more broadly.¹³ These questions are less relevant in the case of Porto Alegre, where participatory budgeting was highly integrated with the municipal budget process but are more pressing in the North American context where participatory budgeting has typically developed apart from the municipal budget, as an experiment of individual municipal officials and/or a practice applied to a single item within the budget. Many explanatory studies have sought to assess the incorporation of low-income people into the participatory budgeting

¹³ Bräutigam (2004) is an exception, raising concern that participatory budgeting, as an initiative limited to expenditures, may neglect the revenue aspect of municipal budgeting, a key locus for pro-poor changes.

process, in terms of the presence of low-income or working-class residents at different stages of the process. As a group, however, these studies contain little discussion of racial inclusions and exclusions, and the way experiences of racialization intersect with class dynamics to shape experiences of participatory democratic processes.

A second cluster of studies attempts to evaluate the outcomes of participatory budgeting. These studies are less focused on explaining how participatory budgeting projects are established, but rather seek to understand how participatory budgeting affects civic and political life. Studies assessing municipal and regional service provision tend to argue that participatory budgeting leads to more effective service provision, outlining an efficacy-based rationale for adopting the practice (Cabannes, 2015; Koonings, 2004; Wampler and McNulty, 2015). Some studies have examined whether participatory budgeting leads to different budgetary allocations than non-participatory budgeting processes, with mixed findings (Boulding and Wampler, 2010; Stewart et al., 2014).

Other studies consider the outcomes of participatory budgeting on the redistributive component of service provision: that is whether participatory budgeting leads to a prioritization of the needs of less affluent residents. Avritzer (2005) and Marquetti (2012) suggest that involvement from civil society was crucial in fostering the redistributive effect of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre, a dimension that has not always been present in other participatory budgeting initiatives (Cabannes, 2015; Davidson and Elstub, 2014; Johnson, 2011; Peck and Theodore, 2015). Some research discussing the relationship between participatory budgeting and affluence does engage with questions concerning the relationship of participatory budgeting to the broader economic context, however, many studies in this area tend to be focused on the developing world, where dominant narratives present municipal service provision as absent,

inefficient, or corrupt. Studies addressing redistribution or economic effects in the context of advanced liberal democracies (for example, Stewart et al., 2014) tend to be focused on the participatory budget without discussing the overall budgetary context or level of municipal resourcing.

Studies have also focused on the effect of participatory budgeting on democratic inclusion – seeking to examine whether participatory budgeting is more inclusive than other forms of participation common to liberal democracy (Cabannes, 2004; Meléndez, 2017; Pape and Lerner, 2016; Talpin, 2011; Weber et al., 2015). These studies arrive at different conclusions, with evidence from Porto Alegre (Avritzer, 2005; Marquetti, 2012) and some other Latin American contexts (Cabannes, 2004) suggesting that participatory budgeting is marked by strong inclusion of poor and working-class residents. In other contexts, research suggests participatory budgeting may privilege those with high levels of formal education and above average incomes (Baiocchi and Ganuza, 2017; Bräutigam, 2004; Meléndez, 2017).

In contrast to the explanatory studies, outcome-focused studies often have limited engagement with the social and political context, instead emphasizing the participatory budgeting process itself. Yet a key takeaway from this group of studies is that the effects of participatory budgeting are dependent on context and implementation, with more redistributive and inclusive outcomes seen in some cases, but not in others. As in the explanatory studies, a limitation of many studies exploring the effects of participatory budgeting is the discussion of race and class. When race and class dynamics are included in the analysis, this tends towards an assessment of the individual demographics of participants, with income sometimes serving as a proxy for class position. Largely absent is more systemic and structural analysis of how uneven

class and racial dynamics unfold within the process and shape participation.¹⁴ Also absent tends to be empirical discussion of whether participatory budgeting projects can challenge broader structural sociopolitical exclusions.

Recently, there has been a more critical turn in scholarship concerning participatory budgeting, including from some early proponents of the practice. By “critical” I mean studies primarily concerned with the dominant power relations governing the process, and also studies that adopt a skeptical stance as to some of the social justice claims made of the process concerning redistribution and democratic inclusion.

In his 2010 article, Maley explores whether in North America, participatory budgeting can become a “vehicle for radical democratic change” as a counter to elite state interests (110). He argues that in Latin America, participatory budgeting managed to create fugitive moments of democratic empowerment and transformative praxis, however, participatory budgeting has not served as a counter to neoliberal capitalist governance to the same extent in North America. He argues this is partially due to historical and institutional constraints that have limited the ability of participatory budgeting to reclaim democratic space (Maley, 2010). Similarly, in their book, *Fast Policy*, Peck and Theodore (2015) trace the global spread of participatory budgeting from Brazil across the world, interrogating the role of the World Bank, and other multinational institutions like the PBP in facilitating this expansion. Peck and Theodore argue that, in global diffusion participatory budgeting has become “defanged”. While participatory budgeting may be presented as a nonpartisan common-sense good governance initiative they find its radical democratic potential underwhelming. Utilizing a somewhat different framework, Baiocchi and

¹⁴ An important exception to this tendency to exclude race is Meléndez’s (2017) detailed discussion of the participation of Latino and Hispanic residents in the participatory budgeting Spanish Language Committee in Chicago’s 49th ward, which explores tensions between the Spanish Language Committee and the Leadership Committee in the participatory budgeting process.

Ganuza (2014) argue that participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre fundamentally shifted budgetary power relations because participatory budgeting was just one part of a series of institutionalized reforms that connected popular decision making to the exercise of power. In contrast, in its global travel, the emphasis has often been on the communicative dimensions of participatory budgeting; that is, who participates in communicative forums, and with what quality of participation. This focus detracts attention from the broader empowerment dimensions of these projects (Baiocchi and Ganuza, 2014). Reinforcing this concern, Pateman notes, “most of the examples being called participatory budgeting fit very easily within existing authority structures, and citizens are not participating, as a matter of right, in decisions about their city’s or town’s regular budget” (2012: 14). These more critical perspectives on participatory budgeting as a policy practice, question the degree to which participatory budgeting can be conceptualized as “participation” in Arnstein’s sense, where participation requires a redistribution of power that challenges the exclusions of the status quo. Baiocchi and Ganuza, and Pateman’s perspectives in particular suggests the importance of linking participatory budgeting efforts with efforts to redistribute power in other aspects of the municipal budget.

Much of this critical scholarship operates on a broad structural level, rather than engaging in case studies of participatory budgeting in specific contexts (for example, Maley, 2010; Baiocchi and Ganuza, 2014; Peck and Theodore, 2015). Consequently, some of the theoretical insights explored by these critical scholars would benefit from greater empirical analysis and engagement with the historical-institutional development of participatory budgeting in specific locales. In addition, even within these studies, while there is greater attention to authority structures and structural distributions of power, there is a tendency to consider power relations in terms of elites (politicians, bureaucrats) and the people (citizens, sometimes residents). Within

the category of the people, there is little disaggregation in terms of class and race dynamics, including how categories of class and race are shaped, reproduced and contested through the participatory budgeting process.

Situating My Approach: Critical Institutionalism, Neoliberalism and Critical Race Scholarship

My work builds the analysis of the more critical cluster scholars (for example, Baiocchi and Ganuza, 2014; Johnson, 2015; Maley, 2010; Peck and Theodore, 2015; Postigo, 2011) and also draws loosely on “critical urban theory”.¹⁵ Rather than a rigid designator, I take critical as an orientation attentive to power relations that can draw in class and race dynamics. In contrast to mainstream analyses that seeks to improve upon existing modes of governance, to render their practice more efficient, a critical orientation questions the desirability of existing goals, practices and projects of neoliberal capitalist governance (Leitner and Sheppard, 2016: 228).

Proponents of participatory budgeting have sought to present the process as apolitical and non-contentious: “saying yes to democracy” (PBP, 2016). A critical approach, in contrast, explicitly politicizes participatory budgeting seeking to make visible its relationship to processes of urban neoliberal governance. These approaches hold in common a commitment to interrogating “how power and conflict [have] played out at public and polity spaces” (Postigo, 2011: 1949). My aim in working in this tradition is not to dismiss participatory budgeting as a potentially empowering terrain of activism and struggle (Dean, 2009). Rather, I seek to use an empirically grounded study of participatory budgeting in a specific context to interrogate

¹⁵ Critical urban theory tends to trace its origins through the work of Henri Lefebvre (1970), Manuel Castells (1972), and David Harvey (1976): scholarship that broadly falls within the Marxist tradition and emphasizes the role of cities in capitalist commodification processes (Marcuse et al., 2010). More recently, critical urban theory has been taken up by neo-Marxist (Brenner, 2009; Marcuse, 2009) and post-structuralist (McFarlane, 2011; Iveson, 2011) scholars, with feminist and postcolonial (Derickson, 2016; Fraser, 1985; Roy, 2016; Robinson, 2006, 2011) interventions.

participatory budgeting with an eye what Kern has called “undecidability” (2017): both the complicity of participatory budgeting in processes of neoliberal capitalist governance, and conversely when and how mobilization occurs through participatory budgeting to contest these logics.

I also attempt to extend the discussion of participatory budgeting in relation to race and class dynamics, which are inextricably linked to questions of neoliberalization and democratic empowerment. Both scholars engaging with participatory budgeting through deliberative democracy and scholars engaging with participatory budgeting through critical approaches have paid some attention to the raced and classed dimensions of the process. In both these traditions, the focus on the presence/absence of racialized and working-class bodies as a metric for the inclusivity is fundamentally an individualized approach to race. In this project, I seek to map out the ways processes of racialization are entangled with neoliberalization and reproduced/contested through participatory budgeting by situating participatory budgeting in broader institutional and sociopolitical structural dynamics in Chicago. I do so by drawing on three bodies of scholarship: critical institutionalism; political economy literature on neoliberalism; and critical race scholarship.

In this dissertation, I examine Chicago’s political history, institutional structure, and budgetary context in detail. My reasons for doing so are twofold: first, one of the key takeaways from the studies examining the outcomes of participatory budgeting is that the redistributive and empowerment effects of participatory budgeting are largely context dependent. Detailed examination of the context in which Chicago’s participatory budgeting projects operate, then, helps assess key questions concerning equity, redistribution, and power relations. Second, because existing research on Chicago’s participatory budgeting projects tend to be focused on

specific components of the process, or comparing Chicago to other locales, no research to date has sought to explain the emergence of participatory budgeting in Chicago in light of longstanding political and social dynamics, including patronage politics, racial segregation, municipal governance structures, and budgetary processes. Contextualizing Chicago's participatory budgeting practice in terms of historical and institutional dynamics can help answer questions about why Chicago has developed participatory budgeting projects, how these projects interact with other municipal processes, and what the relationship is between participatory budgeting and longstanding racial and class cleavages.

I characterise my approach to studying institutional dynamics – critical institutionalism - as drawing loosely on historical institutionalism. Historical institutionalist scholars in political science take organizational arrangements seriously in terms of their importance for understanding how political processes develop over time. Historical institutionalists define institutions as “formal or informal procedures, routines, norms and conventions embedded in the organizational structure of the polity or political economy” (Hall and Taylor, 1996: 6). This conceptualization of institutions includes both formal bureaucratic structures, like government departments, but also discursive norms, like “good government”, that convey the social desirability of particular actions and outcomes. Pierson and Skocpol (2002) suggest that historical institutionalism has three key characteristics: substantive research agendas engaging with “big questions”; a focus on temporal sequences; and hypothesizing about the interactions of institutions and processes. While I generally seek to emulate these attributes, there are several differences between my approach and that of many historical institutionalists. First, I am less concerned illuminating causal mechanisms than many scholars in this tradition. I do not seek to isolate institutional factors that cause participatory budgeting projects to be established. Rather, I

am interested in how power relations and institutions shape decisions to adopt these projects. Second, my timeframe is relatively modest – I seek to contextualize participatory budgeting in terms of the social and institutional dynamics of municipal politics in Chicago in recent (post-1930s) history and combine this analysis with a more sociological discussion of contemporary dynamics rooted in participant-observation and interviews. In contrast, many historical institutionalist scholars adopt longer timeframes, and/or comparative analyses of multiple institutional contexts. Third, I do not use the language of path dependency common to much historical institutionalist scholarship. In historical institutionalism, path dependency suggests that the effects of institutions and social forces are mediated and constrained by the context (Hall and Taylor, 1996). While I agree that institutional contexts shape trajectories, I attempt to emphasize the dynamism, tensions and contradictions in processes of change.

Consequently, I choose to modify my institutionalism with the moniker “critical” rather than historical, drawing on the small group of self-identified critical institutionalist scholarship. Critical institutionalist scholarship has emerged primarily in the discipline of geography (Cleaver, 1999; Jones, 2015), though also on the margins of political science (Jenson and Merand, 2010; Pilon, 2015). In geography, critical institutionalism has largely been a response to mainstream institutionalist accounts of the management of common resources or public goods that de-emphasize the social power relations at play. In a special issue of the *International Journal of the Commons*, Cleaver and Koning distinguishes critical institutionalism through its take-up of “the challenge of showing how power works to sustain institutions and to shape participation, access and outcomes” at multiple scales (2015: 2). In addition to their historical formation, critical institutionalist scholarship focuses inquiry on the interplay between institutions and agency as mediated by complex social identities (Hull et al., 2014: 73).

Critical institutionalists understand institutions as both the product of social struggle and the locus of the (re)production of social power relations. A critical institutionalist approach to participatory budgeting, combining elements of historical institutionalism and critical urban theory, can connect the process with broader social and political dynamics, both in terms of an extension of neoliberal governance but also possibilities for contestation and subversion. My use of neoliberalism is discussed in the following section.

In addition to a critical institutional approach that takes the social and institutional context seriously, I also seek to approach participatory budgeting through the lens of neoliberal socioeconomic restructuring. The concept of neoliberalism has been subject to a great deal of critique. Summarizing the criticism, Brenner, Peck and Theodore note: “‘neoliberalism’ has become something of a rascal concept – promiscuously pervasive, yet inconsistently defined, empirically imprecise and frequently contested” (2010: 183). Barnett argues: “Perhaps we should try to do without the concept of ‘neoliberalism’ altogether, because it might actually compound rather than aid in the task of figuring out how the world works and how it changes” (2005: 7). Writers from the left have questioned whether anything is gained by using “neoliberalism” in place of capitalism, while others have pointed out that, “the explicit naming of neoliberalism in mainstream political discourse is... both a rare and recent event” (Peck, 2010: 13). Governments and policy-makers rarely use the term neoliberal to describe the contemporary policy context: neoliberalism seems to solely hold relevance in academic circles.¹⁶

Nonetheless, I am situating my work using the language of neoliberalism for several reasons. First much of the critical scholarship situates its work in terms of neoliberalism (for example, Lerner, 2000; Jessop, 2005; Springer, 2012). Second, I believe the “rascal” nature of

¹⁶ To this point, I was asked to explain and define neoliberalism, a word in the title of my research ethics forms, a number of times while conducting interviews, not only by residents, but also by municipal staff.

neoliberalism has been overstated: with careful specification, I believe the term is no more likely to be used teleologically, as both an endpoint and explanation, than any other concept. Most importantly, neoliberalism is an important entry point for bringing a political economy dimension to discussions of participatory budgeting. Even though policy-makers and practitioners avoid using the term neoliberalism, using the language of neoliberalism is a means by which to problematize what is all too often taken for granted as a natural social condition: capitalist rationalities of governance.

Neoliberalism adds temporal specificity to discussions of capitalism— it refers to a specific series of shifts in the relationship between society and the state in post-1945 capitalism. The origins of neoliberalism are multiple, emerging in both Europe and the United States after World War II (Jessop, 2007; Peck, 2010). While a comprehensive history of the term neoliberalism in political science and geography is beyond the scope of this discussion, a number of scholars have written detailed accounts of its development.¹⁷ Following Brown (2003) I define neoliberalism as the extension of market rationalities of governance to what have historically been non-market realms. This occurs through “disciplinary political authority” that extends market logics to a broader range of social relations (Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2002: 361). Both neo-Marxist and post-structuralist discussions of neoliberalism are united by a concern with the expansion of capitalist markets and commodification into areas of social provisioning and other spaces that had previously been governed differently (Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2010; Brown, 2003; Larner, 2000; Rose, 1996). Where they differ is in the role they attribute to the state. Marxists see neoliberalism as differentiated from earlier models of laissez-faire economics through the interventionist role of the state in enacting neoliberal policy changes

¹⁷ For a detailed accounting of the history of neoliberalism, see Peck (2010), *Neoliberal Reason*, and Harvey (2007), *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*.

(Peck, 2010). Harvey and Wachsmuth (2012) go as far as to characterize this interventionism as the “Keynesian episodes” at the “heart of neoliberalization”: active state interventions that consolidate capitalist power (270). Concern with the role of the state is exemplified by the scholarship on “roll-out neoliberalism” which contested the positioning of neoliberalism as synonymous with the retrenchment of the state. While the rise of neoliberalism has been accompanied by the retrenchment of the Keynesian welfare state, roll-out neoliberalism points out that the neoliberal paradigm shift has not been marked by the absence of the state, but rather the adoption of state policies designed to entrench market logics at multiple levels of government. These policies include private property rights, the rule of law, free markets, and free trade (Harvey, 2007; Peck, 2010).

In contrast, post-structuralist approaches emphasize the role of populations in neoliberal governance, placing focus on the embeddedness of market rationalities in communities and social actors at a distance from the formal state apparatus (Rose, 1996). The contradiction in neo-Marxist and post-structuralist theorizations of the state in neoliberalism can be read as a mark of some of the contradictions inherent to neoliberal capitalist governance itself. Neoliberalism entails governance strategies that create the appearance of distance between the state and social actors (Rose, 1996) but still rely to some extent on the state as a hegemonic actor (Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2002). In my reading, the crucial point post-structural analysis emphasizes is the deeper embedding of neoliberal logics in social structures beyond the state to communities and populations, taking on the role of commonsensical reasoning even in the absence of direct state coercion.¹⁸ Thus, the post-structuralist perspective helps elucidate two important aspects of

¹⁸ In more strictly political economy approaches, there is a conceptualization of political and economic power as centralized in the state apparatus. While the state may exercise power over communities, the locus of this power emanates from outside the community (Graefe, 2007).

neoliberalism: first, neoliberalism can be understood as a set of *rationalities* that interact and work together to make a particular worldview seem commonsensical. These rationalities are commensurate with capitalist logic but used to assess the “goodness” of a variety of goals, positions, and policies beyond the economic realm, including the desirability of competition, efficiency, and individual responsibility in social provisioning (Brown, 2003; Larner, 2000). Second, this set of neoliberal logics operates beyond the state: not only in arenas dominated by the formal government apparatus, but also in individuals, communities, groups, and associations. This is particularly useful as participatory budgeting is a technology of government that purports to act at a distance from the state privileging rhetoric of “community”. Though as my analysis will demonstrate, participatory budgeting is highly embedded with the state apparatus.¹⁹

There are three additional characteristics of neoliberalism that hold relevance for my work. First, neoliberal capitalism is variegated: historical differences in social and regulatory contexts shape neoliberal policy developments (Brenner, Peck, and Theodore, 2010; Roy, 2016). Thus, while neoliberalism is a coherent set of principles, its consequences are somewhat uneven and attendant to context (Brenner and Theodore, 2005). Second, neoliberalism often begets policy experimentation. This experimentation is a product of the intermittent crises and creative destruction that mark neoliberalism, and capitalism more generally (Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2002: 367; Peck 2010). The continual seeking out of new policies and improvements is driven by both periodic crises and attempts to foster local competitiveness in global markets (Harvey, 2007). Experimentation also manifests through an emphasis on the individual capacity for creative reinvention and resiliency where, “being creative is a duty as it facilitates individual responsabilization, personal growth, competitiveness, and ultimately governance” (Bourdreau,

¹⁹ By “state apparatus” I mean formal state actors including elected officials and municipal staff, but also state processes like elections and regular municipal budgeting processes.

2010: 63). Individuals hold latent capacities for social action that can be activated through the creative application of new technologies of governance to pre-existing social problems. This emphasis on creativity extends to the policy realm, where increasingly rapid cycles of policy innovation are adopted as efficiencies (Peck and Theodore, 2015; Larner, 2000). It also takes the form of a valorization of the “new” conceived of as a stepping stone along the road of linear progress, or modernity (Robinson, 2016). Finally, neoliberal emphasis on market rule is accompanied by an overt ideological hostility toward socialized, planned and collectivist modes of government (Peck, 2010; Harvey, 2007; Brown, 2003; Larner, 2000). This can be read as both an attack on traditional working-class solidarities like labour unions and antipathy towards welfare state programming. The emphasis on individual responsibility also provides a basis for marking social groups into deserving and undeserving categories on the basis of perceived social resilience, often with racial implications.

Neoliberal restructuring has concerning implications for even liberal forms of democracy. It is associated with the concentration of decision making within the state executive and/or the department of finance at the expense of the legislature (Brown, 2006). The insulation of decision-making from the more visible and public legislative branch of government makes it easier for public demands to be subjugated to the interests of capital (Purcell, 2006). In addition, the enlarged role of finance departments signals a manifestation of neoliberalization through budgetary changes and fiscal discipline (Koing, 2012; Larner, 2000). The dominant role of finance, and the normalization of budgetary austerity, have curtailed potential public policy outcomes, limiting policy possibilities in light of economic imperatives. Neoliberalism thus begets a democratic deficit, as it redirects policy decisions from public spaces and emphasizes

the management of the public commensurate with capitalist objectives over the facilitation of democratic participation (Addie, 2009).

I use the concept of neoliberalism in this dissertation to discuss the ways shifts in municipal finance, including declines in funding from other levels of government, an increased reliance on cost-recovery, and increased privatization, have affected municipal infrastructure and service provision, and the implications this has for the relationship between aldermen and their constituents, and more broadly, the democratic legitimacy of local government in Chicago. In addition, I approach neoliberalization as a process that is fundamentally raced, with stratified racial implications, particularly in a city like Chicago where neighbourhood segregation and racial disparities between residents persist. My conceptualization of race in relation to neoliberalization is discussed below.

The colonial government of the United States has always had a race-based governance system.²⁰ In the past, non-white and non-male individuals were explicitly excluded from civil and political spheres through the denial of basic civil and political rights, often on the basis of spurious arguments concerning biological inferiority.²¹ Long struggles for inclusion, combined with the increasing unacceptability of discourses of biological racism, have resulted in what Omi and Winant call a transition from racial despotism to racial democracy, and a concurrent shift from techniques of dominance to those of hegemony through the ideology of colourblindness (2015: 132).²²

²⁰ Race is produced through processes where some groups maintain advantages through differential access to power, and through the perpetuation of structural processes – rules, customs, and norms (Young, 2009: 364). ²⁰ While race is a social construct, the production of race has material consequences for the lives and experiences of people in racially stratified societies (Bonillo-Silva, 2009; Young 2009).

²¹ For a detailed discussion of historical and contemporary racial formation in the United States see: Godlburg 2009; Omi and Winant, 2015; and Bonillo-Silva, 2009.

²² Omi and Winant, however, would not contend that racial despotism – what they define as racially stratified access to social and political rights – has disappeared, rather they would argue it continues to coexist in many forms along

As a form of “racial common-sense” that denies the saliency of racial discrimination, the ideology of colourblindness is central to the operation of neoliberalism (Goldburg, 2009; Bonillo-Silva, 2009; Roberts and Mahtani, 2010). Colourblindness presumes that individual equality of opportunity and merit-based inclusion are default conditions of the contemporary social order. Colourblindness strongly denies its racial dimensions – seeing attempts to rectify racial social inequity as examples of racism itself (Goldburg, 2009).²³ Through the ideology of colourblindness, instances of racial inequality are rationalized as naturally occurring social conditions resulting from free market dynamics and/or the cultural limitations of particular groups (Bonillo-Silva, 2009; Omi and Winant, 2015).²⁴ As Goldburg succinctly states, “the increasing stress on individualized merit and ability in the name of racelessness was coterminous with structural shifts in state formation away from welfarism and the caretaker state following the mid-1970s” (2009: 331). By denying the saliency of racial discrimination, the racial project of colourblindness undermines the case for state programs targeting racial inequity, like affirmative action, and more broadly, legitimates the absence of the state from redistributive arenas and social programs that have racialized implications in a society where class dynamics

with racial democracy (2015: 139). For example, while slavery as a form of racial despotism has largely declined, immigration detention has grown.

²³ Ofttimes this is framed as “reverse-racism”. Characterising programs like affirmative action as “reverse-racism” ignores how racism is predicated on a system of white supremacist social power and structures that oppress non-white people. Those subordinated through this system cannot mobilize race to systemically oppress others. This is not to say that individual instances of discrimination or prejudice do not occur on ethnic or racial grounds among non-white people, but rather to note that these instances do not constitute racism.

²⁴ This denial of racial ordering is linked to what Bonillo-Silva (2009) describes as a social frame of abstract liberalism. Abstract liberalism explains racial stratification through concepts associated with liberal political and economic thought, including choice, individualism, personal freedom, equal opportunity, state non-interference in social policy. The result is the minimization of the incidence of racism, and rejection of specific policy formulations addressing racial inequity (2009). For example, the frame of abstract liberalism delegitimizes affirmative action programs by presenting these programs as ill-conceived interventions of the state that curtail the ability of private and public entities to exercise individual, merit-based choices.

are racially stratified.²⁵ Thus, like neoliberalism the ideology of colourblindness entails a retreat of the state from areas of social provisioning, as well as a notion of non-interference in racial matters that serves to protect existing structures of racial discrimination and segregation.

Alongside the persistence of pervasive racial inequity exists claims of universal liberal democratic inclusion, also legitimated through notions of democracy as colourblind (Omi and Winant, 2015: 220). As a result, mechanisms for managing or containing the tension – between abstract liberal democratic values and racial exclusions – become necessary to represent contemporary democracy as legitimate. Omi and Winant suggest:

In the “post- civil rights” era, the racial state cannot merely dominate; it must seek hegemony. It does this in two related ways; first by incorporating “subordinate” groups: the “sub-” others, in other words the subaltern; and second by creating and embodying racial “common sense,” as we have discussed. Yet state violence, confinement, and aggressive and repressive policing of people of color all continue; this is how hegemony and subalternity are maintained: though a combination of repression and incorporation (2015: 147).

The democratic deficits of racial neoliberalism have made “democratic discourses” that position citizens as active participants in local policy-making crucial in the ongoing legitimization the neoliberal project (Addie, 2009; Purcell, 2006; Theodore and Peck, 2011). The incorporation of non-white racial groups into democratic processes and governance through these discourses is thus a crucial component of validating the existing state order as consistent with the basic tenants of liberal democracy, yet coexists with continuing racial oppressions and exclusions.

While the decentralization of governance through participatory initiatives is sometimes seen as empowering for community members, and a means of addressing racial inequity, scholars have questioned the inherent attribution of democratic content to participatory local governance initiatives (Albo, 2009; Purcell, 2006). Encouraging popular involvement in

²⁵ For example, anti-immigrant initiatives, mass-incarceration and the criminalization of poverty, restrictive voter enfranchisement laws, and cuts to medicare and social welfare are all colourblind policies with strongly racialized outcomes (Bonillo-Silva, 2009: 212)

institutions of governance through participatory processes can facilitate market extensions through the careful curation of citizen participation in official avenues and the delegitimization popular contestation outside these channels, as well as mitigate concerns about racial exclusion through inclusivity and diversity rhetoric (Addie, 2009; Ahmed, 2017; Moulder and O’Neill, 2001; Peck and Tickell, 2002). In these ways, the proliferation of decentralized local democracy experiments is intimately related to democratic disempowerment and racial exclusions associated with neoliberalism.

In my dissertation research, I investigate the democratic empowerment potential of participatory budgeting, and attempt to avoid the “local trap”: the assumption that participatory initiatives at the local scale are inherently democratic (Purcell, 2006: 1922). Interrogating the relationship between participatory budgeting and the marketization of municipal governance makes it possible to ask substantive questions about the possibilities for, and limits of, participatory budgeting as a reassertion of democratic control over municipal budgeting. Using critical institutionalism and racial neoliberalism as theoretical framings provides opportunity to examine the connections between participatory budgeting and social power relations. The methods I use to approach this topic, as well as my selection of case study, are discussed below.

Methodological Approach: A Qualitative Case study of Chicago, IL

This dissertation project is a qualitative case study of participatory budgeting in Chicago. Johnson describes case study analysis as “context-intensive research” (2015, 128), speaking to the usefulness of case study approaches in considering the role of contextual factors in influencing public policy outcomes. Empirical case study research provides a means of testing theoretical claims through a sustained investigation.

Often narratives of case study selection take the process as solely based on objective and systemic thought: careful consideration of the existing literature and theoretical approach. Transparency about the subjective factors that draw the researcher towards particular cases is part of the growing shift towards locating the researcher in the research (du Preez, 2008; Kirby and McKenna, 1989). Chicago was neither an entirely accidental nor entirely premeditated choice. I initially wanted to study participatory budgeting in Hamilton, Ontario. My industrial hometown of 500,000 residents has often failed to attract the type of academic attention garnered by “global cities” that loom more largely in the public eye. Yet an racially diverse, low-income community in the downtown of this ordinary city, had developed a multiyear participatory budgeting project, one of the first in Canada. While I had intrinsic interest in Hamilton, I was also concerned that focusing on a relatively small project in one neighbourhood might not provide enough scope for a doctoral dissertation project. When I began seeking comparator cities, I was attracted to Chicago. Given conventional narratives of Chicago’s historical and contemporary practices of municipal governance as unwelcoming to public participation and resistant to professionalization, Chicago is an unexpected place for a participatory democratic initiative like participatory budgeting to take root. Chicago’s municipal governance structure has been presented as clientalistic, corrupt, and elite dominated: the quintessential legacy of a longstanding municipal patronage system that continues to influence local political development. Underlying Chicago’s municipal governance structure is a high degree of class- and race-based social inequity, that manifests in stark public infrastructure gaps between neighbourhoods (OIG, 2017). Infrastructure spending patterns mirror demographic patterns where working class predominantly Black and Hispanic communities live in neighbourhoods that lack the same quality of public services and public infrastructure as more affluent predominantly white

communities. Given a long history of racial discrimination and high degree of continued residential segregation, Chicago provided an opportunity to examine how the promises of participatory budgeting were actualized in a context of persistent racial divisions hardened through institutional structures that maintain exclusions. Moreover, many scholars have analyzed participatory budgeting through lenses of participatory democracy and deliberative democracy – which purport to contest the individualism of liberal democracy to emphasize collective equity and social justice considerations in democratic processes. In particular, deliberative democrats focus on cultivating spaces of procedural equality where participants can speak across structural differences and act in the common good (Mansbridge et al., 2006). Given some of the narratives of participatory budgeting as addressing socioeconomic and racial inequity, Chicago is an important case to study. As a site of severe neoliberal restructuring over the last two decades, Chicago was also well situated for an examination of the interaction between the participatory budgeting process and neoliberal restructuring of other aspects of the municipal budget.

As a result, I ended up planning a comparative case study examining participatory budgeting in Hamilton and Chicago. I successfully applied for a fieldwork grant, which enabled me to spend an extended time in Chicago. Although I conducted interviews in Hamilton and Chicago and observed and participated in community meetings in both cities, when I approached the stage of writing my dissertation, I had more than enough material and scope for a single dissertation project in my case study of Chicago, which already contained an intracity comparative study of three different wards. Within the space of a single dissertation, I was concerned about my ability to do justice to the complexities of four case-studies in two cities, while remaining committed to an in-depth examination of the historical, institutional and social contexts through which participatory budgeting projects operate. Consequently, though I started

pursuing participatory budgeting in Hamilton, I ended up writing a dissertation about participatory budgeting in three neighbourhoods in Chicago. Nonetheless, Hamilton remains the silent partner in this dissertation. The questions I asked in Chicago, and my observations and responses to different developments, were undoubtedly shaped by experiences in Hamilton.

I initially travelled to Chicago planning to focus my research on the two wards with longstanding participatory budgeting projects: the 49th ward, which had been engaging with the process for eight years, and the 45th ward, which was in their fourth cycle at the time.²⁶ While there, the 22nd ward captured my attention. Ward 22 had practiced participatory budgeting for two years, and then stopped. This ward was also the only south side ward to engage with the process. I thought it might be a useful counterpoint to speak with people in a ward that had engaged with participatory budgeting but not continued the process. Most, but not all, of my interviews and participant observation took place in these three wards: the 49th, 45th and 22nd wards.

Research Sources: Semi-Structured Interviews and Participant Observation, and Secondary Data

Case study research requires incorporating information from a variety of sources, as the researcher is aiming to develop a thick contextual understanding of a phenomenon. For my research, I relied on secondary sources, interviews and participant observation. I examined news reports about participatory budgeting, and the websites and social media accounts of participatory budgeting groups in Chicago. The latter provide an important lens into the self-representation of these groups, as well as some of the ongoing debates and dialogue around these processes. I also incorporate budgetary data from Chicago into my work, specifically data on

²⁶ My fieldwork in Chicago took place from April to July of 2016.

public infrastructure funding, electoral data from the Chicago's municipal elections, and aldermanic voting records. These sources of detailed budgetary and electoral data help provide context for my primary data gathering through semi-structured interviews and participant-observation, described below.

Interviews are especially useful in considering the interactions between individuals and macrostructural forces, as well as understanding how different actors understand their involvement in policy processes (Addie, 2013; Johnson, 2015; McCann and Ward, 2011;). Hermanowicz says of the semi-structured interview: "if executed well, [it] brings us arguably closer than many other methods to an intimate understanding of people and their social worlds" (2002: 180). My dissertation research involved interviewing "urban elites": politicians, ward staff, and city staff about their experiences with participatory budgeting. But I also interviewed residents with varying degrees of involvement in participatory budgeting projects – from local facilitators, to casual volunteers, to residents who voted but did not volunteer with the projects. This takes seriously Bourdieu's call for critical urban research to build knowledge through voices not often privileged in formal academic research (Bourdieu, 2010: 69). It also provides an opportunity to examine the different layers of subjectivities produced through participatory budgeting projects.

In my work, I approached interviews not as a truth but as a telling. The interview is a "negotiated text": actively constructed and mediated by interviewer, interviewee, and context (Fontana and Frey, 2000: 646; Rapley, 2001). In qualitative methods, transparency concerning methodological choices is a key component of analytical rigor (Baxter and Eyles, 1997). This includes providing the details of interview procedure and selection, the number of interviewees conducted, decisions around textual reporting and the reasons for particular "triangulations"

when different methods are combined. I seek to provide transparency and justification for my interview process below.²⁷

From April to June 2016, I shared office space in Chicago with staff at the Great Cities Institute at UIC who provide support to participatory budgeting projects across the city. I used information provided by staff members and my UIC host supervisor to make initial contacts for interviews. I also attended and volunteered at participatory budgeting events and other community meetings in my target wards to make additional research contacts. Once I had established contact with an initial group of interviewees, I then used the snowball method to locate additional contacts by asking interviewees to identify other individuals who might be interested in participating in interviews. Potential interviewees were approached a minimum of two times. After the third approach, if a contact was unresponsive, I assumed they were not interested in being interviewed. Midway through my time in Chicago, I began to specifically target women and interviewees from wards where I had fewer contacts, to provide more representativeness in my selection of interviewees. I ceased interviews when I had contacted a geographically and demographically diverse set of respondents from each of my targeted wards, including interviewees who had taken on a variety of roles in relation to participatory budgeting. In addition, at the point when I ceased interviews interview data began to approach saturation, meaning there was a high degree of repetition of common themes by interviewees and interviews no longer yielded substantially new information.

Fontana and Frey make the relatively uncontentious point that “the nature of the social dynamic of the interview can shape the nature of the knowledge generated” (2000, 647). In

²⁷ Triangulation is sometimes thought of as a strictly positivist approach involving the revelation of a single objective reality through the combination of multiple sources of data. However, in this research, I am using triangulation as a way of bringing together different perspectives, treating inconsistencies and divergences as valuable themselves (Seale, 2010: 105).

Chicago, my initial access to research participants was mediated by presenting as a relatively young woman. My first seven interviewees were all men, and I tended to have more success recruiting male research participants.²⁸ Sometimes gendered interactions took the form of excessively solicitous behaviour: male research participants would attempt to purchase drinks for me or offer to drive me home after our interview or suggest socializing outside of the interview process.²⁹ Being generally white-presenting, racial privilege made me privy to explicit and implicit narratives of racism from some white participants, who perhaps perceived me as non-judgmental. Racialized participants sometimes shared narratives of race-based discrimination as well. My ability to connect with Hispanic residents in Chicago was limited by my inability to interview Spanish-speaking residents who did not also speak English.

A second challenge in interview recruitment was that often people with more formal education were more interested in speaking with me. Some of this may relate to the flexible nature of their work, for example, the ability to meet a researcher during lunch hours. To some degree it may speak to a class bias in participants, as participatory budgeting volunteers in Chicago tend to be more educated than average residents (Weber et al., 2015). It also speaks to a class bias in the research process itself, where certain individuals, especially those with advanced degrees or doctorates, were more likely to be willing to participate in a research interview, perhaps because they had experience working as social science researchers themselves. This was difficult to mitigate in the selection process, as educational attainment only came out casually during our interviews, but it speaks to the need to approach interview tellings as necessarily

²⁸ Women make up more than 50 percent of the participatory budgeting volunteers in Chicago (Crum et al., 2015).

²⁹ One man provided the barista with cash before I arrived, leaving me to sheepishly collect the change after I had ordered my coffee.

partial and incomplete, albeit important, accounts. It also raises caution in taking the perceptions of participatory budgeting volunteers as emblematic of people in the community as a whole.

Overall, I conducted 35 research interviews in Chicago from April 2016 to July 2016 (see Appendix A for my interview guides). I interviewed four aldermen who had experience with participatory budgeting in their wards. I also interviewed nine staff members who were responsible for participatory budgeting in some capacity in their formal work, either as part of a community organization, as aldermanic staff, or as part of the municipal civil service. In addition, I interviewed 22 residents with some degree of involvement in participatory budgeting projects, ranging from simply voting to serving on volunteer steering committees.

To make the interview process as comfortable as possible, I offered to meet the interviewee at a public location of their choosing, either in their community of residence, or near their place of work or schooling. To enable more equitable participation among people with non-traditional work schedules and caregiving responsibilities, I offered to meet interviewees at whatever time was most convenient for them. Interviews were semi-structured with an open-ended research guide. I had a core set of questions I strove to always ask, but used supplementary questions as appropriate, depending on their relevance given the participant's relationship to participatory budgeting projects, as well as the direction of our conversation. Questions were constructed to avoid leading language, and I strove to present myself as open to a diversity of perspectives, but also actively engaged in the dialogue to stimulate conversation. My ultimate goal was to solicit detailed information about participants' experiences with participatory budgeting, rather than use data for statistical analysis or modeling which might require more rigid consistency in the interview guide. As such, I strove to be responsive to the interviewee, to listen closely and follow verbal and physical cues to encourage the interviewee to

share specific, detailed information about the interview subject (Hermanowicz, 2002: 482-3). On average the interviews lasted one hour and were structured to start with general questions about their neighbourhood and ward, and then move into more specific questions about participatory budgeting and the municipal budget process.

All interviews were transcribed. Interview responses were coded to identify patterns and common themes. In keeping with Silverman's (2000) observation that complex, predetermined coding schemes can be too deterministic to capture the data accurately, thematic categories were inductively drawn from a close investigation of discourse fragments. In examining interview data, I adopted a form of discourse analysis known as critical discourse analysis (CDA). Building on traditional practices of discourse analysis, CDA applies a lens of social criticism to consider how social power relations are implicated in discourses. Practitioners of CDA argue that discourses are not neutral, disinterested exercises, but rather are embedded in social relations, ideology and power (Fairclough, 2002; Van Dijk, 2003). As a result, critical discourse analysis can shed light on how elite and non-elite discourses can "enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society" (Van Dijk, 2003: 353). In particular, in analyzing interview data I was interested in the following questions:

- Where are moments of disjuncture and contradiction in narrations of participatory budgeting project? Are there shared affinities along geographic or subject positions that shape these disconnects?
- Where are moments of commonality, repeated themes in tellings? Are there shared affinities along geographic or other subject positions?
- How are questions of capitalism, race and gender present in the narratives provided by participants? What absences exist?

- How do participants understand the relationship between participatory budgeting, municipal government, and community organizing?

This dissertation research received ethics approval from both York University and the University of Illinois, Chicago (see Appendix B for copies of my ethics forms and approval certificates). Residents and staff consented to an interview process that protected anonymity in any resulting research publications. As a result, while these interviewees are identified in terms of their relationship to the participatory budgeting project (staff, volunteer or resident) specific residents and staff are not identified in this dissertation. I have taken three additional steps to protect anonymity. First, I have occasionally changed minor details of interview quotes that might make the identity of the interviewee easy to deduce. For example, this might involve omitting the name of a park, school, or community group closely connected with the interviewee. Second, I have avoided providing demographic information when using interviewee quotes beyond what is of direct relevance to the topic at hand. For example, in a discussion of ward dynamics I will note the interviewee's ward, but not their race or gender, while in a discussion of racial dynamics I may note an interviewee's racial identification, but not their ward. I also avoid providing multiple demographic indicators of a given interviewee that might make it possible to narrow down the respondent to a small group of people. Third, in discussing topics where an interviewee may experience criticism from elements of the participatory budgeting community for being candid with a researcher, I have exercised additional caution. In these cases, I have avoided providing any demographic information at all and avoided using direct quotations to further protect the identity of the interviewee.³⁰

³⁰ Topics where I took the additional measures to obscure the identity of interviewees included allegations of improprieties in the voting process, and accounts of racial discrimination in the participatory budgeting process.

Unlike residents and staff, aldermen agreed to be identified in publications resulting from the research by checking a specific box on their informed consent form. I chose to request aldermen consent to being identified for two reasons. First, I anticipated I would only speak with a small number of aldermen, and consequently it would be difficult to ensure that any alderman I spoke with was truly anonymous in the research. Second, aldermen are elected officials. Unlike residents or staff, their formal position involves a degree of public scrutiny, and my research project sought comment on a democratic initiative undertaken as part of their public role. Thus, based on their public role, I also judged it appropriate to request they agree to be identified in my research. A consequence of not providing aldermen with anonymity in the research project is that they may have been less candid in their comments than they would have been otherwise, recognizing that the interview was of a somewhat public nature, not dissimilar to an interview with a news media organization. Although all four aldermen I interviewed consented to being identified in the research, quotes are only attributed to specific aldermen where it is necessary to provide context, or already obvious from the topic on which alderman was being quoted.

In addition to interviews, I had the opportunity to engage in substantial participant observation of the participatory budgeting processes in Chicago. Participant observation is the general term used to describe a host of research activities that involve learning about a phenomenon by both observing people participating in it and participating as well (Kawulich, 2005). Participant-observation is one way of triangulating interviews, to consider how what people say in an interview setting matches with what they do. It helps a researcher develop a more holistic understanding of the phenomena of interest and can help validate information and interpretations offered by interviewees by providing for a better understanding of context (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002). Participant observation can be a necessary complement to

interviews, particularly those with elite actors, as interviews are staged settings and there may be pressure to exaggerate the success of a policy process (Peck and Theodore, 2015).³¹ My participation was “observer-participant”: for ethical reasons, I always identified myself as a researcher as soon as practicable when entering a space or meeting where I could be mistaken for a participant. Nevertheless, I was invited as a researcher to participate in a number of activities. While in Chicago, from April to June 2016, I volunteered at four voting events, attended two volunteer trainings, attended two evaluation meetings, and attended the annual writing of the rules event, which included representatives from all participatory budgeting wards in the city. In addition, while in Chicago I participated in many day-to-day conversations about the participatory budgeting program in various wards with participatory budgeting staff at UIC with whom I shared office space.

While conducting participant-observation fieldwork I kept a regular journal of my thoughts and impressions, which were generally recorded as soon as possible after an excursion or event (Kriby and McKenna 1989; Kawulich 2005). This practice provided me with a reference point to examine my thought processes throughout fieldwork, as well as any assumptions, on-going concerns and ethical issues that arose throughout the course of my research.

One of the complexities in working on this project was that participatory budgeting research involves working with a community of practice – people engaging in a process of collective learning around a shared concern (Wenger, 2011). As discussed in chapter 3, describing these projects as strictly community based would be misleading as they are almost always initiated by political elites in Chicago. Nonetheless, many community members were deeply involved in participatory budgeting, not only devoting a great deal of unpaid labour to the

³¹ The issue of exaggeration was particularly obvious in one interview with a staff member in Chicago whose telling of their involvement bore little relation to the descriptions of other interviewees or my own observations.

process, but also cultivating personal relationships and neighbourhood connections through their engagement with participatory budgeting. While participants often expressed critiques of the process, many simultaneously were deeply invested in the success of participatory budgeting. Sometimes this led to tensions between internal discussions of the process and the image participants sought to project of participatory budgeting to outsiders and the broader public. In some communities, where the reputation of participatory budgeting was bound up closely with the reputation of the local alderman, pressure to present a positive narrative of the process was immense. As an outside researcher, I felt very concerned with fully conveying the complexities and nuances presented by participants and resisting the urge to fit narratives into a researcher-driven framing. While it would be a simpler argument to either dismiss participatory budgeting as another technique of neoliberal governance, or conversely to celebrate it as an empowering form of community-led democratic participation in governance, neither of these stories about participatory budgeting wholly reflect the experiences of people in communities who participate in the process. Many participants had sophisticated understandings of the limits of participatory budgeting as an empowering process, in the context of Chicago, while simultaneously seeking to push the limits of the process in terms of greater community control, racial and socioeconomic inclusion, and increased redistribution of scarce public resources.

Demographic Data and Racial Categories

Income and racial data used in this dissertation, particularly in chapters 3 and 4, is taken from 2011-2015 American Community Survey: Table B19013 in the US Census as reported in data tables provided by the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning's Data Hub.³²

³² The American Community Survey census data is publicly available at <https://datahub.cmap.illinois.gov>.

To gain a more fulsome picture of the socioeconomic context in each neighbourhood, income data is supplemented by a hardship ranking assessed by the City of Chicago based on the 2008-2012 American Community Survey in the US Census. The hardship ranking scales from 1 (minimal hardship) to 100 (maximal hardship) and is comprised of six measures of socioeconomic wellbeing: 1) percent of occupied housing units with more than one person per room (a proxy for overcrowding); 2) the percent of households living below the federal poverty level; 3) the percent of persons in the labor force over the age of 16 years that are unemployed; 4) the percent of persons over the age of 25 years without a high school diploma; 5) the percent of the population under 18 or over 64 years of age (a proxy for dependency); and 6) per capita income.

The racial categories used in this dissertation are “white”; “Black”; “Hispanic”; and “Asian”. Like most racial classification schemes, these categories lack logical coherence. For one, “Hispanic” is not a racial category – rather it designates Spanish speakers who may be from any race. On the other hand, “Asian” is so broad as to encompass groups with vastly different national, ethnic and racial identities. A similar critique could be made of the use of “Black” or “white”. These demographic categories lead to a flattening of racial and ethnic difference by homogenizing groups into four categories. Nonetheless I use these categories because not only are they the terms the used by census data but also because they reflect the language many residents themselves used to discuss racial and ethnic differences. In addition, a great deal of social science research also discusses race in using this terminology (Omi and Winant, 2015).³³

³³ The use of the categories “white”; “Black”; “Hispanic”; and “Asian” in census data dates to a 1977 federal directive that sought to establish consistent racial categories for statistical and administrative reporting, and as part of compliance with civil rights legislation (Omi and Winant, 2015). Omi and Winant point out that the dominance of these categories has influenced social science research, as well as organizing efforts in civil society, were advocacy groups have formed under these labels.

Conclusion: Plan of the Dissertation and Contribution to the Literature

This project makes several modest contributions to the literature on participatory democracy. In chapter 2 I argue that analyzing the historical and institutional context of participatory governance initiatives helps explain why participatory budgeting projects develop in particular places, and how these projects take shape. In the case of Chicago, the city's history of a clientelistic patronage system; institutional structures that perpetuate racial exclusion and residential segregation; and neoliberal restructuring, have all shaped the emergence of participatory budgeting. Participatory budgeting projects can be leveraged by political elites to demonstrate distance from the pitfalls of patronage politics, and, in a context of racial tension, can be used to frame municipal governance as inclusive, diverse, and acting to mitigate racial inequities. The analysis in this chapter broadly argues the emergence of participatory budgeting in Chicago was not accidental, rather the appeal of participatory budgeting was produced through strategic interests of elite political actors, shaped by institutional and sociopolitical factors, as well as economic conditions related to neoliberal municipal restructuring.

In chapter 3, I take a closer look at how municipal electoral dynamics interact with participatory budgeting, a topic largely neglected in the current literature on participatory budgeting. I pay close attention to the role of electoral competition, civil society organization, and socioeconomic marginalization. Aldermen who are non-incumbents, identify as progressives, and who face strong electoral competition, are much more likely to implement participatory budgeting projects than their counterparts because they obtain the greatest electoral benefits from the process. This chapter also examines the role of civil society organizations, arguing that as the literature suggests, these organizations can play a role in initiating

participatory budgeting projects, but in the case of Chicago, electoral dynamics are a more determinative factor. Finally, this chapter investigates why middle-income and gentrifying areas are more likely to adopt participatory budgeting projects than high-income or low-income neighbourhoods, arguing that high-income neighbourhoods are already relatively well served by existing municipal provisioning, while in low-income neighbourhoods with serious unmet infrastructure needs participatory budgeting may exacerbate tension between community members.

Chapter 4 moves away from the city level to engage with neighbourhood dynamics in detail, in the three wards that serve as my case studies in Chicago: the 49th ward, the 45th ward and the 22nd ward. This chapter demonstrates how participatory budgeting as a policy practice is often mobilized by elites in ways that work to manage tensions associated with inequalities and divisions exacerbated by neoliberal restructuring in cities. This development coalesces around distinct issues and language in different neighbourhoods. In the 49th ward, proponents of participatory budgeting have sought to ground the process in the language of diversity. In the 45th ward, participatory budgeting has become comingled with language of redevelopment. In the 22nd ward, the language of equity became key. In each case the emphasis on particular language – diversity in 49, redevelopment in 45, and equity in 22 – represents the association of participatory budgeting with the most salient neighbourhood tensions. In the 22nd ward, the Alderman’s decision to discontinue the process, despite ongoing community support for its continuation, was intimately related to a perception that participatory budgeting could not effectively mitigate ward tensions related to equity. This chapter reinforces the assertion that participatory democratic strategies of containment are important tactics in legitimating

governance in a context of pervasive racial and class inequity exacerbated through neoliberal restructuring.

Chapter 5 investigates how participatory budgeting creates new neoliberal subjectivities in governance. More specifically, I argue that participatory budgeting operates in tension between extension and contestation of neoliberal governance: its commensurability with neoliberal subjectivities is part of the reason for its adaptability and success, but at the same time, the participatory budgeting process has served as a basis for assertions of collectivity and equity that contest a strictly neoliberal interpretation of the process. This chapter investigates these questions through a discussion of who participates in participatory budgeting, how that participation is framed, how the benefits of participatory budgeting are described by participants, and how participatory budgeting is implicated in the performance of “good” citizenship. This chapter contributes a concretized discussion of how some of the inclusivity and racial equity claims made of participatory budgeting manifest in practice.

Finally, in my conclusion, I consider participatory budgeting in light of the concepts of empowerment and emancipation. Using Baiocchi and Ganuza’s (2014) communicative-empowerment framework, I argue that as currently constituted, participatory budgeting in Chicago may have some benefits in terms of individual empowerment, but its ability to serve as a pathway to collective empowerment for marginalized groups and interests, and therefore its emancipatory potential is lacking. I conclude with some suggestions for imagining a more empowering participatory budgeting practices in Chicago and beyond.

Chapter 2: Institutional Dynamics: Machine Governance, Neoliberal Restructuring and the Origins of Participatory Budgeting in Chicago

Introduction

In this chapter, I attempt to contextualize participatory budgeting in terms of the broader political environment and its relationship to existing structures of political and social organization. Building on the work of institutionalist scholars, I argue the emergence of participatory budgeting projects in Chicago is only intelligible in light of a history of highly autocratic and centralized machine government, in conjunction with severe neoliberal restructuring, which has created an environment where participatory budgeting can be presented as a solution to a democratic legitimacy problem, where both the municipal government and municipal budgeting are largely viewed as elite-dominated. More specifically, this chapter will argue that the emergence of participatory budgeting in Chicago as a desirable form of public policy is intimately related to both the history of autocratic government, longstanding racial and class cleavages, and current neoliberal budget making. While the presence of participatory budgeting is often taken a symptom of a democratic environment, in the case of Chicago participatory budgeting as a policy practice is rendered appealing and useful through the failures of representative democracy.

This overarching argument is demonstrated through a discussion of the historical and contemporary practices of municipal governance in Chicago. Machine government and direct patronage, operating primarily through the provision of employment, were the dominant modes of aldermanic-constituency relations in Chicago from the 1930s until the 1980s. Both centralized mayoral control and political patronage have been slow to decline. For the most part, Chicago no longer operates under the same degree of employment patronage, however, patronage persists

through the preferential tendering of municipal contracts, sometimes called “pinstripe patronage”. A key difference between direct patronage and pinstripe patronage is the distribution of benefits: employment patronage functions as a form of constituency relations where residents received direct benefits in the form of jobs. With pinstripe patronage, the benefits of municipal patronage are directed towards contractors, business owners, and, increasingly, financial institutions. Shifts in patronage relations interact with processes of budget-making in Chicago, which have increasingly directed public infrastructure funding towards elite interests. Both the ongoing legacy of patronage and the constraints of budgetary austerity have contributed to significant alienation from municipal government on the part of many residents. This creates a legitimacy problem for aldermen who need to cultivate positive relationships with their constituencies but can no longer rely on employment patronage as a mechanism for shoring up local support. As an effect of this particular political history in Chicago, participatory budgeting became appealing to some aldermen as a means of fostering positive constituency relations, particularly in a strong-mayor context where aldermen have autonomy over few aspects of municipal government, budgetary or otherwise.

A Brief History of Municipal Politics in Chicago: Patronage and Machine Government

The standard answer to the question of how participatory budgeting started in Chicago is “Joe Moore”. In 2009, as alderman in the 49th ward, Joe Moore initiated the first participatory budgeting project in the city. But the broader landscape that created the conditions of possibility for a participatory budgeting project in Chicago are embedded in the political history of the city. Chicago has a very autocratic history of municipal government. For most of the twentieth century, Chicago’s electoral politics were dominated by the Democratic Party Organization

“machine”: an elaborate system of centralized political control, starting with Anton Cermak, elected mayor in 1931, and reaching its heights under Richard J. Daley mayor from 1955 until his death in 1976.³⁴ Under Daley’s tenure, a number of steps were taken to further remove power from aldermen and centralize administrative and budgetary power around the mayor, resulting in a city council that was often a “rubber-stamp” for an executive agenda controlled by the mayor’s office (Fuchs, 1992; Royko, 1971; Simpson, 2001).³⁵ The consequences of Daley’s style of governance, and the structural changes he made to municipal politics in Chicago, have had long-standing implications for the level of public trust in government in Chicago. This perceived distance between residents and municipal government has contributed to the interest in participatory democratic practices like participatory budgeting. An overview of the historical dynamics of patronage and machine government in Chicago is provided below.

Patronage was a key component of Richard J. Daley’s political machine. Sorauf defines patronage as, “an incentive system — a political currency with which to ‘purchase’ political activity and political responses” (1960: 28). In this definition, patronage is a general medium that can be exchanged for any form of political support, extending the definition of patronage beyond the provision of employment to include other favours and incentives that compromise a merit-based bureaucracy (Bearfield, 2009; Hamilton, 2010). Nonetheless, in the early twentieth

³⁴ During the Progressive Era (1900-1915) ward “bosses” would secure thousands of jobs for supporters. During this time, however, the patronage system was not consolidated into a system of integrated mayoral control (Bowman, 1991; Simpson 2001). Political power was fragmented. Ward committeemen and business interests limited mayoral authority, with Chicago government operating as a strong council-weak mayor system. Concerning this timeframe, Simpson states, “the city council controlled public policy, determined the city budget, and forced department heads to answer to council committees” (2001: 47). By the late 1930s, a number of developments occurred that increased mayoral control. These included: the employment of precinct captains in municipal patronage positions; the practice of forcing precinct captains to endorse a single slate of candidates; a shift in business interests dealing directly with the mayor rather than Aldermen; greater direct control of patronage by the mayor; and the increased importance of patronage employment during the Great Depression. (Simpson, 2001). For a more detailed account of the consolidation of mayoral power, see: Gosnell 1968, Simpson 2001, and Jones 1974.

³⁵There are two Chicago mayors named Richard Daley: Richard J. Daley, mayor from 1955 until 1976, and his son Richard M. Daley, mayor from 1989 until 2011.

century, politically motivated hiring and firing was the dominant form of patronage in Chicago, and a normalized part of municipal operations. While many cities had patronage systems in municipal administration, though few developed in size and longevity to the degree of Chicago's (Hamilton, 2010).

In Chicago the political machine was centrally structured around a system of direct patronage, where political supporters would be awarded jobs in return for their service to the party (Stone, 1996). Under Anton Cermak, the appointment of political supporters to city positions became regularized and by 1926 three quarters of the Democratic Party's precinct committeemen were employed by the city (Bowman, 1991). By the time Richard J. Daley was elected mayor in 1955, the mayor controlled 35,000 patronage positions, and Daley is said to have personally reviewed the hiring for each of them (Royko, 1971; Bowman, 1991). In addition to public sector positions, Daley held influence over an additional 30,000 private sector jobs through municipal contracts (Tolchin and Tolchin, 2011). By 1970, in Daley's storied Bridgeport ward, a quarter of all adult male Irish residents reported holding a city job (Bowman, 1991). Patronage appointees were not only required to donate money and time to the Democratic Party, but their partisan campaign performance determined their promotion or termination within the municipal civil service (Simpson, 2001; Royko, 1971). Moreover, patronage employees were often hired on a temporary basis, even if they continued in the same employment for years. The temporary designation had the advantage of putting employees more directly under the control of ward committeemen and the Ward Democratic Organization because employees could be dismissed at will, making any sort of deviance from the party orthodoxy highly risky. In turn, the mayor retained control over ward committeemen and aldermen by controlling the distribution of patronage positions, undercutting potential rivals by tempering the flow of jobs, which curtailed

the aldermen's ability to independently mobilize during elections (Grimshaw, 1991; Fuchs, 1992). The consolidation of power around the mayor was made possible by the absence of a credible Republican presence in municipal elections after the 1930s, which enabled Daley to undercut the independent power base of his aldermen without negative consequences for the Democratic Party, fitting with Bearfield's (2009) observation that patronage is not solely about votes, but rather the broader consolidation of political power. In fact, Richard J. Daley took steps to ensure that patronage workers were loyal to him rather than the individual aldermen, and there are many accounts of him directing patronage workers to withhold support from aldermanic candidates who had lost his favour (Grimshaw, 1991). Nonetheless while patronage may have been controlled in the mayor's office, it was administered locally and a key mechanism through which aldermen consolidated political support. By offering employment and other financial benefits to supporters, patronage enabled aldermen to establish a relationship of mutual benefit with constituents and ensure them of a solid base of support to draw on during elections. The local benefits of patronage were unevenly distributed, with white communities disproportionately rewarded at the expense of Black wards, where aldermen had fewer favours to distribute (Grimshaw, 1991). Race relations within Chicago's political machine are discussed further below.

The Chicago machine was able to take advantage of the mass post-1920s defection of Black from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party, specifically Franklin Roosevelt's "new deal" and his 1944 speech in Chicago where he became one of the first presidential candidates to overtly name and commit to addressing racial discrimination (Grimshaw, 1991; Bowman, 1988).³⁶ There was substantial, but uneven, support for the Democratic Party machine

³⁶ The absence of a credible Republican threat in Chicago's municipal political arena was also in part due to the increase unpalatability of Republican stances on segregation with Black voters. The last Republican mayor of

by Black voters, with working class and poor Black wards more likely than middle-class Black wards to support machine candidates for both alderman and mayor (Grimshaw 1991). The proportion of the population that was Black increased from 13.5% when Daley was initially elected in 1955 to just shy of 35% in the year of his death in 1976. The number of black majority wards increased from three in 1948 to fourteen in 1975.

While the machine started helping Black aldermen get elected in Black wards in the 1950s and 60s, these aldermen held little substantive power within the machine – and few patronage positions in relation to the degree of machine support in the Black wards, what Grimshaw deems mere “patronage crumbs” (1991, 72). Daley personally sought to limit Black representation within the machine, and actively undermined Black aldermen who had a base of community support separate apart from his loyalty by preventing them from running as machine candidates for re-election (Grimshaw 1991).

Although Daley was initially elected with support from Black voters, what the literature calls “white ethnics”: Irish, Polish, Italian, and other European immigrant communities, were the primary basis of support for the machine. The machine sought to marginalize the power of Black voters in several ways. As previously mentioned, starting in the 1960s, under Daley’s leadership, the machine actively gerrymandered city wards on a racial basis to dilute the voting power of Black communities (Bowman, 1988; Grimshaw, 1991). In addition, Daley supported housing, policing, and educational policies that were attractive to white ethnic communities at the expense of the interests of the Black community. As mayor, he instructed the city to aggressively fight

Chicago – Bill Thompson – was elected in 1919 and again 1927 with strong support from Black constituents (Simpson, 2001). With the federal Republican Party actively supporting segregationist policies and Jim Crow laws in the South, the Chicago Democratic machine was able to take advantage of the mass defection of Black voters from the 1920s on from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party (Grimshaw, 1991). Likely the continued disaffection of Black voters with the Republican Party is part of the reason Republicans still only maintain a token presence in Chicago’s municipal government.

lawsuits against housing and school segregation, leading a 1970 report to find Chicago the second most segregated northern city in the United States (Bowman, 1991).³⁷ He encouraged police brutality with his infamous “shoot to kill” response to unrest following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968 (Bowman, 1991; Grimshaw, 1991). Daley is also widely believed to have ordered the police raid of the apartment where Black Panther Fred Hamilton was living, resulting in his death (Bowman, 1991; Grimshaw, 1991).

The growth of the Black population in Chicago without commensurate political space, the civil rights movement, and the failure of the Democratic Party machine, both under Daley and his mayoral successors Bilandic and Bryne to address racist public policies, all contributed to shifting political power relations at the municipal level. While a full discussion of the racial politics of Chicago’s municipal government is beyond the scope of this dissertation, the relevant point is that limited racial inclusion tempered by the pursuit of highly racially discriminatory policies, particularly directed at the Black community, was a key basis for unity in the machine. As these exclusions became increasingly untenable, holes in the “racial democracy” of the machine played a crucial role in forcing the reconstitution of political power in different terms (Omi and Winant, 2015).

Another factor was a series of court rulings limiting the employment-based patronage system. The passing of the Shackman Decrees, a series of federal court orders, declared political hiring (1972) and firing (1983) unconstitutional (Tolchin and Tolchin, 2012; Hamilton, 2010; Bowman, 1996).³⁸ Subsequently, a court monitoring system was established to ensure the city

³⁷ Although a federal court decision in 1948 – *Shelley v. Kraemer* invalidated racially restrictive housing laws in Chicago, social pressure, discrimination on the part of financial institutions and landlords, and overt violence slowed the residential desegregation of Chicago (Grimshaw, 1991).

³⁸ A lawyer named Michael Shakman running as an independent candidate for municipal office in 1969 found that while people were sympathetic to his campaign many refused to vote for him because they held patronage positions and were concerned that not supporting the party candidate would compromise their livelihood (Freedman, 1988). After his unsuccessful candidacy, Shakman and a colleague filed a constitutional challenge to the patronage system.

complied with the decrees. As recently as 2014, Chicago's municipal hiring process continued to be under federal oversight, at which point Michael Shakman, whose lawsuit spurred the decrees bearing his name, declared overt patronage not dead but "controlled" (ABC, 2014).

Post-Patronage Chicago?

In the aftermath of the Shakman decrees, patronage practices have shifted: while there is some evidence of ongoing patronage through employment, the Shakman decrees and other aspects of municipal restructuring made patronage through employment less prominent. Bowman (1996) argues that a key limitation of the Shakman decrees is the broad criteria of the policy-making exception, which allows patronage hiring in policy-related positions.³⁹ However, her analysis finds no major issues with the court monitoring system, including the quarterly review of hiring reports by independent auditors. Writing more recently, Hamilton argues that municipal patronage, and patronage related scandals, have persisted well into Richard M. Daley's tenure as mayor in the early 2000s and employment-related patronage practices continue (Hamilton, 2010). Hamilton argues that despite an anti-patronage system which includes court monitoring of municipal hiring practices, the Shakman regulations have merely forced patronage to adopt new tactics and forms of subterfuge. These include: the manipulation of hiring through the creation of new and/or temporary positions; the increasing importance of appointments to boards and commissions ungoverned by patronage prohibitions; the manipulation of the hiring process via eligibility lists, mismanagement of the application processes and interviews; the

The initial judge who heard the court challenge to patronage hiring, a personal friend of Mayor Richard J. Daley, dismissed it, however the decision was reversed upon appeal (Freedman, 1988). The 1972 ruling in the Michael Shakman's case preventing political firing, excepting policy-making positions. In 1983 further court decisions banned politically motivate hiring, although a framework and procedures to prevent this were not put into place until the late 1980s (Freedman, 1988; Bowman, 1996).

³⁹ In 2017, there were 1298 positions officially on the policy exemption list (City of Chicago, 2017a)

misapplication of the exemption list; and poor record keeping (Hamilton, 2010). Emblematic of ongoing concerns was the conviction of Robert Sorich and two other city employees on corruption charges in 2006. Sorich was found to have maintained a 5,000 name “clout” list of preferred job candidates and to have distributed jobs and promotions to favoured candidates. Officially Sorich’s title was “Director of Intergovernmental Affairs” though Tolchin and Tolchin refer to him as “Daley’s patronage chief” (2011: 18), a label echoed by the news-media (Mihalopoulos and Bush, 2006). A number of recent scandals around hiring and the tendering of contracts have led scholars to conclude that legal prohibitions on patronage hiring have led to other measures that circumvent the merit system of public employment (Gard and Hamilton, 2012; Tolchin and Tolchin, 2011).

Although there are some continuities in the use of patronage employment from the 1930s to present, patronage relations have adapted to social and institutional changes in municipal governance. The Shakman decrees had the important effect of making patronage through direct employment illegal outside the policy-making exception, a legal classification with normative consequences for the effectiveness of patronage as a constituency relations tool (Bearfield, 2009). Although there is a degree of persistence in patronage hiring, Aldermen can no longer openly and freely offer supporters employment with the city. Moreover, the restructuring of municipal government under new public management (NPM) has meant that the provision of employment patronage may have declined even in the absence of the Shakman decrees. With moves to curtail municipal employment by contracting out services previously provided by municipal employees, the number of municipal jobs in Chicago has declined (Hamilton, 2010; Freedman, 1988).

Perhaps a more concerning limitation of the Shakman decrees is their inapplicability to contracts. Tolchin and Tolchin suggest the privatization of public services has the consequence of shifting patronage to municipal tendering practices:

Through privatization a public official is freed from the judicial constraints on his ability to reward supporters with government jobs and non-competitive contracts. A Mayor can pick up a telephone and find a job for a supporter in a sanitation or engineering company that he has given a lucrative contract (2011: 12).

In a context where Chicago has increasingly privatized service provision and infrastructure development, public contracts continue to be used to reward allies and campaign contributors. Political scientist and former alderman Dick Simpson argues that this shift began during the Mayor Richard J. Daley's later years: "By the late 60s, if you had a multimillion-dollar contract, it was more of an alliance between institutions and political leaders. It wasn't paying \$500 and getting a vote. It was a knitting together of institutions, but businesses made sure Daley knew they had contributed to the party and to the mayor" (Moser, 2011: para. 3). An analysis of donor patterns demonstrates that this alliance between business and political leaders was initially focused on smaller-scale contractors and real estate actors, shifting during Richard M. Daley and Rahm Emanuel's mayoral terms towards large financial institutions, suggesting these institutions are playing an increasingly prominent role in municipal contracting (Moser, 2011; Ashton et al., 2016). During Richard M. Daley's administration from 1989-2010, allegations of preferential treatment in the tendering of city contracts and adjudication development proposals for supporters and donors have been well documented (Feeney and Kingsley, 2008; Simpson et al., 2004; Tolchin and Tolchin, 2011). Less academic research has been published regarding contract patronage during Rahm Emanuel's more recent term as mayor, however, similar allegations have followed him in the news media, leading to multiple federal investigations into the awarding of no-bid contracts to political supporters (Moser, 2015; Cunningham-Cook, 2015; Perez and

Dardick, 2015; Kidwell, 2017). To sum up, the rewarding of political supporters through pinstripe patronage is an ongoing concern in Chicago.

The effects of patronage systems on public attitudes towards government are generally negative. The presence of patronage relations in municipal administration leads to the belief that the municipal government “sacrifice[s] the interests of citizens on the alter of a politician’s needs” (Tochin and Tolchin, 2011: 10). While it can be difficult to ascertain whether the perceptions of patronage match the actual incidence, researchers suggest the perception alone can be very damaging to public trust (Gard and Hamilton, 2014; Tolchin and Tolchin, 2011).⁴⁰ And the perception of Chicago politics as deeply implicated in patronage and favouritism continues. In recent academic literature, Chicago is referred to as the “poster child for a local government patronage machine” (Hamilton, 2010: 138); “the temple of patronage” (Tolchin and Tolchin, 2011: 20); and “the epicenter of patronage abuse” (Gard and Hamilton, 2014: 4). In interviews residents conceptualized Chicago politics as dominated by political insiders and hostile to public participation in municipal decision-making. Consider the following selection of comments about Chicago’s municipal government, each quote taken from a different resident:⁴¹

- “Chicago's impenetrable” – Resident
- “You don't get involved like that in the city of Chicago” – Resident
- “The whole point is to actually dissuade people from being involved” – Resident
- “People in Eastern Europe before the iron curtain fell would kind of recognize Chicago... they'd recognize our politics” – Resident

⁴⁰ Since the 1970s, 31 aldermen have been convicted in federal courts of corruption, but the municipal Board of Ethics, established in 1990, has never substantiated any public corruption allegations (Buyuker et al., 2014: 14).

⁴¹ All quotes taken from my research interviews, conducted between April and July of 2016.

- “The typical way that Chicago aldermen do things, just their little fiefdoms, where, they do whatever they want to do, they solicit whatever bribes they would like to solicit, and they hope that nobody finds out about it, and the Chicago way is if somebody finds out about it then that guy has his head lopped off and the mayor appoints the next alderman to take his place and he'll take whatever bribes he can take” – Resident
- “That's where we get all the cynicism from is because we've been failed so many times by Chicago” – Resident

These quotes intimate distrust on the part of residents as to the openness of municipal government to democratic participation and reinforce narratives of Chicago politics as dominated by elites and insiders. Moreover, interviewees are not a representative selection of Chicago residents: for the most part, they are residents who volunteered with or voted in participatory budgeting projects, a process that has been posited to engender civic education and closer relationships between residents and government (Gilman, 2016; Pinnington and Schugurensky, 2009). Thus, the level of alienation in their comments can be read as particularly indicative of a popular perception that there is a lack of public transparency and public oversight in relation to municipal government.

The shift from employment patronage to pinstripe patronage has political consequences for aldermen. With employment-based patronage, aldermen could directly award jobs to political supporters in their wards. Though the flow of patronage jobs was ultimately controlled by the mayor, aldermen could still claim credit with constituents for securing them a job. In contrast, pinstripe patronage removes patronage disbursement from individual aldermen to city hall. The primary benefits of pinstripe patronage go not to individual residents, but to contractors, business owners, and financial institutions. While individual residents might be employed through an

institution that has captured a municipal contract, the linkage between city hall and individual employment is tenuous, and between the alderman and municipal employment even more so. Historically, centralized mayoral was balanced out for aldermen through their ability to use patronage to solidify their electoral position. This option is less tenable in the current environment. As discussed below, given the degree of centralization in Chicago's political system, the absence of patronage has left alderman with relatively few tools for managing constituency relations.

Executive Control: Strong Mayors and the "Mayoral Budget"

Direct patronage was only one means for mayors to maintain executive control. Chicago is generally taken as a textbook example of a strong mayor system (Fuchs, 1992; Simpson, 2001). While Chicago mayors initially had relatively weak official powers, centralization has increased over time, with the mayor gaining authority to break council ties, veto council votes, and appoint commissioners (Mayfield, 2005; Mihalopoulos and Becker, 2007). Under Richard J. Daley, changes were made to further centralize administration and remove decision-making authority from aldermen. These measures include requiring each minor construction permit to be passed by city council and removing discretionary authority from local aldermen to make other local permitting decisions (Mayfield, 2005; Simpson, 2001; Fuchs, 1992). Although Richard J. Daley's tenure as mayor, from 1955 until his death in 1976, is seen as the height of machine politics in Chicago, centralized executive control has continued through the terms of the two most recent mayors: Richard M. Daley, mayor from 1989-2011, and Rahm Emanuel, mayor from 2011 to the present.⁴² Since 1995, Chicago has had mayoral control of the school board,

⁴² Hamilton (2010) suggests that under the leadership of Richard M. Daley merely established a different machine, "built on organizations outside the party apparatus established around racial and ethnic groupings... groups are

making it the only city in Illinois where school board members are not elected by the public, but rather appointed by the mayor (Buyuker, Mouristen and Simpson, 2014). The relationship between the mayor's office and the Chicago Police Services has also been subject to significant critiques including allegations of police processes and procedures being hijacked to achieve partisan objectives.⁴³

Aldermanic voting patterns also indicate ongoing executive control of municipal council. Mayor Richard M. Daley never lost a council vote in his 22 years in office and had to use his mayoral veto only once. Mayor Emanuel has also never lost a council vote and has yet to use his veto. An analysis of voting patterns of aldermen under Mayor Emanuel's first term in office from 2011 to 2014 found that the average level of aldermanic voting support for the Mayor was 91%, concluding that city council, "has remained more of a rubber stamp than under either Mayor's Richard J. or Richard M. Daley" (Buyuker et al., 2014). Even among the self-identified eight members of the alternative progressive reform caucus, individual aldermen voted with the mayor 67% of the time (Buyuker et al., 2014).⁴⁴ The report goes as far as to declare: "this is still a rubber stamp city council unable to provide a check and balance of a strong chief executive like Mayors Richard M. Daley or Rahm Emanuel" (Buyuker et al., 2014: 21). The 2015 Mayoral

nurtured and controlled through political connections in city government" (143). Richard M. Daley's successor, Rahm Emanuel, was by no means a political outsider: though he defeated Daley's preferred candidate Gery Chico, both had long histories of involvement in the Democratic Party. Cohen et al. (2012) characterize Emanuel as, "the savvy, jaded Beltway veteran who knew how to work the system and cut deals" (1112). Prior to running for mayor, he served four terms as a Democratic Congressman, and spent a year from 2009 to 2010 as President Obama's Chief of Staff. Once elected he enjoyed the support of much of the business community that had previously supported Daley (Strahler, 2010; Moser, 2011).

⁴³ As in the case of the school board, the mayor appoints members of the Chicago Police Board. Richard J. Daley issued the infamous "shoot to kill" to Chicago police, worried about protests undermining his public image while hosting the Democratic National Convention (Grimshaw, 1991; Royko, 1971). More recently, the Chicago Police suppressed video evidence regarding the police killing of Laquan McDonald in October 2014 until after Rahm Emanuel's re-election in April 2015, allegedly at the mayor's request.

⁴⁴ From 2011-2014, only two aldermen have records of voting less than half the time with the mayor or his floor leader: Alderman Bob Fioretti in Ward 2 (votes with the Mayor 45% of the time), and Alderman John Arena in Ward 45 (votes with the mayor 43% of the tune) (Buyuker et al., 2014).

election was historic, as it was the first time in the history of the city a single candidate did not win an outright majority on the first ballot and a run-off was required. In his second term in council, Emanuel has faced slightly more dissent, leading researchers to suggest that Chicago council may be becoming a more active legislative body (Simpson et al., 2016). Nonetheless, Emanuel still has not actually lost any key votes, and dissent continues to be concentrated among a small number of independent aldermen.⁴⁵

The City of Chicago charter outlines a strong council system emphasizing that city council is intended to control municipal finances. However, since the time of Richard J. Daley, the mayor has proposed the budget and it has usually enjoyed unanimous approval, a level of consensus that would be the envy of other mayors of large municipalities (McClelland, 2011). Mayor Emanuel's first budget, formally titled the 2011 Annual Appropriation Ordinance, passed unanimously with a 50-0 vote as did the 2017 Appropriation Ordinance. The only budget during his tenure which faced a substantial dissenting vote was the 2016 municipal budget, which passed by a vote of 35-15 and contained the largest property tax increase in the history of the City of Chicago.

Public participation in Chicago's budgeting process is minimal. The budget may be publicly financed but, is only nominally public in construction. There are two levels of public distancing around the budget: first aldermen, residents' elected representatives, have little influence on the budget, particularly those who are not close allies of the mayor. Second,

⁴⁵ These aldermen self-identify as part of the Chicago Progressive Caucus, which has oscillated between seven and eleven members since its founding. Nonetheless, the degree of divergence from the mayor's positions varies among individual progressive caucus aldermen, some of whom do vote with the mayor over 90% of the time (Simpson et al., 2016). More information about the Chicago Progressive Caucus can be found at: <http://chicagoprogressivecaucus.com>.

residents themselves have little ability to participate directly in public discussions around the budget.

Under Richard J. Daley, responsibility for preparing the city budget was removed from council in 1956 and assigned to the mayor's office, enabling the mayor to set the agenda on financial matters (Mayfield, 2005; Fuchs, 1992). The budget is generally not introduced to aldermen until October 15th, and it must be approved before council breaks in December so that operating funds are in place for January 1st.⁴⁶ This has meant as little as four weeks for aldermen to scrutinize thousands of pages of budgetary information, though aldermen with a seat on the budget committee have somewhat more involvement than their peers. The distance of aldermen from the municipal budgeting process was reflected in the dominant framing aldermen and staff applied in discussing the municipal budget:⁴⁷

- “The budget is this thing that comes down from on high. I mean even from an aldermanic perspective the budget is this thing that comes from the mayor's office” – Staff
- “I was surprised that the legislators didn't have more of a say as to what's in the budget. Executive branch kind of dictates what's in there” - Alderman
- “We're not the creators of the budget” – Alderman
- “It's the mayor's budget: the mayor presents a budget and then what happens is the aldermen, I mean every year they tweak things... there'll be some little side issue” - Staff
- “The budget really is just what the mayor's office wants to do” - Staff

The municipal budget process is perceived by aldermen and staff as largely conceived of in isolation from city council - “the mayor's budget” that “comes down from on high”- with the

⁴⁶ Unlike many municipalities, Chicago operates on a January to December fiscal calendar.

⁴⁷ All quotes taken from my research interviews conducted between April and July of 2016. Most of these quotes are part of interviewee's responses to the question, “Can you tell me anything about the municipal budgeting process in Chicago?”

role of aldermen reduced to micro-negotiations for concessions for their constituencies. When aldermen reported influencing the budget, it was largely outside the official budget hearings, leveraging personal connections. Said one alderman relating the process of negotiating funding for his ward: “It's kind of like the squeaky wheel gets the grease. And during the budget season, it's a hustle”. There may be benefits to a heavily centralized budget process. For example, Fuch (1992) credits Chicago’s budgetary centralization with its ability to skirt the kind of financial crisis that New York City faced in the 1970s. Nonetheless, the limited ability of most aldermen, to substantially influence the budget through a shift in priorities or expenditures, speaks to the limitations of the city budget as a tool for aldermen to manage constituencies.

Like aldermen, residents have few opportunities to participate in public discussions around the budget. This is both due to constrained public participation around regular council meetings, and also due to the relative absence of public forums on the municipal budget itself. The degree to which public participation is integrated into the official infrastructure of municipal government is difficult to quantify, but several recent developments signal that this type of participation is lacking. For example, residents recently brought forward a court challenge to force the City of Chicago to open regular city council meetings to public comment.⁴⁸ The necessity of a lawsuit for the municipal government to establish procedure for public comment at city council meetings speaks to the hostility of this space towards public participation. Indeed,

⁴⁸ Under the *Open Meetings Act* (OMA), unless covered by a specific exception, public bodies need to make their meetings open to the public and the time, place, and subject of the meeting must be publicly indicated in advance of the meeting (Illinois Attorney General, 2013). In section 2.06 (g) The OMA also specifies that members of the public must have an opportunity to speak at public meetings, although a public body can specify time-limits and rules around public dispositions (Illinois Attorney General, 2013). In 2016, a Cook County judge ruled that the City of Chicago was ruled to have violated this section by not establishing clear rules and space for the public to speak at City Council meetings, after a lawsuit was brought by two members of the public who were denied the opportunity to address council or attend meetings on multiple occasions (Charles, 2016). While not budget meetings per-se, the main topic of discussion was the allocation of public funds to a private developer for a condo building in close proximity to a large homeless population, and the members of the public wished to speak to this use of public funds (Charles, 2016).

Mayor Emanuel initially announced his intentions to appeal the ruling, with a spokesperson from the Law Department declaring that “taking additional comments at the full City Council meeting is duplicative and unnecessary” (Spielman, 2017). In this quote, the official city line is that public comment at council is a wasteful impediment to the business of municipal governance.

In terms of specific budget forums, there are relatively few opportunities for residents to weigh in on budget priorities. The interview question “Have you ever attended or participated in consultations around the municipal budget” almost invariably elicited a scoff or sarcastic laughter from residents. Comments from residents included:

- “You can't just go in, not in the city of Chicago. Spin the money? No not the public, it doesn't work in the city of Chicago” – Resident
- “Public meetings in Chicago in general are smoke and mirrors” – Resident
- “The budget is very opaque... it's pretty murky” – Resident
- “Nobody knows where any of the money gets spent. Nobody knows” - Resident
- “A sausage factory, that's what budgeting is. So the saying goes, oh how did you come up with that, don't worry about it you don't want to see the sausage being made” - Resident
- “I wouldn't even know where to begin to get involved in the city's municipal budget” - Resident
- “We've always had very strong mayors... people here have never been able to build up an infrastructure of community review. The aldermen have never allowed that to happen. Certainly not the city as a whole. Or the mayor's administration as a whole” – Resident

Most residents who were interviewed were heavily involved in their communities – through participatory budgeting, as well as working or volunteering with community organizations. They also were frequently involved in political work, either for the local alderman or another

campaign, or as a volunteer in for a political party more generally. Yet only one reported having ever attended a public budget forum. The schedule of public budget forums has varied. Richard M. Daley held them regularly, though participation was carefully curated. Rahm Emanuel held budget hearings in 2011, the first year he was elected. He didn't hold another set until 2015.⁴⁹ In 2015, Emanuel held three budget forums on August 30th, Sept. 1st and Sept 2nd. The first was dominated by protestors who “sought to take advantage of a rare opportunity to engage directly with their mayor, who’s known more for carefully orchestrated press events rather than unscripted public forums with constituents” (Ruthart, 2015). The second ended after an hour when the mayor was rushed away by police after the hearing was disrupted by protestors (Cox, 2015). The third went largely as planned, with residents able to speak for 60 seconds to the mayor but Emanuel not required to respond (Dudek, 2015). Emanuel has not held face-to-face public budget forums since 2015, though there are opportunities to submit comments regarding the budget online.

The mere incidence of budget hearings does not fully detail their efficacy. There is no apparatus connecting public hearings to budgetary decision-making. As a result, even when budget hearings were held, they were often perceived as inconsequential by aldermen and residents alike:

- “On a scale of one to ten, ten being great community participation, the budget process has a 0.5 level of community participation, because there are public hearings where people can go and gripe [...] but they rarely have significant impact on the outcome of the budget” – Alderman

⁴⁹ Likely Emanuel held budget hearings in 2015 in response to contention around the 2016 Appropriations Ordinance which, as previously mentioned, contained the largest property tax increase in city history.

- “[A budget hearing] is really just a dog and pony show because it's already been decided on what the budget's going to be” – Alderman
- “I wouldn't call it consultation. There are community meetings, and we went to one at Rake College where it was city-wide, there were probably a thousand people there, but it turned into a whole lot of people booing Rahm [Emanuel]” – Staff
- “I think the mayor had budget dog and pony shows: came up with the budget, proposed the budget, and then you know had certain dog and pony shows around the cities to present it... How much is going to change at that point?” – Resident
- “I think a lot of them just became forums for protestors or grievances to come and demonstrate and so they weren't really productive...there really isn't much input in the city budget at all, quite frankly” – Alderman
- “The mayor may make a public meeting, but the fix is already in. Whatever's going to happen is going to happen and you don't have any vote on that matter” – Resident
- “Mayor Daley, I want to say 10, 15 years ago, started doing town hall meetings around the budget, which is like the worst engagement. It's like four guys on a stage and people lining up at a microphone for two minutes. It's useless. That's not engagement. That's like the worst possible form of public engagement, don't even bother trying to call it public engagement” – Staff

The lone dissenting view on budget hearings was from an individual who was closely connected to Richard M. Daley's administration reinforcing the insider/outsider distinction, where those with connections to the mayor feel less alienated and have greater access to public decision-makers. Among the majority of residents, aldermen, and staff, there is a sense that public budget hearings, when they do occur, do not result in substantial political engagement. Either budget

hearings are a “show” where the mayor may offer a sympathetic ear, but the budget passes unaltered, or budget hearings are an opportunity for disruption and strife - perhaps a moment where politics manages to infiltrate the process – but this still does not yield substantive changes to the proposed municipal budget.

To summarize, there is a widely held perception that Chicago’s municipal governance structure is highly centralized and executive controlled. In the past, direct patronage provided a means for aldermen to manage their constituencies, however unsatisfactorily for political outsiders. In the shift to pinstripe patronage, executive control has continued but aldermen have lost patronage as a constituency tool. Both the legacy of patronage and continued executive control have engendered alienation on the part of many members of the public from their municipal government. Neoliberal restructuring around public expenditures has also exacerbated this distancing as discussed in more detail below.

Budgetary Austerity and Neoliberal Restructuring in Chicago

Municipal policymakers in Chicago have been subject to the pressures of neoliberal restructuring. This section provides a brief overview of some of these changes, with attention to how budgets and budgetary policies have been a point of contestation as the ongoing reconstitution of urban spaces in concert with neoliberal logics have required a remaking of budgetary policies. As Ashton et al. (2016) point out, the consequences of budgetary austerity and privatization are not simply an abdication of the state from particular arenas of public policy, but rather a redirection of state power to support the infrastructure necessary to ensure a return on investment for private contracts. The consequences of budgetary austerity are heavily stratified along class and race lines, with selective investment in downtown and more affluent

communities. Budgetary restructuring and austerity measures have engendered public dissent, necessitating new practices of participation and intervention to legitimate policy practices. It is in into this milieu that participatory budgeting emerged as a policy practice.

Consistent with broader North American trends, the City of Chicago has been subject to neoliberal policy changes, many of which are associated with the early years of Richard M. Daley's administration. There has been a concentrated effort to contract out city services and lessen the influence of public sector unions (Ashton et al., 2016). Budgetary austerity in Chicago has led to the elimination of public jobs, and cuts to public services (Peck, 2012; Tolchin and Tolchin 2011). Attempts have been made to marketize public transportation through the outsourcing of employment and increased emphasises on cost recovery (Farmer and Noonan, 2011). Public infrastructure has been privatized, most notably the Skyway toll bridge (2005), underground parking garages (2006) and parking meters (2008) (Ashton et al., 2016). The creation of the Chicago Infrastructure Trust in 2012 has also been an attempt to fund local infrastructure development through private sector financing (Chicago Infrastructure Trust, n.d.; Buyuker et al., 2014).⁵⁰ The use of charter schools – publicly funded schools governed by private boards - has also expanded dramatically in the last 20 years (Lipman, 2011). Public housing sites have been replaced by vouchers and mixed income private developments, and many former public housing residents have been permanently displaced from their communities (Lipman, 2011; Wyly and Hammel, 2000). The impacts of these policies are stratified, with low-income, Hispanic, and Black neighbourhoods most affected by public transit and infrastructure underinvestment. The underfunding and privatization of Chicago Public Schools (CPS) also has

⁵⁰ The mandate of the Chicago Infrastructure Trust is to seek “alternative” financing for municipal infrastructure projects, alternative generally meaning private sector investors, private sector operators, or private-public partnerships. For more information about the infrastructure trust, see: <http://chicagoinfrastructure.org/>

heavily racialized consequences: less than ten percent of youth enrolled in public schools in Chicago are white (CPS, 2017). Similarly, Black and Hispanic neighbourhoods have seen little investment in transit, despite relatively poor service, while public transit reinvestments have occurred downtown focused on attracting tourists and global capital (Farmer, 2011).

The decline of public services is only one component of the restructuring of public finances in Chicago. The other piece is selective public investment in ostentatious developments that help reproduce Chicago in the model of a “global city” or “world class city” in keeping with a form of developmentalism linked to Richard Florida’s creative class conceptualization of the pathway to urban prosperity (Clark and Silver, 2017). While public funding for schools, transit, waste collection, road resurfacing, and other nuts and bolts of municipal service have stagnated or declined. Under Richard M. Daley Chicago undertook a number of expensive infrastructure projects focused on the downtown loop and waterfront (Clark and Silver 2017).⁵¹ These included the \$280 million-dollar development of Millennium Park; the \$250 million-dollar financing of a now unused highspeed rail station in the loop; and a \$360 million dollar rebuild of the Chicago Bears’ stadium (Joravsky, 2009, 2014). In particular, the use of Tax Increment Financing Districts (TIFs) to divert property tax revenue to economic development initiatives has been criticized for directing scarce public finances towards the downtown loop and business interests.⁵² TIFs in Chicago are controversial because they withhold property tax increases from

⁵¹ “The loop” refers to both downtown Chicago and Chicago’s central business district. The name stems from the downtown area’s encirclement by a network or “loop” of elevated light rail operated by the Chicago Transit Authority.

⁵² Tax Increment Financing (TIF) is a mechanism of debt financing that relies on corraling all future property tax increases for economic development over a number of years. In the case of Chicago, the only requirement for establishing a TIF is that an area is ‘blighted’ and that economic development is unlikely to occur otherwise. The definition of ‘blight’ is very vague, and the likelihood of specific economic developments difficult to predict. Consequentially, while TIF money is for blighted areas, the majority has been raised in the downtown loop and financial district. TIFs in Chicago are controversial because they withhold property tax increases from normal operating and capital expenses and often lead to the diversion of public funds to private corporations. For a more detailed discussion of TIFs in Chicago see: Weber, 2002 and Farmer and Poulos, 2015.

normal operating and capital expenses and frequently divert public funds to private corporations (Farmer and Poulos, 2015; Weber, 2002). Moreover, the majority of TIF spending tends to be concentrated in relatively affluent neighbourhoods. For example, in 2008, the Central Loop TIF spent \$365.5 million: enough funds to cover 70% of the City of Chicago's budget shortfall for that year (Joravsky, 2009). Meanwhile, when public investment in infrastructure has occurred, it has been primarily in affluent, white neighbourhoods along the lakefront, or in the downtown (Farmer and Noonan, 2011; Weber, 2002). To sum up, budgetary constraints on public services are worsened through the redirection of municipal funds into TIFs.

In addition, two other factors have played a role in the recent budgetary restructuring in Chicago: the broader federal and state financial landscape, and the downgrading of Chicago's municipal bonds. In the aftermath of the financial crisis of 2007-2008, budget cuts at the federal and state levels have exacerbated financial austerity at the municipal level. The 2013 federal sequestration process cut \$6 billion from federal transfers to states (Peck, 2013). In Illinois, federal budget cuts, in conjunction with a crisis in state revenue, led to a severe budgetary gap that has precipitated a multi-year financial crisis. Illinois completed the 2016 fiscal year without passing a budget, with the Republican governor and Democrat-controlled legislature unable to reach an agreement on spending. The absence of a state budget has had a significant impact on Chicago, where infrastructure projects jointly funded by the state, including upgrades and maintenance to hospitals, schools and parks, have been put on hold by the unavailability of state funds.

Perhaps unsurprisingly given this broader political context, Chicago's budget has regularly had structural deficits. Combined with \$20 billion unfunded pension liabilities, this has resulted in credit rating downgrades, with Moody's rating Chicago municipal bonds in the "junk"

category, necessitating higher interest rates to sell city debt (Moody's Investor Services, 2015). This creates financial pressure on the city, which affects both annual operating funds and infrastructure funding. In terms of operating funding, the city has been required to pass both property tax increases and increases in user fees in the face declining municipal service levels, with the 2016 budget containing the largest property tax increase in municipal history, with \$755 million in new property taxes and fees implemented over the next four years (Chicago Tribune, 2015). Given the extent of unfunded pension liabilities, often new municipal revenue sources must be streamed into shoring up pension funds, rather than providing services for residents. Unsurprisingly, this financial situation has led to the perception among interviewees that Chicago is in the midst of a budget crisis:⁵³

- “Chicago's finances are in the toilet” - Resident
- “The city's broke. I mean really broke... Our bonds are at near junk status and probably going to be downgraded to junk in the next couple of months. We're constantly as a city government trying to figure out how we're going to keep up with the basic services that we've promised to people for decades” – Aldermanic Staff
- “I know we're operating from a position of scarcity where there just isn't enough” – Resident
- “We're in a budget crisis” - Alderman
- “There's no other money in Chicago right now. We're broke” – Aldermanic Staff

While the narrative so far has emphasized the mayor's authority over the budget, in turn the possibilities of the municipal budget are constrained by an unwillingness of other levels of government to contribute to the municipal budget to the extent they had in the past. In addition, a

⁵³ Quotes taken from my research interviews conducted between April and July, 2016.

budgetary system dependent on debt financing must manage financial obligations and enact budgets consistent the imperatives of financial markets. Market conceptions of sound budgetary practice support targeted investment aimed at attracting business revenue to the city, often at the expense of adequately funding public services. This pattern of budgetary allocation is highly visible in the context of Chicago's infrastructure funding, as discussed in more detail below. As participatory budgeting in Chicago is funded through a subset of the city's infrastructure program, a more detailed discussion of infrastructure funding is highly relevant.

Infrastructure Funding: The Capital Infrastructure Plan (CIP), Neighbourhood Infrastructure Program (NIP) and origins of Aldermanic Menu Funds

Chicago's Capital Infrastructure Plan (CIP) sets out the municipal strategy for infrastructure investment as an annual plan and five-year plan. The CIP differs from a regular municipal budget in two key respects: first, the budget covers planned expenditures rather than actual expenditures, including unfunded projects and funding estimates. Second, the CIP is not voted on as an entirety by City Council, though City Council does review individual elements of the plan (Schwartz, 1999; NCBG, 2003).⁵⁴ Both of these elements make infrastructure funding more complicated to track, though the Neighborhood Capital Budget Group (NCBG) points to a trend during the 1990s of year over year decline in infrastructure funding specifically directed at neighbourhoods and industrial areas, and a shift towards increased reliance on TIF districts, which has persisted.

Within the CIP is the Neighborhood Infrastructure Program (NIP), the major source of neighbourhood infrastructure funding. Both the CIP and the NIP are largely debt-financed, which

⁵⁴ The Neighborhood Capital Budget Group (NCBG) was an independent watchdog organization that operated from 1988 until 2009, when it was unable to secure on-going operating funding. It was the only independent organization devoted to monitoring Chicago's capital budget and infrastructure funding (Joravsky, 2007).

is typical of municipal infrastructure financing in North America. The downgrading of Chicago's municipal bond market by credit rating agencies has made it more difficult and expensive for the city to raise necessary infrastructure funds. From 2006-2015, the City of Chicago has decreased the CIP funding issued through bonds due to the growing costs of servicing debt commensurate with a downgraded credit rating (City of Chicago, 2017b). Funding for the NIP has declined as well. In 2009, the City of Chicago issued \$185.9 million in bonds to fund the NIP, a number which declined each year between 2009 and 2015, the latter year during which \$117.1 million in bonds were issued. In the most recent NIP program, outlines annual funding of \$116.2 million, a further decline in annual funds. (City of Chicago Annual Financial Analysis, 2017), Within the NIP, the Aldermanic Menu Program (hereafter "Menu") is the major sources of infrastructure funds for local needs. Outside of the \$84 million in annual Menu funds, there are few options for aldermen seeking local infrastructure improvements (OIG, 2017).⁵⁵ Menu funds are administered by the Chicago Department of Transportation (CDOT). The source funding for Menu funds are the CIP's general obligation bonds, a form of debt-financing backed by property tax revenue. The terms of these bonds specify that they can only be used for capital projects and not programming or operational costs.

Menu funds are unique in that they are the only aspect of the municipal budget that individual aldermen have complete discretion over. There is no requirement that the alderman consult with anyone, or justify in any way, their choices in the expenditure of Menu funds. Yet when participatory budgeting projects have become established in Chicago, they have

⁵⁵ This view was contested by some aldermen and staff in interviews who argued that through negotiation with developers and/or other city departments additional funding for neighbourhood infrastructure can be secured. Nonetheless, those processes are unpredictable, largely dependent on an individual alderman's relationship with different municipal departments, and Menu funds comprise the vast majority of dedicated funding for neighbourhood infrastructure.

exclusively involved the use of Menu funds. The history and relationship of the Menu program to the municipal budget is discussed below.

The end of patronage employment created a vacuum in aldermanic-community relations. Where previously, aldermen with the support of the Democratic Party could manage constituencies through the provision of direct employment, their ability to do so became curtailed in the era of Shakman Decrees and court-based external monitoring of employment practices. In the context of a highly centralized and executively controlled budget, individual aldermen generally lacked the authority or power to effectively disburse budgetary benefits. In this context, in response to lobbying by several aldermen, Mayor Richard M. Daley created the Menu program in 1995 consisting of \$60 million in annual funds, disbursed equally to each ward (OIG, 2017, Stewart et al., 2014). The Menu program is so named because aldermen can choose from a pre-set menu of infrastructure projects compiled by city staff, that includes estimated costs. Sample projects might include: street repaving, alley repaving, bicycle lanes, pedestrian traffic islands, traffic signal modernization, streetlight upgrades and replacement, curb cuts, and traffic calming measures (OIG, 2017).

Menu funds permit aldermen to identify and prioritize local infrastructure needs in their ward. Said one staffer of the Menu program: “it's super popular with the aldermen, because again the majority of the aldermen take personal responsibility for any improvement that's made in the ward”.⁵⁶ The annual expenditure of Menu funds creates a series of tangible neighbourhood projects that aldermen can mobilize to demonstrate they are responsive to community needs and effective in obtaining necessary infrastructure improvements. If patronage is taken as a political currency with which to purchase political responses, then to some extent, Menu funding can be

⁵⁶ May 2016 interview in Chicago with staffer involved in participatory budgeting.

taken as a form of patronage. Menu funding can be a tool for managing constituency interests, performing the role of the attentive alderman, and rewarding contributors, many of the same functions historically performed through patronage. Within the constraints mandated by the bond program, Aldermen have complete flexibility in allocating Menu funding and are not required to justify their decisions. Indeed, some interviewees joked that with certain Aldermen, how quickly your street was repaved depended on how much you had donated during the last election.

As hinted above, Menu funds have not been uncontroversial. Three main concerns have been raised regarding menu funds: the inadequacy of the funds in terms of base amount; the reproduction of uneven infrastructure development through the allocation procedure; and a lack of oversight and transparency. Together these concerns conspire to make Menu funds politically problematic for certain aldermen in a way that is intimately related to the move towards participatory budgeting in this context.

Menu funding is inadequate to meet neighbourhood infrastructure needs. This concern raised by local residents and aldermen in interviews that is supported by a comprehensive 2017 report by the Chicago Office of the Inspector General (OIG) on the Menu program. Menu funding has not kept pace with inflationary increases in the cost of local infrastructure projects. Funding was frozen \$60 million annually from 1995 to 2005, and since 2006 has been fixed at \$66 million city-wide or \$1.32 million per ward. Like municipal infrastructure funding in general, Menu funding has failed to keep pace with inflation. The OIG report described the buying power of Menu funds as having “declined substantially over time” (OIG, 2017: 13). In some cases, cost-estimates for common Menu program items, like street resurfacing, have more than doubled over the lifetime of the program, exceeding inflation.⁵⁷ As the cost of individual

⁵⁷ Personal communication, City of Chicago Budget Office staff.

items funded through the Menu program increases, fewer local infrastructure projects can be undertaken, rendering the decision about which improvements to fund more contentious. The OIG found an annual funding gap of \$122.9 million for local infrastructure projects, meaning there is less than half the necessary funding to replace roads, lights, and other amenities as they wear out.⁵⁸ No ward has their infrastructure needs fully funded, and many wards are operating at less than a 50% replacement rate.

Earlier analysis of Chicago's CIP found that investment patterns favoured the "Central City" – downtown and the lakefront neighbourhoods (Schwartz, 1999). These concerns were also echoed by the 2017 OIG report which found, unsurprisingly, the wards that came closest to having their infrastructure funding needs met were concentrated in the downtown and affluent northern lakefront neighbourhoods (Figure 1). In contrast the chronically underfinanced southside as well as physically larger suburban wards showed the greatest gaps. Given the disproportionate concentration of non-NIP infrastructure funding downtown and in northern lakefront neighbourhoods, the infrastructure disparities between different neighbourhoods are likely greater than an analysis of solely the NIP indicates. But neighbourhood infrastructure financing disparities within the NIP exist because of the practice of distributing Menu funding equally to each ward, regardless of geographic size or need. The OIG report criticized this practice arguing that this created systematic disadvantages for large wards, and resulted in significant disparities in infrastructure funding, from a high of 88.5% of infrastructure needs funded in the 46th ward, to a low of 15.1% funded in the 34th ward.

⁵⁸ This estimate of the neighbourhood infrastructure funding gap included street resurfacing conducted as part of water main replacement projects and other potential sources infrastructure funding. As a result, it is a conservative estimate.

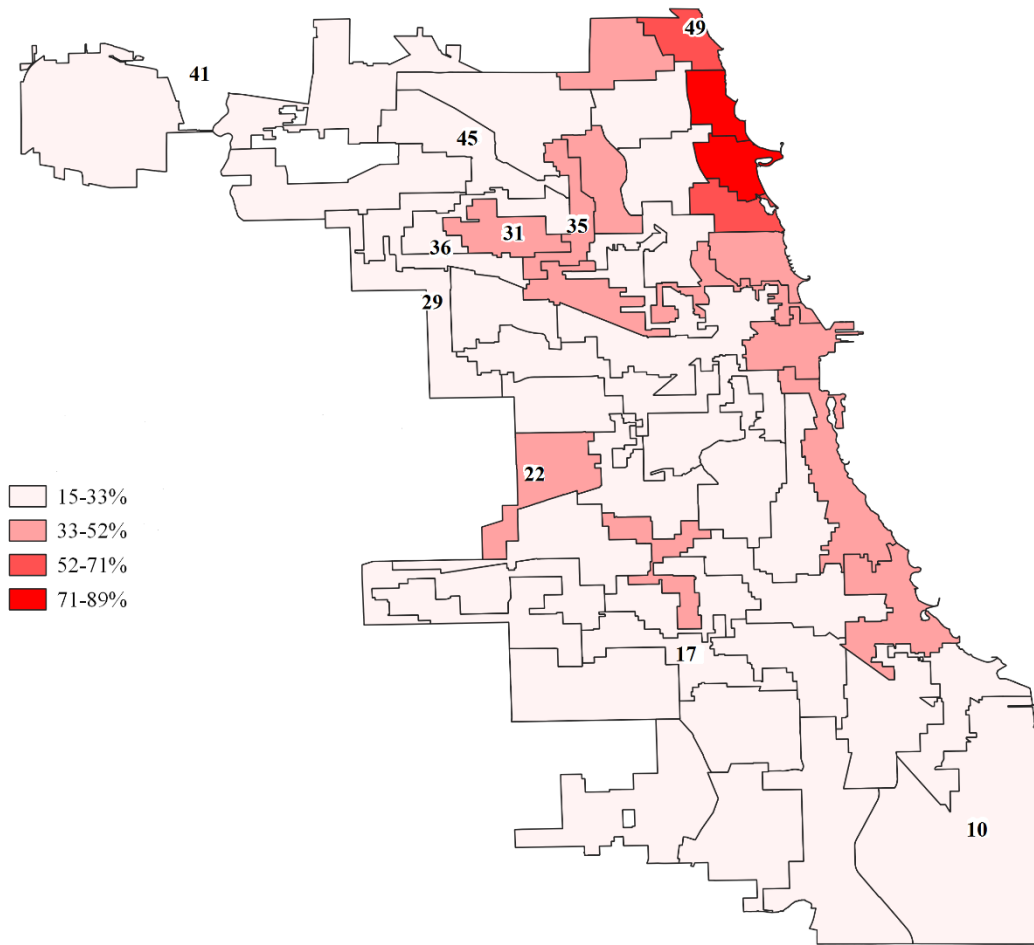


Figure 1. Percentage of ward infrastructure need met by NIP, with participatory budgeting wards indicated

Finally, the Menu program has also been criticized for lacking public oversight or transparency in expenditure. While the municipal budget must be publicly presented and publicly voted on, however inadequate the existing process and procedures for public participation and consultation, aldermen have sole discretion over menu funding and do not have to consult residents, or publicly announce the disbursement of these funds, leading to criticisms that the program is subject to clientelism and abuse (Stewart et al., 2014). The 2017 OIG report recommended a fundamental revision to the Menu program, one that would remove all discretion

from the local aldermen. The report suggested Menu funds be allocated based on the geographic size of the ward, and allocations reflect planning priorities determined by experts at CDOT. In their justification of this course of action, the OIG contrasted the capricious nature of aldermanic discretion with the rationality of a bureaucratic planning approach.

The OIG also did not directly mention participatory budgeting. But it did critique the “off-menu” uses of menu funds for projects classified as “low priority”. This includes projects like community gardens, dog parks, public art, and athletic facilities commonly associated with participatory budgeting decisions around the allocation of Menu funds (OIG, 2017; Stewart et al., 2014: 196). The OIG report argued these frivolous “off menu” uses of menu funds – accounting for \$15.1 million in expenditures from 2012-2015 - represented a significant concern in the environment of funding scarcity. The report stated:

The City should ensure that all Menu funding is allocated to core residential infrastructure projects...If the City wants to provide aldermen a means for allocating funds to parks, playgrounds, community gardens, schools, cameras etc., it should consider defining an additional budget line for such projects rather than allowing the diversion of already-scarce resources intended for core residential infrastructure (OIG, 2017: 17).

Following the OIG report, both major newspapers in Chicago – the *Tribune* and the *Sun-Times* – published editorials supporting the OIG’s recommendation to turn the Menu over to professional city staff at CDOT (Chicago Tribune Editorial Board, 2017a; Chicago Sun-Times Editorial Board, 2017). The *Sun-Times* likened the Menu to other patronage “toys” that had been removed from aldermanic discretion (Chicago Sun-Times Editorial Board, 2017).

Unsurprisingly, neither Mayor Emanuel nor individual aldermen supported the OIG recommendations (Dardick, 2017a; Dardick, 2017b). Participatory budgeting proponent Alderman Joe Moore declared the removal of Menu funds to “unelected and unaccountable city bureaucrats” as “the opposite of transparency” (Dardick, 2017b). CDOT management responded

to the OIG report by defending the aldermanic process of allocating Menu funds. CDOT management also mobilized participatory budgeting as part of its defence, stating: “PB Chicago empowers city residents and gives them a voice in their neighborhood infrastructure” (OIG, 2017: 15). Even the critical *Sun-Times* editorial lamented the loss of participatory budgeting “a wholesome exercise in grassroots democracy” (Chicago Sun-Times Editorial Board, 2017).

To summarize, the existing Menu program is inadequate to meet neighbourhood infrastructure needs, inequitable in the distribution of funds, and lacks transparency. Theoretically, participatory budgeting can address each of these problems. In a context of resource constraint, it can release aldermen from making difficult decisions as to which infrastructure improvements to fund, by presenting funding decisions as the democratic will of their constituencies. While it cannot address funding discrepancies between wards, within individual wards participatory budgeting can mitigate equity-based concerns by disbursing menu funds through a process grounded in procedural equity. Finally, participatory budgeting combats accusations of nepotism in the disbursement of funds, by providing a public, transparent, and “wholesome” process for disbursing funds that removes them from Aldermanic discretion. In these ways, participatory budgeting can facilitate the transformation of Menu funds from a politically problematic source of necessary neighbourhood infrastructure funding, to an effective constituency-relations tool, and it can do so without removing control of the Menu program from Aldermen as the OIG report recommended. The broader fiscal landscape of funding decreases, as well as the peculiarities of the Menu program help explain why participatory budgeting is an appealing mechanism for some aldermen to allocate Menu funding.

Conclusion: Constituency Relations and Democratic Distancing

Aldermen need to cultivate positive relationships with their constituencies to survive regular elections. Yet in Chicago, there is significant alienation from government on the part of many residents, even those actively participate in civic activities and/or volunteer with community organizations. Moreover, in Chicago neoliberal restructuring processes have exacerbated democratic tensions. Housing, transportation, education, and development policies are widely perceived to be driven by elite interests. (Peck, 2012; Lipman, 2011). Historically centralized control by the mayor was balanced out for aldermen through their ability to use patronage to solidify their electoral position. This option is less tenable in the current environment of fiscal constraint and legal prohibition on politically motivated hiring and firing.

The broader political and economic context in Chicago outlined in this chapter is intimately related to the rise of participatory budgeting as a policy practice. While participatory budgeting projects have sometimes been taken as evidence of a robust civil society and elite support for democratic interventions, in the case of Chicago slightly different factors are at play. Participatory budgeting projects have largely originated from aldermen and aldermanic offices, not community groups or other civil society actors.⁵⁹ By adopting participatory budgeting practices in administering Menu funds, aldermen can signal their democratic credentials in a context where municipal politics broadly, and municipal budgeting practices specifically, are commonly perceived as opaque, undemocratic, and non-participative. This “democratic deficit” has made the implementation of democratic interventions that position residents as active participants in municipal policy-making appealing (Addie, 2009; Theodore and Peck, 2011). The environment of fiscal constraint is also part of what has made participatory budgeting an

⁵⁹ The one exception is the participatory budgeting project in the 22nd ward, which was adopted by the alderman in response to demands from community groups. This case is discussed at length in chapters 3 and 4 of the dissertation.

attractive process. Johnson's (2011, 2015) work on the Toronto Community Housing Corporation's experience with participatory budgeting highlights that participatory budgeting can be a means of downloading difficult decisions onto community members, who have little power to change the financial terms of budget-making but can determine allocations within a set budget. In the case of Chicago, many of the financial terms around Menu funds are outside of the ability of residents, or indeed individual aldermen to influence, including the limitation of Menu funds to infrastructure and the overall amount of Menu funding available. The specific use of the existing allocation, however, can be determined through a participatory democratic process like participatory budgeting. Despite the structural factors that contribute to making participatory budgeting an attractive practice in Chicago, only a minority of aldermen have adopted the practice, and some aldermen who have experimented with participatory budgeting have since abandoned the practice. The next chapter discusses which aldermen have adopted participatory budgeting and delves into the electoral factors that may have precipitated their adoption of this policy practice.

Chapter 3: The Uneven Emergence of Participatory Budgeting Projects: Neighbourhood Demographics and Electoral Politics

Introduction

This chapter examines why participatory budgeting projects have emerged in some wards and not others. The beginning of this chapter discusses this question at the city-wide level noting that participatory budgeting projects have mostly emerged in middle income neighbourhoods. It then considers whether resource constraint could be an explanation for this distribution, arguing that, in the case of Chicago, this is at best a partial explanation. The chapter then explores city-wide electoral dynamics as a possible explanation for the emergence of participatory budgeting projects in particular wards – arguing this is the decisive factor in a majority of cases.

In contrast to literature that positions the adaptation of participatory budgeting as community driven, in Chicago the decision to adopt participatory budgeting typically originates with the aldermanic office. Non-incumbent aldermen in highly competitive ridings who identify as progressives are most likely to adopt participatory budgeting projects as part of a strategic electoral strategy. In a context where explicit patronage politics have been largely delegitimized, participatory budgeting can serve to reward aldermanic supporters by involving them in the distribution of local resources. Moreover, for “progressive” aldermen who are seeking to define themselves in opposition to the favouritism and corruption historically associated with patronage politics in Chicago, participatory budgeting provides an attractive means of signalling progressive credentials and professionalizing the disbursement of menu funds. Finally, this chapter introduces narratives of three wards that form the basis for the fourth and fifth chapters, examining the electoral dynamics and stories underlying the emergence of participatory budgeting in these wards: the 49th ward, the 45th ward, and the 22nd ward.

This chapter builds on the analysis in Chapter 2 of the tensions between neoliberal budget-making and democratic legitimacy by examining how participatory budgeting has been adopted as a strategy by aldermen to enhance their relationship with their constituency. In a context where ordinary residents have little access to the municipal budgeting process, participatory budgeting provides a venue for resident engagement that can have positive implications for aldermen seeking to bolster constituency relations. This observation helps explain why in Chicago only one participatory budgeting project – that of the 22nd ward- has been initiated by community organizers, and this project was not sustainable. Given the significant investment of time and resources participatory budgeting requires, the absence of a strong electoral imperative for the alderman to engage with the practice may limit the possibility of expansion to new wards.

The Spatial Distribution of Participatory Budgeting Projects in Chicago

Chicago is an urban space marked by unevenness and participatory budgeting projects are no exception: they are common in some parts of the city, and less so in others. The following map (Figure 2) displays the location of current participatory budgeting projects, as well as the past participatory budgeting project in the 22nd ward.⁶⁰ Seven of eight projects active in 2017 are located in a cluster in the north and/or northwest section of the city (Wards 49, 45, 41, 36, 35, 31, and 29). The final active project is located in the far south of the city (Ward 10). These wards are diverse, with somewhat different levels of affluence, varying racial compositions, and different political leadership (Table 4).

⁶⁰ Income data is taken from U.S. Census Bureau's 2011-2015 American Community Survey (ACS), the Illinois Department of Employment Security, the Illinois Department of Revenue, and CMAP. Data was accessed through the Chicago Data Portal, and full datasets are available here: <https://datahub.cmap.illinois.gov/dataset/community-data-snapshots-raw-data>

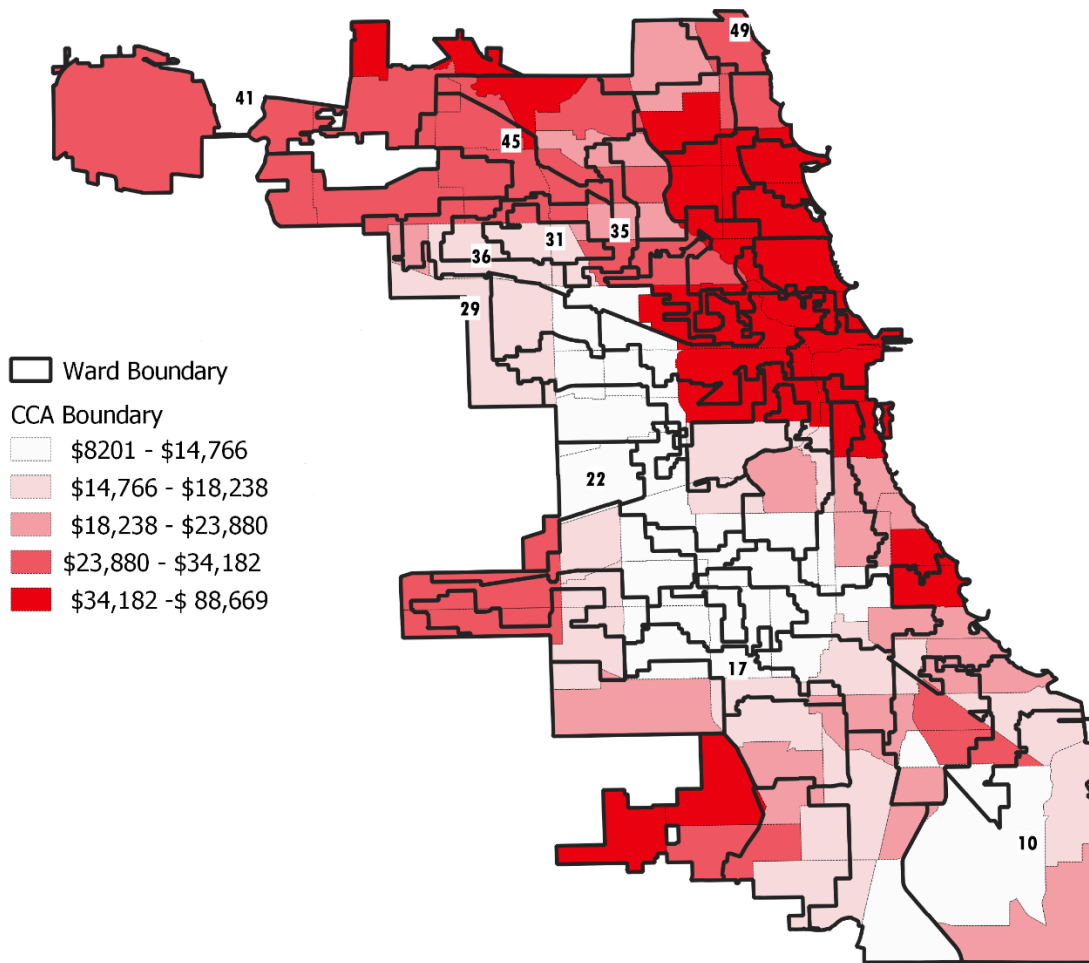


Figure 2. Median per-capita income (2015 US\$) by CCA, with participatory budgeting wards indicated

Table 4. Demographic and Political Characteristics of Participatory Budgeting Wards

Ward	Alderman	Years active PB project	Racial majority	Frequency of voting with mayor	Progressive caucus member?
5	Leslie Hairston	2012	Black	82%	Yes
10	Susan Sadlowski Garza	2016-2017	Hispanic	72%	Yes

17	David Moore	2016-2017	Black	75%	Yes
22	Ricardo Muñoz	2014-2016	Hispanic	76%	Yes
29	Chris Taliaferro	2017	Black	63%	Yes
31	Millie Santiago	2016-2017	Hispanic	81%	No
35	Carlos Ramierez-Rosa	2016-2017	Hispanic	69%	Yes
36	Gilbert Villegas	2016-2017	Hispanic	79%	No
41	Anthony Napolitano	2017	White	44%	No
45	John Arena	2012-2017	White	53%	Yes
46	James Cappleman	2012	White	95%	No
49	Joe Moore	2009-2017	None	99%	No

Note. Racial data adapted from Chicago Board of Election Commissioners. Voting data refers to the last two mayoral terms (2011-2016) and is adapted from Buyuker et al., 2014 and Simpson et al. 2016.

In terms of racial composition, wards engaging in participatory budgeting include majority white, Black and Hispanic wards. In terms of income, there is some variation in affluence.⁶¹ In terms of support for the mayor or the mayor’s floor leader, there is also significant variation, indicating a variety of political views ranging from close support of Mayor Rahm Emanuel to frequent dissent.

Nonetheless, despite their differences, several common threads link different participatory budgeting wards. First, no participatory budgeting projects are located in the least affluent areas of Chicago: the historically and contemporarily disenfranchised neighbourhoods of

⁶¹ Throughout the discussion of income in this chapter and those that follow, I use “low-income” to refer to Chicago Community Areas (CCAs) with median incomes in the 33rd percentile or below; “middle-income” to refer to CCAs with median incomes between the 34th and 66th percentile; and “high-income” to refer to CCAs in the 67th percentile for income or above.

South Chicago. While the 10th ward is located in the far south, its character is more suburban, home to predominantly middle-income Hispanic and white residents. Second, no participatory budgeting projects are located in the most affluent areas of the city – the wealthy downtown loop or exclusive waterfront neighbourhoods.⁶² Finally, while a few participatory budgeting projects have been initiated in less affluent wards (the 22nd ward from 2013-15; the 17th ward from 2016-17) they have not been sustained. It remains to be seen whether the participatory budgeting process initiated in Ward 29 in 2016-17, a relatively low-income ward, remains in place beyond one year. Taken together, these factors indicate that participatory budgeting projects are disproportionately present in Chicago in middle-income communities. In contrast to the case of Porto Alegre, where participatory budgeting was focused on poor communities (De Sousa Santos, 1998), in Chicago participatory budgeting projects have emerged less readily in low-income neighbourhoods.

Research has suggested that those who participate in deliberative forums are often the same socially and economically advantaged individuals that have access to traditional sites of political power (Sanders, 1997; Young, 2001). Part of the initial popular and academic interest in participatory budgeting was the claim that the process could transcend this dynamic. Yet in a city as severely segregated as Chicago – based on both race and class – the absence of participatory budgeting from less affluent neighbourhoods limits its potential to engage poor people in participatory democracy and municipal budget-making.

Two factors specific to the development of participatory budgeting in Chicago may contribute to the presence of participatory budgeting projects in middle-income communities: the

⁶² While the 49th ward is a waterfront ward, it has historically been much more affordable in terms of housing and rents than the lakefront communities directly to the south, though the area is currently experiencing a rise in rents and property values.

types of civic knowledge the process favours and the limitation of funds to capital projects. While the process is open to all residents of a ward, structural elements of the process favour those with certain professional knowledge bases. This is particularly true at more substantial levels of involvement, like submitting project ideas and developing ideas into full proposals. Data collected by PB Chicago indicates that volunteers tend to disproportionately be highly educated, with university or post-graduate certifications (Crum et al., 2015). Many of the volunteers interviewed were highly educated and interviewees cited this as a trend among volunteers in general.⁶³

- “Mainly the participation we have on the executive committee and as the community reps, the body is mainly white and middle class. The education levels are higher. It's not the way that participatory budgeting started in Brazil: the level of education was really low”- Staff
- “I'm just thinking of the people on the [volunteer] committee this year. There's somebody who works for an architecture firm, somebody who works as a landscape architect, somebody who works as a structural engineer, somebody who works for the Illinois Department of Transportation, and somebody who studies urban history. This is not a representative cross section of society. This is a group of people who already have some sort of skin in the game with regards to these questions of urban redevelopment” - Volunteer and Resident
- “We specifically targeted areas that were less wealthy, more Spanish speaking and we didn't really see a difference [in participation] which is really frustrating because you

⁶³ Quotes taken from my research interviews, conducted between April and July of 2016.

would think door-to-door contact - I worked in political campaigns. And door-to-door contact is the gold standard” – Staff

Participatory budgeting in Chicago involves proposing a minor infrastructure project. By the time potential participatory budgeting projects are presented at community forums to residents, the project descriptions typical contain highly technical information. Individuals with professional backgrounds related to an aspect of infrastructure development – planning, transportation, architecture, engineering - are more comfortable framing solutions to neighbourhood concerns in terms of physical infrastructure. Moreover, individuals with related work-experience are more familiar with specialized language and terminology that can assist them in presenting their project idea as feasible and advocating for its adoption. Despite efforts to recruit a representative group of volunteers, elements of the process privilege individuals with significant technical knowledge about engineering, landscape design, and other areas that assist in presenting a technically feasible, persuasively argued project, reinforcing a class bias in organizing that also reinforces racial cleavages. While other residents can learn these skills, and indeed civic learning has been a benefit associated with participatory budgeting in other contexts (Boulding and Wampler, 2010; Kooings, 2004) reluctance to initially become involved limits the dispersal of this benefit of the process.⁶⁴

In addition, in the case of low-income neighbourhoods, the mismatch between the scope of participatory budgeting as currently constituted in Chicago and the needs of these communities may contribute to the absence of projects in these neighbourhoods. In contrast to Porto Alegre, where up to 30% of the municipal budget was decided through participatory budgeting, the amount of money available through the process is relatively minor in Chicago and the uses the

⁶⁴ The dynamics of participation – who participates and how different participants’ input is valued - are discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

funding can be put to are limited to physical infrastructure. The exclusion of social programming may especially limit the recruitment of volunteers from more diverse constituencies as the most pressing problems residents identified in interviews - economic inequality, crime and policing, public school funding - cannot be addressed through Menu funds. In contrast, the projects typically approved through participatory budgeting: trees, upgrades to recreational spaces, decorative lighting, public artwork – often appeal to homeowners concerned with property values as a way of “cleaning up” the neighbourhood. The ownership/renter divide has not only class, but also racialized dimensions in a city where Hispanic and Black residents are less likely to own their homes (Martinez, 2009, 2016). In the words of one resident, “participatory budgeting invests in things, not people”. The restriction of participatory budgeting funds to physical infrastructure limits the capacity of the program to address social justice concerns. These limitations in the scope of participatory budgeting projects were often a point of frustration for residents engaging with the process in interviews:

- “Not everything can be solved with a new curb or a tree planting” – Resident and Volunteer
- “More people are demanding more money for programs for the area. And participatory budgeting can't be used for programs” – Resident and Volunteer
- “We are not touching needs, deep needs of the people, because the budget we have is very limited and it's only concentrated in infrastructure projects...people need jobs, food, security, that part is limited” - Staff
- “For some yes parks, water-fountains, or more trees are important, but there's a lot more people that like if you're worried about how your going to pay your rent, feed your kids,

get them to school, you know, not being able to take sick days when you need them, a mural isn't really that crucial, it's not make or break it” - Resident

Outreach can only go so far in creating a participatory budgeting process that engages different communities, when the needs of many communities fall outside the scope of the process. Given the limited scope of participatory budgeting projects, it may be that aldermen with large middle-income constituencies support the process because they see the engagement facilitated through participatory budgeting as a good fit with middle-class concerns like neighbourhood beautification and recreational projects. In contrast, in lower-income communities where many pressing neighbourhood concerns cannot be addressed through small scale infrastructure projects, aldermen and residents alike may view these participatory budgeting exercises less favourably.⁶⁵

Yet this does not explain the absence of participatory budgeting projects from high-income communities. Affluent neighbourhoods have large constituencies of homeowners with advanced formal education and professional backgrounds for which participatory budgeting would have a similar appeal as in middle-income communities. In the case of high-income communities, the uneven dispersal of neighbourhood infrastructure funding may be a factor. Some previous research has examined the use of participatory budgeting as a policy tool to manage an environment of resource constraint. Johnson’s 2011 analysis of participatory budgeting in Toronto’s public housing provider, the Toronto Community Housing Corporation, found that rather than empowering residents participatory budgeting was largely a mechanism

⁶⁵ In 2014, a participatory budgeting project was undertaken in Chicago using economic development funds, secured through a TIF. The scope of this project included employment initiatives, and facilitators had more success recruiting racialized and low-income participants (personal communication, PB Chicago Staff). This further speaks to the relationship between the scope of the process and ability for organizers to recruit involvement from diverse constituencies. For more information about the pilot project using participatory budgeting TIF funds in 2014 in West Humbolt Park see: <http://www.pbchicago.org/uploads/1/3/5/3/13535542/tif-pb-toolkit-june-2016.pdf>

for devolving difficult budget cuts to residents themselves. Similarly, my own past work on participatory budgeting in Guelph, Ontario argued that this was an adaptation of the Neighbourhood Support Coalition to declines in municipal funding for community organizations (Pin, 2016). In both cases, participatory budgeting was adopted largely as a strategy for managing an environment of resource constraint engendered by neoliberal fiscal restructuring. If resource constraint is a factor – where middle income neighbourhoods with fewer revenue tools use participatory budgeting to manage the environment of fiscal constraint – this would partially explain the absence of participatory budgeting projects from more affluent communities. One of the effects of neoliberal restructuring in Chicago has been a growing disparity between “neighbourhoods” and “downtown” in terms of public infrastructure investment, leading to accusations of neighbourhood neglect on the part of both the recent Daley and Emanuel administrations (Pasotti 2010; Hague et al. 2016). Wards where Menu funds meet a higher proportion of local infrastructure needs tend to be the more affluent downtown loop areas, and northern waterfront communities, partially because these areas have higher population density and therefore are smaller in physical size (OIG, 2017). Affluent downtown and northern waterfront communities disproportionately benefit from two additional sources of infrastructure funding: TIF funds and Community Benefit Agreements (CBAs). Although TIF investment is nominally directed at areas of urban “blight”, previous research has demonstrated that the most lucrative and enduring TIFs are present in relatively affluent downtown neighbourhoods (Knight, 2016; Weber, 2002).⁶⁶ CBAs are negotiated as part of real estate development projects, and thus while present across the city, are concentrated downtown. Growing disparities between wards in terms of access to infrastructure funding is consistent with patterns of selective investment

⁶⁶ TIF funding can be used for infrastructure projects as long as an economic development link is demonstrated

characteristic of neoliberal restructuring of cities. If participatory budgeting is taken as a tool to mitigate conflict in environments of moderate resources constraint, an argument can be that as a policy practice it is less relevant for affluent communities that may have access to more funding tools for obtaining infrastructure improvements.

Examining infrastructure funding gaps on a ward-by-ward basis, however, it is not clear that there is a relationship between the proportion of unmet neighbourhood infrastructure needs and the propensity of a ward to adopt participatory budgeting (Table 5).⁶⁷ The wards span the spectrum, including both the wards with the greatest ability to meet neighbourhood infrastructure needs and those with the least ability. There is no clear difference in funding gap between wards that have engaged with participatory budgeting, and those that have not, with both group shaving similar average funding gaps as identified by the OIG report.

Table 5. Average NIP Funding Gap in Participatory Budgeting Wards

Ward	Alderman	PB years	NIP funding gap
46	James Cappleman	2012	89%
49	Joe Moore	2009-2017	57%
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	2016-2017	42%
31	Millie Santiago	2016-2017	36%
5	Leslie Hairston	2012	36%
22	Ricardo Muñoz	2014-2015	34%
36	Gilbert Villegas	2016-2017	29%
29	Chris Taliaferro	2017	24%
17	David Moore	2016-2017	24%
45	John Arena	2012-2017	21%
41	Anthony Napolitano	2017	17%
10	Susan Sadlowski Garza	2016-2017	17%
Average funding gap for all PB wards			35%

⁶⁷ A limitation of the OIG data is that it excludes infrastructure funding secured through TIF and CBAs, although it does include all NIP funding and funding for neighbourhood street resurfacing secured through other means. An example of the latter type of funding, would be street resurfacing funds that occurs as a result of watermain replacement, and therefore is paid for by the Department of Water Management.

Average funding gap for current PB wards	29%
Average funding gap for all non-PB wards	32%

Note: NIP data adapted from the 2017 OIG report on Menu funding.

It seems, then, that arguments about resource constraint do not fully explain the distribution of participatory budgeting projects in Chicago. Moreover, while participatory budgeting projects have emerged predominantly in middle-income communities, they have not appeared in all middle-income communities in Chicago. Examining the distribution of participatory budgeting projects in terms of neighbourhood characteristics, then, is only a starting point, in explaining the uneven emergence of these projects. Further, an examination of general neighbourhood demographics risks naturalizing these projects as emerging from a certain set of pre-existing variables. In contrast, the second part of this chapter will argue that that while certain neighbourhood dynamics may create a favourable backdrop for the introduction of participatory budgeting by providing a constituency that is more likely to embrace the process of participatory budgeting, in Chicago the political dynamics of individual wards have been the crucial factor in leading to strategic decisions to establish participatory budgeting projects.

The Political Dynamics of Aldermanic Elections in Chicago: Democratic Party Support, Electoral Regulation and Ward Redistricting

In Chicago, the decision to adopt participatory budgeting ultimately rests with the local alderman, because, as discussed in chapter 2, they have complete discretion over Menu funds, the source of funding used for participatory budgeting in Chicago.⁶⁸ While research in other

⁶⁸ The only example of funding outside the aldermanic menu being used for participatory budgeting in Chicago was a pilot project using participatory budgeting for TIF funds in 2014 in West Humbolt Park. Complications with the disbursement of funds, and coordination problems between aldermen have limited the utility of participatory budgeting for TIF at this point. For more details see Carroll et al. (2016).

contexts has focused on the role of community organizations and neighbourhood characteristics in implementing participatory budgeting processes, in the case of Chicago, the role of the alderman is crucial as they have the power to dictate the use of Menu funds and therefore determine the establishment of a participatory budgeting process.

When an alderman engages in participatory budgeting, they cease to directly control their only source of discretionary municipal funding. Perhaps more significantly, they replace aldermanic discretion with a participatory democratic process that is time consuming and expensive for the aldermanic office. Participatory budgeting requires minimally one staff person dedicated to the process on at least a part-time basis, if not full-time, during the peak work of the process. This is a high bar when an alderman without a committee position typically has only three or four staffers. Participatory budgeting requires regular volunteer committee meetings, regular neighbourhood assemblies, the development and distribution of promotional materials, and ongoing negotiations with various city departments to acquire cost-estimates for potential projects. It is simpler and less labour-intensive for an alderman to individually determine the use of these funds, or for their use to be determined by city staff, as the OIG audit recommended. In contrast, participatory budgeting necessitates the development of new, expensive, and time-consuming processes for participation, consultation, and voting.

The political dynamics of aldermanic elections in Chicago play a crucial role in the decision to absorb the costs associated with running a participatory budgeting process. Beyond the well-documented advantages of incumbency common to municipal politics more broadly (Desposato and Petrocik, 2003; Troustine, 2013) several factors specific to Chicago make it particularly difficult for independent and/or first-time aldermen to gain political office and maintain constituency support. Factors compounding incumbency effects include the presence of

the Cook County Democratic Organization as a key source of support for candidates, and the explicit use of electoral rules for partisan political purposes.⁶⁹ Thus, in Chicago, participatory budgeting is uniquely useful to progressive, independent, and/or new aldermen who need to shore up constituency support and differentiate themselves from their predecessors. This argument is supported in three sections. First, the historical and institutional context for aldermanic elections in Chicago is discussed. Next, electoral data from the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners is used to compare participatory budgeting wards to non-participatory budgeting wards. Finally, the dynamics of participatory budgeting in three target wards are discussed in detail, as well as the electoral forces at work.

Research on elections has found that in comparison with incumbents, first-time candidates face challenges in achieving electoral success in municipal elections (Desposato and Petrocik 2003; Pasotti 2010; Troustine 2013). Several specific aspects of the Chicago context create further difficulties for first time and/or independent candidates. In Chicago, the Democratic Party plays a crucial gatekeeping role, facilitating access to elected municipal positions. A study of aldermanic elections from 1979 to 1995 found “support from the Democratic Party organization has a *profound* effect on how well candidates do at the polls” (Krebs, 1999: 928, emphasis added). Krebs estimated a 10% to 19% increase in votes for candidates with support from the Cook County Democratic Party Organization. Increased support was evident in all wards but exaggerated in machine wards and for first time candidates (Krebs, 1999).

Political machines in 20th century America often sought maintain control by structuring the electoral system to reduce electoral competition (Troustine, 2009). While Chicago’s

⁶⁹ Both the role of the Democratic Party organization and the role of rules governing elections in creating a municipal electoral context in Chicago are discussed further in the following section.

municipal government has evolved since the height of machine politics, the Democratic Party continues to strategically mobilize restrictions on independent candidacy and ward redistricting to their advantage, to reduce electoral competitiveness (Troustine, 2013; Krebs, 1999).

Restrictions on independent candidates entering municipal races as well as the gerrymandering of ward boundaries are discussed below as ongoing tactics in Chicago's electoral politics that tend to limit the entry of new and/or independent candidates into municipal politics.

Historically, restrictions on independent candidacy in aldermanic and mayoral elections in Chicago made it very difficult for independent candidates to contest elections.⁷⁰ Up until 1979, independent candidates and those running as part of "new" political parties in Chicago were required to secure the petition signatures of 5% of the citywide electorate from the previous mayoral election to be included on the municipal ballot in accordance with the *Voter Signature Act* operating in Illinois at the time. In practice, this meant that prospective independent candidates were required to present roughly 60,000 valid signatures to be included on municipal ballots an extraordinarily high bar. In contrast, only 25,000 signatures were needed for Illinois state elections (Young, 1979). Even if an independent candidate managed to secure the requisite number of signatures, the validity of signatures could be contested providing another barrier to independent candidacy (Grimshaw, 1991).

The Socialist Worker Party, as a new political party, led a challenge to the 60,000 signature requirement in response to exclusion from the 1977 municipal election. The requirement was eventually ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1979, as an unnecessary restriction on the democratic process (Young, 1979). From 1979 until 1999, independent candidates and candidates for new political parties needed to collect 25,000

⁷⁰ "Independent candidate" refers to candidates unaffiliated with a formal political party.

signatures to appear on the ballot, the same number required for state elections, but still an exceptionally large number for a municipal electoral contest.⁷¹ The difficulties independent candidates faced in running for municipal office, combined with very minimal public support for Republican candidates in a notoriously Democratic city, led to generally uncompetitive mayoral and aldermanic elections.⁷² In practice, the mayoral election was often of little consequence, the Democratic primary having effectively determined who would hold the office of mayor in Chicago. Even after the switch to non-partisan elections in 1999, as mandated by changes to Illinois state law, mayoral elections have remained relatively uncompetitive (Pasotti, 2010). In fact, the 2015 Chicago mayoral election was historic as it was the first time a candidate failed to receive an absolute majority on the first ballot and a run-off was required.

The use of electoral regulations to reduce competitiveness by establishment candidates is not limited to mayoral elections, nor to the past. According to Aldertrack, between 2007 and 2015 approximately 30% of prospective aldermanic candidates who sought election were disqualified. In the most recent aldermanic elections in 2015, the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners received 174 petitions, mostly relating to the validity of nomination signatures, and removed 63 candidates from the ballot (Chicago Board of Election Commissioners 2017; Black, 2015). Although in Chicago the election tribunal is structured to be bipartisan, with members from both the Republican and Democratic parties, controversies still arise over the aldermanic disqualification process. For example, a particularly egregious case of partisan

⁷¹ For comparison, the threshold for inclusion on the ballot in the Chicago mayoral election in 2015 was 5% of voter turnout in the previous mayoral election. The threshold for individual aldermen was 467 in 2015, or 4% the mayoral turnout in 2011 divided by 50, which is the number of municipal wards in Chicago.

⁷² The last time a Republican held the office of Mayor was in 1931, and since then, the Republican mayoral candidate has rarely been competitive. The 1983 election of Harold Washington, Chicago's first and only Black mayor to date, was a major exception where racial affinities trumped party identification and white Democrats rallied behind a Republican candidate, with the Republican candidate nearly upsetting Washington, who won the race by a narrow margin (Grimshaw, 1991; Simpson, 2001).

interference occurred in the 28th ward during the 2015 aldermanic elections. In the aldermanic race in Ward 28, all seven challengers to incumbent Alderman Jason Ervin, a strong supporter of Mayor Emanuel, were disqualified due to errors in their applications (Lulay, 2015; Black, 2015). Moreover, all seven candidate objections filed by the same woman, who had also served as a paid consultant for Ervin's campaign in the 2011 municipal election (Lulay, 2015). The rigid application of complex rules regarding candidacy is more likely to affect new and independent candidates. Candidates who are incumbents, or who have a strong connection to the local Democratic Ward Organization will have more experience and resources to draw on in navigating the bureaucratic intricacies of running for office.

Ward redistricting has been another electoral tool used to restrict electoral competition in Chicago. Since 1927, Chicago has had 50 electoral wards in municipal elections. Every 10 years, wards are redistricted in keeping with new census data. The purpose of redistricting is to ensure that changes in population are reflected in electoral districts, so that the number of voters in each individual ward remains relatively equal, generally within a 10% variance. Nonetheless, in Chicago, redistricting has resulted in wards that have become progressively more gerrymandered over time (Hagan, 2014; Shapiro and Bliss, 2016).⁷³ Gerrymandering has been used as a tactic to maintain Democrat control; to reward mayoral supporters and punish dissenters; and sometimes to marginalize the influence of specific constituencies (Shapiro and Bliss, 2016). For example, in the 1960s when Daley no longer needed substantial Black votes to win office, he oversaw the fracturing of Black communities into non-majoritarian wards. The result was a reduction in voting power for Black neighbourhoods, which made it possible for the Democratic machine to be successful based on appeals to "ethnic white" voters (Bowman, 1991; Grimshaw, 1991). As

⁷³ Shapiro and Bliss define gerrymandering as an attempt undertaken by a coalition of elected officials to disadvantage their opponents in elections by influencing the geospatial dimensions of ward boundaries (2016: 142)

the discussion of patronage in chapter 2 indicated, Black residents in particular have been historically disenfranchised through Chicago's municipal electoral system.

In the most recent redistricting, in 2011, there were a number of concerning developments. Six communities were initially slated for division into multiple wards: Lincoln Park, Beverly, Bridgeport, Back of the Yards, Logan Square and Chinatown. The initial 2011 redistricting plan was revised so the first three neighbourhoods were maintained within relatively cohesive wards. Incidentally these neighbourhoods are all majority white. In contrast the other three neighbourhoods, two majority Hispanic, and one majority Asian, were split into as many as five different wards in the redistricting. Second, the 2011 redistricting plan left the Hispanic population with only 10 majority-equivalent wards, or 20% the city's wards, despite comprising roughly one third the city's population (Shapiro and Bliss, 2016).⁷⁴ Third, the redistricting was determined by an insider group of aldermen close to the mayor, with many aldermen only seeing the revised electoral map two hours before the council vote to adopt this map (Latino Policy Forum, 2012). Fourth, two outspoken opponents of the mayor, saw themselves redistricted out of their own wards as part of "the mayor's late but decisive moves in rewarding allies and punishing opponents" through the redistricting process (Shapiro and Bliss, 2016: 143). Given the political objectives underlining ward redistricting, the results often lead to less favourable outcomes for aldermen who are independents, or identify as progressive, as these designations in recent years have been determined largely in opposition to the mayor.⁷⁵ Progressive and

⁷⁴ According to a 1983 US Supreme Court ruling, 60% Hispanic population is necessary for a majority-equivalent ward given the young average age in Hispanic communities.

⁷⁵ For example, the Progressive Caucus chair John Arena has been a vocal opponent of the mayor (Simpson et al., 2016). The Caucus as a whole often critiques the mayor, and indeed its formation was framed as a war on "business as usual", indicating its oppositional stance (Cox, 2013).

independent aldermen must then negotiate ward boundaries that encompass multiple, disparate communities, and complicate campaigning.

In the political context of Chicago, where the Democratic Party apparatus has been critical in mobilizing electoral support, and restrictions on candidacy and ward redistricting have been used to discourage electoral competition, independent candidates face strong challenges in mounting successful campaigns (Krebs 1999; Troustine, 2013). These obstacles help explain the appeal of participatory budgeting to some aldermen, as discussed further below.

Neighbourhood Electoral Dynamics and the Emergence of Participatory Budgeting in the 49th, 45th, and 22nd Wards

While much attention has been focused on the characteristics of neighbourhoods and wards that adopt participatory budgeting, particularly the role of pre-existing civic organizations, in the case of Chicago the characteristics of the aldermen seem more pertinent in understanding when and where participatory budgeting projects emerge. Aldermanic support, is a necessary, and possibly even sufficient condition for initiation of a participatory budgeting project in Chicago. This perspective is reinforced through a discussion of the electoral dynamics of the three neighbourhoods of study in Chicago in the next part of the chapter: the 49th Ward, where Alderman Joe Moore initiated participatory budgeting in 2009; the 45th Ward, where Alderman John Arena initiated participatory budgeting in 2012; and the 22nd Ward, where Alderman Ricardo Muñoz agreed to try participatory budgeting for two years starting in 2014, in response to demands from community organizers, but chose to discontinue the process in 2016. The following discussion focuses on the electoral dynamics in each of these wards, while chapter 4 interrogates the ward dynamics in greater detail.

The Emergence of Participatory Budgeting in the 49th Ward

The 49th ward was the first ward in Chicago to adopt participatory budgeting, a point of pride for Alderman Joe Moore. Alderman Moore first won the 49th ward council seat in 1991 as an independent Democrat, with the support of Network 49, an independent progressive political organization focused on the 49th ward. While initially Alderman Moore had clear independent identification and an ambivalent relationship with Mayor Richard M. Daley, over time, his political position has become closely aligned with Mayor Rahm Emanuel. In an assessment of voting records over Mayor Emanuel's first two terms in office, Alderman Moore has been one of his most consistent supporters, voting with Emanuel's floor leader 98% of the time on divided roll calls (Buyuker et al., 2014; Simpson et al., 2016).⁷⁶

The dominant story of participatory budgeting in the 49th ward takes on what one resident called “mythological” and another described as “biblical” dimensions, cultivated by the Alderman himself who refers to Rogers Park as “the Porto Alegre of North America”.⁷⁷ According to Moore, he became interested in participatory budgeting after speaking with Josh Lerner, founder of the Participatory Budgeting Project (PBP) at a conference in 2007:

I first got the idea back in 2007 when I attended the US social Forum in Atlanta. And I was invited there by the institute of policy studies to participate in two different workshops on participatory budgeting which I had not heard of before and I attended them and I thought wow what a neat idea. At these workshops they said there had been nowhere in the United States it had been done. So the idea, it was intriguing. I knew that to implement it here, I didn't need to get anybody's permission because I had this amount of money that was totally at my discretion... I had a sense that it would be received popularly in the ward.

Alderman Moore's own words indicate three critical factors in the decision to adopt participatory budgeting. First, the novelty of the idea and the ability to be the first to implement a participatory

⁷⁶ “Divided roll calls” refers to Chicago City Council votes that were not unanimous.

⁷⁷ These quotations, and the ones that follow, are taken from my research interviews conducted between April and July of 2016.

budgeting project in the United States was appealing. Second, implementation was possible because Alderman Moore had sole discretion over a suitable source of funding— Menu funds. Finally, he had “a sense that it would be received popularly in the ward”, that his constituents would find the idea appealing. After nearly losing the 2007 election in a run-off with a more conservative candidate, there was an important impetus for creating a policy process that would help solidify his electoral position at a time when he had declining community support. As one interviewee explained: “The alderman almost lost the election in 2007. He needed something revolutionary, something exciting, something to get things going, to get buy in”. Particularly given that the neighbourhood comprising most of the ward – Rogers Park - was known to be politically left-leaning, with many residents identifying with progressive political causes, there was reason to think that a participatory democratic process might be well received. Elaborating on this point, another resident suggested: “I think he thought with the relative abundance of do-gooders in the neighbourhood, community participant types, it might take root.” Alderman Moore’s electoral needs dovetailed well with the adoption of the process, as a long-serving alderman with a need to reengage his constituency and shore up his progressive credentials.

In 2008 Alderman Moore visited Brazil to learn how participatory budgeting worked there, and later that year he sat down with Josh Lerner who offered the assistance of the PBP in establishing a participatory budgeting project in Chicago. Initially Moore’s chief of staff and a second part-time staff person were primarily responsible for stewarding the process. In 2011, Moore used funding associated with a committee chair position to expand his staff complement and hire a fulltime, permanent staff person to manage the participatory budgeting process. The 49th ward is the only ward that has a dedicated fulltime staff position for participatory budgeting.

Ward 49 has maintained a continuous participatory budgeting process from 2009 to the present. Since initiating participatory budgeting, Alderman Moore has won elections handily with margins of 44% in 2011 and 34% in 2015 over his opponents. But in recent years, he has also continued to face challenges from the left. In 2011, Occupy Rogers Park actively organized against both Alderman Moore and the participatory budgeting process itself (Weber et al., 2015). Ironically, the same organization that had supported his initial run for office in 1991 – Network 49 – re-established itself after a hiatus under the same name in 2015 to mobilize opposition to the alderman, in particular contesting his support for charter schools and failure to protect affordable housing in Rogers Park.⁷⁸ The presence of strong networks of neighbourhood organizations was part of the overall progressive environment that made participatory budgeting an attractive strategy to Alderman Moore, but those organizations have not necessarily been strong supporters of participatory budgeting, particularly when community organizations have disagreed with the alderman on other issues (Weber et al., 2015). In early 2018, a constituent and former employee of the PBP, who had helped guide the participatory budgeting process in the 49th ward, announced she was running against Joe Moore for the aldermanic seat in the 2019 election. This development perhaps indicates that though participatory budgeting has helped Alderman Moore stave off some critiques from the left, the process may also have helped animate and coalesce electoral opposition to his positions on other municipal issues.

The Emergence of Participatory Budgeting in the 45th Ward

The 45th ward began practicing participatory budgeting in 2012, after Alderman John Arena campaigned on a platform that included a promise to introduce participatory budgeting using the 45th ward Menu funds. First elected in 2011 in the narrowest race in the city, Arena

⁷⁸ For more information about Network 49, see: <http://network49.net>

defeated opponent John Garrido in a runoff by a mere 27 votes out 12,077 cast. He was re-elected in 2015 by a greater margin, but still requiring a run-off. During his two terms on council, Alderman Arena has been a prominent member of the Progressive Reform Caucus which often votes against Mayor Emanuel and indeed Emanuel opposed Arena's re-election in 2015 and actively supported his opponent.⁷⁹ In both the 2011 and 2015 elections, Alderman Arena ran as a self-identified progressive. Participatory budgeting fit into this progressive ideation and connected to his broader vision for the ward. The 45th ward has since completed five participatory budgeting cycles under Alderman Arena, who continues to support the process. Prior to his election in 2011 Arena became interested in participatory budgeting by observing the process worked in Joe Moore's ward. Rather than a good fit for the neighbourhood, Alderman Arena stated in our interview he thought participatory budgeting was "a good fit for me personally" meaning a good fit for his progressive and independent orientation. The previous alderman in the ward was described by an interviewee as a "old school Chicago politician" who made decisions about menu money as "political favours". Participatory budgeting would represent a sharp break with his predecessor's disbursement of Menu funds on a one-off basis with little transparency or public discussion.

Participatory budgeting in the 45th ward has become closely associated with the brand of Alderman Arena himself. As one resident stated, "definitely the association with him with the program is pretty clear. Because it wasn't around before he came, he came and now the program's here. So it is a vote of confidence in him in a way to participate in things like participatory budgeting." This close association between Arena and participatory budgeting was also reflected in skeptical comments made about participatory budgeting by residents who

⁷⁹ For more information about the Progressive Caucus, see: <http://chicagoprogressivecaucus.com/>

opposed Arena's election, exemplified by the following comment from an interviewee: "the [participatory budgeting] vote is rigged... It's propaganda. John Arena is concerned about image. He's on social media always trying to control the message. His participatory budget menu is going to be what he wants to do and that's it."⁸⁰ Although there is no evidence to suggest irregularities in voting or direct interference on the alderman's part with the process, the close association of participatory budgeting with the alderman leaves those who do not support him reluctant to be involved, and results in a process that disproportionately captures the interests of residents who tend to have a positive view of the alderman or be active supporters. In this way, participatory budgeting rewards supporters in a way that is not dissimilar to patronage by providing supportive residents with a stake in local decision-making processes and a pathway through which to advocate for their own projects. In a new development, the 2018 participatory budgeting cycle successfully engaged, as participatory budgeting volunteers, several constituents who have been part of community groups opposing Alderman Arena, particularly his policies in the areas of housing and economic development.⁸¹ The expansion of the volunteer circle in the 45th ward speaks to the potential for participatory budgeting to build constituency relations among communities that may be hostile or ambivalent towards the alderman. It remains to be seen whether participatory budgeting is effective in shoring up Arena's electoral support in the 2019 Chicago election.

⁸⁰ I was present at the vote count in Ward 45 in 2016. Alderman Arena was not. The count was conducted by his Chief of Staff and two residents on the participatory budgeting volunteer committee, and there was no indication of interference with the ballots.

⁸¹ Personal communication, Director of Neighborhoods Initiative at the UIC Great Cities Institute.

The Emergence of Participatory Budgeting in the 22nd Ward

The 22nd ward is the only ward in Chicago where participatory budgeting was initiated by a community organization, not the alderman. The alderman for the 22nd ward is Ricardo Muñoz. He has served as alderman since he was appointed by Richard M. Daley to fill the position in 1993 and is one of the longest serving aldermen on Chicago City council. Muñoz has been re-elected by a strong majority in recent years, with a 30% margin of victory in the 2011 city council elections, and a 40% margin of victory in the 2015 elections. He has also been a member of the Progressive Caucus since it was founded in 2007. Some political observers have suggested that the 2011 redistricting which saw the boundaries of the 22nd ward shift substantially was driven by attempts to fragment Alderman Muñoz's electoral base in the Little Village neighbourhood.⁸²

The initial idea to engage in participatory budgeting in the 22nd ward came not from Alderman Muñoz but rather from a community-based not-for-profit called Enlace Chicago. Founded in 1998 by a group of community activists, Enlace Chicago's mission is to support equitable access to social and economic justice for residents in Little Village, a neighbourhood largely located within the boundaries of the 22nd ward.⁸³ A staff member from Enlace met with staff from PB Chicago, and then discussed adopting the practice with Alderman Muñoz and his staff. Enlace was interested in participatory budgeting because part of their organizational mandate is to increase community participation in neighbourhood development projects. Both Enlace and PB Chicago pushed Muñoz to try participatory budgeting: as one interviewee explained, "they all lobbied him and convinced him". Enlace believed participatory budgeting

⁸² Personal communication, multiple interviewees. The 2011 redistricting reduced the proportion of Little Village that was included in the 22nd ward and added several additional neighbourhoods that had been previously largely disconnected from Little Village.

⁸³ For more information about Enlace Chicago, see: <http://www.enlacechicago.org>

would be well received in the 22nd ward because of Alderman Muñoz's progressive reputation. In an interview, Muñoz himself positioned some of the appeal of the process in his progressive political values: "I liked the idea, I fancy myself a progressive democrat, so I enjoy engaging people in helping make decisions". In 2010, when PBP's annual conference was held in Chicago, Alderman Muñoz attended several sessions. He subsequently agreed to pilot a participatory budgeting process in the 22nd ward for one year, provided there was a commitment on the part of a community partner to share the organizational labour and staffing costs. An agreement was reached where two staff people from Enlace would lead the process, and two staff people from the Alderman's office would provide additional support in the amount of 15 hours per week during the months the process was active.

The 22nd ward engaged in participatory budgeting for two cycles: in 2013-2014 and 2014-2015. After the second year, Alderman Muñoz decided to discontinue the process. The impetus to disengage with the process came from the alderman and not the community. In fact, participatory budgeting was less contentious in the 22nd ward than in the 45th ward or 49th ward, where there has been active mobilization against participatory budgeting largely rooted in opposition to the alderman.⁸⁴

Several factors contributed to Alderman Muñoz's decision to cease participatory budgeting. After the 2014-2015 cycle, Enlace was unable to dedicate the same level of staff support to participatory budgeting due to internal restructuring. A group of residents expressed a willingness to steward the process and began to plan next steps for the participatory budgeting process. A community meeting was held with the alderman and other stakeholders to discuss

⁸⁴ In the 45th ward, members of the Jefferson Park Neighborhood Association (JPNA), who had supported Alderman Arena's opponent in the ward election, actively criticized participatory budgeting on the basis of too few participants, and perceptions of aldermanic interference. In the 49th ward, Occupy Rogers Park and Network 49 have critiqued participatory budgeting for being insufficiently inclusive of the ward's diverse communities.

how the process might move forward in the absence of formal support from Enlace. At this meeting, taking many residents by surprise, Alderman Muñoz announced that he would be “taking a break” from participatory budgeting. In interviews, residents expressed that they were caught off-guard by Muñoz’s decision, as prior to the meeting there had been signals that the process would continue, and some volunteers had already begun working to identify potential projects for the next funding cycle. The two explanations provided by Alderman Muñoz were that he needed a year to focus Menu funds on repaving alleyways, and the level of participation in the participatory budgeting process was too low to continue. As one resident recounted:

At the last meeting that we had, I said why are you going to stop this program. He said because there is not enough participation of the community. And I said it was the third year, so any business, for example, any business takes years in getting customers to attend the business. We need more time.

Its worth nothing that the volunteer and voting participation in the 22nd ward was not particularly low in comparison with other participatory budgeting wards.⁸⁵ Although not directly mentioned by Muñoz at the community meeting, the amount of staff time necessary to steward a participatory budgeting process also was a point of tension. Explained one interviewee:

I don't think that he was ever really sold on it. And again I see a lot of the reasons why he wasn't sold on it. Not just because he wants complete control over how that money's spent but, and he needs to keep people happy, but also because his staff was spending a lot of time doing things that weren't basic services for residents.

Unlike Alderman Moore in the 49th ward, Alderman Muñoz has a small staff complement consisting of three fulltime and one part-time staffer, and the need to dedicate minimally one fulltime staff person to participatory budgeting for part of the year represented a greater challenge in terms of workload for the aldermanic office.

⁸⁵ During the 2013-2014 participatory budgeting cycle, 603 residents voted for projects, and this number increased to 763 in 2014-2015. The number of voters in the 22nd ward was higher than most other wards practicing participatory budgeting at the time, including the 45th, 46th and 5th wards (PB Chicago, n.d.).

In our research interview, Alderman Muñoz emphasized the necessity of basic infrastructure repair, particularly the need to repave alleyways, as a reason he discontinued participatory budgeting:

Alleys are not sexy, that's the bottom line. The main thrust of my 20 years of spending money to benefit the neighbourhood through our Menu program has focused on curbs and gutters, sidewalks, alleys, streets. Participatory budgeting opened it up to include parks, opened it up to include mural projects, gardens which are all great things to invest in but that left some of my infrastructure underfunded.

Because participatory budgeting as practiced in Chicago relies on a public vote, projects may have difficulty gaining sufficient votes as if they do not sound interesting. And indeed, at the alderman's request, alleys were included on the participatory budgeting ballot both years, but never won funding. Thus, a major main reason given by the alderman for discontinuing participatory budgeting was a mismatch between the community's voting patterns in the participatory budgeting process and the community's infrastructure needs as he perceived them.

In the context of highly uneven infrastructure needs and uneven infrastructure funding, certain wards may be able to diversify their use of menu funding with fewer consequences. Strong connections in the aldermanic office to city departments, and strong connections to the mayor's office may provide opportunities to direct infrastructure funding towards a neighbourhood project outside the menu. In contrast, in the 22nd ward, one staffer estimated that 95% of the neighbourhood infrastructure funding derived from Menu funds, and there were few outside sources of funding for boutique projects. In addition, certain neighbourhood programs – like the sidewalk replacement program where residents can pay for half the cost of repaving a sidewalk adjacent to their property – may lessen the infrastructure burden of more affluent neighbourhoods by providing privatized solutions to the neighbourhood infrastructure funding gap. In the 22nd ward, few residents are affluent enough to take advantage of such a program.

Nonetheless, the OIG audit of neighbourhood infrastructure needs found the 22nd ward was in the

middle of the pack in comparison to other wards, with 34% of their neighbourhood infrastructure needs funded, compared to 20% for the 45th ward, and 57% for the 49th ward, both of which continue to engage in participatory budgeting. As discussed earlier in this chapter, on average, the percentage of funded neighbourhood infrastructure improvements in wards engaging with participatory budgeting in 2016 was 35%. The neighbourhood infrastructure funding gap is not more severe in the 22nd ward than other wards that continue to engage with participatory budgeting. The claim then, that participatory budgeting is unable to meet neighbourhood infrastructure needs, is only a partial explanation for why the 22nd ward desisted with the process. To further consider the divergent outcomes in the 49th, 45th and 22nd wards, the next section of this chapter returns to a discussion of electoral factors to consider how electoral strategies may shape engagement with the participatory budgeting process.

Participatory Budgeting as Electoral Strategy: Incumbency, Competition, and Progressive/Independent Identification

Examining citywide data indicates three general characteristics of aldermen in Chicago who choose to adopt participatory budgeting as a policy practice. First, aldermen who engage in participatory budgeting are more likely to be non-incumbents, that is, individuals who have not held the aldermanic office before. Second, aldermen who engage with participatory budgeting are more likely to have run for office in highly competitive ridings. Third, aldermen who adopt participatory budgeting are more likely to identify as progressive and/or independent and seek to distance themselves from “old style” Chicago politics. Each of these characteristics is discussed in more detail below using electoral data from the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners.⁸⁶ The following analysis determines categories of incumbency and competitiveness based on the

⁸⁶The Chicago Board of Election Commissioners data is publicly accessible at: <http://www.chicagoelections.com>

results of the election immediately prior to the establishment of a participatory budgeting project. The electoral cycle immediately prior to the initiation of a participatory budgeting project is used because this most closely corresponds to the timeframe during which the decision to start a participatory budgeting project is made. Once a participatory budgeting project has been established, the context evolves and emergent factors like community support and media attention may influence the decision to continue a project.

According to electoral data non-incumbents were much more likely to initiate a participatory budgeting project following their election than incumbents.⁸⁷ Out of a total of 12 aldermen who have ever initiated participatory budgeting, only three were incumbents in the election immediately prior to their first participatory budgeting cycle (2007, 2011 or 2015), an incumbency rate of 25%. In contrast, in the 2011 election 40 out of 50 elected aldermen were incumbents, an incumbency rate of 80%, and in the 2015 election, 37 out of 50 aldermen were incumbents, an incumbency rate of 74%. Thus, non-incumbent aldermen are significantly more likely to engage in participatory budgeting projects, than those who have previously held aldermanic office. The staff time and aldermanic resources required to engage in participatory budgeting may be judged a more worthwhile investment by non-incumbent aldermen, who have less developed constituency networks.

Like non-incumbent aldermen, those who were elected in highly competitive races were more likely to initiate participatory budgeting following the election. In general, municipal politics is marked by low levels of competition and high levels of incumbency. In Chicago, in both the 2011 and 2015 election seven aldermen were acclaimed, meaning they faced no

⁸⁷ Due to redistricting prior to the 2015 election, two aldermen were technically not incumbents in their ward but had previously been elected in a different ward: Toni L. Foulkes (15th ward) and Nicholas Sposato (36th ward). For the purposes of this dissertation, these individuals are still considered incumbents because they enjoy some advantages of incumbency including higher levels of name recognition.

electoral competition for their seats. Excluding acclaimed aldermen, in the 2011 election, aldermen who competed for their positions won their seats by an average margin of 32%. In 2015, aldermen who competed for their seats won by an average margin of 26%. In contrast, the electoral cycle prior to the initiation of participatory budgeting, aldermen who later established participatory budgeting projects won by an average margin of only 13%.

In addition to the margin of victory, a second measure of competitiveness is whether a race required a runoff. Chicago's municipal electoral system requires candidates to receive an outright majority on the first ballot to successfully gain office. If no candidate achieves an outright majority, a runoff ensues between the two candidates with the most votes in the first round. In 2011, 14 of 50 or 28% of elections required a runoff, and in 2015 that number was 13 of 50, or 26%. In contrast, in the election prior to initiating participatory budgeting in wards that have adopted participatory budgeting processes, 8 of 12 or 66% of elections required a runoff. Thus, in terms of two measures of electoral competitiveness, margin of victory and necessity of a run-off, aldermen who subsequently initiated a participatory budgeting project were more likely to have participated in competitive ward elections.

Finally, Aldermen who adopted participatory budgeting projects were more likely to identify as progressive/independent in political orientation than their colleagues.⁸⁸ I use the term “progressive/independent” to describe aldermen who a) self-identify as oppositional to the status quo on city council, usually using the label of “progressive” b) vote frequently, in comparison with their colleagues, against the dominant mayoral consensus c) are political outsiders in terms of their relationship to the mayor and/or their relationship with the Democratic Party. A measure

⁸⁸ Of 50 current aldermen, only two do not identify as Democrats. Nicholas Sposato in the 38th ward is an independent, and Anthony Napolito in the 41st ward is a Republican. Taking partisan political affiliation as a measure of progressive or independent stance flattens variation within the aldermen that identify as Democrats, who receive varying degrees of party support, and have varying relationships to Mayor Emanuel.

of progressive/independent identification is membership in council's "Progressive Reform Caucus", a public coalition of aldermen committed to "a more just and equal" Chicago.⁸⁹ These aldermen collectively take public stances on a variety of issues and progressive caucus membership includes many of the aldermen who most frequently vote against the mayor or the mayor's floor leader at city council. Overall, from 2011 to 2015, 7 of 50 or 14% of aldermen openly identified as progressive caucus members and participated in progressive caucus activities. From 2015 to the present, this number has been 11 of 50, or 22%. In contrast, of aldermen who have initiated a participatory budgeting project, 7 of 12, or 58% identified as progressive caucus members. Thus, aldermen who are members of the progressive caucus are more likely to initiate participatory budgeting projects.

A second measure of progressive identification is how frequently aldermen vote on divided roll calls in opposition to the mayor or the mayor's floor leader.⁹⁰ While not all dissent from the mayor is necessarily progressive, dissent serves as an indication of a degree of independence – a willingness to take a stand that deviates from the status quo. Chicago's City Council tends to operate with a high degree of consensus: from 2011-2016 on 99 divided roll-calls aldermen voted with the mayor or the mayor's floor leader an average of 89% of the time (Buyuker et al. 2014; Simpson et al. 2016). In contrast, aldermen who had ever initiated a participatory budgeting project only voted with the mayor or the mayor's floor leader 74% of the time during this same timeframe (Buyuker et al. 2014; Simpson et al. 2016).⁹¹ Aldermen who

⁸⁹ For more information about the Chicago Progressive Reform Caucus, including current membership and objectives, see: <http://chicagoprogressivecaucus.com/>

⁹⁰ By "divided roll calls" I mean how frequently the aldermen vote against the mayor or mayor's floor leader in City Council votes that are not unanimous.

⁹¹ Progressive caucus membership and propensity to vote against the mayor's floor leader are linked, so these two variables should not be taken as independent.

have engaged in participatory budgeting tend to display a higher level of dissent from the mayor's preferred position in council votes.

Incumbency, electoral competitiveness, and progressive/independent identification are not necessarily independent factors. First-time aldermen are more likely to face strong competition due to the absence of incumbency advantages, and the likelihood of having been elected in a race that featured no incumbent. Similarly, first-time aldermen are more likely to be progressive/independent, though this is not uniformly the case. For example, in the 2015 election, the successful election of many non-incumbents was predicated on strong support from unions and grassroots organizing demonstrating the link between non-incumbency and progressive identification (Dardick and Byrne, 2015). Aldermen who begin their careers adopting an independent stance may become implicated in dominant governance structures over the period they hold office, as has been the case for Alderman Joe Moore (Weber et al., 2015). The identification of a nucleus of overlapping factors that coincide with the adoption of participatory budgeting can provide insight as to when and where participatory budgeting projects emerge. Despite attempts by the PBP and many aldermen to present participatory budgeting as a non-partisan good-governance initiative with supporters across the political spectrum, in Chicago, the practice continues to be linked predominantly to progressive politics, or at least aldermen who self-identify with the progressive/independent label.

In Chicago the political context contributes to a strategic impetus for progressive/independent aldermen to adopt the practice of participatory budgeting. Given the widespread popular cynicism concerning the transparency and impartiality of municipal government, partially the result of a long history of patronage relations, progressive/independent aldermen struggle to differentiate themselves from the dominant practices of Chicago municipal

politics. These aldermen sometimes use their status as political outsiders to bolster electoral prospects, promising to challenge the status quo at city hall. For aldermen excluded from traditional power structures looking to consolidate their local power base, participatory budgeting can be a win-win tactic which both fits with their progressive ideals and also yields electoral dividends. This happens in three ways: through the use of participatory budgeting to reward supporters; through the use of participatory budgeting to expand the alderman's constituency network; and through the use of participatory budgeting as part of an electoral platform to signal progressive democratic credentials.

First, participatory budgeting can function to reward supporters. Although technically participation is open to all residents meeting minimum age requirements,⁹² participants, especially volunteers, tend to be drawn from those who are closely linked to the aldermanic office, or at least, not averse to participating in a process stewarded primarily by the aldermanic office. Many aspects of the process are closely connected with the aldermanic office: voting often occurs at the office; the alderman is featured prominently by name, and sometimes photo, on promotional material; and the primary source of staff support comes from the aldermanic office. A previous study of the involvement of community organizations in Chicago's participatory budgeting projects found the involvement of organizations depended on their relationship to the political leadership of the ward because, "some organizations there did not want to appear to endorse a process associated with the alderman" (Weber et al., 2015: 261). This tendency at the organizational level, seems to be a dominant trend reflected in individual volunteers. Survey research by PB Chicago has found that participatory budgeting participants at neighbourhood assemblies are not necessarily individuals with high levels of pre-existing formal

⁹² The age threshold for voting in a participatory budgeting project in Chicago is set at 14 or 16 depending on the ward.

political involvement (Crum et al., 2014). Volunteers, however, seem to have closer connections to the aldermanic office, perhaps because the aldermanic office is often the primary recruiter of new volunteers to serve on the ward's participatory budgeting committee. In interviews, when asked how they personally became involved in participatory budgeting, many volunteers cited the ward office in some capacity. In nine interviews with volunteers from three different wards where the aldermanic office initiated participatory budgeting, seven heard about it through the ward office: three individuals initially heard about it through general communications from the aldermanic office, three individuals were directly approached by the alderman or aldermanic staff about volunteering, and one individual contacted the ward office about a different matter and was directed towards the participatory budgeting process. The role of the ward office in recruiting volunteers is substantial. Moreover, in interviews, residents who expressed dissatisfaction with the alderman were almost uniformly the same residents who expressed skepticism regarding the value of the participatory budgeting process, reinforcing the close link between participatory budgeting and the aldermanic office.

The composition of volunteers matters because the volunteer committee exercises a great deal of gatekeeping authority over the construction of the final ballot. While inclusion on the ballot is not guarantee of funding, it is a crucial step and the point where many projects are discarded. Soliciting the involvement of aldermanic supporters in participatory budgeting can provide an alternative mechanism for ensuring their constituency concerns are considered, as well as benefit the alderman by engendering feelings of involvement in neighbourhood decision-making. This heightened sense of political efficacy can then be channeled into positive constituency relations for the aldermen, especially if volunteers are already predisposed to be sympathetic to the alderman's political aims.

Second and related, participatory budgeting can function to bring individuals into the broader orbit of the aldermanic office. Individuals who have volunteered with participatory budgeting projects interact directly with staff from the aldermanic office, if not the alderman themselves. One staffer, discussing the participatory budgeting process said the following:

It's an awful lot of work, but from a politician's point of view, anything you can do to get people involved is a good thing. And it's a new way to get people involved, not only in the office, but in the parks, the schools, the community organizations. The more connected the community can be, the better off it is for the politician.

In this narrative, participatory budgeting is appealing to aldermen because it fosters community engagement on the part of residents. Community engagement initiated via participatory budgeting can expand to include involvement in other aldermanic initiatives, and generally cultivate the impression of a responsive alderman. Through participatory budgeting, aldermen can and do build new relationships with constituents that yield direct electoral support. For example, one resident who was interviewed discussed supporting the alderman on online discussion forums during election time, noting, “I think I wouldn't have been interested at all except for the participatory budgeting side of things got me interested”. Another resident eventually became an active member of the alderman’s re-election campaign: “I did participatory budgeting first and campaigned for him second... that [participatory budgeting] got me connected to the alderman's ward organization”. Some aldermen suggested a process like participatory budgeting was redundant when an alderman already has developed strong constituency networks. Said one alderman of a colleague: “he doesn't do this process, but he has a very coherent network of neighbourhood groups that covers the entirety of his ward that becomes the committee that drives the decision-making process”. In the absence of strong community networks, participatory budgeting can build constituency relations with residents and community organizations. Particularly for aldermen who are in their first term and may have less

established relationships with community groups and residents, participatory budgeting can help turn ordinary residents into active supporters.

Third, participatory budgeting in Chicago has also been used as a campaign tool: to signal democratic and progressive potential to voters, as well as reinforce a positive track-record. In the past, direct patronage relations provided a means of rewarding residents, and building a network of aldermanic supporters within the ward. Although patronage employment possibilities have declined, Menu funds can be used by alderman as a minor form of patronage: to repave a campaign donor's street or push a supporter's preferred project forward in the infrastructure queue, and this is how some aldermen have been accused of using these funds (OIG, 2017). Yet for progressive aldermen, this usual way of distributing Menu funds – with decisions made by the aldermen and aldermanic office, with minimal public scrutiny – can be problematic, particularly if they are attempting to challenge perceptions of nepotism in government. Given some of the critiques of the current disbursement of Menu funds discussed in chapter 2, participatory budgeting provides a means for aldermen to emphasize their progressive democratic credentials by declaring they will turn this funding over to the community. Participatory budgeting is a policy practice that both major Chicago papers have described positively: “a happy little exercise in democracy” (Chicago Tribune Editorial Board, 2017b) and “a wholesome exercise in grassroots democracy” (Chicago Sun-Times Editorial Board, 2017). Through the process, aldermen demonstrate their willingness to defer to the community on Menu funding decisions and embrace an innovative democratic process.

In the last electoral cycle, a number of aldermen specifically included participatory budgeting as a component of their campaigns including John Arena (45th ward) and Gilbert Villegas (36th ward) and Carlos Ramierez-Rosa (31st ward), leading a staff member to observe: “one of the

ways we've seen expansion on a district by district basis is it getting pushed forward and a leap happening in election years. I think from their perspective, they're seeing this as a way to stay on as aldermen: to be elected and to keep their seat". Participatory budgeting provides a degree of public transparency and aldermanic distance in allocating Menu funds, while permitting the alderman to claim credit for supporting a practice of participatory democracy in their ward.

Interview comments emphasizing the electoral benefits of participatory budgeting for aldermen include the following selection of quotes:⁹³

- "I mean it's a terrific thing for him [Joe Moore] to remind people about every four years when he's up for re-election, that he introduced it in North America" - Resident
- "It is attractive to run your campaign on. Having to interact with the alderman I don't think it's something they necessarily believe in" - Staff
- "It's good publicity. Especially elsewhere in Chicago when people feel that the aldermen are totally unresponsive" - Resident
- "Now it might help the alderman get re-elected, which is okay, because I can see aldermen adopting this because instead of them handing out money secretly as they did in the past, now they're handing it out publicly to power groups in the neighbourhood who are having an impact in the community. So now they're allies of neighbourhood power groups, and are handing out money - what's wrong with this?" - Resident
- "He's surrendering his power to control this little pot of money but he's gaining all of this goodwill and escaping from some of the negative aspects of having that little pot of money that he can control. And to be perfectly honest... the same people that are turning

⁹³ Quotations are taken from my research interviews, conducted from April to June of 2016.

out to vote are turning out for participatory budgeting, so he's not really losing that payback aspect of participatory budgeting” - Resident

These comments from interviewees emphasize the instrumental utility of participatory budgeting for aldermen. Participatory budgeting is a useful campaign tool to signal democratic credentials, a tactic for building neighbourhood connections, and as the last quote points out, simultaneously a process where the alderman abdicates control over a small fund but gains greater control over electoral outcomes. In contrast to instrumental motivations, appeals to democratic ideals were relatively absent from the stories interviewees told about the inspiration underlying the adoption of participatory budgeting projects. For non-incumbent and progressive/independent aldermen elected in highly competitive ridings, then, the investment required by the aldermanic office to support participatory budgeting may be judged as worthwhile if the positive constituency relations cultivated through the process improve candidate support and electoral positioning.

Conclusion: Electoral Needs and Aldermanic Support for Participatory Budgeting

Citywide electoral data suggests that aldermen who are non-incumbents, identify as progressive/independent and those who are involved in highly competitive electoral races are more likely to adopt participatory budgeting projects. Detailed narratives of the dynamics around the adoption of participatory budgeting in three wards reinforces this perspective. In the 49th and 45th ward, both of which have sustained participatory budgeting projects over relatively long timeframes, there were clear electoral incentives to continue the process. In the case of the 49th ward, participatory budgeting is closely associated with Alderman Joe Moore’s personal brand and he very publicly takes credit for being the first to introduce the process to the city. Although he has continued to face neighbourhood contestation from the left-leaning community groups,

participatory budgeting has proved to be an effective tool for signaling his progressive credentials and maintaining strong margins of victory in subsequent municipal elections. In the case of the 45th ward, Alderman John Arena has also cultivated a close relationship between participatory budgeting and his brand of progressive politics, running on a platform that included participatory budgeting as a first-term alderman in 2011, and then subsequently in his re-election campaign in 2015. In a context where he has faced strong opposition from more conservative challengers in both elections, participatory budgeting has helped solidify his progressive credentials and expand his constituency networks. In contrast, in the case of the 22nd ward, Alderman Ricardo Muñoz while initially open to the process as a progressive alderman, found it was too labour intensive and interfered with his ability to meet the 22nd ward's infrastructure needs as he understood them. Yet Alderman Muñoz also had less of a need to build his constituency relationships through participatory budgeting. As a long-term alderman with well-established constituency networks, particularly in Little Village, participatory budgeting did not provide significant enough additional benefits to justify the time and expense it required.

In Porto Alegre, participatory budgeting has been associated with low-income neighbourhoods. In the case of Chicago, participatory budgeting has mostly emerged in middle-income communities, likely due to the limited scope of Menu funds which excludes social programming, and also a process that rewards the participation of constituents with high levels of formal education and professional training. Neighbourhood characteristics, however, seem less important than the existence of immediate aldermanic support for the process, which seems to depend on both progressive orientation but also the viability of participatory budgeting as a constituency-relations strategy that can pay electoral dividends. This insight suggests that the electoral dynamics underlying the adoption of participatory budgeting are crucial to

understanding the emergence of these projects, critiquing a view of these initiatives as non-partisan democratic processes and/or being motivated by deliberative democratic ideals. Similarly, in contrast to narratives that emphasize the community driven and/or subversive aspects of participatory budgeting, in Chicago these projects are typically initiated at the aldermanic level and are easily rendered compatible with existing structures of municipal governance.

Chapter 4: Neighbourhood Dynamics: Diversity in the 49th Ward, Redevelopment in the 45th Ward, and Equity in the 22nd Ward

This chapter engages with neighbourhood dynamics in detail in the three Chicago wards introduced as case studies in the previous chapter: the 49th ward, the 45th ward and the 22nd ward. This chapter will argue that participatory budgeting is often mobilized by elites to manage specific neighbourhood tensions associated with neoliberal restructuring in cities, especially uneven infrastructure investment, and class and racial inequalities. This management coalesces around slightly different issues and language in different neighbourhoods and wards. In the 49th ward, proponents of participatory budgeting have sought to ground the process in the language of diversity. In the 45th ward, participatory budgeting has become comingled with language of redevelopment. In the 22nd ward, the language of equity became key. In each case the language used – diversity in the 49th ward, redevelopment in the 45th ward, and equity in 22nd ward – represents the association of participatory budgeting with an area of neighbourhood pressure and tension, often as a way of depoliticizing and defusing these conflicts by providing a suitable venue for their consideration. Elites primarily authorize participatory budgeting projects when the process aligns with their strategic interest in defusing neighbourhood conflicts associated with inequalities exacerbated by neoliberal restructuring— as is the case in the 49th and 45th wards, both of which have maintained continuous participatory budgeting projects. In the case of the 22nd ward, the alderman’s perception that the participatory budgeting process was unable to sufficiently mitigate concerns around the equitable distribution of funds was a key reason why the ward ceased to practice participatory budgeting, despite the presence of a group of neighbourhood activists committed to its continuation. The trajectory of this chapter reinforces the primacy of the alderman in determining the initiation and continuation of participatory

budgeting projects, projects, given existing structures governing the use of Menu money that privilege aldermanic authority. When conflicts arise between the community and the alderman over participatory budgeting, the alderman may simply discontinue the process, as the case of the 22nd ward demonstrates. Thus, the aldermen's discretionary authority serves as a fundamental limitation on the possibility of community-driven participatory budgeting projects within the constraints of Menu funds. The sustainability and continuity of a participatory budgeting process, as currently formulated in Chicago, requires a degree of compatibility in outcome with aldermanic objectives in disbursing Menu funds and community goals.

Overview of the 49th, 45th, and 22nd Wards

This study encompasses three wards in the city of Chicago. As discussed in the introduction, these specific wards were chosen to capture the experiences of the most established participatory budgeting projects, as well as include a diversity of experiences. Two of the wards (the 49th and 45th) are located in the northern area of the city, which is representative of the geospatial distribution of participatory budgeting projects overall, as discussed in the previous chapter. The third ward (the 22nd) is located in central-south Chicago. Two of the wards have had projects for many years, and one had a project for two years and then disengaged with the process. One ward is predominantly white (the 45th), one is predominantly Hispanic (the 22nd), and one is relatively mixed in racial composition, with sizable white, Hispanic and Black constituencies (the 49th).

There are certain complexities in discussing wards and ward boundaries. First, as discussed in chapter 3, ward boundaries in Chicago change frequently, and these changes are heavily contested. In accordance with the Federal *Voter Rights Act* (VRA) and Illinois state law,

electoral districts must be of “nearly equal proportions” and geographically compact. Chicago has regularly undergone redistricting in response to fluctuations in population, most recently in 2011. Despite the requirement of “compactness” regular redistricting has resulted in wards that have become progressively more gerrymandered over the course of the last 50 years, even as the VRA has limited variance in population from ward to ward (Pasotti 2010; Shapiro and Bliss, 2016). Consequently, wards in Chicago rarely have boundaries congruous with neighbourhoods, and residents tend to identify more strongly with their neighbourhood than their ward. Second, given the unstable geographic boundaries of wards, often researchers analyze sociological data according to the more enduring boundaries of the official Chicago Community Areas (CCAs). Electoral wards typically include multiple CCAs, which may be very distinct from one another in their demographic and physical character. Finally, Chicago’s official CCAs and electoral wards may use terminology that differs from the language residents use to describe their neighbourhood. For example, the majority of the 22nd ward is comprised of a CCA called “South Lawndale” but that name is virtually absent from the lexicon of residents who refer to the neighbourhood as “Little Village”.

The strategy for addressing these complexities in the discussion that follows is to describe the neighbourhoods that make up each of the wards at the beginning of each ward discussion and specify their relationship to the ward as a whole.⁹⁴ While some demographic information is available on a ward basis, for other measures only CCA data is available. When CCA information is used, this is specified. When there is a difference in the official language used to describe an area and the language residents use, I defer to the language of residents unless referring to a specific data measurement that uses different terminology. The wards are

⁹⁴ The 2011 ward boundaries, current as of 2017, are used for the purposes of discussing each ward.

introduced in order of their initiation of participatory budgeting: the 49th ward (2009) is discussed first, followed by the 45th ward (2012), and finally the 22nd ward (2014).

The 49th Ward: Rogers Park

The 49th Ward is one of the most diverse communities in the entire nation according to the US census, right up there with parts of New York City, Brooklyn. Politically, very socially progressive

– Alderman Joe Moore

People say like we're a microcosm of Chicago, well yeah darn sure we are. Chicago is incredibly segregated⁹⁵

– Resident

The 49th ward is the northernmost waterfront ward in the city of Chicago, and was the first to adopt participatory budgeting, starting in 2009. In contrast to most Chicago wards, the boundaries of the 49th ward are almost exactly congruous with the CCA of Rogers Park and residents tend to use the 49th ward and Rogers Park interchangeably. In addition to Rogers Park, the 49th ward does contain a small portion of West Ridge, the CCA directly to the west of Rogers Park.

Rogers Park is a middle-income, neighbourhood, with a median family income of \$37,223,⁹⁶ just below the per-capita income for the city as a whole, and a hardship ranking of 39.⁹⁷ Thus according to conventional socioeconomic indicators, Rogers Park is a middle affluence neighbourhood. Demographically, 42% of Rogers Park residents identify as white, 24% identify as Hispanic, 24% as Black, and 6% as Asian. Racial difference overlaps with class

⁹⁵ The quotations that begin each ward discussion are taken from my research interviews, conducted between April and July of 2016.

⁹⁶ As discussed in chapter 1, income and racial data is taken from 2011-2015 American Community Survey: Table B19013 in the US Census as reported in data tables provided by the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning Data Hub (<https://datahub.cmap.illinois.gov>)

⁹⁷ As discussed in chapter 1, the hardship ranking indicated on a scale from 1 (minimal hardship) to 100 (maximal hardship) is comprised of six measures of socioeconomic wellbeing and calculated by the City of Chicago based on the 2008-2012 American Community Survey in the US Census.

difference and geospatial presence, with high income families more likely to be white and own homes near the lakefront. There are three times as many renters as homeowners in Rogers Park, partially due to the presence of Loyola University in the southern end of the ward, and public housing developments to the north.

Community members described Rogers Park as a desirable location to live because of the access to the waterfront and transit, as well as relative affordability compared with other northern waterfront communities. The following quote from one resident sums up several desirable community attributes raised by multiple Rogers Park residents:

We came here first for affordability but also I immediately liked the vibe of it. The old hippie feel and the leftist political slant and the beaches. The proximity to the lake. And it was quieter up there, so those were all the things I liked about it. And also I really liked the diversity that we found there in terms of race and class and language and all of those things.

Rogers Park was also described by community members as having a strong history of neighbourhood associations, with many active residents' groups, not-for-profits, and activist organizations. In a research interview, one resident commented on the large number of left-leaning community organizations explaining, "The joke is it's like the People's Republic of Roger's Park". Yet a previous study found that despite the high level of community associations in Rogers Park, the ward had the lowest rate of associational involvement in the participatory budgeting process of the four wards studied (Weber et al., 2015). Out of 256 documented community organizations in the neighbourhood, only 15 had some involvement with participatory budgeting (Weber et al., 2015). As discussed in the previous chapter, the impetus for adopting participatory budgeting came directly from Alderman Moore, rather than community organizations, and a motivating factor for Alderman Moore was the potential to use the participatory budgeting process to build electoral support and signal his progressive policy credentials. Thus, there has been limited involvement from community organizations and

activists in participatory budgeting in the 49th ward, particularly those who are critical of Alderman Moore. In fact, in 2011 Occupy Rogers Park actively mobilized against participatory budgeting, accusing it of being elitist and excluding low-income and racialized Rogers Park residents. The relationship between participatory budgeting, race and diversity is discussed in greater detail below.

Diversity, Charter Schools and Affordable Housing in the 49th Ward

Chicago has a long history of contentious race and class relations, and the urban space is marked by a high level of inequality. The history of racialized exclusions from municipal politics in Chicago has been well-documented by other scholars (for example, Royko, 1971; Grimshaw, 1991; Bowman, 1991) and was overviewed in chapter 2. Chicago's continuing legacy of racial disparities, political exclusions and residential segregation has been approached by municipal research bodies as a negative attribute, a problem requiring redress (Bader and Warkentien, 2016; Bechteler, 2016; Metropolitan Planning Council, 2017).

Participatory budgeting can be read as an attempt to challenge racially discriminatory practices by drawing a diverse constituency into a forum of political decision making explicitly grounded in procedural considerations of equality. But beyond the process itself, participatory budgeting can also help function to depoliticize race by creating an alternative political arena that can be pointed to as inclusive and equitable while perpetuating racially based exclusions in more substantial venues of policy-making. This tendency is particularly evident in the way participatory budgeting has unfolded in the 49th ward.

In the context of highly segregated Chicago, Rogers Park considers itself unique for the high level of racial diversity located within a single neighborhood, as the quote from the

alderman that opened this chapter intimated. The language of diversity is a crucial component of Roger's Park's identity (Berrey, 2005). Rogerspark.com, a website maintained by several residents, introduces the neighbourhood as follows:

Rogers Park is one of the most culturally and economically diverse neighborhoods in Chicago and the nation. Located in the far northeast corner of the city, more than 80 languages are spoken among the community's 63,000 residents. In Rogers Park, people celebrate diversity and value harmonious living. Residents of differing incomes and ages live side-by-side and work together to build a community where everyone, can live, work and succeed (Glasser, 2017: n.p.)

Similarly, an article in *Chicago Magazine*, an arts and culture offshoot of the *Chicago Tribune*, describes Rogers Park as “the city's most diverse neighbourhood” consisting of “that cultural stew—Orthodox Jews, African immigrants, Pakistani shop owners, aging Marxists” (Lott, 2016). Alderman Joe Moore himself describes the neighbourhood on his political website as follows:

“The 49th Ward is one of the most diverse and vibrant communities to be found anywhere in the world. Our community is a model for the rest of the city and nation, truly showing that a racially and economically diverse community can thrive and grow” (Citizens for Joe Moore, 2017).

Niche, an American company that ranks neighbourhoods according to education, crime, and demographic data, rates Rogers Park “A+” on “Diversity”, the highest ranking it receives in any category.⁹⁸ In these narratives, and others, diversity is foregrounded as a constitutive component of the neighbourhood, one that sets it apart from other areas of the city. These descriptions celebrate the mixed-income and mixed-race neighbourhood as peaceful and harmonious, a positive example for neighbourhoods everywhere.

Echoing these sentiments, almost every person interviewed from Rogers Park raised diversity as a neighbourhood characteristic, with the alderman equating the diversity of Rogers Park to

⁹⁸ For the full report card on Rogers Park from Niche, see: <https://www.niche.com/places-to-live/n/rogers-park-chicago-il/>

that of New York City, as articulated in the quote beginning this section. Often diversity was framed as a selling feature of the neighbourhood by residents from different racial and class backgrounds:

- “A lot of people come here for the diversity” - Resident
- “I love the diversity in Roger’s Park” - Resident
- “It's a really diverse neighbourhood, and that’s what we like about it, its diversity” - Resident
- “It’s significantly integrated racially and also by income, pretty well integrated, in a way that is exceptionally unusual in Chicago” – Resident

When residents mobilized the language of diversity, they were typically speaking about racial diversity, and sometimes also class diversity, in terms of the presence of people from different racial and class backgrounds in the same neighbourhood. Residents described diversity as analogous to a neighbourhood amenity – something that is attractive to potential residents and adds value to the community. This perspective echoes the way diversity is commodified in neighbourhood rankings and overviews of Rogers Park provided by Niche and Rogerspark.com.⁹⁹ The flattening of racial disparities and experiences common to descriptions of diversity in Rogers Park embodies the type of colourblind “racial common-sense” Omi and Winant (2015) discuss as fundamental to the incorporation strategies of a racial democratic state that sustain racial exclusions.

Along these lines, some residents contested this veneer of diversity, arguing that it served as cover for more complex, difficult neighbourhood dynamics concerning race and class:

⁹⁹ Interestingly, none of the diversity narratives expressed by interviewees connected with Rogers Park discussed diversity in terms of gender or sexuality, nor do they ground a discussion of diversity in the history of Rogers Park as a neighbourhood founded at the intersection of two Indigenous trails, where many Indigenous peoples lived.

- “When I think of the 49th ward, I feel like there's almost two stories: the kind of story ending on we're the most diverse ward in terms of demographics, so diversity is definitely a big thing here, but then I also think... there's so much stuff happening underneath and that doesn't always get talked about when we have a larger narrative of the 49th ward” - Resident
- “People say like we're a microcosm of Chicago, well yeah darn sure we are. Chicago is incredibly segregated...and even here, you have the lakefront as predominantly white, and then you have the northern end, especially near Howard, is predominantly African American, and then you have Clark Street which is predominantly Latino. It's like okay, here is Chicago” – Resident

These comments emphasize that while diversity is a point of neighbourhood pride, segregation and racial disparities persist within the neighbourhood. Indeed, previous research has documented how progressive groups can mobilize the language of diversity to minimize racial and class inequities (Berrey, 2005). These inequities manifest in geographic disparities, where million-dollar waterfront homes are mostly occupied by white residents, and public housing apartments are mostly occupied by Black residents. Racial disparities also manifest through the education system, where the majority of white residents send their children to private schools, selective enrollment schools or “better” public schools outside the neighbourhood, so while according to census data Rogers Park is 40% white, most of the public neighbourhood schools are less than 10% white (CPS, 2017). A third way racial tensions manifest are through fear of crime on the part of white residents, and coded-language used to describe certain heavily racialized areas of the neighbourhood as dominated by ‘gangs’ and having crime problems, though often in interviews this was articulated with the language of improvement – with

formerly dangerous areas becoming progressively less-so as the neighbourhood becomes more affluent. While neighbourhood narratives value diversity, diversity discourses do not necessarily disrupt structural inequities rooted in neoliberal restructuring that are themselves both raced and classed (Berrey, 2005; Omi and Winant, 2015).

Alderman Moore has faced a number of challenges from residents and organizations on the left of the political spectrum. One long-time resident who was interviewed described the relationship between the alderman and progressive community organizers as follows: “I know that there has been a disillusionment in him and lack of confidence in him over the years. People have been more and more feeling like he's not responding to the needs of the community, the collective diversities of the community”. Much of the opposition to Alderman Moore has coalesced around two issues – both of which disproportionately impact racialized community members: his support for charter schools and his failure to protect affordable housing in Rogers Park. Alderman Moore’s positions on both charter schools and affordable housing have been used to question his support for diverse constituencies, and the public contestation around both these issues undermine narratives of harmonious diversity in Rogers Park.

In interviews, many residents pointed to schools as an area of ongoing concern, characterizing public neighbourhood schools in Rogers Park as “bad” and “underperforming”. Most affluent white families avoid Rogers Park’s neighbourhood schools, sending their children to private schools or selective enrolment public schools in other parts of the city. Within Rogers Park, Alderman Moore has been a champion of charter and selective enrolment schools.¹⁰⁰ This

¹⁰⁰ Alderman Joe Moore has been a staunch supporter of the Chicago Math and Science Academy (CMSA), the first charter to locate in the 49th ward, opening its doors in 2005. In 2012 the UNO charter school opened with Alderman Moore’s support (since re-named UNSCO) (Hood, 2012). In 2015 when Noble Charter was considering moving into the neighbourhood, Moore provided behind the scenes support including personally soliciting Mayor Emanuel’s support for the school (Rice, 2016). In 2016 Alderman Moore supported a move to merge two neighbourhood schools to facilitate the expansion of a selective enrolment public school and supported an increase in enrollment at another.

support for charter schools has been controversial for several reasons. Some residents view charter schools as furthering the privatization of education in Chicago. Charter schools receive public funding, but they are privately managed. As a result, charters have fewer reporting requirements than neighbourhood schools, and can avoid hiring unionized teachers.¹⁰¹ Other criticisms of charters include that students at charter schools perform no better than those regular public schools, yet by diverting enrolment, charters can precipitate the closure of more inclusive neighbourhood schools (Farmer, Barber and Poulos, 2017). Supporting the latter point, the expansion of charter schools has coincided with the “the largest number of school closures in Chicago’s history” leading to concerns that charter school expansion is diverting essential resources from the public-school system (Lewis, 2017).¹⁰² The expansion of charter schools is intimately related to neoliberal restructuring, as the language of choice, competition, efficiency, and differentiation is used to justify charter schools, at the expense of a universal and unitary school system.

Rogers Park has experienced a population decline in school-aged children over the past ten years, leaving neighbourhood schools struggling with under-enrolment. In this context, the opening of charter schools in the neighbourhood has been interpreted by some residents, particularly those affiliated with Network 49, as an attack on neighbourhood public schools.¹⁰³

Many criticisms of charter schools and selective enrolment schools are linked to their effects on

¹⁰¹ In the 49th ward, the Chicago Math and Science Academy (CMSA) spent over \$100,000 of public money to contest a successful union drive among teachers, and a further \$40,000 to settle a wrongful dismissal suit with a teacher who was active in the union drive, and subsequently was fired.

¹⁰² CPS’s budgetary troubles coincide with expanded use of TIF districts, which prevent schools from accessing increases in property tax revenue to meet rising costs, in effect imposing budgetary freeze on public schools.

¹⁰³ I use Network 49 in the following discussion, and the discussion of housing that follows, as a proxy for oppositional viewpoints. The choice to reply on Network 49 is informed by two considerations. First, in terms of membership Network 49 is the largest non-partisan multi-issue neighbourhood coalition operating in Rogers Park. Second, because Network 49 includes many members of other neighbourhood organizations, their position on charter schools and affordable housing is similar.

race and class. Previous research (for example, Whitehurst et al., 2016; Institute for Metropolitan Opportunity, 2014) has found that charters exacerbate race and class-based segregation in schools, because even when they are not selective enrolment, students need to apply to attend, and admission is by lottery.¹⁰⁴

In the case of Rogers Park, Network 49 has raised concerns over racial exclusions as a justification for opposing charter school expansion. In 2016, Network 49 collected enough resident signatures to force a non-binding ward ballot on charter school expansion, with 62.6% of voters voting in favour of a moratorium on charter expansion. On March 30th, 2017, Alderman Moore responded to the referendum indicating that he continued to support the expansion of the charter CMSA. Interestingly, much of his response letter is devoted to a detailed discussion of the racial and income demographics of the CMSA, arguing that since the majority of the school is racialized and low-income, his support for the school's expansion is justified.¹⁰⁵ In Moore's response letter defending his support of charter schools, diversity is mobilized as a defensive tactic against accusations of elitism and exclusion.¹⁰⁶ To sum up, Alderman Moore has faced substantial public criticism for his support of charter schools, which overlaps with critiques of his record on race- and class-based inequality.

In addition to schools, a second key area of concern raised by residents in interviews was housing affordability. Rogers Park both the most racially diverse, and most affordable waterfront neighbourhood in the northern part of the city, with strong transit connections to downtown

¹⁰⁴ Although charter schools do not charge tuition fees, they are exclusionary in other ways. For a more fulsome discussion of the intersection between charter expansion and school segregation see: Whitehurst, G.J., Reeves, R.V. and Rodrigue, E. (2016); Frankenberg, E., Siegel Hawley, G., and Wang, J. (2010); and Orfield and Luce (2014).

¹⁰⁵ Alderman Moore's letter was a response to an earlier letter sent by Network 49 on March 14th, 2017, calling on him to publicly respond to the referendum results by the following week (Network 49, 2017). Moore did not respond within the proscribed timeline but did eventually reply to Network 49's demands.

¹⁰⁶ The demographics of CMSA, however, are directly comparable to the neighbourhood public schools which are equally racialized and low-income, with the key difference being that CMSA also enrolls students from outside of Rogers Park.

Chicago (Berrey, 2005). Concerns about housing affordability, tenant displacement, and gentrification have been ongoing in Rogers Park since the early 2000s.¹⁰⁷ Network 49 has directly connected the issue of affordable housing to neighbourhood diversity, stating they, “recognize the importance of preserving the racial and economic diversity of our community through housing and community development” (Network 49, 2017b). Particularly in a context where there are no rent control provisions for tenants, in a neighbourhood with a high number of renters, like Rogers Park, displacement is a real concern.¹⁰⁸ As demand for apartments in Rogers Park grows, landlords are free to raise existing rents to what they judge the market will bear, and if existing tenants cannot pay they must move. In interviews, residents made mixed comments about the desirability of gentrification. While public safety was discussed as a positive component of a gentrifying – ‘improving’ – neighbourhood, residents also raised concerns regarding housing affordability and the displacement of lower-income residents:

- “People who have lived here a long time are being displaced, that can be a problem” - Resident
- “Housing, especially affordable housing, is a really big issue... there's a lot of development going on which can be good, but I think in the process a lot of people are finding it harder to live here” - Resident
- “It has changed. It's unaffordable now for renting. It's sad. I see what's going on with the people who are being gentrified out of their homes and it's been going on for 10-12 years. The rent is high and unaffordable” – Resident

¹⁰⁷ I use the term “gentrification” to refer to the displacement of current residents from homes due to rising housing costs, which may or may not be directly connected to increases in residential real estate values.

¹⁰⁸ The State of Illinois has had legislation prohibiting any form of rent control since 1997. There are no restrictions concerning rent increases, only the requirement to provide 30 days written notice to current tenants.

As Berrey (2005) points out, housing affordability and gentrification interface with questions of diversity in complex ways, with appeals to diversity mobilized to both contest displacement but also legitimate the redevelopment of low-income areas of the ward through income mixing strategies.

During electoral campaigns, Alderman Moore has positioned himself as an advocate for affordable housing on multiple occasions (Aldertrack, 2007; Dumke, 2011; Daalder 2016a).¹⁰⁹ However, simultaneously he has come under fire for his lack of material support for initiatives that would prevent displacement and increase the supply of affordable housing in Rogers Park. In 2011, he refused to support an ordinance that would mandate 20% of TIF funds be dedicated to affordable housing initiatives, echoing Mayor Emanuel's position that this would undermine the ability of TIF funds to be used flexibly (Dumke, 2011). In 2015 during his re-election campaign he supported, and indeed co-sponsored the Keeping the Promise ordinance, intended to provide more oversight of the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) which reportedly has been sitting on a \$430 million-dollar surplus while waitlists for subsidized housing and vouchers have reached an average of 10 years. The ordinance also would have also mandated a 1:1 replacement ratio for any public housing units demolished and would have given City Council greater oversight over CHA. Currently, the only oversight for CHA is the mayor's office.¹¹⁰ However, once elected, Alderman Moore backtracked on his support and used his role as chair of the Committee on Housing and Real Estate to block the ordinance from being voted on by City Council. His mixed record on supporting affordable housing initiatives, combined with rising

¹⁰⁹ From a 2007 electoral debate: "I have had a long record of supporting affordable housing, of fighting to make sure that my neighborhood is home to everyone" and "I am on the side of people who want affordable housing (Aldertrack, 2007). From his 2014 candidacy statement: "Over the years, I have supported and overseen the creation and preservation of hundreds of units of affordable housing. I was a co-sponsor of the Affordable Housing Set-Aside Ordinance, and even before the ordinance was passed" (Citizens for Joe Moore, 2014).

¹¹⁰ For more details and a current list of supportive aldermen, see: <https://www.chicagohousinginitiative.org/keeping-the-promise>

resident and tenant organizing in the neighbourhood in response to declines in housing affordability, have made housing a contentious issue for Alderman Moore. Tensions culminated in July 2016 when housing activists showed up at a public event Alderman Moore was hosting at his home and stood silently outside holding a banner stating "1000s of Homeless Families are Trying to Blossom: Don't Weed Them Out". In a terse exchange, Alderman Moore declared that they had the right to protest but he also had the right to make sure their housing ordinance – the “Keeping the Promise” ordinance - never made it out of committee, a promise he made good on by continuing to use his role as chair of the housing committee block City Council from considering the ordinance (Daalder, 2016).

Diversity and Participatory Budgeting

Diversity implies tolerance and acceptance of minorities, without assigning particular content to those norms. Language of diversity can therefore be a useful discursive mobilization to subsume neighbourhood conflict (Berrey, 2005). Network 49 sought to link Alderman Moore’s lack of support for affordable housing and neighbourhood public schools to the legitimacy of his democratic credentials, arguing that he was not open to democratic processes or community-driven demands that occurred outside the participatory budgeting process. In a response statement issued after Alderman Moore declared he would not abide by the charter school referendum results, Network 49 stated, “Alderman Moore has clearly reached the end of his fling with participatory democracy” (Network 49, 2017b). They also heavily criticized his absence from several public meetings convened to discuss the housing ordinance in light of his “oft-touted commitment to participatory decision-making” (Network 49, 2017c).

In turn, Alderman Moore has sought use the participatory budgeting process to showcase neighbourhood diversity and build community support for some controversial aspects of his positions on schools and housing, for example, hosting participatory budgeting expos and voting days at the CMHA as an effort to link the charter school to a diverse and participatory democratic process.¹¹¹ Alderman Moore’s office has forcefully pursued diversity through the participatory budgeting process, as evidence of his attentiveness to racialized and low-income communities. In our research interview, he described these efforts as follows: “In recent years we've done a very aggressive outreach effort doing those mobile voting stations doing more and more of those to ensure that people, the electorate is as reflective of the diversity of the community as possible”.¹¹² Mobile voting stations have been expanded to target low-income and racialized constituencies, for example, setting up voting at churches that have strong membership of Hispanic community members. Beyond mobile voting stations, the participatory budgeting process in the 49th ward also includes a specific Spanish language committee to encourage Spanish speakers to participate. For several years, Moore`s office has partnered with a Spanish language not-for-profit to provide real-time translation at leadership committee meetings, so Spanish language speakers can participate in the leadership committee as well. Hispanic and Black residents have been specifically recruited for the leadership committee. Finally, voting materials and ballots have been produced in Spanish, Nepalese and Russian. Considering that minimal municipal resources are provided to support the participatory budgeting process itself,

¹¹¹ For example, states: his campaign website states, “This experiment in democracy will not work unless we have full and complete participation from all sectors of our diverse community, so I urge you to get involved” (Citizens for Joe Moore, 2017). In this quote, the very possibility of a successful participatory budgeting project is predicated on a sufficient level of diversity in the process.

¹¹² Mobile voting stations are temporary polling stations set up and popular community destinations like grocery stores, transit stations, and churches, in at attempt to bring the vote to the people and capture a more representative selection of voters than might intentionally show up at the aldermanic office to vote. Mobile voting stations are discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

these efforts represent a substantial outlay of aldermanic staff time, aldermanic funding, and also volunteer labour. They largely go beyond diversity efforts of Chicago City Council, which does not provide real-time translation of meetings, or typically produce meeting materials in multiple languages.

These efforts have engendered a hyper-focus on diversity within the participatory budgeting process. Perhaps this orientation helps explain why, despite the significant outlay of resources on diversity initiatives, the participatory budgeting process in the 49th ward has also been critiqued on the basis of diversity. In response to the question “what challenges has the participatory budgeting process in the 49th ward faced?”, many participants raised concerns related to racial exclusions:

- “Where I live there is a large Caribbean population, like Belize and Jamaica and some French speaking, it's African or Caribbean, I don't know how engaged that population is”
- Resident
- “The Latino part of the community hasn't really meshed with it so well” - Resident
- “Language has certainly been a barrier and that's something we've [participants] been struggling with all along” – Resident
- “The actual work of it, it's pretty segregated. it was always pretty, successful in bringing in white, middle class folks to work on it” - Resident
- “Most of the African American population is north of Howard. North of Howard needs a lot of stuff. From the park to the streets to lights they need stuff and I'm disappointed that people are not involved” – Resident

These comments indicate a popular perception among interviewees that particular communities in the 49th ward – low income, Spanish-speaking and African American – are less engaged in the

participatory budgeting process. Exclusions from political processes on the basis of race and class affiliation are not unique to participatory budgeting: other processes of civic engagement as well as electoral politics have well documented exclusions along similar lines. Participatory budgeting, however, has laid claim to a higher standard of inclusivity - this is a key component of how the process is justified, thus a lack of diversity is a particular problem for participatory budgeting.

The mobilization of diversity in the 49th ward as a means of defending the participatory budgeting process, and Alderman Moore, has led to an emphasis on well in demographic measures of diversity like exit-surveys. For example, Alderman Moore argues that exit survey data has demonstrated the 49th ward has been successful in increasing their overall number of voters, as well as the racial and class diversity of those voters. However, diversity gains have largely been in concert with the expansion of mobile voting stations, where at transit stops, grocery stores, churches, and other quasi-public spaces, volunteers set up voting tables and actively solicit voters. One person involved with the 49th ward process noted,

The voting comes out diverse in terms of its stats... It [mobile voting] got people to vote, but it didn't have the effect of getting people involved and working on it, next year, you're not going to see the voters come in and sit through committee meetings and work through projects.

Many of the benefits attributed to the participatory budgeting process – civic learning, increased sense of community among participants, deliberative engagement - require substantial levels of involvement which enable participants to engage in key decisions throughout the process.¹¹³

With mobile voting stations, participation becomes less about collectively determining the parameters of the process, and more about selling the vote: convincing a passerby to pause their daily routine and cast a ballot. Exit surveys demonstrate voters are more diverse than volunteers,

¹¹³ The dynamics of participation are discussed in more detail in chapter 5

largely because polling stations are intentionally located in areas frequented by target constituencies and volunteers actively approach pedestrians passing through and solicit their participation. This demographic data concerning the racial composition of voters can be mobilized as objective proof the process is equitable and diverse, creating a persuasive platform point for the alderman to mobilize in future political campaigns.

Yet there is an element of superficiality to this performance of diversity in voting measures, as concerns around racial inclusion have repeatedly been raised in other elements of the participatory budgeting process, including at volunteer meetings, leadership committee meetings, and in interactions with the aldermanic office.¹¹⁴ An ongoing point of tension – as hinted at in some of the interview quotes cited earlier – is the representation of racialized constituencies as problems. At moments, these sentiments are verbalized in overt stereotypes and racist comments by participants and staff that reproduce racialized constituencies as lazy, apathetic and uneducated, as reported by interviewees, and also as observed in meetings I attended. The reproduction of these stereotypes places a burden on racialized members of committees to both inhabit a hostile space and do the emotional and intellectual labour of challenging these stereotypes, leading at times to fatigue, exhaustion and withdrawal from the process. There has been reluctance to openly discuss these concerns through inclusion on the agenda at committee meetings, or through dialogue with the aldermanic office, in part because stories of racism and racial exclusion contravene the public image cultivate of the process as a hallmark of diversity. Consequently, despite these ongoing dynamics, the presence of low-

¹¹⁴ Given the emphasis on presenting the process as a diverse, inclusive one, often people were reluctant to discuss these issues openly. As a result, I do not quote but paraphrase and remove any details that might identify interviewees from the discussion below.

income and racial minorities as voters in exit-survey data is heavily taken as indicating the success of the process as a whole in achieving a measure of diversity in participation.

Omi and Winant (2015) argue that the ideology of colourblindness entails a limited incorporation of racial minorities in the apparatus of governance, while simultaneously advocating non-interference in racial matters that serves to protect existing structures of discrimination and segregation. In the 49th ward, participatory budgeting provides an attractive means of depoliticizing racial cleavages by incorporating them into a participatory governance process, without challenging racialized exclusions in housing and education. If the alderman can point to a process he has stewarded as a hallmark of equity and inclusion, it can help mitigate criticism of his record on equity in other, arguably more substantive, policy arenas. This perspective helps explain the hyper-focus on diversity in the 49th ward, but a diversity largely that stops at the mere presence of diverse bodies. Presence may be an improvement, particularly considering research that has suggested that those who participate in deliberative forums are often the same educated, articulate, and economically advantaged individuals that have access to traditional sites of political power (Sanders 1997; Young 2001). Yet, in this case participation of diverse constituents in participatory budgeting is used to signal the virtue of the aldermanic record with respect to diversity initiatives, not to challenge the racialized exclusions perpetuated by the status quo, nor to signal broader openness on the part of the alderman to other participatory-democratic interventions. This insight builds on observations that diversity discourses can be mobilized in ways that are compatible with neoliberal restructuring, where difference is managed as an aesthetically desirable, but controlled, neighbourhood amenity (Berrey, 2005).

The 45th Ward: Jefferson Park, Portage Park, and Irving Park

You're in the most segregated city in the United States here in Chicago. So if you're on the west or the south side it's a totally different world than sitting here, having a beer, looking out at downtown Jefferson Park.

- Resident

“It has a semi-suburban character to it. A lot of single-family homes, not many apartment buildings... Yet, you still have all the conveniences of the city, the transportation and restaurants”

- Resident

Unlike the 49th ward which consists almost entirely of a single neighbourhood, the 45th ward is a northwestern ward in Chicago made up of several neighbourhoods – primarily Jefferson Park, but also parts of Portage Park and Irving Park. The 45th ward exists at a distance from downtown Chicago, and indeed “downtown Jefferson Park” as residents refer to the commercial strip of Milwaukee Avenue near the Jefferson Park Transit Center, bears little resemblance to the downtown of a large city. Instead of modern glass sky-scrapers, the character resembles the downtown strip of a small town. When residents were asked to describe their neighbourhood, one commented that “it was a great place to get somewhere else from”, speaking both to the proximity of the ward to the expressway and CTA Blue Line, but also to a perceived absence of commercial and social activity. Several mentioned the semi-suburban character of the ward, with wide streets and less housing density than other areas of the city. Jefferson Park is 65% white, with a substantial Hispanic population. In contrast, Portage Park and Irving Park have roughly even numbers of white and Hispanic residents, with a small Asian population. There are few Black residents in any part of the 45th ward.

The 45th ward is somewhat more affluent than average, with a median household income of \$60,472 in Jefferson Park (hardship ranking 25), \$57,030 in Portage Park (hardship ranking 35), and \$51,997 in Irving Park (hardship ranking 34), compared with the city median household of \$43,210 (median hardship ranking, 50). The level of associational organization is low, with

Jefferson Park, Portage Park, and Irving Park generally lacking the activist history of Rogers Park in the 49th ward, and Little Village in the 22nd ward. Stated one interviewee concerning the participatory budgeting process in the 45th ward:

We have tremendous trouble getting volunteers. The 49th ward gets forty or fifty, they get a ton of volunteers. We have ten. And it's just difficult to get people to volunteer. I don't know what it is. I think part of it is some of that old school thinking. But we don't have the activist community where you know volunteering is a habit.

Along similar lines, another interviewee added:

The 45th ward has fewer non-profits, community-based organizations and even social service agencies...typically, even when I've met with people in those groups, their participation is lower by their own self-report than in other areas of the city.

Supporting these observations, PB Chicago and the Great Cities Institute collaborated on an institutional asset map of the 45th ward, and found that there were very few community-based organizations in the area.¹¹⁵ Similarly, in their assessment of associational involvement in participatory budgeting, Weber et al. (2015) found that the 45th ward has the fewest associational organizations overall of any participatory budgeting ward, with particularly low numbers in more activist-oriented categories, including “advocacy, organizing, civil rights, social justice and legal advocacy” and “CDCs, affordable housing, and housing”.

Redevelopment and Progress in the 45th Ward

The 45th ward is a neighbourhood in transition. Historically “ethnic white” with longstanding Polish, Ukrainian and Italian constituencies, and a working-class identification,

¹¹⁵ Personal communication Director of the Neighborhoods Initiative at the UIC Great Cities Institute.

many of the older residents are vacating family homes.¹¹⁶ Coupled with proximity to transit and a housing stock of mostly detached single-family homes, the ward has recently experienced an upswing in housing prices and changing demographics. Jefferson Park was one of very few CCAs to experience a net population increase from 2000 to 2015, bucking the city-wide trend which saw continued population declines, and foregrounding the degree of pressure on the housing market in the area. One white resident described a double wave of movement into the ward: both lower-income Latino families and also white professionals being priced out of neighbourhoods closer to downtown:

On the one hand, people in my demographic... college degrees, jobs and purchasing power, who buy houses in the neighbourhood have driven the housing market up and that's difficult for seniors who are living in the neighbourhood in some cases. Then there's other types of migration into the neighbourhood that I know have caused tension in the past more on that racial diversity question.

Another resident added:

I think like a lot of places, the changing ethnic demographics, that create a sense of unease from people who are already there, and probably a sense of unwelcome for people who are moving in, and then also just all these questions about development, a lot of development happening.

As the housing stock turns over, conflicts have emerged over neighbourhood development. The 45th ward is both diversifying, but also gentrifying, and the two processes overlap in complicated ways. As a historically white ward, presence of racial diversity beyond European ethnicities, specifically the growth of the Hispanic community, has created tensions, as the following comments from community members indicate:

¹¹⁶ “Ethnic white” was the terminology frequently used by community members to describe the racial composition of the 45th ward, generally referring to Polish, Ukrainian, Italian, and other European immigrant groups.

- To be frank, back in the 1980s this was not a neighbourhood welcoming to diversity... some of those attitudes still linger - Resident
- Honestly and this is going to sound bad but I'm not really exaggerating, the challenge is racism. People don't always voice it that way. But these old neighbourhoods that were lily-white for so long... we will hear a lot of things like I really don't get along with my new neighbours they are, they have too many people living in the house. That we figured out means I don't like living next to Latinos – Community member

The movement of racialized families into the ward has also engendered concerns around crime and safety, and residents spoke of “unease” and fears of declining public safety at changing ethnic demographics, sometimes framed as the importation of Chicago problems into the Jefferson Park bubble. The movement of downtowners into the 45th ward in search of more affordable single-family homes has exacerbated tensions around the vision for the future of the area, both calls to preserve its existing character and calls to “revitalize” the neighbourhood in the image of more urban areas, as discussed below.

The old/new resident divide is more a heuristic device to discuss oppositional mentalities rather than a set of fixed characteristics invariably associated with old and new residents themselves, neither of which are monolithic groups. Nonetheless, visions for the ward were discursively positioned as a contrast between old and new logic by interviewees, with older residents associated with a more suburban conception of what is desirable for the neighbourhood, and newer ones with notions of urbanist progress and development. Many new residents support increased densification and commercial development along key arterials as a positive direction from the neighbourhood, one that will enhance overall prosperity and well-being. In contrast, many of the older residents are interested in maintaining the existing character of the

neighbourhood, including low-density single-family housing, and less aggressively pursuing commercial development.

Tensions in opposing visions for the neighbourhood have manifested in the development of two rival neighbourhood associations: the Jefferson Park Neighbourhood Association (JPNA) and Jefferson Park Forward (JPF). The JPNA has existed for over 15 years and tends to skew older and more conservative in membership, while Jefferson Park Forward was formed in November 2015 in response to frustrations among younger and newer residents with what they perceived as the NIMBYism and insular nature of the JPNA. Stated one resident: “They [the JPNA] are very much anti-development unless that development is mostly single family homes”. Contrasting views of neighbourhood development are exemplified by the following two quotes from interviewees: the first from a JPNA member and the second from a JPF member:

There were a couple [of proposed] twin seven story 132 condo buildings on Lawrence near Milwaukee. This wasn't anything anyone from Jefferson Park wants... we blocked that project and defeated it. It's only gotten worse and now there's more pressure to excuse developments, especially when you are near trans[sit] centres and we don't want them because we like what we've got. We got the transit centre without the density. It's an ongoing battle and it's difficult to win. There's money behind developers and politicians in their pockets often. They point to urban planning as an excuse to push these through, that's where we are at today

- JPNA member

There's another set of shared assumptions [at Jefferson Park Forward meetings] that the neighbourhood would benefit from more commercial business and retail and restaurant, etc. along the main arteries. And that's a developmentalist point of view. It's about bringing private enterprising to private space, or even public owned spaces. Pieces of city property that are vacant, and we want to bring in a business and a residential four-story building there to bring density and revitalization

- JPF member

The JPNA's mandate is “preserving Jeff Park” (JPNA, n.d.). They are focused on maintaining the existing character of the community and are concerned that development decisions are being

made in the financial interests of developers. The JPNA members also are cognisant of the contrast between their vision for the neighbourhood and the dominant professional urban planning logic in terms of what is taken as “good” development practice. In contrast, JPF sees the neighbourhood as limited by a failure to fully embrace these same “good’ development practices to take advantage of the proximity to transit and create density that would help diversify the neighbourhood and support local commercial development. Conversations about residential densification have class and race dimensions, as initiatives to build condos and apartments attract lower income and racialized residents to the neighbourhood. Yet, as one resident explained, with assumptions of the benefits of commercial, residential and transportation redevelopment, “comes the potential of a price spiral upwards for rents and properties and amenities”. Thus, redevelopment in the 45th ward is commensurate with diversification but also gentrification and displacement.

Concerns with “progressive” development policies run through discussions of redevelopment in the 45th ward. This desire to position oneself as progressive is perhaps best exemplified by the very name Jefferson Park Forward. Typically, resident groups are identified by the moniker “neighbourhood association” speaking to primarily a geographic affinity, belonging to the same neighbourhood. JPF has replaced “neighbourhood association” with “forward”, foregrounding affinity based on shared progressive values, rather than mere proximity. One resident and member of JPF literally associated the JPNA with death: “how to plan your funeral was one of the topics they had for their actual meeting. So you can imagine what they're looking forward to and that's not what I wanted to look forward to”. Many residents contrasted the old mentality with neighbourhood modernization: “Some of the street design, I guess you can lump it into the lack of modern urban planning, legacy urban design. I don't think

helps move the community forward in the 21st century “. What is meant by “modern urban planning” is planning sensitive to the needs of pedestrians and cyclists, beautification, acculturation, and increased density, and increased resident participation in municipal decision-making. These desires are elevated to the status of common sense rather than politics, as JPF founder Ryan Richter stated the group “made the decision early on not to focus on politics” so as not to divide their members or coax them into arguments (Nitkin 2017). Nonetheless, many aspects of JPF’s mission have been the subject of political debate in the ward, especially their support for residential densification.

Alderman Arena has clearly aligned himself with the developmentalist mentality. His tagline during election campaigns, and on his current website is “Moving Jefferson Park Forward. Together” echoing the language of JPF. The first issue on his 2015 platform is “Economic Development”. Over his tenure as Alderman, he has “made the revitalization of the Jefferson Park Commercial strip a priority” and supported a number of commercial and residential redevelopment initiatives (Arena, 2017). Along with support for densification along arterial roads and near transit centers, Alderman Arena also supports enhancing the pedestrian and cycling amenities of the neighbourhood, as well as local arts and culture projects and neighbourhood beautification efforts. In fact, one of his first acts as alderman was to commission a series of murals on vacant buildings to enhance the safety of the neighbourhood and “revitalize the ward, attract new business and offer a sense of pride of place for residents” (Kogen, 2014). As one resident put it, the difference between Arena and his opponent came down to “different visions of redevelopment”. Alderman Arena also differed from his predecessor in his representation as a progressive candidate who would bring a particular version of development to

the neighbourhood. In our interview, Alderman Arena described his vision for the neighbourhood as follows:

I don't personally see the suburbs as a wholesome environment in terms of how we engage, you know, both socially and from a business standpoint, there's a lot of things about that culture that is very cocooning or siloed... And that conflict becomes something that we hear all the time in terms of development and even how we spend some of this [menu] money.

Arena's position on redevelopment has been controversial, and much opposition towards him has coalesced around the question of what constitutes desirable development for the neighbourhood – including criticisms of higher density developments, as well as pedestrian and cycling amenities. Most recently conflict has focused on the debate over a mixed-income housing development project Arena supports, a seven-story, 100-unit mixed income building at southwest corner of Northwest Highway and Milwaukee Avenue, with JPNA members speaking against it at public meetings, and JFA members in favour. (Cherone and Nitkin, 2017). A not-for-profit group called Northwest Side Unite, linked to the JPNA, was formed with a mandate of “preserving the quiet, low-density character of Northwest Side neighborhoods” and raised over \$10,000 to oppose the project and fund a lawsuit against the city to try and prevent the development application from moving forward (Northwest Side Unite, n.d.; Nitkin, 2017b).

While residents who oppose densification may root their opposition in property values, or concerns for the character of the neighbourhood, the consequences of this position are to exclude non-white potential residents, and indeed, objections are often linked to a fear of crime in ways that are racially coded. Opponents of the mixed-income development at Northwest Highway and Milwaukee Avenue have publicly made a number of racially coded comments – including likening the development to Cabrini Green, a former public housing development with predominantly Black residents, asserting that subsidized housing harbours sexual predators, and

raising fears of increased neighbourhood crime (Blumenthal, 2017). A *Chicago Reader* reporter described the opponents protesting outside a February 2017 development meeting as a “white mob” (Dukmasova, 2017). These contrasting visions – and heated conflicts - concerning neighbourhood development set the backdrop for participatory budgeting in the 45th ward as discussed below.

Participatory Budgeting and Redevelopment

As discussed in chapter 3, as in the 49th ward, the introduction of participatory budgeting in the 45th ward was initiated by the alderman. In 2011, Arena ran for office as a non-incumbent on a promise to institute participatory budgeting if elected. Arena positioned himself as a self-identified progressive and independent candidate, partly as a way of differentiating himself from the personal patronage style of his predecessor. Particularly in a city like Chicago with a long and storied history of patronage relations, professionalizing the disbursement of menu funds was crucial in publicly signalling his commitment to progressive politics (Bowman, 1996; Hamilton, 2010). But in the 45th ward, the practice of participatory budgeting is also highly compatible with Arena’s vision of redevelopment. In a neighbourhood context where Arena has allied himself with the mentality of “newer” residents, participatory budgeting functions as a mechanism to demonstrate his progressive political credentials, and also to facilitate the use of menu money in keeping with this vision of progressive development, capitalizing on notions individual creativity, responsibility through a form of policy experimentation consistent with capitalist residential and commercial redevelopment.

Although participation in participatory budgeting is open to any resident, the process has attracted residents with similar visions for the ward to Alderman Arena. Because the

participatory budgeting process is so closely linked to Alderman Arena, residents with substantial disagreements with Arena political orientation are reluctant to get involved, both because involvement could be construed as support for his leadership, and also because they tend to be suspicious of the independence and objectivity of the process.¹¹⁷ As a result, there tends to be agreement in the participatory budgeting committee with Arena's vision of neighbourhood redevelopment. One resident expressed the link between participatory budgeting and redevelopment as follows:

In the participatory budgeting committee, most of the people there are on board with the idea of commercial revitalization. Density is good, pedestrian amenities are good and transit-oriented development is good. Those are commonly shared beliefs that are not universally accepted in the neighbourhood.

Another resident also echoed the normative consensus on neighbourhood development at the participatory budgeting table, saying: "There's another set of shared assumptions in the room with all the people who were at PB [participatory budgeting], which I share too, is that the neighbourhood would benefit from more commercial business and retail". Through participatory budgeting, the active involvement in neighbourhood projects of residents who share Arena's vision for redevelopment is cultivated. In this way, participatory budgeting functions as a technology of governance that helps facilitate market expansion – in this case, real estate development – by acting through a community driven participatory democratic process to facilitate neighbourhood infrastructure developments that cultivate a desirable environment for real-estate redevelopment.

¹¹⁷ For example, some non-supporters in interviews suggested that participatory budgeting was "rigged" and only projects the Alderman wanted to win, won. There is no evidence to support accusations of vote fixing, or improprieties in vote counting.

At the same time, in a context where tensions around displacement, affordable housing and race have coalesced around questions of redevelopment, participatory budgeting enables Alderman Arena to step back from direct involvement in the allocation of menu funds. Residents suggest projects that support his vision of redevelopment and densification – including pedestrian improvements, bike lanes, beautification projects and public art. In the context of severe disagreement in the neighbourhood over what constitutes desirable local infrastructure development, participatory budgeting releases Arena from making difficult, and potentially politically costly decisions, by allowing the community to vote on the proportion of funding that goes towards different types of neighbourhood infrastructure. Thus, participatory budgeting also functions in the 45th ward to perpetuate a particular type of redevelopment through an appeal to the primacy of community. Shifting neighbourhood infrastructure decisions to a local vote mitigates some of the tensions around the reallocation of these funds, and also serves to grow his base of local supporters – by encouraging residents who share his vision to get involved and feel like they have a stake in the outcome of a participatory democratic process.

Ward 22: Little Village, North Lawndale and Garfield Ridge

A lot of the times our neighbourhoods just get flattened and they're viewed as very one-dimensional but acknowledging that the 22nd ward - Little Village in particular and North Lawndale - they're very complex, they're multidimensional. For us it's very important that they be seen that way. There are violence problems, yes, people are undocumented, but some people are not, some people are long-time homeowners

– Staff

Coffeeshops? We don't do coffeeshops in Little Village

– Resident

The 22nd ward is the only ward in this study located in the central-west part of the city, and only ward that could be characterized as low-income according to conventional socioeconomic indicators. Unlike the 49th ward which is mostly encompassed by a single

neighbourhood, the 22nd ward includes five distinct neighbourhoods. Little Village comprises the majority of the ward both geographically and population-wise. The 22nd ward also includes part of North Lawndale, and three micro-neighbourhoods: LeClair-Hearst, Sleepy Hollow and Bitnum Park that are all part of a CCA called Garfield Ridge. Unlike the 45th ward, which is composed of different neighbourhoods that are similar in affluence and racial composition, each neighbourhood that comprises the 22nd ward differs significantly. Little Village contains a large Mexican community. According to census data, residents are 85% Hispanic, 11% Black and 3% white. An estimated one of every four residents are undocumented (Enlace, 2016). This area contains many families, sometimes sharing a single apartment to reduce housing costs. The median family income is \$30,701 and the hardship ranking of 96 indicates that beyond being low income, the high incidence of unemployment and housing crowding. North Lawndale historically was one of the first neighbourhoods outside the “black belt” where Black residents were able to purchase homes, precipitating white flight in the 1950s and 1960s. In contrast to Little Village, 89% of residents of North Lawndale are Black, with small Latino (7%) and white (2%) populations. The neighbourhood has a median family income of \$22,383 and a hardship ranking of 86.

The 22nd ward also contains three micro neighbourhoods to the west of Lawndale, which are geographically disconnected from the rest of the ward by the presence of an expressway. These micro neighbourhoods were added to the 22nd ward during the 2011 redistricting. Bitnum Park and Sleepy Hollow are both middle-income mostly white, neighbourhoods to the west of Lawndale, and LeClair-Hearst is a predominantly Black working-class neighbourhood and the location of a former public housing project that was demolished in the 1990s despite significant contestation from residents, many of whom later purchased houses in the neighbourhood. Bitnum

Park, Sleepy Hollow and LeClair-Hearst are all a small part of a CCA called Garfield Ridge that is significantly whiter and more affluent than the Little Village or North Lawndale.

Not only are the communities that comprise the 22nd ward ethnically and geographically distinct, but they also have differences in housing stock and infrastructure, with Little Village containing many two, three and four-story flats and thus more renters than the other neighbourhoods. Little Village and North Lawndale have continued to cope with ongoing foreclosures stemming from the 2008 subprime mortgage crisis, though the rate of foreclosures has declined in other parts of the city. Little Village and North Lawndale are both older neighbourhoods with different infrastructure needs than the three Garfield Ridge communities that are more recent developments and located on the western border of the city. In addition, certain city programs that have permitted residents to pay part of the cost of an alley or sidewalk replacement to speed the process were heavily taken advantage of in Bitnum Park and Sleepy Hollow, but rarely within the means of residents in Little Village and North Lawndale, further exacerbating the infrastructure divide among different parts of the ward.

Little Village and North Lawndale both have large number of community groups and a strong history of community organizing. One staff person described this as follows:

There is a lot of community action that has always been present, in at least in Little Village and North Lawndale. People are very, very committed to community-based organizing, and we have a lot of homegrown leaders or facilitators... We have so many active non-profits that do really nitty-gritty community-based stuff.

Nonetheless, while both Little Village and North Lawndale have many active community organizations, few of these organizations cross neighbourhood boundaries. Mirroring language used to describe Rogers Park, one interviewee even suggested the demographics of the 22nd ward “mirrors very old-school-like Chicago segregation”. Stated another person “there's a pretty sharp

racial divide between the Latino and African American parts of the ward”. There are also tensions with the more affluent white micro-neighbourhoods that became part of the ward in the 2011 redistricting. One resident suggested that, “just culturally, people [from Bitnum Park] express clear and open dislike of the fact that they have to come to Little Village to see the alderman. He actually started doing meetings down there at the park to just make himself more accessible”. Another interviewee bluntly declared: “Alderman Muñoz is Hispanic. He has a white constituency in Bitnum Park that doesn’t like him because he’s Hispanic”. Regardless of the exact role played by racial discrimination, Alderman Muñoz’s traditional base of support is in Little Village where he has been a long-serving alderman with strong connections to community organizations. In contrast, it has been particularly challenging for him to gain the support of constituents in the Garfield Ridge neighbourhoods as recent additions to the ward.

Despite the neighbourhood divides, several interviewees pointed to common challenges across the 22nd ward, including education, crime and economic development. Conversely the same interviewees pushed back on the tendency to characterize the neighbourhood in terms of its problems. Interviewees sought to highlight the economic resiliency of the community:

- “Local businesses are incredibly strong. The mom and pop shop, the family that opens a restaurant and then is able to open another one and then another one” - Staff
- “That’s the make-up of the ward. Working class folks that if they can’t find a job, they’ll invent it which is why you’ll see a lot of street vendors, alley mechanics, welders” – Alderman Muñoz

In addition to economic development, another area of concern in the 22nd ward is housing affordability, particularly in Little Village. While property values and rents are still low in comparison to other neighbourhoods in Chicago, community activists and organizations have

begun raising concerns that the neighbourhood is at the beginning of a dynamic of gentrification (Chavez, 2016; Huggins, 2016). Moderate crime rates and the necessity of Spanish language proficiency to negotiate many parts of the neighbourhood had insulated the ward from pressures related to rising housing costs and displacement until recently. The continued incidence of foreclosures in Little Village also creates a supply of relatively inexpensive property for redevelopment, much of which has been purchased by white landlords. Latino families from the nearby, gentrifying, Pilson neighbourhood have been moving into Little Village creating additional pressure on the housing market. As in Rogers Park, the relatively high number of renters in Little Village in the absence of rent controls leave tenants with few protections against displacement.

Equity and Resource Constraints in the 22nd Ward

A major source of tension for the political leadership of the 22nd ward is the lack of contiguity in ward boundaries and resulting need to negotiate the needs of five different neighbourhoods within a single ward organization. In an analysis of the 2011 redistricting, the 22nd ward was highlighted as a ward which experienced a significant decline in compactness and contiguity – likely alluding to the addition in the 22nd ward of the three micro-neighbourhoods and further division of Little Village among multiple wards (Shapiro and Bliss, 2016). Often this need to balance different neighbourhood interests has manifested in language of “equity” on the part of the alderman and aldermanic office staff, who frequently discussed equity in interviews. For example, in discussing the participatory budgeting process, one interviewee connected with the Aldermanic office stated, “The equity piece was really important, because we have those five different neighbourhoods”. In this context, equity refers to fairness in the division of municipal

and aldermanic resources between the different constituencies that comprise the ward. Given the challenge of balancing support in multiple communities, particularly outside of his electoral base in the Little Village neighbourhood, Alderman Muñoz is concerned with cultivating an appearance of fairness and attentiveness to each part of the ward, an issue of lesser concern for Alderman Moore in the 49th ward or Alderman Arena in the 45th ward.

Throughout the process two key tensions emerged that undermined the sustainability of participatory budgeting from the alderman's perspective.¹¹⁸ The first was the heavy demand on staff time. Even with an active external partner in Enlace, the staff demands of participatory budgeting were substantial. While Alderman Muñoz has a similar staff compliment as Alderman Arena in the 45th ward, he has fewer aldermanic staff than Alderman Moore in the 49th ward. Alderman Muñoz also has the additional challenge of being the elected official in a ward where the majority of constituents are low-income, racialized, and many have precarious immigration status, conditions which have consequences for the workload of aldermanic staff. At one point, two staff members, or half Alderman Muñoz's staff complement were working almost full-time on participatory budgeting, a substantial outlay of staff time and resources.

The second point of tension that arose in the participatory budgeting process in the 22nd ward was concern with the equitable distribution of funds, according to the geographic logic of equity outlined above. Attempts to foster equity through participatory budgeting eventually led to a process that was complicated and labour-intensive in comparison with the participatory budgeting processes in other wards. The complexity of the participatory budgeting process in the 22nd ward was largely in response to difficulties engendered by the fragmented nature of the

¹¹⁸ As noted in chapter 3, the 22nd ward is unique in that it is the only ward where participatory budgeting was initiated from outside the aldermanic office by a community organization active in Little Village called Enlace. Thus, Alderman Muñoz likely had a different stake in the continuity of the process than in the wards where the alderman initiated the process.

ward. The first year of the participatory budgeting cycle, each ballot item was listed individually. In advance of the vote, residents of neighbourhoods raised concerns that the interests of Little Village would dominate the process, because Little Village was larger in both population and geographic area than the other neighbourhoods. One interviewee summed up this tension as follows:

I get why more of the money should probably be spent in Little Village not just because it's a large percentage of the ward but also because infrastructure needs are greater, issues around gang violence and safety, and things like that. But what does that mean for me then, and how does that create unity in a ward... Because when you think about equity... these wards that are not built in ways that are equitable.

These concerns regarding the aggregative nature of decision-making in the process proved to be well founded. In the first participatory budgeting cycle, projects in the Little Village area received more votes and were more likely to be funded than projects in other neighbourhoods. This led to heightened tensions after the first participatory budgeting cycle across neighbourhood divides, as the following quotes from interviewees suggest:

- “We really struggled with equity [after the first cycle]” - Staff
- “There is a sense that everyone has to look out for their own. So if had to vote for let's say a park project in my community or one in Little Village, of course I'm going to want to vote for the one in my community” - Resident
- “I remember a number of people just being salty as hell. It's exactly what I said was going to happen. If our area of the 22nd ward is 5% of the voters how are we ever going to... so majority rules is generally not very equitable” – Community member

In our interview, Alderman Muñoz also echoed these sentiments:

The first year, the project that won the most votes was the Pietrowski Park baseball lights program. And it cost me \$200,000. Instead of spending \$50,000 here, \$50,000 there to spread the benefits around to the whole ward, because Pitrowski Park is our only

park [in Little Village], everybody voted it... to spend 150,000 or 200,000 on one location excludes the rest of the ward.

The Alderman's concerns around the funding of lights Pietrowski Park did not focus on the merits of the project: whether the project addressed an important neighbourhood need, or whether many people would benefit from the park improvement. Rather his concern was the concentration of spending in one place would undermine a geographically equitable distribution of funds, leaving residents outside Little Village neglected. In response, in the second year of participatory budgeting, staff and volunteers took additional steps to try to cultivate a more equitable process. Additional community meetings were held in different parts of the ward. Large maps of the ward were produced and distributed at meetings to encourage participants to think beyond their neighbourhood boundaries and needs. Infrastructure audits were held, where residents visited unfamiliar parts of the ward to assess community needs and create a geographically balanced prioritization of projects. All of these initiatives demanded additional staff labour, with eventually four staff people – two from the alderman's office and two from Enlace – working fulltime on participatory budgeting in the leadup to the vote. In an attempt to, as one interviewee described it, “empower people to vote for equity”, the ballot was engineered to cluster similar types of infrastructure together regardless of location. Voters who wanted to support upgrades to a park in their neighbourhood, had only the option of voting for a selection of park upgrades across the ward. While staffers reported that residents were more satisfied with the allocation of funding after this change to the process, the limitations of participatory budgeting to address equity in the 22nd ward remained a concern, as one interviewee explained:

One of the reasons that participatory budgeting is really good is because it helps communities that feel they have been marginalized to not feel that way anymore by this empowering process. Our ward is not that. If you asked residents do you feel

marginalized, well everyone feels marginalized. Of course they feel marginalized. In the allocation of funds, I don't think that was a reality with us.

In a ward where the majority of residents are racialized and low-income, and many have precarious legal status, the limitation of participatory budgeting to infrastructure funds left the process unable to address many pressing community needs. Moreover, the tendency of participatory budgeting to oblige different neighbourhoods to compete with each other for necessary infrastructure funding created a sense that the process, as constituted, was unable to effectively address equity in the 22nd ward.

In our research interview, a second reason raised by the alderman for discontinuing participatory budgeting was the funding of off-menu projects: neighbourhood amenities beyond basic infrastructure repairs, like lighting for Pitrowski Park. Alderman Muñoz lamented these off-menu projects were often selected at the expense of necessary infrastructure repairs like resurfacing alleys which were “not sexy” enough to garner the necessary votes through the participatory budgeting process. Muñoz elaborated:

I had been pushing the [participatory budgeting] process to make sure that we spend at least 40% of the budget on this infrastructure [alleyways]... I represent a ward that has 250 residential blocks, I couldn't get to all the sidewalks, I couldn't get to all the alleys. When I first became alderman in 1993, between 1993 and 1996, we resurfaced all 250 alleys.

From the alderman's perspective, there was a mismatch between how he believed the menu funds should be used to effectively address neighbourhood infrastructure needs, and the actual projects chosen by residents for funding.¹¹⁹ In addition, there is an emphasis on equity-as-

¹¹⁹ As discussed in chapter 3, in comparison to other wards in Chicago, the 22nd ward is not particularly large and is not one of the wards identified in the OIG audit as having a particularly large infrastructure gap. Rather, it falls in the middle of the pack.

geographic-parity – an emphasis on repaving *all* neighbourhood blocks. In another comment during our interview, Alderman Muñoz further emphasized his position as arbitrator of neighbourhood infrastructure needs through the Menu program:

The Menu is the only budget that I get to decide which sidewalks to do, what alleys to do, what streets to do, and the fact that the PB [participatory budgeting] process was diverting that money to other nice projects, but they weren't streets, they were murals and murals are pretty but number one they don't last, and number two nobody ever busts a tire over a mural they bust them over potholes.

As the ward's elected representative, Alderman Muñoz positions himself as being best situated to allocate Menu funds in a manner that is equitable in distribution and reflective of community needs. In contrast, participatory budgeting is predicated on the notion that these decisions can and should be devolved to community members. Indeed, some residents did suggest that the alderman resented being pushed to engage with community projects he might otherwise not support. In contrast to staff in the 49th ward, who saw benefit in leveraging the off-menu use of Menu funds in conversation with other municipal departments, the 22nd ward aldermanic office emphasized the importance of Menu funds as the only source of funding for basic infrastructure improvements. In a high-needs, low-resource community, the use of menu funds for non-traditional projects may represent more of a challenge in keeping up with basic infrastructure needs, especially in a context where Menu funds are insufficient to meet these needs, as demonstrated through the OIG audit.

To sum up, in the 22nd ward, community tensions manifested around questions of equity in the participatory budgeting process, and in particular a conception of equity rooted in a geographic parity in the distribution of Menu funds. While community members agreed that equity was a concern, they believed they were able to organize the participatory budgeting process to satisfactorily deal with these concerns. In contrast, Alderman Muñoz disagreed and

decided to discontinue the process after two years, arguing that his own vision for the distribution of funding was more equitable and less demanding on aldermanic staff time and energy. The aldermanic office also suggested the process of participatory budgeting was redundant, in that the office was already seeking to “practice equity” in the distribution of menu funds, and therefore participatory budgeting was unnecessary. Coupled with the lack of an electoral imperative for engaging in participatory budgeting in the 22nd ward, as discussed in chapter 3, the inability of community tensions related to equity to be effectively managed through the participatory budgeting process rendered the process unnecessary and unsustainable in the eyes of the alderman, who held ultimate discretion as to the continuation of the process.

Conclusion: Neighbourhood Tensions and Aldermanic Support for Participatory Budgeting

In all three wards – the 49th, the 45th, and the 22nd – the dominant framing of participatory budgeting was slightly different. In the 49th ward, proponents of participatory budgeting have sought to ground the process in the language of diversity. In the 45th ward, participatory budgeting has become comingled with language of redevelopment. In the 22nd ward, the aldermanic staff and neighbourhood organizers sought to root the process in equity. In all three cases, the dominant language used to frame participatory budgeting spoke to areas of significant tensions in neighbourhoods – tensions often worsened by neoliberal restructuring. In the 49th ward, tensions related to charter schools and affordable housing undermined the presentation of the ward as a harmonious mixing of diverse racial groups and economic classes. In the 45th ward, gentrification and densification has led to contestation over what infrastructure investments contribute to desirable community redevelopment. In the 22nd ward, the recent union of five disparate neighbourhoods into one ward, coupled with the challenges of a low-income

constituency, have led to ongoing concerns over the equitable distribution of scarce public resources. In the 49th and 45th wards, participatory budgeting was useful tactic for channeling dominant neighbourhood tensions into a process of participatory democracy that reinforced the alderman's preferred narrative of community identity. In contrast, in the 22nd ward, participatory budgeting was less successful in addressing equity concerns between different neighbourhoods, and consequentially was less useful as a mechanism for bringing residents into a positive relationship with the aldermanic office. In addition, participatory budgeting may have been perceived as less strategically useful and necessary by the alderman in building constituency relationships. Alderman Muñoz is a well-established alderman, who won his last election with a very high margin despite the major redistricting of his ward. Thus, Alderman Muñoz likely judged that the time and resources required to engage in participatory budgeting would not provide a sufficient electoral return in the context of the 22nd ward.

Narratives of the three case study wards reinforce several additional themes. First, the degree of associational organization in the communities that comprise each ward seems unrelated to the longevity of a participatory budgeting project. While the 49th ward has a high degree of associational organization present in community, many of these groups are uninvolved with the participatory budgeting process. The 45th ward has a very low degree of associational organization yet has maintained a participatory budgeting project for five years. The 22nd ward had both a high level of associational organization, and a high level of involvement of community groups with the participatory budgeting project, yet the participatory budgeting project in this ward was discontinued after two years. Unlike Porto Alegre where the presence of pre-existing community groups and a high level of associational involvement has been discussed as an important condition for establishing a participatory budgeting project, in Chicago

aldermanic support for the project seems to be the determining factor. Second, beyond aldermanic support, participatory budgeting in Chicago seems to require a degree of aldermanic ownership over the process. Of all the wards in Chicago that have initiated a participatory budgeting project to date, the 22nd ward is the only case of community initiation. In the end, despite ongoing community support, the project was unsustainable in the absence of an aldermanic imperative for continuation. This calls into question the veracity of narratives that describe participatory budgeting as an inherently grassroots form democracy. Rather, in the case of Chicago projects tend to be established by elite actors when the politics and results of participatory budgeting is useful in maintaining electoral support or enhancing the reputation of the local alderman.

Chapter 5: Who Participates in Participatory Budgeting? Respectability, Responsibilization and Neoliberal Subjectivities

Neoliberal subject formation manifests in regimes of citizenship that extend capitalist market rationalities to govern individual citizen behaviour, including the articulation of the autonomous, self-improving citizen who through the judicious exercise of individual choice, participates in governance (Brown, 2003; Larner, 2000). The individual resident is not merely an object of governance but rather constituted as an active subject in reproducing capitalist market logics through individual behaviour. The “regulated choices of individual citizens” becomes crucial to the extension of neoliberal governance (Rose, 1996: 41).

Yet the tendency to read neoliberal subjectivity into all aspects of contemporary life can result in a flattening of experience and foreclosure of possibilities for contestation and difference. Indeed, calls for attention to variegation, context-specificity, and moments of difference are largely in response to the tendency towards erasure of alternative spaces and possibilities endemic to reified analyses of neoliberal subjectivity (Dean, 2009; Kern, 2017). This chapter seeks to investigate the relationship between participatory budgeting and neoliberal governance, while maintaining attentiveness to a tendency to overdetermine behaviour in analyses grounded in neoliberalism. The chapter asks how participatory budgeting creates new neoliberal subjectivities in governance, but also conversely how it offers up alternative conceptions of political engagement. More specifically, I argue that in the North American context, participatory budgeting operates in tension between extension and contestation of neoliberal governance: its commensurability with neoliberal subjectivities is part of the reason for its adaptability and success, but at the same time, the participatory budgeting process has served as

a basis for assertions of collectivity and equity that contest a strictly neoliberal interpretation of the process.

This chapter investigates these questions through a discussion of who participates in participatory budgeting, how the benefits of participatory budgeting are understood by different participants, and how participatory budgeting intersects with the performance of “good” citizenship. In Chicago, the most involved residents, those who volunteer with projects, tend to be more highly educated and whiter than their neighbours, and tend to have pre-existing connections to political organizations like political parties or neighbourhood associations. At the same time, there is a fetishization of low-income and racialized participation, which is seen as necessary to enhance the legitimacy of the process. This can be taken as a sincere engagement with inclusivity in a political process, but also an attempt to remake constituencies perceived as apathetic in a model of “good citizenship” that legitimates the racial state. Moreover, there are affinities between the responsabilization associated with neoliberal restructuring and a participatory budgeting process that marshals substantial voluntary labour to make individuals and community groups responsible for solving infrastructure problems historically addressed by paid municipal employees. Nonetheless, the participatory budgeting process in Chicago has enabled individual residents to develop an enhanced understanding of municipal bureaucracy and advocacy. At times, participatory budgeting has also served as a vehicle for community members and organizers to build new solidarities between residents of different neighbourhoods. to pursue goals outside of the participatory budgeting process. Thus, participatory budgeting can precipitate, in a limited sense, a degree of individual empowerment and reduce individual alienation from local government.

Neoliberal Subjectivities in Municipal Governance

The terminology of neoliberalism requires some unpacking. As Self (1993, 2000) notes, the language of efficiency, accountability, transparency and autonomy holds meaning beyond neoliberal interpretations: arguably, these concepts are an important part of democratic governance, foregrounding the right of people to exercise control over government. Discourses of efficiency, accountability, transparency, and autonomy, however, have also been colonized by neoliberalism to take-on economic and managerial meanings, and are mobilized in the interest of expanding market governance (Lorenz, 2012; Self, 2000). Efficiency becomes synonymous with “value for money”, where economic returns become the measure of the merits of a policy program, at the expense of other considerations like social equity or democratic inclusion (Self, 2000). Accountability becomes redefined through technologies of audit as a financial accounting of expenses and measurement of outcomes against pre-determined benchmarks, rather than being understood more democratically as the monitoring of government by the people (Rose. 1996; Lorenz, 2012). Similarly, transparency becomes redefined, not as a citizen’s right to information about governance decisions, but rather market transparency: the right to exercise purchasing power and consumer choice (Lorenz, 2012). Successful stewardship of citizens and organizational initiatives becomes synonymous with responsabilization, self-financing, and ideally, profitability (Lorenz, 2012). Thus, neoliberal policy reforms redefine concepts like efficiency, accountability, transparency, and autonomy to create a rhetoric of desirability concerning the extension of market logics.

Encouraging consumers to value choice is central to the operation of neoliberal market economies. This has made “democratic discourses” that position citizens as active participants in municipal policy-making all the more crucial in legitimating the neoliberal project (Addie, 2009;

Theodore and Peck, 2011). In fact, a number of authors point out that neoliberalism has actually entailed the “roll-out” of new institutions of participatory governance - like the appointment of professional managers of citizen engagement - that purport to increase citizen involvement but actually function to facilitate market expansion through the management of citizen participation in official avenues that do not contest the marketization of new domains of public service provision, and the parallel delegitimization democratic contestation outside these channels (Peck and Tickell, 2002; Addie, 2009; Moulder and O’Neill, 2001). The question arises, then, as to the extent to which participatory budgeting can be approached as an extension of neoliberal logics of governance that seek to legitimize the elite dominance public policies and public resources, as opposed to a practice that vests budgetary power in communities and contests neoliberal policies and practices.

Participatory budgeting can be interpreted in the context of a broader neoliberal trend of downloading government responsibilities to individual citizens (Brown, 2003; Addie, 2013). Residents are given control over a small amount of funding, that is largely insufficient to meet neighbourhood infrastructure needs, and tasked with both disbursing this funding and developing a process that is participatory, deliberative and democratic. Thus, in the case of Chicago, an environment of fiscal constraint makes participatory budgeting attractive to aldermen to both signal their democratic credentials, but also to outsource difficult budget choices in an environment of fiscal constraint. This helps explain why the impetus to adopt participatory budgeting largely came from aldermen themselves, and not community groups or social movement organizing, as discussed in chapters 3 and 4. Aldermen are willing to engage in an expensive, time consuming, participatory democratic process because participatory budgeting helps manage budgetary contestation in a context where neighbourhood infrastructure is severely

underfunded. Peck and Theodore point out that the way participatory budgeting has often been taken up in North American contexts is “quite compatible” with commitments to fiscal restraint and public spending accountability, decentralized service delivery, and neoliberal economic policies more broadly (2015: 190). The next section of this chapter will build these themes through a discussion of who participates in participatory budgeting, and how this participation is characterized, while the final section of this chapter turns to questions of equity and community.

Who Participates in Participatory Budgeting?

Participatory budgeting proponents in Chicago and beyond have placed substantial emphasis on assessing the dynamics of participation. The following discussion details how different residents participate in participatory budgeting, and what common motivations inspire individuals to participate. It argues that the framing of participation is a key area where conflictual representations of the process are mobilized: neoliberal democracy necessitates the selling of participatory processes as “diverse” “equitable” and “efficient” (Omi and Winant, 2015). In Chicago, this has led to an extensive exit-surveying process, as well as pressure to collect and publicize demographic data as demonstrating the diversity and effectiveness of the process. Nonetheless, as both survey data and interviews indicate, both volunteers and voters tend to be wealthier, whiter, and more educated than the average resident of their wards.¹²⁰ There are three main opportunities for residents to participate in participatory budgeting. The tendency to aggregate different levels of participation into the categories of “participant” and “non-participant” obscures crucial differences in levels of involvement that have implications for

¹²⁰ The data sources used in the following discussion largely draw from two sources: qualitative interview data, outlining participants own impressions of the demographic composition of volunteers and voters in the participatory budgeting process; and survey data collected by UIC from voters and volunteers during and after the 2014 participatory budgeting cycle.

the inclusivity of the participatory budgeting process. Under the rubric of participation, residents may choose to volunteer with the participatory budgeting process; they may choose to attend public meetings about participatory budgeting; or they may simply participate in the final vote that determines the allocation of funding. Each type of involvement is detailed briefly below.

Volunteers refers to residents who are members of a participatory budgeting committee, and regularly attend planning and decision-making meetings over a span of four to six months. Residents who volunteer have the most substantial level of engagement with the process. They help make procedural determinations locally in their ward, by determining the criteria used to rank various project proposals, and also city wide, through the annual writing of the rules meeting where terms for the entire participatory budgeting process are established. Volunteers, guided by aldermanic staff, decide which of the dozens of project proposals are included on the final ballot, an important decision that structures the possibilities for funding. They also staff mobile polls and other voting stations. Finally, volunteers also contribute their own project ideas, developing these proposals in conjunction with other residents, aldermanic staff, and sometimes municipal staff as well. Throughout the course of their involvement, volunteers typically meet the alderman and their staff, gain the exposure to municipal processes for infrastructure approval, as well as experience with the rules and regulations governing different municipal departments. Thus, many of the civic literacy benefits associated with participatory budgeting are most greatly reinforced at the volunteer level of engagement. In addition, attempts to create procedural and normative equality are mobilized in volunteer committee meetings, thus many of the deliberative aspects of the process are most pronounced at the volunteer level of involvement as well.

A second level of involvement is attendance at public meetings called neighbourhood assemblies. At “idea collection” assemblies, any resident can suggest an idea for funding

consideration through the participatory budgeting process. At “project expos”, held after specific projects are chosen for the ballot, residents can discuss different project proposals with volunteers and other community members. Attending public meetings provides residents with some ability to shape the projects that appear on the ballot and engage in deliberative discussion with other residents and volunteers about the relative merits of different projects. However, residents who attend public meetings have limited ability to shape the rules of the process or participate in decisions governing the structure and content of the final ballot.

Finally, residents can also participate in participatory budgeting by voting on the final allocation of funds. There are two types of voters: intentional voters and situational voters. Intentional voters decide in advance to participate in the vote and intentionally visit a voting location – typically a school or aldermanic office – to cast their ballot. Deciding to vote in the participatory budgeting process in advance provides these voters with the opportunity to research projects online, participate in social media discussions about projects, and discuss projects with family, friends, and aldermanic staff if they are so inclined.

Situational voters are voters who happen across a participatory budgeting polling station. While these might be voters who have other business at the aldermanic office while a vote is being conducted, situational voters mostly tend to be recruited at mobile polling stations. Mobile polling stations are volunteer-run voting stations that are set up temporarily at popular public and semi-public locations. For example, mobile voting stations are commonly set up for three to four hours at transit stations, grocery stores, schools, or on post-secondary campuses. Mobile polling stations are designed to “pull the vote”. At these stations, volunteers actively solicit participation from residents going about their daily routine, typically unaware of the participatory budgeting process.

For situational voters, their participation depends on their receptiveness to a brief “sales” pitch by volunteers; whether they have the time to vote on the spot; and whether they are willing to demonstrate residency in the ward.¹²¹ Situational voters may have little to no prior knowledge of the different projects, and usually are in a rush, for example, running errands or on their way to school or work. While they have access to lengthy project descriptions and cost-estimates at the mobile voting station, the sheer volume of material can be overwhelming, and situational voters generally attempt to vote quickly.¹²² Indeed, while volunteering at a mobile polling station, one recruitment phrase suggested by more experienced volunteers was asking potential voters if they had five minutes for democracy, mobilizing the minimal time commitment to persuade people to stop. Situational voting is the least involved form of participation, with limited opportunity for participants to shape the process or engage in deliberative dialogue with other residents.

These different forms of participation – volunteering, attending public meetings, and voting - have important implications for considering the equity dimensions of participation. The development of mobile voting stations as a tactic to increase participation has largely been driven by concerns with diversifying participation. To some extent, mobile voting stations have been successful on this front: non-white people were twice as likely to vote at a mobile poll as at the ward office, while the same was true of moderate to low income voters (Crum et al. 2015). Low-income and non-white voters were most likely to be involved in the process as situational voters (Crum et al. 2015). But situational voting is the least engaged, least deliberative and least

¹²¹ To be permitted to vote in the participatory budgeting process, potential voters must demonstrate, typically by showing identification or a piece of mail, that they reside in the ward.

¹²² Personal observation from volunteering at two mobile voting stations in May, 2016.

powerful form of participation. The demographic aspects of participation are discussed further below.

The Great Cities Institute at UIC collects detailed exit surveys from participatory budgeting participants. The most recent round of publicly available data, from the 2013-2014 participatory budgeting cycle, surveyed 302 participants at the neighbourhood assemblies and 2,218 voters from wards 22, 45 and 49 (see Tables 6 and 7).¹²³ Generally, the survey data found that voters tended to be wealthier, with higher incomes and levels of educational attainment than the average resident of the ward, as determined through census data. In addition, white residents tended to participate both as voters and at public meetings in greater numbers than their proportion of the population would suggest.

Race or Ethnicity **	Ward 49			Ward 45			Ward 22		
	Ward Profile	Vote (n = 1,406)	Assembly (n=129)	Ward Profile	Vote (n=421)	Assembly (n=43)	Ward Profile	Vote (n=377)	Assembly (n=130)
Asian	7%	3%	7%	7%	2%	0%	<1%	1%	2%
Black	27%	3%	7%	2%	1%	0%	7%	28%	28%
Latino	24%	12%	9%	25%	12%	6%	88%	55%	50%
White	39%	52%	54%	64%	81%	79%	4%	6%	5%

* Table adapted from Crum et al. (2015). Data collected through exit surveys at neighbourhood assemblies and polling stations for the 2013-2014 participatory budgeting cycle.

**Respondents asked to select all categories that applied.

¹²³ Although not publicly available, I also have had access to the aggregated 2016 demographic data for wards 49 and 45 from participatory budgeting voters and neighbourhood assembly attendees. The response rates from neighbourhood assembly attendees was very low in 2016 (67 surveys and a 24% response rate for the 49th ward and 20 surveys and a 25% response rate for the 45th ward). As a result, I have chosen to use the 2014 data, which had roughly double the response rate for both wards. Generally the 2016 data shows very similar demographic trends, with some variation, likely due to the small number of responses in the neighbourhood assembly category.

	Ward 49			Ward 45			Ward 22		
Education	Ward Profile	Vote (n=1,406)	Assembly n=(129)	Ward Profile	Vote (n=421)	Assembly (n=43)	Ward Profile	Vote (n=377)	Assembly (n=130)
< High school	18%	8%	6%	15%	1%	0%	48%	28%	10%
High school diploma/ GED	18%	10%	5%	26%	7%	14%	29%	23%	15%
Some college or vocational diploma	24%	20%	21%	28%	12%	16%	16%	24%	27%
Bachelor's degree	23%	27%	26%	21%	29%	27%	6%	11%	25%
Graduate degree	17%	28%	36%	11%	32%	26%	1%	8%	8%

* Table adapted from Crum et al. (2015). Data collected through exit surveys at neighbourhood assemblies and polling stations for the 2013-2014 participatory budgeting cycle.

These trends were present in all wards and were exaggerated at the higher levels of involvement: people who voted were somewhat more representative of neighbourhood demographics than people who attended neighbourhood assemblies. There was strong participation from women throughout the process, who were more likely to vote and attend neighbourhood assemblies than men.¹²⁴ One limitation of the exit survey data is that it does not differentiate volunteers from public meeting attendees, or intentional voters from situational voters. These distinctions matter, because as discussed above, they have implications for who holds power within the process. Interview data provides a more detailed impression of participation, and also an opportunity to ask interviewees to differentiate between their perceptions of voters, meeting attendees, and volunteers. In interviews, aldermen, residents, and staff all pointed to volunteers, and often voters, as being whiter, wealthier, and more educated than average constituents in the wards

¹²⁴ No data was collected on non-binary or gender non-conforming people.

where they lived. A selection of representative quotes, in response to the question “tell me about who participates in participatory budgeting” include:

- “We found that the people who both volunteer and who vote tend to be wealthier. Tend to be more highly educated. They tend to be a little whiter than our demographics. Which is a real challenge for us. We're trying to figure out how do we bridge that gap. And I know that's been a challenge for several wards, actually” - Staff
- “College educated, urban middle class... I'm just thinking of the people on the [volunteer] committee this year. So there's somebody who works for an architecture firm, somebody who works as a landscape architect, somebody who works as a structural engineer, somebody who works for the Illinois Department of Transportation, and somebody who studies urban history. This is not a representative cross section of society” - Resident and Volunteer
- “Mainly the participation we have on the executive committee and as the community reps, the body is mainly white and middle class. The education levels are higher” - Staff
- “People who are retired, middle to upper class folks, English speakers, homeowners, I think in generally people that have free time and work traditional 9-5 jobs that makes it possible for them to attend a 7pm meeting” - Resident and Volunteer

One staffer even suggested that the appeal of participatory budgeting was because they knew the alderman’s constituency included a “progressive set of white people”. Yet while the appeal of participatory budgeting to white, highly educated and progressive constituents forms part of the impetus for adopting participatory budgeting for some aldermen, it is also understood as a problem by residents, staff, and aldermen.

The justification of participatory budgeting as a policy relies on participatory budgeting as superior to typical liberal democratic processes, like voting in elections. More specifically, this superiority is embedded in three narratives of participatory budgeting which add value to the process: that it leads to more meaningful involvement than electoral voting; that it is successful in recruiting less engaged residents; and that it is more equitable than other liberal democratic processes. The interview and exit survey data described above provides a mixed assessment on all three fronts: we turn to a consideration of each of these issues in turn below. First, I discuss motivations for involvement, and then I turn to each of the three narratives of participatory budgeting that help legitimate the process in turn.

Resident Motivations for Involvement in Participatory Budgeting

Interviews revealed several overlapping clusters of motivation for involvement in participatory budgeting among residents. Four clusters of motivation are discussed below: issue-based, improvement-based, citizenship-based, and efficacy-based.

One set of motivations expressed by volunteers in interviews was a prior issue-based concern that might resolved through the participatory budgeting process.¹²⁵ For these participants, rather than being motivated by democratic ideals, they understood the process instrumentally, as a means to move a favoured project or policy concern onto the public agenda:

- “I was very keen to look for ways to help strengthen the connections and the ease of shifting from the... how can we make it easier for you to ride your bike to the L or Metra, park and get on the train? How can we get it easier for people to get around without a car if they don't want to drive a car” - Resident and Volunteer

¹²⁵ Issue-based motivations were also cited as common in exit-survey data, roughly half all neighbourhood assembly attendees and PB voters citing a specific issue as their motivation for participation (Crum et al. 2015).

- “What I've seen at the committees, most folks that participate at that level are folks that started with well here's a special interest of mine, it's bikes, it's this particular school project, it's this particular park project” - Alderman
- “The interest in participatory budgeting has been declining for people who already know about it, or who approach participatory budgeting as a pet project... they have their own agenda, and the project is done, they disappear, they don't care, so this happens too. Which is sad” - Staff

In interview interactions, volunteers would sometimes provide technical drawings or detailed descriptions of a recent project they were in the process of advocating for through the participatory budgeting process. Sometimes initial project-based interest developed into sustained commitment to the participatory budgeting process itself, but sometimes individuals become disengaged after advocating for their project. Generally, issue-based motivation was perceived by staff and other participatory budgeting proponents as less desirable than other forms of motivation, as a self-interested motivation that did not embody deliberative democratic ideals concerning the pursuit of collective community goals through participatory budgeting.

A second, related, cluster of motivation focused on the possibility of improvement, premised on the notion that it is neither possible, nor desirable, to rely on elected officials or city staff to address neighbourhood needs. There was a sense among participants that as individuals they could mobilize through the participatory budgeting process to address concerns that were not being adequately handled by the municipal government. Consider the following selection of interview quotes:

- “Right now, a lot of people delve into participatory budgeting because they have a bone to pick or because they want something done. And they figure if we get it on participatory budgeting it's going to get done” - Resident and Volunteer
- “I was motivated by the sense of discontent with some of the pedestrian safety issues that I thought were pretty well taken care of where I previously lived and suddenly were not great where I had moved to” - Resident and Volunteer
- “I take pride in where I live. I know how I want to live and I know what resources I need [to make it happen]” - Resident and Volunteer

As articulated in these quotes, not only were residents motivated by a particular project idea or area of policy concern, they were also motivated by a sense that participatory budgeting was an opportunity to take matters into their own hands and create meaningful action on a policy issue, that they perceived as being poorly dealt with or having stagnated in other areas of municipal governance.

A third set of motivations was a normative sense of obligation and citizenship. Several participants noted fulfilling a sense of civic duty in explaining their involvement, as well as a sense that this was an unusual opportunity to be involved:

- “Wanting to be a good citizen. I know that's my compulsion, it's like I should participate in the neighbourhood. Just to not be a naysayer, to find out what's going on” - Resident and Volunteer
- “I am civic minded, oriented to public service, and it seemed like a really kind of exciting way to get involved at the local level. And I would venture that many others feel that way” - Resident and Volunteer

- “My interest grew so quickly on it because I have an interest in civic engagement of immigrants” - Resident and Volunteer
- “In general, I believe in civic involvement and being a part of public life and I'd never really lived in a place where there was this open invitation to do that” - Resident and Volunteer¹²⁶

Here residents emphasize a desire to embody certain norms of citizenship as civic and community-oriented individuals. Participatory budgeting is discussed as an important, and potentially new and exciting, way to participate in local in the governance of their local community.

Finally, a fourth set of motivations described by interviewees was a sense that participation in projects like participatory budgeting could enhance their sense of personal efficacy and feel empowered. Sometimes this was discussed in terms of an opportunity to exercise creative influence over the direction of municipal infrastructure funding. Often this sense of efficacy was positioned as uncharacteristic of municipal governance:

- “The ability to decide what's going to happen with your tax dollars to have a say in that it's so profound for people. I think it creates a higher sense of engagement of civic engagement and civic participation that we are lacking in this country” - Staff
- “Where else do we get to influence how tax money is spent, other than electing a person? That has an appeal, especially because of in this case what the money is used for, which is infrastructure improvements in our community” - Resident and Volunteer
- “The possibility of turning a huge government... well theoretically turning a huge government into something that listens from the bottom up” - Resident and Volunteer

¹²⁶ This interviewee had always lived in Chicago, and thus their comment about never having lived where this type of engagement was possible can be taken as a comment on Chicago politics and participation.

- “You see people who really are like, what is this, this is really interesting, I've never been able to participate in my community this way, they really care about their community” - Staff

Generally, these four aspects of motivation position residents as responsible for self and neighbourhood improvement. This perspective emerges strongly through the second (improvement) and third (citizenship) clusters of motivation. No longer is it reasonable for citizens to rely on elected officials to improve public amenities and address areas of citizen concerns – rather if residents want changes, they should be prepared to participate in the labour of creating consensus and securing funding. Good citizenship practices now extend beyond merely being an educated and informed voter, rather they require ongoing participation in governance (Baiocchi and Ganuza, 2017; Pateman, 2012). This entails an active rather than passive form of citizenship, but notably activist only within the channels set up for resident engagement and involvement, as relates back to the differential treatment of public participation concerning the city budget as a whole, discussed in chapter 2. Because the City of Chicago is “broke” residents must take matters into their own hands and find creative solutions to local infrastructure projects. They must do the work of auditing and cataloguing neighbourhood infrastructure needs and creating an equitable and transparent process to arbitrate between those needs.

From interviewees’ discussions of their motivations for participating, two related threads emerge. First, despite this sense among participants that the normative obligation of good citizenship requires active participation, there was also a contradictory impression that the opportunity for participation provided by participatory budgeting was unusual. Comments such as “a really kind of exciting way to get involved” and “I'd never really lived in a place where

there was this open invitation to do that” speak to the contradictions embedded in citizenship practices that venerate active participation from ordinary residents, and broader structures of municipal governance that stymie such participation.

Second, and related, there was a tendency to distinguish participatory budgeting from partisan political initiatives. Despite the partisan dimensions of participatory budgeting in Chicago, discussed in chapters 3 and 4, participants frequently contrasted their involvement with participatory budgeting with party politics. Several interviewees explicitly characterized participatory budgeting as appealing because it was “not politics”. Consider the following quotes:

- “A lot of the issues that Chicago's confronting, the solutions are not going to be political, they're going to be personal, and they're going to be communal. You always have politics in communal actions, but you know what I mean, not in governmental space. And if we're really going to move our city forward a lot of it is going to have to be done by the residents because government either doesn't have the money or the capacity” - Staff
- “They feel... I mean to make it really simple [contrasting participatory budgeting and elections] one's government and one's politics - one is like how do we spend the public treasure, that's government, the other is how do we get people who share our values elected into office” - Resident and Volunteer
- “It's a way to engage not in a negative sense of Democratic/Republican, and some of the polarizing issues that may come to mind, but more in the sense of the simple definition I just gave, which is who gets what, how much resources do we have, where are the needs in engaging in that conversation at the community level” - Resident and Volunteer

This distinction of participatory budgeting from partisan politics speaks to the relationship of the process to discourses of efficiency and self-help. As one staffer put it, participatory budgeting could be presented as a “happy place” an example of a highly effective and beneficial policy, through which community members made judicious, equitable and effective use of public dollars benefitting residents, aldermen and Chicago.

Civic Learning and Demystification of Municipal Government

Advocates of participatory budgeting suggest it leads to more meaningful political involvement than typical forms of liberal democratic political engagement, like voting in elections or participating in public consultations. In exit survey data, 92% of respondents who attended neighbourhood assemblies stated they had a better understanding of the infrastructure needs of their ward (Crum et al. 2015). In addition, people who attended neighbourhood assemblies reported they increased their knowledge of the Menu program, including what the money is for and how it can be used (Crum et al. 2015).

Similarly, in interviews, civic learning was flagged as a key benefit to participatory budgeting by both residents and aldermen and their staff. For residents, the key appeal was learning enough about the machinery of municipal government to be able to move forward participatory budgeting projects, but also projects and objectives beyond the participatory budgeting process itself. These benefits were not equally distributed: unsurprisingly, volunteers tended to develop the most advanced knowledge of the process. As one staffer explained, “The people that actually work on the projects, that's where you learn. When people talk about PB as a civic process, it teaches civics it teaches how do people work together and all that kind of stuff and yet that's the weakest part of the process.” The latter part of this quote – “the weakest part” –

is referencing the lack of diversity among participatory budgeting volunteers, that at the volunteer level the diversity or participation tends to be least representative.

A further civic literacy dimension staff, and sometimes residents, noted was the potential of participatory budgeting to demystify and legitimate current budgetary practices and costs.

Consider the following quotes:

- “So many people now understand I think a bit better how government and bureaucracy work. And it’s funny because people are often frustrated by government but I think when you sit down and you realize the rules and the regulations that have to be followed in order to make certain things happen, I think its easier for the public to understand why it does take so much time to get certain things done” - Staff
- “If we can explain that to folks in simple terms by having them be part of the conversation about where that money's spent, then I saw that as a tool to break down at least some of the walls between government and citizens” - Alderman
- “People come out of this process with better understanding of how city budgeting works. Because it's pretty complicated” - Staff
- “If they just want to vote... even if they just want to vote to see in that ballot, to get a sense of how much things costs, they'll say it costs 100,000 to resurface a single city block? really?... I think it cools people down, it cools people’s anger and it makes them a little less cynical” - Resident and Volunteer
- “One of the more I guess the nicer things about participatory budgeting is that there’s a lot of transparency to... not just the process but to seeing the price tag of the public infrastructure item” - Resident and Volunteer

In these quotes, and also in other conversations, particularly with aldermanic staff, a key benefit to participatory budgeting was demystification of government bureaucracy, departments and budgeting, in terms of the process of infrastructure installation and the regulations governing the use of Menu funds. For example, at one public meeting I attended, residents incredulous over \$200 per tree cost of a neighbourhood greening initiative on the participatory budgeting ballot. The meeting was an opportunity to explain the breakdown of the cost estimate in detail, including the cost incurred for the tree itself, delivery, labour, and nutritional support. By providing an opportunity to detail the costs of an infrastructure project, the participatory budgeting meeting was able to disrupt the notion of a wasteful and excessive government, and instead position the costs as more reasonable and intelligible. Explained one resident, “I mean there's still a learning curve for many of us. Because we don't know anything about how much a sidewalk curb costs or these other pieces of information that are specific to the type of jobs we can get done using participatory budgeting”. There was a sense among residents that this sort of intimate knowledge about municipal procurement and estimation practices was both necessary and desirable for residents.

Interviews suggest that participatory budgeting does indeed lead to more meaningful involvement in municipal governance, particularly for individuals who are able to volunteer for the process. Beyond consultation it enables residents to develop the knowledge and connections necessary to pursue local projects within and outside the scope of participatory budgeting. The development of highly detailed, technical knowledge is desirable because it helps position residents as a potential resource for aldermen and the city more broadly: rather than relying on elected officials to address problems, it helps cultivate an activist group of residents who are willing to research and advocate for neighbourhood infrastructure projects. In these ways, the

emphasis on developing technical knowledge and expertise plays into the responsabilization of residents in municipal governance.

At the same time, some residents less experienced in municipal politics discussed the challenges of developing the right language to participate as a volunteer. As one resident and volunteer explained, “The people who seemed to be political people seemed to be connected to city people, streets, and sanitation, stuff like that, they knew the vocabulary... The community people all seemed to have the same language of organizing. And then there was me, who had neither of these things”. Participatory budgeting volunteers often had previous involvement with local politics and/or neighbourhood groups, as the following quotes attest:

- “It's a self-selecting group who are already pretty engaged in ward politics, you know, people who know the alderman by name, people who go to zoning meetings, people who are already sort of thinking about this process” - Resident and Volunteer
- “I think I was the only person in what they call the executive committee who had no prior activity, you know organized activity of any kind” - Resident and Volunteer
- “These are people who are already known to be pretty active in their communities” - Resident and Volunteer
- “The key volunteers, those people were highly involved with our office or politically or with a neighbourhood organization or something” - Staff
- “In many wards especially on the northwest side it is people who were already fairly politically savvy, had experience working with government. Many had worked on the campaigns for the aldermen that won; many of them were already a neighbourhood association” - Staff

Volunteers were often political insiders or had some prior connection to the aldermanic office. Many of the civic engagement and civic literacy related benefits associated with participatory budgeting only come into play at the volunteer level. This type of participation is closer to the norms espoused by deliberative and participatory democratic theorists, and represents active and intentional engagement, as well as a real possibility to shape the process. In contrast, voters have limited engagement, and situational voters the least engagement.¹²⁷ As a result, the lower levels of diversity at the volunteer level call into question the degree to which participatory budgeting produces a process that is more inclusive than other mechanisms of representative democracy. Inclusivity is further discussed below.

Inclusivity: Intersections of Race, Class and Citizenship Among Participants

The demographic composition of volunteers and voters in participatory budgeting is a subject of ongoing concern for residents, aldermen and staff. The legitimation of participatory budgeting as a policy process is dependent on presenting the process as highly inclusive: the inclusivity of participatory budgeting makes it superior not only to aldermen unilaterally allocating menu funds on behalf of their constituencies, but also to more conventional forms of liberal democracy like electoral voting.

In the context of participatory budgeting in Chicago, while there was some attention to geographic inclusion, as well as some attention to socioeconomic inclusion, concerns with inclusivity tended to be structured around race, as one of the most salient, significant, and

¹²⁷ Although Crum et al. (2015) found using exit surveys that 74% of voters reported feeling more knowledgeable about neighbourhood problems after voting, this is likely because the ballot contained a description and voting choice of between a number of neighbourhood problems – in terms of sustaining knowledge over time, or translating issue-based knowledge into structural knowledge, there are clear limitations to voting as a temporary, episodic and short-term form of engagement.

pervasive social cleavages in Chicago. In addition, racial differences tend to overlap with geographic and socioeconomic differences, given ongoing spatial and socioeconomic segregation. The presence of racially diverse participants was also mobilized as a tactic to differentiate participatory budgeting from other political arenas which were largely understood embodying and perpetuating racial exclusions, as summed up in the following quote, from one white participant:

Chicago, a lot of the politics is race based, has been, still is to a large extent. People say there's Black Chicago, white Chicago, same planet, different worlds, and I think that's very true. I don't know what to do about it entirely, I think participatory budgeting can be part of the solution. For the people that become active in participatory budgeting you talk to each other you learn about needs, not just on your block, but over here, over there, it gives you a broader perspective.

It is unsurprising then, that inclusivity is listed as one of PB Chicago's key pillars, and a great deal of emphasis has been placed on cultivating an inclusionary process. Individuals from diverse racial backgrounds are prominently featured in promotional materials produced by individual wards and PB Chicago. A lack of racial inclusivity is understood by participants, aldermen and staff alike as a problem for the process, one which requires concrete action to redress, leading to the development of tactics to intentionally cultivate diversity in the process. This has manifested primarily in four ways: the development of multilingual ballots and promotional materials; the presence of a Spanish language committee and real-time Spanish language translation in the 49th ward; outreach activities targeting Hispanic and Black constituencies; and a strong focus on the demographic metrics of diversity within the process. Exit surveys developed by the Great Cities Institute at UIC are attached to every ballot and distributed at neighbourhood assemblies. The demographic information from these ballots is compared to that of the ward to assess which demographic categories are underrepresented and

create plans for addressing this underrepresentation in the future. process These initiatives were generally viewed positively by participants:

- “Language has certainly been a barrier and that's something we've been struggling with all along. The creation of the Spanish language committee, I think that's a great idea to have that committee as a venue for people who don't speak English or people who Spanish is their native language and they're more comfortable speaking in Spanish as a way for them to participate as well” - Resident and Volunteer
- “I really, really love the Spanish language committee, and I love that we've been able to bridge a lot of gaps. We're working on this project that didn't go on the ballot this year for a public square along park street where people could come and performances and sing and stuff. And the cool thing was that a lot of people from other committees were interested, and we actually got together and it was a weird mix of English and Spanish and people brought food and we all got to design the plan, and to me that's what participatory budgeting's about” - Resident and Volunteer

Efforts around language inclusivity in particular were recognized by many participants as important in fostering equitable participation in participatory budgeting, as well as bridging divides between different groups of people within the ward.

At the same time, certain groups of people were presented as embodying attributes that made engagement in the process challenging. In a historical reversal, although the practice of participatory budgeting emerged from Latin America, and indeed is much more common in Latin America than North America, sometimes members of the Hispanic community in Chicago were described as lacking the necessary democratic cultural heritage to understand the importance of the process. Comments representing this perspective include:

- “The Latino part of the community hasn't really meshed with it so well” - Volunteer
- “I think language and culture to a degree keep people far from things like this” - Volunteer
- “It’s always too trying to get people of other languages to get involved. And you won't say other languages also but other groups who come from places where the government situation is a lot more dictatorial and or corrupt is the word too. So they're not used to being told they do have a choice or they can make a decision” - Volunteer
- “That part of the ward is made up primarily of recently arrived immigrants and so they're understanding the whole process of how government works and so it's just a matter of educating them and outreach” - Alderman

In the context of Chicago, where Spanish the most widely spoken language apart from English, and which hosts the third largest Hispanic population in the United States, comments about “other languages” can be read as a thinly coded reference to Spanish speaking people. In addition, the third and fourth comments were made by individuals from wards with large Hispanic communities and situate low participation in a lack of familiarity with democratic government and norms, suggesting it could be remedied through directed educational efforts. These comments subtly reflect stereotypes about Latin American governance and political participation.

In direct contrast, one person of Latin American heritage, familiar with the origins of participatory budgeting, suggested that the United States might lack the necessary culture of democratic participation for participatory budgeting to be successful here, in contrast with norms in Latin America that encourage such participation:

For it to find footholds in the US is so bizarre to me. Ideologically it just doesn't fit with us. I think maybe the communities that it is taking a hold in are communities of colour

who say, “Oh look at you, I see what you're doing there”. The fact that voting is not compulsory in this country probably doesn't help with participation in participatory budgeting, you know voting is compulsory in so many Latin American countries, you have to vote, and I think that people are more civically engaged because of that. They're not [as engaged] here.

In this telling, deficiencies in political participation in Chicago are due to the absence of institutionalized participatory mechanisms in North American democracy, not cultural deficiencies among Spanish speakers and recent immigrants.

Similarly, several people familiar with the process commented on the relative absence of Black participants, not only within the wards currently practicing participatory budgeting but also the absence of predominantly Black wards from those currently practicing participatory budgeting. Explained one interviewee:

It's not implemented as far as I know in any African American ward. It's sad that it's not, because in the African American wards, that's where the most needs are. There is a high need of resources and it's not offered to them. They are not educated on it and the aldermen keep the money to themselves that's the bottom line they don't want to spread the wealth, whereas in the white community from in my experience, it is about taking care of the people.

In this quote, two racially-based observations emerge – first, the representation of Black residents as uneducated (and therefore uninterested) and second, the representation of Black aldermen (because the predominantly Black southside wards are almost entirely governed by Black aldermen) as selfish, wanting to “keep the money to themselves” in contrast with altruistic white communities where aldermen and residents are willing to share Menu funds. As with the Hispanic community, the Black community's low participation is treated in this quote as a matter of communal deficiency, lacking the proper democratic spirit and education, rather than produced by structural factors.

In contrast, residents who had to negotiate racially-informed structural exclusions limiting their participation, were highly aware of how accessibility was constructed through the parameters of the process itself. As one interviewee indicated, the participatory budgeting process is differentially accessible to those without English language fluency.

When I've brought up language accessibility or other people have done it, it's always treated like we're asking for all this special stuff, and I'm like no if you see the project expos all except for one were in English. If I'm an English speaker I get to choose to go to this one, this one or this one. If I'm a Spanish speaker and I can't make that one, good luck. What ends up happening is that if someone can't make it or if there's a smaller turnout at those, then the response is that oh well they must not care, well the Latino community must not care, so then it's viewed as apathetic or how do you reach them.

This interviewee's perspective challenges the portrayal of Hispanic and Black constituencies' low participation as an inherent characteristic of these communities, drawing attention to how the process is differentially accessible to different people. This perspective is an important counterpoint to the replication of colourblindness within the process – the sentiment that the cultural limitations of particular racial groups, rather than structural exclusions, can explain differential participation (Bonillo-Silva, 2009).

The focus on racial diversity, particularly pronounced in the 49th ward as discussed in chapter 4, but also present across the participatory budgeting process city-wide speaks to a perceived need to legitimate the participatory budgeting process through appeals to racial equity, consistent with an attempt to mitigate the democratic deficits of racial neoliberalism (Omi and Winant, 2015; Bonillo-Silva, 2009). In addition, volunteers pointed out that class-based factors which overlap with racial differences in Chicago, like being able to speak the technical language of city bureaucracy and infrastructure planning, made the participatory budgeting process less welcoming to those from less privileged class backgrounds, or with less formal education.

The Participation of Non-Citizens and Undocumented Residents

One of the ways participatory budgeting has captured the imagination of democratic scholars and activists is through the enlargement of the scope of citizenship by enabling groups normally excluded from democratic participation due to the absence of formal citizenship to participate in the process. This includes youth under 18 and non-citizens, as only demonstration of residency in the relevant ward is necessary to vote. The potential to include those often excluded from democratic processes was seen as a powerful indicator of the democratic potential by some participants:

- “Absolutely the most impactful thing in our first round of participatory budgeting was people saying this is the first time I've been involved in anything. This is the first time I've voted at all” - Staff
- “I voted. I'm not a US citizen so I've never voted in anything, so I voted in participatory budgeting... The strength is that it does give a voice to people who are not US citizens who are not normally be in the electoral process. The downside is I think a lot of those people don't realize they can vote in participatory budgeting because they can't vote in anything else” - Resident

The ward in this study with the greatest number of undocumented residents is the 22nd Ward, particularly the Little Village neighbourhood where an estimated one in four residents are undocumented (Enlace, 2016). Exit survey data indicated that 8% of neighbourhood assembly attendees and 9% of voters in the 22nd Ward were not eligible to vote in regular elections (Crum et al. 2015).¹²⁸ This indicates that the process has had some success in involving non-citizens, at

¹²⁸ The data does not distinguish the reason someone was ineligible to vote in regular elections, thus, while based on the demographics of the 22nd ward, the majority of those who declared themselves ineligible to vote were likely undocumented or non-citizens. However, some of these individuals may have been youth under the age of 18 who are permitted to vote in the participatory budgeting process but not regular elections.

least in the 22nd ward.

Generally, potential voters are required to demonstrate residency in some way to participate in the participatory budgeting vote. On one hand, from my observations of voting processes, as well as the stories shared by interviewees, the bar for demonstrating residency was low. Potential voters were asked to provide a piece of identification that indicated their name and address, or a piece of mail that indicated the same. If a potential voter was unable or unwilling to provide identification containing an address, alternate strategies were used such as asking a “skill testing question” about the ward or asking for the person to describe their neighbourhood block. Thus, even in the absence of formal identification, people were typically permitted to vote. On the other hand, the act of asking for identification in and of itself was a deterrent for potential voters who had precarious migration status, including the recording by poll clerks of names and addresses, due to fears that the information might be used to locate them or shared with law enforcement. Consider the following comments:

- “We enrolled people to vote on them swearing, because they had no papers they were willing to show us, and we have undocumented Mexicans, a lot of undocumented Mexicans... And people shift around, they shift their addresses, they don't want to reveal their addresses” - Resident and Volunteer
- “When we talk to [Hispanic] people about it, they're like oh that sounds really cool, but I wasn't sure what it was, and I didn't want to sign up for something that would give my information away or put me or my family in danger. So there's a lot of fear or distrust of the government, especially when someone's undocumented” - Resident and Volunteer
- “The Hispanic population a lot of them are afraid that they don't want to get involved because they're afraid that they're going to get reported and stuff not realizing that you

know their aims could be helped... there's still the mentality that they have, it's mistrust, there's really no trust" - Resident and Volunteer

As these quotes indicate, the very act of asking for identification was a deterrent for some participants, particularly given signals that the participatory budgeting is an official government process – including the use of government symbols and logos (like the Chicago city flag) on some participatory budgeting materials, and the presence of aldermanic staff and or at times the aldermen themselves. It also speaks to the prioritization of the collection of information over participation. Voters are required to provide their name, address and e-mail address to staff. The justification given is that this assists in maintaining the accountability of the process and protecting against fraud, by making it possible to verify that individuals only vote once. However, several people also mentioned that the gathering of information serves as a conduit to the alderman's information machine, as contact information is added to the alderman's constituency list for outreach and promotion activities. Indeed, this latter reason for requiring name, address and e-mail address, is likely more pressing, as many volunteers admitted that the likelihood of individuals seeking to vote multiple times is low, given the low stakes of the funding, as well as the fact that a small pool of volunteers and staff are responsible for the voting stations, making it difficult in most wards for a repeat voter to go undetected. Voters could simply be asked to state their address, and no information could be recorded. Or information could be destroyed after the vote, and this could be indicated to potential voters. However, measures to record and monitor voter identity was understood by staff and volunteers as important in preserving the accountability of the process and maintaining some consistency with anti-fraud measures employed in other municipal electoral processes.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Another dynamic that emerges from discussion of migration status and participatory budgeting is some of the limitations of sanctuary city policies. Although Chicago has been a sanctuary city since 2006, when City Council

As with many political processes that exist within broader structural social frameworks of discrimination and bias, the voting rules were sometimes unevenly enforced, for example against people with certain race or class indications that marked them as potentially fraudulent. Consider the following anecdote:

A woman who just seemed very poor, a dark-skinned black woman who came into vote, and she was denied the ability to vote, they said if you don't have an ID we can't let you vote. I'm sorry who's going to come in from another neighbourhood to vote on a participatory budgeting project, on like where a light goes, but it was just shocking... I mean I think the potential of it is really great, but I saw lots of messed up things about who was being let in, who was allowed a say in their own community.

To sum up, although concerns with inclusivity underline many of the voting practices and procedures adopted in participatory budgeting, including the voter eligibility for all residents, regardless of citizenship, and the creation of alternative protocols to demonstrate residency in the absence of identification, voting continues to be marked by racial exclusions consistent with a racial state (Omi and Winant, 2015). Participatory budgeting may do better than standard municipal voting processes, in terms of expanding areas of eligibility for voters, but there are clearly limitations – some of which manifest in contradictions between discourses of accountability and those of inclusivity. The requirement that voters consent to having an address of residence recorded to vote is understood as necessary to legitimate the process by making it compatible with dominant good governance logics in the context of Chicago. However, the recording of information deters some undocumented residents from voting.

passed an ordinance declaring that all residents, regardless of immigration status, should have equal access "to the services, opportunities, and protection it provides or administers" (City of Chicago, n.d.) clearly there continues to be fear regarding the sharing of information between municipal bodies and federal immigration authorities. Since the election of Donald Trump as American president, and his specific attacks on sanctuary city policies, and undocumented migrants, likely the level of fear and anxiety around providing information to municipal officials has only increased.

Social Solidarities

A major area of academic discussion has been the potentially empowering effects of participatory budgeting (Baiocchi and Ganuza, 2014; Boulding and Wampler, 2010; Gilman, 2016). In contrast to much of the earlier discussion in this chapter, which has largely taken up and discussed the ways that participatory budgeting can be commensurate with neoliberal logics, this final section discusses how participatory budgeting in Chicago can empower residents and create of new social solidarities. The participatory budgeting process provides an opportunity for volunteers to collectively think through the meanings of equity and consider the limits and possibilities for incorporating equity into the participatory budgeting process. It also provided opportunities for residents and volunteers to meet people from different neighbourhoods and be exposed to the concerns of individuals and communities not usually encountered.

One of the key benefits that residents cited to their participation in participatory budgeting was the formation of social solidarities across different geographic, and racial, social groupings. Often this was contrasted to typical “zero-sum” Alinsky-style tactics, an adversarial model of neighbourhood organizing, where different groups compete for funding.¹³⁰ The following comments are indicative of residents’ sense that participatory budgeting helped expand social solidarities, and came from residents in all the wards considered in this research project:

- “You build community relationships with the other people who are volunteers” - Resident and Volunteer

¹³⁰ This model of block-by-block neighbourhood organizing is associated with Chicago organizer and writer Saul Alinsky, whose activist work in the 1960s and 1970s continues to influence Chicago community organizers.

- “That's the best part of it I think. I mean getting your project funded of course, but just meeting other people. And you still communicate with some of them now, even after participatory budgeting is no longer active” - Resident and Volunteer
- “What all the community reps agreed on, and what I certainly agreed on, is [the benefit was] more community engagement and just talking about how things work and happen... more people in a community talking to each other about what's happening” - Resident and Volunteer
- “It [participatory budgeting] is useless, but it's a tremendous potential to cause community groups to form, and community groups that don't normally deal with each other to have to cooperate in order to get the votes to get their projects passed. And early on I saw this as a community building tool. It has nothing to do with meeting critical needs of the city” - Resident and Volunteer

The above comments, all from project volunteers, posit the formation of new community relationships and informational networks as important benefits to participating in participatory budgeting. Interestingly, the final comment is from a volunteer who saw the participatory budgeting process as “useless” in terms of the scope of projects and amount of funding at stake, but perceived substantial value in the community-building capacity of the process. Often participants were acutely aware of the ways the constraints of Menu funding limited the empowerment potential of the process. Volunteers are unable to determine the amount of funding subject to the process and cannot broaden the scope to include projects beyond local infrastructure improvements. Both the magnitude of funds and the absence of social programming from funding consideration limit the ability of participatory budgeting to address equity and redistributive concerns. Nonetheless, several volunteers expressed optimism that

participatory budgeting could potentially act as a springboard for other forms of community organizing, as one resident suggested:

If PB [participatory budgeting] was really cooking and had its informational fingers out and generated community projects that were created by community groups from the bottom up because those community groups tend to come up with things that are socially impactful, I think the people around here couldn't blink, they would fund those things.

Residents tended to emphasize the potentiality of participatory budgeting – the possibility of mobilizing knowledge and community connections gained through participatory budgeting for objectives beyond the scope and magnitude of Menu funds. Moreover, social interactions fostered through participatory budgeting were perceived to lead to better understanding across communities of difference within a given ward, be these geographic or racial disparities, or both. The following quotes are examples of how some residents discussed this theme:

- “When he and I (two volunteers, one white, one Hispanic) talk off participatory budgeting topics, our life experiences are so radically different, that our priorities are so different, and we're cooperating on this stuff. So I'm seeing participatory budgeting as a tool to cause community awareness, power of groups working with each other instead of each grabbing for themselves, they now mutually grab for this bunch of money” - Resident and Volunteer
- “For the people that become active in participatory budgeting you talk to each other you learn about needs, not just on your block, but over here, over there, it gives you a broader perspective [...] And you learn the sense that if the entire community is doing better than my little area of it does better too” - Resident and Volunteer
- “The one part that I really liked was when we would go to the various communities - we went to four or five different parks for all the park projects, and I got to see other parks.

And if it wasn't for participatory budgeting I probably would not have had that exposure”

- Resident and Volunteer

- “There seems to be hyper localism also in the ward, where many of the neighbourhoods have a firm sense of identity and from what I understand in the past, some of these neighbourhoods ended up being kind of pitted against each other for resources. So I think participatory budgeting is an opportunity to change that” - Resident and Volunteer

Thus, residents suggest that a key benefit to participatory budgeting is building relationships between different communities in each ward and gaining a better understanding of the needs and concerns residents from different neighbourhoods have. These comments also indicate that some volunteers see participatory budgeting as leading to a less parochial and self-centered understanding of community needs. This observation strongly connects to some of the benefits associated with deliberative democracy – the potential for engagement structured around common conceptions of the collective good, rather than individual self-interest. Whether the community building enabled through participatory budgeting leads to collective mobilization in other areas of municipal politics and governance remains to be seen.

Conclusion: Participation Beyond the ‘Usual Suspects’?

The justification of participatory budgeting as a policy practice relies on narratives of participatory budgeting as producing more meaningful civic engagement than electoral politics; as being more successful in recruiting residents from diverse socioeconomic and racial backgrounds; and as being more equitable than other liberal democratic processes. The interview and exit survey data described above provides a mixed assessment on all three fronts. While participatory budgeting does permit residents to have the final say on minor infrastructure

choices – a level of authority and decision-making power, that interviewees described as exciting and unusual – many interviewees also expressed frustration with the constraints of the process, and the inability to use Menu funds to address the deep and pressing needs of their communities. In terms of success recruiting less engaged residents, in the case of Chicago this is largely true of situational voters at mobile voting stations. In contrast, at more substantive levels of engagement that offer opportunities to participate in deliberative exchanges with other residents and staff, most of the engaged residents tend to be more privileged in terms of race and socioeconomic position. Finally, in terms of fostering more equitable participation and expanding participation opportunities to residents without formal citizenship, the results of participatory budgeting in Chicago are again mixed. While substantial efforts to pursue equity were made in many wards, including the establishment of specialized committees and processes, often these efforts were subjugated to needs to use the participatory budgeting process to collect information on constituents or were not accompanied by a willingness to engage in difficult discussions about experiences of racial discrimination in elements of the process.

This chapter also sought to investigate the relationship between participatory budgeting and neoliberal governance. There are affinities between the responsabilization of individuals and communities associated with neoliberal restructuring and participatory budgeting as a process that is heavily reliant on informal and voluntary labour, and responsabilizes individuals for types of infrastructure development and problem-solving historically addressed by paid municipal employees. At the same time, at more engaged levels of participation, through volunteering and attending public meetings, participatory budgeting can serve as a basis for the development of social solidarities across neighbourhood, ethnic, and racial distinctions. The potential for participatory budgeting to build social solidarities is an important caveat to some of the more

cynical narratives of participatory budgeting projects, and can have unanticipated effects – for example, in the 49th ward, where a former participatory budgeting staff person is running for aldermanic election against Alderman Joe Moore on a progressive platform that includes housing affordability, racial justice, and ending charter schools. Helping a political opponent develop the necessary network and support to mount a campaign for office is likely not what Alderman Moore intended when instituting participatory budgeting. But it speaks to the democratic potential of any processes that creates space for social solidarity and community building. A complex question that requires further research, is whether these moments of community building translate to sustained political action in other arenas.

Conclusion: Bottom-Up or Top-Down? Reflecting on Empowerment through Participatory Budgeting

This dissertation has used the experience of Chicago, Illinois, with participatory budgeting as an entry point to examine the relationship between neoliberal restructuring and participatory governance in cities. Through a critical institutionalist lens that draws on aspects of political economy and critical race theory, I examine how participatory budgeting as a policy and budgetary practice interacts with broader aspects of municipal governance and social inequality.

In the first chapter of the dissertation, I review the literature on participatory budgeting and outline the theoretical concepts, particularly critical institutionalism, neoliberalism, and colourblind racism, that inform my subsequent analysis. I note that while there was initially a tendency in the literature to take participatory budgeting as inherently empowering, more recently, there has been a critical turn in the literature on participatory budgeting, with some initial proponent of the process questioning initial assumptions. In both cases, there has been a shortage of contextualized empirical studies that examine how participatory budgeting projects play out on the ground, particularly in terms of navigating highly raced and classed neighbourhood cleavages.

In the second and third chapters, I begin to address this gap by providing a historical account of the development of municipal politics in Chicago. I argue that Chicago's history of clientelist machine politics, and the declining acceptability of patronage relations, has necessitated the creation of new tactics of aldermanic-constituency relationship building. One of these tactics has been contract or pinstripe patronage, and another has been the creation of participatory democratic initiatives that involve constituents in aspects of governance. Citywide analysis of the political orientation of aldermen indicate that the latter strategy has particularly

appealed to aldermen who identify as progressive, who are non-incumbents, and who faced strong electoral competition in their wards. The disproportionate adoption of participatory budgeting by aldermen who display these characteristics indicates that there is an important self-interested electoral component to the emergence of participatory budgeting in particular wards. This observation calls into question the description of participatory budgeting projects as primarily community-driven.

In the fourth chapter, I examine participatory budgeting at the ward level, using interview data and participant observation to outline how in different wards participatory budgeting became oriented around different neighbourhood tensions. In the 49th ward, participatory budgeting became hyper-attuned to questions of “diversity”; in the 45th ward, the language of “redevelopment” was central to the participatory budgeting process; while in the 22nd ward discussions “equity” held greatest salience. In each case, language of diversity, redevelopment, and equity represented a significant neighbourhood cleavage, exacerbated by neoliberal restructuring and budgetary austerity. The orientation of participatory budgeting around these framings represented efforts to contain these tensions and build cohesion and support for the alderman through the participatory budgeting process. In the case of the 22nd ward, the Alderman’s perception that participatory budgeting was unable to effectively cope with neighbourhood equity, was a key reason why the process discontinued despite a group of neighbourhood activists committed to its continuation.

The fifth chapter of this dissertation investigates the relationship between participatory budgeting and neoliberal governance of residents. The chapter seeks to capture the uneven and contested nature of participatory budgeting in Chicago, interrogating both the production of new neoliberal subjectivities of governance through the participatory budgeting process, but also the

opening of space to build collective solidarities and expand claims to democratic participation that challenge elite authority. Interviewees suggest that a key benefit to participatory budgeting is building relationships and gaining a better understanding of the needs and concerns residents from different neighbourhoods. Whether this community building translates to collective action in other sociopolitical arenas is unclear, but a potentially important area of investigation for future research.

The remainder of this conclusion builds on themes raised earlier to grapple with the question of what empowerment could look like within the participatory budgeting process.¹³¹ Inglis differentiates between empowerment: people developing capacity to act within the system, and emancipation: working outside the system to analyze and change existing systems of power (1997). While language of empowerment gained credence in the social movements of the 1960s, Inglis argues that a tendency to treat empowerment as synonymous with devolution has led language of empowerment to be applied to localized tactics that incorporate individuals and groups into dominant power structures, rather than challenge existing power relations. Similarly, scholars of local democracy have questioned the “empowerment thesis”: the notion that local participation in governance is inherently empowering (Nylen, 2002; Purcell, 2006). Thus, even within the more limited terms of empowerment, as contrasted with emancipation, a closer examination of whether participatory budgeting is empowering is warranted. Participatory budgeting is neither oppressive nor emancipatory, rather the social dynamics produced through its practice depend on its origination, orientation, and implementation. Under what conditions might participatory budgeting be empowering for residents, and how can community organizations and organizers steward those conditions moving forward?

¹³¹ The following discussion of empowerment builds on insights discussed in a 2017 article I wrote for the journal *Alternate Routes* titled “Does Participatory Budgeting Lead to Local Empowerment? The Case of Chicago”.

The attempt to apply a theoretical framework of empowerment to the practice participatory budgeting has been most thoroughly developed through an analysis by Baiocchi and Ganuza in a 2014 article titled, “Participatory Budgeting as if Emancipation Mattered”.¹³² Baiocchi and Ganuza’s analysis relies on a differentiation between what they call the communicative and empowerment dimensions of the process. The communicative dimensions concern the internal structure of a participatory budgeting process, including who participates in discussions, the degree of procedural equity among participants, and the quality of participatory discussions. In contrast, the empowerment dimensions focus on whether participatory budgeting influences the exercise of political power and municipal decision-making more broadly. Baiocchi and Ganuza suggest participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre was able to instigate a pro-poor shift in municipal governance due to the presence of both communicative and empowerment dimensions: participatory budgeting precipitated series of institutional reforms that connected popular decision-making to the exercise of political power. In contrast, a purely communicative focus on the structures and procedures of participatory budgeting leads to the treatment of participatory budgeting as a technical solution: a “simple process of revelation of individual preferences, adjusting it to the routines and goals set by the New Public Management framework” (Baiocchi and Ganuza, 2014: 42). Baiocchi and Ganuza develop an explicit set of criteria for assessing the empowerment potential of participatory budgeting, suggesting researchers consider four specific empowerment dimensions, to assess whether participatory budgeting projects are connected to centers of municipal power and decision-making. These dimensions are paraphrased below.

¹³² Despite the use of “emancipation” in the title, Baiocchi and Ganuza’s (2014) article deals almost exclusively in terms of empowerment.

- The primacy of participatory forums: are they the primary means of communication between government and residents?
- The scope of budget issues: how much of the budget is disbursed through participatory budgeting, and how important is that part of the budget to social justice considerations?
- The degree of participatory power in the process: are there institutionalized, direct and transparent links between participatory budgeting and government action? Do politicians and/or staff retain discretion over the implementation of projects after they are chosen for funding?
- The self-regulation of participatory forums: do participants determine the rules of participation, and do those rules consider the needs of the most marginalized residents? Are social justice criteria included in the process? (2014: 39).

These four criteria move from an inward-gazing assessment of participatory budgeting, focused on critiquing and improving the internal dynamics of the process, to consider how participatory budgeting might build the capacity of people to act with the constraints of existing systems of governance.

In the case of Chicago, we can consider how well the participatory budgeting practice adheres to Baiocchi and Ganuza's framework. The first two empowerment dimensions are primacy and scope: how important are participatory forums as a point of contact between residents and elected officials, and to what extent are important social justice issues able to be addressed through the participatory budgeting process?

As discussed in chapter 5, aldermen and aldermanic staff did cite the sharing of information as a key benefit to the participatory budgeting process. Said one staff member, "We hear about a ton of things that we can fix without this [participatory budgeting] process when we

do the neighbourhood assemblies. And it's in an environment where we're coming to people and saying hey tell us your problems... we get a lot of easy things we can fix like that that way". In turn, residents often cited greater knowledge of and interaction with the aldermanic office as a key benefit of their participation. Nonetheless, the importance of participatory budgeting as a conduit between aldermen and residents often was limited by the scope of the participatory budgeting process. Because participatory budgeting is only assigned to physical infrastructure, and also constrained by a relatively small budget, at \$1 million in capital funds per ward, significant neighbourhood issues are incapable of being addressed through the participatory budgeting process as currently constituted. As one community member explained, "the civic education I think is priceless in a lot of ways although it comes with, again, coming back to the limitations of what menu money is and can be used for turns into just a lot of frustration". As discussed in chapters 4 and 5, this often leads to frustration on the part of residents with the limitations of the participatory budgeting process for addressing equity and social justice considerations.

While there are more and less equitable ways to allocate neighbourhood infrastructure funds, the allocation of funding to pave a road or install garbage cans can only go so far towards addressing social inequality. Deep needs expressed by community members in Chicago, including employment, housing, policing, and social programming, are only minimally addressed through the process, and only through creative maneuvers. For example, one alderman bragged about getting around the ineligibility of the funds for employment initiatives by hiring local youth to paint a mural, which technically qualified for participatory budgeting funding as an infrastructure project. The limitation of participatory budgeting to local infrastructure funds of \$1 million per ward stands in marked contrast to Porto Alegre where up to a third the entire

municipal budget was allocated through participatory budgeting, including funds for social programming. It also limits the use of participatory budgeting to stimulate broader conversations about the use of municipal funds for redistributive social welfare initiatives. Thus, limitations in the scope and primacy of participatory budgeting in Chicago significantly curtail its empowerment potential.

The last two criteria for empowerment that Baiocchi and Ganuza raise are the degree of participatory power in the participatory budgeting process, and the self-regulation of participatory forums. Both of these considerations are linked. As discussed in chapter 3, a frustration on the part of residents was often the lack of institutionalized and direct links between the participatory budgeting process and other avenues of government action, so that when residents raised concerns that were beyond the scope of the participatory budgeting project, there were few options for moving these ideas forward, nor were there institutionalized connections to other municipal forums or departments better suited to address these demands. Similarly, while residents generally maintain some discretion over the implantation of projects, at times, receiving information about the implementation process has been difficult and projects have been delayed, particularly for projects deemed creative or unusual uses of Menu money.¹³³ Within the participatory budgeting process, appeals to expert authority and knowledge are sometimes used to stymie or delay more creative or atypical uses of Menu funds proposed by community members to address unmet needs.

More concerning for the degree of participatory power is the extent to which these projects exist at the individual alderman's discretion. As the case of the 22nd ward indicated, the

¹³³ An example of this type of delay was something as banal as a ballot item to fund the installation of new carpet at a local library. While the carpet received sufficient votes for funding, and the proposal was previously vetted by municipal staff, implementation was substantially delayed by concerns that infrastructure inside the library may not be within the scope of acceptable uses for Menu funds.

entire process can be terminated with little to no notice if the alderman no longer deems it feasible or beneficial. The 22nd ward is not unique, in that roughly half the wards in Chicago that have tried participatory budgeting have ceased the practice. The lack of institutionalized mechanisms, to help maintain these processes, then, limits the degree of participatory power.

Similarly, at first glance the degree of self-regulation in the participatory forums is high – participants from each ward collaborating in writing and revising the rules for the process each year, and though this process and the rules of the process do foreground social justice considerations like equity. More broadly, however, there is little evidence to date that participatory budgeting has engendered the creation of broader participatory-democratic forums that could influence government outside of the participatory budgeting process. Indeed, as discussed in chapter 2, the municipal government in Chicago has remained hostile toward public input, both within structured forums for soliciting participation, like budget townhalls, but also towards demands made through social movements and community organizing. Even individual aldermen who engage with participatory budgeting may react with hostility towards participatory democratic actions outside the participatory budgeting process, as Alderman Moore’s response to housing activists demonstrates.

To summarize, the empowerment potential of participatory budgeting in Chicago has been curtailed by limitations in the scope of the process and an inability to engender a broader culture change in municipal governance that welcomes participatory democracy in other avenues. Where the greatest gains in terms of empowerment have been achieved, they have largely been in terms of individual learning and capacity building, which could bolster the possibilities for collective action in other forums. Nonetheless, as Inglis (1997) points out, individual forms of empowerment are limited in their ability to address structural social,

economic and political oppressions. This leads us to the question of how we might think beyond individualistic models of empowerment. Under what conditions could we imagine a participatory budgeting practice that contributes to minimally an empowering process, aspirationally, one with emancipatory potential?

This detailed investigation of participatory budgeting in Chicago leaves me with three observations and suggestions regarding empowerment. First, how participatory budgeting projects become actualized matters. The point of origin –with community groups, elected officials, private entities, or not-for-profits – is important if we understand empowerment as foregrounding peoples’ capacity to act within a system of governance. A community-initiation of a participatory budgeting project, then, is an expression of people coming together and acting to demand more power in governance, in a way that is very different than the actualization of participatory budgeting through elite pressures. In each case, different interests are at play, which mobilize and constrain the process in different ways. A pitfall of the aldermanic initiated cases observed in Chicago has been a reluctance for people with a negative association with the aldermen to become involved, as well as the pressure to present a simplified veneer of participatory democratic harmony which makes it difficult to deal with racial tensions and other exclusions in a transparent and honest manner. Moreover, because aldermen initiate participatory budgeting projects for strategic electoral interests, when those interests shift, participatory budgeting projects risk dissolution regardless of community support or investment in the process. To sum up, while aldermanic initiation has been the dominant form of expansion, the most empowering examples of participatory budgeting are likely community-initiated.

Second and related, the reluctance of municipal government in Chicago to institutionalize participatory budgeting at levels of governance beyond those of individual aldermen has limited

the empowerment potential of the process. This is because of both the instability of relying on funds allocated through aldermanic discretion, and also because the discretionary funds available to aldermen are limited. There is some potential to expand participatory budgeting to other sources of funds. For example, the use of participatory budgeting for TIF funds, as piloted in one district in 2014, could help democratize a notoriously opaque and heavily criticized municipal financing tool. However, there has been little political interest in disbursing TIF funds through participatory budgeting, perhaps because the contradictions between community needs and elite-interests manifest more strongly through these funds, which are often captured by large corporations and developers as discussed in chapter 2. Beyond merely applying the participatory budgeting process to different fiscal tools, a more substantial question is how participatory-democratic methods could be applied to set the terms of the municipal budget as a whole, including social programming, and revenue-generation. Without an expansion of participatory democratic efforts into these areas, the empowerment potential of participatory budgeting is limited simply because the scope and magnitude of funds available for disbursement are insufficient to address pressing community needs, and the terms under which the municipal budget is set remain isolated from popular participation and input.

Finally, for participatory budgeting to be empowering, it is necessary for it to engender a broader participatory culture shift that challenges individualistic notions of empowerment. Indeed, as chapter 5 has argued, participatory budgeting in Chicago has had some success in building the civic capacity of individuals to work within existing governance structures. Yet individualistic conceptions of empowerment as a personal goal are insufficient to shift the economic, political and social power structures of existing systems. For the empowerment potential of participatory budgeting to be realized, it is necessary to develop a participatory ethos

that entails people participating in matters of governance as a matter of collective right (Pateman, 2012). This includes participation within formal municipal processes and avenues for democratic involvement, but also taking seriously public demands made through social movements and organizing efforts, that may take unruly forms and challenge the limits of respectability politics.

Without a broader shift towards recognizing and validating participatory democratic politics, participatory budgeting risks manifesting as an isolated and commodified form of participatory democracy: a stand-alone initiative that is palatable to elites, as a means to sell their democratic credentials and improve their constituency relations. It remains to be seen whether participatory budgeting in North America can be meaningfully linked to more substantive and multifaceted shifts in the exercise of political power more broadly.

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Appendix A: Interview Guides

Interview Guide for Residents

Preamble

The purpose of this interview is to gain better understanding of participatory budgeting in this ward. This interview has three main parts: First, I'll ask you some questions about the ward and neighbourhood (and show a map of the ward and neighbourhoods). Second, I will ask you about the participatory budgeting process. Third, I'll ask you a few questions about democracy. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions: I am interested in your personal perspective and knowledge. Interviews are normally tape-recorded, and this simply provides for accurately keeping track of information. Subsequently the tape will be destroyed. Your participation is voluntary: should you wish to skip a question, or at any time wish to stop entirely, you may do so without prejudice to you. Please feel free to ask me any questions that might arise during the interview.

A) Ward/Neighbourhood

- What part of the ward do you spend most of your time in?
- Can you tell me something about this ward?
 - *Prompt: the history, the people, the environment, the geography*
- What are some of great things about this ward?
- What are some of the challenges facing this ward?
- Why do you think participatory budgeting began in this particular ward?

B) Participatory Budgeting

- How did you personally become involved in participatory budgeting?
- In your opinion, what is participatory budgeting? How would you explain it to someone who had never heard of the term?
- In your opinion, what is the purpose of participatory budgeting?
 - *Prompt: What are the reasons for engaging in it?*
- How did participatory budgeting start in this neighbourhood?
 - *Prompt: When did it start, who was involved?*
- How would you describe the people involved in participatory budgeting?
 - *Prompt: Do you notice any patterns in terms of who is involved?*

- What do you think motivates people to get involved?
- Are there any people who you notice are not involved in participatory budgeting?
 - What do you think are some barriers people face to participating in participatory budgeting?
 - Are there any reasons you're less involved than you might want to be?
- What is the role of residents, people living in the ward, in participatory budgeting?
- What is the role of the local councillor in participatory budgeting?
- What is the role of municipal staff, people working for the city, in participatory budgeting?

C) Evaluation

- How do you understand the goals of participatory budgeting in this ward?
- How would you judge the success of a participatory budgeting process?
- What are some of the major challenges participatory budgeting has faced in this ward?
- Is there something you are proud of accomplishing through the participatory budgeting process here?

D) Democracy

- Have you ever been involved in the municipal budget process, aside from participatory budgeting? (ex. budget consultations, budget submissions, public meetings). What was that like?
- Have you ever been involved in municipal politics, aside from participatory budgeting (ex. ran for office, worked on a campaign, been part of an advocacy group, movement, etc.). What was that like?
- What's your impression of politics? What role, if any, do you have in politics?
- In your opinion, what does democracy mean?
 - Prompt: definition, characteristics, associations*
- What relationship, if any, do you see between democracy and participatory budgeting?

E) Blind Spots

- Is there anything we haven't talked about yet, that you think is important to mention?

Thank you/wrap-up.

- Can you refer me to anyone else I could talk to? Would you be willing to fill out a short voluntary questionnaire with some demographic questions?

Interview Guide for Municipal Civil Servants

Preamble

The purpose of this interview is to gain better understanding of participatory budgeting in this ward. This interview has three main parts: First, I'll ask you some questions about the ward and neighbourhood (and show a map of the ward and neighbourhoods). Second, I will ask you about the participatory budgeting process. Third, I'll ask you a few questions about democracy. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions: I am interested in your personal perspective and knowledge. Interviews are normally tape-recorded, and this simply provides for accurately keeping track of information. Subsequently the tape will be destroyed. Your participation is voluntary: should you wish to skip a question, or at any time wish to stop entirely, you may do so without prejudice to you. Please feel free to ask me any questions that might arise during the interview.

A) Background

- Can you describe what you do in your employment position with the City?
- What sort of involvement have you had in participatory budgeting projects, through your role with the City? Outside of this role?
- Why do you think participatory budgeting began here, in this particular City?

B) Participatory Budgeting

- In your opinion, what is participatory budgeting? How would you explain it to someone who had never heard of the term?
- In your opinion, what is the purpose of participatory budgeting?
 - *Prompt: What are the reasons for engaging in it?*
- How did participatory budgeting start in this City?
 - *Prompt: When did it start, who was involved?*
- How would you describe the people involved in participatory budgeting?
 - *Prompt: Do you notice any patterns in terms of who is involved?*
 - What do you think motivates people to get involved?
- Are there any people who you notice are not involved in participatory budgeting?
 - What do you think are some barriers people face to participating in participatory budgeting?

- What is the role of residents, people living in the ward, in participatory budgeting?
- What is the role of the local councillor in participatory budgeting?
- What is the role of municipal staff, people working for the city, in participatory budgeting?

C) Evaluation

- How do you understand the goals of participatory budgeting?
- How would you judge the success of a participatory budgeting process?
- What are some of the major challenges participatory budgeting has in this city?
- Do you think participatory budgeting has been successful in this city?

D) Democracy

- How would you compare resident involvement in the municipal budget process more generally to resident involvement in participatory budgeting projects?
- What's your impression of politics? What role, if any, do citizens have in politics?
- In your opinion, what does democracy mean?
Prompt: definition, characteristics, associations
- What relationship, if any, do you see between democracy and participatory budgeting?

E) Blind Spots

- Is there anything we haven't talked about yet, that you think is important to mention?

Thank you/wrap-up.

- Can you refer me to anyone else who has been involved I could talk to?

Interview Guide for Councillors/Aldermen

Preamble

The purpose of this interview is to gain better understanding of participatory budgeting in this ward. This interview has three main parts: First, I'll ask you some questions about the ward and neighbourhood (and show a map of the ward and neighbourhoods). Second, I will ask you about the participatory budgeting process. Third, I'll ask you a few questions about democracy. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions: I am interested in your personal perspective and knowledge. Interviews are normally tape-recorded, and this simply provides for accurately keeping track of information. Subsequently the tape will be destroyed. Your participation is voluntary: should you wish to skip a question, or at any time wish to stop entirely, you may do so without prejudice to you. Please feel free to ask me any questions that might arise during the interview.

A) Ward/Neighbourhood

- What part of the ward do you spend most of your time in?
- Can you tell me something about this ward?
 - *Prompt: the history, the people, the environment, the geography*
- What are some of great things about this ward?
- What are some of the challenges facing this ward?
- Why do you think participatory budgeting began in this particular ward?

B) Participatory Budgeting

- How did you personally become involved in participatory budgeting?
- In your opinion, what is participatory budgeting? How would you explain it to someone who had never heard of the term?
- In your opinion, what is the purpose of participatory budgeting?
 - *Prompt: What are the reasons for engaging in it?*
- How did participatory budgeting start in this neighbourhood?
 - *Prompt: When did it start, who was involved?*
- How would you describe the people involved in participatory budgeting?
 - *Prompt: Do you notice any patterns in terms of who is involved?*
 - What do you think motivates people to get involved?

- Are there any people who you notice are not involved in participatory budgeting?
 - What do you think are some barriers people face to participating in participatory budgeting?
 - Are there any reasons you're less involved than you might want to be?
- What is the role of residents, people living in the ward, in participatory budgeting?
- What is the role of the local councillor in participatory budgeting?
- What is the role of municipal staff, people working for the city, in participatory budgeting?

C) Evaluation

- How do you understand the goals of participatory budgeting in this ward?
- How would you judge the success of a participatory budgeting process?
- What are some of the major challenges participatory budgeting has faced in this ward?
- Is there something you are proud of accomplishing through the participatory budgeting process here?

D) Democracy

- How would you compare resident involvement in the municipal budget process more generally to resident involvement in participatory budgeting projects?
- In your opinion, what does democracy mean?
 - Prompt: definition, characteristics, associations*
- What relationship, if any, do you see between democracy and participatory budgeting?

E) Blind Spots

- Is there anything we haven't talked about yet, that you think is important to mention?

Thank you/wrap-up.

- Can you refer me to anyone else I could talk to?

Appendix B: Ethics Forms and Approval

York University Ethics Forms

HUMAN PARTICIPANTS REVIEW SUB-COMMITTEE (HPRC) *Protocol Form*

Who should complete this Protocol Form?

All faculty members (including contract, adjuncts, and seconded) who are conducting funded or un-funded, minimal or more than minimal risk* research that involves the use of human participants, must complete this Protocol Form. Students who are conducting funded minimal or more than minimal risk research that involves the use of human participants must also complete this form. This includes all experiments, interviews, and participant observation. If you are a student and your research is non-funded AND minimal risk, please consult with your Department Chair's, Graduate Programme Director's or Faculty Dean's office to discuss the approval process for your research.

How long will the review process take?

The average time to process minimal risk protocols is approximately twenty working days from the date of receipt in the Office of Research Ethics (ORE). **INCOMPLETE OR ILLEGIBLE PROTOCOLS WILL BE RETURNED TO THE RESEARCHER, WHICH WILL DELAY THE PROCESS.**

Online Ethics Review System

If you would like to submit your protocol using the Online Ethics Review System, please click on the following link: <http://www.yorku.ca/research/support/documents/#ethics>. Please note that the system is currently only accessible to faculty members and requires a York Passport Account. Hardcopies are not required if you are submitting your protocol via the online system.

Who can I contact if I have any questions?

Please contact the Coordinator, Research Ethics Review, Office of Research Ethics at ext.55201 or (wjokhoo@yorku.ca).

*The HPRC uses the definition of minimal risk as outlined in the SSHRC/NSERC/CIHR *Tri-Council Policy Statement "Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans"* (December 2010): "If potential subjects can reasonably be expected to regard the probability and magnitude of possible harms implied by participation in the research to be no greater than those encountered by the subject in those aspects of his or her everyday life that relate to the research then the research can be regarded as within the range of minimal risk" (p. 1.5). An expanded version of this definition is available from ORE upon request.

Please submit completed form and attachments (**plus six copies**) to:
Secretary, Human Participants Review Sub-Committee
Office of Research Ethics
5th Floor, Kaneff Tower

****Hardcopies are not required if you are using the Online Ethics Review System**

Checklist:

- Original, plus six copies
- Form is signed
- Consent statement is attached (informed consent form, letter, online consent or verbal statement)
- Additional Documentation (Ethics approval certificates/ letters of permission from other institutions or departments, a sample of the interview questions, questionnaires or survey if applicable) **

** Please visit our [website](#) for Guidelines on:

- Research in an Online Environment
- Research Conducted by External Researchers
- Research in Hospital Clinical Settings
- Research in Educational Settings
- Research Involving Minor Age Participants
- Research with People who are Homeless
- Data Security Guidelines
- Ethical & Hazard Identification Guideline for Classroom and Research Projects Conducted at York University
- Research Involving Aboriginal Peoples
- Aboriginal Research - Checklist for Researchers
- Invasive Procedures

Note: Protocols involving Invasive Procedures and/ or the collection of human bodily fluids will NOT be accepted for review unless the Health & Safety Checklist is completed and all relevant documentation is attached (e.g. Biosafety Permit, Proof/ Certification of delegation of the controlled act by the relevant registered Health Professional, Radiation Safety Permit).

PART A - GENERAL INFORMATION

A. Name of Principal Investigator(s): Laura Pin

B. Department and Home Faculty (or Research Centre/Institute): Political Science

Campus Mailing Address: [REDACTED] Extension: n/a E-mail: [REDACTED]

C. Names of any other persons involved in the data collection:

	Name	Role	Institution/ Research Centre
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			

D. Status of Principal Investigator:

- York Faculty Member
 Graduate Student
 Undergraduate Student
 Other:

If student, please provide course director's or supervisor's name: Dr. Dennis Pilon

E. Title of Research Project: Participatory Budgeting in Canada and the United States: Neoliberalism, Governmentality and Democracy

F. Is this research defined:

- Minimal Risk
 Non-minimal Risk

(Please see (*) footnote on first page for definition of minimal risk.)

G. If your research involves the use of human tissue/ blood/ body fluid and/or invasive procedures, please refer to the Submission and [Ethics Review Guidelines](#) for Research Involving Invasive Procedures and/or Collection of Human Bodily Fluids confirm whether Biosafety approval is in place:

- Yes - Please append a copy of your approval certificate to your application
 No - HPRC protocol cannot be reviewed until the ACOBS approval certificate is in place.

Not applicable

For more information on Biosafety please contact the Occupational Health Coordinator & Biosafety Officer, Phone: x44745

H. If your research involves the use of radioactive materials and/or radiation exposure, please confirm whether Radiation Safety approval is in place:

- Yes - *Please append a copy of your approval certificate to your application*
 No - *HPRC protocol cannot be reviewed until the Radiation approval certificate is in place.*
 Not applicable

For more information on Radiation training please contact the Radiation Safety Officer (RSO), Department of Occupational Health and Safety, x44745

I. Does your research involve Aboriginal/ Indigenous Peoples?

- Yes – *Please complete and append a copy of the '[Checklist for Researchers](#)'. Your protocol will first be reviewed by the Aboriginal Research Ethics Review Advisory Group.*
 No

J. Is this a revised version of a protocol previously reviewed by the HPRC?

- Yes
 No

If yes, please explain:

K. Approximate dates for proposed study:

Start: January 1, 2016 End: December 1, 2016

L. Is any anticipated funding for this project from internal (i.e., York University) sources?

- Yes
 No

If yes, what is the funding source?:

M. Is any anticipated funding for this project from any external (i.e., outside York) sources?

- Yes
 No

If yes, what is the funding agency and/or program?:

PART B - RESEARCH INFORMATION

1. In layperson's terms, please provide a general and brief description of the research (e.g., hypotheses, goals and objectives, etc.).

My PhD dissertation project is a comparative case-study of participatory budgeting projects in Hamilton, Ontario and Chicago, Illinois. Participatory budgeting projects are a form of public policy where residents directly determine budgets. My research seeks to fill a gap in terms of the relative neglect of Canadian case studies in the literature on participatory budgeting, as well as the absence of comparative work addressing Canadian participatory budgeting projects at the municipal level. It will also be relatively unique in explicitly mobilizing a governmentality approach to examine participatory budgeting, a topic more commonly broached through democratic theory. My research has a number of goals, including

- Enhancing our understanding of how deliberative democracy works on the ground;
- Providing a systemic and critical overview of participatory budgeting;
- Situating participatory budgeting in broader macroeconomic trends;
- Analyzing the relationship between neoliberalism and deliberative democratic initiatives;

2. State who the participant(s) will be (e.g., experimental subjects, interviewees, community members to be observed, etc.). Please provide details about the research subjects that are relevant to your particular research (number, age, sex, students, children, businesspeople, government employees, etc.). Also discuss the relationship of the researchers to the prospective subjects (e.g., teacher, parent, advisor, stranger, etc.).

This project has a number of research subjects. With respect to the Hamilton and Chicago case-studies, my primary research subjects will be adults living within the boundaries of Ward 2 in Hamilton or Ward 49 in Chicago, who have been directly involved in participatory budgeting. "Direct involvement" is defined as the following: 1) participating in organizing and planning of a participatory budgeting project; 2) participating in town halls and public deliberations for a participatory budgeting project; or 3) voting for participatory budgeting projects, either in person or online. I will conduct 20-25 semi-structured interviews with this group (to a maximum of 30). See attached interview questions.

Second, I will conduct interviews with residents of Ward 2 and Ward 49 that were eligible to participate in participatory budgeting but did not have direct involvement. I will conduct 10-15 semi-structured interviews with this group (to a maximum of 20). See attached interview questions.

Third, I will conduct interviews with municipal civil servants in Hamilton and Chicago directly involved in participatory budgeting projects. "Municipal civil servants" are defined as individuals employed by the City of Hamilton or City of Chicago to conduct policy, urban planning, engineering, or other work. "Direct involvement" will be defined as 1) participating in town halls and public deliberations for a participatory budgeting initiative; 2) providing advice on project design and implementation for a participatory budgeting project; or 3) providing budgetary estimates for participatory budgeting projects. I will conduct 6-8 interviews with municipal civil servants. See attached interview questions.

Fourth, I will conduct semi-structured interviews with municipal councillors in Hamilton and Chicago. I will conduct 2-4 interviews with councillors. See attached interview questions.

Because I lived and worked in Hamilton, Ontario, and have attended, by invitation, some participatory budgeting planning meetings, it is possible that some interviewees will be known to me. I anticipate that

the interviews will mostly be with strangers; however, in the instance that I am acquainted with someone, I will, again, stress the voluntary and confidential nature of the interview. In the case of Chicago, I anticipate that all interviews will be with strangers.

3. (a.) How will participants be recruited (e.g., snowball technique, random sampling, previously known to interviewer, telephone solicitation, etc.)?

I intend to begin by recruiting participatory budgeting organizers in Hamilton with whom I have a relationship. After explaining my research, I will use the snowball technique to gather more community participation. The participatory budgeting initiative in Hamilton has a large network through which I can publicize my research, asking interested participants to telephone or e-mail. In addition, I will solicit participation of non-participants through word of mouth and also through contact with community organizations in Ward 2, including the Immigrant Women's Centre, Good Sheppard Centre, and Central Public Library.

In Chicago, I intend to begin by contacting researchers at the Great Cities Institute who have worked with planners on Chicago's Participatory Budgeting initiative. The Great Cities Institute is well connected to the participatory budgeting project in Chicago, and will be a useful network for publicizing my research. Once I have identified several interested participants, I will draw on snowball sampling, to find relevant participants.

In both Hamilton and Chicago, to solicit interviews with councillors and municipal civil servants, I will send a letter (see attached). In both cities, I will also draw upon my connections with community members who work closely with government officials, to introduce me to government officials who might be willing to participate in this research, again drawing on the technique of snowball sampling.

(b.) Will you be using any advertisements, flyers, posters etc.?

- Yes
 No

If yes, please attach a copy with your application.

4. Will you be offering inducements to participate (e.g., money, gift certificates, academic credit, etc.)?

- Yes
 No

If yes, please elaborate:

Although I intend to meet the participant at the location of their choice, if the participant prefers to meet outside their home/place of work and must take public transportation or a taxi to get to our meeting place, I will offer to pay for this. I will also offer to pay for a non-alcoholic drink, if we are meeting somewhere where this is appropriate.

5. What exactly will be required of the participant(s) (e.g., answer a formal questionnaire, respond to interview questions, engage in a free-ranging discussion, undergo any medical procedures, etc.)? If applicable, please attach any research instruments (e.g., sample interview questions, questionnaires, etc.).

All participants will be asked to engage in a semi-structured interview that will last 45-60 minutes. I will ask for their permission to record this interview with an audio recorder. If they do not wish to be recorded, I will ask permission to take notes (please see attached for interview questions).

Organizers, municipal civil servants, and city councillors will also be asked if they would like to provide institutional publications that are relevant to the research (annual budget reports, published research and analysis or projects, etc.).

6. **What, if any, are the risks to the participants?** Or, **No risks:**

7. **What, if any, are the benefits to the participants?** Or, **No benefits**

A direct benefit to participants will be the opportunity to reflect on their experiences with participatory budgeting and gain new insight into how these have shaped their knowledge of municipal politics and democracy. An indirect benefit to participants is that ultimately, this project aims to amass data and analysis that can contribute to a better understanding of deliberative democracy and democratic initiatives.

8. **Is there a possibility of commercialization of research findings? If so, would give rise to an apparent or actual or potential conflict of interest on the part of researchers, the University or sponsors?**

- Yes
 No

If yes, please elaborate:

9. **This section pertains to issues around informed consent. Before completing, please read “Important Statement Regarding Informed Consent” attached to the end of this form.**

(a) **Will you provide to the participants a full explanation of the research prior to their participation?**

- Yes
 No

If no, please elaborate:

(b) **Is substitute consent involved (e.g., children, youths under 16, incompetent adults, etc.)?**

- Yes
 No

If yes, please elaborate:

(c) **Is deception involved?**

- Yes
- No

If yes, please elaborate (including issues around debriefing, if applicable):

(d) Will individuals remain anonymous?

Please note that it is expected that participants remain anonymous unless participants explicitly have given their permission otherwise.

- Yes
- No

If no, please elaborate: Interviews will remain anonymous with the exception of any city councillors/aldermen who agree to be interviewed. Given the public nature of their position, and the small number of city councillors/aldermen involved in participatory budgeting both cities it is impractical to expect that they will remain anonymous - even if their name and identifying features are removed from data, it is likely that their identity could be deduced. Consequently, I have completed the "Ethics Protocol for Interviews with Public Persons and Artists" and in the consent form will make it the purpose of the interview, how the interview will be used, and request permission to identify their contributions in any resultant research.

(e) Will the data be kept confidential?

Please note that it is expected that the data be kept confidential unless the participants explicitly have given their permission otherwise.

- Yes
- No

If no, please elaborate:

(f) How will data security and management be addressed?

Please provide details regarding proposed measures for safeguarding information – in particular personally identifiable data - for the full life cycle of information: its collection, use, dissemination, retention and/or disposal. At a minimum, researchers should consider the full implications of the data collection, use, retention and destruction/archiving when developing data security and management plans. (Researchers are encouraged to review the [Data Security Guidelines](#) for reference re their responsibilities for data management).

Data will be anonymized (coded) and separated from identifying information. Data and research instruments (including the audio recorder) will be safely stored in a locked filing cabinet or on a password protected computer. Data will be stored in the manner outlined above until all written work resulting from this project has been published. After this all data will be destroyed through shredding and deleting. Only I will have access to the filing cabinet and computer. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

(g) How will informed consent be obtained? (Please check one):

- Informed Consent Form (please attach draft version)

Letter* (please attach draft version)

Verbally* (please attach draft approximation of what participants will be verbally told)

Online Consent Form** (please attach draft version)

**If informed consent is being obtained by letter or verbally, please provide a rationale regarding why an informed consent form is not being used:*

**If online consent is being obtained, please indicate the website where the questionnaire/ survey will be hosted:*

10. Is there any additional information that you would like to add that may assist the HPRC in reviewing your protocol?


n/a

I have examined the guidelines and principles detailed above, and *the Senate Policy for the Ethics Review Process for Research Involving Human Participants*, and affirm that, to the best of my knowledge, this research conforms thereto. I hereby undertake to notify the Human Participants Review Committee if I make any major procedural changes involving the use of human participants on this project. I will also notify the Human Participants Review Committee if any unforeseen risks not specified in the research proposal appear. In such a case, the study will be suspended pending clarification.



Signature of Principal Investigator (PI)

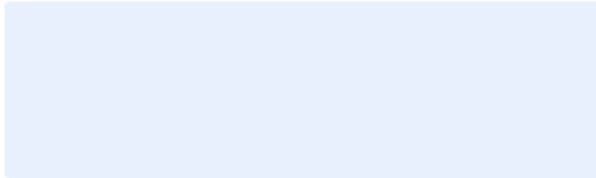
Date



Signature of Faculty Advisor (if PI is a student)

Date

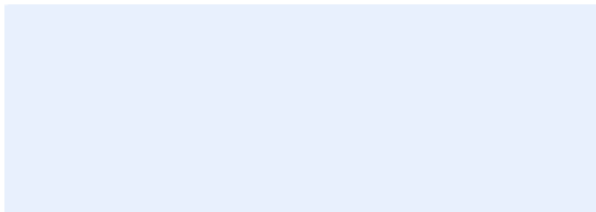
Section into insert Digital Signatures (if applicable):



Electronic Signature of Principal Investigator (PI)

[Click here to enter a date.](#)

Date



Electronic Signature of Faculty Advisor (if PI is a student)

[Click here to enter a date.](#)

Date

Item 9 - Important Statement Regarding Informed Consent

- A. The HPRC has adopted the position that all human participants (e.g., interviewees, research subjects, community members, etc) have the right to be informed of:
- the nature of the research (hypotheses, goals and objectives, etc.);
 - the research methodology to be used (e.g., medical procedures, questionnaires, participant observation, etc.);
 - any risks or benefits;
 - their right not to participate, not to answer any questions, and/or to terminate participation at anytime without prejudice (e.g., without academic penalty, withdrawal of remuneration, etc.)
 - their right to anonymity and confidentiality;
 - any other issues of which the participants should be aware that are relevant to specific protocols and research projects.
- B. The HPRC recognizes that the manner the researcher uses to obtain the informed consent varies according to the nature of the research, status of the participants, and culturally-specific norms. Although the HPRC requires that the principles of informed consent (outlined in A. above) be met, it is very flexible in how this consent is obtained. The HPRC will accept any of the three methods outlined below:
1. Informed consent form: The traditional informed consent form is the standard for research involving human participants. This would detail the principles outlined in A. above, and require the participants' signatures.
 2. Letter: Where the traditional informed consent form is not appropriate (e.g., interviews with artists or government officials, mass mailed questionnaires, etc.), the researcher may wish to seek permission through a letter inviting them to participate. This letter must nonetheless incorporate the principles of informed consent outlined in A. above.
 3. Verbal statement: In some instances, where written communication is not feasible (children, illiterate adults, certain communities), researchers can relay the principles outlined in A. above verbally.

Although it is impossible to come up with *one* generic model that will suffice for every research endeavour, an Informed Consent Form Template is available for your review and assistance on the [York Research website](#).

- C. The HPRC recognizes that researchers completing this protocol may not be at the stage of their research where they are able to provide this information. Nonetheless, the HPRC requires that a “best effort” draft be attached to this protocol. **PROTOCOLS THAT DO NOT ATTACH THIS INFORMATION (CONSENT DOCUMENT) WILL BE RETURNED TO THE RESEARCHER.**

York University Ethics Certificate



5th Floor,
Kaneff Tower,
4700 Keele St.
Toronto ON
Canada M3J 1P3
Tel 416 736 5914
Fax 416 650 8197
www.research.yorku.ca

Certificate #:	STU 2015 - 163
Approval Period:	11/26/15-11/26/16

Memo

To: Laura Pin, Political Science - Graduate Program, [REDACTED]

From: Alison M. Collins-Mrakas, Sr. Manager and Policy Advisor, Research Ethics
(on behalf of Denise Henriques, Chair, Human Participants Review Committee)

Date: **Thursday, November 26, 2015**

Re: Ethics Approval

Participatory Budgeting in Canada and the United States: Neoliberalism
Governmentality and Democracy

I am writing to inform you that the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee has reviewed and approved the above project.

Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at: [REDACTED]
via email at: [REDACTED].

Yours sincerely,

Alison M. Collins-Mrakas M.Sc., LL.M
Sr. Manager and Policy Advisor,
Office of Research Ethics

RESEARCH ETHICS: PROCEDURES to ENSURE ONGOING COMPLIANCE


Upon receipt of an ethics approval certificate, researchers are reminded that they are required to ensure that the following measures are undertaken so as to ensure on-going compliance with Senate and TCPS ethics guidelines:

1. **RENEWALS:** Research Ethics Approval certificates are subject to annual renewal. Certificates **must be current** in order for research activities to continue.
 - a. Researchers are required to submit a request for renewal to the Office of Research Ethics (ORE) for review and approval prior to the expiry of the certificate.
 - b. **Failure to renew an ethics approval certificate or** (to notify ORE that no further research involving human participants will be undertaken) **may constitute a breach of Senate Policy on research involving human participants.**
2. **AMENDMENTS:** Amendments must be reviewed and approved **PRIOR** to undertaking/making the proposed amendments to an approved ethics protocol;
3. **END OF PROJECT:** ORE must be notified when a project is complete;
4. **ADVERSE EVENTS:** Adverse events must be reported to ORE as soon as possible;
5. **AUDIT:**
 - a. More than minimal risk research may be subject to an audit as per TCPS guidelines;
 - b. A spot sample of minimal risk research may be subject to an audit as per TCPS guidelines.

FORMS: As per the above, the following forms relating to on-going research ethics compliance are available on the Research website:

- a. Renewal
- b. Amendment
- c. End of Project
- d. Adverse Event

UIC Ethics Forms

<p>OFFICE OF THE VICE CHANCELLOR FOR RESEARCH</p>  <p>FORM - Initial Review Application: Social and Behavioral Sciences</p> <p>Version: 4.6 Date: 01/22/2013</p>	<p>Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS) Institutional Review Board FWA# 00000083</p> <p>203 AOB (MC 672) 1737 West Polk Street Chicago, IL 60612-7227 Phone: 312 996-1711 Fax: 312 413-2929 www.research.uic.edu/protocolreview/irb</p>
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<i>To Be Completed By the Investigator</i>	<i>For OPRS Use Only</i>
Date Application Completed: Feb 18, 2016.	UIC Protocol #:
Application Document Version #: 1.0	Assigned IRB:

I. Research Title: Participatory Budgeting in Canada and the United States: Neoliberalism, Governmentality and Democracy

II. Personnel

A. Principal Investigator

Name (Last, First) Pin, Laura		Degree(s) B.A.Sc.; M.A.	University Status/Title Student (UIC Visiting Scholar)
Department Visiting Scholar at UIC Great Cities Institute		College York University; CUPPA	
Mailing Address [REDACTED]		E-mail Address [REDACTED]	
Phone Number [REDACTED]	Fax Number n/a	M/C	

B. Faculty Sponsor – required when PI is a student, fellow or resident

Name (Last, First) Weber, Rachel		Degree(s) PhD	University Status/Title Professor
Department Urban Planning and Policy Program		College UIC	
Mailing Address [REDACTED]		E-mail Address [REDACTED]	
Phone Number [REDACTED]	Fax Number n/a	M/C 348	

C. LIST ALL ADDITIONAL KEY RESEARCH PERSONNEL ON [APPENDIX P](#) and SUBMIT WITH THIS APPLICATION PACKET.

III. Performance Sites



Definition of a Performance Site: A performance site is a location at which the research is conducted, data is gathered from subjects and/or records, and/or subjects are consented into the research. Sites are performance sites whether the research activities there are funded or not funded.

Non-UIC Performance Site: A non-UIC performance site is a non-UIC location at which a UIC investigator conducts research under research protocols which are not funded (for example, most thesis and dissertation research is not funded) and/or funded research protocols. Support for funded research protocols may include, but not be limited to, grants, cooperative or collaborative agreements, contracts, sub-contracts, clinical trial agreements, industry sponsors, fellowships, and scholarships.

Lead Performance Site: The performance site at which the research is initiated and, for funded research, the site designated as the lead by the research sponsor [the entity paying for the research] and/or the site that receives funding directly from the research sponsor. For example, if a UIC investigator receives a contract or grant to conduct research, and then sub-contracts with other non-UIC investigators to do part of the research, UIC is the lead performance site. If, on the other hand, a UIC investigator receives a sub-contract from a non-UIC investigator, UIC is not the lead performance site. In some cases, such as research sponsored by the pharmaceutical industry, there will be no lead performance site and each site will act as an independent performance site, even though the research may take place at many performance sites at once and is supported by the same research sponsor.

A. Performance Site Identification:

1. Will UIC be a performance site? *Must be YES unless the research is conducted only at the Jesse Brown Veterans Administration Medical Center [JBVAMC]*
 No Yes

2. Will JBVAMC be a performance site? *Please note that the JBVAMC has special status as a performance site and that alternative documentation will be required in lieu of Appendix K for research activities conducted at the JBVAMC.*
 No Yes

B. Non-UIC Performance Sites:

1. Are there non-UIC performance sites?
 No Yes (After completing this application, complete [Appendix K](#) and submit with this application packet)
2. Are there international performance sites?
 No Yes (After completing this application, complete [Appendix I](#) and submit with this application packet)

C. Lead Performance Site ?

1. Is UIC the Lead Performance Site?
 N/A – Research is industry sponsored and the sponsor is the Lead Performance Site, OR the study does not have a Lead Performance Site
 Yes (Skip to section IV)
 No (Complete the questions below)
 Name of Non-UIC Lead Performance Site: **York University**
 City: **Toronto** State: **Ontario, Canada**
 IRB Approval Date/Exemption from non-UIC Lead Performance Site: **Nov. 26, 2015**
 IRB Approval from non-UIC Lead Performance Site is pending

The IRB will request documentation of IRB approval(s), IRB Authorization Agreement(s), letter(s) of support, and/or other documents as needed.

IV. Research Funding

- A. Is this research funded?**
 No. Go to Section V.



Yes or pending. Complete the rest of this Section (below).

B. Check all of the appropriate boxes for funding sources (including pending sources) for this research.

EXTRAMURAL:

- Federal Agency Name:
- Foundation Name:
- State Agency Name:
- Industry Sponsor Name:

The UIC OVCR assesses an administrative fee for the IRB review of all pharmaceutical industry sponsored human subjects research. Please refer to the [Protocol Processing Fee for Industry Sponsored and IRB Submissions to the UIC IRB](#) for an explanation of this policy and fee schedule. The account number to be charged must be provided below before IRB review commences.

Account Number to be charged:

- Department of Defense – Complete and submit [Appendix Q](#)
- Sub-contract from non-UIC agency or institution: Name:
- Other - Name:

INTRAMURAL:

- Campus Research Board (CRB) Departmental Other - Name:

C. Funding Identification: For each funding source, provide the following information. Use [Appendix Z](#) if this study is supported by more than one funding source. **Note:** Any subsequent change in funder or funding status requires the submission of Appendix Z via an IRB amendment.

PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF THE GRANT or CONTRACT TO THIS APPLICATION FOR FEDERALLY FUNDED RESEARCH WHERE UIC IS THE AWARDEE INSTITUTION OR LEAD SITE.

1. Proposal Approval Form (PAF) Number:
2. a. Name of the PI on the grant or contract received directly from the sponsor:
 b. Is the PI of this grant or contract affiliated with UIC? No Yes
 If **NO**,
 Identify the agency or institution with which the above PI is affiliated:
 Explain the relationship between that agency or institution and UIC:
3. Funding Agency Grant Account Number:
 Grant, contract or sub-contract pending.
 Not Applicable, Non-federally funded research
4. Grant, contract or sub-contract title:
5. Is this grant a Master, Training, or Development grant (grants used to train fellows or support the development of other research protocols)? No Yes

V. Conflict of Interest (COI)



All investigators must disclose all real, apparent, or potential Significant Financial Interest (SFI) to the IRB. For more information, see the [Investigator Conflict of Interest Disclosure Policy for Human Subjects](#).

Investigator is defined as any person responsible for the design, conduct, or reporting of the research. This includes, but is not limited to, the principal investigator, faculty sponsor, co-investigators, collaborators, consultants, and key research personnel.

Family members include spouse or domestic partner, parents, siblings, and children.

Significant financial interest (SFI) (42 CFR 50.603) is identified when:

- A. The value of any remuneration received from an external entity at present or in the 12 months preceding the disclosure that when aggregated for the investigator and family members totals or exceeds \$5,000. The \$5,000 threshold also applies to salary, royalties, and other payments aggregated for the investigator and family members.
- B. The value of a publicly-traded equity (plus any remuneration) meets or exceeds \$5,000.
- C. Any level of ownership of privately-held equity regardless of the dollar value.
- D. Intellectual property rights (e.g., patents, trademarks, copyrights, licensing agreements, and royalties from such rights) excluding intellectual property rights assigned to the University of Illinois and agreements with the University of Illinois to share royalties related to such rights.
- E. Any other relationships that might present a financial conflict of interest, such as fiduciary interests (paid or unpaid positions as director, officer, or other management role in a for-profit or not-for-profit entity sponsoring or related to the research) or interests in which compensation or the value of equity or property rights or the combination of interests might affect the outcome of the research.

Institutional COI includes financial interests of the university or a university official acting within his or her authority on behalf of the institution might affect or reasonably appear to affect institutional processes for the design, conduct, reporting, review, or oversight of human subjects research.

Examples of institutional conflict of interest include but are not limited to:

- A. The university has an equity interest in a company or the university holds a patent, license, or some type of intellectual property interest related to the product that is the subject of the research.
- B. A university official acting within his or her authority on behalf of the institution has equity interest, serves on an advisory or other Board, or serves in a fiduciary role in an entity that has an interest in the outcome of human subjects research.
- C. Gifts to the university or university official from a company or other entity that has an interest in the outcome of human subjects research.

A. Disclosure

- 1. At present or in the 12 months prior to this disclosure, did or does any investigator or investigator's family members have a significant financial interest (SFI) with the research sponsor or any subcontract recipient; or have a SFI reasonably related to a product (e.g., drug, device, method, treatment, etc.) that is the subject of the research; or have any other relationships (e.g. fiduciary, even if uncompensated) that may present a potential conflict of interest with this research?

No Yes (If yes, see Section B below.)

- 2. Does an institutional conflict of interest exist with this study?

No Yes (If yes, see Section B below.)

B. Management

If **YES** is checked for any of these questions, **attach a Significant Financial Interest – Disclosure and Management Plan (SFI-DMP)**. The SFI-DMP form and guidance on how to write the SFI-DMP are available on the COI website at <http://research.uic.edu/compliance/coi> . Final IRB approval of the research cannot be provided until a management plan is in place.



UIC and JBVAMC personnel: For additional assistance contact the COI Office at (312) 996-3642/ (312) 996-4070 or email coi@uic.edu.

VI. IRB Disapproval of the Research

A. To your knowledge, has this protocol been reviewed and subsequently disapproved by any IRB?

No Yes

If YES, please provide the details of the disapproval including the reviewing IRB name, the date of review, the issues resulting in disapproval, and how these issues have been resolved.

VII. Classified Research

A. Has this research been declared to be classified and/or does it involve any classified data or subjects?

No Yes **If YES, STOP.** Please contact the [Director of the Office for the Protection of Research Subjects](#). UIC IRBs generally do not review classified research involving human subjects.

VIII. Additional Reviews Required

Reviews beyond that of the IRB may be required for this study. Please indicate which of the reviews below apply to this study. If you have already received review approval documents, please attach.

Review	Review Required?	If YES, check that necessary documents are attached
UIC Cancer Center Review is required prior to submission to the IRB for protocols to be reviewed by the convened Board; protocols eligible for expedited review may be submitted simultaneously to the Cancer Center and IRB.	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Cancer Center approval is attached Approval date:
Radiation Safety (RS) reviews laboratory operations regarding the use of radioactive materials, such as radioactive isotopes, and the use of devices that produce x-rays, such as research related DEXA scans.	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> RS approval is attached Approval date:

IX. Lay Summary

Summarize the proposed research using non-technical language that can be readily understood by IRB members whose primary concerns are nonscientific. The complete summary (parts A - F) must not exceed a total of 500 words. Use complete sentences.

A. Statement of purpose/and background information necessary to understand the study:

The purpose of this study is to better understand how participatory budgeting projects work on the ground, and how this knowledge can be applied to the concepts of deliberative democracy and neoliberalism

B. Description of procedures/methods:



I am conducting interviews with residents in neighborhoods with participatory budgeting projects, city staff, and councillors or aldermen in both Hamilton and Chicago. Conducting interviews with individuals knowledgeable about the process and practice of participatory budgeting will help build comprehensive knowledge of the factors that influence the establishment and success of these projects.

C. Statement of duration of subject participation:

Interviews will last 60 minutes. Contact with the researcher from enrollment to follow-up will vary depending on how quickly an interview can be scheduled, but should be no longer than six weeks.

D. Anticipated risks:

I do not anticipate any risk to participants, with the exception of councillors/aldermen. All participants will be anonymous in any reports or publications resulting from this research with the exception of aldermen/councillors, who may face the risk of additional public scrutiny or attention as a result of their participation in this research.

E. Anticipated benefits:

There are no direct benefits to participants. A social benefit of this research, and indirect benefit to participants, is that this project aims to amass data and analysis that can contribute to a better understanding of democracy

F. Description of subject population including characteristics, age range and number of subjects at UIC, JBVAMC and study-wide.

Age range: Adults (over 18)

Criteria: Resident of a neighborhood with a participatory budgeting project OR municipal civil servant within the last five years OR current alderman/councillor.

Number of subjects: In Chicago: approximately 40; study-wide: approximately 80.

X. Categories of Research That May Be Reviewed Through Expedited Procedures

A. Eligibility for Expedited Review

Will this research involve prisoners as subjects?

No Yes **If YES, STOP** and skip to Section XI. Research involving prisoners is not eligible for expedited review.

B. Eligibility as Minimal Risk Research

Will this research be minimal risk? *Minimal risk means that the probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated in the research are not greater in and of themselves than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests.*

No Yes **If NO, STOP** and skip to Section XI. Research that is greater than minimal risk is not eligible for expedited review.

C. Expedited Categories

Please identify the expedited category or categories that apply to your research. If your research does **NOT** fit within any of the categories below, then please **STOP** and skip to Section XI.

- Clinical studies of drugs and medical devices only when condition (a) or (b) is met. (a) Research on drugs for which an investigational new drug application (21 CFR Part 312) is not

required. (NOTE: Research on marketed drugs that significantly increases the risks or decreases the acceptability of the risks associated with the use of the product is not eligible for expedited review). (b) Research on medical devices for which (i) an investigational device exemption application (21CFR 812) is not required; or (ii) the medical device is cleared/approved for marketing and the medical device is being used in accordance with its cleared/approved labeling.

2. Collection of blood samples by finger stick, heel stick, or venipuncture as follows: (a) from healthy, non-pregnant adults who weigh at least 110 pounds. For these subjects, the amounts drawn may not exceed 550 ml in an 8 week period and collection may not occur more frequently than 2 times per week; or (b) from other adults and children, considering age, weight, and health of the subjects, the collection procedure, the amount of blood to be collected, and the frequency with which it will be collected. For these subjects, the amount drawn may not exceed the lesser of 50 ml or 3 ml per kg in an 8 week period and collection may not occur more frequently than 2 times per week.
3. Prospective collection of biological specimens for research purposes by noninvasive means. Examples: (a) hair and nail clippings in a non-disfiguring manner; (b) deciduous teeth at time of exfoliation or if routine patient care indicates a need for extraction; (c) permanent teeth if routine patient care indicates a need for extraction; (d) excreta and external secretions (including sweat); (e) uncannulated saliva collected in an unstimulated fashion or stimulated by chewing gumbase or wax or by applying a dilute citric solution to the tongue; (f) placenta removed at delivery; (g) amniotic fluid obtained at the time of rupture of the membrane prior to or during labor; (h) supra- and subgingival dental plaque and calculus, provided the collection procedure is not more invasive than routine prophylactic scaling of the teeth and the process is accomplished in accordance with acceptable prophylactic techniques; (i) mucosal and skin cells collected by buccal scraping or swab, skin swab, or mouth washings; (j) sputum collected after saline mist nebulization.
4. Collection of data through noninvasive procedures (not involving general anesthesia or sedation) routinely employed in clinical practice, excluding procedures involving X-rays or microwaves. Where medical devices are employed, they must be cleared/approved for marketing. (Studies intended to evaluate the safety and effectiveness of the medical device are not generally eligible for expedited review, including studies of cleared medical devices for new indications.) Examples: (a) physical sensors that are applied either to the surface of the body or at a distance and do not involve input of significant amounts of energy into the subject or an invasion of the subject's privacy; (b) weighing or testing sensory acuity; (c) magnetic resonance imaging; (d) electrocardiography, electroencephalography, thermography, detection of naturally occurring radioactivity, electroretinography, ultrasound, diagnostic infrared imaging, Doppler blood flow, and echocardiography; (e) moderate exercise, muscular strength testing, body composition assessment, and flexibility testing where appropriate given the age, weight, and health of the individual.
5. Research involving materials (data, documents, records, or specimens) that have been collected, or will be collected, solely for non-research purposes (such as for medical treatment or diagnosis). (NOTE: Some research in this category may be exempt from HHS regulations for the protection of human subjects 45CFR 46.101(b)(4). This listing refers only to research that is not exempt.) Please refer to the [OPRS Getting Started Page](#) for more information regarding the different levels of review.
6. Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.
7. Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior), or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance



methodologies. (NOTE: Some research in this category may be exempt from the HHS regulations for the protection of human subjects 45CFR 46.101 (b)(2) and (b)(3). This listing refers only to research that is not exempt.) Please refer to the [OPRS Getting Started Page](#) for more information regarding the different levels of review.

XI. Protocol Components

A. Briefly state the research hypothesis being explored by the current research. Include a discussion of the present knowledge relevant to the research and the aims and significance of the research. Cite appropriate literature to support the relevance and importance of this research.

This research project is not scientifically positivist, so there are no formal hypotheses being tested. However, it has a number of specific goals, including:

- **Enhancing academic and popular understanding of how deliberative democracy works in practice;**
- **Providing a systemic overview of PB in two urban environments;**
- **Situating participatory budgeting in broader macroeconomic trends;**
- **Analyzing the relationship between neoliberalism and deliberative democratic initiatives;**

More specifically, my dissertation project will address four major shortcomings in the literature on participatory budgeting. These are outlined in more detail below.

1) While there is some work on participatory budgeting in specific locations in Canada (ex. Guelph, Toronto Public Housing, Montreal) there is no published academic research on a number of more recent municipalities that have piloted or adopted this practice (ex. Toronto, Hamilton). Moreover, the research that does exist tends to be limited to single case-studies (ex. Pinnington, Lerner & Schugurensky 2009; Kim 2008; Patsias, Latendresse and Bherer 2013) or compares municipalities with sub-municipal organizations that have undertaken participatory budgeting initiatives (ex. Johnson 2009). Little existing research compares municipalities with municipalities in the North American context.

2) There is no published comparative work on participatory budgeting that directly compares and contrasts Canadian and American municipalities. Comparative work, particularly in contexts where municipal government is structured differently, can illuminate the influence of municipal and national structures in facilitating participatory budgeting.

3) Existing work on participatory budgeting often focuses narrowly on the participatory budgeting process itself, and fails to contextualize participatory budgeting in terms of trends in municipal governance and budgeting more broadly (ex. Lerner & Van Wagner 2006; Fuji 2009; Kim 2008; Insua et al. 2008). The work that does attempt to provide a more fulsome contextualization is limited in its examination of municipalities and does not make explicit reference to governmentality or neoliberalism (Johnson 2009; Bräutigam 2004; Patsias, Latendresse and Bherer 2013).

4) This dissertation research will seek to conceptualize participatory budgeting in terms of how decisions to participate or not participate in participatory budgeting projects can illuminate as to individual and collective conceptualizations of democracy. While much work on participatory budgeting focuses on the theoretical link between participatory budgeting, deliberative democracy and representative democracy (ex. Patsias, Latendresse & Bherer, 2013; Sintomer et al. 2012), little research examines participants' self-understanding of the relationship between participatory budgeting and democracy more generally.

- B. Please describe in chronological order all the tasks/tests or procedures subjects will be asked to complete in participating in this research. When the research requires collection of blood, other biological fluids or tissues performed solely because of participation in the research, please indicate the exact amounts and the frequency of sampling. Distinguish between tasks performed solely for research and those being performed already for diagnostic/treatment purposes or provisions of regular services.

The following steps are a sequential description of study procedures related to conducting interviews with participants:

1) Initial contact: Initial participants will be identified through the Great Cities Institute and personal networks. Participants, recommended through previous contacts (snowball method), will be contacted via e-mail or telephone with a standard e-mail form or verbal script to assess interest in participation in a 60 minute interview.

2) Screening for eligibility: If participants are interested in conducting an interview, an "Eligibility Checklist" form and a "Documentation of the Informed Consent" form will be started for the participant.

3) Enrollment in study: if participants meet the study eligibility criteria for the study, a 60 minute interview will be arranged at a mutually agreeable time and date, in public setting such as library, community centre or coffee shop.

4) Interview: Prior to beginning the interview, the PI will re-confirm using the "Eligibility Checklist" that the participant meets the inclusion/exclusion criteria for the study. Prior to the interview, the PI will verbally go over the ICD with the participant. The PI and participant will both sign and date two copies of the ICD. One copy will be kept by the participant, and one copy will be stored by the PI in a locked filing cabinet.

Once the interview begins, the PI will turn on the recording device. When the interview draws to a close, after either approximately 60 minutes have elapsed, or interview guide has been exhausted, the PI will thank the participant for their time and turn off the recording device.

5) Follow-up: Each participant will receive an e-mail or telephone follow-up thanking them for their time within 72 hours of the interview. They will also be asked if they are aware of any other individuals who might be eligible and interested in participating in the study.



C. Please provide the location (name of building, address if off-campus and room number) where the following research activities will occur:

1. Recruitment

Over the phone and via e-mail

2. Consent

Where the interview takes place, immediately before the interview, at a mutually agreed upon public location convenient for the subject.

3. Study tasks, tests or procedures (if multiple locations, match each location with the procedure(s) being performed there)

Interviews will take place at a mutually agreed upon public location convenient for the subject.

4. Data analysis

PI's office at:

[REDACTED]

PI's private residence at:

[REDACTED]

D. Research Records

1. Indicate the type(s) of data being collected and/or recorded (check all that apply):

- Interviews/Questionnaires
- Audio recordings
- Video recordings
- Photographs
- School records
- Internet research data
- Lab, pathology and/or radiology results
- University of Illinois Hospital & Health System medical records
- Physician/clinic/hospital medical records from sources outside of UI Health System
- Psychotherapy Notes
- Billing records
- Data previously collected for research purposes
- Data containing no health information
- Study-generated health information
- Biological specimens
- Other. Describe:



2. Will any biological samples or specimens be stored, for future (planned or unplanned) analysis beyond the scope of the current research proposal?

No Yes **If YES**, complete and submit [Appendix D1](#) with this application packet.

3. Will any identifiable data, or coded data where a master list to the codes exists, be stored for future use or entered into an existing databank as a result of the research?

No Yes **If YES**, complete and submit [Appendix D2](#) with this application packet.

4. Indicate the identifiable elements that will be collected and/or included in the research records.

Check all that apply.

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Names | <input type="checkbox"/> Social Security Numbers* | <input type="checkbox"/> Device identifiers/Serial numbers |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Phone numbers | <input type="checkbox"/> Medical record numbers | <input type="checkbox"/> Web URLs |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Street address | <input type="checkbox"/> Health plan numbers | <input type="checkbox"/> IP address numbers |
| <input type="checkbox"/> City or state | <input type="checkbox"/> Account numbers | <input type="checkbox"/> Biometric identifiers ¹ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Zip Code | <input type="checkbox"/> Fax numbers | <input type="checkbox"/> Vehicle ID numbers |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> E-mail address | <input type="checkbox"/> License/Certificate numbers | <input type="checkbox"/> Facial Photos/Images |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Financial account information (including student ID) | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> All elements of dates (except year) for dates directly related to an individual; and all ages over 89 and all elements of dates (including year) indicative of such age | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Date of Birth | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Any other unique identifier - Specify: | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> None of the identifiers listed above | | |

¹ Biometric Identifiers are observable biological characteristics which could be used to identify an individual, e.g., fingerprints, iris/retina patterns, and facial patterns.

***NOTE:** If social security numbers will be collected, explain below why they are necessary and how they will be used:

5. Does the research involve the use and disclosure of protected health information (PHI)?

No Yes

Data is considered to represent PHI when an individual's health information, including billing records, contains or is linked to one of the identifiers listed in #XI.D.4. above. For example, health-related information is considered PHI if any of the following are true:

- *The researcher obtains the information directly from a provider, billing records, health plan, health clearinghouse or employer (other than records relating solely to employment status);*
- *The records were created by any of the entities listed above and the researcher obtains the records from an intermediate source which is NOT a school record or an employer record related solely to employment status; OR*
- *The researcher obtains it directly from the study subject in the course of providing treatment to the subject.*

Health-related information is not considered PHI if the researcher obtains it from:

- *Student records maintained by a school;*
- *Employee records maintained by an employer related to employment status; OR*
- *The research subject directly, if the research does NOT involve treatment.*



If **YES**, please choose one of the following options:

- a. If yes, AND all the following are met **STOP** and complete a [Claim of Exemption](#) form.
 - the **ONLY** data collected will be from health information records that exist at UIC and/or the UI Health System at the time of IRB submission,
 - no on-going or prospective collection of data will occur, and
 - no identifiers will be recorded in the research record.
 - b. If yes, AND data collected from health information records will be prospective or on-going, or identifiers will be recorded in the research record, please continue to complete this application. Also include the use or disclosure of PHI in the tasks/procedures section of the informed consent document(s). If the PHI will be accessed at a UIC site, please submit a HIPAA Authorization document or request a waiver of HIPAA authorization in section XVIII.
6. If subjects are to be selected from records outside the UI Health System, indicate who gave approval for the use of the records. If the records are "private" medical or student records, provide the protocol, consent documents, letters, etc., for securing consent of the subjects for the use of the records. Written documentation for cooperation/permission from the institutional holder or custodian of the records should also be attached.
7. Will the Principal Investigator and/or other Key Research Personnel review the health information records to identify potential subjects for the research?
- No – Skip to question 8
 Yes – Select one of the below:
- If **YES and the JBVAMC is a performance site**: then waivers for the identification of prospective subjects must be requested for this recruitment phase of the research; a HIPAA waiver in Section XVIII and a parallel waiver of informed consent under 38 CFR 16.116(d) in Sections XVI and XVII of this application form.
 - If **YES, the JBVAMC is not a performance site, and the research is being conducted outside the covered entity**: then waivers for the identification of prospective subjects must be requested for this recruitment phase of the research; a HIPAA waiver in Section XVIII and a parallel waiver of informed consent under 45 CFR 46.116(d) in Sections XVI and XVII of this application form.
 - If **YES, the JBVAMC is not a performance site, and the research is being conducted within the covered entity**: then a waiver for the identification of prospective subjects must be requested for this recruitment phase of the research; a waiver of informed consent under 45 CFR 46.116(d) in Sections XVI and XVII of this application form. In addition, a preparatory to research must be indicated in Section XVIII.
8. Will any research related information be put into the health information records or any other permanent record of the subject?
 No Yes

If **YES**, please explain:

UI Health System policy requires that all research subjects who have clinical visits and procedures be registered and that, at a minimum, a medical record containing the name of the research study, the responsible physician, the procedure(s) being performed, the medication involved, and adverse experiences be part of the permanent medical record so that, in the case of an emergency, the subject's involvement in a research study is known. UI Health System policy also requires that a copy of the research consent document, Release of Medical Information Form, and HIPAA

authorization form be part of the permanent medical record. This must be disclosed in the informed consent document.

E. Eligibility Criteria

Please provide detail regarding the inclusion and exclusion criteria for enrollment of subjects into this study. Please include specific information regarding the procedures/thresholds that will be used to determine whether someone is included or excluded (e.g., "subjects who may be pregnant based on a positive pregnancy test").

1. Inclusion Criteria:

1. Aged 18 or older

2. Meets one of the following criteria:

- a) **Resides in a neighborhood with a participatory budgeting project in Chicago or Hamilton;**
- b) **Has been employed in the past five years by the City of Chicago or City of Hamilton**
- c) **Is currently an elected councilor or alderman in the City of Chicago or City of Hamilton;**

2. Exclusion Criteria:

1. Under the age of 18

2. Non-English speaking

3. Who will assess potential subjects and determine their eligibility for the research? **PI**

4. How will initial eligibility be documented? **Through the "Eligibility Checklist" form that will be completed for each subject.**

5. How will the subjects be monitored during the course of the research to ensure that they still meet the eligibility criteria and how will their continuing eligibility be documented? **Initial eligibility will be confirmed in advance of the interview, but subjects will also be asked to reconfirm all inclusion/exclusion criteria immediately before the interview.**

F. Equitable Selection of Subjects

Federal regulations require that the selection of research subjects be equitable in order for the IRB to approve the research. If a particular population will be excluded (for example: pregnant women or non-English speaking subjects), you must JUSTIFY the exclusion of this population. NOTE: This question does not refer to clinical trial exclusion criteria, unless entire populations are excluded (for example: if the research is targeting African Americans, Hispanics, or children).

- No subjects will be excluded based upon sex, race/ethnic group, or religion.
- The following population of subjects will be excluded from the research: **non-English speaking subjects, children**

Justification for exclusion: **Participatory budgeting is a written and verbal process of policy consultation that requires proficiency in English for residents to participate in Chicago and Hamilton. Consequently, it is unlikely that a non-English speaking subject would be involved with participatory budgeting. Minors are excluded because the participatory budgeting participants are adults.**

G. Will any portion of the research involve deception?

- No Yes If YES, complete and submit [Appendix J](#) with this application.



XII. Research Subject Population

A. Subject Population

1. Requested number of subjects: Total UIC: **40** (including JBVAMC subjects)
2. Total subjects enrolled at sites that do not fall under the responsibility of the UIC IRB: **40**
3. GRAND TOTAL [UIC (item 1) + non-UIC (item 2)]: **80**

Note: The total number stated here will be the total number of approved subjects and will appear in the approval letter. If you are only extracting and/or analyzing case data, and not recruiting subjects, this number will represent the number of cases you are analyzing. This is a specific number and you must not exceed this number. To increase the approved sample size, an amendment must be submitted and IRB-approved prior to recruiting and consenting, or accessing the case data for, more than the approved number of subjects. If the research includes screening procedures that may cause the subjects to be withdrawn after initial recruitment, be sure to provide sufficient numbers to account for screening failures and other reasons for study attrition (such as incomplete or flawed data).

B. Age Range (check all that apply):

- Newborn to 17 years of age* - Complete [Appendix B](#)
- 18-64 Years
- 65+ Years

C. Indicate which populations below are the PRIMARY FOCUS of this research. Remember to take into account the location in which recruitment will occur and where the research will be conducted. Also note that additional information and/or safeguards will be required, as indicated below, when a subject population has been designated as vulnerable (with an asterisk *).

Check all that apply:

- Adults: Healthy Subjects or Control Subjects
- Adults: Patient Subjects
- Pregnant Women, Neonates, Fetuses/Fetal Tissue – [Appendix U](#) *must be included* *
- Prisoners – [Appendix C](#) *must be included** - **Please note that certain types of research with prisoners approvable under the federal regulations may not be allowed under Illinois state law.**
- UIC Employees*
- UIC Psychology Student Subject Pool* - [Appendix B](#) *must be included unless child students will be excluded from the specific research drawing on Pool subjects; [Appendix S](#) must be included.*
- Decisionally-Impaired* - [Appendix V](#) *must be included* *
- Economically and/or Educationally Disadvantaged*
- Vulnerable to Coercion or Undue Influence*
- Students* - [Appendix S](#) *must be included*
- Other: specify

Please note the groups listed directly above marked with an asterisk (*), as well as subjects under the age of 18, are considered “vulnerable” and require special consideration by the federal regulatory agencies and/or by the UIC IRB.

D. The appropriate Appendices (as indicated above) must be attached to this application. When an appendix is not available for a vulnerable population checked above, provide a rationale for their inclusion and what additional safeguards, if any, are in place to protect their rights and welfare:



XIII. Reasonably Anticipated Risks and Benefits of the Research

- A. Identify all the reasonably anticipated risks or discomforts that may result from participation in this research (actual and reasonably possible, current and future) and describe the expected frequency, degree of severity, and potential reversibility of those risks (if known). Remember that risks can be psychological, physical, social, economic, or legal. If any portion of the research involves review of medical records, the potential for loss of privacy or confidentiality of health information should be listed as a risk. Please note the risks listed here should correspond to the list provided in the lay summary, protocol document and the informed consent document.

Residents and municipal staff will remain anonymous in any publications or reports resulting from this study. I do not anticipate any psychological, social, economic or legal risks, either now or in the future, as a result of their participation in this research.

Aldermen/councillors will be identified in reports and publications resulting from this research. As a result, a direct risk to municipal councilors or aldermen is that their perceptions of participatory budgeting may become known to a broader audience than currently is the case and may attract negative public attention

- B. Please identify the potential for benefits from the conduct of this research. Please note there must be an expectation of benefit, either directly to subjects or indirectly from the potential knowledge to be gained, in order for the IRB to approve the research. In addition, please note that anticipated risks must be reasonable in light of the potential benefit to be gained. *Please note that participation in Social and Behavioral Sciences research (such as interviews, focus groups, surveys) rarely presents a direct benefit to the subject. Unless a direct benefit to subjects is anticipated (such as an educational benefit from a new curriculum, therapeutic benefit from a new service/therapy), please state that no direct benefits to subjects are anticipated.*

No direct benefits are anticipated.

- C. Indicate how the knowledge gained from the study could produce a benefit to society or to others who share the same disorder or condition. State this here and in the consent document.

A benefit to society, and an indirect benefit to participants, is that ultimately this project aims to amass data and analysis that can contribute to a better understanding of deliberative democracy and democratic initiatives.

- D. Please indicate whether there are potential benefits related to an experimental intervention or interaction that are only available in the context of the research. State this here and in the consent documents.

No.

XIV. Research Procedures to Minimize Risk

- A. Please indicate the proposed measures to minimize the possibility of coercion or undue influence on potential subjects, particularly for subjects identified in XII.C as being vulnerable (for example: how will you maximize the subject's autonomous decision-making; what if the investigator is also the participants healthcare provider, what if the participant is enrolled in a class the investigator is teaching, what if an employer/employee relationship exists).

All participants will be required to read and sign an ICD prior to the start of the interview. The ICD explicitly states that a subject's participation in the research is voluntary and they may refuse to answer a question, stop the interview or withdraw



from the study at any time without prejudice, that is, withdrawal will not affect their relationship with the PI, York University or UIC.

In addition to being explicitly stated on the consent form, this information will be verbally reinforced at the beginning of each interview.

As I have lived and worked in Hamilton, Ontario, and have attended, by invitation, some public participatory budgeting planning meetings, it is possible that some subjects, will be known to me. I anticipate that the interviews will mostly be with strangers; however, in the instance that I am acquainted with someone, I will, again, stress the voluntary and confidential nature of the interview.

- B.** Describe the precautions taken to protect subject privacy during the initial identification of subjects, subject recruitment, and collection of data from the subjects (for example: what precautions will be taken to protect the subject from being recognized as a research subject if recruitment or data collection occurs in a group setting or in public?).

Initial identification: given this study is using snowball sampling, it is likely that subjects will be aware of other subjects who have been referred to the PI. Nevertheless, the PI will not confirm or deny the participation of any subject in the study without the express permission of the subject in question. The PI will strive to locate interviews in an environment comfortable to the subject, which may include more private settings (ex. office at UIC) or more casual public settings (ex. coffee shop).

- C.** Please describe the measures taken to minimize the risks (other than undue influence or breaches of privacy and/or confidentiality) listed in XIII.A. Measures may include screening of subjects by qualified personnel, eligibility criteria, use of procedures already being used for clinical purposes, qualifications and experience of staff performing procedures, specialized facilities or equipment, medical or psychological services that may be required as a consequence of the research and frequency of monitoring.

Measures to minimize risks include: PI receiving training in research ethics involving human subjects; eligibility criteria to exclude vulnerable populations; and the use of "Documentation of Informed Consent" forms to track the process of obtaining informed consent.

- D. Data Security Plan.** This section asks you to describe provisions you will make to maintain the confidentiality of the research data.

Coded data: data that has been stripped of all identifiers, but a code was assigned so that the information could be linked back to an individual.

De-identified data: data has been stripped of all identifiers, so that the information could not be traced back to an individual.

- 1. Indicate the type of subject identifiers (identifiable elements) that will be linked to the research data (directly or indirectly via a code):**

- No subject identifiers will be maintained with the data (i.e., data are anonymous/permanently de-identified; no one, including the study team, can identify a subject from the data. None of the identifiers listed in XI.D.4. is included).



- Indirectly with a code linked to the identity of the subject.*
Describe the coding method and specify who will have access to the code/master key and how it will be protected against unauthorized access. Key should be stored separately from study data: **Each subject will a four digit numeric code using a random number generator. This coding information will be stored on a coding key which will be kept solely in hardcopy in a locked filing cabinet separate from other study data. Only the PI will have access to the cabinet.**
- Directly, personal or private identifiers (identifiable elements) are maintained with the data.*
Justify the inclusion of direct subject identifiers:

***NOTE: Requires Consent and/or Authorization (if Protected Health Information is involved) from the subject or a Waiver of Consent and/or Waiver of Authorization (if Protected Health Information is involved) from the IRB.**

- Limited Data Set (Protected Health Information subject to the Privacy Rule that includes elements limited to city, state, ZIP Code, elements of date, and other numbers, characteristics, or codes not considered as direct identifiers). Requires a [Data Use Agreement](#) if investigator is outside the covered entity and data is being shared outside the entity.
- Limited Data Set as described above **without** zip code and birth date (health information in this form negates the need for notification under the HITECH Act if a breach occurs). Requires a [Data Use Agreement](#) if investigator is outside the covered entity and data is being shared outside the entity.

UIC and/or outside agencies may require the use of a data transfer agreement that outlines the procedures necessary to protect identifiable or coded data that will be transferred or shared between agencies.

- 2. Electronic Data Collection:** *(This refers to the collection process through mechanisms such as online surveys, computer-based surveys, computer-based tests, and/or collection of subject contact and demographic information)*
- a. In which of the following ways will you be conducting electronic data collection: via the internet and/or some other electronic means of data capture.
 - Not Applicable – the study will not involve electronic data collection (Skip to question 3 *Storage and Security Measures for Research Data*)
 - Internet-based application/package
 - Non-internet based application (i.e. directly on a desktop/laptop).
 - b. Describe the mechanism by which the data will be collected:
 - REDCap [define host CCTS/IHRP Other (define): _____]
 - Qualtrics
 - Survey Gizmo [define plan Personal Pro Dedicated/Enterprise]
 - Other - A thorough description of the characteristics of the application/tool must be provided. This description should address the following elements if applicable: product/tool name, host, security measures, encryption mechanism, and how collected data is maintained and stored by the application/tool.



NOTE: Any investigator who uses external survey software must provide evidence of a business associate agreement between the University and the external survey software provider. For more information, refer to the [POLICY: Research Data Security](#).

c. Verify that the data collection application/tool(s) identified above will be configured so that it will not collect or track IP addresses of the respondents. If you are tracking or collecting IP addresses, please provide a detailed justification below.

- IP addresses will **not** be collected or tracked
- IP address will be collected tracked – If IP addresses will be collected or tracked provide justification:

d. Describe whether and how social media platforms will be used to collect data and/or communicate with subjects:

- Not applicable
- Facebook – describe uses:
- Twitter - describe uses:
- Google/Google+ - describe uses:
- Other [(define):] – describe uses:

e. Describe how collected data will be transmitted/transferred from the electronic data collection tool to a local computer or file server or other electronic storage medium.

Type of identifiers:

- Not Applicable – the data will not be transferred from the application noted above
- As a De-identified dataset
- As a Limited dataset with DOB ZIP code
- With indirect identifiers (i.e., coded)
- With direct identifiers

Format:

- As an Encrypted File (define method):
- Other (describe the means- i.e. coded data set without direct identifiers and key stored separately and re-identified only when in use):

3. Storage and Security Measures for Research Data

a. In what format will information, including consent and other study documents, be maintained (Please mark all that apply)?

- Paper Electronic Recording Media (photo, audio, video)
- Subject Artifacts (such as classroom assignments, regular work products, lesson plans)
- Stored specimens

Indicate how data will be stored and secured. Please mark all that apply.

b. Electronic data.

- Not applicable
- De-identified data only (i.e., no personal identifiers, including 18 HIPAA identifiers, are included with or linked to the data via a code)
- Password access
- Coded, with a master list secured and kept separately
- Encryption software will be used. Specify encryption software:
- Secure network server will be used to store data. Specify secure server:
- Stand alone desktop/laptop computer will be used to store data



- Not connected to server/internet
- An organization outside of the UIC covered entity will store the code key. The organization will have a business associate agreement with UIC.
- Other (specify):

c. Hardcopy data, consents and other study documents, recordings, artifacts, and specimens.

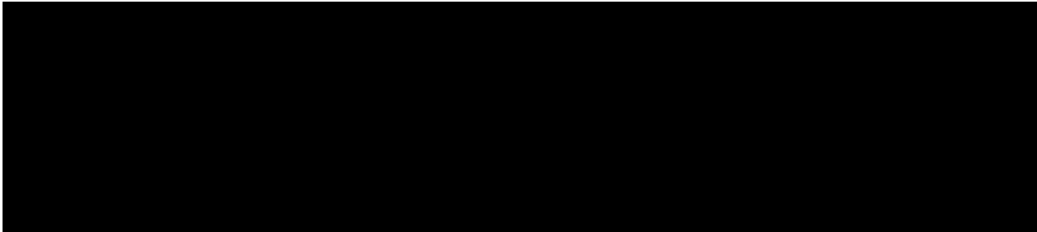
- Not applicable
- De-identified data only (i.e., no personal identifiers, including 18 HIPAA identifiers, are included with or linked to the data)
- Coded data, a master list secured and kept separately.
- Locked file cabinet
- Locked office/lab.
- Locked suite
- Locked refrigerator/freezer
- Specimens coded with a master list secured and kept separately
- Other (specify):

d. Indicate below whether data will be hosted at any time, even temporarily, on electronic portable devices (e.g., laptops, PDAs, smart phones, mp3 players, external hard drives). Note: only the "minimum data necessary" should be stored on portable devices.

- Personal or private identifiable data WILL NOT be stored on portable devices.
- Personal or private identifiable data WILL be stored on portable devices. Note: PHI and sensitive identifiable data stored in this manner **must** be encrypted.

1. Rationale for keeping personal or private identifiable data on electronic portable devices:

e. Indicate the physical location of all storage devices containing data (specify):



4. Data Sharing

a. Other than UIC investigators and research staff noted on the protocol application, indicate who will have access to the data or specimens during the course of the research study. (Check all that apply)

- Not Applicable – Skip to item 5
- Statistician. Specify:
- Colleagues/Collaborators. Specify:
- Other Research Laboratory(ies). Specify:
- Data Coordinating Center. Specify:
- Consultants. Specify:
- Data, Tissue, or Specimen Repository(ies). Specify:



- Sponsor/Funding Agency. Specify:
- Other. Specify:

b. How the data will be shared or disclosed?

- Without any identifiers.
- With identifiers*
- With a linked code*

Identify who will have access to the code key or master list

- Limited Data Set (requires a Data Use Agreement if investigator is outside the covered entity and data is being shared outside the entity)
- Limited data set as described above without zip code and birth date (requires a Data Use Agreement if investigator is outside the covered entity and data is being shared outside the entity)

***NOTE: In this format if PHI will be shared, the Authorization must specifically note who data will be shared or disclosed.**

c. Describe how data will be transferred (e.g. courier, mail) or transmitted electronically to prevent unauthorized access (check all that apply)

- Overnight courier
- US Postal Service
- Transmitted over a secure network. Specify network: _____
- Transmitted over a public network. PHI and sensitive identifiable data must be encrypted, Specify encryption: _____
- Via e-mail. PHI and sensitive identifiable data must be encrypted. Specify encryption: _____
- Secure File Transfer Protocol (sFTP). Specify: _____
- Other. Specify: _____

Note: Telefaxing of identifiable data is not generally allowed.

Any state or federal agencies who will have specific rights to access the research data (for example: FDA, NIH, NCI, Auditors from UIC or the State of Illinois, Government Accounting Office [GAO] for VA research should be listed on the consent document and , if applicable, authorization. Please note: The UIC OPRS/IRB and Auditors from UIC or the State of Illinois always have the right to inspect research records for research conducted at UIC, and should be listed in the consent document and the HIPAA authorization documents.

5. Describe the plans for destruction/removal of identifiers. (Identifiers should be removed at the earliest opportunity.)

- End of study
- _____ years after study completion
- Other (specify)

Consider the following when answering item 5:

- If VA research, destruction of identifiers is prohibited.
- The consent document must describe if or when and how the data will be de-identified or destroyed, or if identifiers will be maintained.



- Investigator must adhere to sponsor requirements or procedures outlined in the grant, if applicable.
- If the research involves a waiver of authorization, to conform to the HIPAA regulations accounting requirements related to a waiver of authorization [Privacy Rule, 45 CFR Part 164]; please indicate that records (including the documentation of waiver approval) will be maintained for a minimum of 6 years following study completion.

Note: A separate data/tissue repository/bank research protocol must be submitted for IRB review and approval if identifiable and/or coded data will be retained after the research has been completed.

E. Please describe any provisions for providing medical care to subjects in case of an accident, injury, or complications related to the research procedures.

Not Applicable

NOTE: If the research does not involve physical or therapeutic intervention with subjects, or subject trauma or distress is not an anticipated risk, this portion of the consent document/application may not be applicable.

Is the language explaining provisions for medical care in the consent document?

No Yes

F. Does the research protocol have a data and safety monitoring plan?

Not Applicable. All of the following criteria are met: research is minimal risk, does not involve physical or therapeutic intervention with subjects, subject trauma or distress is not an anticipated risk, the sponsor does not require a monitoring plan and research is not being conducted at JBVAMC. Proceed to G.

No
 Yes

Data and safety monitoring plan should contain the following: safety information (including serious adverse events) to be collected, methods for collecting information (e.g., case report forms, at study visits, by telephone calls), frequency of data collection, frequency of cumulative safety data reviews, responsibility for oversight and reporting of safety data, if applicable, statistical tests for analyzing the safety data to determine if harm is occurring when not using DSMB or DMC, and, if applicable, conditions that trigger an immediate suspension of the research.

The data and safety monitoring plan may include the establishment of a Data Safety Monitoring Board (DSMB) or Data Monitoring Committee (DMC). Refer to UIC OPRS HSPP policies *Data and Safety Monitoring Plans* and *Data and Safety Monitoring Plans (DSMPs)*, *Data and Safety Monitoring Boards (DSMBs)*, and *Data Monitoring Committees (DMCs)*. VA researchers should refer to the JBVAMC Investigator Manual for the requirements for data and safety monitoring plans for prospective or retrospective studies.

1. If YES, please describe the data safety monitoring plan in detail here:



If **NO**, please describe the methods to be used in this study to monitor the ongoing safety of the subjects (please refer to box above for information to be provided).

- 2. Will there be a data safety monitoring board (DSMB)/ Data Monitoring Committee (DMC) assigned to this study? No Yes

If **YES**, describe the DSMB/DMC structure and meeting plan (for example: how often they will meet) and how the findings will be reported back to the individual investigators and the IRBs.

If **No**, who is responsible for overseeing the monitoring of safety data (e.g., Investigator):

- 3. Is this a multi-center trial AND is UIC and/or JBVAMC the lead site or serving as the data coordinating center? No Yes

If **YES**, describe the plan for managing and communicating the following information among the multi-center sites:

- Unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others
- Interim results
- Protocol modifications

- G. Will you be applying for a Certificate of Confidentiality? No Yes

If **YES**, please include this information (as well as any exceptions — for example: mandatory reporting, threats of self-harm) in the consent document. When the IRB approves your research, submit a request for a Certificate of Confidentiality to the appropriate federal agency. After you receive the Certificate of Confidentiality, you must submit an Amendment to the IRB and receive IRB approval. Research subjects may only be enrolled after IRB approval of the Amendment and Certificate of Confidentiality. Please refer to the [OPRS website](#) for more information.

- H. Is this research being funded by the National Institute of Justice?
 - No
 - Yes

- If **YES**, 1). Attach a copy of the privacy certificate submitted with the grant application and approved by the National Institute of Justice human subject research officer.
- 2). Please note that the researcher is responsible for obtaining and maintaining signed employee confidentiality statements from researcher and staff.

XV. Recruitment of Subjects

- A. How will potential subjects be initially identified for this research study?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Own Clinical Practice (face to face) | <input type="checkbox"/> Psychology Student Subject Pool |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Registry or bank (either specimens or data) | <input type="checkbox"/> Records (e.g.: medical, employment, school) |



- Subject responding to flyer or other advertisement Other (specify): **Personal networks/snowball method**

B. Initial Contact

Indicate who will make the initial contact with the potential subjects for the purpose of recruiting them for the research. Appendix P must clearly indicate who has been delegated to conduct recruitment activities.

- Principal Investigator
 Co-Investigators
 Other Key Research Personnel

C. Describe how, where, and when subjects will be recruited for the research

Potential participants will be recruited primarily through e-mail and telephone, using the snowball sampling technique that is through personal contact networks. An introductory e-mail will be used to describe the study. A formal letter of invitation to participate in the study will be sent to municipal civil servants and aldermen/councillors.

In Hamilton, recruitment will occur from July to September 2016. The PI will begin by recruiting PB organizers in Hamilton who are already known to the PI. After explaining my research, the PI will use the snowball technique to gather more community participation. The PB initiative in Hamilton has a large network through which the research project can be publicized.

In Chicago, recruitment will occur from April to June 2016. The PI will begin by contacting researchers at the Great Cities Institute (GCI) who have worked with planners on Chicago’s Participatory Budgeting initiatives. The GCI is well connected to PB projects in Chicago, and will be a useful network for publicizing my research. Once the PI has identified several interested participants, snowball sampling will be used, to find relevant participants.

D. Will any identifiable data obtained at recruitment, including screening data from records, be retained without consent from subjects who failed to qualify or declined to participate?

- No
 Yes, describe and justify:

Please note that recruitment of subjects at JBVAMC must not occur until approved by the JBVAMC ACOS and/or R&D Committee.

E. Recruitment Materials

Check all materials that will be used for recruitment. Refer to the OPRS website for the [recruitment material requirements](#).

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> No recruitment materials will be used | <input type="checkbox"/> Mass Mailing |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ad (print) | <input type="checkbox"/> Physician letter |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ad (radio-provide script, then tape) | <input type="checkbox"/> Patient letter |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ad (TV- provide script, then video) | <input type="checkbox"/> Physician referral |



- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Information sheets (before study) | <input type="checkbox"/> Telephone script (for response to ad) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Social Media | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Recruitment script (to aid in consent process) |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Email notice | <input type="checkbox"/> Brochure |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Flyer/Poster | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other: specify Letter of Introduction |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Internet (Specify websites): | |

Please attach all recruitment material (e.g., advertisements, flyers, phone scripts, newspaper ads, radio and television announcements, bulletin board tearoffs, internet postings, and posters). IRB must review, approve, and stamp all recruitment materials prior to their use.

F. Compensation

Please see the [OBFS website](#) for guidelines regarding payment options (for example: cash, gift cards, etc.) and OBFS documentation required for payment to subjects.

1. Will subjects receive any compensation (for example: money, gifts, or gift certificates) before, during, or after participation in the study?
 - No **If NO**, please go to number 5.
 - Yes. **If YES**, please indicate the type of compensation. Please note: This information must be outlined in the consent document.
 - Monetary (total amount: \$)
 - Non- Monetary
 - Both
2. If compensation will be given, please describe whether it is compensation for travel expenses, for time, for both, or for something else
 - For travel expense
 - For time
 - For both
 - Other:
3. Indicate whether compensation will be provided in cash, via check, or as gift cards:
 - Cash
 - Check
 - Gift Card – Type (VISA, Amazon, food, etc):
4. Describe in detail how and when compensation will be provided:
 - a. Will subjects be compensated per session/task and/or will their compensation be pro-rated?
 - No
 - Yes
 - b. **If YES**, please provide detail regarding the compensation per session/task and/or pro-ration schedule:
5. List what research-related expenses a) are provided for free and b) are not being covered by the research (e.g., research-related procedures, additional clinic visits, or extra tests related to the research). Include estimated amounts for any expenses not being covered, if possible: **a) None b) The cost of transportation for the participant to the interview location.**
6. Does this study provide payments in exchange for referrals of potential participants (finder's fees) or payments designed to encourage or accelerate recruitment by being tied to the rate or timing of enrollment (bonus payment)?
 - No
 - Yes. Please describe:



Payment in exchange for referrals of potential participants (finder's fees) and payments designed to encourage or accelerate recruitment by being tied to the rate or timing of enrollment (bonus payment) are generally unacceptable. Token compensation may be allowed for some social/behavioral/education minimal risk studies if the compensation accrues to a group instead of an individual (e.g., to the class instead of the teacher) or in other limited circumstances (such as Respondent Driven Sampling of a population approved by the IRB) to be determined by the IRB.

Please note: The information in this section involving reimbursement must also be included in the informed consent document.

XVI. Procedures to Obtain Informed Consent/Assent

Please indicate all of the types of consent processes to be used in the research, and submit copies of all relevant documents with this application.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Prospective Written Informed Consent | <input type="checkbox"/> Parental Permission* |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Waiver of Informed Consent | <input type="checkbox"/> Waiver of Parental Permission* |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Waiver of Documentation of Consent | <input type="checkbox"/> Assent – Written* |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Alteration of Consent | <input type="checkbox"/> Assent – Verbal* |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Waiver of Assent* | |

* For research involving children, Appendix B substitutes for sections XVI and XVII. For decisionally impaired subjects, sections XVI and, if applicable, XVII should be completed in addition to Appendix V.

A. Please indicate whether the Principal Investigator will personally perform the consent process, including the documentation of informed consent and/or assent, or whether the PI will retain responsibility for overseeing this process but delegate the authority to perform these duties to others. Appendix P must clearly indicate who has been delegated to obtain informed consent.

- Only the PI will obtain consent
- PI and Co-Investigators will obtain consent
- PI, Co-Investigators, and Key Research Personnel will obtain consent
- Only Key Research Personnel will obtain consent

Include a description of the training that these persons will complete prior to their participation in this research.

TCPS Core 2 Certificate required by the federal government in Canada by all researchers affiliated with a university conducting research involving human subjects.

B. Please indicate whether informed consent will be obtained using procedures and documents in a language understandable to the subject and/or the parent, guardian or Legally Authorized Representative (LAR). If the potential exists for enrolling subjects (or subjects' LARs) who do not understand English, describe how the consent process will be conducted (e.g., who will convey information to the subject or LAR in a language they understand, whether the consent will be documented using a translated consent form or short form).

Informed consent will be obtained using procedures and documents in a language generally understandable to the subject.



While using fully translated consent documents is preferable, please note that a “short form” and translation process may be used when the enrollment of a limited number of non-English speaking subjects **could not reasonably have been anticipated** and a fully translated consent document is not available. For information about the involvement of non-English speaking subjects in research, including use of the short form, please refer to the [OPRS website](#). No matter what processed is used **prior IRB approval is required before enrollment of subjects who speak a language that was not anticipated by the protocol.**

C. Please identify where and when informed consent will be obtained from potential subjects.

Informed consent will be obtained at the interview site, immediately before the interview. The subject will have an opportunity to review the informed consent document ahead of time and ask the PI any questions.

D. Even when subjects are judged capable of providing informed consent, the possibility exists that environmental, medical, mental or social circumstances may diminish their understanding of the consent process and decision-making ability. Examples may include participants who are educationally or economically disadvantaged, terminally ill, alcohol or substance abusers, or pre- or post an invasive medical procedure.

If this study may involve subjects with diminished decision-making ability, please explain how their understanding of the study and ability to provide informed consent will be assessed (refer to UIC OPRS Document: *Guidance for Investigators-Informed consent* for examples).

- N/A- Appendix V *Decisionally-Impaired Individuals as Subjects in Research* is attached.
 N/A- No participants with diminished capacity to consent are expected to be recruited

E. Will additional information other than that contained in the written consent document be conveyed to the subject or LAR during the consent process (e.g. informational brochures, coordinating research activities with clinical care, handling costs, assessing understanding of research)? If YES, explain.
No.

F. Please discuss whether there will be any waiting period between informing the prospective subject and obtaining consent, (e.g., does the research require consenting of potential subjects in the ER immediately after diagnosis of an MI or a terminal illness?). The waiting period should be long enough to ensure that the subject (or LAR) has sufficient opportunity to consider whether or not to participate.
Yes, the research subject will receive the informed consent document before the interview, after being deemed eligible for the study. The time between the assessment of eligibility and scheduling of an interview will vary, but will not be less than 24hrs.

XVII. Request for Waiver of Consent, Alteration of Consent, or Waiver of Documentation



An IRB may (1) approve a consent process that does not include, or alters, some or all of the elements of informed consent, or (2) the IRB may waive the requirement to obtain written consent (called a waiver of documentation), or (3) the IRB may waive the requirement to obtain informed consent entirely. In order to make these determinations, the IRB must ensure that the Federal requirements for each waiver/alteration criterion are met and justified for the specific research protocol.

A. Are you requesting a waiver of informed consent or an alteration of consent under 45 CFR 46.116 (d) for all or part of the research? No Yes

If **YES** are you requesting a:

Waiver for all of the research Waiver for recruitment purposes An alteration of consent

For waivers of consent, please complete Section B below; for alterations of consent, please complete Sections B and C; for waivers of documentation of consent, please complete Section D.

*In order to apply for a waiver or alteration of consent, you must provide protocol specific justification for the four following criteria. Refer to the UIC OPRS [Guidance for Investigators – Informed Consent](#) for example responses. A waiver may be requested for the entire study or for only one portion of the research (for example: a waiver of informed consent is requested to identify potential research subjects from medical records, but informed consent is still required for the later enrollment of the subjects for research participation – called a waiver for recruitment purposes). If you are requesting more than one waiver and/or alteration, a response must be provided for each waiver and/or alteration requested (for example: if a waiver of informed consent for records review and an alteration of consent for telephone screening is being requested, two responses must be provided for each question). **NOTE:** If you are requesting a waiver of consent and accessing PHI, a waiver of authorization is probably also required.*

B. 1. Please provide a written explanation as to why you believe the proposed research (or portion of the research) will present no more than minimal risk to the subjects who participate:

2. Please explain whether or not a waiver or alteration of informed consent would adversely affect the rights and welfare of subjects:

3. Please explain whether or not it would be possible to conduct this research without a waiver or alteration of informed consent:

4. Please explain your plans, when appropriate, for providing any pertinent information to the subjects at a later date (e.g., after their participation in the study):

C. If you are requesting an alteration of consent, please describe in detail how you wish to alter the consent process and justify the need for this alteration.

Please note: Waiver of consent, alteration of consent, and waiver of documentation are all separate processes. For additional information, please refer to the [OPRS website](#).

D. Are you requesting a waiver of documentation of informed consent under 45 CFR 46.117 (c)?

No Yes



If **YES**, please indicate which of the following justifications is being used to request a waiver of documentation and then provide protocol specific justification for the waiver under either criteria:

The only record linking the subject and the research would be a signed consent document, the principal risk or harm of the research would be a breach of confidentiality, and each subject will be asked whether they want documentation linking themselves and the research and the subject's wishes will govern.

Explanation:

The research involves no more than minimal risk or harm to the subject and involves no procedures for which written consent is normally required outside of the research context.

Explanation:

If documentation of informed consent is waived, the IRB requires the investigator to provide subjects with an oral or written description regarding the research, which contains all the required and appropriate elements of informed consent. Please provide such a written document for review and label it "Subject Information Sheet". Be sure that the document has a footer with version number and date.

XVIII. HIPAA Compliance

A. Does your research use and/or disclose Protected Health Information (PHI)? Refer to item XI.D.4. for a list of the 18 specific identifiers.

No – Skip to section XIX

Yes

B. Please indicate the authorization processes that will be used in the research.

Patient Authorization

*A patient authorization is a document, signed by the subject that gives the researcher permission to use/disclose PHI collected during the research study for defined purposes. An Authorization Form may be a separate document or be combined with the Informed Consent Document. **Prepare an Authorization form and submit it with your IRB application.** [Authorization form templates](#) are available on the OPRS website.*

Preparatory to Research

The preparatory research provision permits covered entities to use protected health information for purposes preparatory to research, such as to aid study recruitment.

The following **must** be met in order to meet the preparatory to research criteria:

Use is sought solely to review protected health information as necessary to prepare a research protocol or for similar purposes preparatory to research;

No protected health information is to be removed from the covered entity by the researcher in the course of the review; and

The protected health information for which use or access is sought is necessary for the research purposes.

Waiver/Alteration of Authorization

A waiver/alteration is a request to forgo the authorization requirement based on the fact that the use and/or disclosure of PHI involves minimal risk to the subject's privacy and the research cannot be practically done without this waiver/alteration and access to/use of PHI. Remember that if you are seeking a waiver/alteration of Authorization, you should request



the parallel waiver/alteration of informed consent in your research protocol application submitted for initial review.

- Waiver/Alteration of Authorization for entire research project
- Waiver/Alteration of Authorization for identifying potential subjects for the recruitment phase (*Please note that this is only applicable to research being conducted at the JBVAMC and/or outside the covered entity.*)
- Waiver/Alteration of Authorization for portion of the research besides recruitment

C. Waiver/Alteration of Authorization - Complete this section to request a waiver of authorization for the entire research protocol, for a portion of the research, or to request an alteration of authorization process such as no signed documentation.

1. Describe the identifiable health information that will be accessed under this waiver.

2. Criteria for Waiver/Alteration of Authorization
 - a. Explain how the use and disclosure of the information presents no more than minimal risk to the privacy of the individual.

 - b. Describe the plan to protect the identifiers from improper use and disclosure (i.e., where will the identifiers will be stored and who will have access).

 - c. Describe the plan to destroy the identifiers at the earliest opportunity consistent with the conduct of the research. If there is a health or research justification for retaining identifiers or if such retention is required by law, please provide this information as well.

 - d. Explain why the research could not be practicably conducted without the alteration or waiver.

 - e. Explain why the research could not be conducted without access to and use of the PHI.

 - f. The Privacy Rule requires that when a waiver is granted that only the minimum necessary health information be used/disclosed. Therefore, provide justification that the PHI being requested is the minimum necessary information reasonably necessary to accomplish objectives of the proposed research.

XIX. CONTACT INFORMATION

Who should be the primary person contacted (for example, Research Coordinator) by OPRS if further information about this protocol is needed? This person may be someone other than the PI or other individuals listed as key research personnel (i.e., Administrative Coordinator).

Do you wish to grant this individual RiSCWeb access to this research protocol?

Yes No



Name (Last, First) Pin, Laura	Title: PhD Student
E-mail Address: [REDACTED]	Date: Feb. 18th, 2016
Phone Number: [REDACTED]	Fax Number: n/a

- Is any part of this research taking place in the community?
 No Yes
- Have you used any services provided by the UIC Center for Clinical and Translational Science (CCTS) on this protocol?
 No Yes
- Would you like to give the CCTS coordinators access to this protocol in RiSCWeb for tracking and facilitation purposes?
 No Yes
- Do you agree to have this research listed on the UIC research directory (web page)
 No Yes

If YES, please submit the following:

Title:

Investigator Name:

Three (3) Keywords describing the research:

Contact Information for further information (if different from contact information given immediately above):



XX. ASSURANCES

INVESTIGATOR ASSURANCE

I certify that the information provided in this application is complete and correct. I understand that as Principal Investigator, I am ultimately responsible for the protection of the rights and welfare of human subjects and the ethical performance of the research. I agree to comply with all applicable UIC policies and procedures, and applicable federal, state and local laws. I also agree to the following:

- The research will only be performed by qualified personnel as specified in the approved research application and/or protocol;
- No changes will be made to the research protocol (except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subject), or the consent process (if one is required) without prior approval by the UIC IRB;
- Legally effective informed consent/assent will be obtained from all human subjects, unless this requirement is waived by the UIC IRB, using only the recruitment materials and informed consent/assent documents that have been approved by the UIC IRB. The potential benefits of participation will not be overstated and reasonably anticipated risks will not be minimized. Subjects will be asked open-ended questions to try and ensure adequate comprehension of the information so as to allow for truly informed consent to participate;
- Unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others (including adverse events), other reportable events, and subject complaints will be reported to the UIC IRB in a timely manner;
- If applicable, all research staff that are involved in the research will comply with the HIPAA regulations. Further, I assure that all research staff will have completed the UIC HIPAA research training requirement prior to research participation. I agree that any breach or suspected breach of confidentiality (data security) meeting the definition of an unanticipated problem will be promptly reported to the IRB. I also agree that any breach or suspected breach involving UIC PHI in the custody of the principal investigator, co-investigator(s), research staff, students, or business associate will be immediately reported to the HIPAA Privacy Officer: (312) 355-5650 privacyoffice@uic.edu. I assure that the information obtained as part of this research (including protected health information) will not be reused or disclosed to any other person or entity other than those identified on this form, except as required by law. If at any time I want to reuse this information for other purposes or disclose the information to other individuals or entities I will seek approval by the UIC IRB.

I certify that I have completed the required educational program on ethical principles and regulatory requirements in Human Subject Protections. I further certify that the proposed research is not currently underway and will not begin until IRB approval has been obtained.

Principal Investigator Signature  DATE March 10, 2016
Name printed: Laura Pin


FACULTY SPONSOR* ASSURANCE

**The faculty sponsor must be a member of the UIC faculty. The faculty member is considered the responsible party for legal and ethical performance of the project.*

By my signature as sponsor on this research application, I certify that the student, fellow, or resident is knowledgeable about the regulations and policies governing research with human subjects and has sufficient training and experience to conduct this particular study in accord with the approved protocol.

In addition,

- I agree to meet with the investigator on a regular basis to monitor study progress,
- Should problems arise during the course of the study, I agree to be available, personally, to supervise the investigator in solving them,
- I will ensure that the Principal Investigator promptly reports unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others (including adverse events), other reportable events, and subject complaints to the UIC IRB in a timely manner,
- If I will be unavailable, as when on sabbatical leave or vacation, I will arrange for an alternate faculty sponsor to assume responsibility during my absence and I will advise the UIC IRB via an amendment of such arrangements, and
- I insure that the investigator has completed the required educational program on ethical principles and regulatory requirements and will complete all required continuing education.
- I further certify that the proposed research is not currently underway and will not begin until approval has been obtained from all the appropriate committees.
- I will ensure that the Principal Investigator submits a Final Report upon completion of the research. In the event that the Principal Investigator is unable to do so, I accept the ultimate responsibility for submission of the Final Report closing the research study.

Faculty Sponsor Signature  Date March 7, 2016
Name printed: RACHEL WEBER

UIC Ethics Approval

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT CHICAGO

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS)
Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research (MC 672)
203 Administrative Office Building
1737 West Polk Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612-7227

Exemption Granted

April 6, 2016

Laura Pin, B.A.Sc;M.A.
Urban Planning and Policy



RE: **Research Protocol # 2016-0330**
“Participatory Budgeting in Canada and the United States: Neoliberalism, Governmentality and Democracy”

Dear Ms. Pin:

Your Claim of Exemption was reviewed on April 5, 2016 and it was determined that your research protocol meets the criteria for exemption as defined in the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services Regulations for the Protection of Human Subjects [(45 CFR 46.101(b)]. You may now begin your research

Approval Period: March 5, 2016 – March 4, 2019

Your research may be conducted at UIC, York University and with Adults.

Please remember to remove the commentary at the end of the consent documents (“I think the content of this document is fine, but I would recommend using the UIC consent...”) before using them to enroll subjects.

The specific exemption category under 45 CFR 46.101(b) is:

(2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You are reminded that investigators whose research involving human subjects is determined to be exempt from the federal regulations for the protection of human subjects still have responsibilities for the ethical conduct of the research under state law and UIC policy. Please be aware of the following UIC policies and responsibilities for investigators:

1. Amendments You are responsible for reporting any amendments to your research protocol that may affect the determination of the exemption and may result in your research no longer being eligible for the exemption that has been granted.
2. Record Keeping You are responsible for maintaining a copy all research related records in a secure location in the event future verification is necessary, at a minimum these documents include: the research protocol, the claim of exemption application, all questionnaires, survey instruments, interview questions and/or data collection instruments associated with this research protocol, recruiting or advertising materials, any consent forms or information sheets given to subjects, or any other pertinent documents.
3. Final Report When you have completed work on your research protocol, you should submit a final report to the Office for Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS).
4. Information for Human Subjects UIC Policy requires investigators to provide information about the research protocol to subjects and to obtain their permission prior to their participating in the research. The information about the research protocol should be presented to subjects in writing or orally from a written script. When appropriate, the following information must be provided to all research subjects participating in exempt studies:
 - a. The researchers affiliation; UIC, JBVMAC or other institutions,
 - b. The purpose of the research,
 - c. The extent of the subject's involvement and an explanation of the procedures to be followed,
 - d. Whether the information being collected will be used for any purposes other than the proposed research,
 - e. A description of the procedures to protect the privacy of subjects and the confidentiality of the research information and data,
 - f. Description of any reasonable foreseeable risks,
 - g. Description of anticipated benefit,
 - h. A statement that participation is voluntary and subjects can refuse to participate or can stop at any time,
 - i. A statement that the researcher is available to answer any questions that the subject may have and which includes the name and phone number of the investigator(s).
 - j. A statement that the UIC IRB/OPRS or JBVMAC Patient Advocate Office is available if there are questions about subject's rights, which includes the appropriate phone numbers.

Please be sure to:

→Use your research protocol number (listed above) on any documents or correspondence with the IRB concerning your research protocol.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research. If you have any questions or need further help, please contact me at [REDACTED] Please send any correspondence about [REDACTED]

Sincerely,
Sandra Costello
Assistant Director, IRB # 7
Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

cc: Curtis R. Winkle, Urban Planning and Policy, M/C 348
Rachel Weber (faculty advisor), Urban Planning and Policy, M/C 107