A PROCESS OF GROWTH

The Expansion of Participatory Budgeting in the United States and Canada in 2015–16 A report by Public Agenda in partnership with local participatory budgeting evaluators and practitioners

The Kettering Foundation served as a collaborator in this research. Supported by the Democracy Fund and the Rita Allen Foundation.

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A report from Public Agenda by Carolin Hagelskamp, Chloe Rinehart, Rebecca Silliman and David Schleifer and in partnership with local participatory budgeting evaluators and practitioners.

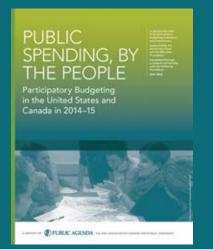
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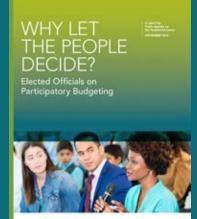
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+ NIPER TO PERKY ACENDA

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A PROCESS OF GROWTH

The Expansion of Participatory Budgeting in the United States and Canada in 2015–16

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RESEARCH PARTNERS

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United States

PB Boston Youth (Boston, MA)

Francesco Tena, City Manager, Mayor's Youth Council, City of Boston

PB Buffalo (Buffalo, NY)

Natasha Soto, Lead Community Organizer, Clean Air Coalition

Brian Borncamp, Community Organizer, Clean Air Coalition

PB Cambridge (Cambridge, MA) Jeana Franconi, Budget Director, City of Cambridge

Michelle Monsegur, Budget Analyst, City of Cambridge

PB Chicago (Chicago, IL)

Thea Crum, Director, Neighborhoods Initiative, Great Cities Institute, University of Illinois at Chicago

Rachel Weber, Professor and Senior Faculty Fellow, Great Cities Institute, University of Illinois at Chicago

Jenny Baker, Research Assistant, Great Cities Institute, University of Illinois at Chicago

PB Clarkston (Clarkston, GA) Ted Terry, Mayor, City of Clarkston

PB Greensboro (Greensboro, NC)

Dr. Spoma Jovanovic, Professor of Communication Studies, University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Vincent Russell, Graduate Student, Communication Studies, University of North Carolina at Greensboro

PB Hartford (Hartford, CT)

Kim Shayo Buchanan, Visiting Professor of Law, University of Connecticut School of Law

Richard Frieder, Director of Community Development and Civic Engagement (former), Hartford Public Library

PB Long Beach (Long Beach, CA)

Dr. Gary Hytrek, Professor of Sociology, California State University at Long Beach

Andres Temblador, Graduate Student, California State University at Long Beach

PB New York City (New York City, NY)

Alexa Kasdan, Director of Research and Policy, Community Development Project, Urban Justice Center

Erin Markman, Research and Policy Coordinator, Community Development Project, Urban Justice Center

PB San Francisco (San Francisco, CA)

Erica Maybaum, Legislative Aide to Supervisor Norman Yee, District 7, San Francisco Board of Supervisors

PB San Jose (San Jose, CA)

Gabriela Soto-Galvan, Council Assistant, District 3, City of San Jose

Christina Ramos, Chief of Staff, District 3, City of San Jose

PB San Juan (San Juan, Puerto Rico) Eva Prados-Rodriguez, Chief Coordinator, Cumbre Social

David Rodriguez-Andino, Consultant (former), Cumbre Social

PB Seattle Youth (Seattle, WA)

Jenny Frankl, Youth Engagement Strategic Adviser, Department of Neighborhoods, City of Seattle

Tim Wolfe, Director, Community Investments Division, City of Seattle

Katie Apone, Participatory Budgeting Project Coordinator (former), Freelancer

PB Vallejo (Vallejo, CA)

Alyssa Alford, Administrative Analyst, Office of the City Manager, City of Vallejo

Will Morat, Administrative Analyst, Office of the City Manager, City of Vallejo

Canada

PB Dieppe (Dieppe, New Brunswick)

Christine C. Paulin, Professor of Public Administration, Université de Moncton

PB Halifax (Halifax, Nova Scotia)

Jessica Bradley, Research and Communications Analyst, Council Support Office, Halifax Regional Municipality

PB Hamilton (Hamilton, Ontario)

Sonja Macdonald, Principal, Civicplan

Cindy Stranak, Constituency Assistant, Ward 1, City of Hamilton

PB Hinton (Hinton, Alberta) Rob Mackin, Mayor, Town of Hinton

PB Peterborough (Peterborough, Ontario)

Nancy Fischer, Senior Program Analyst, Social Services Division, City of Peterborough

Richard Freymond, Manager of Financial Services, Finance Division, City of Peterborough

PB Saint-Basile-le-Grand (Saint-Basile-le-Grand, Quebec)

Isabelle Gaudette, Project Manager and Community Organizer, Montréal Urban Ecology Centre

PB Tofino (District of Tofino, British Columbia)

Nyla Attiana, Director of Financial Services, District of Tofino

PB Toronto (Toronto, Ontario)

Meg Shields, Senior Corporate Management and Policy Consultant, City Manager's Office, City of Toronto

Rich Whate, Corporate Management and Policy Consultant, City Manager's Office, City of Toronto

Toronto Community Housing (Toronto, Ontario)

Gail Johnson, Director, Resident Engagement and Community Development, Toronto Community Housing



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Participatory budgeting continues to expand throughout the United States and Canada. This report serves as the first aggregate analysis of how all U.S. and Canadian PB processes are growing and diversifying by summarizing and analyzing data from all of those processes that took place during the 2015–16 cycle.¹ It updates our May 2016 report, "Public Spending, by the People: Participatory Budgeting in the United States and Canada in 2014–15," which provided an unprecedented aggregate analysis of all U.S. and Canadian PB processes that took place during the 2014–15 PB cycle.² This current report breaks new ground by making comparisons across key metrics collected from one cycle to the next on all U.S. and Canadian PB processes and over time, we seek to inform ongoing debates about PB and to advance the practice of PB.

The expansion of PB in the U.S. and Canada in 2015–16 has been marked by a notable increase in small towns doing PB, by grassroots advocacy to get PB started, by more opportunities for remote online voting³ and by increased voter participation in many continuing PB processes. To learn more about these dynamics and to share practical recommendations for PB evaluation and implementation, Public Agenda invited evaluators and implementers from six PB sites across the U.S. and Canada to share their experiences. These evaluators' and implementers' stories bring to life key metrics about PB's expansion. They may help others who are implementing or considering a PB process in their communities plan their implementation in years to come. These stories also demonstrate the diversity in the implementation of PB in the U.S. and Canada and the vital role of research and evaluation in helping processes identify and meet their local goals.

¹ Each PB process operates on its own timeline, meaning that the various phases of each PB process take place at different times from one another during the calendar year. Therefore, we describe a PB process as falling into a given "cycle" of PB if its vote was held between July 1 of one year and June 30 of the following year.

² Carolin Hagelskamp, Chloe Rinehart, Rebecca Silliman and David Schleifer, "Public Spending, by the People: Participatory Budgeting in the United States and Canada in 2014–15" (New York: Public Agenda, 2016), http://www.publicagenda.org/pages/public-spending-by-the-people.

³ We consider a site to have offered "remote online voting" if participants had the option to vote online from any computer or other device anywhere, rather than being able to vote only from a specific in-person voting site. We include in this count processes that required participants to register to vote in person before voting online from their computer or other device.

Key Findings

PART 1: Expansion and Diversity of PB Processes

This section tracks PB's growth and expansion in the U.S. and Canada from 2014–15 to 2015–16 and examines diversity in communities' PB implementation over time. It documents change in the number of processes, amount of money allocated, number of voters and types of projects. Findings include:

- Number of PB Processes:
 - Twenty-four new PB processes were launched, many in small towns and small communities.
 - Seventy-eight percent of 2014–15 PB processes continued in 2015–16, but 22 percent did not.
- Money Allocated to PB:
 - The amount of money officials allocated to their PB projects ranged substantially—to an even greater degree than in the previous cycle.
 - Twenty-five percent of officials that continued their PB processes from 2014–15 substantially increased the amount of money they allocated in 2015–16. Nineteen percent of officials substantially decreased their allocations.
 - When officials allocated more money to PB projects, communities saw more residents voting in PB.
 - Officials allocated funding only for capital projects in most PB processes, similar to 2014–15. Program and service projects were eligible for funding in only 12 percent of processes.

- Voting in PB Processes:
 - The average number of people voting in 2015–16 PB processes was higher than in 2014–15.
 - Thirty-seven percent of PB processes that continued from 2014–15 saw a substantial increase in people voting in 2015–16. Seventeen percent saw a substantial decline.
 - When communities offered more voting sites, there was an increase in the number of people voting in PB.
- Types of Projects and Money Allocated to Projects:
 - The most common PB ballot items remained parks and recreation projects and school projects
 - Schools and parks and recreation continued to win the largest share of PB-allocated dollars: 60 percent went to those two types of projects, leaving only 40 percent to the other seven types of projects.

PART 2: A Closer Look at the Expansion of Participatory Budgeting: Stories from PB Evaluators and Implementers in Six Communities

This section includes stories from evaluators and implementers from six 2015–16 sites across the U.S. and Canada invited by Public Agenda to share their experiences. Their stories include:

- Turnout and Diversity of Voters and Other Participants: District 9 in Long Beach, California, has had a relatively high voter turnout in both 2014–15 and 2015–16, its first and second years of implementing PB. While voter turnout declined from its first to its second year, the process worked hard to include a more diverse cross section of the district's residents in the vote and throughout all phases of the process.
- A Broad Engagement Strategy in a Small Town: Dieppe, New Brunswick, a town of around 23,000 people, implemented its first PB process in 2015–16. PB in Dieppe engaged many people who reported that they had not recently worked with others to solve a community issue, including many young people.
- Advocacy for PB: In Greensboro, North Carolina, which held its first PB process in the 2015–16 cycle, a core group of grassroots organizers advocated for many years with elected officials to adopt PB. Advocates worked within the community to build support among other community groups and residents for the process and eventually won over the council.

- Online Voting to Expand Access and Inclusion: Online voting has been part of San Francisco's District 7 process since it began in 2013–14, and it has evolved significantly as implementers have incorporated evaluative feedback, worked toward improving accessibility and inclusion, and streamlined the process.
- Building Equity into Digital Tools: In the 2015–16 cycle, New York City's PB process offered digital voting at many voting sites, piloted a remote voting platform and continued experimenting with other digital tools such as online idea submission, project mapping and more.
- PB for "People Focused" Projects: Most PB processes in the U.S. and Canada are limited to capital projects. Vallejo, California, was the first process in the United States to allow voters to propose projects that would include services and programs along with capital projects.

Methodology in Brief

Findings in this report are based on quantitative and qualitative data collected and shared with Public Agenda by local PB evaluation or implementation teams across the U.S. and Canada. This report tracks PB expansion and variation on a subset of the 15 key metrics that Public Agenda developed for the evaluation of PB, based on the experiences of local evaluators and the advice of the North American Participatory Budgeting Research Board, along with input from the nonprofit Participatory Budgeting Project. It also includes six qualitative stories collected through interviews with evaluators and implementers of PB processes that are from their perspectives and speak to their own experiences. For more information about the 15 key metrics, go to: http://www.publicagenda.org/pages/research-and-evaluation -of-participatory-budgeting-in-the-us-and-canada.



INTRODUCTION

Why Research Participatory Budgeting?

One element of common ground in today's fractured world is the widespread agreement that politics is broken and democracy is in trouble. The yearning to get out from under dysfunctional political systems is palpable. Public trust in the federal government is at historic lows across the demographic spectrum.⁴ Traditional political parties, practices and norms are weakening as people search, sometimes desperately, for fresh answers.

The emergence of participatory budgeting (PB) in the United States and Canada is arguably as much a response to our times as are the rise of independent voters and the growth of populist movements on the left and the right. Originally implemented in Brazil in 1989, PB is an innovative democratic process in which ordinary residents decide how to spend part of a public budget.⁵ Political theorists and practitioners argue that participatory budgeting involves a fundamental shift in traditional government decision making that could have long-term impacts on people, communities and government.⁶ Advocates for PB describe it as having the potential to:

- Empower residents—including those who are often excluded from public life—to make decisions that affect their communities.
- Help residents develop civic skills and knowledge and become politically engaged in their communities beyond PB.
- Lead to a more equitable distribution of resources and to public decisions that are better aligned with community needs.
- Increase transparency in public spending, build trust between government and residents and increase the legitimacy of public decisions.
- Foster collaboration between and among public and civil society actors that can help build a stronger civic infrastructure.

As this report shows, PB is growing quickly in the United States and Canada. In the 2014–15 PB cycle,⁷ 46 communities in the U.S. and Canada conducted PB processes. In 2015–16, PB expanded to 61 communities, a 33 percent increase. The amount of money allocated to projects through PB increased 30 percent to over \$60 million, and more than 100,000 people cast ballots in PB, a 38 percent increase.

⁴ Pew Research Center, "Beyond Distrust: How Americans View Their Government" (2015), http://www.people-press.org/2015/11/23/1-trust-in-government-1958-2015.

 $^{^{\}scriptscriptstyle 5}$ For more information about how PB in the U.S. and Canada works, see appendix on page 43.

⁶ Gianpaolo Biaocchi, "The Porto Alegre Experiment and Deliberative Democratic Theory," *Politics & Society* 29 (2001): 43–72; Archon Fung, "Putting the Public Back into Governance: The Challenges of Citizen Participation and Its Future," *Public Administration Review* 75, no. 4 (2015): 513–22; Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*, vol. 4 (London: Verso, 2003); Celina Su, "Whose Budget? Our Budget? Broadening Political Stakeholdership via Participatory Budgeting," Journal of Public Deliberation 8, no. 2 (2012): 1–14; Carolina Johnson and John Gastil, "Variations of Institutional Design for Empowered Deliberation," *Journal of Public Deliberation* 11, no. 1 (2015): 1–32; Hollie Russon Gilman, Democracy Reinvented: Participatory Budgeting and Civic Innovation in America (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2016); Josh Lerner, Everyone Counts: Could "Participatory Budgeting" Change Democracy? (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014).

⁷ Each PB process operates on its own timeline, meaning that the various phases of each PB process take place at different times from one another during the calendar year. Therefore, we describe a PB process as falling into a given "cycle" of PB if its vote was held between July 1 of one year and June 30 of the following year.

Why is PB growing? Demand for PB has come both from the grass roots and from local elected officials. In many cases, community members and community-based organizations have advocated for elected officials to institute PB—advocacy that has sometimes required many years to bear fruit.⁸ Officials who adopt PB have told us they are looking for fresh ways to engage the communities and constituents they represent. Many have said they are hoping to build better community relations while also educating residents about how government works.⁹ PB thus appears to be meeting some basic democratic needs and impulses.

As PB grows, how do we know whether it is meeting its promises and what types of impacts it is having? Because PB is still relatively new in the U.S. and Canada and it may take years to see long-term impacts, we can't yet say for sure whether PB is achieving its goals. However, tracking and collecting data on how PB is implemented, how it grows and how it changes provide indicators of potential impacts and build a base for understanding potential long-term outcomes. In Public Agenda's first report on PB, "Public Spending, by the People: Participatory Budgeting in the United States and Canada in 2014–15," we collected data to establish a baseline that provided an unprecedented aggregate picture of what PB looked like in 2014–15.

In this report, we continue the critical work of tracking PB as it grows, changes and diversifies. "A Process of Growth: The Expansion of Participatory Budgeting in the United States and Canada in 2015–16" aggregates, summarizes and synthesizes data collected by hardworking evaluators and implementers of all 2015–16 PB process in the U.S. and Canada. It also provides comparisons and analyses of changes and variations in PB processes over time.

Our quantitative analyses in this report suggest hypotheses and questions that bring us a step closer to determining whether PB is achieving its potential long-term impacts, including:

- Processes that allocated more money to PB saw more residents voting. We
 found that processes with larger amounts of money at stake tended to attract more
 voters. How can research further solidify our understanding of this relationship? If a
 potential long-term impact of PB is increasing residents' civic engagement, does this
 relationship suggest that processes' impacts on civic engagement will vary depending
 on the amount of money allocated to PB and hence residents' perception that they can
 make meaningful changes in their community?
- PB expanded into small towns and communities. We found that many new PB processes took place in small towns and communities. If a potential long-term impact of PB is fostering collaboration between and among public and civil society actors, will it be easier to foster collaboration in small communities or large communities? How will these collaborations differ across communities, big and small? Researching whether and how processes in smaller communities vary from those in big cities will be crucial for understanding PB's promise for public problem solving in a range of settings.



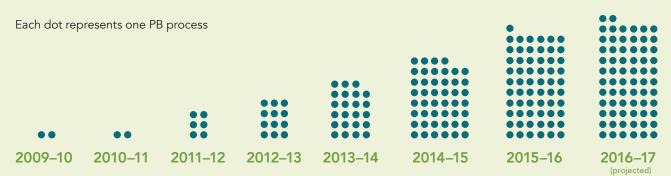
⁸ Part 2 of this report includes a narrative from an evaluator of a PB process in Greensboro, North Carolina (see page x), about how grassroots organizers advocated with elected officials to adopt PB in that community.

⁹ Carolin Hagelskamp, David Schleifer, Chloe Rinehart and Rebecca Silliman, "Why Let the People Decide? Elected Officials on Participatory Budgeting" (New York: Public Agenda, 2016), http://www.publicagenda.org/pages/why-let-the-people-decide.

• Schools and parks and recreation won most of the money allocated to PB. We found that schools and parks and recreation continued to win the largest share of PB-allocated dollars. Is this an indicator of communities' needs, or are PB processes drawing participants who prioritize schools and parks and recreation? If this is an indicator of communities' needs, how can we determine whether allocations through PB meet those needs equitably?

In addition to the quantitative data and analyses included in this report, Public Agenda invited evaluators and implementers from six processes across the U.S. and Canada to share stories about PB in their communities. These stories enrich our understanding of PB beyond the available quantitative data. By demonstrating the diversity in implementation of PB and including practical recommendations for overcoming challenges, they also contribute to the potential for PB sites to identify their own progress on achieving PB's potential impacts and on meeting processes' local goals.

Democracy is sometimes described as a great experiment, and PB can be viewed as an experiment in democracy. The outcomes of this experiment will become apparent only as PB processes play out over time and if researchers and evaluators continue to study them. In order to know how well PB is reaching people who have traditionally been excluded from political life, it is important to support processes in meeting the challenges of sustaining evaluation activities, especially surveying PB voters. Supporting evaluation is particularly important as the size and number of processes grow. The current report can help public officials and their staffs, PB advocates, community-based organizations and potential funders of PB consider whether, how and why to pursue this experiment in their communities.



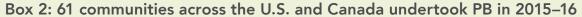
Box 1: Participatory budgeting has grown from 2 processes in 2009–10 to 61 processes in 2015–16

Source: Public Agenda, Participatory Budgeting Project

These counts include only PB that was implemented by a city council, council member or city agency. It does not include school- or collegewide PB processes. In 2015–16, the Participatory Budgeting Project reports that two elementary schools, two high schools, one community college and two public four-year colleges in the U.S. implemented PB to let students decide how to spend parts of the budget(s) of their schools and college.¹⁰

¹⁰ Participatory Budgeting Project, "Annual Report 2015–16" (Brooklyn, NY: Participatory Budgeting Project, 2016), http://www.participatorybudgeting.org/wp-content/ uploads/2016/06/PBP_AnnualReport_2016_small-1.pdf.





Note: Included here are all PB processes in the U.S. and Canada that were run by a city council, city council district or city agency and had a vote between July 2015 and June 2016.

THIS RESEARCH

This report includes two distinct parts:

Part 1 of this report aggregates, summarizes and synthesizes data on key metrics from all 61 sites that implemented PB in 2015–16. Those 61 sites include 36 sites that completed a PB cycle in both 2014–15 and 2015–16. For those 36 continuing sites, we report changes in aggregated data across the two cycles. For all analyses, when relevant data are missing, we note throughout the precise number of sites our estimates are based on. We also note the few instances in which we decided to exclude one or more sites from an analysis because it constituted too much of an outlier and would have skewed the analysis.

Local PB evaluation teams and implementers collected the data included in Part 1 of this report and shared it with Public Agenda. They have been doing the invaluable and hard work of evaluating and researching PB processes in their local communities.

This report does not include data on the demographics of PB voters, which Public Agenda's report on PB in 2014–15 did include. Because evaluators of many processes in the 2015–16 cycle did not have the resources or capacity to do the challenging work of fielding voter surveys, collecting them and inputting and analyzing survey responses, we could not include voter demographics or run any demographic analyses on the aggregate level.

Part 2 of this report consists of stories from evaluators and implementers of PB processes in the U.S. and Canada. Public Agenda invited PB evaluators and implementers to share stories about specific aspects of PB in their communities. The experiences and perspectives of these six evaluators and implementers are not necessarily generalizable but are meant to enrich understanding of PB beyond the quantitative data we are able to report, to demonstrate the diversity in the implementation of PB in the U.S. and Canada and to demonstrate the vital role of research and evaluation in helping processes identify and meet their local goals. Public Agenda selected the topics for the stories based on our ongoing conversations with local evaluators about their successes and challenges and on discussions with the North American Participatory Budgeting Research Board—a group of local evaluators, public engagement practitioners and U.S.- and Canadabased academic researchers who have studied the effects of PB in other countries—about how the broader PB research community can help learn more about those successes and address those challenges.¹¹

Our compilation of data was guided by a framework of 15 key metrics that Public Agenda developed based on the experiences of local evaluators and the advice of the North American Participatory Budgeting Research Board, along with input from the nonprofit Participatory Budgeting Project. These 15 key metrics specify data points about PB implementation, participation and winning projects that are important for better understanding the current state of PB, tracking its immediate outputs and clarifying its potential long-term impacts. To read more about the 15 key metrics for evaluating participatory budgeting, go to: http://www.publicagenda.org/pages/researchand-evaluation-of-participatory-budgeting-in-the-usand-canada.

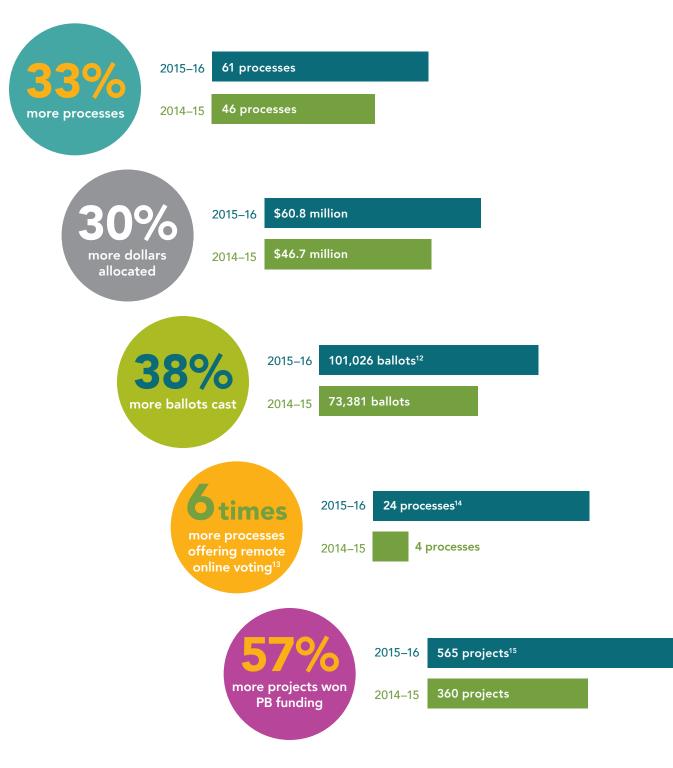
To read more about Public Agenda's methodology for collecting, coding and analyzing data in this report, see page 45.

¹¹ Members of the 2015–16 North American Participatory Budgeting Research Board are listed on page 57 of this report.



MAIN FINDINGS

Participatory Budgeting's Growth in the U.S. and Canada from 2014–15 to 2015–16: In Numbers



¹² Base: 59 processes.

- ¹³ We consider a site to have offered "remote online voting" if participants had the option to vote online from any computer or other device anywhere, rather than being able to vote only from a specific in-person voting site. We include in this count processes that required participants to register to vote in person before voting online from their computer or other device.
- ¹⁴ As more PB communities include remote online voting in their PB processes, and as communities also introduce or expand the use of other digital tools, it is important to track the adoption of these technologies and to explore how they are used and the challenges they can pose. In Part 2 we include accounts from an evaluator in New York City, New York (see page 38), and an implementer in San Francisco, California (see page 36), about the use of online voting and other digital tools in their processes.

¹⁵ Base: 60 processes.



Expansion and Diversity of PB Processes

Between the summers of 2015 and 2016, residents of 61 jurisdictions across 22 cities in the United States and Canada voted on how public money should be spent. Public officials allocated more than \$60 million to PB projects, up from nearly \$47 million the previous cycle. Over 100,000 people participated, up from approximately 73,000 in the previous cycle. More than 560 projects won funding, up from 360 projects in the previous cycle. In this section, we track PB's overall growth and expansion in the U.S. and Canada from 2014–15 to 2015–16 and examine diversity in communities' PB implementation over time. Specifically, this section documents changes in the number of processes, amount of money allocated, number of voters and types of projects. While not exhaustive, these metrics are critical to our understanding of where and how PB is expanding and the differences in and intricacies of how PB is being implemented.



NUMBER OF PB PROCESSES

Twenty-four new PB processes were launched, many in small towns and small communities.

Most PB communities in the 2015–16 cycle were new to PB: Twenty-four communities (39 percent) implemented it for the first time, and 18 communities (30 percent) implemented it for the second year. Another 17 communities (28 percent) were in their third, fourth or fifth round of PB implementation. Chicago's 49th Ward—the first PB process in the U.S.—implemented its seventh cycle of PB in 2015–16. Toronto Community Housing PB implemented its 13th cycle of PB in 2015–16.

PB spread especially in small towns and small communities. Nine of the 24 newly launched processes (38 percent) were undertaken in communities with populations under 50,000 people. In contrast, only 10 out of all 46 processes (22 percent) in the 2014–15 cycle took place in communities of that size.

PB is spreading in small towns and small communities. Part 2 of this report includes stories from evaluators in two communities that held their first PB process in 2015–16. "Advocacy for PB: Greensboro, North Carolina" illustrates the dynamics of PB initiated through long-term grassroots advocacy (see page 34). "A Broad Engagement Strategy in a Small Town: Dieppe, New Brunswick" describes PB's success in its first year with engaging new people in a small town (see page 32).

Seventy-eight percent of 2014–15 PB processes continued in 2015–16, but 22 percent did not.

Ten of the 46 communities (22 percent) that implemented a PB process in 2014–15 did not implement a process in the 2015–16 cycle. Of those 10 communities, six have not announced another cycle. The remaining four communities intend to complete a PB process in 2016–17 but did not do so in 2015–16 for a variety of reasons: Two communities took a year off to reassess their processes, one community's process runs on a two-year timeline and another community changed its timeline so that its PB vote was held later in the calendar year.

While the majority of PB processes continued from 2014–15 to 2015–16, Public Agenda's in-depth interviews with U.S. elected officials about their perspectives on PB suggest potential reasons why PB processes might be difficult to sustain. Many elected officials discussed the challenges of finding adequate time, money and staff to implement PB, although they also typically expressed a desire to continue their processes despite these challenges. Some officials felt that the amounts of money allocated to PB are currently too small for the resulting projects to have much impact in their communities.¹⁶



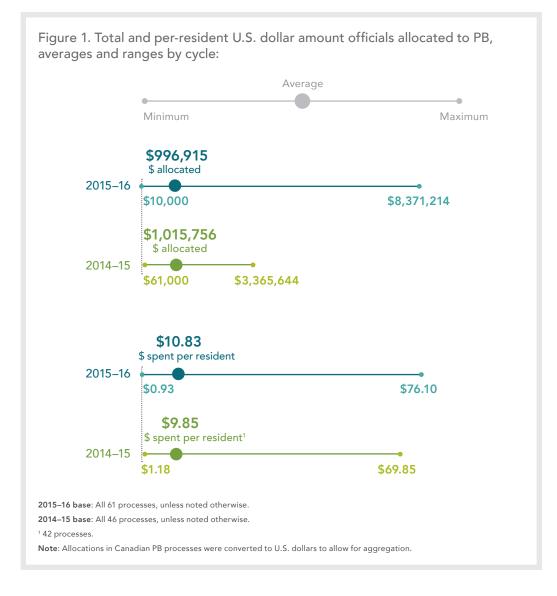
¹⁶ Hagelskamp et al., "Why Let the People Decide?" (2016).

MONEY ALLOCATED TO PB

The amount of money officials allocated to their PB projects ranged substantially—to an even greater degree than in the previous cycle.

The average amount of money officials allocated to their PB processes decreased slightly from \$1,015,756 per process in 2014–15 to \$996,915 in 2015–16. However, allocations in 2015–16 ranged from \$10,000 in a first-year citywide program to nearly \$8.4 million in the Toronto Community Housing PB. In contrast, in 2014–15 the amount of money allocated per process ranged from \$61,000 to nearly \$3.4 million. The widening range of allocated money from 2014–15 to 2015–16 may be due to the greater diversity in the size of the communities that implemented PB.

Overall, the average dollars allocated per resident increased from about \$10 per resident in the 2014–15 cycle to about \$11 per resident in the 2015–16 cycle (see Figure 1).



Twenty-five percent of officials that continued their PB processes from 2014–15 substantially increased the amount of money they allocated in 2015–16. Nineteen percent of officials substantially decreased their allocations.

The 36 communities that held a PB process in both 2014–15 and 2015–16 varied greatly in whether or not they saw an increase or a decrease in the amount of money allocated to PB. Across those 36 continuing processes, the average amount of money that officials allocated to PB increased 10 percent. But the change in money allocated to PB ranged from a 63 percent decrease in one community to a 153 percent increase in another.

In 56 percent of the continuing processes, officials increased their allocations to PB projects from 2014–15 to 2015–16, including nine processes (25 percent of the continuing processes) that saw an increase of 25 percent or more. But in the rest of the continuing processes, officials decreased their allocations from 2014–15 to 2015–16, including seven of 36 continuing processes that saw a decrease of 25 percent or more (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Percent of communities that saw substantial increases vs. substantial decreases in allocated funds from 2014–15 to 2015–16:



Base: N=36

19% saw a large decrease

When officials allocated more money to PB projects, communities saw more residents voting in PB.

In communities where the amount of money allocated to PB was comparatively high, more ballots were cast in the PB processes. This relationship remained significant even when controlling for the number of residents in the jurisdiction, the number of days the vote lasted and the total number of voting sites.¹⁷

The positive relationship also holds up when we examine only the 36 communities that continued PB from the 2014–15 cycle to 2015–16. In just these continuing processes, the more processes increased the money for PB projects from 2014–15 to 2015–16, the more they saw an increase in ballots cast. This relationship remained significant even when controlling for the number of residents eligible to vote in PB in the jurisdiction and for differences in number of voting sites and number of voting days between the two cycles.¹⁸

We can only offer hypotheses about the relationship between the amount of money allocated and the number of people voting in PB. It may be that allocating more money leads more people to decide to come out and vote. It may be that officials who are more willing to allocate larger amounts of money are ones whose residents already show a higher level of engagement in local politics, including in PB. Or it may be that officials who increase their allocations are also able to invest more in outreach and are therefore able to convince a greater number of residents to participate in the PB vote.

Officials allocated funding only for capital projects in most PB processes, similar to 2014–15. Program and service projects were eligible for funding in only 12 percent of processes.

In 2015–16, most of the money allocated to PB came from capital funds of various kinds (see Figure 3). Capital funds can be spent only on capital projects, meaning projects that help improve physical infrastructure, such as renovating schools, building parks or implementing longer-term technology updates for public or community services.

| | | 2014–15 | 2015–16 |
|---------|--|---------|---------|
| Capital | District or ward discretionary capital funds | 65% | 68% |
| | City capital budget | 15% | 13% |
| | City agency capital funds | 2% | 2% |
| General | District or ward discretionary general funds | 4% | 2% |
| | City general funds | 7% | 10% |
| Other | Other (tax increment financing, measure B sales tax, etc.) | 7% | 5% |

Figure 3. Percent of PB communities by types of budget allocated to PB by cycle:

The more a PB site increased money for PB projects, the more they saw in increase in voters.

¹⁷ Correlation r = .55.

¹⁸ Correlation r = .40.

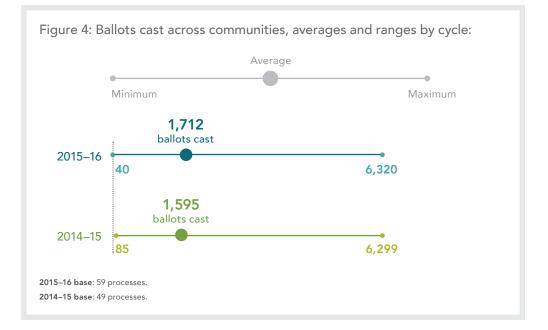
In nearly all 2015–16 processes (87 percent), PB allocations were restricted to funding capital projects. This was either because of the city's or district's rules on how the funds allocated could be spent or because of project eligibility rules decided on by the steering committee or other process organizers. Few processes—12 percent—allowed the PB-allocated budget to fund both capital and program projects—the latter including projects that could provide ongoing services, such as funding for a nonprofit to run an after-school program.

PB advocates suggest that PB funding should expand beyond capital budgets.¹⁹ In Part 2, we include a story from the coordinator of a PB process in Vallejo, California, which has funded both capital and program projects since its first cycle. The coordinator shares her insights about the implementation of a process that allows program projects and about the potential and actual impacts of these types of projects. See page 42 for "PB for 'People Focused' Projects: Vallejo, California."

VOTING IN PB PROCESSES

The average number of people voting in 2015–16 PB processes was higher than in 2014–15.

The average number of ballots cast increased from about 1,600 per community in 2014–15 to about 1,700 per community in 2015–16. The range of ballots cast expanded only slightly, from 85 to about 6,300 ballots cast per community in 2014–15 to 40 (in a first-year pilot program) to about 6,300 ballots cast per community in 2015–16 (see Figure 4).



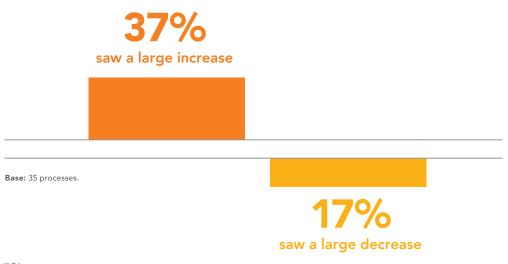
¹⁹ See, for example: The Movement for Black Lives, "A Vision for Black Lives: Policy Demands for Black Power, Freedom, & Justice" (2016), http://policy.m4bl.org; Participatory Budgeting Project, "A Guide to Participatory Budgeting in Schools" (Brooklyn, NY: Participatory Budgeting Project, 2016), http://participatorybudgeting.nationbuilder.com/pbinschools. However, on average, voter turnout did not change. The 2015–16 PB processes saw an average voter turnout of 2.2 percent, ranging from less than 1 percent to 7.2 percent of their respective census-estimated PB voting age population.²⁰ Similarly, the 2014–15 processes saw an average voter turnout of 2.6 percent, ranging from less than 1 percent to 14 percent of their respective census-estimated PB voting age population.²¹ The community with the highest voter turnout in 2014–15—14 percent—did not hold a process in the 2015–16 cycle.

Increasing participation and attracting a demographically diverse group of participants are goals for many process organizers and elected officials.²² In Part 2 we include a story from a local evaluator of a process in Long Beach, California, that had relatively high voter turnout in both the 2014–15 and the 2015–16 cycles. That process has focused on attracting residents who represent the demographics of the district as voters and as participants in other phases of the PB process. See page 30, "Turnout and Diversity of Voters and Other Participants: District 9 in Long Beach, California."

Thirty-seven percent of PB processes that continued from 2014–15 saw a substantial increase in people voting in 2015–16. Seventeen percent saw a substantial decline.

Communities varied considerably in whether they saw increases or decreases in the number of ballots cast from 2014–15 to 2015–16. Among 35 of the communities that had a PB process in both 2014–15 and 2015–16,²³ there was an average increase in ballots cast of 17 percent. But that ranged from an 81 percent decrease in ballots cast in one site to a 161 percent increase in another. Overall, 13 of these 35 processes (37 percent) saw increases in ballots cast of 25 percent or more. In contrast, six of these 35 processes (17 percent) saw decreases of 25 percent or more in the number of ballots cast compared with 2014–15 (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Percent of communities that saw substantial increases vs. substantial decreases in people voting from 2014–15 to 2015–16:



²⁰ 54 processes.

²¹ 39 processes

²³ There were 36 processes that continued from 2014–15 to 2015–16. But for one process, we were unable to obtain information on the number of ballots cast in 2015–16.

²² See, for example: Community Development Project at the Urban Justice Center, with the PBNYC Research Team, "A People's Budget: A Research and Evaluation Report on Participatory Budgeting in New York City. Cycle 4: Key Research Findings" (New York: Community Development Project at the Urban Justice Center, 2015), 6, https://cdp. urbanjustice.org/sites/default/files/CDP.WEB.doc_Report_PBNYC_cycle4findings_20151021.pdf; City of Vallejo and Participatory Budgeting Vallejo, "Participatory Budgeting In Vallejo: Finding the Balance Between Innovation and Risk; A Summary of Cycle 3" (Vallejo, CA: City Manager's Office, 2016), 17, http://www.ci.vallejo.ca.us/common/pages/ DisplayFile.aspx?itemId=3887023.



When communities offered more voting sites, there was an increase in the number of people voting in PB.

As in the 2014–15 cycle, there was a moderate relationship between the number of voting sites communities offered and the number of people who came out to vote.²⁴ But unlike the 2014–15 cycle, there was no relationship between the number of voting days and the number of ballots cast in 2015–16.

The communities that continued a PB process from 2014–15 to 2015–16 varied in whether they increased or decreased the number of voting sites. Among 35 of the communities that had PB in both 2014–15 and 2015–16, 37 percent increased the number of voting sites by 25 percent or more, and 20 percent decreased the number of sites by the same amount.²⁵

These continuing processes also showed a positive relationship between number of sites and number of ballots cast. The more these processes increased the number of voting sites from 2014–15 to 2015–16, the more they saw an increase in ballots cast. This relationship remained significant when controlling for the number of residents eligible to vote in PB in the jurisdiction and for differences in voting days and money allocated between the first and second years.²⁶

²⁴ Correlation r = .53.

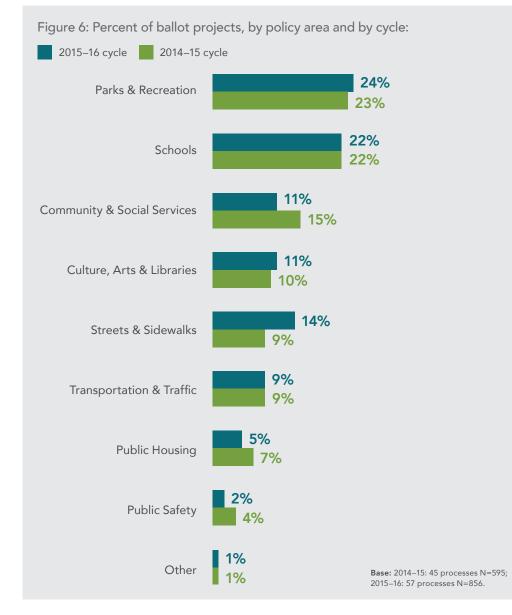


²⁵ There were 36 processes that continued from 2014–15 to 2015–16. But for one process, we were unable to obtain information on the number of ballots cast in 2015–16.

TYPES OF PROJECTS AND MONEY ALLOCATED TO PROJECTS

The most common PB ballot items remained parks and recreation projects and school projects.²⁷

A total of 1,113 projects were proposed on PB ballots in 2015–16.²⁸ Figure 6 shows the percent of these ballot items across eight project categories that Public Agenda's research team defined for this research. As in 2014–15 PB, projects on PB ballots were most commonly related to parks and recreation or to schools.



²⁷ It is important to note that unless otherwise indicated, four processes are not included in the analysis of ballot items and winning projects: Toronto Community Housing; District of Tofino, British Columbia; Ward 2 in Hamilton, Ontario; and Clarkston, Georgia. These processes were removed from analysis either because there was not enough information about ballot items and winning project or because the process was designed from the outset to allocate money for only one policy area.

²⁸ Base: 60 and only winning projects are included for Toronto Community Housing.

Box 3: Examples of projects under each of eight categories

Community & Social Services: Upgrades to or construction of community centers, senior centers; services or programs for senior citizens, youth, people with disabilities or homeless people; community services such as composting sites; community gardens.

Culture, Arts & Libraries: Murals or other public art; upgrades to or construction of performing arts centers, museums, theaters or libraries; cultural events; community dances; equipment that benefits arts programs, art groups or libraries.

Parks & Recreation: Construction of parks, playgrounds, dog parks or sports facilities; upgrades to these areas, including new equipment, restroom upgrades, drinking fountain improvements and so on.

Public Housing: Any project that benefits a public housing complex or neighborhood, such as security cameras, benches, playgrounds, sports courts, general grounds improvements and so forth.

Public Safety: Security cameras; increased lighting for security purposes on streets or in parks; equipment for fire or police departments; increased police patrols.

Schools: Any project that benefits a school, such as improvements to restrooms, air-conditioning or other facilities within schools; computers or technology for schools; musical instruments or equipment for schools; sports equipment or sports facilities.

Streets & Sidewalks: Street repairs, such as street resurfacing or filling potholes; sidewalk repairs or expansions; streetlights, if not specified for public safety.

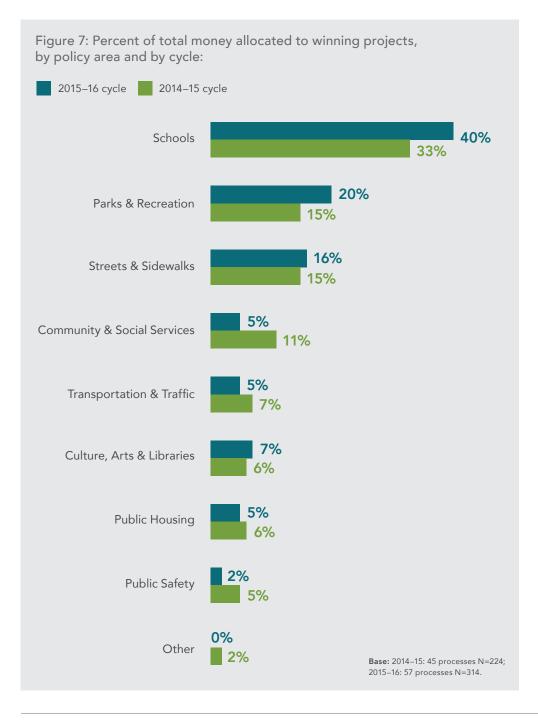
Transportation & Traffic: Public transportation improvements, such as bus stop shelters or timers or subway stations; traffic light improvements, especially at intersections; crosswalks; bike lanes.



Schools and parks and recreation continued to win the largest share of PB-allocated dollars: 60 percent went to those two types of projects, leaving only 40 percent to the other seven types of projects.

More money was allocated to either school or parks and recreation projects than to other types of projects in 2015–16, which was also the case in 2014–15. The share of money from PB that went to schools increased 7 percentage points, and the share of money that went to parks and recreation increased 5 percentage points from 2014–15 to 2015–16. Figure 7 shows the percent of PB funding allocated to winning projects in each category.

There is even less diversity in PB project funding this cycle, with 60% of funding going to schools and parks and recreation.





2

A Closer Look at the Expansion of Participatory Budgeting: Stories from PB Evaluators and Implementers in Six Communities

The expansion of PB in the United States and Canada in 2015–16 has been marked by a notable increase in small towns doing PB, by grassroots advocacy to get PB started, by more opportunities for remote online voting and by increased voter participation in many continuing PB processes. To learn more about these dynamics and to share practical recommendations, Public Agenda invited evaluators and implementers from six PB sites across the U.S. and Canada to share their experiences. Their stories bring to life key metrics about PB's expansion and may help other sites and those considering a PB process in their communities plan their PB implementation in years to come.

These stories—about outreach and diversity, strategies for building support for PB among constituents and elected officials, how PB fits into broader public engagement strategies in a small town, the use of digital tools such as online voting and the use of PB to allocate funds for services and programs—enrich the quantitative data and analyses included in this report. They also demonstrate the diversity in the implementation of PB in the U.S. and Canada and the vital role of research and evaluation in helping processes identify and meet their local goals.

These stories are not necessarily generalizable to all PB processes, and their recommendations are provided only as considerations. However, gathering and sharing detailed stories and lessons learned can help the PB field share promising practices for meeting local goals.





Turnout and Diversity of Voters and Other Participants: District 9 in Long Beach, California

Attracting large numbers of people to vote is important to all PB processes, but so is attracting residents who represent the demographics of a district as voters and as participants in other stages of PB processes. District 9 in Long Beach, California, which introduced PB in the 2014–15 cycle, achieved a relatively high turnout in both 2014–15 and 2015–16 compared with other processes. While absolute voter turnout in Long Beach District 9 declined from its first to its second year, the process worked hard to include a more diverse cross section of the district's residents throughout all phases of the process in its second year.

Gary Hytrek, professor of geography at California State University Long Beach, who has been the evaluator of the Long Beach PB process since its inception with graduate student Andres Temblador, explains the relationships among voter turnout, outreach and diversity in Long Beach District 9:

"

In the 2014–15 cycle, 8 percent of eligible residents in Long Beach District 9 voted in PB, nearly the same turnout as in the district's previous municipal election²⁹ and higher than the average voter turnout of 2.6 percent in all PB processes in that cycle. One reason we had such high turnout in the first year was that we did focused and sustained outreach to the local high school and held voting events there. We therefore had relatively high youth turnout, which was tremendously exciting.

However, the process organizers, district steering committee and Rex Richardson, the district's city council member, agreed there was a need to focus on a greater breadth of participation in the 2015–16 cycle. With insight from me and my colleague, Andres Temblador, on the research and evaluation team, the process organizers developed new outreach strategies with communities and in areas that were not as well represented in the first cycle. One strategy was to specifically identify and invite members and leaders in those communities to serve on the PB process's district committee. Locations for posting informational flyers or for tabling, as well as for posting voting stations, were expanded to include more churches and neighborhood locations, as well as grocery stores, restaurants and other businesses that members of the district committee identified as central for their communities.

We feel that these new outreach strategies worked to broaden overall participation. While voter participation in 2015–16 was roughly the same for Latinos (the largest community in the district) and for low-income residents as it had been in 2014–15, the breadth of participation increased in other stages of our PB process. Overall voter while turnout declined to 4 percent in the 2015–16 cycle, which was still higher than the national average of 2.2 percent across all PB processes for that cycle. However, turnout is one of the easiest metrics to measure, it is not always the best indicator of a process's success.

²⁹ "Long Beach, California, municipal elections, 2014," Ballotpedia, accessed October 14, 2016, https://ballotpedia.org/Long_Beach,_California_municipal_elections,_ 2014#tab=Primary.



There were more Latino budget delegates and more low-income budget delegates and assembly participants. Not targeting the district high school meant that the overall number of youth participating went down, but there seemed to be more youth participating from across the district, particularly during the earlier stages of the process. Because 2016 data once more indicated uneven participation among Latinos, youth, lower-income residents and renters, in the future we hope to broaden our appeal to these groups. Nonetheless, we were pleased with the outcomes of our outreach.

We feel that this broader participation—through voting, but also through participating as budget delegates in the proposal phase of the process and serving on the district committee—is leading to a more diverse group of community members learning leadership skills, building connections with other participants and gaining trust in government. We've seen PB connecting community members with one another within District 9 and helping community members in the district build connections with residents of other parts of Long Beach. These types of outcomes are difficult to measure and take time to develop, but we feel confident that our focus on diversity in participation throughout the process is helping to build community in District 9. Based on our experience, the following are our suggestions for increasing the diversity of participants in PB processes:

- PB organizers should prioritize getting leaders from a diverse set of communities to join their processes' steering committees. Leaders who work with traditionally marginalized communities, who are often underrepresented in political activities, can have insights into where and how to reach people—as well as into how to mobilize them.
- PB processes must partner with organizations and businesses in the community. Community-based organizations and neighborhood associations are key collaborators in outreach and implementation. Processes can also benefit from reaching out to and partnering with local businesses for outreach, especially small businesses such as local restaurants.
- Outreach should be guided by research. PB evaluation that includes collecting demographic information on who participates in PB throughout the process and how they heard about the process is critical to helping inform and improve outreach strategies.

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A Broad Engagement Strategy in a Small Town: Dieppe, New Brunswick

PB in North America includes not only processes in large cities such as New York City, Chicago and Vallejo, but also processes in smaller municipalities across the U.S. and Canada. Dieppe, New Brunswick, a town of around 23,000 people, implemented its first PB process in 2015–16. The effort to implement PB in Dieppe began through conversations between the city and residents about ways to improve public engagement in Dieppe, led by Luc Richard, the town's director of organizational performance, and Christine C. Paulin, a professor at the Université de Moncton. Christine evaluated the Dieppe process and explains how PB was part of a broader engagement strategy in the town:

Dieppe is a small community, and we had always had a relatively high rate of public participation before PB. But like most communities, we tended to see the same people participating again and again. During the 2014 municipal election, many candidates for city council were running on platforms of improving public engagement. The moment was right to seize on some of those promises. With the help of city officials, we worked together with a team of citizens and the new council members to create a concrete public participation platform and set of policies for our community. We saw the implementation of a PB process as a real, direct way to pilot these commitments to public engagement.

I took on the work of evaluating Dieppe's PB process, in part to see whether the process was helping to meet the goals of the town's new public participation policy. It is clear from my work that PB, compared with past opportunities for public participation in Dieppe, brought in and engaged many more people. I found that three-quarters of PB voters who filled out surveys said that they had not worked with others to solve a community issue in the past 12 months.³⁰ Young people did participate to a significant degree in PB. It seemed to us that PB helped young people realize that they could really make a difference in their community; it opened doors.

How did PB engage more residents? First, the different phases, roles and responsibilities in our PB process provide many different ways for people to get involved and allow residents to tailor the experience to themselves. Second, we recognized that in order to inform residents about the PB process we had to have a broad approach to outreach. We used media coverage, with ads and interviews on TV, radio and in newspapers; and we promoted it via Facebook and social media. Finally, in order to engage people who were not already engaging with government, we recognized the importance of meetingcommunity members where they are, such as libraries and community centers, rather than inviting them to come to us only at places such as the City Hall.

³⁰ The survey question asked only about solving a community issue. It is possible that participants who answered "no" were involved in other social, cultural or political activities, such as voting. See Christine C. Paulin, "Évaluation du Projet de Budget Participatif à Dieppe 2015" (Dieppe, New Brunswick: Projet de Budget Participatif Dieppe, 2016).

We expect to see PB leading to more opportunities for citizens to have direct decision-making power. We hope it will generate a broader dialogue about public participation, what it is, how it looks now and how it should look moving forward. We also hope it will inspire more residents to stay engaged with the city and public life. The city council already established a new citizen volunteer committee that will meet for one year with the mandate of figuring out how the town can do more and how they can do better when it comes to opportunities for public participation, drawing heavily on the lessons learned and experiences from this first cycle of PB.

Based on our experience in Dieppe, we have a few recommendations for other small towns like ours who are interested in developing new civic engagement strategies or who are interested in experimenting with PB as part of those strategies:

- Use the prospect of a new engagement policy or law as a way to instigate a conversation about what more productive public engagement would look like and how to achieve it.
- City agencies should be engaged in the PB project development phase to help residents understand which project ideas are technically and financially feasible and which are not.
- When recruiting people to participate in PB or other engagement opportunities, supplement face-to-face appeals with broad media coverage, including ads and interviews on TV, radio and in newspapers—which may be less expensive in small towns than in big cities —as well as through social media.
- Involve citizens in legitimate governance roles to help sustain and improve PB.



A Process of Growth: The Expansion of Participatory Budgeting in the United States and Canada in 2015–16



Advocacy for PB: Greensboro, North Carolina

Community-based organizations and other groups have played a role in advocating for PB in a number of sites in the United States and Canada, and more and more PB processes are taking hold as a direct result of grassroots advocacy. In Greensboro, North Carolina, which held its first PB process in the 2015–16 cycle, a core group of grassroots organizers advocated for many years with elected officials to adopt PB.

Spoma Jovanovic, professor of communication studies at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, is the lead evaluator of PB in Greensboro. She explains how PB advocates worked within the community to build support among other community groups and residents for the process and eventually won over the council:

Greensboro community members, including me, were introduced to participatory budgeting in 2011 when the Fund for Democratic Communities hosted events with Josh Lerner and Maria Hadden of the Participatory Budgeting Project in Greensboro. We saw PB as an excellent opportunity to bring about much needed positive change by tapping into the energy and creativity of people talking about and making public decisions to address community needs. At the time, our city was experiencing deep demographic shifts and plummeting trust in local government. We expected others in the community—including Greensboro's neighborhood associations, leaders of traditionally underrepresented communities and the council itself—to be as excited as we were about implementing PB.

Instead, it took many years, many hours of meetings with the city council as well as making many more connections with other community members and organizations to introduce them to the concept of PB. We had to convince them of its promise for our city. At first, council members were not receptive. City staff were concerned about the amount of work it might require to implement PB. Some members of Greensboro's neighborhood associations were apprehensive about losing money to PB that they would otherwise have used to fund favored projects.

One of our strategies to build grassroots support for PB that turned out to be key to our success was to hold a series of mock PB processes around the city in churches, schools, a homeless shelter and with other neighborhood groups. We educated people about the process and with hands-on activities demonstrated to the council and community what PB could accomplish. Another tipping point came when some Greensboro advocates and council members attended a White House–hosted national conversation on PB as promoting innovative civic engagement. Eventually, we were able to gain support among a majority of newly elected city council members, who determined that PB was worth implementing. The PB process here has been highly scrutinized. For us, that means the evaluation and research that we do is even more critical, in order to showcase what is being accomplished, to suggest where and how to improve the process and to build a case for the continuation of PB here in our city.

Based on our evaluation, we count Greensboro's PB process as a success, although there is still room for growth and improvement. It met the expectations of both advocates and the city council by engaging a diverse cross section of residents, generating interesting projects and building stronger relationships between citizens and elected officials and staff members. We can see the root of a more collaborative framework taking hold, where community members and city government work together to get things done, rather than just communicating only when something is wrong. Hopefully, in years to come, we will see growing acceptance of PB from those city council members and community groups who have not yet fully embraced it.

As PB becomes more widely known to communities across the U.S. and Canada, we expect other grassroots groups advocating for PB to emerge. We present the following recommendations for these organizers:

- Be patient and persistent. Grassroots advocacy for PB can take time and may require several rounds of turnover among local elected officials.
- Try mock PB processes. Doing mock PB processes can demonstrate how the process works to residents, community-based organizations, elected officials and city staff. Mock processes can help people begin to understand PB's potential value.
- Get city staff onboard. Inviting city staff to mock PB processes and conferences can help them understand what PB is, how it works and its potential benefits to the city and the community.
- Demonstrate to elected officials that it is in their interest to be involved in PB. Help elected officials understand how PB can help them build trust and improve their relationships with community members.







Online Voting to Expand Access and Inclusion: District 7 in San Francisco, California

Online voting is becoming more common among PB processes in North America, with 9 percent of processes offering an option to vote online in the 2014–15 cycle and 39 percent offering the option in the 2015–16 cycle. Online voting has been part of San Francisco's District 7 process since it began in 2013–14.

Erica Maybaum is the current process implementer and legislative aide to San Francisco Supervisor Norman Yee. As she explains, the online voting platform has evolved significantly as implementers have incorporated evaluative feedback, worked toward improving accessibility and inclusion and streamlined the process:

Online voting is a core component of our PB process in District 7 and indispensable to achieving our goals, which include increasing engagement, helping residents understand they can have direct influence on part of the city budget, helping residents understand government operations and reaching communities all across the district.

This year, 1,459 ballots were cast online out of a total of 1,504 ballots cast in our district. We think online voting continues to increase participation in both PB and other avenues of civic engagement and is a powerful tool for increased community engagement in this process and in civic life beyond PB as well.

The current iteration of our online voting platform was designed and is managed by the City of San Francisco's Department of Technology. Our office coordinates with the department throughout the PB process, from beta testing to receiving and analyzing data at the end of the process. The platform includes a few basic identity questions to verify eligibility to vote in the district. It then presents the ballot with project titles, proposal costs and short, clear project descriptions. We also work with the city's translation services to translate the entire platform—instructions and the project ballot—into Spanish and Cantonese, for increased accessibility for our residents.

While there have been challenges in coordinating between our office and the Department of Technology, especially at the initial design and testing stages, it has been a good collaboration—and one that did not exist in this direct way before we started organizing PB. The fact that the collaboration is ongoing has allowed us to improve and streamline the platform and build relationships with this department.

The biggest benefits of the online voting platform is that it is a tool that allows for widespread participation with less effort because it is easily distributed. The link to the online ballot is shared on Supervisor Yee's website, sent in our emailed newsletter and listed on a flyer that is sent to all community groups in the district. In our experience, it has made the process particularly more accessible to schools and members of the business community.

There are downsides to online voting and other digital tools used in PB. We take those seriously and would never consider getting rid of in-person voting or moving every stage of the PB process online. Face-to-face meetings and in-person voting sites allow

for discussion about project proposals and allow residents to connect with others and build community in ways that they cannot in online interactions. This is true particularly in the proposal development stage, where residents meet with representatives of city departments such as Parks and Recreation or Transportation and are provided feedback and recommendations that help develop stronger and more feasible project ideas. This builds understanding of government processes and trust between residents and city staff. We also recognize that online platforms may not be as accessible to those with less familiarity with or access to digital technologies.

Based on our experience, we would recommend the following to developersw of online voting platforms and other PB sites using online platforms and other digital technologies:

- Focus on inclusion. Online voting should feature language access and concise and simplified project descriptions.
- Develop strategies to include people who are less likely to participate online. Maintain some touch points for in-person voting and information sessions.
- Start small and simple and build up. Focus on the basics and essentials of voting first. More complex options, such as offering participants a way to rank projects, can be developed after initial unanticipated challenges have been addressed.

- PB implementers should maintain clear lines of communication with the manager or programmer of the platform. Implementers should set clear expectations in terms of communication and timelines for both the applicants and the departments implementing the projects.
- Get feedback on the platform. What works for each community may be different. Request feedback and constructive criticism along the way. Streamlining the process will be appreciated by all involved, and feedback is critical to creating an improved process.
- Build partnerships with other organizations to help spread the word about online voting. An advantage of digital ballots and other online tools is that organizations and partners can share and outreach to their own communities and networks.
- Consider developing online tools that allow people to engage with one another online. For example, during the idea collection phase, Twitter chats, Listservs or other online forums can allow people to ask questions and give feedback on projects. These types of communication can help expand inclusion and outreach and allow community members to interact with one another online.
- Stay positive and be gracious. Even small projects can take a lot of time and effort. Be a support to the applicants and the departments. Checking in on how the process is going, recognizing when projects move ahead and saying thank you can go a long way in developing relationships and in the successful implementation of PB projects.





Building Equity into Digital Tools: New York City, New York

In New York City, home to some of the longest-running PB sites, the use of online platforms and other digital tools has proliferated. In the 2015–16 cycle, PBNYC offered digital voting at many voting sites and piloted a remote voting platform. Like many processes, PBNYC is also experimenting with digital tools such as online idea submission, project mapping and more.

Erin Markman of the Community Development Project at the Urban Justice Center, which has led the evaluation of PBNYC since its inception, details the promises, successes and challenges of the expanded use of digital tools:

As PB has grown in New York City—from four participating council members in the initial cycle (2011–12) to 31 council members in the current cycle (2016–17)—we have seen the use of technology expand significantly. The spirit of innovation and experimentation inherent to PB has led naturally to the investigation of new and exciting technological tools. In addition, PB implementers have sought technological solutions to the challenges that arise as local government, community groups and other stakeholders are faced with managing this unique form of civic engagement on a larger scale.

New technologies implemented in New York City's PB process include digital idea maps that allow participants to submit ideas for PB projects at specific locations and to view or comment on ideas submitted by others; digitized sign-in forms to verify eligibility and streamline record keeping; outreach via email, social media and text; digital ballots at polling stations; and a pilot project that allowed people to vote remotely with a PIN assigned to them at an in-person event.

Many of the goals for the use of technology in PBNYC are sensible and important: streamlining registration, efficiently maintaining contact lists, maximizing outreach resources, reducing the monetary and environmental impact of using paper on a large scale, alleviating the administrative burden of manual data entry, providing more ways to submit project ideas and more.

Inevitably, there have also been challenges. The development and use of much of this technology is new for PB. Technological tools, like all aspects of PB, must be evaluated to ensure they are in the service of the PB process goals, particularly goals such as inclusion and equity. New technologies should strive to be equally accessible to all PB participants. Language access can be particularly complicated in tech tools. In a digital ballot, for example, not only must the ballot text be translated, but all instructions and other text displayed must be as well. Disparities in access to personal computers, Internet in the home or other inequalities of access to technology must also be considered when implementing technological tools.

Based on our observations and research in New York City, we suggest a number of recommendations and considerations for other PB sites that are using or considering new technological tools:

- The goals and rules of PB, particularly equity and inclusion, should be kept in mind when planning the use of technology. Decisions about tech tools should be grounded in the desire to achieve each PB process's goals.
- All digital tools should be designed with language access in mind from the outset. This will help ensure that systems are equipped to support translated text and are fully accessible to users.
- Technology can complement, but should not replace, key aspects of the PB process, particularly paper ballots and in-person outreach by local community-based organizations or other trusted institutions. In-person outreach is crucial to reaching traditionally marginalized communities. Our research demonstrates that PB voters who reported hearing about PB online or via social media tended to be white, higher income, English speaking and born in the United States. Those who heard about PB from a community group, via door knocking, or from a school tended to be people of color, lower income, more likely foreign born and non-English speaking.³¹ Paper ballots may be streamlined or supplemented by digital innovation but should not be eliminated, because digital voting processes are prone to technical malfunctions.
- Good tech takes time: to set up, to test with real users, to train staff and volunteers, to establish proper security measures and to evaluate with diverse stakeholders, including the steering committee, at the end of each process. Vendors should be contracted with sufficient time to allow for developing mock-ups, soliciting and incorporating feedback and working out bugs. Systems should be user-friendly and intuitive both for PB participants and for the staff and volunteers who will be administering those systems. The security and protection of data collected is paramount; systems must have proper security in place. Finally, soliciting feedback from a diverse set of stakeholders will improve the use of technology in future PB cycles.
- Local PB evaluators should consider research questions specific to the use of technology. Local researchers are best equipped to develop their own priorities for investigation, but areas of interest might include demographic differences between those who vote digitally and those who vote on paper; how well remote voting technology reaches homebound people or others who could not otherwise participate; and whether the use of technology impacts the degree to which PB participants report developing new relationships or skills.



³¹ See, for example: "A People's Budget: A Research and Evaluation Report on Participatory Budgeting in New York City. Cycle 4: Key Research Findings" (New York: Community Development Project at the Urban Justice Center, 2015), https://cdp.urbanjustice.org/sites/default/files/CDP.WEB.doc_Report_PBNYC_cycle4findings_20151021.pdf.



PB for "People Focused" Projects: Vallejo, California

Most PB processes in North America are limited to capital projects—that is, funding for longer-term infrastructure projects such as schools, parks, streetlights, street repaving and more. However, when Vallejo, California, began its first PB process in the 2012–13 cycle, it was the first process in the United States to allow voters to propose projects that would include services and programs along with capital projects.

Alyssa Lane, who coordinates PB in Vallejo from her position in the city manager's office, explains how this came about and how it is working:

In 2008, the city of Vallejo declared bankruptcy. PB was adopted shortly afterward as a way to address some of the gaps where the budget shortfall hit hardest and to build trust in government within the community. Unlike all other North American PB processes at the time, we designed the Vallejo PB process to fund not only capital projects but also program projects. We knew that program and service projects, which were deeply cut after the bankruptcy, were extremely important to community members. The option of program and service projects also supported the overarching goals for the city's PB process, which were to "improve our city, engage our community, and transform our democracy."

What we found after three years is that residents who participate in PB want to improve both physical infrastructure and public services. We have seen that the program projects give residents a sense of empowerment and a feeling of giving back to the community. The PB process has given those of us who work for the city better insight into the communities' needs beyond physical infrastructure and revealed how community members' diverse priorities align with one another. Additionally, PB brings forth ideas and priorities that may help guide community groups to set their spending priorities for years to come or to encourage them to pursue continued funding from other city, state or federal sources.

However, including program projects in a PB process poses unique challenges. Compared with infrastructure projects, many program projects require more resources—specifically city staff time—in the budgeting and implementation phases of the PB process. For example, a college scholarship program won funding. The program required staff, together with a core group of resident volunteers, to review all the applicants, select scholarship winners, track the recipients' required community service hours and collect proof of enrollment for every semester. After instances like this, we learned that it is best to make sure that program projects outside of the city's usual purview are implemented by local organizations with expertise in the given field. In addition, there are many more legal issues when dealing with program projects, especially for projects associated with minors, projects that require allocating funds to private individuals and projects that allocate funds to support programs or services on private properties.

Even though program and service projects are important and designed to benefit an identified group in need, sometimes program projects serve a much smaller proportion of the population compared with capital projects. For instance, some of the winning

program projects have served only 30 or so kids, whereas street and sidewalk improvements in busy areas can benefit everyone who passes through. It is therefore not a simple equation that funding programs and services through PB automatically means you have equitable or higher-impact projects. We need and are looking into tools to better define and measure public benefit. But these projects are important to the community and help to fill a need.

Based on our experiences, we think that other communities should consider including program and service projects in their PB processes and offer this advice:

• Before offering program and service projects, implementers need to sit down with all institutional partners—such as city agencies, school districts and community-based organizations that might be implementing these projects—to establish ahead of time what each is comfortable with and has the capacity to take on.

- The implementing city or district staff should also try to work with institutional partners on all program and service projects and avoid having to take on implementation of these on their own. Find institutional partners who have the right expertise and capacity.
- Processes should design criteria for program and service projects to include a metric for how many people the project would benefit. If the project is an after-school program or an internship program, does it benefit only a handful of kids or schools, or does it benefit many kids across many schools?
- Start small and scale up. Programs and services can be complicated to implement and administer, so PB sites should approach these types of projects in a spirit of experimentation.





APPENDIX

How Does Participatory Budgeting Work?

In current forms of PB in the United States and Canada that are the focus of this report,³² residents of a city or a city council district have the opportunity to directly participate in government decision making by deciding how specific parts of the public budget should be spent.

PB processes typically start with a public official or a city council publicly designating a portion of its budget to PB. Grassroots advocacy by community members and local organizations have often played important roles in convincing local officials to adopt PB. In the majority of cases, a steering committee—comprising local community groups, community leaders, government representatives and others—forms to decide on the goals and the rules of the process. These may include establishing the minimum voting age and other eligibility criteria, the timeline, resource allocations, targets for outreach and participation, roles and responsibilities of various stakeholders and so forth. The steering committee typically writes a rule book and meets throughout the process to monitor its implementation.

While communities vary in how exactly they implement PB, the process typically comprises a number of distinct phases, each progressing over a period of several weeks and months.



IDEA COLLECTION PHASE

First, residents come together in public meetings and online to discuss community needs and brainstorm ideas for projects that could be financed with the money their public representatives have allocated to the PB process.



BUDGET DELEGATE PHASE

Second, resident volunteers work in groups (or committees) to develop the initial ideas into actual project proposals. These volunteers (commonly called budget delegates) typically work closely with relevant city agencies to assess the feasibility and cost of projects.



VOTING PHASE

Third, fully developed project ideas are put on a ballot for residents including youth and noncitizens—to vote on. The voting period often lasts several days.



PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION PHASE

Fourth, projects that get the most votes and fall within the cap of allocated funds win. Government commits to implementing winning projects.³³

³² This report does not include other types of PB processes, such as those implemented by colleges and schools. The Participatory Budgeting Project estimates that two elementary schools, two high schools, one community college and two public four-year colleges in the U.S. implemented PB to let students decide how to spend parts of the budget(s) of their schools and colleges.

³³ In this work, we consider only those participatory budgeting processes that include a deciding vote. We are not considering budgeting processes that are consultative, in the sense that residents are given opportunities to weigh in on how public money should be spent but must leave the final decision to public officials.



METHODOLOGY

Summary

The findings in "A Process of Growth: The Expansion of Participatory Budgeting in the United States and Canada in 2015–16" are based on quantitative data from all 61 jurisdictions in the United States and Canada that undertook a participatory budgeting process with votes held between July 2015 and June 2016, as well as on qualitative stories from evaluators or implementers in six of these jurisdictions. Quantitative data were combined and compared with data that were previously collected from all 46 jurisdictions in the U.S. and Canada that undertook a PB process with votes held between July 2014 and June 2015.

PB evaluation and implementation teams in these 61 jurisdictions collected much of the quantitative data presented in this report and shared it with Public Agenda. Public Agenda collected the rest of the data as well as additional relevant information about each site through public sources. Public Agenda combined all data into one data set, conducted the analyses and wrote the report.

Public Agenda invited evaluators and implementers from six PB processes across the U.S. and Canada to share stories about PB in their communities. For five of the six stories, Public Agenda conducted open-ended interviews with these evaluators and implementers over the phone and drafted narratives based on their experiences. Evaluators and implementers reviewed and approved the narratives. One of the six narratives was written by the evaluator with editing by Public Agenda.

The North American Participatory Budgeting Research Board and the nonprofit organization the Participatory Budgeting Project provided feedback on the final report.

The Kettering Foundation served as a collaborator in this research. This research was supported by the Democracy Fund and the Rita Allen Foundation.

Quantitative data

KEY METRICS FOR EVALUATING PB

The quantitative data collection for this research was guided by a framework of 15 key metrics for evaluating PB that Public Agenda published in 2015. See: http://www.publicagenda.org/pages/research-and-evaluation-of-participatory -budgeting-in-the-us-and-canada.

These 15 metrics specify data points about PB implementation, participation and winning projects that are important for a better understanding of the current state of PB in the U.S. and Canada, for tracking its immediate outputs and for clarifying its potential long-term impacts. The data points discussed in this report are connected to a subset of these metrics.

Public Agenda developed the 15 key metrics and an accompanying evaluation toolkit in collaboration with the North American Participatory Budgeting Research Board and the nonprofit organization the Participatory Budgeting Project. We drew on existing work and experiences of local PB evaluators in the U.S. and Canada and around the world, as well as scholarly literature on PB.

DATA CATEGORIES AND SOURCES

Key descriptors. Data in this category include, for each PB process, information such as the dollar amount allocated to the projects, voting eligibility criteria and other such descriptors. Public Agenda collected this information through public, Web-based sources or by directly contacting the evaluators or implementers of specific processes.

Implementation data. Data in this category include, for each PB process, information such as the number of ballots cast, voting sites and voting days. Public Agenda collected this information a) from evaluation data that local evaluation teams shared directly with Public Agenda; b) through a questionnaire Public Agenda developed specifically for this purpose, to be completed by local evaluators or implementers (a copy of this questionnaire is part of "15 Key Metrics for Evaluating Participatory Budgeting" and can be downloaded here: http://www.publicagenda.org/pages/research-and-evaluation-of-participatory-budgeting-in-the-us-and-canada); c) from publicly accessible evaluation reports published by local evaluation teams; and d) through other public, Web-based sources.

Census population data. Public Agenda compiled equivalent demographic estimates for the total population (in each PB jurisdiction) who were old enough to vote in the PB processes by a) drawing on census information local evaluators had already collected; and b) by going directly to the census website. A tip sheet with details for how the census data should be collected and coded to allow for valid comparisons can be found here: http://www.publicagenda.org/media/participatory-budgeting-evaluation-tip-sheets.

Ballot items and winning projects. Data in this category include, for each PB process, titles, descriptions and estimated prices of all projects on the PB ballot and a designation for whether or not a project received enough votes to be allocated PB funding (that is, a winning project).

Public Agenda collected this information from public, Web-based sources and contacted local evaluators directly in rare cases where not all this information was publicly available.

DATA CODING

We aimed to code the information we collected for each variable to match specifications and recommendations in "15 Key Metrics for Evaluating Participatory Budgeting." When variables were created from a variety of different data sources, decisions needed to be made for how to sensibly combine diverse information. Where relevant in the report, we provide details on how information on specific variables was collected and combined from different sources across PB.

DATA ANALYSIS

In the current analysis, we used two distinct data sets. In 2015, we created one data set from the data collected across a total of 46 PB jurisdictions that held a vote between July 2014 and June 2015. One data set described key characteristics of each process (that is, it consists of 46 unique cases). We continued to build on this data set as we collected data across all 61 PB jurisdictions that held a vote between July 2015 and June 2016, 36 of which completed a 2014–15 cycle and 25 jurisdictions that were implementing PB for the first time. The database now consists of 71 unique cases: 61 PB jurisdictions that held a vote between July 2015 and July 2015 and July 2016, and 10 PB jurisdictions that held a vote between July 2015 but did not hold a vote between July 2015 and July 2016. The second data set describes key characteristics of all projects on a PB ballot in the 61 jurisdictions that were held in 2015–16 (that is, it consists of 1,103 unique cases).

The report summarizes analyses of aggregated data from the respective data sets. Aside from a few noted exceptions, we do not highlight individual data points for a specific PB site. The analyses focus on descriptive statistics and emphasize total sums, averages and ranges for each variable. In some cases, we present additional analyses and state so in the report. Whenever a finding is based on less than the total of 46 PB sites for 2014–15 or 61 PB sites for 2015–16 (typically because of missing data), we indicate that by including a footnote with the precise number of PB sites the finding is based on. We also note the few instances where we excluded one or more sites from an analysis because it was an outlier and would have biased the analysis.

In relevant sections throughout the report, we provide more detail on analyses of specific data points—for instance, how we compared data from the 36 2014–15 processes that continued to implement PB in 2015–16 processes and the cutoffs we used to analyze whether there was an increase or decrease for any given variable.

Qualitative data

STORIES FROM EVALUATORS AND IMPLEMENTERS

Public Agenda invited evaluators and implementers from six PB processes across the U.S. and Canada to share stories about PB in their communities. These six processes were chosen based on their experiences with a given feature of PB implementation. Public Agenda conducted open-ended interviews with evaluators and implementers of five of these six PB processes over the phone. Interviews averaged about 45 minutes. Public Agenda then drafted stories based on these conversations from the experiences of the local evaluators and implementers. Stories were then sent to the evaluators and implementers for their review and approval. One of the six narratives was written by the evaluator with editing by Public Agenda.

These stories are based on the experience of the local evaluator or implementer and are not necessarily generalizable to all PB processes. The recommendations at the end of each story are the evaluator's or implementer's own and are provided only as considerations.

If you have questions or want more information on any aspect of the methodology for this research, please email: **research@publicagenda.org**.



2015–16 PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING PROCESSES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Below is the full list of PB processes across the U.S. and Canada that are included in this report. All processes held their vote between July 2015 and June 2016 and were undertaken by a city council, council member or city agency.³⁴ We counted a total of 61 such sites; 75 percent were in the U.S. and 25 percent in Canada.

The majority of these communities undertook PB on the district level of a city (74 percent). That means a city council member decided to allocate parts of a given budget to PB. In addition to these district- and neighborhood-level processes, four cities implemented PB citywide in 2015–16. In these cases, a city council and a mayor voted together to allocate some part of the city budget to PB. In two cases, PB was designed exclusively for and by youth and young adults. In those "youth processes," an elected official—for instance, a mayor or a city council member—decided to allocate parts of a specified budget to a PB process that focused on youth engagement and limited participation to residents between 12 and 25 years of age or residents between 11 and 25 years of age.

Finally, the Toronto Community Housing PB process was designed for residents in 13 building groups and coordinated by Toronto Community Housing, a nonprofit social housing provider wholly owned by the city of Toronto. Toronto Community Housing—the second-largest public housing authority in North America—started the first PB process in North America among their housing residents in 2001.

All 61 PB communities are treated as separate sites in the current analyses. That is because each had its own PB budget allocation, its own ballot and its own community of residents. However, not all sites were equally independent of one another. Most notable, the 28 New York City districts

shared one citywide steering committee and followed one rule book. In Chicago, the seven PB wards shared a citywide steering committee and a rule book. The district process and two neighborhood processes in Toronto, Ontario, all had to be approved by the entire city council and were all coordinated by the city manager's office but were run separately.

In both Greensboro, North Carolina, and Peterborough, Ontario, the processes were entirely organized and centralized at the city level. However, the allocated money was separated into portions and divided equally among each of the cities' districts (both Greensboro and Peterborough have five city districts each). Additionally, each city district had a distinct ballot and voting process. As a result, each city is considered a single site in all process analyses, but its districts are considered as multiple processes for project analyses. Moreover, Toronto Community Housing PB is considered one PB site in the current analyses, even though it was technically a conglomerate of 13 individual PB processes—one for each building group, with its own budget allocations, ballot and community of residents.

For each PB process we included the name of the jurisdiction, the name(s) and/or title(s) of the public official(s) who made the decision to undertake the process, the month and year of the vote and the total dollar amount allocated to winning projects.

³⁴ This report also includes the Clarkston, Georgia, PB process, which held its vote on June 30, 2015, right on the cusp between the 2014–15 and the 2015–16 cycles.

United States

PB Boston (Boston, MA)

City of Boston, Mayor's Youth Council, May 2016 vote, US\$990,000

PB Buffalo (Buffalo, NY)

Masten District, Council Member Ulysses Wingo and Buffalo City Council, March 2016 vote, US\$99,470

PB Cambridge (Cambridge, MA)

City of Cambridge, Mayor David Maher (former) and Cambridge City Council, December 2015 vote, US\$688,000

PB Chicago (Chicago, IL)

10th Ward, Alderwoman Susan Sadlowski Garza, April 2016 vote, US\$985,000

17th Ward, Alderman David Moore, May 2016 vote, US\$70,500

31st Ward, Alderwoman Milly Santiago, April 2016 vote, US\$1,217,000

35th Ward, Alderman Carlos Rosa, May 2016 vote, US\$1,107,611

36th Ward, Alderman Gilbert Villegas, April–May 2016 vote, US\$1,042,000

45th Ward, Alderman John Arena, May 2016 vote, US\$1,014,000

49th Ward, Alderman Joe Moore, April 2016 vote, US\$1,039,330

PB Clarkston (Clarkston, GA)

City of Clarkston, Mayor Ted Terry, June 2015 vote,* US\$10,000

PB Greensboro (Greensboro, NC)

City of Greensboro, Mayor Nancy Vaughan and Greensboro City Council, April 2016 vote, US\$471,000

PB Hartford (Hartford, CT)

City of Hartford, Mayor Pedro Segarra (former) and Hartford City Council, March 2016 vote, US\$837,053

PB Long Beach (Long Beach, CA)

District 9, Council Member Rex Richardson, May 2016 vote, US\$300,000

PB New York City (New York, NY)

District 3, Council Member Corey Johnson, March–April 2016 vote, US\$ 1,075,000

District 5, Council Member Ben Kallos, March–April 2016 vote, US\$850,000

District 6, Council Member Helen Rosenthal, March–April 2016 vote, US\$855,000

District 7, Council Member Mark Levine, March–April 2016 vote, US\$1,020,000

District 8, Council Speaker Melissa Mark-Viverito, March–April 2016 vote, US\$2,326,200

District 10, Council Member Ydanis Rodriguez, March–April 2016 vote, US\$1,100,000

District 11, Council Member Andrew Cohen, March–April 2016 vote, US\$1,100,000

District 15, Council Member Ritchie Torres, March–April 2016 vote, US\$757,000

District 19, Council Member Paul Vallone, March–April 2016 vote, US\$2,250,000

District 21, Council Member Julissa Ferreras, March–April 2016 vote, US\$995,000

District 22, Council Member Costa Constantinides, March–April 2016 vote, US\$1,630,000

District 23, former Council Member Mark Weprin, March–April 2016 vote, US\$1,473,000

District 26, Council Member Jimmy Van Bramer, March–April 2016 vote, US\$2,550,000

District 27, Council Member I. Daneek Miller, March–April 2016 vote, US\$1,714,000

District 29, Council Member Karen Koslowitz, March–April 2016 vote, US\$1,025,000

District 30, Council Member Elizabeth Crowley, March–April 2016 vote, US\$986,000

District 31, Council Member Donovan Richards, March–April 2016 vote, US\$1,200,000 District 35, Council Member Laurie Cumbo, March–April 2016 vote, US\$1,146,500

District 36, Council Member Robert Cornegy, March–April 2016 vote, US\$1,588,000

District 38, Council Member Carlos Menchaca, March–April 2016 vote, US\$1,930,000

District 39, Council Member Brad Lander, March–April 2016 vote, US\$1,564,000

District 40, Council Member Mathieu Eugene, March–April 2016 vote, US\$780,000

District 44, Council Member David Greenfield, March–April 2016 vote, US\$1,200,000

District 45, Council Member Jumaane Williams, March–April 2016 vote, US\$750,000 District 47, Council Member Mark Treyger, March–April 2016, US\$1,100,000

PB San Francisco (San Francisco, CA)

District 7, Supervisor Norman Yee, April 2016 vote, US\$477,300

PB San Juan (San Juan, Puerto Rico)

Rio Piedras neighborhood, Mayor Carmen Yulin Cruz and San Juan Municipal Assembly, December 2015 vote, US\$793,050

PB Seattle Youth (Seattle, WA)

City of Seattle, Mayor Ed Murray and Seattle City Council, May 2016 vote, US\$799,500

PB Vallejo (Vallejo, CA)

City of Vallejo, City Manager's Office and Vallejo City Council, October 2015 vote, US\$955,000

Canada

PB Dieppe (Dieppe, New Brunswick)

City of Dieppe, Mayor Yvon Lapierre and Dieppe City Council, December 2015 vote, CA\$299,000

PB Halifax (Halfiax, Nova Scotia)

District 4, Councillor Lorelei Nicoll, June 2016 vote, CA\$54,100

District 7, Councillor Waye Mason, June 2016 vote, CA\$57,169

District 8, Councillor Jennifer Watts, June 2016 vote, CA\$40,597

PB Hamilton (Hamilton, Ontario)

Ward 1, Councillor Aidan Johnson, May–June 2016 vote, CA\$1,500,000

Ward 2, Councillor Jason Farr, June 2016 vote, CA\$1,000,000

PB Hinton (Hinton, Alberta)

Town of Hinton, Mayor Rob Mackin and Hinton Town Council, December 2015 vote, CA\$100,000

PB Peterborough (Peterborough, Ontario)

City of Peterborough, Mayor Daryl Bennett and Peterborough City Council, June 2016 vote, CA\$98,797

PB Saint-Basile-le-Grand (Saint-Basile-le-Grand, Quebec)

City of Saint-Basile-le-Grand, Mayor Bernard Gagnon and Saint-Basile-le-Grand City Council, October 2015 vote, CA\$180,000

PB Tofino (Tofino, British Columbia)

District of Tofino, Mayor Josie Osborne and District of Tofino Council, April 2016 vote, CA\$24,600

PB Toronto (Toronto, Ontario)

Oakridge Neighborhood, City Manager's Office, Councillor Michelle Holland and Toronto City Council, September 2015 vote, CA\$150,000

Rustic Neighborhood, City Manager's Office, Councillor Frank Di Giorgio and Toronto City Council, September 2015 vote, CA\$150,000

Ward 33, City Manager's Office, Councillor Shelley Carroll and Toronto City Council, September 2015 vote, CA\$135,000

Toronto Community Housing (Toronto, Ontario)

Toronto Community Housing, City of Toronto and Toronto Community Housing, September–October 2015 vote, CA\$ 11,050,003

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More information may be found on www.kettering.org.

For more information about this study, visit: http://www.publicagenda.org/pages/a-process-of-growth

Or contact: research@publicagenda.org, tel: 212.686.6610.