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Field Notes on Deliberative Democracy

Power and Recognition in Participatory Budgeting

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Abstract
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The theory of deliberative democracy suggests that public discourse should be guided by reasonable arguments. In real life, power relations not only obstruct free exchanges of reasons but also shape our understandings and expectations of what it means to provide reasons and to speak with authority. Struggles over power and recognition are necessary parts of deliberation. This thesis asks how groups that are marginalized in public discourse can act to demand recognition in public sphere deliberation.

The thesis draws on work by Pierre Bourdieu to make the argument that actors can use various kinds of capital to advance their interests in public deliberation. Based on research on participatory budgeting in the city of Rosario, Argentina, the thesis demonstrates that statesponsored arenas of deliberation can work as strategic social fields that ground struggles for recognition in new forms of capital. On the basis of "deliberative capital" participants can demand recognition from fellow citizens and political decision-makers. The case study of Rosario's participatory budget demonstrates that participating citizens expected public recognition for their commitment to deliberative values. The study shows, moreover, that local politicians had reasons to respect participants' independence from the government. Participatory budgeting could serve the political purpose of legitimizing the government on the condition that participants were recognized as independent actors who work in the interest of their neighborhoods.

These arguments are presented in three essays, each making distinct contributions to debates on deliberation and inclusion. The first essay makes a theoretical argument for utilizing Bourdieu's concepts of field, investment and capital in theorizing on public deliberation. The second essay provides an empirically grounded argument for thinking of empowerment in terms of deliberative capital. The third essay demonstrates a mechanism of non-cooptation that should be of wider relevance to debates about the merits of deliberative governance projects in urban politics. Taken together, the essays demonstrate that citizens can capitalize on an interest in legitimizing power through deliberation by conditioning their participation.

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Till mamma och pappa

List of Papers

This thesis is based on the following essays:

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Contents

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Introduction

For decades political scientists have feared that we are approaching a crisis of democracy. Not because democracy itself has lost currency in the eyes of citizens. People's belief in democracy as an idea of how to best organize a society has never been stronger. But there are signs that we are losing interest for the collective (Putnam 2000) and that we are increasingly impatient and dissatisfied with the way democracy works in practice (Dalton 2004; Norris 1999). These tendencies have been explained in various ways. Guillermo O'Donnell suggests that it is the fate of democracy to always be in some kind of crisis. "It is constantly redirecting its citizens' gaze from a more or less unsatisfactory present toward a future of still unfulfilled possibilities" (O'Donnell 2007, p. 9). But perhaps an important part is also that despite free elections and universal suffrage we do not feel that we have equal possibilities to influence decision-makers and do not experience ourselves as having equal possibilities to bring concerns to public awareness, but find that some dominate the agenda while others' experiences and concerns are neglected. We are not equal in the public sphere where society's priorities, goals and challenges are discussed.

Whether concerned with the shortcomings of our democratic systems, or uninspired by the repetitions of ordinary politics, or both, political scientists have found a renewed interest for citizens' participation in politics on the local level. Searching for attempts of reinventing democracy, researchers have studied a variety of urban political projects of deliberative democracy (Fung and Wright 2003a; Smith 2009). Participatory budgeting, a model of citizen deliberation in municipal decision-making invented in Porto Alegre, Brazil, has spread to over 1 500 cities around the world and generated a large academic literature focused on understanding its possible impact on democratic life in its various environments. Does it lead to the inclusion of the hitherto marginalized into public sphere deliberation? Can deliberative arenas help deepen democracy by increasing citizens' interest and engagement in political life? Or are these arenas used to boost the political support of the incumbent party at the expense of significant political change and political inclusion? These are some of the important questions of the debates about participatory budgeting and related phenomena of local deliberative democracy. They were the starting point of the research project which will be presented here in the form of three essays.

Participatory budgeting has become a central case for debates about political deliberation, in particular when the debates concern the inclusion of hitherto marginalized groups. It usually attracts large numbers of participants from poorer areas of the cities that implement them. Advocates see participatory budgets as a way of including citizens in decisions of concrete importance to them. Seen from this perspective, they are top-down projects of deliberation. But advocates usually stress the potential of these arenas to strengthen the equality of the public sphere more generally by facilitating experiences and knowledge of importance for further engagement in public deliberation (e.g. Baiocchi 2005; Cornwall and Coelho 2006; Fung and Wright 2003a). The argument centers on the impact they can have for deliberative democracy, the collective exercise of public reason. The significance of participatory budgets, from this perspective, lies in their capacity to facilitate spaces for deliberation that in the longer run level the obstacles for engagement in public discourses on larger political questions.

Whether participatory budgets have such potentials is not a straight-forward empirical question. The theoretical literature on deliberation is not conclusive as to how we should understand discursive marginalization to begin with, and even less with regard to what it would mean to empower the marginalized. Researchers conducting empirical studies on participatory budgets often engage carefully with theoretical work on deliberation (e.g. Baiocchi 2003). But discussions of inclusion need to confront problems that theories of deliberation are not the best-suited to handle. In particular, the literature on deliberation has not provided a satisfactory answer to the question of how those who are marginalized in public discourse can be included on terms that are not rigged to the advantage of the dominant. This thesis aims to contribute towards that end.

Participatory budgets are interesting cases of deliberation because they confront general problems of democratic theory. This thesis examines a case of participatory budgeting in the Argentine city of Rosario. In 2002, following an unprecedented financial and political crisis, the city government launched participatory budgeting as a way of creating a new relationship to the residents, in particular to people living in the city's most marginalized areas. By inviting all residents to participate in making priorities, the government hoped to strengthen its legitimacy in the eyes of citizens. By investigating empirical questions about this case the thesis elaborates an understanding of how citizens can challenge marginalization through participation in deliberation. What interests are at stake for people who, experienced in political marginalization, enter a state-sponsored arena of deliberation? And what is at stake for the government? Are there reasons to think that under certain conditions deliberation might serve the interests of both participants and the government? Or must their interests necessarily conflict over change versus status quo?

These questions are important for understanding the political significance of a project that applies ideas of deliberative decision-making. Deliberation takes place in contexts of electoral competition, legitimacy concerns and socioeconomic inequalities. The question of how it might impact on democratic life needs to be addressed by examining the stakes of deliberation in practice. A general claim of the thesis is that deliberative democrats would gain a better understanding of the democratic potential of state-sponsored arenas of deliberation by considering how these emerge as *social fields*. They are fields constituted by the interests and stakes of participation. They emerge as spaces for demanding recognition, as well as with a political interest in legitimization.

Social field is a term I borrow from Pierre Bourdieu. It refers to a social space in which people are drawn together in pursuit of a source of social recognition. In the field of participatory budgeting, this thesis shows, members expect public recognition through the values and meanings accorded to participation. Fields are strategic in the sense that they can serve collective interests. Grounds for prestige within a field can provide a basis for recognition that benefits the members as a collective, as they engage further in public deliberation. The values and meanings constitutive of deliberation not only motivate participation but also provide a source of public recognition for the practices of the field, what I call "deliberative capital." Deliberative capital is produced within the field of deliberation, through the interactions of individuals that are brought together by an interest in recognition. The value of such deliberative capital for public deliberation lies in advancing the positions of the members of the field in the public sphere. By elaborating elements of a field theory of deliberation, this thesis contributes to discussions of participatory budgets and on practices of inclusion in public sphere deliberation.

The three essays make three distinct contributions to the literature on deliberative democracy. The first essay, "Strategies of Deliberation," makes a theoretical contribution by demonstrating that Bourdieu's concepts of field, investment and symbolic capital can be utilized to understand recognition and conditions for change. The second essay, "Deliberative Capital," shows in practice how a field-theoretical perspective can deepen our understanding of the stakes of deliberation. It offers an empirically grounded argument for thinking of empowerment in terms of *deliberative capital*. Compared to the notion of deliberative "skills," this concept is more sensitive to how norms condition recognition of legitimate speakers. In the third essay, "Reasons of Power," I focus on the political interest in deliberation. I ask under what conditions it is reasonable for political actors not to coopt participants but to respect and appreciate their status as independent from the government. The essay suggests a mechanism of non-cooptation that should be of wider relevance to the discourse on citizen deliberative.

In this introduction I want to position the three essays in a wider discourse on deliberative democracy and the political concerns that motivate research on issues of power and recognition in participatory budgeting. I will also discuss the methodological challenges involved in combining abstract theorizing and empirical fieldwork on deliberation.

In section one of this introduction, I discuss the theoretical argument of the first essay to think of projects of deliberation as fields of deliberation. The section elaborates on why other ideas of how "minipublics" might contribute to change in the larger public sphere are less fruitful. In section two of this introduction, I discuss the methodology of the case study and the empirical arguments made in essays 2 and 3.

I end this introduction with a discussion of how the articles together contribute to our understanding of the terms of inclusion and suggest questions for further research. At best, social theory and political science prove useful for understanding current political challenges and for imagining a way forward. The point of these "field notes" is not primarily to understand marginalization as such, nor is it to tell an intriguing story from an Argentinean city. The main point is to imagine, realistically, how practices of inclusion can change. By ending with some suggestions for further research I hope to indicate how the arguments made in this thesis can be useful, and can be elaborated further, in studies of marginalization and inclusion in other contexts. A field perspective on deliberation can assist both analysis and imagination of how the public sphere can become more equal, more engaging and more effective in legitimizing the ways things are run and ordered in our societies.

I. Deliberative democracy in theory

Deliberative democracy is a vision of an ideal society. In any society discourses shape values and goals and the way we think about collective challenges. Discourses, in the end, also inform political decisions. Deliberative democracy is an ideal world where these discourses are open for participation to all citizens on equal terms. In this ideal world we all take part in what Jürgen Habermas (1989) calls "the public sphere." The public sphere is the discursive arena in which we exchange reasons in order to construct a shared sense of the world. That shared sense is, for deliberative democrats, the ground on which a government can act legitimately in the name of the people subject to its decisions. Unlike some other ideas of political action, deliberation does not aim to accumulate people's individual views. Deliberation is rather a form of collective self-reflection and self-critique in which, ideally, we all join in and contribute (Bohman 1996;

Dryzek 2000; Habermas 1996). A deliberative democrat is someone who believes that this ideal is worth striving for. "According to this position," writes James Bohman, "the legitimacy of decisions must be determined by the critical judgment of free and equal citizens" (1996, p. 2).

Deliberative democrats, like the rest of us, confront the problem that in the real world citizens are not equally able to affect the course of public discourses. The deliberative ideal is in sharp contrast with much of our experiences with real, existing public spheres. One important point of the theory of deliberative democracy is to push us to think and be more explicit about how things could be different. As I discuss in essay 1, it is a different matter to imagine how the ideal of deliberative democracy might be advanced in practice.

The large literature on deliberative democracy includes many different research interests. The theory has influenced research on many different areas of social science, in particular political science. In order for the informed reader to see how this thesis relates to Habermas' theorizing and later developments of deliberative democratic theory, it is perhaps necessary to start with what this thesis is *not* about. It has quite little to do with large parts of the so called "empirical turn" of deliberative democracy (see Elstub 2010). In particular the thesis' questions are quite separate from issues concerning whether the ideal of deliberation democracy is possible to realize in the real world, and even less with measuring the degree to which real events of deliberation approximate the ideal (Karpowitz et al. 2009; Ryfe 2005; Steenbergen et al. 2003). That research derives from the normative theory of deliberation some aspects that can be tested empirically (for reviews and discussions, see Bohman 1998; Habermas 2006; Thompson 2008). It usually treats deliberative democracy as one "model" of democracy that one might pick among several competing alternatives. This view has become dominant enough, in particular in political science, to make it necessary to point out that it is not the only way to think of deliberative democracy and not necessarily the most obvious way to continue the project of earlier deliberative democrats, such as Habermas, Dryzek and Bohman. Instead of thinking of deliberative democracy as an alternative model, we might consider it a vision of how any existing society could become more democratic (Habermas 1996, Dryzek 2000, Bohman 1996). Deliberation – discourse – takes place in any society. The question is how it could become more public – more transparent, more inclusive and more egalitarian.

I share the view of deliberative democrats that consider this to be a concern with how a society is structured as a whole (Parkinson 2006; Parkinson and Mansbridge 2012; Thompson 2008, p. 513-514). Real life moments of deliberation need not perfectly mirror the ideal in order to push us forward in the right direction (Mansbridge et al. 2012). By a minimalistic definition, sufficient for my purposes, an event which involves reason-giving can be called deliberation. Participatory budgeting, for example, usually

allows some room for discussion, and does not limit itself to an aggregation of preferences. But the point is not that it realizes our utopian ideas. This, in any case, would be of little worth to us as long as the larger public sphere remains the same (see also Pateman 2012, p. 10). The aim of this thesis is not, then, to measure how well such existing arenas approximate the ideal of deliberative democracy.

A more related research, yet one that will not be our main concern here either, is the research that asks whether inclusive deliberation might have some positive effects besides equality. Does it really help to talk when we don't seem to understand each other? (Mutz 2006) Do we gain some new knowledge from talking to others? (Mercier and Landemore 2012) Might we even learn about ourselves and our own interests by exchanging views with others? (Niemeyer 2011) Do people think that a decision is fairer if they had a chance to speak their mind about it before it was made? (Persson et al. 2013) These are important questions for empirical research. Many deliberative democrats tend to think that equality, in the sense of equal consideration in public discourses, is something valuable because our experience, as well as the normative theory of deliberative democracy, suggests that the answer to these questions is yes. In this case, empirical research tends to confirm that our intuition is mostly right.

The concern in this thesis is what many deliberative democrats see as the major question: how to get closer to the ideal in which all citizens participate on fair terms in public deliberation. Real, existing public spheres exclude or marginalize large parts of society and this makes public discourses less representative and also undermines their ability to justify the way things are run and ordered so that we get a sense of its legitimacy. The question is what might be done to strengthen the voices of those who do not participate and contribute as much as others in deliberation. That is the question which attracts many researchers to small-scale, "minipublic" deliberation. Might these smaller arenas advance ideals of inclusion and equality by strengthening the voices of the marginalized? Can they, perhaps because their smaller size makes deliberation easier to control, allow marginalized groups to influence important decisions and meanwhile acquire skills useful for further deliberative participation?

Before these questions can be answered we need to be more precise about what problem we want to address. Several contributors to the discourse on deliberation have made the convincing case that exclusion is not only about unequal capacities to voice disagreements and provide reasons. The problem is also that when some of us do voice disagreements and do provide reasons, our contributions are not taken up in the conversation. The norms of public deliberation are not neutral with regard to forms of expression; on the contrary they tend to systematically devalue the contributions of some groups to the benefit of those who are already occupying a position of authority (Olson 2011, Fraser 1990, Bohman 1996, Young 2002). The

consequence is that public deliberation often becomes limited to the deliberation of dominant groups. This is often the case, moreover, with deliberation on the subject of equality and marginalization. Dominant groups set the terms of debate on the basis of their limited and complacent understandings of the results of past deliberation (Bohman 1996, p. 117).

Conceptions of how to democratize the public sphere must acknowledge that the problem of exclusion is partly a problem of norms of deliberation. Otherwise we are idealizing existing public spheres. Now, this is easy in theory. Hardly anyone would suggest that we participate on equal terms in public deliberation in the real world. Some of us find that our views are accepted, and even convince others, even without declaring the reasons, while others, even when they do provide reasons, are ignored (see Hayward 2004 for a review of part the research on this issue). However, even those who acknowledge this explicitly sometimes fail in practice to take the consequences. The result is an implicit idealization of public sphere deliberation. The problem with idealization is that deliberative democrats who do acknowledge the inequalities of the public sphere still propose to level the playing field by empowering the marginalized through exercising their capacities for reason-giving – *as if* merely the skill of providing reasons were already the determinant of success in the public sphere.

The problem of idealizing the public sphere

Participatory budgeting is one example of "minipublics" commonly associated with the empowerment of citizens (Fung 2003). Small deliberative arenas are thought to facilitate experiences of deliberation and strengthen the deliberative capacity of the politically marginalized and prepare them for participation of larger scale (Fung 2003, Fung and Wright 2003a; Bohman 1996). Empirical findings suggest that participatory budgets, in some cases, encourage the formation of civil society groups (Abers 2000; Avritzer 2009; Baiocchi et al. 2008); that participants acquire political knowledge (Lerner and Schugurensky 2007; Talpin 2011); and that some governments have been able and willing to use it as a means of distributing resources to projects that improve living conditions in poor neighborhoods in a way sensitive to local concerns (Wampler 2007). Deliberative democrats' empowerment thesis suggests that people are empowered in deliberation to the extent that they acquire skills of reason-giving, compromising and defending their views, because these are skills assumed to be relevant also in the larger public sphere (Baiocchi 2003; Fung 2003; Fung and Wright 2003b).

The literature on participatory budgets includes many references to their empowering potentials. By exercising people's deliberative capacities, participatory budgets are thought to prepare them for participation in other arenas of public deliberation. This is an important argument. Unless they

have impacts on wider political structures, these arenas might become sites of contained deliberation rather than empowerment (Rodgers 2012). Drawing on Habermas' concept of the public sphere, scholars have argued that participatory budgets "have the potential to foster the participation of unlikely candidates in the public sphere" (Baiocchi 2003, p. 69). They do this by mirroring the ideal of "open-ended and public-spirited communication" (Baiocchi 2003, p. 55). They are thought to foster skills required for participation in public sphere discourses of larger political relevance that already are, assumingly, "public-spirted" (see also Fung, 2003, p. 350; Fung and Wright, 2003, p. 28-29).

Not all researchers in this field make such strong assertions about the skills that participants acquire. In particular, not all derive the relevant skills from ideal deliberative theory. For example, Brian Wampler is less precise about what skills might be relevant here. What matters is how participatory budgeting incorporates an effect on political voice that is of wider importance, "that participants carry new information and newly learned deliberative skills into other policymaking venues" (Wampler 2012). This more pragmatic claim suggests that engaging in political deliberation should be of some relevance to further engagement (see also Schugurensky 2013; Talpin 2011). The claim is open to various ideas about what more precisely would be the relevant kinds of skills. But it does not answer the question why the skills acquired in one setting should be relevant in another, or why they would help to alter patterns of domination.

Whether and how participatory budgets empower participants are not simply empirical questions. We could disagree on what it should, in principle, mean to empower. That question is a matter of understanding, imagining and theorizing. Empowerment – or call it inclusion – does not present itself to us without the mediation of theory. We might observe that participants acquire knowledge or hear them say that they believe their capacities to present an argument has improved. But these observations themselves do not tell us how they matter. Theory helps us imagine how they might be important. It also helps us pose questions and further explore features and aspects that without theory would have little meaning to us.

Take Carole Pateman's theory of participatory democracy (1970). The theory includes the empirically verifiable claim that participation in smaller scale, and on decisions that are of clear significance (such as at one's workplace) will increase one's efficacy and encourage participation of larger, perhaps national, scale (tested in Adman 2008). Another part of the theory suggests that increased participation matter for the sustainability of the democratic system. Participation makes better citizens – more responsible and more participative – which according to Pateman's theory is what democracy requires. Through "the development of the social and political capacities of each individual … there is 'feedback' from output to input" (1970, p. 43). One reason why it is interesting to ask whether

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participation, for example at workplaces, increases political efficacy is thus that *theory* tells us that in the end this will strengthen the democratic system.

Let us return to the theory of deliberation. As mentioned, this theory suggests that the skills that *should* be required in the public sphere are skills of reason-giving. This, however, does not justify the expectation that such skills *will* yield success in public deliberation. The only thing that could justify such an expectation would be if the public sphere was already guided by the "forceless force of the better argument" (Habermas 1975, p. 108). In essay 1 I contend that researchers interested in the empowerment of the marginalized would benefit from a different kind of theory in order to understand better how to advance that ideal in real public spheres. I do not claim that the skills that people might learn through participation are useless for defending their interests in the public sphere. I claim, however, that they do not necessarily affect structural inequalities that render some of us less capable of gaining respect and recognition in the first place. The problem is that this view, even as it starts from the recognition of inequality in public deliberation, idealizes the public sphere at the same time. It assumes that people will be able to participate effectively if only they acquire the right skills.

This kind of idealization has been rejected in other contexts by theorists of deliberation (Bohman 1996; Fraser 1990; Kohn 2000; Olson 2011; Sanders 1997; Young 2002). It suggests an uncritical view to the norms of deliberation that constitute reasonableness. As Jane Mansbridge points out the language used in public deliberation often masks subtle forms of power. It favors certain ways of seeing things. Under conditions of unequal power relations, "Subordinate groups sometimes cannot find the right voice or words to express their thoughts, and when they do, they discover that they are not heard" (Mansbridge 1998, p. 143). The problem is not simply that the ideal is difficult to realize. It is also that seeing real deliberation through that prism can reinforce the privilege of some speech styles that are more easily seen as "neutral" and "reasonable" as in contrast to particular and dependent on culture and position. As Iris Marion Young has argued, in societies with longstanding and multiple structural inequalities, these are justified, or rather normalized, not through critical deliberation, but through assumptions that are prior to deliberation and which constitute the terms of deliberation. The ways we handle the very issues of marginalization "is deeply influenced by premises and terms that make it difficult to think critically about aspects of … social relations or alternative possibilities of institutionalization and action" (Young 2001, p. 685-686). The norm, for example, to speak and assess reasons from an independent position, constitutive of the public sphere in Habermas' account (1989), reflected, as several critics have pointed out, a self-perception of economically independent men deliberating over the challenges of the nation (see Fraser 1990). This does not necessarily make the norm wrong, from a perspective of normative theorizing, but it

does affect its claim to neutrality. Unless citizens are economically equal, they will have different access to the legitimate ways of speaking.

Not everything that *could* be understood as "reason" will be recognized as such, and not every person who *could* be understood as a competent speaker will be so. Norms distinguish reasons from non-reasons. There is nothing wrong with norms of reason by themselves, but they do call for some attention when we say that people should learn to reason – according to which norms?

This suggests only that we need to be more careful when speaking of "reasons" and "reason-giving." What it implies for how we might envision change is not obvious, however. It could mean, for example, that we should be more open to different forms of reason. In minipublic deliberation, in particular, the development of alternative norms might be seen as subversive and empowering. Critique of practices of exclusion may proceed through a rejection of dominant norms, and the insistence on alternative standards of good reasoning. Nancy Fraser suggests that "subaltern counterpublics" would serve this purpose as "parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs" (Fraser 1990, p. 67). They perform two functions at once, creating space for withdrawal from the dominant public sphere where they are marginalized, and providing "training grounds" for discursive activism (p. 68; see also Olson 2011). Young (2001) similarly imagines activist contestation, in contrast to deliberation under given terms, to challenge the norms of exclusion through expressions of critique that contradict dominant expectations of reason-giving. However, the problem is that there is no certainty that alternative ways of reasoning will be effective in the larger public sphere. As I argue in essay 1 (p. 7), there is at least something missing in the argument that the marginalized would benefit from a separate sphere of deliberation in which the norms are less demanding or less biased against them. What justifies the expectation that the norms of the larger public sphere will change while, or because, the marginalized engage in subversive actions on the outside? We might well agree that stratified and multicultural societies would benefit from a plurality of public spheres, but still wonder whether an avant-gardist approach to reason might not, contrary to what this line of reasoning implies, undermine the potential of these fora to bring marginalized voices to bear on discourses of the dominant.

That norms of deliberation are contingent upon existing relations of power might mean, on the contrary, that we need to be *more* specific when operationalizing the relevant kind of "deliberative skills" that participants in minipublics need to acquire. This is the implication of Knight and Johnson's argument for a more fine-grained understanding of predictors of success in the public sphere, suggesting that the relevant deliberative competence

involves both a basic "cognitive capacity" and a more practical capacity to apply "the language and concepts of the dominant groups" for one's own purposes (Knight and Johnson 2002, p. 299). This suggests that the marginalized should learn the *dominant* ways of expressing oneself. Whether or not "skills" and "competence" are the appropriate terms, participants will have to adapt to a social world in which some forms of expression are *perceived* as skills and competence. Learning to adapt to these ways of expression should, on this view, be more useful to the marginalized than pretending that anything goes or insisting that anything *should* go.

However, there are several reasons to think that this conception of deliberative skills is not helpful either. I discuss them in essay 2 of this thesis. Here I want to elaborate on them briefly in order to show that the problem of idealization is not simply one of operationalizing what we mean by "capacity" and "skill." I hope that it will also help the reader appreciate the fact that essay 2 does not recommend another operationalization of "capacity" and "skill." Instead it recommends that we focus on the meanings and values that underlie practices of deliberation.

One reason is that the idea of teaching dominant skills contradicts the values usually associated with deliberation. Deliberative democracy bases its legitimacy on the inclusion of all citizens in discourses that shape our ways of identifying and defining collective values, goals, problems and solutions. Deliberative democrats claim that this is a desirable way of legitimizing the social order and political decisions because decisions can be better informed and more egalitarian (Mansbridge et al. 2012). The extent to which these values are realized depends in part on the terms of inclusion (Habermas 1996, p. 362). It is not only a matter of formal opportunity, but also about the uptake of different perspectives, views and ways of expression. Exclusion undermines the egalitarian value by privileging the experiences and life-worlds of some over those of others (Habermas 1996; Sanders 1997; Young 2002). It also skews deliberation in favor of conventional wisdom at the expense of polemics and so undermines its epistemic value (Bohman 2007; Habermas 1996, p. 362). Our standards of good reasons, which are the results of past deliberation, will not be subject to critical testing by confronting different views. In other words, this conception of deliberative capacity includes in its definition, and in the prerequisites of participation, what could legitimately be a subject for deliberation (Peter 2007, p. 383).

Deliberation needs the inclusion of groups who do *not* adapt to dominant perspectives and ways of expression (see Bohman 1996, chapter 3). This is one reason to reject the idea to teach dominant skills for the purpose of inclusion. In addition, there are reasons of a more sociological type. The argument for teaching dominant skills is based on the assumption that people can re-learn their ways of expression to suit those who are in a position to credit them with success. Clarissa Hayward (2004) has shown that this is a questionable assumption. She draws both on Bourdieu's theory of practice

and on empirical research to show that forms of expression co-vary systematically with social background and status. She further supports empirically the claim that even subtle differences in gestures, tone and other features both mark social belonging and cause people to evaluate the contributions of speakers differently. Such evaluations are often unreflective; it often appears to us that we simply know a competent speaker when we hear one. If this is true, how easily do we make this tacit knowledge explicit in order to learn to act differently, or criticize patterns of acting that we find undesirable? (Hayward 2004, p. 17) In some regards we do this more easily, and social practices change partly because we find them problematic (Bohman 1997). Much of our patterns of acting and speaking are, however, the product of early socialization and not easily made accessible as explicit rules that we can chose freely to follow or not.

Some deliberative democrats consider this obstacle to be overstated. Perhaps we have significantly greater self-reflexive capacities than what is suggested by Bourdieu's observations and theorizing or research on evaluations of speakers' competences (see Bohman 1997). But there is at least one additional reason to think that this project of re-learning is badly conceived, even if we think that people are able to reflect on their social constraints and act upon them when reasonable. It is questionable whether it is *socially* reasonable to challenge the norms of deliberation. In the case of dominant groups, the norms may not appear so bad. The norms serve to maintain their positions of privilege. For those who are marginalized, it might be likewise rational to keep to one's place. Bourdieu provides one explanation for why this would be the case. His concept of social field suggests we know what is suitable for someone "like me." This mechanism is sometimes reduced to "situated possibility" – not to wish for the impossible (Zipin et al. 2013). But part of it is also that we often have social reasons to confirm the meanings and identities of our social environment in order to maintain our relative positions in a social field, even when we know that their values are not widely recognized outside it (Bourdieu 1998, p. 77; see also Bourdieu 1984). We invest in ways of distinction, whatever social region we belong to. The question of re-learning is not simply answered through a battle between rational self-reflection and non-reflective practice; the "inability" to act upon and change patterns of social action can be accounted for in rational terms (see e.g. Bourdieu 1977, p. 214 n. 2).

Each of these arguments should raise skepticism of the proposal to teach the marginalized the "skills" of the dominant. If we accept all of them, even with some qualification, the strategy to base inclusion on the acquisition of dominant deliberative skills appears deeply problematic on democratic grounds. It suggests that we invite marginalized groups to participate while at the same time legitimizing their prior exclusion. In any case, it is unlikely to work without extinguishing differences that deliberative democrats find valuable. Now, these counter-arguments do not deny that in many societies

people frequently move up the social ladders precisely by learning to speak and act in manners sanctioned in the more influential social spheres. The extent to which the strategy of teaching dominant skills will be a fruitful way of empowerment will in practice depend on the degree to which standards of good manners and good reasoning are strict and exclusive. It will depend on how narrow the conceptions of reasoning are. What the argument is meant to say is that in most societies, still, it seems necessary to ask how groups can be included not by devaluing their own experiences and ways of being but by demanding that these are respected too.

A related question is how we imagine that people in more privileged positions might in practice facilitate a deliberative experience involving marginalized groups. In essay 1 (p. 6), I find the idea of remedying deliberative inequalities lacking a critical reflection on the position of the actor supposed to carry out this task. In essay 3, I focus specifically on the interests of political actors who initiate citizen deliberation. Again, previous accounts involve a tendency of idealization. Political support for projects of citizen deliberation is commonly explained by "political will" and progressive ideology (See Fung's review of research on participatory budgets, 2011). Researchers have been less inclined to account for the political conditions that render it possible and rational for political elites to initiate processes of deliberation. As Archon Fung comments: "While it is easy to believe that participatory reform is unlikely without deep, even intrinsic, commitment from political agents, that commitment is easily curbed or reversed by political competition, performance imperatives, and structural constraints" (2011, p. 861). The emergence of arenas of deliberation is not well explained, and neither are the conditions that might render these arenas capable of contributing to political change. In the past, social movement scholars warned against close cooperation with government representatives (Meyer and Tarrow 1998). Public sphere deliberation, moreover, was thought to require a critical distance to the spheres of political power (J. L. Cohen and Arato 1994; Habermas 1996). That view has, however, been found too restrictive with regard to the possibilities of altering structures of exclusion through deliberative politics (Fraser 1990), especially for students of state-sponsored arenas of deliberation (see Baiocchi 2003). But these arenas often become little more than consultative citizen panels or legitimization devices that make social activists part of the government that they might otherwise press towards political change (de Souza 2006; Pateman 2012; Wampler 2007). The conditions that favor participants' independence even as they collaborate with governments are not well understood. We need a theory focused on the interests in deliberation, for the participants and for government representatives in order to understand how politics of deliberation can contribute to change rather than incorporating new elements into structures supporting status quo.

Field Theory

This thesis draws on works of social theory, in particular by Bourdieu, to develop a field perspective on deliberation. This is not the first time Bourdieu's theorizing makes its way into the debates on deliberative democracy. But with few exceptions previous discussions of the relevance of his works to deliberative democracy have found them to oppose rather than to help theorizing on deliberation (Bohman 1997; Hayward 2004). Bourdieu applied his theory primarily to study the dominant fields of cultural elites. Generally, Bourdieu's theorizing is seen as a useful perspective on how power relations are reproduced through unreflective practices. However, it was through the same concepts that he sought to understand social change, in particular the emergence of new and rival elitist fields (e.g. Bourdieu 1996a). In contrast to the common view that Bourdieu's perspective is static and incompatible with deliberative democratic theory, David Ryfe sees Bourdieu's works as offering "thinking tools" for studies of deliberation, and poses some important questions from this perspective. How might deliberation "become an independent social practice" with some "degree of autonomy from the political field?" Might deliberation form fields of their own, with their own forms of capital? (Ryfe 2007, p. 23-24). These are questions that can be further explored. In essay 1, I argue that we can understand the conditions of inclusion better by understanding deliberative projects as emergent fields of deliberation.

For the purpose of analyzing deliberation, the central Bourdieusian concepts are *fields, investment* and *symbolic capital*. Fields, first, are spheres of social practices constituted by meanings, values and interests particular to the field's members. A field is constituted by its particular social games, games in which members of the field *invest*. The values and meanings of any particular field give members a sense of place, of recognition and expectations of being "credited" as members of the field by the outside world. People invest in markers of prestige and distinction recognized in their field – expressions, behaviors and attributes. Such sources of prestige become *symbolic capital* when "perceived and recognized as legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 17). Thus any kind of capital (cultural, economic, political etc.) has the potential symbolic effect of advancing its possessor's position through its social acceptance as a ground for recognition.

For Bourdieu, the concept of symbolic capital performed several functions. It helped show that motivations of social action are not limited to economic utility, as in economic theories. Economic capital is one source of prestige, one form of symbolic capital, which can in principle be rejected by the members of a social field, as demonstrated by his research on fields of cultural production (1996a). Any form of symbolic capital is produced through acts of recognition. It is "both the instrument and the stakes of collective strategies seeking to conserve or increase it as well as individual

strategies seeking to acquire or conserve it, by joining groups which possess it" (1998, p. 104). Because not all forms of symbolic capital are equally valued in the larger society, fields are in constant competition over relative worth, the currency of capitals. Fields of cultural elites, entrepreneurs, politicians and academics struggle over the privilege of possessing the highest valued form of symbolic capital, and those who lack access to the dominant forms of capital will find it more difficult to gain entrance to the fields of political power.

Much of the work informed by this perspective of the social world, including Bourdieu's, focuses on the way power relations are stabilized through subtle forms of distinction, formal merits and social background (Bourdieu 1984, 1996b). The concepts of field, investment and symbolic capital were instrumental for showing how social structures are reproduced through practices of distinction. The political implication is that practices that are often regarded as innocent, and belonging to the private sphere, have significant political consequences.

But by the same logic, practices that contradict the patterns of distinction, by suggesting a different source of recognition than the dominant, can interrupt the cycle of reproduction. This is, as I point out in essay 1, an important part of Bourdieu's account of the emergence of the field of cultural production in France. Artists, authors and other actors in the artistic fields challenged the rule of money precisely by rejecting commercial success as a source of prestige. Instead they emphasized that art had a value of its own ("art for art's sake"). Few field-theoretical analyses have followed this line of reasoning in order to explain change instead of reproduction. They have seldom focused on what Fligstein and McAdam (2012) call *emergent* fields, that is, fields in the making, whose practices produce new forms of distinction and prestige.

Emergent fields are imperfect fields in the sense that their constitutive practices and meanings are struggled over rather than agreed on. They are spheres of interaction between different groups with their respective social backgrounds and social investments. Often emerging when established fields are insufficient for the strategic intents of actors who pursue their interests, emergent fields become spaces where groups seek to fashion and stabilize forms of interaction (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, p. 92). Their potential to alter power structures lies in their producing and defending new types of symbolic capital.

As I argue in essay 1, there is a point in starting from Bourdieu's position to develop *realistic* arguments about the transformative potential of deliberation, that is, arguments that are attentive to how power relations form the conditions of deliberation. I argue that field theory provides a different idea of how practices of deliberation matter for the possibility of change. It offers a way to incorporate interests and power in theorizing on the advancement of the deliberative ideal. It is not by accepting and adjusting to

dominant expectations that one alters practices of exclusion. Neither is it simply by refusing to adjust, insisting on alternative standards of deliberation. What this theory tells us, rather, is that it is by embodying the higher values of one's social field that one can expect and demand recognition on terms different from the dominant.

This thesis shows how a field-theoretical perspective can be utilized to understand the democratic potential of emergent, deliberative fields inhabited by groups that are marginalized in public sphere deliberation. That potential, I will show, depends in part on how the values of a field of deliberation resonate with the interests of actors within the field of politics. In the following section I will discuss how the case study of Rosario's participatory budget demonstrates two important conditions for deliberative practices to have such a potential for challenging practices of exclusion: the creation of what I call "deliberative capital" and the political elites' interest in maintaining an independent field for citizen deliberation.

II. Deliberative democracy in practice

The case study presented in essays 2 and 3 had the overall aim to explore issues of power and inclusion in participatory budgeting. I wanted, first, to investigate what is at stake for participants, and, second, how to understand citizen deliberation in terms of political interest. Each of the essays discusses the methods used to investigate the respective questions. Here I will add to these discussions some elaboration as to why the case of Rosario's participatory budget is of relevance to wider themes of deliberative democracy, why surveys, interviews and participatory observation were appropriate methods to explore issues of power and inclusions in participatory budgeting, and how I dealt with problems encountered in the research process.

The case of Rosario's participatory budget

I was drawn to the literature on participatory budgeting by its claims about empowerment through deliberation. Rosario's participatory budget was mentioned in that literature as a positive example (Cabannes 2004; Ford 2008; Lerner and Schugurensky 2007). But it was less studied than, for example, the Brazilian cases, in particular Porto Alegre. I picked this case because it seemed interesting for exploring broader questions of inclusion and deliberation.

Rosario's participatory budget follows an annual cycle of preparatory meetings, deliberation on proposals and selection of projects for implementation. The cycle starts in spring with open meetings in which the municipality invites via public campaigns residents from all areas of the city

to participate. Thousands of people come to discuss the concerns of their neighborhoods and possible ways to deal with them. A few hundred of the participants sign up to be "councilors." In the case where the number of candidates is larger than the seats of councilors in a district, participants decide by voting. The task of the councilors will be to gather once a week at their district center for a period of eight months to develop concrete proposals for projects to benefit their areas. After processes of evaluation at the various municipal departments and further discussion meetings with councilors a final list of projects is presented to the residents at the end of the year. The residents decide which projects are to be implemented by casting their votes on the proposals they find most valuable for their district.

A first fieldtrip to Rosario in April-May 2011 served to make up my mind on whether its participatory budgeting was an interesting case of deliberation. The question was not so much about whether deliberation takes place, but whether this case would be relevant for engaging the wider literature on state-sponsored citizen deliberation on the question of inclusion. It was also a matter of practical issues: would I be allowed to observe meetings, would I be able to interview participants and would politicians and employees at the municipality agree to be interviewed? Practical issues such as these did not pose any significant problems. Moreover, Rosario's participatory budget appeared to me to be precisely the kind of "success story" that demanded critical examination. During this first field trip I followed three meetings in three different parts of the city and spoke to participants afterwards. I also interviewed three leading members of the Socialist Party and five employees at the municipality, as well as a researcher at the city's university who had conducted his own study of the process (Ford 2008). Evaluations of the process were in general very positive, and in particular several interviewees – politicians, municipal employees and participants – stressed the importance of the process for people living in the marginalized parts of the city.

Previous research had found that Rosario's participatory budget facilitated a process in which participants acquired new skills that they found valuable (Lerner and Schugurensky 2007), and changed their self-perceptions and views of social and political engagement with significant impacts on the city's associational life (Ford 2008, 2010). My own preliminary findings from the first trip suggested that there was a quite shared sense among the central actors that participatory budgeting was about empowerment. But politics is seldom this simple. It involves conflicts of interests, power relations, differences of understanding, and struggle. I wanted to know what was at stake in participatory budgeting. My sense was that this would be of relevance for discourses on empowerment through deliberation more generally.

Methods and data

Fieldwork was done in Rosario during two periods, from April to May 2011 and August to December 2012. The choice of time periods allowed me to observe the beginning of the process the first year and speak to newly elected councilors as well as follow their work during the last months of meetings the second year. Three types of data are used in the study: surveys, interviews and notes from participatory observation. I combined these sources of data because each on its own is insufficient to capture the meanings and importance of deliberative practices. Together they give a fuller sense of the stakes involved.

Surveys

The surveys give a general, yet somewhat superficial, picture of participants' motivations and views of participatory budgeting. The surveys were helpful to get a general picture of the people who come to participate and how those who do so evaluate the process. Are they generally positive or negative? Are there significant differences between participants? And how do they experience participatory budgeting in this case compared to participants in other contexts? In what way might a person who participates differ from an average citizen (see table 1 below). For comparison I used questions from a national survey. I also used questions similar to those asked in other studies of participatory budgeting (Baiocchi 2005; Wampler 2007). When possible, in order to serve these purposes, I formulated questions in a way that corresponded to established political science practice more generally (e.g. Reef et al. 1993). The exact wording in Spanish was discussed with native Spanish speakers.

Surveys on councilors' backgrounds, expectations of participation and political views were completed by councilors in each district at the beginning of the process in 2011. At the end of the process of 2012 a second survey was completed asking mainly the same questions but also including questions about the experience of the process. The surveys showed that participants often have prior experiences of social activism. A common background is membership in a neighborhood association. Moreover, councilors hold several of the attitudes associated with the "civic citizen," including commitment to associations and collective efforts, as well as high opinions of their own capacities for understanding politics (see table 1).

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Table 1. Characteristics and attitudes of PB councilors compared to national average

	PB councilors	National average
Participates in association every week	61 % (127)	13 % (1500)
Interested in politics	68 % (126)	35 % (1479)
Agree that democracy is the best form of government	92 % (126)	85 % (1475)
Good understanding of political issues (self-perception)	76 % (126)	38 % (1472)

Source: PB Survey 2011 (PB councilors) and the Latin American Public Opinion Project (national average).[1]

These findings are similar to those of case studies of participatory budgets in Brazil (Baiocchi 2005; Wampler 2007). Participatory budgeting attracts more participants in the poorer parts of the city. From a larger perspective these participants are, as Gianpaolo Baiocchi puts it, "unlikely candidates in the public sphere" (Baiocchi 2003, p. 69). At the same time, however, those who come to take part in participatory budgets in the more marginalized areas are not randomly selected; on the contrary, within the larger groups of residents from these areas they are usually among the most active in associations, for example. They are not the passive and alienated people who are often imagined to be in need of empowerment (see Nylen 2002). In Rosario, the level of education among councilors is generally slightly higher than the national average, although there are significant differences between districts.[2]

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[1] 128 councilors participated in survey. The number of respondents on each item is indicated within parenthesis. Scales from 0 to 10 were used in the survey (see appendix). These were recoded dichotomously to generate the numbers presented in the table. 6-10 were coded as "yes." The national averages are calculated on the basis of data provided in The AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), www.LapopSurveys.org. I have used data on Argentinean respondents in the survey of 2012. For the last three items in the table, the LAPOP survey uses scales from 1 to 7 (from completely disagree to completely agree). The table shows the percentage of respondents giving the value of 5 or higher.

[2] A third of the respondents to the surveys said they had not obtained a high school diploma. This can be compared to 44 percent of all Argentineans who according to The UN Human Development Report 2014 had not finished secondary education. There are important differences between different districts of Rosario, however. For example, almost half of the respondents in the Western district had only completed primary education, compared to between 0 to 10 percent in the Center district (the difference between responses in the two different surveys).

The question is whether participatory budgets can affect the power relations that exclude citizens, active or non-active in civil society associations, from important policy-making venues and public deliberation generally. Surveys (2012) showed that participants generally think that participatory budgeting deals with important issues and contributes to significant changes. They also think that it functions democratically and experience that their views are seriously considered (see figure 1 below). 18 percent of respondents suggest that the participatory budget could not function more democratically, giving it the highest value on the democracy item. These views, I argue, should not be taken as an objective measure of how democratic the participatory budget is, nor of how inclusive it is; the result is clearly suspect of selection bias since the respondents in the second survey are those who did continue to participate, whereas the views of those who did not are not included. But it does suggest, along with interview results and participatory observations, a sense that is quite widely shared among councilors in the participatory budget. It is often conceived as an extraordinary arena for citizen engagement because it functions differently from other spheres of society. Supporting this claim, there were no noteworthy differences between men and women in their answers to these survey questions. Women, who make up 55 percent of respondents (and 60 percent of councilors in 2012, according to official numbers), felt, for example, to the same extent as did men that other councilors listened to them. Moreover, the less educated (less than finished high school), responded similarly to the more educated, except when asked whether the issues discussed in participatory budgeting were important and whether they had contributed to important changes through participation. In these regards they were slightly more positive.[3] Overall, councilors are slightly more optimistic than people in general about the possibility of making political leaders listen to people's demands. They also consider themselves to have better opportunities than other people around them to make politicians listen.[4]

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[3] The mean value given on these items by the less educated were 8 and 7,5, compared to 6,6 on both items for the more educated.

[4] Responses were compared in the same way as in table 1, on items measuring both the respondents sense of personal capacity ("internal political efficacy") and perceptions of political leaders ("external political efficacy").

Figure 1. Councilors' evaluations of the participatory budget (PB) process.
Councilors were asked to what degree they agree on a scale from 0 (completely
disagree) to 10 (completely agree), that PB functions democratically, that other
councilors have listened to their views, that they have been able to influence
decisions, that the issues were important, and that they, through participation,
have contributed to important changes. The boxplot shows the ranges of
responses (horizontal lines), means (vertical lines within boxes), interquartile
range (IQR; boxes) and outliers (3 x IQR; dots).
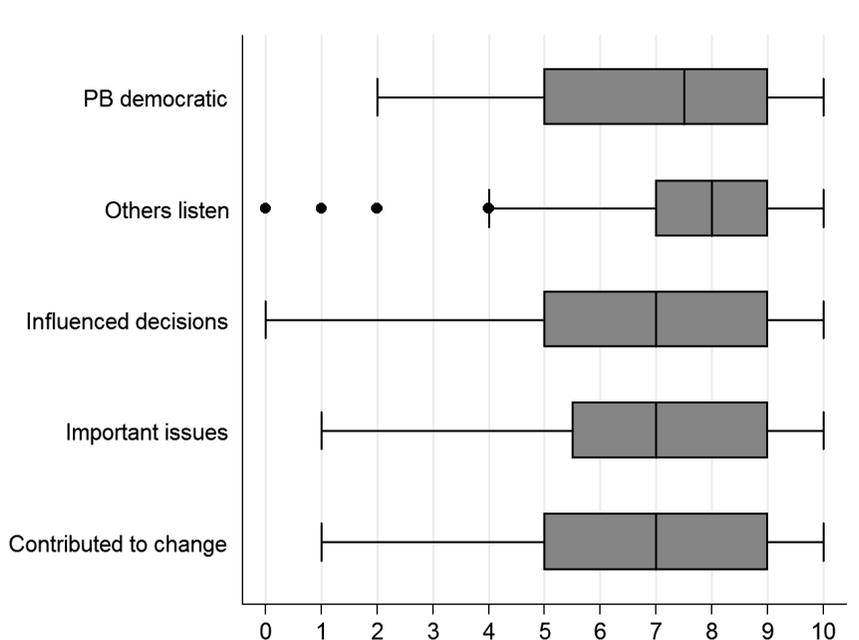
Source: Second PB Survey 2012 (PB councilors). 86 councilors participated in the
survey. The number of missing values varied between two and nine.

Interviews and observations

The analyses of the study draw most importantly from 32 interviews with
councilors and 27 interviews with local politicians and employees of the
municipality. Interviews provided the most important basis to interpret the
meanings, values and stakes of participation. Interviews with politicians
include leaders of the Socialist Party as well as opposition parties, people
who were directly involved in the decisions of creating the participatory
budget in 2002 as well as people who had important positions at the time of
the interviews. These interviews inform my interpretation of the initial
rationale for creating a participatory budget as well as how the political
interest in it has evolved over the years. Interviews with employees of the

municipality include secretaries in charge of different municipal departments, members of the central coordination team for participatory budgeting, and people working at the district centers who are in charge of the meetings of the deliberative councils. These interviews were important for understanding how the meanings and values of participatory budgeting are understood by those who are most directly involved in its implementation.

The interviews were structured by using an interview guide, including questions and themes I wanted to cover. Interviews with politicians included questions about the background of participatory budgeting, its initial purpose, and the values it serves according to the interviewee. They also included questions about the problems and critiques of the process. For interviews with municipal employees working with participatory budgeting I asked, in addition, questions about the role of the interviewee, his or her experiences as well as problems and causes of frustration in the process and, conversely, what made it meaningful and rewarding. I also asked about the interviewee's views of the participants, their motivations and what made participation meaningful for them.

For interviews with councilors the guide included questions about the interviewees' backgrounds, other experiences with participation in politics and associations. I asked about the challenges and values of participation and their ways of making the most of the experience. I also included questions of equality – did all participants have the same opportunity to make themselves heard? Did all contribute equally? Furthermore, I asked what the interviewee saw as the point of participating as well as whether other participants seemed to share the same view and if the interviewee had the sense that they were working for a shared interest.

The interview guides were successively updated during the research process. Some questions seemed less relevant to pursue and others were added after reflecting on the stories told by previous interviewees. I sought to ask questions in an open-ended way in order to allow the interviewee to speak comfortably and personally about the experience with participatory budgeting. I made sure to cover the issues of the guide, but generally chose to focus on themes that seemed important for the interviewee, while remaining within the themes of the thesis.

All but two interviews were done in Spanish. During most of the research process the assistant that accompanied me during interviews translated the response to each question. Later on in the process, when my own Spanish had improved, translations were made more selectively. All interviews were recorded and analyzed at several listening sessions. In most cases this procedure was sufficient for analyzing the interviews and taking down illustrative quotes to be used in the essays. In addition, 12 interviews with participants were transcribed in full in order to examine them along with recordings. The transcriptions were made by hired transcribers that were

fluent in Spanish. The choice to transcribe some interviews and not others was made partly for practical reasons. Transcriptions are time-consuming and can often be unproductive if they are not in full of specific interest (for a discussion, see Gustavsson 2007, p. 99; Yow 2005, p. 324). Interviews with politicians, for example, often included long statements and digressions that were of little relevance to the research questions. Interviews with participants often included far more details that were important for understanding the meaning of participation. When listening and reading the interviews I had access to my assistants' translations and could also discuss particular quotes when their meanings were not obvious to me.

Participatory observation was made at 21 budget meetings. These include meetings at each of the city's six districts but were especially focused on the Western district. This choice was due to the district's particular importance for the research questions. The district is arguably the most marginalized part of the city, with a large population in poverty, high rates of regular unemployment, deficient infrastructure (supply of drinking water, paved roads, condition of housing buildings and access to health centers; see Martinez 2009), and social problems such as drug abuse and criminality. As in other urban peripheries, the area's residents suffer the additional structural violence of stigmatization (compare Auyero 1999). The Western district is also the part of the city that has the highest levels of participation in the participatory budget (Rosario 2009). My experience from observing meetings at the different areas of the city is that meetings in this district are more engaging than in other districts, in particular the more affluent districts. Discussions are more intense and frequently go beyond the agenda of developing concrete projects to include also discussions about the way the participatory budget works and should work. Meetings last considerably longer compared, for example, to the wealthy Center district. Hence, the meetings in the Western district offered good opportunities for studying deliberation among the city's marginalized. In addition, I made several observations and interviews in other districts to get a more general picture of participatory budgeting and the ways practices differ depending on the context.

Observation was done in collaboration with the several people who acted as my assistants during meetings. Each of these persons was living in Rosario and was either a native Argentinean Spanish speaker or had acquired sufficient language skills by living in the city for many years. This collaboration was useful in several ways. First, I am not a native Spanish speaker myself. I acquired most of my knowledge and practice in Spanish during my stays in Rosario. My level of Spanish eventually improved sufficiently for doing a few interviews on my own and reading transcripts in Spanish. But it was most often not sufficient to follow the details of discussions and debates at the budget meetings. Assistants acted as interpreters, most actively at the beginning of fieldwork and more selectively

later on. Second, assistants made their own notes at meetings. These significantly complemented my own, often with more careful details of statements. Third, discussing the content of meetings and its meanings with my assistants greatly helped my understanding and allowed me to test my own preliminary findings on persons who had been on site.

I do not quote extensively from meetings because the interviews provided material of more concrete relevance to the research questions. Interviews helped get a better sense of how participation mattered to the participants. But observations were important for understanding the process and for generating questions to ask during interviews. I frequently brought up, for example, the moments where it seemed that participants had strong disagreements or when something had happened that I believed might contradict what an interviewee had told me. For example, many councilors claim that participatory budgeting has nothing to do with party politics. During a couple of interviews I brought up moments in which the interviewee had been engaged in debates where party sympathies seemed relevant. This gave the interviewee the opportunity to give his or her view of what had happened and how it mattered. Participating at the meetings also allowed me to have more casual conversations with councilors without a recorder and interview guides. These often took place while waiting for a meeting to start, or after meetings, outside the assembly rooms or at the bus stop.

Studying social meanings

The focus of the two empirical essays is the social meanings of participation for those who take the roles of councilors as well as for representatives of the government. By social meanings I refer to the meanings that underlie social practices, something close to Charles Taylor's concept "social imaginary":

> …something much broader and deeper than the intellectual schemes people may entertain when they think about social reality in a disengaged mode. I am thinking, rather, of the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations (Taylor 2004, p. 23).

The focus here is how such notions and expectations make participatory budgeting meaningful. If there is a potential for deliberative politics to contribute to change, then that potential can hardly be separated from the meanings of participation. In articles 2 and 3, I argue that the meanings in fact are more important than previously imagined in the scholarly discourse

on deliberation. Practices of deliberation carry social meanings, which make up much of their potential to contribute to political change.

The focus of my fieldwork is on what participatory budgeting means to participants and what it can mean for those whose job is to organize it, and for politicians seeking to benefit from it politically. Some readers may find the articles lacking a strong account of actual impacts and objective measures of success. But measures of actual impacts rest, like the arguments of these essays, on theory. We know the significance of observations through theory. In this case, field theory tells us that meanings matter in the long run. They are in this sense objectively important for the structures of inclusion.

In this sense, studies of meanings are not merely about people's subjective views. They are concerned with understanding practices that have real importance. As interpretivists like to point out, however, social research is not objective in the naïve sense of the word. Researchers never fully separate themselves from the reality they study; they are, to some extent, involved in the construction of the object which they seek to understand. Such process of construction is a necessary moment of, for example, interviews in which the researcher seeks to understand the interviewee through dialogue. The interviewee similarly tries to understand the researcher – what is he after, what does he want to get at? They are, then, exploring how they can meet at some point and understand each other, and for the researcher theory is always present in the process. Trying to understand social phenomena through relationships – the ways various actors relate to them – involves, then, making "constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to" (Geertz 1973, p. 16). This does not mean that the researcher can hide behind the view that any understanding is as valid as any other. It means, on the contrary, that we need to be careful to show what is a valid and reasonable understanding of a situation. Part of what makes it valid and reasonable is our ability to recognize it from our own varied experiences as well as theory.

One challenge of interpreting a social phenomenon through the ways actors relate to it is to emphasize views that are shared while at the same time acknowledge differences. The challenge is not exactly the same as for the researcher who assumes a position according to which each person's views are her own. For research based on such individualism, discourse and social meaning might be something like the sum of individual views. The idea of social meanings, however, assumes that our conceptions of the world are not individual in this sense but reflect social context and social position (Gubrium and Holstein 2002; Moses and Knutsen 2007, chapter 8). We do interviews and study practices partly because it is a way to gain access to the ideas that people share in certain context. We use each interview to deepen our knowledge of the world that the interviewee shares with others, the meanings that collective practices have for those who engage in them (see also Yanow 2003). This often referred to as a *Verstehen* (understanding) or

hermeneutic approach (see Moses and Knutsen 2007, p. 183-184), by which we seek to understand social phenomena in terms of relationships. While aiming for an understanding of the social meanings of collective practices, this perspective does not presuppose that all people who belong to the same social field have the same point of view. People will disagree partly because they take different positions within a social environment and because they arrive at a situation from different points of departure.

For the purpose of these essays I have interpreted shared meanings in this sense: they were statements about things that actors found themselves sharing with other similarly situated actors in the field of participatory budgeting. I have also accounted for differences and contradictions that added nuances to the interpretations that developed through the research process. Differences and contradictions also suggest that the field of participatory budgeting is not already fixed; its meanings are still open for contestations and struggle. Differences and struggles are important parts of any process of deliberation.

Councilors, in particular, usually spoke of participatory budgeting in ways that suggested that their sense of the stakes is to a significant degree shared. This is especially true in the Western district, where councilors struggle most clearly on several fronts at once: to gain recognition from political actors that invest in citizen deliberation, to gain recognition from actors outside the field, in particular their neighbors, and to maintain the values and norms of participation within the field. But practices within the field sometimes do not fit into this narrative in obvious and perfect ways. As I show in the second essay, councilors themselves are at times frustrated with the actions of other members of the field who seem, in their view, not to fully get it. To a large extent, this aspect is what makes the emergent field of participatory budgeting interesting. The meaning of participation is an important part of what is at stake.

An additional challenge, especially when interpreting statements of political leaders, is to derive reasonable explanations from constructions that are themselves politically motivated. Understanding political interests requires interpretation of the circumstances that make certain political actions appear reasonable, in the sense that we would expect other similarly situated actors to act much the same way.

Field practice and deliberative capital

In the second essay of this thesis I aim to show in practice the utility of studying projects of citizen deliberation as fields. I argue, first, that deliberative democrats seeking to understand the conditions of inclusion in the public sphere should reconsider whether deliberative 'skills', 'competence' and 'capacity' are adequate to capture what effective participation requires. Second, I argue that this would be better understood

by thinking in terms of deliberative capital, a concept more sensitive to how norms condition recognition of legitimate speakers. Third, I argue that interpretive inquiries focused on practices in concrete deliberative fields can enrich our understanding of the conditions of inclusion. The essay presents an account based on observations and interviews with participants. It focuses on interpreting the social meanings of participation. It finds that deliberative practices produce alternative sources of recognition, on the basis of which members of the field of deliberation expect recognition also outside the field. The case study demonstrates that the metaphor of deliberative capital brings to the fore the symbolic values of deliberative practices and provides an alternative view on how they matter for participation in the wider public sphere.

I focus on five aspects of councilors' practices of participatory budgeting. First, the field is constituted by the values it affirms, which are contrasted to the tendencies of other spheres to neglect them. Councilors hope to contribute to improvements of the conditions of their neighborhoods by engaging collectively in the district's concerns. But at stake are not only these possible material improvements. There is also an important symbolic dimension of participation. Participatory budgeting represents "solidarity with the neighbor," and a "citizen duty."

Second, in order to realize these values the field's members must counter the perception that the practices of the field are nothing special, no different from the practices that members of the field criticize. The field must distinguish itself from practices that are part of the usual games of politics. Participatory budgeting must be perceived as serving the neighborhoods, not just the government, and councilors must be seen as the neighborhoods representatives not the government's representatives in their neighborhoods.

Third, the field's values are manifested in the practices of its members, who work to maintain a shared sense of the field's reason to be by reaffirming its values in their continuous interactions. There are "codes of respect" and there are practices of cooperation that maintain the sense that the field's values must be defended not only from negative perceptions of neighbors but also internally by upholding norms of equality and equal respect.

Fourth, members of the field come to identify with its values to the extent that they find some practices suitable for a councilor and others not. Some criticize other councilors for working too closely with the government and for failing to properly represent the interests of their neighbors. Participatory budgeting is not a space for exchanging personal favors. Neither is it a field for political conflicts.

Fifth, members can extend the values of their field to gain recognition from others only by defending the field. In this sense, the practices of maintaining the field's values and insisting on them are future-directed.

Councilors show an awareness of the field's basis of legitimacy, on which they can capitalize as members of the field.

These five aspects correspond to the conditions of producing and maintaining a specific form of symbolic capital for the field of citizen deliberation. Deliberative capital is the source of recognition for those who accept "the citizen duty" of representing their neighbors in collaboration with the government. Deliberative capital flows from three sources: from the recognition granted by representatives of political power, from the recognition granted by those they claim to represent, and from the recognition granted by other members of the field. In order to be recognized as legitimate, participation in the field of deliberation needs to be distinguishable from other forms of engagement that is seen either as ineffective or corrupt. The norms of the field are instrumental for reaffirming the meanings of participation. Members come to identify with the values that the field represents. And they defend these values by defending the field and the perception of the field as the site where these values are embodied and where they pay off.

Reasons of power

I argue, in essays 1 and 2, that the prospect of altering practices of inclusion lies in capitalizing on the interest of decision-makers in having some marginalized actors assume the roles of fellow deliberators. These two essays do not provide an answer, however, as to where such an initial interest in deliberation may lie. In essay 3, I focus specifically on the political interest in participatory budgeting. I start by discussing previous research on participatory budgeting, which has found that participants are often coopted by the government. From a realist perspective on power and interests this is not surprising. What is more surprising from this perspective should rather be that cooptation has not always occurred in cases of collaboration between social activists and governments. It is the mechanisms of *non*-cooptation that need to be better understood.

Previous research has suggested that in order to "resist" cooptation, participants need to combine strategies of cooperation and contention. But what allows them to do this has not been explained. I suggest in essay 1 that an important part is played by political elite actors' political interest in participants' independence from the government. Presenting the case of participatory budgeting in Rosario, the essay discusses three conditions that made it rational for political actors *not* to coopt participants.

First, legitimacy crisis created a need for a new field for state-civil society interaction. The municipal government sought to maintain its legitimacy by including frustrated citizens in decision-making. The crisis

affected not only the government but also the strategic fields in which it interacted with representatives of civil society. The participatory budget needed to be perceived as a separate field, with an independent source of legitimacy.

Second, state actors invested in the meanings of participation. Among the skeptics of participatory budgeting were some members of the municipal bureaucracy that felt that their professional expertise would be side-lined by the opinions of participants. However, the participatory budget also affected the organization of the bureaucracy. A central coordination team was created with offices in the municipal building; in each municipal district center a director would lead a team in charge of the budget procedures. These actors came to find participatory budgeting meaningful as a "citizenship school" where participants and municipal employees learn to "work together" to improve conditions in the districts.

Third, the emergent field of citizen deliberation could produce legitimacy by being seen as autonomous from the government. In order for participatory budgeting to be perceived as a legitimate form of interaction with the government, the government promoted it as a forum for citizens acting as agents for change. The credibility of that message depended on the public recognition of participants as actors that work for the communities, not for the government. In this way the interest of the government in legitimacy intersected with participants' interest in social recognition. Participants could contribute to the legitimacy of the government by being perceived as different from it.

These three conditions form a mechanism of non-cooptation that should be relevant under similar conditions in other cases of state-sponsored citizen deliberation. Non-cooptation appears to be a reasonable strategy for the government in this case for increasing citizens' sense of legitimacy. Under comparable conditions we would expect other actors to act in much the same way.

Incorporating interests and power in the analysis of citizen deliberation, field analysis helps explain how small-scale deliberative forums can contribute to change. The emergent field of participatory budgeting shows several features that justify such expectations. While it is too early to tell what impact participatory budgeting will have, its potential can be understood in field-theoretical terms. Deliberative capital gives it a symbolic dimension and a meaning that goes beyond limited outcomes in the form of material investments in marginalized neighborhoods. The interest of the government can be maintained as long as the field is seen to produce legitimacy through its independence. It is the task of councilors to condition this use of deliberation as a means of legitimization, so that it benefits their positions. Their public recognition, and their position to legitimize, is in turn conditioned on the credibility of their claim to be representing the interests of their neighborhoods.

Concluding discussion: contributions and suggestions for further research

Readers will note that the essays of this thesis do not make any radical claims regarding either the impacts of participatory budgeting or the possibility of realizing the ideal of deliberative democracy in real, existing public spheres. In particular, those familiar with the wider literature on participatory budgeting and related phenomena will see that the claims made in this thesis are rather modest. I argue, however, that to the extent that the arguments provide any hope for change, they do so with realism.

The first essay makes a theoretical contribution by showing how Bourdieu's concepts of field, investment and symbolic capital can be utilized to theorize the prospect of change in deliberation. At stake is to show that Bourdieu's perspective on power, which has been seen as undermining the idea of deliberative democracy, provides important insights as to how ideals of inclusion and equality can be promoted in public spheres. The essay discusses the points of tension between Bourdieu's theorizing and deliberative democratic theory. To incorporate a Bourdieusian sensibility to power relations in theorizing on deliberation requires a more critical treatment of reason-giving.

The second essay offers an empirically grounded argument for thinking of empowerment in terms of "deliberative capital." Discussing the methodological implications of the arguments in the first essay, the second essay presents an interpretive account of participatory budgeting. Focusing on the meanings and values that underlie participation in this field, the essay seeks to interpret actors' expectations of recognition through the concept of deliberative capital. For actors that lack access to dominant forms of capital, deliberative capital can provide an alternative basis for recognition and inclusion. The metaphor of deliberative capital brings to the fore the symbolic values of deliberative practices and provides an alternative view of how they matter for participation in the wider public sphere.

The third essay contributes to our understanding of the political interest in deliberation, asking why and how participatory budgeting does not always lead to cooptation. On the basis of interviews with political actors and employees of the municipality I suggest a mechanism of non-cooptation that should be of wider relevance to the discourse on deliberative politics. The capacity of the field of participatory budgeting to produce a sense of legitimacy is conditioned on the perception that it is distinct from the government and the field of politics.

As I argued at the beginning of this introduction, deliberative democrats need to theorize how the practices of limited "minipublics" might be brought to bear on the discourses of the public sphere. This thesis offers a theoretical perspective useful for this purpose and demonstrates its utility through empirical research. Its utility is demonstrated by the empirical findings:

First, participants in the field of deliberation base their expectations of public recognition on the values of the field and know that the advancement of their positions and the values they aim to represent depend on the defense of the autonomy of the field. Second, the potential to capitalize on initial investments in the field is conditioned by the political interest of the elites. The field of deliberation has the potential of producing legitimacy by being seen as a field external to the political field, where members' interest in participation is independent from the interests of the political actors with whom they collaborate.

Further research into fields of participatory budgeting and related phenomena of state-civil society interaction could deepen our understanding of the interests of both participants and government representatives. In particular more detailed ethnographic work could give a fuller account of the social investments of participants and how these condition their participation in collaborative decision-making. Similarly, the conditions that favor the autonomy of fields of citizen deliberation could be fuller explored by detailed examinations of the interests for, and against, deliberation within the field of politics. For example, in Rebecca Abers' study (2000) of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre, she finds among the conditions favoring participatory budgeting an interest of local politicians to satisfy infrastructure and construction companies. This interest intersected with demands for citizen participation in decision-making, since participatory budgeting generated demands for more investments in their sectors. Researchers could contribute to further knowledge about how interests shape participatory arenas – their possibilities and constraints – by examining how members of other fields (political, economic and civil society) struggle over the meanings and values of the field of deliberation. They can contribute further to our understanding of the impact of emergent fields on the practices of political fields by investigating the ways routine practices are disrupted by the emergence of new interests.

The arguments of this thesis should also be useful for researchers working on related themes in other contexts. As political systems face challenges of legitimacy around the globe, questions of how to broaden public discourses to include those whose trust and cooperation might be hardest to accomplish will be decisive for the sustainability of democracy. Socioeconomic inequalities grow worldwide and so do the obstacles for social cohesion. As we tackle these challenges as social researchers we need to ask how we might imagine the inclusion of all citizens in public discourse on terms that are not predetermined to the benefit of those who already dominate but on terms that favor a plurality of positions, experiences and worldviews.

This question will need to be asked about various groups that are discursively marginalized today. We need to ask this question about the growing populations in urban peripheries. We also need to ask the same

question when considering groups that we might agree are marginalized but where we might quarrel over whether they are so for "good reasons." The critical cases will often be those where marginalization manifests itself through the subversion of dominant discourses, as in cases of political extremism. From radical left-wing groups that romanticize violent resistance, to the right-wing populism of defending national values, and to religious fundamentalism, radical groups often form around a sense of marginalization or threatened privileges (Blee 2007; Calhoun 2012; Merone and Cavatorta 2012).

In such cases we need to understand the conditions of marginalization but also the conditions of change. Here a field-theoretical perspective would often prove useful. It stresses the need to understand the social investments of those who could legitimately claim to represent the interests of a group targeted for political deliberation. The legitimacy of their claim to represent will often depend, as in the case of Rosario, on their independence from the political field. In many cases such representatives will need to distance themselves from the practices of the political field which has little credibility among the represented. The ability of such representatives to play a constructive role in bridging divides will depend on the recognition that they are granted by political elites as well as by those they wish to represent. The potential of increasing the legitimacy of political institutions and generating trust for public sphere argumentation will depend on the recognition of the values that potential participants identify with. Like "councilors," they will only effectively represent the values of dialogue on the condition that their fields are respected.

The critical questions in these cases will be similar to those investigated in this thesis. What are the interests of the discursively marginalized to engage in deliberation? Can they gain a form of recognition, a type of capital, that other practices cannot produce? Moreover, can they draw on their positions within marginalized groups to gain recognition also from dominant actors in the public sphere and in politics? And what are the interests of political actors who engage representatives of these groups in deliberation? Will their interests in power lead them to seek cooptation and demobilization or might the recognition of such representatives' positions generate a more stable ground of legitimacy? Might deliberation then change the structures of inclusion to the benefit of a more pluralistic society more firmly loyal to the idea of public reason? These are questions that deliberative democrats should find crucial to investigate. They should be central concerns for all citizens who recognize that our societies are far from realizing our democratic ideals.

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Appendix

Interviews

Local politicians

Lorena Carbajal, District Director (until December 2011), Socialist Party, Western district, April 20, 2011

Laura Alfonso, Under-Secretary General, Socialist Party, April 27, 2011

Jorge Elder, Secretary General, Socialist Party, April 28, 2011

Diego Beretta, District Director (until December 2011), Socialist Party, April 28, 2011)

Susana Bartolomé, subsecretary of Solidaric Economy, former District Director of Western district 2003-2007, and member of municipal council 1997-2001, Socialist Party, April 30, 2011.

Marisa Palazzo, District Director, Western district, Socialist Party, October 17, 2012

Omar Saab, Secretary of Public Works, Socialist Party, November 2, 2012.

Miguel Zamarini, President of Municipal Council, Socialist Party, November 7, 2012

Roberto Sukerman, member of Municipal Council, Frente para la Victoria (Partido Justicialista), November 28, 2012

Norma López, member of Municipal Council, Frente para la Victoria (Partido Justicialista), November 28, 2012

Mónica Bifarello, Secretary General 2003-2007, Technical coordinator of Strategic Plan of Rosario 2001-2003, currently Minister of Social Development of the Province of Santa Fe, Socialist Party, November 29, 2012

Laura Weskamp, member of Municipal Council, Republican Proposal (PRO), November 29, 2012.

Alberto Cortes, member of Municipal Council, Authentic Socialist Party, December 6, 2012.

Employees of Rosario's municipality

Technical secretary, Southwestern district (until December 2011), April 20, 2011

Member of central coordination team for PB, May 2, 2011

Member of central coordination team for PB, May 2, 2011

Coordinator of Social Communication, Western District, September 17, 2012

Technical secretary, coordinator of PB, Western District, October 3, 2012

Member of central coordination team for PB, October 10, 2012

Technical secretary, coordinator of PB, Southwestern District, October 16, 2012

General coordinator of PB (2004-2008) and General coordinator of Center District 2002-2003, October, 23, 2012.

Member of District administration, Western district, and former councilor in PB, October 30, 2012

Technical secretary, coordinator of PB, Northwestern District, November 5, 2012

Staff member, Department of Public Works, November 9, 2012

Technical secretary, coordinator of PB, Southern District, December 2, 2012

Technical secretary, coordinator of PB, Center District, December 2, 2012

Member of district administration, Southwestern District, October 16, 2012

Informant interview

Alberto Ford, professor of political science, University of Rosario, April 29, 2011 and November 20, 2012.

PB councilors

Names included within parenthesis refer to the individual interviews cited in essay 2. For interviews not specifically cited in the essay only dates are included.

Western district

Interview 1, 2012-09-04; Interview 2, 2012-09-18 ("Daniel"); Interview 3, 2012-09-26 ("Griselda"); Interview 4, 2012-09-26; Interview 5, 2012-09-27 ("Roberta"); Interview 6, 2012-09-30; Interview 7, 2012-10-02; Interview 8, 2012-10-03 ("Sergio"); Interview 9, 2012-10-06 and 2012-11-20 ("Jorge"); Interview 10, 2012-10-09; Interview 11, 2012-10-10 ("Pablo"); Interview 12, 2012-10-28 ("Luchi"); Interview 13, 2012-11-09, Interview 14, 2012-11-10; Interview 15, 2012-11-09 ("Cristina"); Interview 16, 2012-11-09 ("Lydia").

Northwestern district

Interview 17, 2012-10-20; Interview 18, 2012-10-22 ("Romina"); interview 19, 2012-11-10; Interview 20, 2012-11-10.

Center district
Interview 21, 2012-08-27; Interview 22, 2012-09-17; Interview 23, 2012-09-23; Interview 24, 2012-09-10; Interview 25, 2012-11-06; Interview 26, 2012-11-06; Interview 27, 2012-11-09.

Southern district
Interview 28, 2012-11-29; Interview 29, 2012-11-29("Nora"); Interview 30, 2012-11-30 ("Marcelo"); Interview 31, 2012-12-04; Interview 32, 2012-11-27.

Participatory observations

Western district
April 19, 2011;
   August 14, 21 and 28; September 4, 11 and 26; October 2 and 23; November 30, 2012

Northern district
   April 28, 2011

Southwestern district
   April 20, 2011

Northwestern district
   October 15 and 22; November 5, 2012.

Southern district
   November 7; December 4, 2012.

Center district
   August 27; September 3, 10 and 17, 2012.

Surveys

Two surveys were completed by participatory budgeting councilors, in May 2011 (N = 128) and November 2012 (N = 86). Here I present the questionnaires in full.

Survey 2011
1 People may have different reasons for participating in the Participatory District Councils (CPD). To what extent are the following reasons correct for your decision to sign up to be councilor? [scales from 0 to 10, from

totally incorrect to totally correct]

(1) wanted to influence important decisions
(2) I wanted to talk to others about our common interests
(3) I wanted to give voice to the group I represent
(4) I wanted to learn about politics
(5) I wanted to obtain useful contacts
(6) I wanted to contribute with my knowledge and competence
(7) I wanted to improve things in the district
(8) wanted to improve things in Rosario
(9) I wanted to make things better for me and my family
(10) I felt it was my duty as a citizen
(11) I was asked to participate
Other reason (s)? Please write which:

2 People may have different expectations about what they will experience in the Participatory District Councils. To what extent are the following exact expectations for you? [scales from 0 to 10, from totally incorrect to totally correct]

(1) I hope the budget process works democratically
(2) I hope to be heard by other delegates
(3) I hope I can influence decisions
(4) I hope to learn about the possibilities and difficulties in politics
(5) I hope to increase my ability to discuss political issues
(6) I hope we will discuss important issues
(7) I hope that my views and opinions will change as they discuss with others
(8) I hope I will contribute to major changes in society
Other expectation (s)? Please write which:

3 In general, how trustworthy are the people in Rosario in your opinion? [scales 0-10, from not at all trustworthy to very trustworthy]

4 In general, how trustworthy are the people in your district in your opinion? [same scale]

5 How much confidence do you have in... [scales 0-10, from no confidence at all, to much confidence]

(1) The police?
(2) the political leaders of Argentina?
(3) The process of participatory budgeting?

6 Generally speaking, would you say that the work done by Mayor Miguel Lifschitz Rosario is good or bad? [scale 0-10, from very bad to very good]

7 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [scales 0-10, from strongly disagree to strongly agree]

(1) Democracy may have problems but is better than any other form of government.
(2) In some circumstances it is preferable to military rule in Argentina.

8 In general, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Argentina? [scale 0-10, from not at all satisfied to very satisfied]

9 How satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Argentina? [same scale]

10 In your opinion, how democratic the state of Argentina? [scale 0-10, from not at all democratic to very democratic]

11 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [scales 0-10, from strongly disagree to strongly agree]

(1) Those who govern the country are interested in what people think.

(2) Those who govern the municipality of Rosario care what people think.

(3) I feel I have a good understanding of the political problems facing Argentina.

(4) I think that participatory budgeting can contribute to positive changes

12 In your personal opinion, do people like you have more or less opportunities than others to make politicians listen to your demands? [scale 0-10, from much less to much more]

13 During the last six months, have you done anything to improve conditions in their community, acting together with their neighbors? [Yes or No]

14. Do you attend meetings of associations, such as, for example, religious organizations, professional associations, associations of housewives, or a committee for improvements in your neighborhood or school? ["Yes, every week," "Yes, once or twice a month,"" Yes, once or twice a year," "No, never."

15 Today when we speak of political leanings, many people talk about those who sympathize more with the left or right. According to the meanings that the terms "left" and "right" have for you when you think about your political leanings, where would you place yourself on this scale? [0-10, from Left to Right]

16 During the past 6 months, have you participated in a demonstration or public protest, for example a peaceful march, blocking of streets, avenues or roads, or strike? [Yes or No]

17 Are you a member of any political party? [Yes or No]

18 If yes, of which party are you a member? [Justicialist Party, Socialist Party, Radical Civic Union, Republican Proposal, Democratic Progressive Party, Civic Coalition.

Other? Please write the name of the party:

19 How much interest do you have in politics ? [None, Little, Some, A lot]

12. Currently, do you participate in politics, for example, are you active in an association (NGO), or a political party? [Yes or No]

11 Within five years, do you see yourself playing a role in politics, such as participating in an association (NGO) or a political party or running for public office in elections? [No, I have no such role to play, Maybe I'll have some such role, Yes, I'll probably I will do something like that, I'm sure I will have an important role to play]

22 Gender [Male or Female]

23 Year of Birth:

24 Which of the following best describes your current situation?

Working ...?
Actively seeking work?
Student?
Devoted to domestic work?
Retired?
Other? [open question]
25 What is the highest education you have completed?
Primary / EGB education?
Secondary / Polimodal school?
College degree?
26 What is your marital status? [Married, Single, Other]
27 Do you have children living at home? [Yes or No]
28 Have you participated as a councilor before? [Yes or No]
29 Previous years, have you taken part in any of the neighborhood assemblies that are part of the participatory budget? [Never, Yes, once, Two or three times, More than three times]
30 In which district are you a councilor?
Name:
Street address:
Phone number:

Survey 2012

1. People may have different experiences of the participatory district councils. To what extent are the following statements correct in your case? [scales were included from 0 to 10, from completely wrong to totally correct in my case]
(1) I feel that the budget process has functioned democratically
(2) Other councilors have listened to me
(3) I have been able to influence decisions
(4) I have learned about the possibilities and difficulties of politics
(5) I feel that my ability to discuss political issues has increased
(6) I feel that we have managed to address the important issues
(7) My views and opinions have changed as I have discussed with others
(8) I feel I have contributed to important changes in society
Other experiences? Please write what
2. Overall, how reliable are people in Rosario in your opinion? [Scale from 0 to 10, from very trustworthy to very untrustworthy]
3. In general, how reliable are the people of your district in your opinion? [Used the same scale]
4. How much do you trust ... [scales from 0 to 10]
(1) The police?
(2) the political leaders of Argentina?
(3) District director and others working at the district center?

(4) the participatory budget process?

5. In general, how do you consider the work of the Mayor? [Scale from 0 to 10, from very bad to very good]

6. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [Scale from 0 to 10. from strongly disagree to strongly agree]

(1) Democracy may have problems but it is better than any other form of government.

(2) In some situations it is preferable to have military rule in Argentina.

7. In general, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Argentina?

8. How satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Rosario?

9. In your opinion, how democratic is the Argentine state?

10. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [Same scale]

(1) Those who govern the country are interested in what people think.

(2) Those who govern the municipality of Rosario care what people think.

(3) I feel I have a good understanding of the political problems facing Argentina.

(4) I think that participatory budgeting can contribute to positive changes

11. In your opinion, do you have more or less opportunity than others to make politicians listen to your demands? [Scale from 0 to 10, from much less to much more]

12. During the last six months, have you done anything to improve conditions in your community, acting together with your neighbors? [Yes or No]

13. Do you attend association meetings such as religious organizations, professional associations, associations of housewives, or a committee of improvements in your neighborhood or school? [Response options: "Yes, every week," "Yes, once or twice a month," "Yes, once or twice a year," "No, never."

14. During the last six months, have you participated in activities of your neighborhood association? [Same options]

15. Nowadays, when we speak of political leanings, many people talk about those who sympathize more with the left or right. According to the meaning you give the terms "left" and "right" when you think about your political leanings, where would you place yourself on this scale? [Scale from 0 to 10, from Left to Right]

16. In the past 6 months, have you participated in any demonstration or protest, such as a peaceful march, blocking streets, avenues or roads or strikes? [Yes or No]

17. How much interest do you have in politics? [None, Little, Some or A lot]

18. Currently, do you participate in politics, for example, are you active in any association (NGO), or a political party? [Yes or No]

19. Within five years, do you see yourself playing a role in politics, such as participating in a community association (NGO) or political organization, or

running for public office in elections? ["No, I have no role to play," "Maybe I will have some role to play," "Yes, I will probably do something like that," or "I'm sure I'll have an important role to play."

20. Gender: [Male or Female]

21. Year of Birth:

22. Which of the following best describes your current situation? [Working? Actively searching for a job? Student? Dedicated to house work? Retired? Permanently disabled for work? Other?]

23. If you work, what is your profession / occupation?

24. What is the highest level of education you have completed? [Primary / EGB education? Secondary / Polimodal school? College degree (universitario)? College degree (terciaro)?]

25. What is your marital status? [Married, Single or Other]

26. Do you have children living at home? [Yes or No]

27. For how long have you participated as a councilor? ["It is the first year," "second year," "third year," "fourth year," "more than four years."

28 In previous years, have you taken part in any of the assemblies that are part of the participatory budget? ["Never," "Yes, once," "Two or three times," "More than three times."]

29. How many meetings of the councilors have you participated in this year? ["Few," "Less than half," "About half or more," "All or almost all."

30. In which district are you a councilor? [Center, South, Southwest, Northwest, West, North]

Full Name [voluntary].