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Integration Beyond Numbers: Getting Along and Working Together in a Multiethnic Neighborhood

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INTEGRATION BEYOND NUMBERS:
GETTING ALONG AND WORKING TOGETHER
IN A MULTIETHNIC NEIGHBORHOOD

Denia Garcia

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Growing ethnic and racial diversity is transforming the United States and contributing to the emergence of multiethnic neighborhoods. Some view these neighborhoods as an alternative to racial segregation, holding the promise of improved race relations. Others argue that diversity reduces interpersonal trust and participation in collective life. How are people interacting and getting civically engaged in multiethnic neighborhoods?

My dissertation addresses this question based on a three-year ethnography of Rogers Park, Chicago, a neighborhood with white, black, Latino, and Asian residents. I conducted participant observation in public settings and community organizations—including a tenants' association, Participatory Budgeting, a Catholic church, and a food distribution program—and 103 interviews.

The dissertation shows that there is peaceful coexistence among ethnoracial groups in public settings but there is unequal civic participation. In this progressive neighborhood, civic organizations encourage minority involvement, yet middle-class, middle-aged whites are the most involved in community meetings, participatory budgeting, and other activities. While norms of politeness guide social interactions and contribute to maintaining integration in public spaces, achieving integration in the civic sphere requires overcoming socioeconomic, citizenship, and institutional barriers to participation, such as distrust in the government.

My dissertation contributes to the literatures on race/ethnicity, urban and political sociology by showing the multidimensionality of integration and by explaining why there is peaceful coexistence in public settings and unequal representation in the civic sphere. Integration has spatial, social, civic, and symbolic dimensions. By examining integration in social and civic settings and adopting a multigroup perspective, I demonstrate that experiences of integration for different groups vary along different dimensions.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Ethnic and racial diversity is transforming the United States and contributing to the emergence of multiethnic neighborhoods. Although residential segregation remains high, particularly between blacks and whites, there are growing numbers of neighborhoods where Asians, blacks, Latinos, and whites live together[1] (Ellen 2000; Farrell and Lee 2011; Logan and Zhang 2010; Turner and Fenderson 2006). These neighborhoods challenge succession-invasion models of community change that considered integration as a temporary stage before re-segregation (Ellen 2000; Charles 2003; Logan and Zhang 2010). From 1980 to 2000, the percentage of multiethnic neighborhoods increased from 18.5% to 28.9% in 24 metropolitan areas, and two-thirds remained integrated over this period of time (Logan and Zhang 2010).

The growth of multiethnic neighborhoods raises questions about their implications for race relations and civic life in America. On the one hand, some scholars are optimistic; they view multiethnic neighborhoods as providing a new, stable path to residential integration (Logan and Zhang 2010). This is because the presence of Asians and Latinos contributes to greater tolerance for blacks in formerly all-white zones. However, other scholars are concerned about the negative consequences of diversity. Some argue that ethnoracial diversity reduces trust and leads people

[1] Estimates of these neighborhoods vary due to differences in measurement, but there is agreement that they are growing. Some define neighborhoods as integrated based on the residence of blacks and whites (Ellen 2000), while others focus on diverse or multiethnic neighborhoods that include at least three major ethnic/racial groups. I focus on multiethnic neighborhoods with four groups (Asians, blacks, Latinos, and whites) because they represent a new path to stable integration (Logan and Zhang 2010).

to withdraw from collective life (Putnam 2007; but see Abascal and Baldassarri 2015; Portes and Vickstrom 2011; Sampson 2012).

How are people interacting and getting civically engaged in multiethnic neighborhoods? My dissertation addresses this question based on a three-year ethnography of Rogers Park, a Chicago neighborhood with white, black, Latino, and Asian residents. I conducted participant observation in public settings and community organizations and 103 interviews to understand how people get along and work together in neighborhood-based associations. By examining integration in social and civic settings, this dissertation contributes to our understanding of integration as multidimensional and explains why there is peaceful coexistence in public settings and unequal representation in the civic sphere.

Studying Integration in Neighborhoods

Residential patterns are a key indicator of race relations because spatial proximity facilitates interaction and signals a decline in social boundaries and discriminatory practices in housing markets (Charles 2003). Massey and Denton (1993) consider residential segregation the lynchpin of race relations in America. They write, "as long as blacks continue to be segregated in American cities, the United States cannot be called a race-blind society" (Massey and Denton 1993, p. 3). However, the growth of the Hispanic and Asian populations, largely driven by immigration, is changing the urban landscape (Fong and Shibuya 2005). Theories of community racial change, which were formulated based on the experiences of whites and blacks, are not easily applicable to Hispanics and Asians. In fact, the entrance of these minority groups into previously all-white areas has facilitated the entry of blacks and the formation of neighborhoods where whites and various minority groups live side by side (Logan and Zhang 2010).

While quantitative studies of residential attainment give us insight into the prevalence of integrated or multiethnic neighborhoods[2], they are unable to tell us to what extent spatial proximity leads to improved race relations. Two literatures are beginning to provide us with clues about life in multiethnic communities. The first line of research, which is exemplified by Putnam (2007), is concerned with the consequences of diversity on participation in collective life. The second line of research focuses on community organizations and inequality in diverse communities (Berrey 2005, 2015; Burke 2012; Horton 1995; Maly 2005; Mayorga-Gallo 2014; Nyden, Lukehart, and Maly 1998).

Putnam (2007) claims that in the short-run ethnic and racial diversity leads people to "hunker down" or to withdraw from collective life. Based on the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey of 2000 (n=30,000), which included a nationally representative sample of 3,000 individuals plus individuals from 41 select communities, multilevel regression analyses showed that residents of diverse communities were less likely to trust their neighbors, even those of the same ethnicity, and to engage in a variety of collective efforts. Putnam (2007) proposed a constrict theory of group relations, which holds that diversity does not trigger in- and out-group hostility but that it triggers "anomie or social isolation" (149).

Scholars have challenged Putnam's work on several grounds (Abascal and Baldassarri 2015; Portes and Vickstrom 2011; Sampson 2012), but two criticisms are relevant here. First, Abascal and Baldassarri (2015) show that the association between diversity and social capital, defined as trust and cooperation, is spurious, as it disappears when they control for ethnicity and

[2] The literature often uses the words "integrated," "diverse" and "multiethnic" neighborhoods interchangeably. Since diversity can refer to various social characteristics, I prefer to call these neighborhoods multiethnic. This word gives us a better sense of what kind of diversity we can find there. When referring to a neighborhood as "diverse" in the text, I use it as a short hand for racial/ethnic diversity, unless otherwise noted.

citizenship at the individual and Census tract levels. They argue that Putnam's findings are driven by the fact that whites exhibit lower levels of trust when living in a neighborhood with out-group members. This pattern does not hold for minorities. Second, Sampson (2012) argues that we should focus on the production of collective action rather than individual behavior. His analysis of collective events in Chicago from 1970 to 2000 shows that the main driver of collective action is the organizational density of neighborhoods. Neighborhood heterogeneity was not a significant predictor of collective events.

A growing number of qualitative studies are beginning to give us insight into social life in diverse neighborhoods. The pioneering study by Nyden, Lukehart and Maly (1998) found that local organizations contributed to the stability of fourteen communities that remained diverse[3] from 1980 to 1990. In diverse by direction communities, local organizations played a role in promoting their integration in the first place, while in diverse by circumstance communities, they responded to the influx of newcomers by providing them with social services. Maly (2005) explored in further detail how local organizations contributed to the integration of three of these communities—Uptown, Chicago; Queens, New York; San-Antonio-Fruitvale, Oakland—in the late 1990s. Maly concluded that there is not one kind of integrated community and that policies for integration need to take into account the local context.

More recent studies have focused on how inequality is reproduced in multiethnic neighborhoods through diversity discourses (Berrey 2005, 2015), colorblind ideologies (Burke 2012), and white codes of conduct (Mayorga-Gallo 2014). First, Berrey's (2005) ethnography of

[3] Nyden et. al. (1998) defined stably diverse communities as those that reflected the city's average racial/ethnic composition in 1980 and 1990.

three housing-related organizations[4] in Rogers Park showed that diversity discourse was pervasive among real estate professionals and white progressive organizers but that it was multivalent and that it often prevented open discussion and action around racial justice issues. Second, based on interviews with people involved in block clubs and other associations in three diverse communities in Chicago (Uptown, Edgewater, and Rogers Park), Burke (2012) found that white, middle-class liberals valued diversity but did little to preserve it. Finally, Mayorga-Gallo (2014) shows that a white habitus and white codes of conduct reproduce privilege and power in everyday interactions based on fieldwork in Durham, North Carolina.

These studies also show that class differences, which are often correlated with race, lead to political divisions in multiethnic neighborhoods. For example, community organizations tend to diverge on issues of urban development with middle-class whites largely in favor pro-gentrification initiatives and low-income minorities in favor of affordable housing (Maly 2005; Berrey 2005). By contrast, in Monterrey Park, California—a middle class suburb—women, native-born Latinos and Asians, and immigrants formed a successful coalition against the old-boys Anglo network that controlled city hall (Horton 1995).

A limitation of qualitative studies of diverse communities has been their focus on community leaders, involved citizens, and whiteness in these spaces. While leaders and involved citizens are influential in shaping public life, focusing on them leaves out the majority of everyday residents who are not active in associations (but see Mayorga-Gallo 2014). With the exception of Horton (1995) and Berrey (2005, 2015), most of the people involved in civic activities have been white and middle class. Including the perspectives of multiple ethnic groups

[4] Berrey (2005) studied an association for real estate professionals, a social justice alliance and a Section 8 tenant organization from 2000 to 2003. Whites led the first two organizations, while low-income blacks led the Section 8 organization.

and immigrants, especially those who are undocumented or not fluent in English, is crucial to address theories of neighborhood change and the future of the American color line in the context of growing ethnic diversity (Bonilla-Silva 2004; Frank et al. 2010; Lee and Bean 2004). Finally, some settings like public meetings are designed for people to voice their opinion on issues, and, thus, we are more likely to see disagreements there. People of different backgrounds engage in polite interactions in other settings like convenience stores, markets, and parks (Anderson 2011; McDermott 2006). Including a variety of perspectives and settings thus gives us a more complete understanding of multiethnic neighborhoods.

Multidimensional Integration

This dissertation conceptualizes integration as multidimensional with four interrelated components: spatial, social, civic, and symbolic. First, the spatial dimension refers to the presence and distribution of people in a physical setting. Traditionally, scholars have used Census data to construct measures of statistical or demographic integration and racial heterogeneity (Abascal and Baldassarri 2015; Roberto 2016; White 1986). While proximity affects people's opportunities to interact, there is a general understanding that spatial integration does not equal social integration.

The second dimension of integration refers to social relations. I define this as perceptions and relations among categories of people, such as those based on race, ethnicity or class, that have social and political consequences, including inequalities in the distribution of resources[5].

[5] My definition of social relations is based on Wilson and Taub's (2006) definition of race relations. I refer to "social" instead of "race" relations to avoid the assumption that race is the main cleavage in multiethnic neighborhoods. Much of the U.S. literature uses the term "race" because it has historically played a significant role in shaping the residential outcomes. I use the term race relations when referring to the literature.

The literature raises three possibilities for intergroup contact: conflict, cooperation, and "hunkering down." According Blumer's theory of group position (1958), conflict may arise when different groups compete over limited resources. However, groups who have experienced the most alienation, such as African Americans, are the most likely to see other groups as competitive threats (Bobo and Hutchings 1996). The second possibility is that that intergroup contact reduces prejudice**,** according to Allport's intergroup contact theory (1954). There are a number of optimal conditions that help reduce prejudice, including that groups have equal status or that their differences are minimized. Having personal interactions with out-group members, a common goal, cooperating without competition, and having the support of authorizes or customs is also helpful. A third possibility comes from Putnam (2007) who argues that diversity triggers social isolation or "hunkering down" (149). He maintains that intergroup contact, in the short-run, leads to distrust and to a lack of cooperation.

For the third dimension, I use the word civic instead of political because the former encompasses a broader set of activities[6]. Civic engagement, in addition to including political action, includes participation in voluntary associations, hobby groups, reading the news, and volunteering (Authors of *The Civic Imagination* 2014, 6-7). Focusing on a broader set of activities also allows to me uncover ways that non-citizens get involved in their communities, which are often missed by traditional measures of political engagement like voting (Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008). By looking at integration in the civic dimension, we can see who has a voice and influence in their communities and who does not.

The fourth dimension of integration is symbolic. According to Berrey (2015), integration is also a meaning-making process and "diversity discourses and initiatives serve as organizing

[6] Political engagement is more specific to activities that seek to influence public policy and the selection of officials (Authors of *The Civic Imagination* 2014).

principles from which organizations and people improvise as they engage in and make sense of integration" (3). While Berrey focuses on diversity discourses, I view this dimension more broadly. It may also include symbolic boundaries and collective representations of community (Hunter 1974). Symbolic boundaries are "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space" (Lamont and Molnár 2002, 168). Unlike social boundaries, symbolic boundaries refer to differences that have *not* been institutionalized and that do not necessarily translate into unequal access to resources. This view of the symbolic dimension of integration allows us to analyze how people draw boundaries that include and exclude people from the community. This creates opportunities to investigate how definitions of the in-group and the community shape social interaction and civic behavior (Small 2004; Wong 2010).

Conceptualizing integration as multidimensional gives us a comparative advantage. It allows us to compare whether groups vary in their integration in different settings. It also fits with our understanding that racialization processes for groups are mutually constitutive and that their placement in a racial hierarchy varies according to several factors, including social esteem and power (Kim 1999). Therefore, by looking at multiple dimensions, we gain a broader picture of the social hierarchy.

What This Dissertation is About

This dissertation examines social and civic integration. I have chosen these two areas to address debates about the consequences of ethnic and racial diversity on social and civic life. My goal is to understand diversity within neighborhoods by adopting a multigroup perspective and by examining how the experiences of ethnoracial groups vary in different spaces. To achieve this, I conducted fieldwork in Rogers Park, Chicago for three years. I lived in the neighborhood

for two years (2013-2015) and I commuted from the northwest side of Chicago during the last year of research (2016-2017).

To address the social dimension of integration, I observed public settings to find out if ethnic groups were concentrated in certain spaces and the conditions under which social characteristics, such as race/ethnicity, class, and gender, became salient in interactions. To address the civic dimension, I did participant observation in the following community organizations: participatory budgeting, a tenants' association, a Catholic church, and a food distribution program. I was also part of community garden and I attended community meetings and the meetings of a network of health organizations. Finally, I conducted 103 interviews with neighbors who were involved and uninvolved in organizations and with a handful of community leaders. These interviews allowed me to capture a broader range of points of view than the ones I encountered in my fieldwork. I use the real names of people and organizations when given permission. Appendices A-C describe in more detail my methods, how I selected this neighborhood, and my subject position in the field.

The dissertation shows that there is peaceful coexistence among groups in public settings but there is unequal civic participation. In this progressive neighborhood, civic organizations encourage minority involvement, yet middle-class, middle-aged whites are the most involved in community meetings, participatory budgeting, and other activities. While norms of politeness guide social interactions and contribute to maintaining integration in public spaces, achieving integration in the civic sphere requires overcoming socioeconomic, citizenship, and institutional barriers to participation, such as distrust in the government.

Chapter 2, *How Does Integration Look? A View from the Census and the Streets,* addresses the question of how much overlap there is between spatial and social integration. I use

Census data, GIS maps, my observations of street life, and interviews. The chapter shows that despite patterns of ethnic residential concentration within the neighborhood, the streets serve as common denominator where ethnic diversity is visible.

Chapter 3, *Working Together? Civic Life in a Multiethnic Neighborhood,* is a portrayal of civic life in Rogers Park, focusing on how its organizations are divided and what issues they have in common. In this progressive neighborhood, organizations are divided based on their strategies for solving problems. Nevertheless, one common challenge they face is recruiting a more racially diverse membership.

Chapter 4, *The Million-Dollar Question: How do Organizations Engage People in Neighborhood Improvement Efforts?,* focuses on participatory budgeting as an example of a mobilizing institution that seeks to civically engage people. The chapter shows what it means to do street outreach in a multiethnic, urban neighborhood where people are busy, skeptical, and where sixteen percent of neighbors over the age of five are not fluent in English (ACS 2006-2010).

In the conclusion, I discuss how the dissertation contributes to the literatures on race/ethnicity and civic engagement by showing the multidimensionality of integration.

Chapter 2

HOW DOES INTEGRATION LOOK? A VIEW FROM THE CENSUS AND THE STREETS

This chapter shows how an "integrated" neighborhood looks based on Census data, my observations from street life, and interviews. The purpose is to examine one of the assumptions in the study of integration: that spatial integration is an indicator of social integration. In other words, if we find people of different ethnoracial backgrounds living in the same neighborhood, which is usually a Census tract, then we assume that the neighborhood is statistically integrated. However, spatial neighborhoods do not always correspond with social neighborhoods, which are defined by patterns of social interaction (Tienda 1991). How do people interact with the space and with each other?

I look at both how people interact with the space and with each other because the spatial configuration of a place can promote social connection or isolation (Roberto 2015; Small 2004). I find that despite patterns of ethnic concentration within Rogers Park, the streets serve as a common denominator where we can see everyone. For the most part, people of different backgrounds coexist peacefully. However, gender, race, class, and age shape how people move through space and their experiences within those spaces. There are times when this civil atmosphere is disrupted by catcalls and racism.

A View from the Census

Rogers Park is a community area on the far north side of Chicago, facing Lake Michigan. It borders Edgewater to its south and West Ridge to its west—two communities also known for

their multiethnic populations[7]. To the north, it borders Evanston, an affluent suburb and home of Northwestern University, but the university itself is not within walking distance of Rogers Park. Figure 1 shows where Rogers Park is situated in Chicago.

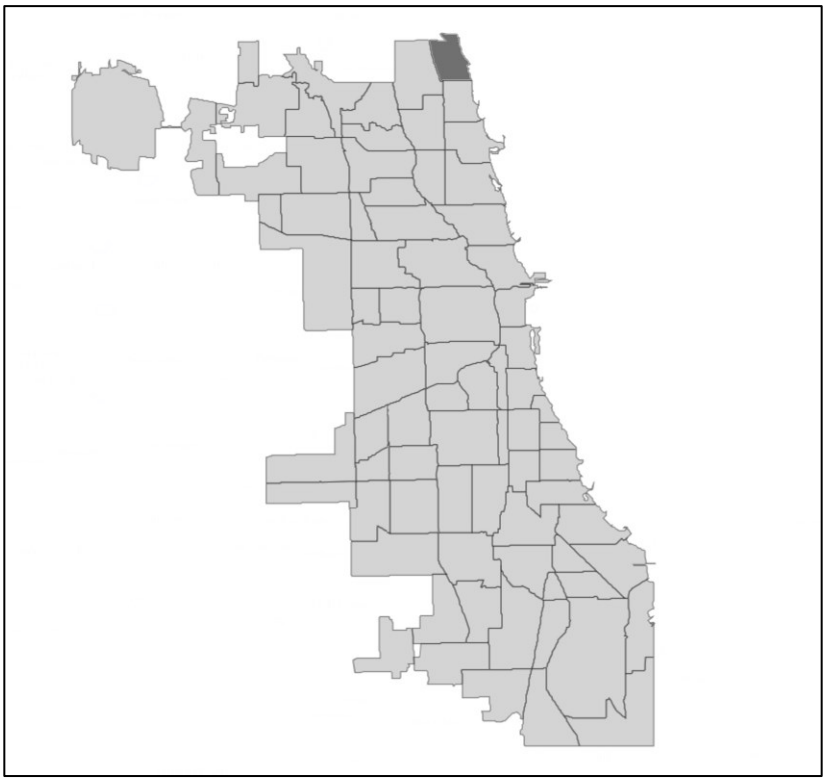

Figure 1. Chicago Community Areas.
Source: Chicago Data Portal, the City of Chicago.

Rogers Park has a reputation for being one of the most diverse neighborhoods in Chicago, if not the most diverse neighborhood, depending on whom you ask[8]. Originally an enclave for Russian Jews, Poles and Germans, it began to experience an influx of African Americans and Hispanics in the mid-1970s (Nyden, Lukehart, and Maly 1998). Figure 2 shows

[7] I selected Rogers Park as my field site because its black and Latino populations were similar in size and because it had a larger black population than other multiethnic neighborhoods in Chicago. Since blacks are the most stigmatized in housing markets, it is important to select a neighborhood with a substantial black population. See Appendix A for more details about the neighborhood selection process.

[8] See Berrey (2015), chapter 5, for a historical account of how the neighborhood developed its identity as a diverse neighborhood.

Rogers Park's ethnoracial composition from 1970 to 2015. Between 1980 and 1990, the black and Latino population doubled, and it became a majority-minority neighborhood by 1990. While Rogers Park has sustained a racially mixed population, in the 2000s, its black and Latino population decreased following the conversion of rental housing to condos (Berrey 2015). By 2010, the neighborhood had a population of 54,991 and 39.3% of residents were white, 26.3% were black, 24.4% were Latino, 6.4% were Asian, and 3.6% were of other background. By 2015, the black population decreased to 24.5% and the white population increased to 41.9% (ACS 2011-2015).

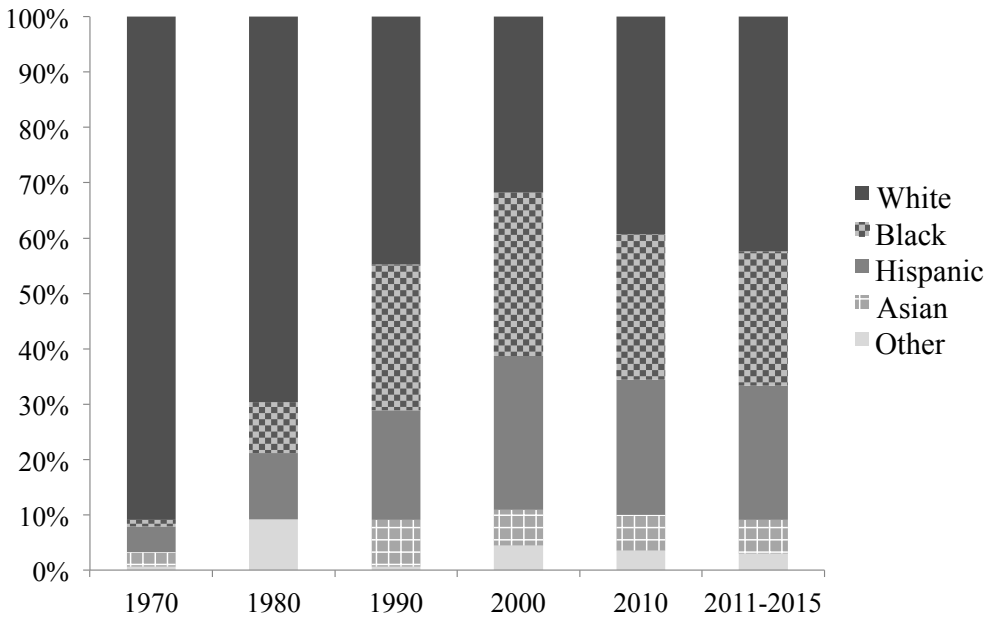

Figure 2. Ethnoracial Composition of Rogers Park, 1970-2015.
Source: Census (1970-2010) and American Community Survey (2011-2015).

Rogers Park is home to several immigrant groups. 29.2% of the neighborhood's population is foreign-born and 34.2% of the foreign-born are naturalized citizens (ACS 2011-2015). It is estimated that 5,000 undocumented immigrants live in Rogers Park (Tsao 2014), which is 29.9% of the immigrant population and 8.8% of the neighborhood's population. Sixteen

percent of adults over the age of five do not speak English very well (ACS 2006-2010). Mexicans make up the largest foreign-born group at 32%, but there are also immigrants from Asia (20.3%), Africa (18.4%), Europe (11.9%), and the Caribbean (5.7%) (ACS 2011-2015). Because immigrants come from over 68 countries, each national origin group (with the exception of Mexico) constitutes a small percent of the foreign-born population. Following Mexico, the most common places of origin are Nigeria, which is the birthplace of 6.3% of the foreign-born, Ghana (4.1%), India (3%), the Philippines (2.5%), Guatemala (2.4%), and Jamaica (2%) (ACS 2011-2015).

In addition, Rogers Park has a socioeconomically mixed population. Although there is a high poverty rate (25.2%) and 11% of those over the age of sixteen are unemployed, 41.8% of residents have a college degree or more and 13% make more than $100,000 per year (ACS 2011-2015). In 2015, the median household income was $37,064, compared to $48,522 for the city of Chicago (ACS 2011-2015). Household income varies by race, as shown in Figure 3. White households have the highest median income ($48,207), while Hispanics and Asians have median incomes in the low to mid thirties (ACS 2011-2015). Black households have the lowest median income ($28,338). However, these figures hide that there is significant poverty within ethnoracial groups. 30.5% of Hispanics and 30.2% of blacks are poor in Rogers Park, followed by 26.5% of Asians and 18.1% of whites (ACS 2011-2015).

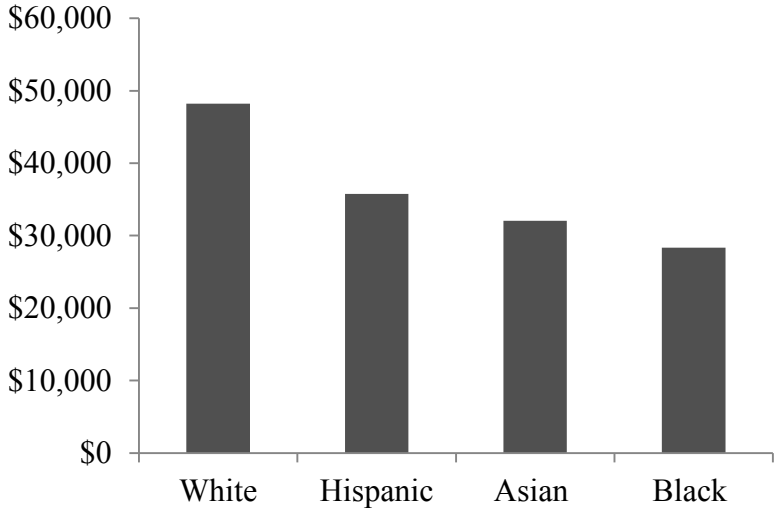

Figure 3. Median Household Income by Race (in 2015 Inflation Adjusted Dollars).
Source: American Community Survey (2011-2015).

Homeownership is a sign of wealth and can bring people stability. In Rogers Park, 24.9% of people live in a house they own. Among those who rent, the median rent ranges from $653 to $1052 per month depending on the Census tract where they live (ACS 2011-2015). While Rogers Park is relatively affordable in comparison to other parts of Chicago[9], it is becoming less affordable for lower income families who are often racial minorities. Between 2000 and 2010, the number of renters paying less than $750 per month declined almost in half, while the number of renters paying more than $1,500 per month doubled (Chicago Rehab Network 2013).

Rogers Park is not politically diverse, at least in the Democrat-Republican way. It has a reputation for progressive politics, and as Chapter 3 shows, there are differences of opinion among progressives and liberals. The 2015 municipal election brought to light these differences.

[9] The median gross rent for Rogers Park is $887, compared to $967 for Chicago (ACS 2011-2015). The figure for Rogers Park is likely pulled down by studios and one-bedroom apartments. In 2014, a realtor told me that it was hard to find a one-bedroom apartment for $800, even harder if it was dog friendly.

The 49th Ward, which encompasses most of Rogers Park[10], was split between two Democrats running for mayor: the incumbent Rahm Emanuel, endorsed by the 49th Ward alderman, and Jesus "Chuy" Garcia, a Cook County Commissioner. In the February general election, 44.1% of 49th Ward voters supported Emanuel and 43.6% of voters supported Garcia. Although Emanuel was re-elected in a run-off election, the 49th Ward was one of the places where Garcia was favored in the run-off. In presidential elections, the 49th Ward leans more Democrat than the city. In 2016, 87.1% of 49th Ward voted for Hillary Clinton, 7.6% for Donald Trump, 3.2% for Jill Stein, and 2.1% for Gary Johnson[11]. By comparison, in Chicago, 83.7% voted for Clinton and 12.4% for Trump[12].

Race, Class, and Space

A neighborhood may appear as statistically integrated based on the presence multiple ethnoracial groups. However, the racial makeup of a neighborhood does not tell us if they live close to each other or in separate areas of the neighborhood. Figure 4 shows how ethnoracial groups are distributed in Rogers Park based on 2010 Census data. Color-coded dots represent different groups with each dot equaling 25 people. The data is based on Census blocks, the smallest unit available. The map also shows the boundaries for the tracts that make up Rogers Park. Rogers Park is bounded by the lake on the east, Ridge Avenue on the west, Devon Avenue on the south and Howard and Juneway Terrace on the north.

[10] The 49th Ward excludes a small section of the southwest of Rogers Park and it includes a section of West Ridge on the northwest side of Rogers Park. See figure 11 on page 72 for a map of the ward's boundaries.
[11] Data comes from the Chicago Board of Elections.
[12] The rest of the results are as follows: 1.6% voted for Stein and 2.2% voted for Johnson.

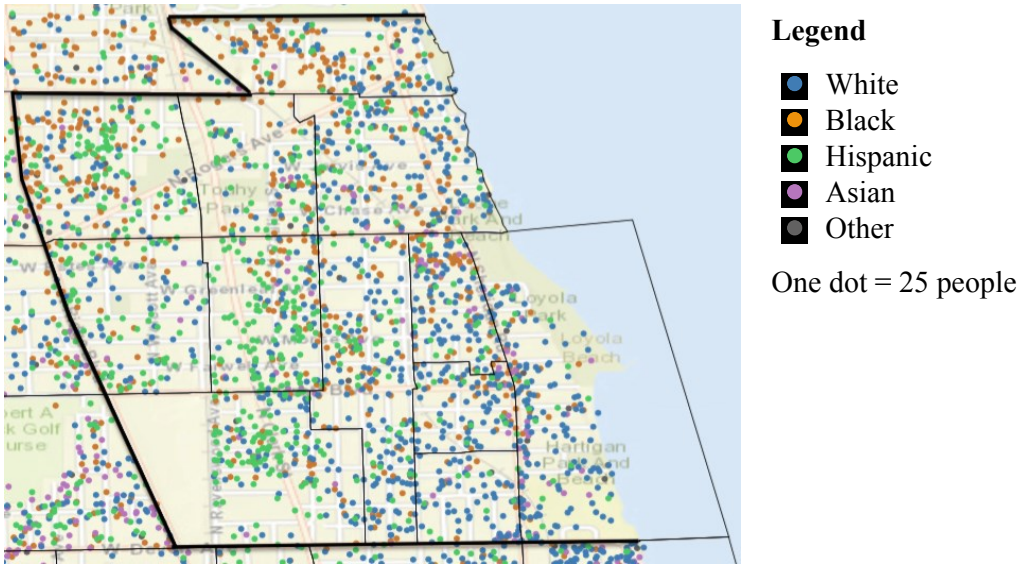

Figure 4. Dot Race Map of Rogers Park.
Source: Census 2010. Map by the author.

Figure 4 shows that people of all ethnoracial backgrounds live throughout the neighborhood, but that there are sections where certain groups are concentrated. For example, whites (depicted as blue dots) are the most concentrated in the southeast Census tract, located on the lakefront and near Loyola University, where they make up 61% of the population (Census 2010). As you move north on the lakefront, the neighborhood becomes more racially mixed. The northernmost tract on the Chicago lakefront, on the border with Evanston, is called North of Howard. Howard Street divides Chicago and Evanston, except for the blocks that make up North of Howard. This area has the largest black population (depicted as orange dots) in Rogers Park. Blacks make up 49% of the population of North of Howard but only 16.9% of Rogers Park's black population lives there. Hispanics (depicted as green dots) are concentrated along Clark Street, a commercial street running from north to south that spans several Census tracts.

Nevertheless, the areas that have an ethnic concentration are a few blocks away from other areas with a more mixed demographic composition. Two Census tracts on the northwest of

Rogers Park have the most racial diversity and their black, Latino, and white populations are almost evenly split[13]. One of these tracts is directly southeast of North of Howard, where blacks are concentrated, and encompasses part of Clark Street, where Hispanics are concentrated. A walk from Clark Street to the lakefront takes about fifteen minutes. The northern and southern ends of the neighborhood are farther apart. It takes at least 34 minutes to walk 1.7 miles on Sheridan Avenue from Devon to Juneway Terrace, the last street in the North of Howard area[14].

How do race, class, and space overlap? Figure 5 shows the median household income (in 2010 inflation adjusted dollars) by block group in Rogers Park (ACS 2006-2010). The map shows that blocks with median household incomes below and above the neighborhood's median income of $39,482 are close to each other. Although people who live by the lake tend to have higher incomes, this is not the case for the southeast corner of Rogers Park, which has the highest concentration of whites. This area is by Loyola University and students likely drive down the area's median income. The households with the highest median income ($97,574) are two blocks away from Loyola Park on Touhy Avenue.[15] Between these homes and the lake, there is a long stretch of blocks where the median household income is below the neighborhood's median.

[13] In the northwest Census tract (102.01), the population is 23% white, 36% black, 32% Latino, 5%, 4% multiracial, and 1% other (Census 2010). In the following tract to the east (102.02), the population is 30% white, 33% black, 28% Latino, 5% Asian, 3% multiracial.
[14] Distance and transit estimates were obtained from Google Maps.
[15] Tract 106, block 2 is between Glenwood and Ashland and Touhy and Greenleaf.

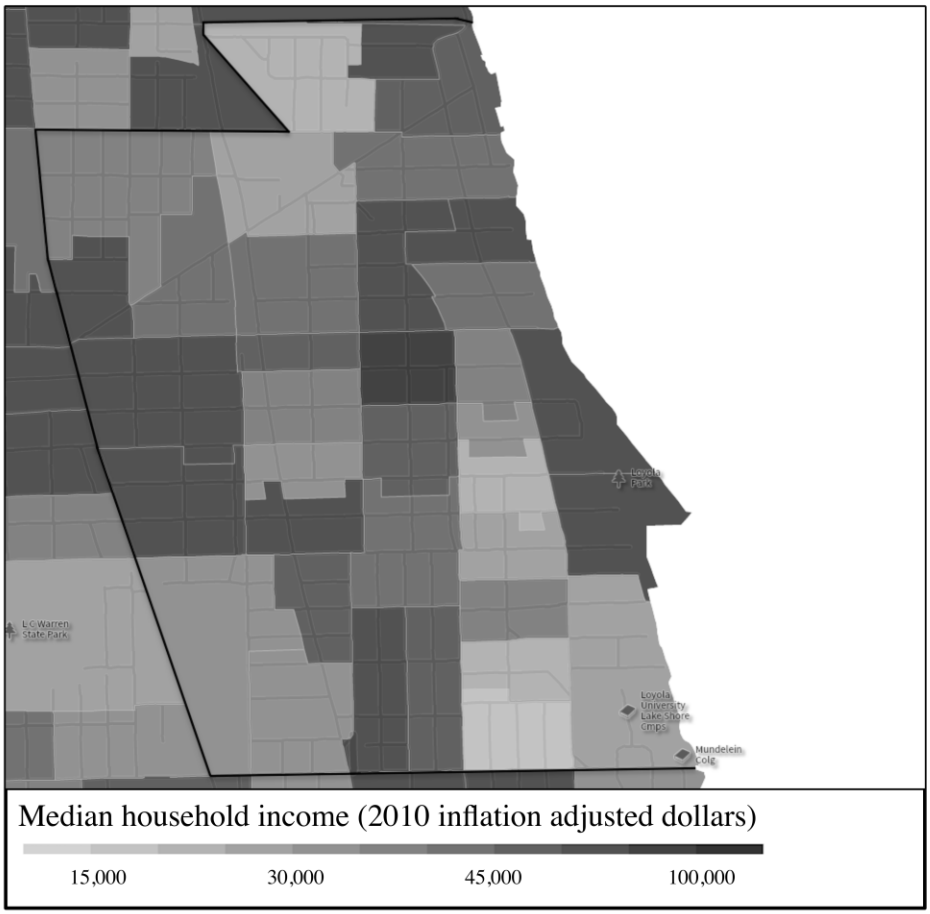

Figure 5. Median Household Income (in 2010 Inflation Adjusted Dollars) by Census Block Group.
Source: American Community Survey (2006-2010). Map created using Social Explorer.

One surprising finding is that poor people of different races live in different parts of the neighborhood. Figure 6 shows the percentage of people by race living below the poverty line in each Census tract (ACS 2006-2010). Poor whites live on the southern part Rogers Park. Many poor whites are likely residents of a Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) high-rise for seniors on Devon and Sheridan, which is west of Loyola. A significant percentage of blacks in this area are also poor, but blacks only make up 13% of the population in this majority white tract[16]. Poor blacks also overlap with poor Latinos in the northwest side of the neighborhood and in North of

[16] Census tract 105.03.

Howard. However, there are few poor Latinos living on the east and south parts of the neighborhood. It remains to be determined if the spatial separation of the poor by race is due to age, family structure, the location of senior services, personal preferences, or discrimination.

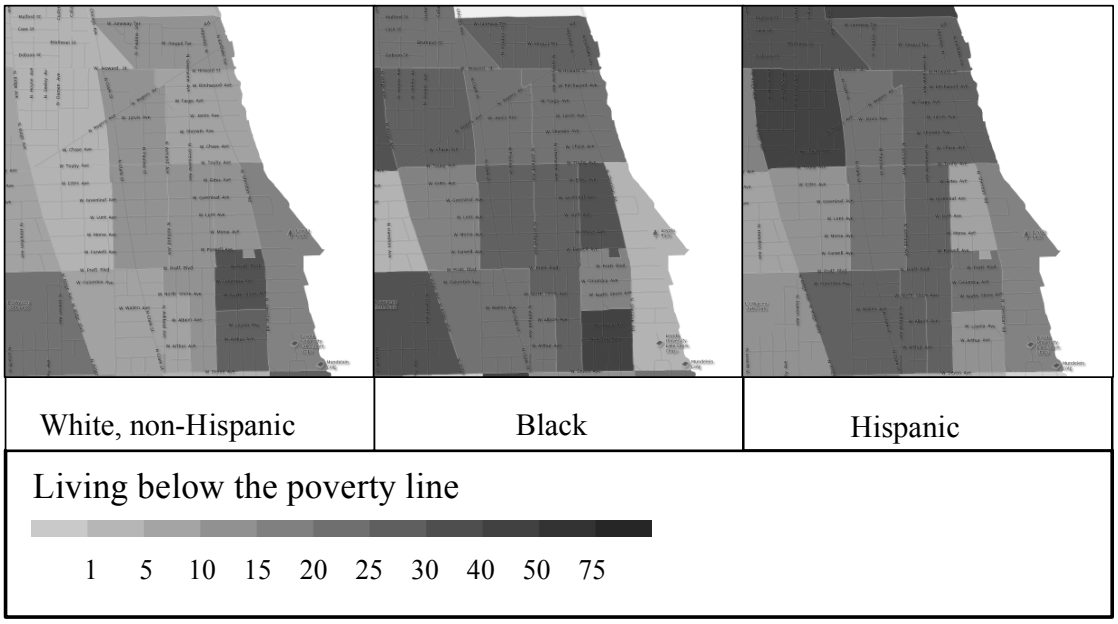

Figure 6. Percent Living Below the Poverty Line by Race and Census Tract.
Source: American Community Survey (2006-2010). Map created using Social Explorer.

A View from the Streets

How does an "integrated" neighborhood look on the ground? An entry point into the neighborhood is Sheridan Road and Devon, the southeastern boundary between Rogers Park and Edgewater. Sheridan Road is the closest street to the lake, running north to south. It is a busy path for drivers going to and from Chicago's north side and the North Shore suburbs. At the northeast intersection with Devon Street, there's a small garden with an American flag, below it there is a wooden sign that says, "Welcome to Rogers Park, home of Loyola University Chicago." On the northeast corner of the intersection, you will see one of the tallest buildings in the neighborhood: a 22-story CHA building for seniors called Caroline Hedger Apartments. On

good days, you will see many seniors sitting in front of the building or on the bus bench on Devon. On the south side of the intersection, on the Edgewater side, there is a drive-through Starbucks on the west side, which opened during the time of my fieldwork. On the southeast corner, which is also part of Edgewater, there is a Bank of America ATM and a series of small stores, including a Christian bookstore, a dentist, a Planned Parenthood.

If you turn north on Sheridan, this block has an unusual concentration of large apartment buildings. In addition to the senior building, there are two high-rises and two buildings with at least seven floors. Most of these buildings have boxy facades from the 1970s. However, there is new construction. The Morgan, an apartment building by the Loyola train station, was built in 2009. As Figure 7 shows, the Morgan contrasts with the CHA building, not only because of their architectural styles but also because rent at the Morgan ranges from $1,425 for a studio to $2,030 for a two-bedroom apartment[17]. Soon there will be a mixed-income development with a small Target in what is now the parking lot of the CHA building. Four blocks north, there is a new Hampton Inn, built in 2016 to serve Loyola University visitors.

Loyola University is on the east side of Sheridan and Devon. However, from Sheridan, you cannot see much of the campus. The Granada Center, one of its buildings obstructs the view. The view is also obstructed by the Loyola elevated train station and its underpass. Nevertheless, there are signs that this is a college area. Groups of students walk around these blocks. There is a CVS, Chipotle, Five Guys Burgers, Jimmy Johns, Insomnia Cookies, Dunkin Donuts, among other businesses and empty storefronts. There is also Bruno's, a neighborhood bar known for its owner's refusal to sell to Loyola.

[17] The monthly rent for the Morgan was obtained from the building's website http://www.morganatloyolastation.com/floor-plans.asp. Last accessed May 30, 2017.



Figure 7. Looking south on Sheridan Road with a view of The Morgan to the right and the Caroline Hedger Apartments to the left. Photo by the author, June 27, 2015.

As you keep walking north on Sheridan, there are less students walking around. Some people talk about an "invisible line" that students do not cross. This line is between Pratt and Giordano's Pizza on Farwell, which is seven blocks north of Devon. However, most people in Rogers Park rarely mention Loyola, unless they live near the university or there is news that Loyola plans to start a new development, such as the hotel. South of Pratt and Sheridan, there are several popular businesses: an Ethiopian coffee shop, a used bookstore, a music store, a small movie theater, and a Starbucks with outdoors seating.

At Pratt and Sheridan, you can also gain access to Loyola Park and the beach. Rogers Park has small beaches at the end of some streets east of Sheridan. Loyola Beach is the largest beach in the neighborhood. It also has a park with a 2/3-mile walking trail, tennis and basketball

courts, picnic areas, and is well known for the Artists of the Wall Festival. As part of this yearly event, community members paint a section of a 600 feet mural on the cement benches facing the lake. In these murals, people depict personal stories about their loved ones, political messages, or promote their organizations. Families, teenagers, joggers, dog walkers, and people of all ages enjoy the park.



Figure 8. Artists of the Wall Festival at Loyola Park Beach. Photo by the author, June 21, 2015.

If you continue north on Sheridan, the area after Loyola Park is more residential, although there are still small businesses here and there. There are also some nursing and rehabilitation homes in the area and the Emil Bach House, a house designed by Frank Lloyd Wright that is available for rental. When reaching the end of Rogers Park and the City of

Chicago, Sheridan makes a right turn into Eastlake Terrace and Juneway Beach. To the west of the lake, the Cavalry Cemetery separates Evanston from North of Howard.



Figure 9. A weekday evening by Howard Street and Paulina. Photo by the author, April 28, 2014.

Howard, and especially North of Howard, has a reputation for being a rough area. When I began my fieldwork in 2013, the police had increased its presence there after a 22 year-old was murdered near Willye White Park during the day. Police cars often park on Howard or on side streets. Men of color sometimes hang out in Howard Street. Nevertheless, some people are concerned that the area is gentrifying. The Howard CTA station and Willye White Park were remodeled. There are also new places: Sol Café, a coffee shop with rotating art displays, Quesadilla La Reina del Sur, a vegan Mexican restaurant, Little Unicoco, a Nigerian restaurant,

and a community garden. Other established businesses include: a costume and antiques shop, Caribbean American Bakery, fast food joints, an athletic wear store, a currency exchange, and a liquor store. In the area, there are also several social service agencies, including Howard Area Community Center, the Recyclery (an educational bike shop), Just-A-Harvest (an anti-hunger organization), and Good News Partners (a community development organization that provides housing to low-income families in the area).

Walking west on Howard, you will reach Clark Street and the Gateway Plaza. This shopping center has a Jewel grocery store, Marshalls, Payless, a gym, and other small stores and restaurants. People from both Rogers Park and Evanston shop here, as this is in between both communities. Going west on Howard, there are more Caribbean and African restaurants.

Turning south on Clark Street, you will find a variety of businesses, many of them catering to Mexicans, such as *panaderias* (bakeries), *paleterias* (ice-cream shops), grocery stores, a Western wear shop, and a piñata/candy shop. There are a variety of Mexican restaurants and street vendors selling tamales, corn and other snacks, and people of all ethnic backgrounds patronize these businesses. Other important places along Clark include: Rogers Park Fruit Market (a grocery store that offers a variety of ethnic products), a fire station, Romanian Kosher Sausage (a reminder of the neighborhood's former Jewish population), the public library, and on the southern end of Rogers Park, a police station. On the weekends, you will see people of different ethnicities wearing their Sunday's best: women in African print dresses and *quinceañeras* and little girls wearing fluffy dresses by St. Jerome Church on Lunt and Clark. Across the street from St. Jerome, there is a Hare Krishna temple where people sport a variety of outfits, including saris.

The area west of Clark is more residential and there are not many businesses on Ridge, the boundary between Rogers Park and West Ridge. Some sections have single-family Victorian houses and others apartment buildings. Although this area is for the most part quiet, there is prostitution in the blocks surrounding the Metra commuter train stop around Clark.

Other sections of the neighborhood are defined by the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) train stops and the businesses and entertainment options in their surroundings. In between Loyola and Howard, the elevated train also stops at Morse and Jarvis. You can also tell apart these sections of the neighborhood because there are banners, sponsored by the Rogers Park Business Alliance, hanging from lampposts (see figure 9). At Jarvis Square, there are a few bars, restaurants, a coffee shop, and a strip mall with a laundromat, a currency exchange and the alderman's office. Across the street, you will find the new offices for the West Ridge/Rogers Park Historical Society. In the vicinity, there are condos, apartment buildings, and single-family homes.

Some people consider Morse the "downtown" of Rogers Park. It is roughly in the middle of the neighborhood and, in the blocks surrounding the train station, there are coffee shops, restaurants, fast food joints, laundromats, a dollar store, a pharmacy, and other small businesses. There are also some neighborhood institutions nearby: Morse Fresh Market, the Rogers Park Business Alliance, Northside Community Resources (a non-profit that offers multicultural resources), and Parents Allied with Children and Teachers for Tomorrow (PACTT, which offers services to individuals with autism). There are also three churches nearby. On Morse and Ashland, you will find the United Church of Rogers Park, a Methodist church that displays a rainbow flag near its name, and Misión Cristiana Elim, which stands in a former synagogue. A block west is St. Jerome Catholic Church, a basilica that takes up one block from Lunt to Morse.



Figure 10. Lamppost banners for Howard Street, Morse Avenue, the Glenwood Avenue Arts District, and Clark Street on display at the Rogers Park Business Alliance. Photo by the author, July 25, 2015.

Morse also intersects with Glenwood Avenue, a cobblestone street that is the center of the arts district. Here you will find the Lifeline Theatre, a sculpture garden, art galleries and studios, and bars. The street runs parallel to the elevated train tracks. The train's viaducts and overpasses have been decorated with murals as part of the "Mile of Murals" Project by the Rogers Park Business Alliance and the local Special Service Area or business improvement district. A block north of Morse by Glenwood, you can find the Heartland Café, a restaurant founded in 1976 that has supported progressive politics. A mural near the Heartland commemorates that Barack Obama kicked off his Senate campaign there in 2005. Other murals along Glenwood depict "a brief history" of Rogers Park and say "Welcome" in multiple languages, celebrating the neighborhood's multicultural flavor.

Arts and murals are not limited to Glenwood; throughout the neighborhood you will see murals in train underpasses and sculptures in some parkways. There are also some eccentric touches here and there, which some people say give the neighborhood its character. For example, one house is painted orange with brown dots like a giraffe and another house's front yard is

decorated with car rims and other parts[18]. People also display their group affiliations and political preferences visually. There are rainbow flags, sports flags, and since the election of Trump, the neighborhood has been covered in signs that say, "Hate has no home here."

How do People Interact with the Space and With Each Other?

Although some ethnoracial groups are more concentrated in certain parts of Rogers Park, the streets serve as a "common denominator" where people run into each other. This is a neighborhood where a lot of people walk and bike. Rogers Park has a walkability score of 86 and a bike score of 73, which means that "most errands can be accomplished on foot" and that biking is convenient, according to Walk Score[19]. One of the benefits of living in Rogers Park is that it is close to public transportation. However, others walk or bike out of necessity; there is limited parking in the area or they cannot afford a car.

In the streets, it is common to see people of different ethnic/racial backgrounds, though it is less common to see mixed-race groups of friends. Black and Latino high school students and interracial couples are the exception. In the mornings, commuters walk to the train station and parents walk their children to school. High school students from CMSA and Sullivan High School walk or take public transportation. Dog-owners are also visible in the streets, parks, and even in small beaches where they let their pets loose when no one is watching. The streets surrounding grocery stores have a steady foot-traffic and attract public characters. Outside of Morse Market, a black woman sells Streetwise, a magazine that supports the homeless, and there

[18] DNA Info devoted an article to some of these homes in 2013. See "Far Out in Rogers Park: Here's the Backstory on its Five Weirdest Homes" https://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20131111/rogers-park/far-out-rogers-park-heres-backstory-on-its-five-weirdest-homes#slide-2.

[19] Data obtained from https://www.walkscore.com/IL/Chicago/Rogers_Park. Accessed May 31, 2017.

are black and white panhandlers throughout the neighborhood. Other places where ethnoracial diversity is visible are elevated train stations, grocery stores, parks, and the public library. This means that no matter where people live in Rogers Park, when they go out to work, to run an errand, or for a walk, they will see people of different skin colors.

In public settings, there is peaceful coexistence but little intermingling among people of different ethnic or racial backgrounds. As an example, let's take a look at the parks. Everyone goes to Loyola Park on the lakefront, but within the park, there is separation by age and activity. Latino families picnic by the green areas. East Asians play soccer and volleyball. A group of mostly black men plays basketball on the north end of the park. This is one of the few courts that still has hoops. (They were removed for crime and safety reasons.) On the benches overlooking the park, elderly people and others sit to people watch. On the beach, there are families and young people of all ethnicities but you rarely see mixed-race groups. All of these people are present in the same place without any major conflict. This is something that cannot be taken for granted, as some black interviewees reported getting looks in other Chicago neighborhoods.

One of the ways that strangers do interact is by greeting each other in the streets. In the northwest side of Chicago where I grew up, greeting people was not common. In fact, I grew up thinking that you should not approach strangers in cities. When I began my fieldwork, people told me that Rogers Park was a friendly neighborhood where people sometimes greeted each other. "It's because it's close to the lake," was a common explanation for the friendliness in this urban area. Therefore, I was not surprised when the first strangers said "good morning" or "how you doing?" and I made sure to respond to them. I then noticed that most of the people greeting me were black men. While many of my interactions in the streets had a gendered component (see the section below on catcalls), not all of these greetings felt flirtatious. According to Anderson

(2011), “Black strangers more often greet and otherwise acknowledge other strangers, particularly other blacks” (3). By greeting others and making eye contact, people make instant assessments of mutual interest (Anderson 2011, 113).

Since my experiences with greetings could be influenced by my personal characteristics or where I spent time, I began to ask people of all backgrounds if they greeted others in the streets. Most people did not initiate greetings to strangers but they responded to them. Some speculated that this was a custom that people brought from the south side of Chicago or the South. On a walk with my dog, I finally asked an elderly woman who I knew greeted strangers. We saw each other so often that I had initiated some greetings, too. She had grown up in Jamaica and her mother taught her to greet her neighbors. “You never know when you might need something,” she said. A Latina who worked at a local non-profit greeted everyone on her way to work in the morning, even if she was sleepy, because she wanted to get to know people. She hoped that people would eventually recognize her and that the greetings would eventually lead to conversations about her organization. However, in my case, greetings did not turn into more than polite exchanges.

Another way that strangers interact is through their dogs. These encounters last longer than greetings and also cross racial lines. In the summer of 2014, I got a dog after I moved into a new apartment around Pottawattomie Park in the northwest side of Rogers Park. Napoleon, a terrier-poodle mix, was then a two-month-old puppy. Soon after I began taking him on walks, I noticed that my interactions with people in the streets changed. People felt comfortable approaching me and asking me questions: What’s its name? Is it a boy or a girl? How old is he? Can I pet him? Other dog owners would stop so that the dogs would smell each other and play. Sometimes they offered me unsolicited advice. Normally, strangers do not ask others personal

questions or meddle in their affairs, but the fact that this was a dog made it acceptable. At the dog park, you could see whites, blacks, and to a lesser extent, Latinos with their dogs. We often knew the dogs by name but not the owner's.

Through my dog, I also got to know several people who lived on my block. When I moved into my apartment, my landlady told me that the next-door neighbor was the "block's watchdog." I would see David[20], a middle aged white man, every day in his garden with his German Shepherd. However, we did not talk or even greet each other until two weeks later, when I brought Napoleon to my apartment. David asked me if I had moved in recently and we struck up a conversation about dogs. After that, Napoleon started stopping by his fence on our way back from our walks. He would not leave until David or his dog came over to pet him or to play through the fence. Through David, I met other people who stopped by his front yard—some had dogs and others liked to pet them. While I was not on a housing-visiting basis with my neighbors, there was a white family on the block that gave Napoleon treats, gave me boxes when I moved out of the neighborhood, and invited me over for Christmas (I declined because I have family in Chicago). In my case, having a dog opened the door for longer conversations with my neighbors and gave us something in common, despite our different ages and ethnic backgrounds.

Finally, the streets are also the setting for casual encounters between acquaintances. After a few months in the neighborhood, I began to run into people I knew while I was out and about. I also began to recognize the faces of many others from meetings and events, but since we had not been formally introduced, I did not greet them. Given the neighborhood's active civic scene, this is a common occurrence. Sheree Moratto, who lived in the neighborhood and worked for the Rogers Park Business Alliance, could not walk to work without running into someone she knew.

[20] Pseudonym.

Everyone knew her from her job as the director of the farmer's market. Similarly, Elena[21], the catechism teacher I worked with at a Catholic church, often ran into her former students. For those with large local networks, these greetings contributed to a small-town vibe[22] in an urban neighborhood.

When Civility Breaks Down

This picture of civil interactions across the color line is consistent with McDermott (2006) and Anderson (2011). McDermott's (2006) ethnography shows that, for the most part, working-class blacks and whites maintain civil relations in convenience stores in Atlanta and Boston. In turn, Anderson (2011) focuses on a larger set of spaces where racial and ethnic boundaries are deemphasized. Anderson (2011) defines the cosmopolitan canopy as "settings that offer a respite from the lingering tensions of urban life and an opportunity for diverse peoples to come together. Canopies are in essence pluralistic spaces where people engage one another in a spirit of civility, or even comity and goodwill" (xiv). The positive character of these encounters does not mean there is no racism. For McDermott (2006), racism is free floating and surfaces in response controversial situations and topics, such as crime. For Anderson (2011), racial lines can be suddenly drawn, leading to slights and to the "nigger moment," when a black person who is usually in a "white" space is put back in his place (256).

Some could argue that Rogers Park is a cosmopolitan canopy because the entire neighborhood has been defined as diverse and as belonging to all. However, people's experiences within the neighborhood vary by place and by personal background. Anderson's

[21] Pseudonym.
[22] The small-town aspect of the neighborhood is both a good and a bad thing. On the one hand, people are friendly. On the other hand, when people know you, they stop you for conversations and they may meddle in your affairs.

canopy deemphasizes racial and ethnic lines, but I found that in many public settings, gender is highly salient. The intersection of gender, race, class and age shape how people move through space and their experiences within those spaces. The lakefront, some parks, some grocery stores, and the library are indeed cosmopolitan canopies where people encounter each other in a more relaxed atmosphere. However, there are places where some people are not as comfortable going. Some people see places like Howard as dangerous, a racialized designation[23].

People's comfort going to other sections of the neighborhood depends on more than the place's reputation. It depends on people's previous exposure to city life, street smarts, and gender. In general, people who were used to city life did not consider the neighborhood more dangerous than other parts of the Chicago. By contrast, they talked about friends and family members who were concerned about the neighborhood's safety. Because they did not have experience with city life, they did not have the tools to adequately assess danger and to manage situations. For example, a graduate of Loyola University told me that another student cried after a panhandler approached her asking for money. For the average city-dweller, encountering a panhandler is not a big deal. Most people keep walking without acknowledging him or her. For a person with little experience encountering poverty and people of color, this was a disturbing encounter. She might not have known what to do and what to expect in this situation.

While being street-smart often overlaps with race or with being from the inner city, there is also a class element to this. More often than not, when people talked about people who were afraid, they referred to white people from the suburbs who moved to the city, but this could also include middle-class non-whites. A Latina from the Howard area said her relatives would not

[23] In Rogers Park, when people talk about crime and gangs, they usually imply black gangs. Although there are Latin Kings in the neighborhood, when shootings make the news, they mostly refer to black victims and alleged perpetrators.

visit her. Others were critical of people who would "cocoon" in newer, more expensive apartment buildings and condos. They were usually young professionals who lived in Rogers Park but did all of their shopping and socializing outside of the neighborhood. According to a woman who lived in one of these condos, "they want to check the box that they live in a diverse neighborhood" but they have unexamined privilege and fears. As an example, she described how after a shooting on her block, her neighbors came out carrying glasses of wine to observe from the sidewalk. They are not so fearful that they avoid living near racial minorities and low-income people, but their underlying fears and preferences for more upscale establishments limit their engagement with the neighborhood.

Gender also influences people's comfort levels in different parts of the neighborhood. I experienced catcalls almost every day (see Appendix C) as I walked around the neighborhood. In my conversations with other women, they also reported catcalls, and a few were followed and solicited, particularly around an area known for prostitution on Clark Street. Most women could not avoid those parts of the neighborhood where they experienced harassment; in some cases, they lived or worked nearby. An exception was a woman who told me that some of her white friends would avoid a grocery store because they could not handle the men in the vicinity.

For black men, their race, gender, and self-presentation, which is tied to class, could facilitate or hinder movement throughout the neighborhood. For one young professional, his identity and dress style allowed him to enter different spaces without raising eyebrows or getting in trouble. However, another young professional said that he avoided going to Howard. He was concerned that he might be confused for someone else and shot. These fears were not unfounded. On the afternoon of July 12, 2014, Wil Lewis, a 28 year-old photographer, was shot in the back as he waited for the Devon bus with his wife (Sobol 2014).

While the presence of black men is taken for granted in this multiethnic neighborhood, their self-presentation still influences how people perceive (Freeman et al. 2011) and treat them. On two occasions, I witnessed how women—one white and another black—scolded young black men with sagging pants. The black woman specifically told him to pull up his pants, while the white woman yelled from across the street, "young man, respect yourself." The young man was walking with a small group of people and they were being loud. His reply was, "shut the fuck up." Young men with sagging pants are not the only ones judged based on their self-presentation. Mr. Luke, a black man in his mid-40s, was aware that he was treated differently when he wore casual versus business clothing. While people have stronger reactions to younger black men, the fact that they continue to be profiled as they age is a reminder that their acceptance, even in a multiethnic neighborhood, is conditional.

CONCLUSION

People like to say that Rogers Park is an example to the rest of Chicago and the world. They are proud that people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds live peacefully in the same neighborhood. This reputation of being accepting of difference goes beyond race and ethnicity. This is a place for the LGBT community, hippies, and artists. In Rogers Park, diversity is more than the statistical integration that shows up in Census figures; it is also part of the community's identity and visible in the landscape. Politicians and community and business leaders have contributed to defining and promoting the neighborhood's identity (Berrey 2015). In their everyday life, residents also define the neighborhood's social character as they move through space and interact with each other. If someone were to walk through the neighborhood, they would see blacks, Latinos, whites, and to a lesser extent, Asians.

The neighborhood's walkability and its proximity to the lake encourage people to go outdoors. While there are spaces where you can see everyone hanging out (the streets, the lakefront, the library, some grocery stores), there are others where some groups are more concentrated like whites near Loyola and Mexicans on Clark Street. Fear and concerns about crime also discourage some people from going to Howard. Nevertheless, in public, we do not see the tensions that characterize other neighborhoods. In places undergoing demographics shifts, these changes can trigger a sense of threat against newcomers. Since Rogers Park has been a majority-minority neighborhood since the 1990s, the presence of minorities in the neighborhood is expected.

This does not mean that Rogers Park is a racial paradise free of prejudice and conflict; only that those things do not characterize most encounters, at least in an overt fashion. In the past decades, there has been a shift from Jim Crow racism, in which people often openly expressed racial bias, to laissez-faire racism and color-blind ideologies (Bobo, Kluegal, and Smith 1997; Bonilla-Silva 2014). Under these newer forms of racism, people express prejudice in more subtle ways and attribute racial inequality to market forces. In Rogers Park, we can also see these inequalities. Although there are also middle class minorities in the neighborhood, at least a quarter of Asians and a third of blacks and Latinos are poor[24] (ACS 2011-2015). In addition, many neighbors are immigrants who lack the rights of U.S. citizens. This means that when people of different ethnoracial backgrounds encounter each other in the neighborhood, they are encountering each other in a context of inequality.

[24] 18.8% of non-Hispanic, whites are also poor, which is above Chicago's poverty rate for whites (10.4%).

Because people occupy different social positions, they experience integration in the neighborhood in different ways. Race, class, gender, and age shape how people move through space and their interactions with each other. One lesson from this chapter is that how integrated a place looks depends on where you look and who you are. To gain a different vantage point, I examine integration in the civic sphere in the next chapters.

Chapter 3

WORKING TOGETHER? CIVIC LIFE IN A MULTIETHNIC NEIGHBORHOOD

How are people from multiethnic communities getting civically engaged? The most common picture of diverse communities is that of people "hunkering down" and withdrawing from collective life (Putnam 2007). While several scholars have disputed Putnam's (2007) findings using quantitative data (Abascal and Baldassarri 2015; Portes and Vickstrom 2011; Sampson 2012; Sampson, McAdam, MacIndoe, and Weffer-Elizondo 2005), we lack an alternative account of collective life in these neighborhoods. This chapter improves our understanding of civic life by examining the role of organizations in producing collective action in a diverse neighborhood in Chicago.

In this chapter, I show who participates in civic activities, how organizations are divided, and what they have in common. In Rogers Park, divisions in the civic sphere are not explicitly racial. Instead, they stem from different strategies for solving problems. While one strategy advocates community involvement as a solution to local problems, the second strategy demands action to alleviate the causes of problems. In spite of their different strategies, organizations share the challenge of doing community outreach in a multiethnic neighborhood where middle-class, middle-aged whites are the most involved in civic activities. I describe the efforts of two organizations to recruit members and how the Catholic Church provides a space for Latinos who are largely absent from other organizations. I conclude that sharing a common space does not necessarily lead to ethnoracial conflict or to hunkering down, but it also does not give residents common interests.

These findings have implications for improving our understanding of civic life in diverse neighborhoods. Adopting an organizational focus broadens our understanding of the factors that shape civic participation beyond individual characteristics. Organizations shape public life in the neighborhood by aggregating the voices of individuals and advocating for solutions to problems. I conclude by discussing the importance of taking into account the organizational infrastructure that channels individual desires for change into collective action in diverse communities.

BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE

Studying collective action in neighborhoods is important because through these efforts residents can improve their living conditions. Most research on residential patterns has not explicitly examined its political consequences and existing research on civic participation has focused on individual behavior. A promising insight comes from Massey and Denton (1993) who maintain that racial segregation makes it difficult for the black underclass to establish cross-racial alliances because other groups do not share their living conditions. Massey and Denton's claim remains largely untested, but extending their reasoning to racially integrated neighborhoods, we would expect that sharing the same physical space could shape a sense of common interests and facilitate the formation of alliances across the color line.

Putnam (2007) exemplifies another line of research that addresses the relationship between a community's racial composition and civic processes. He argues that in diverse communities residents show lower levels of trust, even in their own group, and lower involvement in collective life. Several scholars have challenged Putnam's work using quantitative data (Abascal and Baldassarri 2015; Portes and Vickstrom 2011; Sampson et al. 2005; Sampson 2011), but two criticisms are particularly relevant. First, Abascal and Baldassarri

(2015) use Putnam's (2007) own dataset and show that his findings disappear when they control for ethnicity and citizenship at the individual and census tract levels. They argue that Putnam's findings are driven by the fact that whites exhibit lower levels of trust when living in a neighborhood with out-group members. Minorities do not exhibit lower levels of trust when living in diverse neighborhoods. Thus, Abascal and Baldassarri's (2015) works suggests that we pay attention to racial dynamics inside diverse neighborhoods and to variation in people's responses to the same social context.

Second, Sampson (2011) argues that we should focus on the production of collective action rather than individual behavior. His analysis of collective events in Chicago from 1970 to 2000 shows that the main driver of collective action is the organizational density of neighborhoods. Neighborhood heterogeneity was not a significant predictor of collective events. In fact, three of the most diverse communities in Chicago (Rogers Park, Hyde Park and Beverly) have a high density of organizations and collective events. Sampson's (2011) work thus directs our attention to the role of organizations in shaping collective life.

If Putnam's (2007) view of civic life in diverse communities is flawed, then what is happening in these places? Most qualitative studies of diverse communities predate Putnam (2007); nevertheless, they give us clues about civic life. These studies show that community organizations are key to keeping neighborhoods integrated (Maly 2005; Molotch 1972; Nyden, Lukehart, and Maly 1998). These findings suggest that we also pay attention to class differences among ethnic/racial groups, as they may lead to different outcomes. In Monterey Park, California, Horton (1995) found that under conditions of class equality Asians, Latinos, and whites formed grassroots interethnic alliances and redefined the city's identity as diverse.

By contrast, in diverse Chicago neighborhoods where there is class inequality, there is ambivalence around race/ethnicity and class (Berrey 2005; Burke 2012). First, Berrey's (2005) ethnography of three housing-related organizations[25] in Rogers Park showed that diversity discourse was pervasive among real estate professionals and white progressive organizers but that it was multivalent and that it often prevented open discussion and action around racial justice issues. Second, Burke (2012) interviewed residents who were actively involved in community associations, such as blocks clubs, in Uptown, Edgewater, and Rogers Park. Burke found that active residents who were primarily white, middle-class liberals valued diversity but did little to preserve it.

Existing qualitative studies are limited because they have not incorporated the perspectives of all the groups that make these communities diverse. Middle-class whites predominated in the organizations where Nyden et. al (1998), Maly (2005), and Burke (2012) conducted interviews. Other studies do not reflect the multiethnic nature of the United States, which consists of African-Americans, Asians, Latinos, and whites. Molotch (1972) and Berrey (2012) have focused on black and white relations, while Horton (1972) studied a city where the black population is less than one percent.

It is of theoretical importance to study civic participation in a neighborhood where the major ethnic/racial groups are represented in significant numbers. African-Americans have been the paradigmatic group in studies of race relations and they have faced the most exclusion in housing. Nevertheless, the entrance of Asian and Hispanics to neighborhoods may actually facilitate the integration of blacks (Logan and Zhang 2010). Therefore, it is crucial to take into

[25] Berrey (2005) studied an association for real estate professionals, a social justice alliance and a Section 8 tenant organization from 2000 to 2003. Whites led the first two organizations, while low-income blacks led the Section 8 organization.

account multi-group dynamics to see how boundaries are negotiated on the ground in light of the diversity brought by Hispanics and Asians.

To address these gaps in the literature, I approach the study of civic participation through an organizational and multi-group perspective. Shifting our attention to the role of organizations in producing collective action allows us to craft an alternative theory of civic participation. While Sampson (2011) has demonstrated that the density of organizations in a neighborhood is the best predictor of collective action events, it remains unclear how that happens. This chapter shows how organizations translate individual efforts into collective action and the challenges they face in a multiethnic context. Furthermore, by doing fieldwork in several organizations, it includes the viewpoints of ethnic/racial and class minorities. Rogers Park is one of the few neighborhoods in Chicago where the four major ethnoracial groups—Asians, blacks, Hispanics, and whites—are present in significant numbers, thus allowing us to study multiple groups at the same time.

METHODS

My research strategy for studying civic participation involves comparative fieldwork in neighborhood-based organizations. Doing comparative fieldwork in organizations allows us to identify "broader sociological processes common" to all (Marwell 2007). My purpose was twofold. First, I wanted to develop relationships with people of different backgrounds to understand their motivations for getting involved. Did similar living conditions create common interests? Second, I wanted to learn about the characteristics of these organizations (membership, governance, etc.) and their strategies in mobilizing people for collective action. This type of information can shed light on how organizations connect individuals with a common goal and

how identities are activated or transformed through participation in events—topics that have not received adequate attention in the collective action literature (Baldassarri 2009; Calhoun 1991). Do organizations make universal or color-blind appeals to mobilize people? Finally, I was interested in how organizations collaborate with other actors to gain insight into whether there is ethnic/racial conflict or cooperation.

I began my research by compiling a list of organizations in Rogers Park based on Internet searches and flyers I saw around the neighborhood. I obtained access to organizations after requesting interviews with staff or after being introduced by members. This chapter draws primarily on my observations with the following organizations:

1. **Tenants' Association** (8/2013 – 2/2014): A group of low-income tenants who were aided by two housing-related organizations and lawyers. They were fighting poor living conditions and evictions against the company that bought their building. The association ceased its activities following the eviction of the last tenants.
2. **Catholic Church** (9/2013 – 4/2015): I assisted in Catechism school for children (grades 1-3) on Saturdays. While this church is not a grassroots organization, it is the center of the Hispanic (mainly Mexican) community in Rogers Park.
3. **Participatory Budgeting (PB) in the 49th Ward** (10/2013 – 5/2015, 4/2016, 11/2016 - present): Participatory Budgeting is a process that allows residents of the 49th Ward, which covers Rogers Park, to participate in the allocation of one million dollars to improve the neighborhood's infrastructure. Community representatives work with the alderman's office to develop projects and the winning projects are chosen through a community-wide vote.

In addition, I was also a member of a community garden and a volunteer at a food distribution program in public schools. I attended the meetings of health-related network of organizations and community meetings. To keep up-to-date on issues, I read the local newspaper online, blogs, and followed discussions on a neighborhood-based social network. I subscribed to several mailing lists, including those by the alderman and the Rogers Park Business Alliance.

My role in these organizations was that of an observer and sometimes a volunteer and a Spanish interpreter, but I never played a role in decision-making. I introduced myself to people as a Ph.D. student doing a dissertation about Rogers Park. I use pseudonyms for the people and organizations I studied, unless given permission to use real names.

To supplement my observations, I conducted 103 tape-recoded interviews with Rogers Park residents about their perceptions of the neighborhood and their involvement in collective life. I included in my sample people who were involved and uninvolved in local organizations. Getting the point of view of the uninvolved is useful for making comparisons with those who are involved in local associations. For more details about my methods, see Appendix A.

FINDINGS

Civic Life in a Multiethnic Neighborhood

Before I started my fieldwork, I knew that Rogers Park had high levels of collective civic events and organizational density (Sampson 2011). What was not clear was if and how people of different backgrounds were coming together for these events. Is there high collective action in Rogers Park because different ethnic groups have their own organizations? Or does living in an "integrated" neighborhood create a common set of concerns that facilitate cross-racial cooperation?

Through my fieldwork, I found that there is a high level of collective events in the neighborhood but that participation is not representative of the neighborhood's demographic composition. To provide a picture of the neighborhood's civic life, I begin by describing who participates in civic activities and the types of organizations in which they are involved.

Who Participates in Civic Activities?

It did not take me very long in my fieldwork to realize that white, middle-class and middle-aged people were the most involved in civic activities. At community meetings and other events, I got into the habit of counting people (the total in attendance and by race/ethnicity). As I was counting, I also realized that there were a lot of people with grey hair, which gave me insight into the attendee's ages. For example, at a meeting on crime on May 12, 2014, which I will describe in more detail later, there were over 150 people. This was not unusual for a popular meeting[26] but given the topic of discussion, I had expected more ethnoracial diversity. There were about a dozen people who appeared to be black, five Latinos, and two Asians. There were also more people in their twenties and thirties than at other community meetings but the majority of people appeared to be over fifty. Of course, classifications by an external observer do not always match people's self-understandings (Roth 2010), especially for people who are racially ambiguous or who do not look their age, but they give us a sense of who is part of the audience.

[26] The most popular meetings that I attended were in the aftermath of the Trump election and held over 300 people (1/16/17 and 2/13/17). The least popular meeting was about improving the Ridge and Touhy intersection (3/19/15) and had an estimated attendance of 48.

What Kinds of Civic Organizations Are There in the Neighborhood?

There are a variety of civic organizations in Rogers Park and they differ in their relationship with the alderman, the demographics of their membership, and how they get things done. One of the first people that I interviewed, Frank, a 57-year-old white male, said that it was "always the same people" at events and suggested that I join the alderman's email list to find out about events. The alderman email list has 14,000 people, according to one of his posts on EveryBlock, a social networking site (7/24/14). (Rogers Park's population is close to 55,000, according to the 2010 Census.) The alderman sends emails at least once a week to keep constituents updated on current issues and to announce events sponsored by his office like community meetings and festivals. In August 2015, he sent announcements for the State Senator Stearns and Alderman Moore's Back to School Picnic, an event by the Rogers Park Garden Group, a Loyola student-neighbor meet and greet, CAPS (Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy) meetings where police officers meet residents, and Positive Loitering where people hang out in "problem" areas to send a message to criminals while escorted by the police. Although most of these organizations also advertise their events by posting flyers around the neighborhood and in the public library, many people told me they had learned about events through the alderman's emails. The Rogers Park Business Alliance sends a "Happenings" weekly email with upcoming events hosted by local businesses, the farmers market, local parks, the community garden, and the alderman, such as his Back to School Picnic.

Park Advisory Council (PACs) members have worked with the alderman to get playgrounds and other resources to parks and playlots through Participatory Budgeting and other city programs. I met PACs and CAPS members through Participatory Budgeting. Some PAC members are young mothers who are part of an online parents group with over one thousand

members[27]. Participatory Budgeting is a process sponsored by the alderman where residents of the 49th Ward help him decide how to spend a million dollars in infrastructure improvements.

Other highly visible organizations include the 49th Ward Democratic Party, the Rogers Park/West Ridge Historical Society, Network 49, and Protect Rogers Park. Network 49 is an independent, progressive political organization founded in 2015. It focuses on a range of issues, including supporting local public schools (especially against charter schools), community safety, and development. Protect Rogers Park is the newest organization in the neighborhood. It was started in 2017 in response to Trump's policies against immigrants and refugees. There is some overlap between Network 49 and Protect Rogers Park members. While there are more racial minorities and younger people in Network 49 and Protect Rogers Park than in the other organizations I have previously described, minorities are still underrepresented.

There are additional grassroots organizations in the neighborhood devoted to social justice issues, but some of them are not as well known or are no longer active. I met members of most of these organizations through my involvement in the tenants' association, a group of low-income residents of a large apartment building. They were fighting against their evictions and to keep affordable housing in the north side. Most tenants were black but there were also some white tenants. I first heard about the tenants because someone handed me a flyer for one of their events at the Glenwood Arts Festival, one of the two biggest summer festivals hosted in the neighborhood. The tenants then introduced me to members of two organizations that supported them: a local anti-eviction organization and a social justice organization based on the north side of Chicago. The members of the anti-eviction organization were African-Americans, Latinos, and whites of different ages; some were college-educated and some were low income. Some

[27] These figures were based on an online search on May 19, 2017.

members of the anti-eviction organization were also involved in the Rogers Park chapter of an economic equality movement, which is no longer active.

Grassroots organizations, like the tenants' association, are sometimes at odds with the alderman. One of their strategies is to pressure the alderman and other city agencies to do the right thing by organizing demonstrations and by calling the media. In fact, the first event of the tenants' association that I attended was an Interfaith Prayer Vigil for housing rights outside of the alderman's office. The tenants had been asking the alderman to help them get a meeting with the building's new owner to address their evictions and living conditions. A staff member from the alderman's office came out and distributed copies of a letter calling the tenants' request for a meeting with the building's owner "extortion." Some tenants were convinced that the landlord, a developer who owns several buildings on the north side, had "paid off" the alderman.

Different Strategies for the Same Problem

Divisions in the civic sphere are not explicitly racial. Instead, they stem from differences in strategies for addressing problems. I identified two strategies: (1) get involved, and (2) we must address structural inequality. The first strategy advocates community involvement as a solution to local problems. The second strategy goes beyond community involvement and seeks to address the structural inequalities that cause issues like poverty and crime that disproportionately affect minorities. While many people care about social justice in this progressive neighborhood, the second approach is most closely associated with organizations that voice their claims in bolder or more creative ways.

I illustrate these two strategies by focusing on a community meeting on crime that took place on May 12, 2014. This meeting brought together proponents of community policing who

exemplified the "get involved" strategy and progressive organizations who wanted more funding for education and social services to deal with crime and safety issues. Alderman Joe Moore organized the meeting with Commander Thomas Waldera of the 24th Police District following an increase in homicides in the neighborhood. By May 2014, there had been five homicides in Rogers Park, compared to a total of four homicides in the past year. Over 150 residents attended the meeting at the fieldhouse of Loyola Park.

The meeting began with a forty-minute presentation by Commander Waldera. The commander spoke about crime trends and promoted community involvement to improve the neighborhood's safety. He said, "We cannot control the conditions that cause crime, poverty ... Rogers Park has so many meetings. We can use that as tool." One of the tools that Commander Waldera referred to was CAPS or Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy. This is a community policing program where people meet with police officers to discuss problems and ways to deal with them. At the beginning of the meeting, the neighbors who facilitate these meetings were introduced. They were all siting in the first row. There were flyers with the dates and times for these meetings.

This "get involved" strategy is also advanced by the alderman and Participatory Budgeting, for example. The underlying idea is that citizens *should* have a say in the issues that affect them and that participation is empowering and part of the democratic process. However, this assumes that people feel comfortable interacting with institutions, like the police department, and airing their grievances through official channels.

After the commander's presentation, the meeting was opened for questions from the community. Members of at least two progressive organization—the anti-eviction organization and the Chicago Light Brigade—were present at this meeting and used their comments to shift

the conversation from policing to what they considered the real issue: the criminalization of youth and the lack of funding social services, which they argued contributed to an unsafe environment.

An exchange between a young woman from the Light Brigade and the alderman illustrates their different approaches. Before the meeting, she had been passing flyers that denounced the conditions at Gale Math and Science Academy, an elementary school in the North of Howard area. The flyer showed pictures of peeling lead paint and malfunctioning fire-alarm systems. When it was her turn to speak, she asked, "What can be different? We need to stop funding SUVs where cops sit all day. And fund programs such as Homeboy Industries that train people. Stop blaming survivors: black and brown youth." The alderman responded that improvements had been made and said that he wanted to "put her in touch with some organizations."

As this exchange illustrates, progressive organizations explicitly reject solutions that bring more policing to communities of color and, instead, focus on solutions that address the causes of crime and safety issues, such as poor funding for schools and social services. By contrast, the alderman's response stresses the idea of getting involved if you care about these issues. This exchange also illustrates how progressive organizations voice their claims. By raising the *school* issue at a meeting on *crime*, they made a connection between these issues: the school conditions were criminal. This strategy was successful in getting the people at the meeting to ask questions about the school. They also got attention of the media and pressured Chicago Public Schools to finally make repairs to the school.

A Common Challenge: Doing Outreach in a Multiethnic Neighborhood

A common challenge for organizations is recruiting members, and in a multiethnic neighborhood, that challenge is greater because it requires making appeals that resonate with different audiences. I illustrate how members of two organizations try to recruit people who are different from them. First, the tenants' association is a case where the "older" low-income tenants were trying to recruit new, more advantaged tenants. Second, Participatory Budgeting, is a case where middle-aged whites are trying to recruit minorities.

The Tenants' Association

The tenants' association was a group of former and current low-income tenants of a large apartment building in Rogers Park. The building had offered affordable studios and one-bedroom apartments but had a long history of poor living conditions. After it was sold to a corporation in October 2012, tenants—many who were on month-to-month contracts—started being served with evictions. The building manager told them that they were going to rehab the building to "rent up" to college students. As the apartments were vacated, the new company started rehabbing them and renting them at higher prices to white young professionals and Loyola college students.

During the time I studied the tenants' association from late August 2013 until February 2014 when the association ceased its activities, the building was half-empty and included a mix of "older" residents and "new" residents. The association's activities included weekly meetings and demonstrations in front of courtrooms and banks. Between five to ten older residents showed up regularly to the meetings. The most active tenants were a white, single mother and a middle-

aged black man. The other regulars were mostly black men, two white women, and two volunteers from other organizations—a white woman and a white man.

The tenants' association actively reached out to new tenants. They knocked on doors and posted flyers every week reminding them of meetings and hosted a bar night. It is important to note that in addition to the evictions, there were other issues in the building that affected all tenants: bedbug infestations, broken elevators, and irregular hot water service. These efforts were largely unsuccessful. During my fieldwork, only one new tenant, Michelle[28], a white woman in her early 30s started attending the meetings regularly. Only one new tenant showed up to the bar night. After hot water was off for days, a couple and two roommates attended a meeting, but only one stayed for the whole meeting. One of the roommates, a white man in his twenties, left after hearing how these issues were ongoing and that the best advice was to move out. He did not want to break his lease. Before leaving, the couple said that they were already in communication with management to get a rent reduction for the inconvenience.

Reflecting on their activities for the year, tenants admitted that getting new people involved was a challenge. Michelle, who had knocked on doors weekly, said that she encountered "apathy." An older tenant said, "College students don't care where they live. They just want to party." When the last "older" tenants were evicted in early 2014, they no longer had anyone to let them into the building to post flyers or to talk to new tenants. Many tenants had moved out of the neighborhood and the association stopped its activities soon after that.

The tenants' association shows us that even when people share the same poor living conditions, they may mean different things to them. For the older tenants in the association, the building represented their fight for affordable housing in the north side, which they considered a

[28] Pseudonym.

human right. Rent for a one-bedroom apartment in the building increased from $565 to at least $795 in the summer of 2013[29]. For low-income individuals, the loss of affordable housing meant having to move to the south side, often to more dangerous neighborhoods with less resources. For college students and young professionals, their stay in the building was temporary on their path to something better.

Participatory Budgeting

On the other hand, Participatory Budgeting (PB) seeks to engage minorities in the process. Through PB, ward residents decide how to spend one million dollars in infrastructure improvements for the 49th Ward. The process is facilitated by the alderman's office. It begins with public assemblies in the fall where residents give suggestions for neighborhood improvements, such as playgrounds in parks, bike lanes, murals, and street resurfacing. Those who volunteer as community representatives develop the most promising ideas in collaboration with the alderman's office and relevant city agencies, such as the Chicago Parks District and the Chicago Department of Transportation. The top projects are put on a ballot for a community vote. Anyone who is at least 16 years old is allowed to vote or to become a representative, regardless of citizenship status.

The issue of representation is crucial for PB considering that one of its goals, as a democratic process, is to be inclusive. PB's leadership is aware of this. On my first meeting with Sheree Moratto[30], the chair of the Leadership Committee for the 2013 cycle, she volunteered that one of their challenges was engaging a "broader base of interest" in this diverse community. She said that those who were involved were "Lakefront liberals and hippies": white, middle-class

[29] In 2017, the rent for a rehabbed one-bedroom apartment started at $1,100.
[30] September 5, 2013.

baby boomers and some younger people. The past year they had started a Spanish-speaking committee and it had three members. Based on my observations, about a quarter of community representatives were non-white, in a neighborhood where non-whites make up 61% of the population. Most non-white representatives were African American; there were a handful of Latinos, and a couple of Asians. Non-white community representatives were either college educated or homeowners.

The aldermanic staff assistant in charge of PB (i.e., the PB Coordinator) was Latina. She began working for the 49th Ward in 2011 and recruited the chairs of the first Spanish committee in 2012. Her plan for outreach in 2014 consisted of increasing the number of non-white voters by "getting out the vote" at a larger number of voting sites. By reaching a larger voting base, the hope is that it will lead to deeper forms of involvement with PB, such as becoming community representatives. In the 2014, the number of voting sites increased to 31 and included new sites in eight schools and nine senior homes. This was in addition to the traditional voting sites, such as the alderman's office, a grocery store, train stations, and the Catholic Church. There is a Spanish language committee and the ballot is translated into Spanish. In the election of 2014, it was also translated to Russian for elderly residents in nursing homes, and in 2016, the ballot was translated to Nepali.

The 2014 outreach effort succeeded in increasing the overall number of voters and the percentage of black voters but not of Latinos. 1,763 ward residents voted in the 2014 PB process, surpassing all previous cycles[31]. By comparison, 1,427 ward residents voted in 2013. In addition, the 49th Ward has the highest levels of participation among all wards that hold PB in Chicago.

[31] These are number of voters listed on the 49th Ward website: 1,652 voters in 2010; no data for 2011 (I heard that during the second cycle of PB the numbers dropped to around 700); 1,324 in 2012; 1,427 in 2013.

The number of voters in the 49th Ward was almost three times the number of voters (603 and 516) in the 22nd and 45th Wards in 2014.

Table 1 shows the Race and Ethnicity of Participatory Budgeting Voters in the 49th Ward from 2013 and 2014. Data comes from a report by the Great Cities Institute at the University of Illinois at Chicago (Crum, Baker, Salinas, Weber 2015). The Institute attaches a survey to the ballot and about 80% of the people who vote also fill out the survey. We, the volunteers and community representatives, tell voters that the survey is optional.

Table 1. Race and Ethnicity of Participatory Budgeting Voters in 2013 and 2014

Race/Ethnicity	2013	2014
American Indian/Alaska Native	1%	1%
Asian	3%	3%
Black or African-American	13%	20%
Hispanic or Latino/a	19%	12%
White	55%	52%
Other/Unknown	15%	18%
N	1,142	1,406

Source: Evaluation Report by the Great Cities Institute at the University of Illinois at Chicago (Crum, Baker, Salinas, Weber 2015).
Note: The total percentages for each column exceed 100% because respondents were allowed to check multiple races. In 2013, 24 respondents (2.1% of the sample) checked multiple racial categories. However, the report did not show a separate category for multiracial respondents.

Table 1 shows that the percentage of black voters increased from 13% in 2013 to 20% in 2014. However, the percentage of Hispanic voters decreased from 19% in 2013 to 12% in 2014. The percentage of whites decreased slightly from 55% to 52% for this same period of time. This suggests that the expansion of voting sites in 2014 was successful in targeting blacks but not Latinos. Most Latinos vote at the Catholic Church and the number of voters[32] at this site remained constant (n=127) in 2013 and 2014 (data obtained from the 49th Ward). While some

[32] The 49th Ward keeps track of the number of voters per site, which is higher than the number of surveys completed per site. The survey's response rate in 2014 was 75.75%.

voting sites, such as the Morse train station and the grocery store, are a few blocks from the Catholic Church, I suspect that more blacks than Latinos passed by the voting sites and that the small number of Spanish-speaking volunteers limited the ability to target Spanish-speakers.

Furthermore, PB's outreach efforts are limited by a lack of volunteers who have connections to non-white and low-income populations. As part of their job as community representatives, the PB Coordinator asks them to bring new people to events. However, since most representatives are white and middle-class, they cannot diversify the base of participation. Non-white representatives often feel that too many responsibilities fall on their plate. At the end of the voting season in May 2014, the co-chair of the Spanish committee discussed the challenges they faced that year. He said it was not just about getting people to vote, but also about involving them in the process of "deliberation and dialogue" and building community trust. Turning to the PB Coordinator, he said:

> I know that you do a lot. To expect that you do everything is unreasonable and to expect that volunteers do this many hours is unreasonable. It's about not asking one person to do everything. It's about how the community sees the aldermanic office.

Unfortunately, given the few minorities in PB's Leadership Committee, responsibilities do end up falling on them. The PB Coordinator has struggled to bring Hispanic community leaders to PB. They are busy or concerned with other issues like jobs and immigration. In an interview with Rogelio, a leader of the men's group at the Catholic Church, he told me the reason he did not get involved in neighborhood improvement groups was because he did not feel "prepared" (*No me siento preparado).* In Spanish, this means that he did not feel he had the education necessary to do the job.

My fieldwork also reveals that distrust discourages Hispanics and African-Americans from getting involved in PB. Many undocumented immigrants avoid interacting with people in power for fear of detection. When PB was trying to get people to vote at Catholic Church, a

Latina who is involved in the church struck up a conversation with us. She said[33], "It's not apathy, there are many undocumented people and they believe they don't have the same rights to participate… They want to be in the shadows." Sometimes people would agree to participate but when asked for their address to verify that they lived in the ward, they would not remember it or change their mind. Other Latinos may not be undocumented but are distrustful of government. While people of all ethnic/racial backgrounds are distrustful, for Latinos, distrust manifested itself in the belief that the projects they were voting on would not be completed[34]. One man said in Spanish, "Why [vote] if you are not going to do it[35]?" as he walked away. Even a man who voted was somewhat skeptical. "I hope this is really done," he said in Spanish[36] after he gave me his completed ballot. "Yes, it has to be done; otherwise, the money is lost," I said.

Furthermore, some African-Americans have expressed distrust of PB and other institutions. When I volunteered to staff PB voting stations in train stations, the majority of people ignored my invitation to vote by walking past me, but the few who gave a reason for not voting were usually African-Americans. Some told me they were not interested because "they are going to do what they are going to do" or because "it's not going to be for this part of the neighborhood." Given that blacks have faced significant exclusion, it is understandable that they would be suspicious. Thus, an invitation to vote or to participate in an organization is not enough to undo years of exclusion.

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[33] I translated the quote from Spanish to English. Fieldnotes April 20, 2015.
[34] I only heard one white person complain about the completion of projects. He said he had been involved in the second year of PB and the bike racks, a winning project, has not yet been completed (Fieldnotes May 6, 2017).
[35] *¿Para qué si no lo van a hacer?*
[36] *Ojalá que si se hagan [los proyectos].* Fieldnotes April 23, 2017.

Where is Latino Civic Life?

So far, my description of civic life in a multiethnic neighborhood has focused on organizations where few Hispanics are present. While the Catholic Church is not a grassroots organization, it is the center of community life for many Hispanics in Rogers Park. It shows us that Hispanics are involved in collective life in their own ways.

This Catholic Church boasts a weekend mass attendance of 4,000, and in 2012 it had the highest levels of attendance for Hispanics in the city, according to estimates conducted by the Chicago Archdiocese. According to one of the priests, most members are Mexican, although there are also white, Haitian, and Filipino members. On Sundays, there are three services in Spanish and two in English, and special services for the holidays are bilingual in English and Spanish. At one point, when the Haitian population was larger, special services were trilingual in French. The church has ministries or groups for youth, couples, immigration reform, and in 2014, they started a weekly food pantry. In addition, the church has a religious education program, run by almost 20 volunteers, that serves over 200 students. I assisted one of the teachers every Saturday in this program. In addition, every year, the church organizes a festival with food and music.

Why are Hispanics so involved in this church? While the number of people who serve in ministries is small compared to the number of churchgoers, those who serve invest a significant amount of time and energy into the church. For many immigrants, the church was the first community they encountered when they arrived to the United States, and over the years, it has provided them with a dense network of friends. Ms. Santos[37], who arrived to Rogers Park in the late 1970s, recalls how this church was welcoming to Hispanics, while others held Spanish

[37] Pseudonym

services in the basement. When I asked Silvia[38], who is involved in religious education, why Hispanics were involved in the church but not in the neighborhood, she said that people can relate to the church and speak in their language there. Thus, church represents space where Hispanics feel comfortable to express themselves and to build community.

CONCLUSION

What lessons can we take from Rogers Park to build new theories of civic participation in multiethnic neighborhoods?

First, the assumption that living in "integrated" neighborhoods gives residents a common a set of concerns that facilitates cross-racial alliances overlooks the diversity of experiences within neighborhoods. While residents face similar neighborhood conditions, like crime rates, their different backgrounds affect how they experience and react to them. The vast majority of people do not get involved in neighborhood improvement efforts. Among those who get involved, some address the issue through grassroots strategies that deal with the root causes of social problems and others by dealing with the consequences.

Second, the social characteristics that influence how people experience neighborhood conditions go beyond race/ethnicity. Age, education, and homeowner status all shape how people view the neighborhood and their involvement in it. While whiteness is correlated with wealth, it is important to distinguish white, young professionals who may be in the neighborhood temporarily from older people who have social and home roots in the community, and thus, have a greater investment in it.

[38] Pseudonym.

Third, instead of focusing on interpersonal trust as Putnam (2007) suggests, we should focus on people's relationships to institutions, particularly those of the state, and how they fuel civic participation. Disadvantaged groups that have faced exclusion have historical reasons to be more distrustful of institutions. Outreach efforts need to address issues of distrust and fear of authorities among disadvantaged populations to be more successful. Even those who come from more privileged backgrounds may also have a degree of distrust of those in power, especially in a city like Chicago known for machine politics. However, distrust may motivate some to get involved in organizations, such as Participatory Budgeting, to hold those in power accountable.

Finally, it is important to take into account the organizational infrastructure that channels individual desires for social change into collective action. When someone in Rogers Park decides s/he wants to get involved, s/he does not have to go far to find information about organizations—flyers are posted in the streets or they can search online. While the organizations I described may have different strategies for responding to social problems, the demographics of the neighborhood present them with common challenges. They have to do outreach and retain members of diverse backgrounds. Even if they do not serve the entire neighborhood's population, the legitimacy of many organizations, especially those with democratic or social justice missions, depends on being inclusive.

Chapter 4

THE MILLION-DOLLAR QUESTION: HOW DO ORGANIZATIONS ENGAGE PEOPLE IN NEIGHBORHOOD IMPROVEMENT EFFORTS?

"Would you like to decide how to spend a million dollars to improve the neighborhood?," I would ask anyone walking by the train station, as I smiled and held a clipboard. I was part of a group of over five volunteers and staff members from the alderman's office waiting for commuters to return home during the evening rush hour. With that question I invited them to vote on the Participatory Budgeting (PB) election for Chicago's 49th Ward, which covers Rogers Park. Participatory Budgeting allows anyone who lives in the ward over the age of sixteen, regardless of citizenship status, to decide how to spend a million dollars from the alderman's discretionary funds in projects to improve the neighborhood's infrastructure, such as repaving streets and painting murals.

In 2009, the 49th Ward became the first jurisdiction in the United States to implement a participatory budget. Every spring, for about a week, volunteers staff mobile voting sites at key locations, such as train stations, to "bring the vote" to people who ordinarily do not participate[39]. Volunteers work hard to "get out the vote," and, based on their enthusiasm and their sustained engagement over the years, Participatory Budgeting in Chicago's 49th Ward is a success story. This ward has the highest levels of PB voting in Chicago. In 2014, there were 1,763 voters in the 49th ward, which is almost three times the number of people who voted in the other two wards that held PB processes in Chicago.

[39] This is in addition to holding early voting at the alderman's office during business hours and a final voting day at a local high school on Saturday.

However, PB faces one challenge: engaging a more demographically diverse group of community members in the process. This is crucial to fulfill the democratic potential of participatory budgeting and to ensure that it is not dominated by special interests. In Chicago wards holding PB, surveys show that white homeowners are overrepresented among the participants (Crum, Salinas, and Weber 2013). By contrast, in Brazil—where this process originated—participatory budgeting successfully engaged the urban poor (Baiocchi 2005). How does Participatory Budgeting in Chicago's 49th Ward reach out to residents, and in particular, ethnoracial minorities? How do people respond to outreach efforts?

This chapter is based on my observations of four participatory budgeting cycles in the 49th Ward. From October 2013 until June 2015, I observed all activities related to the process, including: public assemblies, project expositions, leadership committee meetings, the meetings of the parks committee, and the voting process. In the spring of 2016, I spent over a week observing the voting process. From November 2016 to the spring of 2017, I observed the Spanish Language committee meetings, public assemblies, project expositions, and the voting process. I also interviewed fourteen volunteers and an aldermanic staff aide.

I show how PB works as a "mobilizing institution" by bringing opportunities for civic engagement to people in a multiethnic community. I begin by discussing the origins and goals of participatory budgeting, paying attention to the goal of inclusion. In Chicago, one of the ways that PB tries to be inclusive is by taking the vote to the community, as I described in the introduction. The chapter focuses on the interactions between PB volunteers who are trying to get people to vote and the strangers who are often avoiding them. I discuss how language barriers serve as one of the challenges to doing outreach in a multiethnic community. I conclude

by reflecting on what PB's outreach efforts teach us about civic engagement in a time of political skepticism and increasing ethnic diversity.

LITERATURE AND BACKGROUND

The Origins and Goals of Participatory Budgeting

Participatory budgeting's reputation as a sign of good governance stems from its history in Brazil (Wampler 2007). This process originated in the 1980s[40], during Brazil's democratization, to allow citizen input in municipal affairs (Avritzer 2002; Baiocchi 2003, 2005; Wampler 2010). Through a series of assemblies and deliberation, people made decisions about the construction of new roads, social services, and health care, among other public works and services (Baiocchi 2003). Although there is regional variation, this process included the urban poor, Afro-Brazilians, and distributed resources to poor districts (Baiocchi, Heller, and Silva 2011; Baiocchi 2005). As a result, participatory budgeting came to be seen as a more equitable way to distribute public funds (Wampler 2007).

In the 1990s, participatory budgeting began to spread to other countries (Goldfrank 2007) and over 1,500 cities and institutions have adopted it worldwide (Participatory Budgeting Project). In the United States, Chicago's 49th Ward Alderman Joe Moore, a Democrat, became interested in participatory budgeting after attending the 2007 U.S. World Forum (Summers 2010). With the assistance of local community leaders and the Participatory Budgeting Project, a non-profit organization that supports PB processes in the U.S. and Canada, Alderman Moore

[40] Participatory budgeting is most commonly attributed to Porto Alegre in 1989 because they "named and publicized it" (Goldfrank 2007, 91). However, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Boa Esperança, Lages, and Pelotas experimented with public discussions of budgets (Baiocchi 2001; Goldfrank 2007; Goldfrank and Schneider 2006; Lesbaupin 2000). At the same time that participatory budgeting was implemented in Porto Alegre, the Workers' Party also experimented with citizen budget councils in other municipalities (Abers 1996).

developed a PB process for the 49th Ward in 2009 (Lerner 2014; Summers 2010). The city of Chicago gives aldermen 1.3 million dollars in "menu money," or discretionary funds, for infrastructure improvements every year. Moore devoted one million of these funds[41] to start a participatory budget.

PB began to expand to additional wards in Chicago in 2012 and new processes have been implemented at the district or ward level in several cities, including New York (2011), San Francisco (2013), and St. Louis (2013)[42]. At the city-level, Vallejo, California started a PB cycle in 2011 and Boston started a PB youth initiative in 2014. In addition, the Obama Administration promoted participatory budgeting as a tool to increase citizen participation and government transparency in its Second and Third Open Government National Action Plans.

As participatory budgeting has been embraced around the world, the process has adapted to local conditions and needs, giving rise to different types of participatory budgets. While most PB processes are at the municipal level, some institutions have used PB to decide public housing budgets (Lerner 2014). PB processes also vary in the types of funds they use, the amount of money available, and the projects that are eligible for funding (e.g., social service, infrastructure). In addition, they vary in their mission and goals with some placing more emphasis on governance than social justice, which was a key goal in Brazil (Ganuza and Baiocchi 2014).

However, participatory budgets in the U.S. share some characteristics. Most are implemented at the will of an elected official in a ward or a district. Since the 49th Ward was the first PB in the country, community representatives are proud to say that it set the "template" for

[41] The remaining $300,000 are used for other discretionary infrastructure expenses or to pay for cost overruns of PB projects.
[42] http://www.participatorybudgeting.org/about-participatory-budgeting/examples-of-participatory-budgeting/

other initiatives. The Participatory Budgeting Project's (PBP) role in supporting new PB's across the country has played a role in the standardization of rules. Finally, PB's in the U.S. involve smaller pots of money than in Brazil, but there is variation in the projects that are eligible for funding (Lerner 2014).

Mobilizing Institutions and the Goal of Inclusion

I focus on Participatory Budgeting in the 49th Ward (henceforth PB49[43] or PB) to understand how organizations seek to be inclusive. PB has traditionally been studied through the lens of democratization, civil society, and governance. While most of the literature comes from Brazil, there is a small but growing literature in the U.S. (Gilman 2016; Lerner and Secondo 2012; Lerner 2011, 2014; Weber, Crum, and Salinas 2015). A key concern in the U.S. literature is whether PB attracts the "usual suspects" (Lerner 2014). In other words, are the people involved in PB those who traditionally participate in other civic activities? In Brazil, participatory budgeting was successful in including underrepresented populations. However, in the U.S., people with a high socioeconomic status, which is correlated with race, tend to be the most civically involved (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 2004; Verba, Schlozman, Brady, and Nie 1993), raising concerns about whether this process would also work in the U.S.

PB projects have established partnerships with local universities to evaluate who participates in the process through surveys. In Chicago, the Great Cities Institute (GCI) at the University of Illinois at Chicago began doing research in 2012 when PB expanded to three wards. These partnerships and evaluations are significant for several reasons. First, they reveal

[43] The acronym PB49 is used in communications from the alderman's office, as distinguishes it from PB's in other wards. Community representatives and leadership committee members commonly say "PB" for short.

an *interest* in who participates, which is consistent with the institution's mission of equity, inclusion, and community building (Participatory Budgeting in Chicago (PBC) Steering Committee 2012, 4). The 2012-2013 PBC Rulebook, which was drafted by a steering committee of representatives from all wards doing participatory budgeting, expands on the goal of inclusion:

> We aim to include the entire community—especially those who are often excluded from the political process, who face obstacles to participating, or who may feel disillusioned with politics. By making every effort to actively engage these communities and reduce obstacles to participation, we hope to prevent the 'usual suspects' or reduce the influences of groups with more resources from dominating the decision-making process, and to generate spending decisions that are fairer and better reflect the entire community's needs. (4)

Second, this interest in who participates reflects *awareness* that PB operates in a context of unequal civic engagement and a commitment to taking *action* to broaden participation. Finally, there is a *method* for counting and assessing PB's effectiveness in terms of participation and civic learning.

However, surveys of the people who show up to an event only tell us part of the story[44]. Another part of the story involves mobilizing institutions. According to Verba, Schlozman and Brady (2004), "the catalyst for political participation is recruitment: those who have the wherewithal and the desire to take part in politics are more likely to do so if asked" (647). Although most of the literature has focused on individual explanations of political participation, there is a literature that shows that unions and non-profit organizations play an critical role in mobilizing people, especially immigrants and low-income urban populations (de Graauw 2008; Marwell 2004; Terriquez 2011).

[44] Another limitation of surveys of participants is that they do not provide information on non-participants. In addition to interviewing PB volunteers, I interviewed people who were not civically involved.

PB49 is similar to civic organizations in that it recruits members and promotes engagement in their activities[45]. Through its outreach efforts, PB49 seeks to bring people into the process. However, PB49 differs from other civic organizations in two ways. First, participatory budgeting is a state-sponsored institution (Baiocchi 2003), yet it depends heavily on community members, and in some places, it is supported by civic organizations (Lerner 2014). Second, civic associations and PB differ in their relationship to the people they seek to influence. Civic organizations seek to influence external actors: policy-makers or other powerful figures. By contrast, in participatory budgeting, the lines of influence between citizens and the state are bidirectional. On the one hand, the process gives people the opportunity to make direct decisions about public budgets, which gives them some power over elected officials. On the other hand, PB could be a way for the state to influence citizens by increasing its transparency and restoring people's trust in government. From a more skeptical point of view, elected officials could use PB as a tool to boost their image for political purposes. Finally, there are horizontal relationships of influence within the communities where PB is implemented. Community representatives must convince others that their idea deserves to be on the ballot, and then, they must convince people to vote in the PB election.

FINDINGS

Ways to Get Involved

Before we can understand how PB volunteers reach out to the community, it is important to understand what involvement in participatory budgeting entails. PB runs on almost a six-

[45] Professionally managed advocacy groups, such as the AARP and Environmental Defense Fund, do not follow this pattern. These organizations represent causes but lack members and chapters (Skocpol 2013, 142–43). People contribute checks to the cause and, in exchange, they get email and magazines but few opportunities for meaningful participation (Fisher 2006).

month cycle and there are different ways that people can get involved: they may attend a community assembly, volunteer to be a community representative or a leadership committee member, or vote. The PB cycle begins in the fall with neighborhood assemblies and ends with a community-wide vote in the spring.

Attend a Neighborhood Assembly

The first events in the cycle are Neighborhood Assemblies, which take place in October or November[46]. There are six meetings in English and one in Spanish, and they are held on different days and parts of the neighborhood, including park field houses, churches, and high schools. In these meetings, people learn how PB works and submit ideas for future projects. People also sign up to become community representatives.

Become a Community Representative

Community representatives join committees and choose the projects that appear on the ballot. They do research and collaborate with the alderman's office and city agencies, such as the City Parks District, to determine that the projects are feasible. There are five committees: (1) Streets, Alleys, and Sidewalks and Alleys, (2) Bikes and Transit, (3) Streetlights and Traffic Safety, (4) Parks and Environment, and (5) Arts and Innovation. There are two special groups: the Spanish Language Committee and the Youth Committee for high school students.

The number of representatives ranges from 30 to 60 per year. Based on my observations, about a quarter of representatives are non-white, mostly black. Most Latinos are concentrated in

[46] In 2014, the assemblies were scheduled later in the fall after the three wards doing PB decided to shorten the months in the cycle. This was in response to concerns that the cycle of meetings was too long.

the Spanish Language Committee. The aldermanic liaison calls it a "fluid" group, as some people come to the meetings on and off and others drop out. Committees meet at least once a month[47] for at least four months. At the end of the cycle, the committees usually propose about nine[48] projects, including murals, trees, bus benches, bike lines, and repaving streets.

Serve in the Leadership Committee (LC)

After serving one year as community representatives, members may join the Leadership Committee (LC). This is a group of about a dozen people who direct the participatory budgeting process. Some members also serve as mentors of committees and help new community representatives learn the ropes. In addition, they lead discussion groups during the neighborhood assemblies and have a greater responsibility for staffing mobile voting stations. The leadership committee meets once a month, except during the summer. At least two staff members from the alderman's office also attended the meetings: the PB coordinator and the chief-of-staff. From 2013-2015, when I observed their meetings, there were two African-Americans in the leadership committee and the number of Latinos decreased from two to one. Currently (2016-2017), there are five Latinos in the leadership committee, which is the highest number to date, according to the PB Coordinator[49].

[47] Except in the 2014-2015, when Leadership Committee Co-Chair Sheree Moratto[47] reorganized the structure of the committees so that they would meet at the same time and same place.
[48] The average number of projects is based on data from 2012 to 2016.
[49] Fieldnotes January 11, 2017.

Attend a Project Exposition

After representatives choose the projects that will be up for a vote, neighbors can give them feedback and ask questions at any of three Project Expositions in late March and April. In 2017, between 30-40 people attended each of these meetings.

Vote

Voting is the least time-consuming way to get involved in PB. The voting period runs for over a week in late April or early May. Voting takes about five minutes plus an additional five to ten minutes to do an optional survey from UIC. During the early voting period, people may vote at the alderman's office, at mobile[50] sites—which are temporary or "pop up" polling stations—and, since 2016, they can also vote online. A final voting day is held at Chicago Math and Science (CMSA) High School on a Saturday.

How does PB Engage the Community?

Participatory Budgeting encourages participation by publicizing the process, providing language accommodations, and making voting accessible through mobile sites. Alderman Moore and his staff announce public assemblies and voting dates through his email list, PB49's Facebook page, by posting flyers throughout the neighborhood, and by doing robocalls[51]. The 49th Ward's website also has a section devoted to participatory budgeting, including a list of all the winning projects and their implementation status.

[50] Although the word "mobile" (as in moving) might easily be confused with "mobile" (as in cell phone), I use the term "mobile" sites as that is the way PB49 refers to them.
[51] Alderman Moore pays for most publicity costs, as "menu" money, which funds PB, can only be used for infrastructure expenses and not to pay for printing and posting flyers. PB Chicago, a non-profit organization, provides wards doing PB some signs and ballots at a subsidized cost.

PB provides materials in other languages to encourage non-English speakers to participate. Sixteen percent of Rogers Park residents over the age of five do not speak English very well (ACS 2006-2010). Ballots are offered in English, Spanish, Russian, and Nepali. However, most services are in Spanish, the largest foreign language group in the neighborhood. PB makes bilingual flyers in English and Spanish. Spanish-speakers also attend separate public assemblies, project expositions, and have a Spanish Language Committee. The aldermanic PB coordinator is a native Spanish-speaker and a handful of community representatives also speak the language[52].

While publicity and language accommodations are well known strategies to encourage participation, mobile sites are a more innovate strategy and one of primary means by which PB engages a wider range of neighbors in the process. The goal of mobile sites is to involve people who ordinarily do not participate by going out to the community instead of expecting them to come to the polling stations. In the 49th Ward, more ethnoracial minorities and immigrants vote at mobile sites than at the alderman's office, which is an early voting site, and the local high school, which is the final polling site (Crum et al. 2015). For example, in 2014, minorities[53] made up 62% of voters at mobile locations, compared to 29% of voters at non-mobile locations (Crum et al. 2015). I focus on interactions at mobile sites to show how volunteers try to civically engage strangers, and in turn, how strangers respond to these requests.

[52] It is not common to find representatives who are fluent in languages other than Spanish. One year there was a Russian-speaking intern and, another year, there was a Chinese-speaking intern. The latter told me that he rarely used his language skills.
[53] The evaluation report by Crum and colleagues (2015) does not break down the race of minorities by voting site.

Mobile Sites

Mobile sites are usually outdoors in high traffic locations, such as elevated train stops, churches, and grocery stores. In 2014, the number of sites expanded by including several nursing homes, schools, and parks. Figure 11 shows the locations[54] of all voting places in the 49th Ward in 2014. As the map shows, most sites are east of Clark Street but they span from north to south of the ward. Sites are selected based on their potential to attract people and on partnerships with organizations. For the most part, aldermanic staff and volunteers set up a table outside of the premises, but the public library, two high schools and nursing homes allow aldermanic staff and PB volunteers to set tables inside. Centro Romero and Howard Area Community Center allowed PB to come into their adult-education classrooms in 2016 and 2017, respectively.

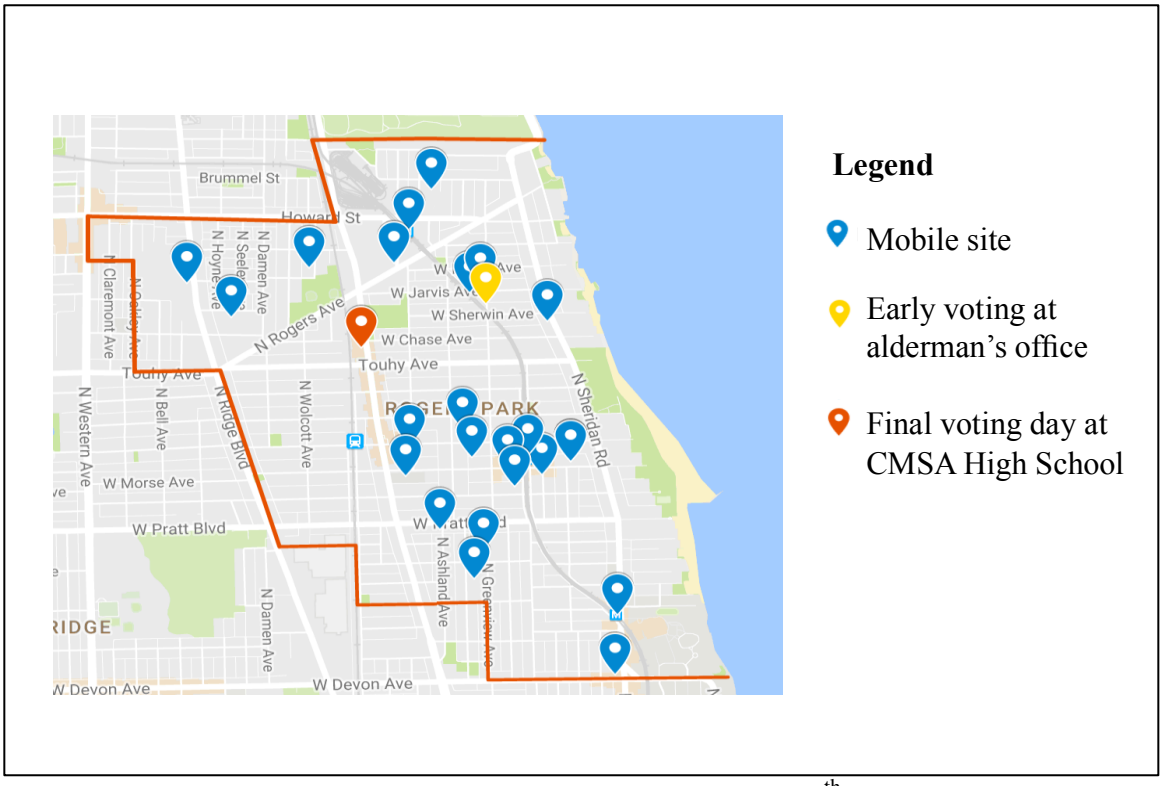

Figure 11. Participatory Budgeting Voting Sites in Chicago's 49th Ward, 2014.
Source: Google Maps with locations by the author.

[54] The map shows 25 mobile sites but people had over 30 opportunities to vote, as some places held voting events more than once.

The sites with the highest number of votes are train stations and churches, with most sites getting over 100 votes each. However, getting people to vote at these locations poses some challenges: large numbers of people pass by and volunteers have to approach them in a quick and convincing manner. At train stations, for example, "getting out the vote" often involves stopping people as they are coming back from work during the evening rush hour from 3:30 pm to 6:30 pm. Between 1,126 and 4,136 people use each elevated train station to commute to work everyday[55]. The size of these crowds clearly exceeds the capacity of a PB team of four to ten people.

How do PB volunteers get people to vote in this fast-paced context? The PB Coordinator often tells community representatives that they must be "alert" (*hay que estar pilas)* at mobile sites. "Getting out the vote" involves approaching people instead of waiting for them to approach the voting station. Each site has one or two folding tables and chairs for people to sit while they vote. On top of the table, there is a ballot box, wrapped in electric blue paper—the color of PB—and labeled "PB49 Ballot Box / *Urna electoral*." There are also clipboards with ballots, pens, and stickers that say "I voted in participatory budgeting / Ask me about PB" in English and Spanish. Usually, one person stands behind the table to guard the materials and assist voters who choose to sit down. The rest of the team spreads out to cover strategic areas. At St. Jerome Church (see figure 12), for example, as mass was ending, one of the women said, "They are coming out! Take your positions![56]" Some of us had been taking a break from standing; we got

[55] Ridership Reports for the Loyola, Morse, Jarvis and Howard CTA train stations were obtained from the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) http://www.transitchicago.com/ridership/#open. These figures show the average ridership on the day PB mobile stations were held at these stations between 2012 to 2015 multiplied by two-thirds, as this is the proportion of riders who use the CTA to commute to work (RTA Customer Satisfaction Study 2013). Ridership data is only available per day, not per hour.

[56] Fieldnotes April 23, 2017.

up, took our clipboards and stood outside the different exits to the courtyard. “We are ready!” said the PB Coordinator.



Figure 12. Participatory Budgeting Mobile Station at St. Jerome Catholic Church, April 23, 2017. From left: Alderman Joe Moore and 49th Ward residents. Photo by the author.

When approaching people, the PB Coordinator encourages volunteers to use a catchy phrase. My first year volunteering, I learned to ask people, “Would you like to decide how to spend a million dollars to improve the neighborhood?” The PB Coordinator believed that saying “a million dollars” would get people’s attention. Over the years, I have observed people use several opening phrases, including: Do you live in the neighborhood (or the 49th Ward)? Would you like to take part in a community vote? We—the volunteers and community representatives—were encouraged to use the word “decide” instead of “vote” to avoid discouraging non-citizens

and people who are not registered to vote from participating. Nevertheless, sometimes people say things like "would you like to vote for PB (or Participatory Budgeting)?" In cases when people use the acronym "PB," it can lead to confusion[57], as many people do not know what participatory budgeting is, let alone what PB stands for[58].

Alderman Moore, or "Joe," as many people call him, goes to most mobile sites and also plays a role in getting people to vote. He stands in the sidewalk greeting passersby. "Alderman Joe Moore," he says as he extends his hand. Once a person stops to shake his hand, he invites them to participate and a volunteer with a clipboard steps in to explain the process. Alderman Moore continues shaking more hands. Getting a personal invitation from the alderman is an effective strategy; people find it harder to ignore a public official than a stranger in the street. Moore is also hard to miss; he is over six feet tall and wears a long dark coat. Nevertheless, some people still say no, even to the alderman.

How Do People Respond to PB Members' Invitation to Vote?

The most common way that people respond to PB members at mobile sites is by ignoring them. Most people keep walking without saying a word or making eye contact, especially in train stations or other outdoor sites. In enclosed spaces, such as the library entrance hall, people say "no" or "I'm running late" as they walk by the volunteers. As I discussed in the previous chapter, few people explain why they do not want to vote. The fact that most people do not stop is not

[57] For example, one man heard "*bebé"* (baby in Spanish) instead of PB (Pè-Bè). This means, "Do you want to vote for baby?" He laughed but still voted after the volunteer clarified what she meant (Fieldnotes 4/23/2017).

[58] In my interviews with neighbors, I asked people if they were familiar with participatory budgeting, among other organizations, and many people said they were not familiar with it. A member of the Spanish Committee who gathered several pages of signatures in favor of a project reported that most Hispanics that he talked to did not know about PB or the name of the alderman.

surprising. In public spaces, people sometimes run into individuals who want to engage them in unwanted social interactions (Duneier 1999). Nevertheless, the public's avoidance can get to volunteers, especially to new ones. "People are mean," an intern said as people kept walking by her. Another intern once flung a clipboard as he was storing materials in boxes at the end of the day; he complained that people would not talk to him.

When people do agree to participate, their reaction to the PB ballot sheds light on their priorities for improving the community and the limits and promises of participatory budgeting. When volunteers invite passersby to vote, they usually say that this about improving the "neighborhood" or the "community" without going into the restrictions on aldermanic menu funds. Therefore, when people who are not familiar with PB look at the projects on the ballot, it may not be what they pictured. Some will ask questions, creating opportunities for learning about the city budget and neighborhood issues. For example, a young black man, who had stopped to vote outside the Jarvis train station, asked me, "What about schools?" He did not see any projects for schools or education in the ballot. I explained that the funds for PB came from the aldermanic "menu" money and that they could not be used for programs or salaries. The funds were limited to infrastructure projects, I said. He still voted, but another young woman who was concerned about safety in the neighborhood refused to vote. She said, "these projects look nice, but what if the kids can't play in the park?" One of the criticisms of PB—as it is practiced in many U.S. jurisdictions—is that it does not give people control over social service budgets, and thus, it does not address the needs of disadvantaged populations.

Voting also gives people an opportunity to voice their concerns. In most cases, people voiced their concerns in a polite manner. In 2014, a recurring question was, "Why does a drinking fountain cost $35,000?" This led to an explanation about how the project required

indoor pipe work, as the park did not currently have an indoor water fountain, and how the prices were determined by the city, as they had to be performed by city agencies and their contractors. Several people joked that the price reflected corruption in the city. At least a couple of people said, "I know some guys who can do the job for less!" Some people mentioned that filling out the ballot and survey on a computer took longer than doing it on paper. A middle-aged white woman said, "This takes more than three to five minutes. I'm not complaining; I'm just letting you know.[59]" Regarding the length of the survey, a white male in his twenties said, "I'm surprised they are not asking how often you change your underwear.[60]" The survey had several items asking about the frequency of political and civic activities.

Only a handful of people were openly critical or confrontational, and all of these interactions happened at mobile voting stations (versus the alderman's office or the high school where the final vote is held). For example, outside the Morse train station, one middle-aged man started a debate with a leadership committee member about using public funds to buy racks for bikes. At the library, a middle-aged, white woman questioned the rules that limited voting to "up to four projects.[61]" After she sat down to fill out a paper ballot, she asked me, "Why can't I choose more than 4 [projects]?" She had already marked five projects on the ballot and wanted to devote $700,000 to them. As background, on the first page of the ballot, people check a box indicating what percent of the million dollars they want to spend repaving streets and alleys from 0% to 100% in ten percent increments. On the second page, there is a list of projects that community representatives proposed and people can check up to four.

[59] Fieldnotes April 20, 2015.
[60] Fieldnotes April 20, 2015.
[61] Fieldnotes April 20, 2015.

After she came to me with that question, I gave her more information about how the winning projects are chosen. I usually did not go into the details to avoid confusing people; I just told them "you don't have to do any math to add up to the million" when I explained the ballot. I told her that they take an average of the percent that everyone gives to the streets. Historically, the streets get around 60% of the vote, meaning that $600,000 of the million are allocated to that and there is not enough money left over to give it to *all* of the projects. Therefore, one must choose up to four[62]. (Ballots with more than four choices are void.) I then called Dave Harper[63], an aldermanic staff assistant who was standing nearby, for help. He explained, "It's to get your preferences." She replied, "That's not a choice. It's already determined by what you want." The woman took the voter registration, the ballot, and the survey and tore them apart. Dave told her, "If you want to be paranoid." She got up and went to the library. (The mobile voting station was in the lobby).

After the woman went inside the library, Dave turned to the two leadership committee members at the mobile station and to me, "maybe we can still get her to vote."
Twenty minutes later, as the woman was coming out of the library, Dave told her: "Ma'am we have two members of the leadership committee [here] who decided to limit it to four choices. If you want to talk to them, find ways to get involved, or if you want to vote, you still can." While holding the exit door, she said in a low voice, "I have lived here for 17 years, my daughter owns real estate, and my two sons are thinking of moving back here." Dave said, "Those are all good reasons to vote," but she was already on her way out. She was not the only person to refuse to

[62] According to the rules, a person can devote 0% to streets, lights and sidewalks but she is still limited to up to four choices for the other projects.
[63] Pseudonym.

vote because she did not agree with the PB rules or process. Another woman refused to vote after we explained that surveillance cameras were not installed through PB.

These examples illustrate how voting not only gives people an opportunity to express their project preferences, but also an opportunity to express their opinion about PB. Mobile voting stations are significant because they allow people who normally do not show up to neighborhood assemblies or to the alderman's office to give feedback. Through these interactions, community representatives and leadership committee members become aware of how others view the process and its limitations. However, not all of the complaints brought up during the voting period led to change. For example, no one brought up the incident at the library where the woman questioned the voting rules at the end-of-the-cycle evaluation meeting in 2015. On the other hand, in response to requests for online voting, in 2016 the 49th Ward allowed people to vote online for the first time.

Finally, voting serves as an opportunity for people to interact with the alderman and to discuss issues that go beyond participatory budgeting. Some people congratulate him for doing PB, but most of the conversations concern general neighborhood issues. For example, at the Howard elevated "L" train station, a black woman asked the alderman about development in the area. Outside St. Jerome Catholic Church, a young Hispanic woman told the alderman her "prayers were answered." She was having problems with her landlord and had decided to come to church the day she ran into the alderman. He took her information on a constituent form. It was common for the alderman to use these forms at mobile stations. His staff at the 49th Ward Service Office then followed up on the issues. On one occasion, I observed how Claire Maynard[64], an aldermanic staff assistant, helped an elderly woman the alderman met during PB

[64] Pseudonym.

voting figure out eligibility issues for a companion program.

Language and the Challenges of Engaging People in a Multiethnic Neighborhood

One of the challenges of doing street outreach in a multiethnic neighborhood is language. In Rogers Park, over 35 languages are spoken (American Community Survey 2005-2009). Although one of the goals of PB is to be inclusive, most PB volunteers are English speakers, and as a default, most interactions are in English. There are one or two Spanish-speakers per mobile site, including me[65]. However, even for bilingual people, deciding what language to use when approaching someone remains tricky. It is not always obvious who speaks another language and who is Latino, especially in a multiethnic neighborhood. In this context, a brown male could be Mexican, Nepali, or Native American, for example. Mischaracterizing someone could be distressful (Campbell and Troyer 2007; but see Cheng and Powell 2011), even offensive for the target (Roth 2012, 160), and potentially embarrassing for the classifier. How do volunteers deal with language issues when doing outreach?

Location within the neighborhood helps people figure out what language to use. The easiest place is St. Jerome Catholic Church because it has a large Hispanic congregation. While there are also churchgoers who are Filipino, Haitian, African, and white, there is a board outside the church that announces the times and languages of each service. When the mass was in English, I would approach everyone, even Latino-looking people, in English. When the mass was in Spanish, I would speak to everyone in Spanish. I also approached people that I already knew in the language of their choice. The issue at St. Jerome was not necessarily determining what language to use, but that there were not enough Spanish-speaking volunteers to ask

[65] One exception is St. Jerome Catholic Church, which as a large Latino congregation, where most Spanish-speaking volunteers come out.

everyone to vote. In addition, many immigrants had levels of education below the primary level and needed help filling out the ballot. Thus, doing outreach at this heavily Latino site required paying attention to both language and literacy issues, in addition to the immigration-related distrust that I described in the previous chapter.

In other voting sites, figuring who needed language assistance was trickier. For example, Morse Avenue stands out because it is a busy commercial area in the middle of the neighborhood that attracts people of different ethnic backgrounds. There is a CTA elevated train station, a grocery store, two coffee shops, restaurants, and laundromats. PB does mobile voting at the Morse Market and the CTA train station on different days. While most people who voted at these sites were English-speaking white and black[66], there were also people who passed by who spoke Spanish and other foreign languages, such as French, Albanian, and Russian. We could not tell who had limited English proficiency until we invited them to vote and they said they did not speak English. In Rogers Park, some people who are black are immigrants from the Caribbean or Africa, and some people who are white are immigrants from Europe.

Spanish-speaking volunteers would be on the lookout for anyone who might need language assistance—it was an implicit assumption. At voting sites other than St. Jerome, there were less people who appeared to be Latino passing by and this made approaching them more manageable. Outside of Morse Market on May 6, 2017, I spoke to eleven people in Spanish over a six-hour period: six voted, two refused, and three did not live in the 49th Ward. I spoke in English to some people who could have been Latino but I was not sure, and there may have been others that I missed because they did not "look" Latino. In two cases, I made the right decision in defaulting to English. A middle-aged, brown-skinned man with green eyes told me, "I am Native

[66] Race and ethnicity is based on classification by an external observer.

American; that's probably politics and I don't wanna do it." In the second case, a young man in his early twenties with light brown skin and dark wavy hair turned out to be from Nepal. I initially thought that he was Latino, but decided to approach him English because I assumed that most young Latinos spoke English.

There are also times when volunteers get the language wrong. I once greeted a woman in Spanish and she answered in English, signaling her preference for English. I have also observed a few cases in which non-Latino and Latino volunteers offered Spanish ballots to people who appeared Latino, even though they had been speaking English. In response, one woman laughed and said that she was Filipina but that she could probably read Spanish[67]. While cases in which volunteers get a person's language wrong do not happen often, they show that when people are doing outreach, they are also making assessments of "street" or observed race (López 2014; Roth 2010) to determine who needs language assistance. For Latinos, language and identity are interrelated (Roth 2012) and political mobilization is often based on language appeals, even though not all Latinos speak Spanish. In an effort to be inclusive of those who are not fluent in English and have lower civic participation rates, volunteers have to manage several cues and sometimes their efforts to help can lead to mistakes.

CONCLUSION

This chapter focused on Participatory Budgeting in the 49th Ward (PB49) as a case of a mobilizing institution that seeks to civically engage people. Participatory budgeting, as a democratic process, has an explicit mission to be inclusive. This involves going out to the neighborhood and inviting people to vote for the PB election. This is not a passive activity where people approach the table out of civic virtue; it involves going up to people and talking to them.

[67] Fieldnotes April 24, 2016.

Volunteers need a convincing pitch to stop busy passersby and to speak a second language to talk those who are not fluent in English. These challenges of community outreach speak to broader questions in the civic engagement literature.

First, this chapter speaks to how people get involved in a time of political skepticism. Despite low levels of trust in government and political officials, surveys show that people continue to participate in civic life (Pew Research Center 2010). By "disavowing politics," people separate the negative aspects of politics from what they consider appropriate forms of civic engagement (Bennett, Cordner, Taylor, Savell and Baiocchi 2012; Pew Research Center 2010). This chapter shows how people react when civic engagement opportunities come to them. The majority of people avoid civic engagement by walking past volunteers.

Why? Part of it is the nature of street life; people may have been busy or not paying attention when volunteers invited them to participate. They could have also confused PB volunteers with people soliciting donations or signatures for causes. While some passersby have openly expressed distrust of city government and PB as a reason for not participating (see previous chapter), dissatisfaction with politics has motivated some PB volunteers to get engaged. Thus, a challenge to community engagement is not only that people are skeptical of politics but also that they are skeptical of strangers approaching them in the streets, especially in urban areas.

Second, this chapter illustrates organizational efforts to increase minority and immigrant representation in civic activities. While inclusion is often symbolic, as when companies and universities announce their diversity missions on their websites, the ability to achieve it requires resources and skills. Dozens of volunteers are needed to run PB mobile stations, the main places where minorities vote. While mobile stations support the idea that people are more likely to participate if asked (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 2004), this chapter demonstrates it is not

enough to ask people; *how* you ask them matters. Beyond speaking in a way that resonates with people, in a multiethnic neighborhood, volunteers also have to speak in languages that people understand. Cultural competency is also necessary to determine who needs interpretation or assistance completing the ballots due to literacy issues. However, because minorities are underrepresented in PB, just as they are underrepresented in other civic activities in the U.S., there are not enough volunteers with the social networks and/or language skills to help with outreach.

Finally, while voting in participatory budgeting is a short-term form of civic engagement, it has implications for civic learning and democracy. It offers people an opportunity to learn about the city budget, to interact with public officials and community representatives and to ask them questions. Since the ward's first participatory budget in 2009, the process has become better known in the area and beyond. However, it remains to be seen whether voting in PB will lead to deeper forms of civic engagement and to greater trust and transparency in government.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

When I asked Carmilla how she came to Rogers Park, she told me that she had four biracial children of black and Puerto Rican descent. She said:

> We were mainly concerned about their safety as far as who they were. You know, what they look like. So we decided to just move up north cause we thought it would be just a little bit safer to deal with… because they said Rogers Park is the most diverse area in the country of the United States. So, why not? So they had a little bit better opportunity.

Carmilla, her children, and her significant other, Michael, first moved into Rogers Park in 2004. Through the housing voucher program, Carmilla got an apartment in the North of Howard area. The owner had bought the building from a Jewish woman for $200 and Michael joked that she still kept the house "like it's $200." The neighborhood did live up to its reputation as an accepting place. For Carmilla, this was a place where you could "fit in" because there were all types of ethnicities. Nevertheless, she still had concerns about her children as they were growing up. "It didn't matter whether the neighborhood was diverse cause you never know what can happen," she said. Her children could get into a fight because of the color of their skin or because someone did not like their hair or the way they looked.

One thing that Carmilla and Michael did not anticipate when they moved to the neighborhood was that they would eventually lose their home and that they would become housing activists. After a four-and-a-half-year debt dispute with the Chicago Housing Authority, Carmilla lost her Section 8 voucher. A series of misfortunes involving their family, DCFS, and a layoff had left them without resources. Through Michael's work, they found out about a local grassroots organization that helped people facing eviction. As a strategy to help homeless people,

they occupied foreclosed homes. Carmilla and Michael moved into a house that had been empty for years. They put the bills under their name and took care of the house until the police evicted them. When I spoke to Carmilla and Michael in the spring of 2014, they were homeless. They had recently published articles about their experience and the housing market. However, without a stable income or a laptop to work, they were contemplating if they would continue their involvement in the grassroots organization or if they would address their situation on their own.

Although most Rogers Park residents are not housing activists like Carmilla and Michael, their story encapsulates what it is like to live in Rogers Park. The neighborhood is more accepting of difference but not free of racism and inequality. This is a place of contrasts where you can see people of different skin colors walking down the street and where you can find affordable housing and new housing developments. You can also find organizations carrying out "experiments" in democracy like Participatory Budgeting and organizations helping people with their basic housing needs.

I have shown that in this multiethnic neighborhood there is peaceful coexistence among ethnoracial groups but unequal representation in the civic sphere. Why? Integration is multidimensional and the conditions that facilitate positive social relations are not sufficient to foster equal civic engagement. Norms of politeness guide social interactions and contribute to maintaining integration in public spaces. In a community that has redefined its identity as diverse, the whiteness of organizations stands out more, and progressive whites try to act in ways that are consistent with their values by reaching out to minorities. Achieving integration in the civic sphere requires more than good intentions; it also requires overcoming socioeconomic and institutional barriers to participation among disadvantaged populations.

What is happening in Rogers Park is part of a broader transformation in race relations and civic engagement in America. The Civil Rights movement, immigration, and more tolerant attitudes have made it possible for integrated neighborhoods to exist. However, racial disparities persist in education, wealth, residential attainment, incarceration, and other arenas (Charles 2003; Kao and Thompson 2003; Massey and Denton 1993; Oliver and Shapiro 1995). In addition, some are concerned that ethnoracial diversity contributes to declining civic participation (Putnam 2007). These concerns raise broader questions about the changing meaning of community in a more heterogeneous society. What can Rogers Park tell us about race relations and civic engagement in 21st Century America?

Race Relations in the 21st Century

Growing ethnic diversity, brought in large part by post-1965 immigrants from Latin America and Asia and their children, has transformed communities, workplaces, and schools. Immigrants have also moved beyond traditional gateway cities, settling in smaller towns in the South and the Midwest (Massey and Capoferro 2008). The country's changing racial composition has led many scholars to speculate about the future of race relations. On the one hand, some scholars maintain that we are moving towards a tri-racial system with Hispanics and Asians in the middle of blacks and whites (Bonilla-Silva 2004). On the other hand, other scholars maintain that a bipolar racial system will remain in place (Lee and Bean 2004; Frank, Akresh, and Lu 2010).

In Rogers Park, the racial system is not bipolar; it is multigroup. Diversity ideologies valorize difference and moralize inclusiveness (Berrey 2015). Being able to appreciate more cultures, languages, and foods is a sign of cosmopolitanism and tolerance. Nevertheless, some ethnic and racial groups are more visible in the neighborhood. Discussions of crime, for

example, focus on African Americans. Immigrant outreach efforts often focus on the Latino community, as they are the largest foreign-born group. Nevertheless, after Trump's election, there has been more organizing around refugee issues. The visibility of Asians depends on their immigrant status and class. Asian Americans are dispersed throughout the neighborhood and are not very visible. On the other hand, refugees from Myanmar are more visible. They represent a small percentage of the neighborhood's population, but they stand out in public because of their dress and social status.

The multigroup racial system that we observe in Rogers Park might also exist in other communities with similar features. In particular, we are likely to find multiethnic neighborhoods with a significant presence of Asians, blacks, Latinos, and whites in places where immigrants have settled (Logan and Zhang 2010). Other conditions associated with a multigroup racial system include an urban setting and a progressive population. These features also make Rogers Park a conservative case of intergroup relations. In neighborhoods that have been integrated for several decades, we are not likely to see the tensions that emerge when communities experience dramatic demographic changes or when established groups perceive newcomers as a threat. Nevertheless, in neighborhoods with a mix of low- and middle-income residents, class can create divisions.

In thinking about the future of the color line and intergroup relations, it is important to take into account geography and local history. In cities with a long presence of racial minorities like Chicago, New York, DC, and Los Angeles, people have more experience dealing with difference, even if many still live with people like themselves. By contrast, in places that are new destinations for immigrants or racial minorities, people are in the earlier stages of figuring out

how to manage differences. This may lead to geographical variation in racial systems (multigroup vs. bipolar) and intergroup relations.

Civic Participation in the 21st Century

In the latter half of the 20th century, civic engagement also underwent a transformation in the United States. While some argue that Americans became less involved in civic associations (Putnam 2000), others argue that engagement shifted from membership federations like the Kiwanis to professionally managed advocacy groups (Skocpol 2013) and to task-oriented groups (Wuthnow 1998). The literature has also documented racial and socioeconomic disparities in political and civic engagement (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 2004; Verba et al. 1993), yet it paid little attention to immigrants until recently (Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008). Putnam's (2007) controversial argument links immigration-driven diversity to lower levels of interpersonal trust and to a withdrawal from collective life. Many scholars have challenged Putnam (2007) based on theoretical, methodological and empirical grounds (Abascal and Baldassarri 2015; Portes and Vickstrom 2011; Sampson 2012). However, his ideas persist because they touch on concerns about social organization in a changing society.

The findings of this ethnography lead us to reconsider the role of interpersonal trust in collective life. Portes and Vickstrom (2011) argue that Putnam (2007) assumes that trust produces social cohesion. However, they maintain that in modern societies social order is maintained by "a set of norms that are understood and accepted by all and are enforced by specialized agencies" (473). Social norms that establish the importance of getting along across ethnoracial lines contribute to social order in multiethnic neighborhoods and cosmopolitan canopies. This is not to say that people do not evaluate other people's trustworthiness. A sense of

caution is part of urban life, and when people encounter strangers, they make quick assessments of them (Anderson 2011). As a result, sometimes people stereotype young men of color as dangerous. In particular, whites living among non-whites show lower levels of trust (Abascal and Baldassarri 2015). Finally, studies have shown that trust is not a good predictor of cooperation (Abascal and Baldassarri 2015).

What encourages people to get civically engaged? Socioeconomic status is one of the best-known predictors of engagement and differences in resources partly explain racial gaps in engagement (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 2004; Verba et al. 1993). My finding that middle-class, middle-aged whites are the most involved in the neighborhood is consistent with material explanations of civic engagement. It is easier to get engaged if you have stable housing and income and the cultural capital to interact with authorities and institutions. However, there is more to this story.

People's trust in state institutions also shapes their civic involvement. In this era of political skepticism, people have low trust in government, and when they get involved, they do not want to describe themselves or their activities as political (Pew Research Center 2010; the Authors of The Civic Imagination 2014). My fieldwork suggests that groups have different levels of distrust of government and that leads to different forms of civic engagement. On the one hand, for middle-class whites, distrust does not necessarily discourage involvement. Getting involved is one way to improve their communities and to hold local government accountable. This reflects a belief that participation is part of the democratic process.

On the other hand, for low-income racial minorities and immigrants, distrust of government discourages civic engagement. Why get involved if "they are going to do what they are going to do?" What if they do not do what they promised? These beliefs are linked to

experiences of exclusion. African Americans have been treated as second-class citizens, while Latinos are often seen as foreigners, even if born in the United States. Although Asians are viewed as the model minority, they are also viewed as foreign and apolitical (Kim 1999). However, racialization processes can motivate Asians to get politically active (Aptekar 2009). Finally, non-naturalized immigrants lack the rights of citizenship. Thus, historical and ongoing exclusion creates a less welcoming civic environment for underrepresented groups.

Given this history of exclusion and the association between civic engagement and socioeconomic status, some might not find it surprising that middle-class whites are the most involved in Rogers Park. However, this outcome is not inevitable. In Chicago, minorities have been active on issues surrounding immigration and police violence. For example, an existing network of associations made possible the 2006 immigrants' rights demonstrations, in which 400,000 to 750,000 people marched downtown on May Day (Pallares and Flores-González 2010).

Why are minorities and immigrants less organized in Rogers Park than in other Chicago neighborhoods? For white ethnics in the 1900s, the machine played a role in their political incorporation. Today, unions and community-based organizations are providing some of their members with civic skills and activities (Marwell 2004; Terriquez 2011). In Rogers Park, non-profit agencies have provided social services to minorities and immigrants over the years and this has helped keep the neighborhood integrated (Nyden, Lukehart, and Maly 1998). However, social service agencies in Rogers Park are not as politically active as the organizations that Marwell studied in Brooklyn[68]. Furthermore, there is a lack of minority leadership in the

[68] Marwell's (2004; 2007) ethnography shows that community-based organizations are engaging in patronage-like relations with local elected officials. They deliver reliable voting constituencies in the hopes of obtaining government contracts.

neighborhood, as Latino and African American associations are concentrated in the south and the west sides, their traditional areas of settlement. This means that the work of civic incorporation falls into the hands of volunteer-driven groups. While there is great interest in making these organizations more representative, they are still figuring out how to achieve this goal.

As more communities become racially mixed in the United States, Rogers Park teaches us that the experiences of ethnic and racial groups vary along spatial, social, and civic dimensions. It also teaches us that integration means more than redefining a community as diverse; it means creating opportunities for people to have a voice and influence in their community.

Appendix A

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The Development of a Research Project

This project began as an idea from my general exams. In preparation for my race and ethnicity exam, I read Camille Charles' (2003) review article on segregation patterns. In outlining directions for future research, Charles noted that the literature had, with good reason, focused on the problem—segregation—and had paid little attention to integrated neighborhoods. She argued that these "small but critically important number of success stories" were a "much-needed breath of fresh air," reminding us that re-segregation is not inevitable (200).

As someone who grew up in Chicago, one of the most segregated cities in the United States, I was struck by the existence of integrated neighborhoods and how little we knew about them at the time. Charles (2003) summarized the literature in three paragraphs, drawing largely from the pioneering studies of Nyden, Lukehart, and Maly (1998) and Ellen (2000). By 2012, when I began preparing my dissertation prospectus, there was a growing literature on diverse communities. There was also an ongoing debate about the future of race relations in the United States, as minority populations kept growing and reaching new destinations (Bonilla-Silva 2004; Frank, Akresh, and Lu 2010; Lee and Bean 2004; Tienda and Fuentes 2014).

Studying a multiethnic neighborhood would give me the opportunity to examine how different ethnic groups were living in the same space and to contribute to theories of changing race rations in America. In this Appendix, I discuss my methodological choices and some of the challenges I encountered in designing and executing this study. In Appendix B, I reflect on gender and qualitative work. Appendix C includes my interview guides.

Neighborhood Selection

My rationale for selecting a neighborhood was theoretical. I view the neighborhood as a case study and seek to provide a rich account of its social processes and the conditions associated with them. Because Chicago is one of the most segregated cities in the United States, it is an important place to study racial integration. Chicago has been the site of numerous studies of race relations and neighborhood change (Brown-Saracino 2009; Drake and Cayton 1945; Duneier 1992; Molotch 1972; Pattillo 2000, 2007; Sampson 2012; Suttles 1968; Wilson and Taub 2006; Zorbaugh 1929; Padilla 1985; De Genova 2005; Ramos-Zayas 2003; Zorbaugh 1929). At the same time, Chicago has been the destination of large numbers of Asian and Hispanic immigrants. Carrying out my project here would allow me to be in dialogue with these studies and expand our knowledge of social relations.

In selecting a field site, my goal was not to identify a "typical" or statistically average diverse neighborhood. First, diversity can mean multiple things to people (Berrey 2005; Burke 2012) and can be measured in many ways (Abascal and Baldassarri 2015). Second, the practice of selecting an "average" neighborhood to increase the study's generalizability is problematic because a single case "will never be representative" (Small 2009, 16).

To identify a fieldsite in Chicago, I looked for community areas[69] where blacks, whites, Hispanics, and Asians were present in numbers similar to their overall percentage of the city's population.[70] I followed Logan and Zhang's (2010) definition of "global" or multiethnic neighborhoods because they represent a new pathway to stable integration. Only four

[69] There are 77 community areas in Chicago. These were defined by the University of Chicago and are officially recognized by the City of Chicago.
[70] According to the 2010 Census, Chicago's population is 31.7% non-Hispanic white, 32.9% black, 28.9% Hispanic, and 5.5% Asian.

neighborhoods fit this criterion—Edgewater, Rogers Park, Uptown, and West Ridge—and all are located on the far north side. Table A1 shows the racial composition of these neighborhoods. I did preliminary fieldwork in these neighborhoods in the summer and December of 2012.

Table A1. Racial Composition of Chicago Neighborhoods where Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians Have a Significant Presence

Community Area	White, non-Hispanic	Black	Hispanic	Asian
Edgewater	57%	15%	14%	10%
Rogers Park	39%	26%	24%	6%
Uptown	52%	19%	16%	11%
West Ridge	47%	10%	19%	21%

Source: Census 2010

I selected Rogers Park for two reasons. First, it has a similar percentage of blacks and Hispanics (26% and 24% respectively), and, if people's perceptions match the Census figures, we could not attribute stronger negative feelings against one group to their population size. Second, the percentage of blacks in the other neighborhoods was smaller (between 10-19%). Selecting an area with a substantial black population is critical because they are the most stigmatized in housing markets.

Methods

I used three data collection strategies to address the spatial, social, and civic dimensions of integration: participant observation in public settings and community organizations, and interviews. I did three years of fieldwork (June 2013 – early September 2015, June 2016 – present) and I lived in the neighborhood for two of those years. The final year of fieldwork, I commuted from the northwest side of Chicago.

First, I observed a variety of public settings, such as streets, parks, the lakefront, grocery stores, the library, and public festivals, to address the spatial and social dimensions of

integration. I wanted to find out if groups were concentrated in certain places, and the conditions under which social characteristics like race/ethnicity, class and gender become salient in interactions.

Second, to address the civic dimension of integration, I did comparative fieldwork in organizations to uncover common process to all (Marwell 2007). I wanted to understand how they mobilize people of different backgrounds for collective action and whether they collaborate or are in conflict with other actors. My fieldwork was concentrated in the following organizations:

1. A tenants' association (8/2013 – 2/2014)
2. Participatory Budgeting in the 49th Ward (10/2013 – 5/2015, 4/2016, 11/2016 – present)
3. The catechism program of a Catholic Church (9/2013 – 4/2015)
4. A food distribution program (Summer and Fall 2013 – 2015)

In 2014, I was part of a community garden. Finally, I also attended community meetings for three years and the meetings of a network of health organizations for two years (2013 – 2015). I gained access to organizations after meeting volunteers or staff and explaining my research. My role in organizations was that of a participant observer and sometimes a Spanish translator, but I never played a role in decision-making. See Chapter 3 for more details about these organizations.

Third, I conducted 103 interviews with 97 Rogers Park residents and community leaders about three topics. The first set of interviews (n=69) focused on people's perceptions of the neighborhood and their involvement in collective life. Interviews allowed me to meet a broader range of people than the ones I encountered in my fieldwork. I included in my sample people who were involved and uninvolved in local organizations to compare their points of view. I

recruited participants at public settings, community events, and Craigslist. A small number of participants also came through referrals.

The second set of interviews (n=16) focused on people involved in Participatory Budgeting. I conducted most of these interviews in the summer of 2015. While I had observed two cycles of PB by then, it was unclear how volunteers were making sense of the process. I also saw the interviews as a way to gather information about people's backgrounds because I hypothesized that cultural capital facilitated their role as representatives. The people who participated included people in the following roles: (1) the PB Coordinator, who granted me two interviews in 2013 and 2015, (2) Sheree Moratto[71], co-chair of the Leadership Committee at the time, (3) the coordinator of the Sullivan High School Youth Committee, (4) six former or current members of the Leadership Committee, and (5) six community representatives.

The final set of interviews (n=18) focused on people's reactions to the election to Donald Trump. I completed these interviewed between January 22, 2017—right after the inauguration—and April 2017. I had previously interviewed four participants and the rest were new participants. The interviewees were primarily liberal, which is consistent with the neighborhood demographics, but there were also three people who did not vote, one non-citizen, one person who voted for Jill Stein, and one Republican.

Appendix C includes Interview Guides in English for all the types of interviews I conducted. The interviews were semi-structured and lasted about one hour. Interviews were tape-recorded with consent, except in three cases.

[71] Sheree Moratto also granted me an interview in 2013 about the neighborhood as part of her job at the Rogers Park Business Alliance. The other people who volunteered for the PB interviews did not participate in the other interviews about the neighborhood of the election.

Demographics of Interviewees

35% of interviewees were white, 28% black, 22% Latino, 10% multiracial, and 5% Asian (N=97). Most Latinos were of Mexican descent and 13 out 21 preferred to do the interview in Spanish. I spoke with 57 women and 40 men (see Appendix B for a discussion of gender). Interviewees' ages ranged from 19 to 69 years old. They were students, freelancers, artists, stay at home parents, business owners, PhDs, and unemployed people.

Compensation and Hard to Reach Populations

After an initial round of interviews, I decided to offer compensation of $20 to individuals to encourage broader participation, especially from low-income and minority populations. Staff of local organizations did not receive compensation, as the interviews were done as part of their job. The funds came from the Princeton Sociology Department and the Horowitz Foundation for Social Policy. Offering compensation increased the number of African Americans, but recruiting Latinos continued to be a challenge. For example, out of a group of about fifteen Latina moms from the food distribution program, only two agreed to an interview. We had known each other for almost two years, as I visited their children's school every Monday during the farmer's market season, and we often ran into each other in the street. When I asked one of the moms who agreed who participate for referrals, she said "*no las vi muy convencidas."* "They didn't look very convinced," she said about the other moms in the program.

Some of the barriers that discourage civic engagement among Latino immigrants also make it hard to recruit them for research: fear of detection by immigration authorities, low

educational levels, the feeling of not being "prepared[72]" to participate, or that they would not know what to say. Not all immigrants are undocumented, afraid or poorly educated, but reaching vulnerable populations does take effort. As a Mexican immigrant from a working-class family, my background helped me connect with other immigrants in the neighborhood while doing fieldwork, but that did not guarantee interviews. Even when the researcher shares the background of some of the people she studies, it does not necessarily make studying them easier (Vargas 2016). In my case, I had an easier time recruiting white and black interviewees than Latinos. Due to language barriers, I did not have any luck reaching the smaller communities of Asian immigrants in the neighborhood.

On the Use of Names and Pseudonyms for Places, People, and Organizations

Traditionally, ethnographers and qualitative researchers use pseudonyms for the places and people they study to protect their privacy and prevent harm. However, more scholars are using real names to allow for site revisits, for greater transparency, or because the uniqueness of the place prevents them from fully masking its identity (Duneier 1999; Jerolmack and Murphy 2017; Marwell 2007). In my case, I use a mix of real names and pseudonyms for methodological, ethical, and practical reasons.

I use the neighborhood's real name because it is crucial to present a historically and contextually grounded portrayal of social life in this field. Also, there are very few multiethnic neighborhoods in Chicago, making it almost impossible to use a pseudonym for Rogers Park. Naming the site allows me to give its precise demographic composition, so that readers can understand who makes up the diversity of this neighborhood. Finally using the neighborhood's

[72] "*No me siento preparado"* means not being I am not "prepared" or "ready," but oftentimes, it can imply that people do not have the educational preparation to do something.

real name will allow other researchers to revisit the site to "replicate" the study or to use as a comparison case (Duneier 1999; Jerolmack and Murphy 2017).

I use a mix of real names and pseudonyms for the people and organizations in this study. The methodological rationale for using real names is that it holds the researcher more accountable in depicting conversations and observations with accuracy (Duneier 1999). Some people also like to see themselves in a book (Duneier 1999) and feel proud to share their story and contribute to a book. As part of the informed consent process for interviews, I gave people the choice to use their name or a pseudonym. Most people gave me permission to use their real name, although some only wanted their first name in print.

Those who did not give me permission to use their names were usually college-educated people familiar with research ethics or people concerned about their privacy, especially if they were planning to say critical things. While some people feel more freedom to say what they think if their identity is protected, there are others who make critical remarks even under their own name. Some said, "I've got nothing to hide" or "it's nothing I haven't told them [the organization] before." One of the reasons people were willing to give me permission to use their names, and why Princeton University's Institutional Review Board for Human Subjects approved my protocol, was that my interviews did not focus on highly sensitive topics (e.g., criminal or stigmatized activities).

In my meetings with staff and volunteers from organizations, I also gave them the option to use their name and the name of their organization or pseudonyms[73]. I had success obtaining

[73] During the informed consent process, I explained that if they choose to use a pseudonym for their organization, there was a chance that they may become identifiable, especially if their organization was the only one or one of a few of that type in the neighborhood. Nevertheless, I would make every effort to protect their confidentiality.

permission to name non-for-profit organizations. However, this proved more challenging for "informal" or grassroots organizations with a fluid membership. In the case of the tenant's association, I have chosen not to reveal the location of the building or the names of the tenants. While some tenants were outspoken and gave interviews to the media, there were others who wanted to stay anonymous. Because there was a lot of mobility in the building, I did not have the chance to ask everyone that I observed for permission to use their names in my writing. Given that we know that the building is in Rogers Park, there is a possibility that people may guess its exact location or find local news about it. Even if this is an imperfect solution, I am not revealing the identities of those who chose to keep them private.

Appendix B

WOMEN IN THE STREETS: GENDER, TRUST, AND QUALITATIVE WORK

A degree of trust is necessary to gain access to field sites and to build relationships with people to learn about their lives. While scholars recognize that gaining people's full trust is not necessary to do research (Duneier 1999), discussions of trust focus on whether participants trust the researcher or on the participant's credibility. However, trust is a two-way street. Just as people may limit access to researchers because they distrust them, researchers may distrust certain people in the community. How does distrust affect the work of qualitative researchers? In particular, how does distrust affect the work of female qualitative researchers?

In this Appendix, I discuss how I became distrustful of men while doing fieldwork and how it influenced my work. Although identities are intersectional (Crenshaw 1991; Dill and Zambrana 2009), I focus on gender because that was the most salient characteristic in my interactions. When I began my fieldwork, I did not anticipate the amount of unwanted attention that I would receive from men. As a woman spending a lot of time in the streets and asking people for interviews or favors, I found myself in a position of high exposure and vulnerability. Advances from men and micro-aggressions began to create a sense of generalized distrust that colored my interactions and made my work more challenging.

Other relevant details about me: I was born in Mexico but I have lived in Chicago's northwest side since I was eleven and I speak English with an accent. My family's background is Catholic and working class. At the time of this research, I was 29 and single. Since people get judged based on their appearance, I have to describe myself: I have light skin and long, black

wavy hair that I keep in a high bun or, on a good day, I leave it down. I wore no makeup or little makeup while doing fieldwork.

Turning Interviews into More

Since I did not know anyone in Rogers Park at first, I started by interviewing people who I had met at festivals or public settings. Out of the first six men that I attempted to interview, four made unwanted advances. The first incident happened when a man in his mid-fifties "complimented" me in the middle of the interview. He told me that it was "refreshing to speak to someone like me—beautiful, as well as intelligent." I pretended not to hear what he said. At the end of the interview, he said "maybe we can be friends now that you will be in the neighborhood." I remained quiet. I was unprepared to deal with the situation. I was also afraid that I would burn bridges with any community organizations in which he was involved if I said that I was only in the neighborhood for "professional reasons." We had met while volunteering for a community festival and he had told me that he was involved in other organizations.

The next Friday, he called me and asked me how was it was going. (I had given him my business card to schedule the interview.) I said that I was busy preparing for a conference. He said, "You know what they say, all work and no play!" Then, he asked me when I was going to have time for him. I added that I was travelling out of state to the conference. I did not hear from him until months later in February 2014 when he sent me two "good morning" text messages. I never replied.

After the first interview, I met three men who initially acted normal but attempted to flirt when I called to schedule an interview. In those cases, I decided not to interview them. For example, a Mexican street vendor I met outside a Catholic church wanted to schedule the

interview on a Saturday at 7 pm. “There are a lot of beautiful places where I could take you,” he said in Spanish. I responded that I did not interview people at those times and ended the call.

These first attempts at interviewing made me realize that the ways in which some men perceived me differed from the way that I saw myself. While I saw myself as professional first, some men saw me as a woman first and attempted to use my research to get close to me. Some people might say that getting unwanted attention from men is normal and that women should just deal with it. However, being perceived as a woman first trivialized the importance of my work and made it more difficult. I had been trained on the importance of making sure that interview samples reflected the composition of the community. Achieving a balanced gender sample was going to be a challenge if the pattern continued. Furthermore, I felt more vulnerable dealing with unwanted advances from men as a researcher than in my everyday life.

As a result, I stopped interviewing until the following spring. By 2014, I had secured a grant that allowed me to offer $20 in compensation for an interview. I interviewed about 60 people and only one man flirted with me. What changed? One could argue that maybe I just had bad luck during the first wave of interviews. However, I believe offering compensation changed men’s expectations of the interaction. Men no longer felt entitled because they were doing me a “favor” by participating in the interview. Money was not the only factor that contributed to this change. I also changed how I recruited participants. I posted flyers in coffee shops, Craigslist, and stopped asking men that I had just met for interviews. This removed the element of men feeling flattered because a young woman approached them.

I am not suggesting that money or my new approach is the solution, but I want to point out that when women have to ask people for interviews, it puts them in a vulnerable position. There is a chance that their requests might be misinterpreted and that some people—men and

women[74] alike—may want something in exchange. Most of the people I met did not ask for anything in exchange; they just wanted to share their stories. However, the majority of those who attempted to get something extra from interview were men. An advantage of one-time interviews is that researchers do not have to see people after the fact. What happens when we cannot avoid them because they are part of our field site?

The Vulnerability of Ethnographers

Women who do fieldwork are vulnerable for two reasons. First, women who spend a significant time in the streets or public settings are exposed to more male attention than the average woman. Second, access to field sites is fragile and depends on maintaining positive relationships. This, in turn, can make it more difficult for women to speak up if men bother them.

In my case, I got catcalls almost every day, and over time these micro-aggressions built up. I have been keeping track of them in a dataset since May 2014. The catcalls came from teenagers to men in their sixties. A couple of times, men tried to use their Spanish on me, which makes me suspect that being Latina contributed to my objectification in the streets or at least to how men approached me in the streets. I also noticed that wearing my hair down attracted more attention. In the summer of 2014, I kept my hair in a messy bun instead of letting it down. When I saw groups of young men approaching me in the street, I instinctively looked down and hunched my shoulders. When I caught myself changing my posture in the streets, hoping to become invisible to men, I was shocked. I had always taken for granted my ability to walk down

[74] One woman asked me to pay for her groceries. Another woman reached out to me long after the interview to invite me to volunteer for a few hours at an event.

the streets[75]. Part of my job as an ethnographer was to observe street life, and now I was being observed and objectified! I considered myself a tough person and I was ashamed to act this way. (However, I also realize that I am privileged because I am less likely than brown and black men to experience harassment from gangs and police in the streets.)

In addition, I had unsavory experiences with men in one of the organizations in which I was doing participant observation. At a public event, a man in a leadership position approached me to tell me, "I'm watching you eat [fried] chicken, and I am watching your hips because that's where all of it is going to go." The only thing that I thought of saying was that eating chicken once in a while was not bad, but I could not manage to say the full sentence. He walked away to continue a conversation with someone else. That same day, I ran into the man who interrupted the interview to "compliment" me and a married man that I refused to interview because he attempted to flirt with me.

Another member of the same organization, a white, middle-aged male, asked me "When are you joining my harem?" at the end of a meeting. He and another woman had asked me about my Thanksgiving plans, and he interjected that question out of the blue. The woman said, "Well, she's beautiful like that" and changed the subject. I remained quiet and left after that. He did not make any advances towards me after that incident, and I avoided him. I was also more guarded around other men in the organization.

My role as a researcher made me feel particularly vulnerable at the time of these incidents. Access to organizations depends on maintaining positive relationships with people. As a participant observer in organizations, I felt compelled to be "nicer" and to volunteer for tasks to show that I was reliable and grateful for the access that I was granted. While the pressure to be

[75] Catcalls were not common for me in the past in Chicago. It could be because I spent a lot of time indoors studying or because I was overweight.

"nice" is gendered, this pressure was greater in my role as a researcher than in my personal life. When these incidents happened, I did not feel empowered to put men in their place or to complain to other people in leadership positions. I did not want to cause a scene or call attention to myself. Most likely, people would have understood my position but, as a guest and observer, I did not want to take risks. I feared that I would have to explain that I did nothing to ask for this behavior. Furthermore, making a complaint would involve telling a *personal* story and that would increase my sense of vulnerability because I wanted to be seen as a *professional* in this setting[76]. This is the same reason why I was initially reluctant to talk about these issues with my dissertation advisors. To talk about my discomfort around men felt personal, and I did not want my professors to think that I was weak.

Implications for Qualitative Research

As qualitative researchers, our work depends of building connections with people to gain access to sites and to learn about them. While being a woman can give us advantages in gaining access to some sites dominated by women or children, there are also disadvantages to being a woman in the field. Dealing with unwanted advances from men puts women in a vulnerable position as "guests" in the community and is energy draining. Women have to protect themselves from negative interactions with certain members of the community while trying to maintain positive relationships with the rest. In my case, a lot of energy went into monitoring my interactions with men for early signs of sketchiness. I also monitored my behavior to convey professional boundaries and I rehearsed what I would do in future situations. This "better safe

[76] Most people in leadership positions are white, middle-aged and middle-class and slightly more than half are women. While everyone was nice to me, they saw me as a "student."

than sorry" attitude meant that sometimes I missed opportunities to interact with men who were safe.

More broadly, how gender and trust play out in the field have implications for the production of knowledge. Qualitative research involves building trust to access people and places. Maintaining relationships is a requirement to learn from people. Scholars have acknowledged that it is impossible to obtain everyone's point of view (Becker 1967). There is also awareness that researchers' identities influence their observations and interpretations. Gender, among other characteristics, influences the type of people we talk to, our access to sites, and our roles in those sites (see Marwell 2007, p. 256-258). Nevertheless, these discussions usually remain at the level of the researcher's "subject position" or identity.

We need to expand our discussion of trust and power to consider how some researchers find themselves in vulnerable positions because of their gender or other characteristics, such as age, race/ethnicity[77], social status (Conti and O'Neil 2007), and sexual orientation. As academics writing accounts of social life from our point of view, we are indeed privileged; however, not everyone in the field sees us and treats us that way.

[77] In my case, people expressed ethnic/racial prejudice in more subtle ways than gender-based prejudice. As a result, I sometimes found myself questioning whether or not I had experienced racism (Feagin 1991). For example, a handful of people, including two Latinos, made well intentioned and sometimes not so well intentioned comments about my English or my accent. A white woman said it was a good thing that I tape-recorded the interview because of my accent. However, most commonly, people would confuse or not remember certain things about me. Some people thought that I was a student at Loyola or University of Illinois at Chicago. No one ever confused Princeton with Northwestern University, which is also nearby, or with another Ivy League school. A white woman was under the impression that two women used to observe the meetings. She described the second woman as having long hair but could not remember her name. That day, I had my hair up in a ponytail and I did not have the heart to tell her that there was no "second" woman. I was both.

Appendix C

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RESIDENTS

Symbolic Aspects of Neighborhoods

1. When people ask you where you live, what do you tell them?
2. Definitions
    a. What does a neighborhood mean to you?
    b. What does community mean to you?
3. Belonging
    a. What is your neighborhood?
    b. What is your community?
4. How would you describe your neighborhood?

Residential Patterns

5. How long have you lived in this neighborhood?
6. Do you rent or do you own your home?
7. Where did you live before?
8. Why did you decide to move to this neighborhood?
9. What are some of the most important things that you look for in a place to live?
10. What other neighborhoods were you considering?

Neighborhood Qualities

11. What qualities of the neighborhood do you like the most?
12. What do you like the least about the neighborhood?
13. What would you like to see change in your neighborhood?
14. What would *you* be willing to do to improve the neighborhood?
15. What would you do with a million dollars to improve the neighborhood?
16. How long do you think that you will live in this neighborhood?

Social Relations

17. Who lives in your neighborhood?
18. Do you know your neighbors?
    a. How do you get along with them?
19. With whom do you socialize?
20. Where do you socialize?
21. Where do your friends live?

Public Spaces and Businesses

22. What activities do you do outside of your home?
23. What are some of the most distinctive places (parks, organizations, institutions) in this neighborhood?
24. Where do you do your shopping?
25. What businesses do you patronize (here or outside)?

26. Where do you work? How long is your commute? Do you drive or take public transportation?

Participation in Collective Life

27. Are you involved in any clubs, organizations or civic groups?
    a. If yes, where are they located?
    b. How long have you been involved?
    c. Why did you get involved? Why do you care?
    d. Who else should get involved? Why?
    e. If not, why not? Have you been involved in the past?
28. Do you attend church? Probe for frequency and length of involvement.
29. Have you ever participated in neighborhood politics or improvement efforts?
30. Have you heard of:
    a. CAPS?
    b. Participatory Budgeting?
31. Do you attend any neighborhood events, such as festivals, the farmer's market?
32. Do you follow any neighborhood news, blogs, forums, mailing lists?

33. There are some people who say that in places where there are people from different races, ethnicities or cultures, there is conflict or problems.
    a. How has been your experience in this neighborhood?
    b. Have you observed that to be the case for others?

Belonging

We have talked about your involvement in various places, how would you rate your belonging in them, from a scale from 1-10, 10 being the highest:

1. Family
2. Workplace
3. Clubs or organizations (if applicable)
4. The block where you live
5. Neighborhood
6. Community (if they said they belonged to a community)
7. Chicago
8. Illinois
9. US
10. Country of origin (if applicable)

Background

1. Gender
2. Ethnicity/race (self-identity)
    a. If born outside of the US, citizen?
    b. Years in U.S.
3. Age
4. Education
5. Occupation
6. Marital status

7. Children
8. Political orientation

Suggestions

1. If you were the one writing this book, what would you want it to be about?
2. Do you have any questions or comments about things we didn't cover?

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING (PB)

First contact with PB

1. How did you find out about PB?
2. When did you get involved?
3. Why did you get involved?
4. What are some of the ways that you have been involved?

Community representative process

5. What committee did you join? How did you choose your committee?
6. What is the role of a community representative?
7. The projects
    a. Did you propose any projects?
    b. How did your committee choose the projects that go on the ballot?
8. How did you get feedback from the community on your projects?
9. What does it take to make a project win?
    a. If applicable, did you do any promotion for your project?

Collaboration

10. Did you work with anyone in your committee or other committees, city agencies, or the alderman's office to develop your project?
11. How was it like to work with them?
12. Did you know any of the other community reps?
13. Did you have any experience with local government or working with any of the agencies above?

Reflecting on the process

Now that you have completed he process, I'm going to ask you to reflect on a few things:

14. What would you say are the challenges of PB?
15. What are the rewards of participating?
16. What suggestions do you have for improving the process?
17. Do you plan to participate in the future? If yes, in what capacity? If not, how come?
18. Who should get involved? Why?

Residential patterns

19. How long have you lived in 49th ward?
20. In what part of neighborhood do you live?
21. Do you own or rent your place?
22. How long do you plan to stay here?
23. What do you think are the neighborhood's main needs?

Other civic involvement

24. Are you involved in any other civic association, clubs, or organizations? They could be in the neighborhood or outside.
    a. For how long?
    b. How are you involved?
    c. Time commitment?
25. Are you involved in any religious institutions?
26. Do you attend neighborhoods events? E.g., community meetings, festivals
27. Do you follow any neighborhood news, blogs, forums, or mailing lists?

Socio-demographic

1. Gender
2. Ethnicity/race (self-identity)
    a. If born outside of the US, citizen?
    b. Years in U.S.
3. Age
4. Education
5. Occupation
6. Marital status
7. Children
8. Political orientation

INTERVIEW GUIDE ABOUT REACTIONS TO TRUMP

Introduction

1. Do you usually follow elections?
2. Did you follow the most recent presidential election?
3. What did you think about the campaigns?
4. How did you choose what candidate to support?
5. Did you vote? When?
6. Who did you think would win?

Day of election (Nov. 8th, 2016)

7. The day of the election, can you tell me the story of how you found out the results?
8. How did you feel about the results of the election?
9. What kind of reactions did you see around you? It could be people that you know (family, friends, work, school) or public reactions or the news

Future Expectations

10. How do you think the country will change in the next four years?
11. What are some of the issues that you care about?
12. Do any of these issues affect you or people you know?
13. Do you think Trump will be re-elected?

Post-election plans

14. Have you noticed any changes in your everyday life since the election?
15. If concerned, have you done anything or do you plan to do anything in response to these concerns?
    a. If they don't know, probe: For example, some of the things that people have done include:
        i. follow the news
        ii. sign petitions
        iii. contact elected officials
        iv. donate money to causes
        v. go to meetings
        vi. go to demonstrations
        vii. join organizations
16. If you plan to do something, what do you plan to accomplish?

Connections Across the Political Divide

17. Do you know anyone who <u>voted for a different political candidate/doesn't share your political beliefs</u>? [*Fill in the blank depending on the person's political behavior and preferences]*
    a. If YES, do you discuss politics with them? How come?
    b. If NOT, would you like to get to know people with different political beliefs? Would you like to discuss politics with them? Why?

Instructions: If people report voting for Clinton, ask them what questions they would ask Trump supporters in a hypothetical conversation. Do the opposite for Trump supporters. For people who are neutral or independent, give them the option to ask questions to both Clinton and Trump supporters or to just one side.

18. Who do you think voted for Trump?
19. What do you wish you could ask Trump supporters? What would you want to know about them?
20. What would you want Trump supporters to understand about you, your beliefs, or about the country?

Pop Quiz

21. This is the only factual question of the interview: How many people in Rogers Park do you *think* voted for Trump?
    a. After they give you an answer: (1) tell them the voting outcomes for 49th ward[78], (2) and record what is their reaction?
22. Do you know anyone who voted for Trump in the neighborhood?
23. **If they voted for Trump**: What is it like living in a neighborhood where most people vote for the Democratic Party?

Background

1. Age
2. Education
3. Occupation
4. Marital status
5. Children
6. Ethnicity/race (self-identify)
    a. If born outside of the US, citizen?
    b. Years in U.S.
7. Residential patterns
    a. Years in Rogers Park
    b. Rent or own?
    c. What is your hometown? Or where were you living when you were 16?
8. Political:
    a. What is your political orientation?
    b. How political are you?
9. What is your religion? How often do you attend religious services?
10. Civic:
    a. Are you involved in any clubs, organizations, civic or hobby groups?
    b. Union?
11. I am going to read a list of neighborhood associations. I want to know if people are familiar with them. Can you tell me if you heard of them?
    a. CAPS
    b. Participatory Budgeting
    c. The alderman

[78] 7.62% Trump; Clinton 87.11%; Independent 5.25%

Now, I am going to read a list of places and I am going to ask you to rate your sense of belonging from 1-10, 10 being the highest

1. The neighborhood
2. Chicago
3. Your hometown
4. Illinois
5. U.S.
6. If foreign born, your country of origin

Conclusion

1. What is the most important thing for you in this political moment?
2. Do you have additional thoughts/comments? Is there a topic or question I should have asked?

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ORGANIZATIONS

Professional background

1. What is your position in this organization?
2. For how long have you been in this organization and/or this position?

History and current work

3. Could you tell me about your organization, including its history and current work?
4. Has the organization's mission changed since it started?

Target population

5. Who is your target population?
6. Has the population your serve changed over time?
7. What are their needs?
8. How do you serve them? What kind of services do you offer?
9. How do you get people involved in your organization?
10. What are some of the challenges of your work?

Organizational characteristics

11. What kind of governance structure does this organization have? Does it have a board of directors? Are community members involved in the board?
12. Who funds this organization?
13. What is the organization's operating budget?
14. How many salaried employees does it have?

Links to other organizations and actors:

15. What other organizations are there doing good work in this neighborhood?
16. Do you collaborate with any other organizations or actors, such as political figures, inside and outside of the neighborhood?
    a. If yes:
        i. How did these collaborations come about?
        ii. How frequently do you collaborate with them?
    b. If not, why not?
17. When your organization needs help getting things done, whom do you turn to?

Suggestions for future study

18. Is there anything else relevant about this neighborhood or the people that live here that I should know about?
19. Are there any people that you recommend that I talk to or places that I must study to understand this neighborhood?

Personal Background

1. Gender
2. Ethnicity/race
3. Age
4. Education
5. Occupational history
    a. Previous jobs
    b. What drew you to your current job?

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