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Participatory budgeting in Bogotá: a means for social transformation or maintenance of status quo?

Johanna Brugman

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dpu Development Planning Unit
The Bartlett
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Development Planning Unit | The Bartlett | University College London
34 Tavistock Square - London - WC1H 9EZ
Tel: +44 (0)20 7679 1111 - Fax: +44 (0)20 7679 1112 - www.bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/dpu

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Johanna Brugman
johbrugman@gmail.com

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Abstract. Today's model influencing the development of cities is embedded in the neoliberal logic. Neoliberalism has depoliticised urban governance by obscuring the complex power relations that are embedded in these processes. This entitles neutralising the role of the state and supporting conservative processes of consultation; rather than the creation of deliberate spaces of participation allowing citizens to make decisions about the investments shaping the city they live in.

Participatory budgeting (PB) has emerged as an innovative process in urban governance. PB is considered a form of participatory democracy were citizens are free to debate and decide on urban public investments and spending priorities. PB has the capacity to empower citizens to become active agents in the development of cities, and thus considered as an alternative to the neoliberal urban logic embedded in current urban governance practices. But are all models of PB successful in transforming power relations? Or can these processes act as other governance instruments to maintain the status quo? And what are the possible characteristics that PB should meet in order to succeed at transforming power relations in cities?

Using the ideas of power developed by Michael Foucault as a theoretical framework, this paper presents a critical enquiry into participatory budgeting and its trajectory in Bogotá, Colombia. The paper aims to de-construct PB as experienced in Bogotá, to analyse its objectives and underlying assumptions, and understand to what extent PB contributes in transforming power relations in the city.

Chapter I analyses power through the lens of Foucault and its implications in urban governance, Chapter II presents an analysis and critical enquiry of the experience of PB in Bogotá, and Chapter III concludes with policy recommendations for the PB process in Bogotá.

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CTDP	Consejo Territorial de Planeación (City Territorial Planning Council)
CPL	Consejo de Planeación Local (Local Planning Council)
DNP	Departamento Nacional de Planeación (National Planning Department)
IDPAC	Instituto Distrital para la Acción Comunal (District Institute for Communal Action)
HDI	Human Development Index
JAC	Juntas de Acción Comunal (Communal action organisations)
JAL	Juntas de Acción Local (Local action organisations)
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender community
PB	Participatory Budgeting
POT	Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial (Territorial Development Plan)
SED	Secretaría de Educación Distrital (District Education Secretariat)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UPB	Unidades Barriales de Participación (Neighbourhood Units for participation)
UPZ	Unidades de Planificación Zonal (Planning zoning units)

1. Introduction

"I think it is somewhat arbitrary to try and dissociate the effective practice of freedom by people, the practice of social relations, and the spatial distributions in which they find themselves. If they are separated, they become impossible to understand. Each can only be understood through the other"

Michael Foucault

Today's model influencing the development of cities is embedded in the logic of neoliberalism. This model supports the logic of the market promoting the roll back of the state, privatisation, and the production of an urban environment guided by economic growth and competition (Harris, 1996). Neoliberalism has normalised the logic of individualism supporting the assumption that economic benefits will 'trickle down' to all groups in society in an equal basis (Leitner, Sheppard, Sziarto, & Marinanti, 2007). The perpetuation of this model has resulted in an alarming political and territorial fragmentation, and despite experiencing economic growth and development, cities also experience the aggravation of inequality and social exclusion. For instance the UNDP Human Development Report for Latin American and the Caribbean (2010) recognises that even when the region has experienced constant economic growth in the last decades it has grown as the most unequal in the world.

Neoliberalism maintains the discourse of good urban governance supporting a political system guided by ideals of representative democracy (Fotopoulos, 2008). Good urban governance has become a hegemonic signifier for best-practice where the participation of different stakeholders is supported in an atmosphere of collaboration and consensus where government plays a neutral role. This discourse has de-politicised urban governance and obscured the complex power relations that constitute these processes by following a corporate logic of consultation, rather than creating deliberate spaces that devolve decision-making power to citizens (De Souza Santos, 2005).

Participatory budgeting (PB) has emerged as an innovative process in urban governance, seen as capable of generating alternatives to the neoliberal logic embedded in current urban governance practices (Pont, 2009). For instance PB supports a collective process of participatory democracy where citizens freely debate and decide on public budgets and spending priorities, becoming active agents of public administration by making decisions on how resources are distributed in their cities (De Souza in Cabannes, 2004a). PB also consolidates the relationship between citizens and their local governments supporting the creation of inclusive political processes, as well as demonstrates the strategic role that governments can play in responding to social exclusion in cities (De Souza Santos, 2005). PB is also a supporter of diversity, flexibility and local contexts and it is thus capable of engaging with the realities of a particular city and place rather than following a hegemonic model (Cabannes, 2004a). The ideas supported by PB contrast the individualist, competitive and corporate logic of traditional urban governance. This opens up the possibilities to create new urban processes were the collective is stronger than the individual, were the role of the state is made crucial and were real citizen debate and engagement with political power is possible.

Despite this, PB processes are subject to the manipulation of powerful actors in cities, putting these processes at risk of being used as another political instrument to maintain the *status quo*. The risks surrounding PB make necessary the critical enquiry into its objectives and underlying assumptions in order to understand to what extent PB contributes in transforming power relations in cities such as Bogota.

1.1 Why Bogota?

Bogota is the capital and largest city of Colombia extending across the Cordillera Oriental of Los Andes. Since the 1950's Bogota has experienced rapid growth and now has a population of approximately 8 million (SDP, 2016). Bogota is an important political, economic, industrial, and cultural hub, contributing with a significant part of the national economy (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2012a). As other Latin American cities, Bogota was subject to structural adjustment policies in the 1980s, and the adoption of neoliberalism as development model, now shaping the current realities of the city (Mejía Quintana & Formisano Prada, 1998). Bogota is a city of contradictions, where steps forward such as the political will of mayors towards the creation of a demo-

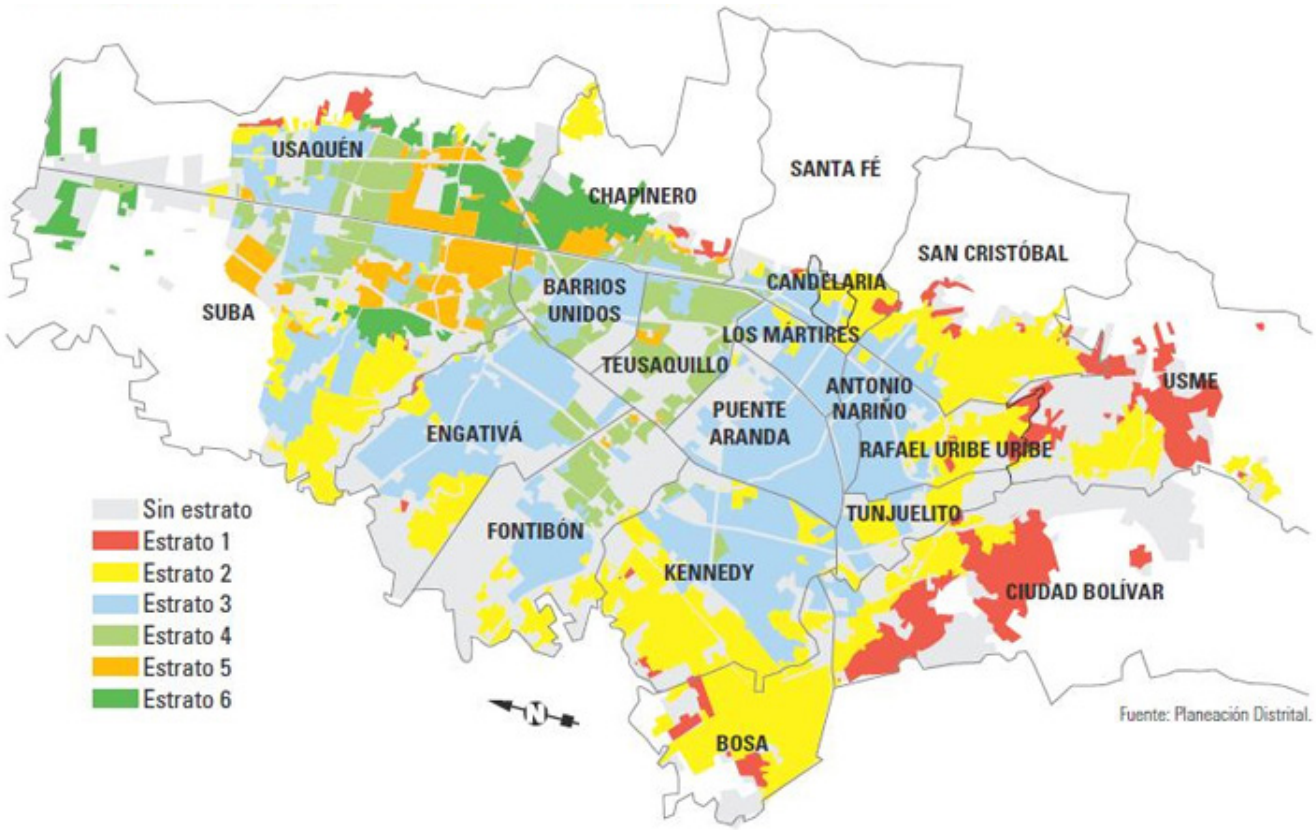
cratic city have been contested by Bogota's neoliberal ideals and efforts to become a global city.

Over the last two decades the city has experienced exemplary transformations thanks to a complex evolution of institutional conditions, as well as the synergy between mobilised citizens and the political will of progressive administrations (Dávila, 2004). Bogota has changed from being recognised as a 'city of fear' experiencing high rates of violence and delinquency, to becoming nationally and internationally recognised for its improvements in quality of life of citizens and in the physical image of the city. Some of the most recognised transformations occurred in the mandate of specific mayors, such as Antanas Mockus, who enhanced the sense of citizenship through culture, security, and participation, and Enrique Peñalosa, who focused on improving quality of life through the delivery of infrastructure such as the Bus-Rapid-Transit system Transmilenio, and public spaces including parks, sidewalks, bicycle paths, and public libraries (UNDP, 2008).

One important part of this transformation has been the diverse mechanisms that have been generated to engage with mobilised groups of citizens and their demands in the production of the city. These groups represent, for the most, organised women who put pressure for the generation of a city model that is accessible and reflects the identities of women and girls (see IDPAC, 2009 and Rainero & Dalmazzo, 2011), youth and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) movements, people experiencing disabilities, those experiencing poverty, indigenous and afro-Colombian groups who struggle against hegemonic orders, and territorial communities who resist and denounce the environmental degradation experienced in the city. Other groups include community and non-governmental organisations that demand accountability of the public administration, strengthening social control over the political practices in the city (see Hernández, 2010).

The positive steps forward taken in Bogota still face challenges for their consolidation. Bogota presents an alarming socio-spatial segregation supporting a significant gap between the rich north and the poor south as seen in the map below and reflected in the 10% of the rich population earning between 35 and 40 times more than the 10% of the poorest residents of the city (Dávila, 2004). These alarming differences emphasise the need for public policies that re-distribute resources with influence in the spatial formation of the city, tackling issues such as access to land, housing, mobility, and environmental degradation in favour of the poor and excluded (UNDP, 2008).

Figure 1.1. Spatial stratification in Bogota[1]. Source: District's Planning Secretariat 2009.



In order to continue to build a more inclusive city it is crucial for Bogota to deepen the exercise of participatory democracy. This entitles moving away from attempts to use participation as a mechanism to 'modernise' government, but construct participatory spaces that give a real devolution of power to citizens. In this light participatory budgeting in Bogota opens up possibilities for transforming urban governance practices by allowing existing mobilised groups of citizens to make decisions and take more control over their territories, reduce socio-spatial segregation in the city by investing in the most poor neighbourhoods, and prioritising re-distributive policies that benefit the poor and the excluded. In this atmosphere and considering that PB has been adopted by political mandates in the city since the 1980s, it is valid to ask: can PB in Bogota make a difference to the *status quo*?

1.2 Research question and objectives

The objective of this paper is to analyse the capacity of PB in Bogota to be an instrument for structural change in the city, able to transform power relations and allow citizens to make decisions over public resources affecting the population's territories and communities.

Based on this, the paper will answer the following research question: *does participatory budgeting in Bogota transform power relations or is it another governance instrument that maintains the status quo?*

1.3 Methodology

PB in Bogota has been consolidated throughout time. The study will look specifically at four experiences implemented under different political administrations:

- *Participación para la Inversión 2007 (participation for investment 2007)* developed under the administration of Luis Eduardo Garzón (2004-2007)
- *Presupuestos Participativos en el Instituto Distrital de la Participación y Acción Comunal (IDPAC) (2009) (Participatory budgeting at the District's Institute for Participation and Communal Action)* developed under the administration of Samuel Moreno (2008 - 2011)
- *Presupuestos Participativos en la Secretaria de Educación 2011-2012 (Participatory budgeting at the Education Secretariat)* under the administration of Samuel Moreno (2008- 2011)
- The eight *cabildos piloto de presupuesto participativo (eight pilot exercises of participatory budgeting) (2012)* developed under the administration of Gustavo Petro (2012-2015).

Quantitative data documented from these experiences is used for analysing the case and for supporting conclusions. Also, qualitative information is used, collected from interviews made by the author with key informants including:

- Pedro Santana Rodríguez, Director *Corporación Viva la Ciudadanía* (National non-goverment organisation) and *Red Nacional de Planeación Local y Presupuesto Participativo* (National network of local planning and participatory budgeting in Colombia);
- Marisol Dalmazzo and Lucy Cardona, *Asociación de Vivienda Popular* (AVP) (popular housing association);
- Luz Mery Palacios Moreno, community leader from the locality of Usaquén and active member of *Consejo Consultivo de Mujeres (women council)*; and
- Nelson Jávier Vásquez Torres, former staff of the IDPAC *(District's Institute for Participation and Communal Action).*

1.4 Organisation of the document

The sections of the paper are organised as follows. **Chapter I** builds the theoretical underpinning and analytical framework of the study, followed by **Chapter II**, which presents the analysis of PB in Bogota, and **Chapter III**, which provides policy recommendations for PB in Bogota.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1 The division in "estratos" refers to a socio-economic clasification of the housing stock of the city in order to develop a cross-subsidized model for paying for public services, in which higher "estratos" (4,5,6) pay more for their services tan lower ones (1,2,3). This division is made through a methodolgy combining spatial and socio-economic data.

2. Theoretical and analytical framework

2.1 Power: the interpretation of Michael Foucault and contribution to urban governance

Much of urban political theory has been dedicated to the understanding of power: its production, distribution, exercise, and impact (Davies & Imbroscio, 2009). Power lies at the heart of urban theory as a necessary condition to understanding issues of poverty, exclusion, and inclusion (Flyvbjerg, 1998). Power has also been considered an essential element for understanding the formation of alternative politics in urban arenas capable of transforming power relations (Healey, 2006). Power has been and remains one of the most contentious concepts in urban theory subject to different interpretations, leaving any particular adaptation of the concept open to question and debate (Few, 2002; Eyben, Harris, & Pettit, 2006).

Orthodox interpretations of power have been inclined to see power as a 'black box' centralised within the economy and the political system. In this view power in urban politics has been associated with domination, coercion and repression exercised through institutions and imposed over others (Sharp, Routledge, Philo, & Paddison, 2000). Classical theorists supporting this view associate power with absolute authority and the rule of law, being stemmed from a single unit, ordered according to a uniform principle, and possessing continuity in time and space (see Sadan, 2004). This centralised, negative, and rigid conceptualisation of power is insufficient in engaging with the complexities of power that are in play in urban politics (Lindell, 2008).

Foucault's influential theory (1976a, 1976b, 1982a, 1982b) considers power not as an absolute, abstract concept, but rather something that is closely related to the experiences of human beings. Power is created through social relations, and is present in the day to day living experiences in society: *"power must be analysed as something which circulates (…) it is never localised here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed an exercised through a net-like organisation. And no only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power"* (Foucault, 1976a, p.98). These ideas change the conceptualisation of power from a fixed force centralised in particular entities, to a diffuse concept, produced by social relations, and in the reach of the most basic units of society such as ordinary individuals (or groups) through resistance and struggle.

Building on this, Foucault (1982a) introduces struggle as a way of looking at issues of power, focusing the attention on power relations (exercised through the resistance by individuals (or groups) to dominating and repressive orders), rather than on power itself. Power relations are considered *"a set of actions upon other actions"*, articulated on the basis of two elements which are indispensable to each other, and where "the other" over whom power is exercised is recognised as an active subject capable of shaping and transforming these relations (Foucault, 1982a, p. 15). Thus, power is exercised only over free subjects who are faced with a field of possibilities in which several kinds of conduct, behaviour, and modes of reaction are available, making freedom a necessary condition for the exercise of power. This analysis presents power not only as a negative force capable of generating repression and domination, but also as a productive and positive force capable of creating alternatives and transformations (Foucault, 1976b, 1982a).

For Foucault, knowledge *(savoir)* and discourse play an essential role in the production of truth and the exercise of power in modern society. For this, the author draws attention to history and the 'genealogy' of knowledge production, to describe the continuities and discontinuities between knowledge systems *(episteme)* dominating the production of truth in periods of time. This exposes the rules of formation of statements (discourses) that compose the bodies of knowledge such as medicine, psychology, and politics considered scientifically true and therefore able to permeate, characterise, normalise, and constitute the social body (Foucault, 1972). Thus, for Foucault, power relations in our society are intertwined with knowledge and the production of truth, which are themselves established and implemented through the production, accumulation, circulation, and functioning of a particular discourse (Foucault, 1976b).

In addition to knowledge and discourse Foucault considers space as an essential element for the understanding of power. Foucault explains that the creation of dominant discourses are translated in what the spatial order of society is or should be, and thus the maintenance of a discourse is in fact the maintenance of a specific spatial order in a particular place and at a particular time (Foucault, 1982b). For Foucault it is in space where the intangible forces of domination and the freedom of individuals (or groups) to build resistance become tangible relations of power: *"I think it is somewhat arbitrary to try and dissociate the effective practice of freedom*

by people, the practice of social relations, and the spatial distributions in which they find themselves. If they are separated, they become impossible to understand. Each can only be understood through the other" (Foucault, 1982b, p. 356). Thus, for Foucault, acts of resistance and the transformation of power relations have an effect only where there is an alteration in the spatial organisation of society.

In addition Foucault highlights the role that 'subjugated knowledges' have in resisting the production of dominating discourses in our society. These knowledges refer to the historical contents that expose the formation of dominating discourses and *"allow us to rediscover the ruptural effects of conflict and struggle that the order imposed by functionalist or systematising thought is designed to mask"* as well as the 'low-ranking' or 'popular knowledge' in hands of ordinary individuals, which are considered beneath the accepted level of scientificity, and thus marginalised from making part of these discourses (Foucault, 1976a, p.94). For Foucault these forms of knowledge produce alternative discourses and offer spaces where hegemonic and totalising formations of truth and spatial organisation can be contested, challenged, and resisted. This supports the analysis of power within the most basic levels of society, and recognises that individuals (and groups) have their own history, trajectory, and strategies and tactics able to resist higher levels and forms of domination stemmed from a unitary discourse (Foucault, 1976a).

Foucault's ideas are vital for understanding the complexities of power operating in urban governance. Foucault acknowledges that power is embedded in our society, and therefore ingrained in processes of urban politics as the force determining issues of exclusion and inclusion. Foucault de-mystifies orthodox conceptualisations of power by placing it as a necessary condition of the human being able to produce not only negative but also productive outcomes. This means that power is not only found in the institutions trying to place spatial and political order in our society, through discourse and the production of truth, but it is also in hands of ordinary citizens recognised as being active and free political subjects, with the capacity to resist dominant forces. Foucault recognises the importance of the micro-politics embedded in individuals, revealing the value of popular knowledge, specific spatial and historical characteristics, and individuals' capacities in creating alternatives to hegemonic orders. Foucault's ideas offer clues on how we can analyse and understand the possibilities of creating alternatives for more inclusive politics.

2.2 Urban governance: a powerful neoliberal discourse or a real engagement with power?

The term 'urban governance' recognises the various transformations experienced by governments in the last decades (Zurbriggen, 2011). These changes have evolved from the 1950-70s hierarchical exercise of authority by government, to the 1980s neoliberal restructuring alternations favouring de-centralization and the introduction of market forces in the regulation of delivery systems, as well as the emergence of participatory and democratic processes involving civil society (McCarney, 1996). It is now recognised that urban governance is a process experienced by complex networks of actors that are drawn from but also beyond government, and refers to the mechanisms for mediating and negotiating their diverse interests at play in processes of decision making in cities (Stoker, 1998).

The debate around urban governance within international organisations questions what constitutes good governance. For the World Bank good governance *"is central to creating and sustaining an environment which fosters strong and equitable development, and is an essential complement to sound economic policies"* (World Bank, 1991, p.ii). This idea emphasises the role of governments in making markets work efficiently, and promoting principles for strengthening public institutions such as accountability, adequate and reliable information, and efficiency in resource management (World Bank, 2000). UN-HABITAT considers governance as the ways *"individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city" recognizing that "an inclusive process is vital to the success of any attempt to define universal norms and desired principles of good governance"* (UN-HABITAT, 2002, p. 14) and promoting principles of sustainability, subsidiarity, equity, efficiency, transparency and accountability, civic engagement, citizenship, and security. Similarly, UNDP (1997) considers good governance as ensuring that *"political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources"* supporting participation, transparency, accountability, effectiveness, equity, and the rule of law (UNDP, 1997, p.12).

The above interpretations show that good urban governance supports a discourse that is interchangeable with ideas of democracy and inclusion of civil society in decision-making. This discourse emphasises the responsibility of government to allow for the participation of a range of actors in the decisions that affect them, as well as enforcing the rule of law in transparent, effective and accountable manners. Despite this, statements like *"the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making"* imply a passive role of civil society which is aligned with the ideas supported by representative democracy. In addition the idea that good governance ensures that *"political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society"* simplifies the complex processes and power relations that compose urban governance.

Even when not all governance is necessarily de-politicising, the definitions used by international agencies (as presented above) seem to picture good governance as a de-politicised process in which power relations are undermined and converted into technical and administrative functions necessary to manage affairs in cities. These definitions also undermine the role of governments to that of an enabler of the market to deliver infrastructure and services and stimulate competition and efficiency (see Zurbriggen, 2011). In this logic, governments take a neutral role as a coordinator of the various interests that participate in urban processes, ensuring that these come together in a broad consensus. These assumptions ignore the disparities that exist between actors in the city, necessary to ensure that processes of decision-making are inclusive of those excluded from political citizenship due to class, gender, racial or ethnic discrimination (De Sousa Santos & Rodriguez-Garavito, 2005).

In this light it can be argued that the good governance discourse supports the idea that the public sphere is a de-politicised arena of collaboration among stakeholders, restricting the room for meaningful and deliberate political participation of those excluded from society (De Sousa Santos & Rodriguez-Garavito, 2005). Thus, even when good governance pictures a vision of more democratic, participatory, and inclusive politics, the discourse is embedded in the neoliberal logic supporting representative democracy, and the assumption that economic benefits will 'trickle down' to the disadvantage groups in society. This logic is so powerful and has succeed in transforming the language of politics, from social transformation to problem-solving, popular participation to selected stakeholders' participation, social contract to self-regulation, and power relations to coordination and partnership (De Sousa Santos, 2005).

In the Latin American context, the discourse on good governance and representative democracy has been proclaimed as the most effective model to manage the affairs of cities in inclusive and democratic ways. Despite this the model's disconnection with the political, social, and historical realities of the region has failed to deliver positive results (De Sousa Santos, 2005). For example, studies of the impacts of the new forms of governance supported by international organisations for achieving the Millennium Development Goals in relation to the management of infrastructure of water and sanitation have showed that even when the discourse encouraged a democratic management of these services, the reality has been that in most Latin American countries these services have been largely privatised (OECD, 2008). This has resulted in the exclusion of groups of society to these services due to increased costs, and the infringement of environmental standards due to wary concessions given to multinational corporations (Zurbriggen, 2011). Thus the model of good governance following ideals of representative democracy has generated harmful effects for urban development in the region, and ignored the specific characteristics and capacities of each political system to respond adequately to external models.

The critical understanding of the discourse on good urban governance exposes the fact that such processes are embedded in the neoliberal logic following principles of efficiency, privatisation, and competition. Thus this discourse is unable to engage with the complexities of power relations that are play in processes of decision-making in cities. The good governance discourse has managed to simplify complex processes of urban governance by supporting decision making processes guided by ideals of representative democracy, rather than promoting a real deliberate space in which power can be distributed more fairly between all citizens of a city. In this light there is a need for alternative mechanisms able to engage with the uneven power relations existing between actors in cities in order to ensure that processes of urban decision-making are inclusive of all urban citizens.

2.3 Participatory budgeting: an alternative understanding of power in urban governance

There is no single way to understand participatory budgeting as the underlying processes are diverse in the way they are exercised. Some PB processes use thematic (e.g. focusing on education, health, etc), territorial (ranging from neighbourhood to city levels), and/or actor based approaches (e.g. women, youth, etc). These are also diverse in the different stages conforming annual participatory budgeting cycles (see for example Cabannes, 2004a, p.18), as well as decision-making scenarios where some cases (such as in most Brazilian cities) support complete deliberation of power by allowing the people to control and decide over the budget itself, while other cases allow part of the budget to be decided between the population and city council (Cabannes, 2004c). Also, some cases of PB support direct democracy, where citizens have the right to participate directly in decision-making, while in other cases people elect leaders to be their representatives. Diversity is also experienced in the actors involved in PB processes, some having a specific body like a Participatory Budgeting Council regulating the 'rules of the game' while others are built on pre-existing social and political structures. The diversity of PB acts as the strength of these processes increasing their capacity to adapt to particular contexts and realities (Cabannes, 2004c).

A way to understand how PB processes can transform power relations between citizens and governments in a city is to highlight PB's logic of 'inversion of priorities'. This logic is understood as *"a shift in the order of priorities, in political terms (i.e. those who previously did not have*

power can now make decisions concerning the budget and become empowered), policy terms (i.e. social policies are given greater priority), and in territorial terms (i.e. traditionally, investments did not reach poor neighbourhoods or rural areas, and now they do) (Cabannes, 2007, p. 1)". This approach recognises that uneven distribution of power exists between actors in urban governance, and the need to devolve power to those that have been excluded from processes of decision-making. Also, this approach recognises that through inverting priorities, resources have more chances to be invested in the real needs of the population and decision-making is more accessible to the people (Pont, 2009). This logic differs from the one supported by the good urban governance discourse and its attempts to portray urban decision-making solely as a matter of collaboration and consensus.

Within its logic PB is successful in asking the question of who is included, and providing a space of participation to the people that most need it in order to achieve transformational outcomes. For example, the inversion of priorities in spatial terms has allowed the inclusion of poor residents living in informal settlements in the periphery of cities thathave been excluded from participation in society (see for example the case of Bella Vista-Argentina in Cabannes, 2007). Also, PB has provided spaces for the inclusion of marginalised groups such as of women, youth, LGBT, disabled, ethnic, and racial minorities to have a say in the allocation of budgets into resources that respond to their specific needs (see for example Rusimbi & Mbilinyi, 2005, Cabannes, 2006). Despite some positive examples the inclusion of marginalised groups in PB is still a topic of debate and with the need for attention in the analysis of PB experiences (Cabannes, 2004b).

Successful participatory budgeting processes have been described in the literature as a complex process of decision making in which decisions are reached through intensive negotiation, conflict, and debate within citizens themselves and the state making power relationships visible; rather than through a general consensus where power relations are more likely to be neutralised and obscured (De Sousa Santos, 1998). This argument makes reference to the theoretical underpinnings of Jürgen Habermas and Foucault and their debate regarding consensus and conflict in political sciences and empowerment of civil society (see Flybverg, 1997). Habermas advocates for the formation of consensus as the basis for decision-making in an ideal way in which power differentials between actors are neutralised by principle and thus decisions are fair and beneficial for all involved. This opposes Foucault's arguments which provide a more grounded idea of the reality of democratic processes in which power relationships are expressed through conflict, resistance and struggle to achieve freedom. Ideal participatory budgeting processes support a Foucault's perspective ensuring the active participation of citizens (including the poor and the excluded), generating not only political but also broader social outcomes, such as social capital and collective action (see Baiocchi, 2003). The degree of deliberation and freedom varies according to each particular context and experience. Because of this and to ensure a better judgment and understanding of the degree of deliberation of each particular experience, attention is needed in order to understand the proportion of the budget that is assigned to PB, who takes the final budget decision, and the mechanisms in place to control the implementation of the budget and the execution of works (Cabannes, 2004b).

The inversion of priorities in PB processes has generated positive institutional and distributional outcomes able to change the structural conditions of cities. For example many authors and experiences have recognised that PB can recreate the relationship between citizens and the state, highlighting that for PB to be successful the commitment of society is necessary as much as the political will of mayors (Santana Rodriguez, 2009). PB can eliminate traditional clientelistic and authoritarian relationships, and improve the accountability of government to respond to citizens' material needs and demands (Souza, 2001; Avritzer, 2006). For example, between 1989 and 1996 in Porto Alegre the percentage of households in some of the poorest neighbourhoods that received access to sewerage and water infrastructure rose from 46 to 85% and 80 to 98% respectively. This together with improvements in education gave Porto Alegre a Human Development Index (HDI) among the highest of all Brazil in 2000 (Novy & Leubolt, 2005, p. 2028). In addition PB's outcomes have generated positive impacts for the environment contributing with sanitation, garbage collection, and investment in green spaces and environmental education programmes, making PB important for sustainable development (See Menegat, 2002).

The positive institutional and re-distributive outcomes generated have made PB a mechanism recognised by the UN as best practice for good urban governance (UN-HABITAT, 2004). Despite this, it is important to recognize that PB supports different principles and assumptions than those supported by the good urban governance discourse as seen in Table 2.1. It is important to consider that this comparison is based on only one model of PB (supporting radical principles of participation and deliberation) and that there are other different types and compositions of PB with different ideals, purposes and levels of participation and deliberation from citizens. The purpose for this is to highlight the potential that PB has as an alternative process of decision-making in urban governance.

The interest in PB has made these processes vulnerable to being manipulated, coopted and standardised. Cabannes (2004b) argues that international organisations, mayors and some non-governmental organisations have seen PB as an opportunity to implant the discourse

of good urban governance in cities, rather than taking advantage of PB's transformative capacities for institutional and re-distributive change. This standardisation poses risks to convert PB into a mainstreamed governance tool, rather than acknowledging its diversity and capacity to respond to particular social, political, and economic characteristics of cities (Wampler, 2000). Risks of standardisation and manipulation make necessary the critical enquiry into the objectives and underlying assumptions of these processes, in order to critically enquire their capacity to transform power relations and generate structural change in cities.

Table 2.1. Comparison of the principles and assumptions of 'good' urban governance and participatory budgeting. Source: Author's own elaboration

	World Bank	UNDP	UN-HABITAT	Participatory Budgeting
Purpose	To limit government intervention and enable the market to promote city competiveness and efficiency in service delivery	To achieve a broad consensus between economic, political and social interests, and inclusion of the needs of marginalized groups	To plan and manage common affairs in the city in an inclusive manner	To devolve power to the population through decision-making on the destination and investment priorities of all or part of available public resources
Method	Consensus	Consensus	Consensus	Deliberation
Logic	Competition and efficiency	Collaboration	Collaboration	Inversion of priorities
Scope	Market and private sector	Political, social, and economic interests, as well as disadvantaged groups	Individuals and private and public institutions	Active citizenship of disadvantage and marginalized groups
Role of government	Neutral role to maintain stability and consensus, making room for the market to work efficiently and correct market-failure	Neutral role to maintain stability and consensus	Neutral role to maintain stability and consensus	Active participant in negotiation and debate
Role of citizens	Consumers and clients	Clients	Clients	Active participants in negotiation and debate
Understanding of power	Power is in the 'invisible' hands of the market and private sector	Power is distributed equally among stakeholders	Power is distributed equally among stakeholders	Power is unequal distributed in society and needs to be devolved to disadvantage and marginalized individuals and groups

2.4 Analytical framework

Bringing together Foucault's interpretation of power and its contribution to understanding dynamics of power relations in urban politics, four analytical criteria have been developed to analyse PB in Bogota. These criteria will help to study the extent in which processes of PB have altered power relations in the city benefiting the poor and excluded, and/or wether PB is being used as a tool supporting the interests of powerful actors maintaining the *status quo*.

a. Production and evolution of a PB process embedded in the social dynamics of the city

This criteria makes reference to Foucault's ideas on the 'genealogy' of knowledge production, where the author draws attention to the analysis of history and evolution composing bodies of knowledge in order to critically understand their trajectory, truths and discourses. This understanding is important as for Foucault power relations are intertwined with knowledge and the production of truth, which are themselves established and implemented through the production, accumulation, circulation, and functioning of a particular discourse (Foucault, 1976b). Thus, what is to be analysed in this criteria is the history and evolution of participatory budgeting in Bogota, and its relationship within the socio-political context of the city. The aim is to understand whether these processes are occurring in an isolated way or are in fact constituted within the political and social dynamics of the city. This analysis will help to understand how PB processes are being shaped in the city and the interests which they represent.

b. Inclusion of excluded groups and minorities

The inclusion of minority and marginalized groups in PB has been identified in the literature as an important condition for these processes to be able to invert priorities and act as inclusive processes. Based on this the criteria aims to analyse who are the people and organisations involved in PB processes in Bogota. This analysis will inform if these processes are being successful in including excluded groups and minorities in the city. This will help to understand whether PB is being successful in inverting priorities and devolving decision-making power to excluded groups, or whether these processes maintain the power in hands of traditional power elites.

c. Freedom in decision-making

This criteria is built on Foucault's recognition of freedom as a necessary condition for the exercise of power. For truly altering power relationships, PB processes should allow the expression of freedom by the people in processes of decision-making that permits a real say in how resources are invested and thus how the city is been shaped by public investments. Also, freedom is reflected in the collective appropriation of the process from the beginning to end by people as active political subjects, in a way that their demands are considered and their political role is recognised. This analysis will look at conditions that affect the genuine participation and influence of individuals and groups in decision-making such as: the proportion of the budget that is assigned to PB, wether PB processes are supporting representative and/or direct participation, the process of decision-making and the actors taking the final budget decision, and the mechanisms in place to permit the social control of the implementation of the budget and the execution of works.

d. Outcomes challenging structural conditions

Finally, the analysis will consider the tangible and intangible impacts of PB processes and their capacity to generate structural changes in the city. These include the material outcomes and distribution of resources in different territories in the city, as well the impact on the political formation of groups and individuals. This analysis will help in understanding to what extent has PB benefit the production of a more inclusive city and consider the interests of diverse groups supporting the exercise of genuine democratic practices able to transform power relations.

3. The experience of participatory budgeting in Bogota

3.1 Recent trajectories of participatory planning in the city

During the XXth century, participatory practices in Bogota as in all of Colombia were characterized by authoritarian and *clientelistic* institutions and practices. Popular elections and organisations like the *Juntas de Acción Comunal* (JAC) (community collective action organisations) were the principal channels allowing citizens to have a say in the construction of the country and cities. This brought along increased dissatisfaction with democracy, increased citizen's protests in cities and increased violence across the country, making the political system fall into a deep crisis and opening spaces for participatory reforms (Velásquez & González, 2006). These reforms combined with processes of de-centralization in the 1980s implied a change in the architecture of the political system, which were finally consolidated in the *1991 National Constitution* were citizens' participation was proclaimed and supported by National policy.

In Bogota the 1991 *National Constitution* brought important changes in favour of de-centralization increasing the power of local authorities, the popular election of city mayors made through programmatic vote (a principle that is exercised today), and the participation of citizens in policy and decision-making (Dávila & Gilbert, 2001). The position of mayors and participatory practices were further developed by a local policy known as the *Estatuto Orgánico de Bogota* (1993) which made a clear separation between the responsibilities of the executive (mayor) and legislative (council) powers, giving important authority and independence to mayors in Bogota, as well as defining participation as the principal element for the construction of the city (Dávila & Gilbert, 2001).

Since the 1990s a complex range of legislation, spaces and institutions for participation have emerged in the city (Velásquez & González, 2006). These include spaces articulating participation at the territorial level such as a territorial advisory body operating at the district level known as the *Consejo Territorial de Planeación Distrital* (CTDP) (district territorial planning council), local planning advisory bodies known as the *Consejos de Planeación Local (CPL)* (local planning councils), and regular organised encounters between citizens known as the *encuentros ciudadanos* (citizen gatherings) (IDPAC, 2010a). Others include those spaces canalizing participation within a sectoral logic like the *Consejos de cultura* (culture affairs advisory groups), the ones representing diverse social groups like the *Consejos consultivo de mujeres* (women councils), as well as organisations promoting institutional accountability like *Bogota como Vamos and the Veeduría Distrital* (Hernández, 2010). Despite their importance, these participatory spaces have been considered insufficient as these have been subject to many institutional rules and conditions, with little flexibility and detached from social realities and movements. Also these spaces support conservative ideas of participation (where people are consulted instead of actively engaged in the process), rather than the creation of deliberate spaces where citizens have real input in decision-making and the production of the city (Vélasquez & González, 2006, 2011).

Participatory budgeting is another form of participation considered a step towards the maturation of these practices in Bogota (Moreno López, 2009). PB has been advocated nationally by pioneer organisations including the *Corporación Viva la Ciudadanía* (National non-governmental organisation) and the *Red Nacional de Planeación Local y Presupuesto Participativo* (National network of local planning and participatory budgeting in Colombia), which consider PB as a critique to the model of liberal democracy and a radicalization of participatory democracy in Colombia (Santana Rodriguez, 2012). The following figure shows the actors involved in participatory budgeting in Bogota and their organisation within the participatory governance structure of the city.

Considering the trajectory and challenges of participation in the city, it is relevant to enquiry into the role of participatory budgeting in Bogota, and ask whether these processes are able to *transform power relations in the city or are another governance instrument that maintains the status quo?* The rest of this chapter will respond to this question using the four criteria developed in the analytical framework.

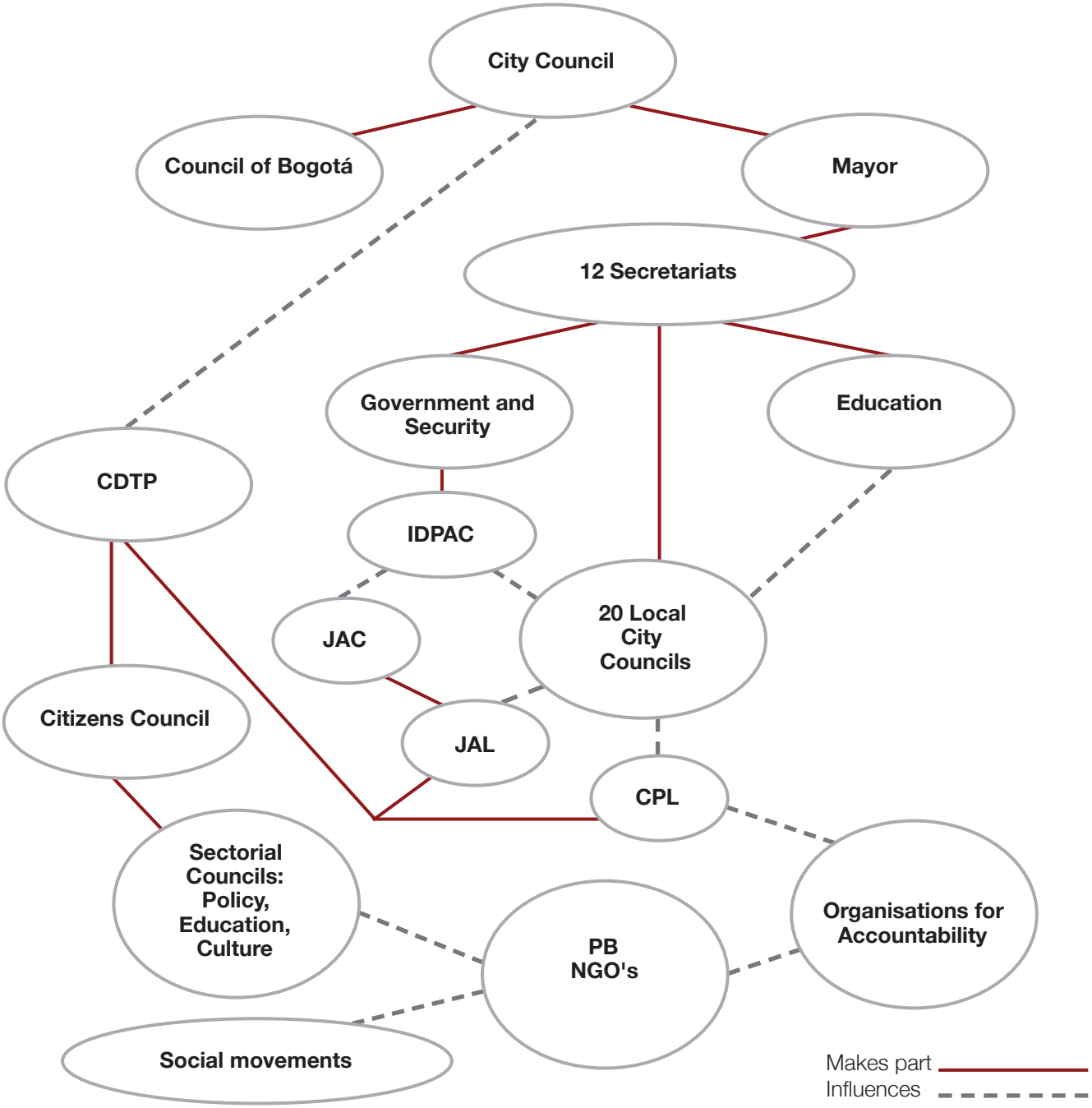
3.2 Analysis of PB in Bogota in the light of the four criteria of the analytical framework

a. Criteria 1: Evolution of PB within the social and political dynamics of the city

Participatory budgeting in Bogota has been consolidated slowly through different exercises implemented at different times and scales, and through different actors and meth-

odologies. These processes have grown as part of the trajectory of participatory planning in the city pushed forward by the political will of mayors and local government agencies (Velásquez & González, 2011). These practices have evolved from first attempts in the late 1980s exercised in specific localities of the city to the scale of the twenty localities, where spaces were opened for the involvement of citizens in local infrastructure projects and the *encuentros ciudadanos* (local citizens' gatherings) used to share local investment plans (see IDPAC, 2007, p.7). These experiences were taken forward by the administration of Luis Eduardo Garzón (2004-2007) who's city plan *Bogota sin Indiferencia* (translated as Bogota without indifference) supported the process known as *Participación para la Inversión 2007* (participation for investment 2007) that allowed PB in the allocation of resources corresponding to the social dimension of the city plan, generating an initial methodology for PB in the city (IDPAC, 2007).

Figure 3.1. Actors involved in participatory budgeting in Bogota



Garzón's administration supported the consolidation of PB in the education sector through the Secretaría de Educación (SED) (city's secretariat for education), further strengthened by Samuel Moreno (2008-2011) and his city plan named as *Bogota Positiva* (Positive Bogota). The practice of PB in the education sector has evolved as the most solid and consistent in the city today responding to the authoritarian regime experienced in the national education system (Santana Rodriguez, 2012). Another exercise was developed in 2009 by the *Instituto Distrital de la Participación y Acción Comunal* (IDPAC) (District Institute for Participation and Communal Action), a division of the local council, in search for alternative methodologies to strengthened PB in the city (IDPAC, 2010b). PB was then taken forward by the mayor Gustavo Petro (2012-2015) under his city plan named *Bogota Humana* (Human Bogota) which proposes the implementation of PB at the city scale as a strategy to tackle social, economic, cultural, and spatial segregation in the city (IDPAC, 2012a). See the following Table for a summary of the evolution of PB in the city.

Table 3.1. Summary of the evolution of PB in Bogota. Source: Author's own elaboration

Experience	Year	Mandate	Scale	Budget COP	Number of Participants	Regulatory framework
Integrated Actions for the improvement of life quality in informal settlements in Bogotá	1987	Julio César Sánchez	Localities of Ciudad Bolívar, Santa Fe and Suba	No information	7000	Never institutionalized
Local investment exercise with public participation	1988	Andrés Pastrana	Localities of Suba, San Cristóbal, Ciudad Bolívar	300 millones de pesos (in 1 year)	No information	Never institutionalized
Public Works with public participation	1995	Jaime Castro	20 Localities	More than 5000 millones pesos	Members of the *Juntas de Acción comunal* for each locality	Base programme of the IDPAC
Citizen's gatherings	2000	Enrique Peñalosa	20 Localities	Resources of local plans	48,482 in 2001, 96,261 in 2004, 116,788 in 2008	Acuerdo 13 de 2000
Participatory budgeting in distric schools of Bogota's District	2005	Luis Eduardo Garzón – Secretaria de Educación	20 Localities	30,000 millones pesos in the year 2011-2012	232,595 in the year 2011-2012	Principal policy of the District Education Secretariat
Participation for investment	2007	Luis Eduardo Garzón	20 Localities	Resources of the social programmes of the City Council	21,600	Acuerdo 257 de 2006 and Acuerdo 448 de 2007
Participatory Budgeting in the IDPAC	2009	Samuel Moreno	Specific population groups	5,774 millones pesos (per 1 year)	23, 550	Never institutionalized
Gatherings for participatory budgeting	2012-2015	Gustavo Petro	20 Localities	214,936 millones pesos (per 4 years)	No information documented at this time	Strategy for the city plan Bogotá Humana Programme Participa y Decide!

The different experiences of PB in Bogota have been consolidating a culture of participation and awareness of the meaning and benefits of these processes within the social fabric (Santana Rodriguez, 2012). PB experiences have offered capacity building to existing social organisations, increasing the opportunities for organised citizens to mobilise around PB and pressure for the successful implementation of these processes (IDPAC, 2012b). Social mobilisation around PB has been evidenced within existing participatory mechanisms including the city and local councils using discussion platforms such as in the national network of local planning and participatory budgeting, to share experiences, visions, and demands over these processes (see video by representative of youth in CTPD 2012). In addition, existing experiences have had a positive response from individual citizens and community leaders who see the capacity of these processes to make a change in the city if well implemented (Palacios Moreno, 2012).

The origins of PB show that these processes have been primarily consolidated as an initiative of the local government and organisations within it. These practices have been mainly advocated by left wing administrations showing an increasing political will for the implementation of PB with the aim of deepening participation in the city. Even when these processes are recent and have occurred at small scales, evidence shows a response from social organisations including the youth, women, LGBT community, disabled people, the elderly and afro-colombians (see next section for more details), as well as representative bodies such as the CTPD. This evolution shows that there are existing opportunities for PB to prosper in the city as it benefits from political support and sectors of the population.

Despite positive responses it is important to recognize that PB processes are also vulnerable. First PB is prone to the manipulation from politicians supporting a discourse in favour of participation that in reality is not committed to the devolution of power to people. Second, these processes are vulnerable of being eliminated if a mayor with a different agenda takes power, such as is currently happening with the new administration of Enrique Peñalosa (2016-2019) which does not consider participatory budgeting as a priority in the city development plan. And finally, these practices can be subject to being imposed from the top without consideration of the specific social characteristics affecting the permeation of these practices to the population. This is particularly relevant considering the low credibility often afforded by citizens to the current political system resulting from different circumstances such as the corruption of previous administrations (e.g. Samuel Moreno). As said from a community leader in relation to PB initiated by mayor Gustavo Petro (2012-2015): *"I think this is an utopia, they thought that by putting into the scene the fact that there was a resource for participatory budgeting, people where going to respond, but the participation and credibility of people in Bogota is very low because of all the political corruption and all the things we have experienced…* (Palacios Moreno, 2012) ".

PB in Bogota is different from experiences like Porto Alegre which counted with a progressive and legitimate political party able to legitimize the process within the population, and consolidate together a collective process where power was more evenly distributed between citizens and the local authorities. PB processes in Bogota responds to a trajectory of participatory practices that have been part of the political culture of the city, as well as social movements initiated nationally in support of PB. However for these to be successful they need time, commitment and effort for politicians to construct together with the people collective rules and meaning of PB that satisfies social interests.

Looking at PB in Bogota in this way it can be said that these processes respond to the local context and political dynamics of the city. However, these processes are vulnerable and do not necessarily respond or are connected to the social dynamics of Bogota. This fact affects the authentic consolidation of PB as a process embedded in the social fabric, a fact which is crucial for the successful implementation of PB and the transformation of power relations.

b. Criteria 2: Inclusion of excluded groups and minorities

The PB experiences in Bogota have been built through a diverse range of methodologies involving different actors. The programme *participación para la inversión 2007* (participation for investment 2007) focused on the territorial level linking PB with the development of local plans, allowing the participation of individual citizens at the level of the smallest geographical administration zones in the city known as *unidades de planificacíon zonal* (UPZ) (zoning planning units), where they decided investment priorities, and elected a representative to present the results to the local council (IDPAC, 2007). This process involved the different secretariat divisions of the city council (including from education and government affairs), which in partnership with UNDP created a technical committee responsible for the coordination of the process (IDPAC, 2007). In addition, the process involved the institutional organisations responsible for the social programmes of the Council, as well as local organisations including the Council for Local Planning and representative bodies known as the *Juntas de Acción Local* (JAL) for each territory, responsible for the coordination with individual residents and groups (IDPAC, 2007).

Participación para la Inversión 2007 had the participation of 21,600 people (IDPAC, 2007, p.14). The data collected shows a high degree of participation from people living in the more disadvantaged areas of the city with 61.4% of

participants from estratos (geographical socio-economic division) 1 and 2 compared to 0.3% from estratos 5 and 6 (IDPAC, 2007, p. 20). The data also shows a high level of participation from women, with 63% compared to 37% of men (IDPAC, 2007, p. 16). Also, the process experienced a high degree of participation of youth (14-17 years old) (22.8%), as well as other groups including indigenous people (21.43%), afro-colombians (36%), the elderly (5.88%), the LGBT community (3.39%), disabled citizens (48.58%), and internally displaced people from rural areas now living in the city (10%) (IDPAC, 2007 p. 18, p. 164-180).

The process supported by Gustavo Petro under his programme *Bogota Humana* (Human Bogota) focused on the territorial dimension incorporating local and city scales and including a complexity of actors. The process commenced with the definition of the city plan including the strategies and the assignment of resources to be prioritised for PB. According with the priorities of the plan, spaces for citizens gathering at the neighbourhood level known as the cabildos ciudadanos are exercised at the level of the new 188 administrative zones named *Unidades Barriales de Participación* (UBP), for citizens to decide the prioritisation of investment, and elect representatives to assist to the gathering at local council level known as the *cabildos locales*. Here representatives express the population's demands to the local council for investment of resources. As a final step priorities are presented to citizens older than 16 years old by locality who can vote to finalize the consolidation of the investment plan (Santana Rodriguez, 2012). This process started with an initial exercise undertaken in the localities of Kennedy, Puente Aranda, Suba, Engativá, Ciudad Bolivar, Santa Fe, Teusaquillo, and Usme, and is was implemented across the city. At the time of writing the paper this process was in development and no disaggregated data existed on the participants in order to inform the participation of excluded and minority groups.

A different process was implemented by the IDPAC applying a sectoral approach, focusing specifically on minority and excluded groups (see IDPAC, 2010). As a first step, an internal process within the IDPAC identified the resources available for the lines of work, and based on these the population groups and representative bodies to be involved in the process. These included women, the LGBT community, afro-colombians, disabled citizens, youth, organisations mobilised in relation to property *(propiedad horizontal)*, and the programme of infrastructure projects directed by *Juntas de Acción Comunal* (JAC). In conjunction with representative bodies the IDPAC generated a voting card showing the agreed lines of investment, which was then used to allow the prioritisation of investment by vote of these groups. The process had despite its initial resistance the support of the CDTP (IDPAC, 2010).

This process had 23, 550 participants and was successful in including excluded groups and minorities in the city (IDPAC, 2010, p.118). For example the data shows high participation of people living in areas with lower estratos including Usme, Kennedy, Engativá and Bosa, as well as women (50%), youth (14-26 years old) (28%), elderly (18%), afro-colombians (6.9%), LGTB (3.7%), indigenous peoples (0.4%), and a small proportion of disabled citizens (IDPAC, 2010, p.89).

Finally, a thematic approach was implemented in the PB process undertaken by the Education Secretariat. This process was directed by this institution which identified the main education necessities in each locality, and generated together with the Education Political Council known as the *Consejo consultivo de política educativa* a voting card showing the lines of investment to be later prioritised by the education community in each locality (SED, 2012a). The data collected shows that this process had the participation of 232,595 persons and coverage of the 93% of public schools in Bogota (SED, 2012a, p.16). The results show that the level of participation was higher in the localities of estratos 1 and 2 including Suba, Rafael Uribe, Kennedy, and Ciudad Bolivar. In addition, the results show a high level of participation from youth with 158,304 votes from students (SED, 2012a, p. 18). No disaggregated data was available to inform the participation of diverse population groups.

The results from the different PB experiences show that in most cases these allowed the inclusion of excluded groups and minorities. Thus, the experience of the IDPAC 2009 made these "invisible" groups more visible and provided the opportunity to deepen attention to the demands and needs of specific populations, as well as revealing the difficulties face by these groups in the city such as racism, violence, and discrimination. This was a pioneer and important experiment which methodology and lessons should be taken into account and developed further. Finally, the experience managed by the Education Secretariat shows a high involvement of youth in decision-making and is consider as other important process of PB in the city.

Overall, these results make evident that the PB process in Bogota is in fact in its early stages of development and appears to have occurred at a small scale and experienced a low number of participants. This fact affects the capacity of PB in Bogota to act as a real inclusive process of excluded groups and minorities, and citizens in general. Internet responses by citizens to the opening of the *cabildos ciudadanos* for PB under *Bogota Humana* and articles by the *Silla Vacía* (media organisation promoting accountability) show that factors affecting the participation of people in PB are the lack of effective communication from the institutions promoting the process capable of reaching all sectors of the population, and the low credibility of people over participation in the city (see La Silla Vacía, 2012). Despite this it is important to continue to build upon the existing and progressive processes that have been developed such as those managed by the IDPAC and the SED.

Table 3.2. Summary of the participation of excluded groups in four experiences of PB in Bogota[1]. Source: IDPAC 2007, 2010 & SED 2012a

Experience	Women	Youth	Afro-colombian	LGBT	Elderly	Indigenous	Disabled	Displaced	Total
Participation for investment 2007	63%	22.80%	3.60%	3.39%	5.88%	21.43%	48.59%	10%	21,600
Participatory budgeting in the IDPAC 2009	50%	28%	6.90%	3.70%	18%	0.40%	0.10%		23,550
Participatory Budgeting in the SED 2011-2012		68%							232,595
Cabildos piloto, Bogota Humana 2012									

c. Criteria 3: Freedom in decision-making

In Bogota as the rest of Colombia PB is understood as a process that challenges the idea supported by liberal democracy of decision-making power being in hands of the executive power to supporting its devolution to the population (Santana Rodriguez, 2012). Despite this, the existence of the policy known as *mandato programatico* (programmatic mandate) make mayors establish their government programmes before elections and commit to pre-determined goals in their mandate. This system gives power to the population by being able to vote and elect their mayor, however once elected governments follow specific directions expressed in the city development plan and corresponding investment plan (Vélasquez & González, 2011). By understanding this structural condition it is highlighted that PB in Bogota is intrinsically linked with city government programmes which allocate a specific amount of resources to PB making only one part of the total amount of resources of the plan. For example the administration of Gustavo Petro dedicated only 7.4% (214.936 million pesos) of the total budget to the participatory budget in this city (Alcaldia Mayor de Bogota, 2012b). This condition exposes the fact that for decision-making to be truly in hands of the population people need to have influence over the consolidation of the City Development Plan and the allocation of budget.

The main body representing the population in the development of the City Development Plan and budget in Bogota is the CTPD. The CTPD's main functions are to analyse and discuss the Plan internally and with the population, articulate all visions and demands over the plan, as well as have a permanent role in the evaluation and monitoring of the plan once it is approved by the *Consejo de Bogota* (Council of Bogota) (Vélasquez & González, 2011). Studies on the CTPD have demonstrated some limitations of this body such as the inclusion of political actors as well as the fact that members are elected directly by the mayor. These limitations change the nature of the CTPD as a genuine space representing the population and support *clientilistic* practices (Vélasquez & González, 2011). Studies have also concluded that the CTPD is operating under the logic of consultation rather than being a deliberate space for the population to make decisions about the City Development Plan and the allocation of the budget (Vélasquez & González, 2011).

In terms of the process, once the approval process of the city plan is completed the relevant institutions of the City Council implement PB and invest resources in accordance with the population demands but always in line with the city plan. The different experiences show that there has been a progression in the allocation of resources to PB as shown in Table 3.2, however the total percentage of resources allocated to these processes are still comparatively low. The programme *Participación para la Inversión* 2007 invested 135, 000 million pesos (IDPAC, 2007, p.188). In comparison, the IDPAC invested 5,774 million pesos and the SED invested 30,000 million pesos (corresponding to 24 and 18.93% of their total recourses accordingly) (IDPAC, 2010, p.24; SED, 2011, p. 22). The process established by Gustavo Petro (2012) has designated 214,936 million pesos for PB under the programme *Participa y decide!* (Alcadia Mayor de Bogota, 2012b).

All the processes of PB consider in this study show a low degree of freedom given to participants to influence decision-making in the allocation of resources. All examples show that methodologies and rules have been designed solely by institutional organisations. This fact shows that PB has not taken participation beyond representation or been successful in devolving power to the population. This is reflected in the experiences of the IDPAC and the SED which show that by institutions and representative bodies designing a voting card can instead control the process by directing the investment towards particular ends. As said by a community leader: *"these are not real participatory budgeting processes or the way they should be done, these are things that already have a particular direction (Palacios Moreno, 2012)*". In addition data from Petro's administration and the eight cabildos show that even when citizens express how they want to invest available resources the final decisions are made by representatives of the IDPAC (see Appendix 1).

The process lead by the SED appears to be the only example that has generated explicit mechanisms for citizens to be involved in the control of the implementation of the budget and the execution of works. Here the SED designates representatives from the *Concejo Consultivo* (Consulting Council) to supervise the budget and execution of works, and collect and disseminate information to community members through reports made every three months (SED, 2011a). At the city level, it is up to the Concejo de Bogota (City Council) making sure that the resources are implemented accordingly to the approved City Plan, as well as the CDTP, veedurías, and programmes like the *Bogota como Vamos.* Apart from these there is no direct opportunity for citizens to have control over the execution of the process.

The rigidity of Bogota's planning system in regulating the city development plans of mayors and the investment of public resources acts as a compromise to the freedom given to the population over PB processes. This together with the limiting role of the CDTP in representing the people over the consolidation of these plans suggest that decision-making power is in hands of the City Council and representative bodies supporting the logic of consultation. Freedom in decision-making is also compromised by institutions failing to involve in a deliberative way people in the design of methodologies and actors involved in PB, as well as in the decisions regarding the distribution of resources within the city. The lack of freedom obscures the capacity of people to have a real ownership of PB from the beginning to the end and an active role in the urban politics of the city.

Other experiences in the country shared within the National Network of Participatory Budgeting in 2011 appear to show an increase in the freedom given over decision making to the population. For example the case of Medellín shows a higher level of participation in the city plan-

Table 3.3. Resources invested in four experiences of PB in Bogota[1]. Sources: AMB 2012b; IDPAC 2007; IDPAC2010; SED 2011a

Year	*Participation for investment 2007*	*Participatory Budgeting in the IDPAC*	*Participatory Budgeting in the SED*	*Bogota Humana*	*Total (Pesos)*
2007	135,000 million				135,000 million
2008					
2009		5,774 million			1778 million
2010					
2011			30,000 million		30,000 million
2012				214,936 million	214,936 million
Total Pesos	135,000 million	5,774 million	30,000 million	214,936 million	385,710 million
Total US[2]	74.7 million	3.19 million	16.5 million	118.8 million	213.33 million
Distribution per citizen	9.9 US	0.42 US	2.2 US	15.84 US	28.4 US

ning mechanisms and advisory bodies allowing the population to have a higher degree of influence in how the City and Local Plans are shaped, as well as in the decisions on how the budget is distributed (see Melguizo 2011). Freedom is also being enhanced by the appearance of new independent actors like the *Comité Municipal de Presupuesto Participativo* (Municipal Council of Participatory Budgeting of Medellín) increasing the capacity of the population to have decision-making power over the methodologies and rules assigned for these processes (Melguizo, 2011). Experiences like Medellín show the possibility of going beyond the limitations associated with the rigidity of national regulatory frameworks providing important lessons for Bogota.

In addition to this it is also important to consider the implications of the relationship between the three main territorial planning instruments in Colombia affecting the planning of cities: the Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial (POT) (Municipal Territorial Plan), the City Development Plan and the Budget. The POT is a long-term planning instrument which is developed for all Colombian Municipalities with a population higher than 100,000 inhabitants with a 12 years' time frame (Ministerio de Ambiente, Vivienda y Desarrollo Territorial, 2004). The aim of the POT is to guide the development of each Municipality and regulate the use, occupation and transformation of the urban and rural territories. The City Development Plans fall into the directions and regulations of the POT and are in place for 4 years which is equivalent to 1 term of a specific political administration. Finally, the budget is made on a yearly basis under the City Development Plan to implement the particular policies and programmes of each political administration as explained above. Therefore it is clear that there is a disconnection of the budget with the POT which operates at a higher-scale and has more power in the regulation of urban and rural spaces, showing the low degree of influence and freedom that citizens have on shaping their territories and making decisions. Because of this is essential to consider a potential link between PB and the development of the POTs in Colombia which will be discussed in chapter 4.

d. Criteria 4: Outcomes challenging structural conditions

The results for *Participación para la Inversión 2007* show the overall prioritisation of three programmes. In first place *Bogota sin hambre (Bogota without hunger)*, as a second priority *Más y mejor educación* (more and better education) and in third place *Salud para una vida digna* (health for a dignified life). The evaluation of the city plan (2004-2007) shows that these programmes provided benefits attempting to reduce situations of extreme poverty in some disadvantaged areas of the city by investing in food security (e.g. opening of community and public school cafeterias), education, and health (Veeduría Distrital, 2006; Secretaria de Planeación, 2008). Critically it can be said that these resources where invested in short-term government programmes resulting in unsustainable outcomes for the population, and supporting basic assistance measures rather than outcomes having the capacity to have a long-term impact in territories and communities and challenging structural conditions of poverty and exclusion.

The results of the PB process of the IDPAC (2009) show that because there was a pre-determined amount allocated to each participating group all relevant populations and organisations received resources to implement prioritised programmes (see Table 3.4). The first priority was for projects of infrastructure under *obras con participación ciudadana (building works with citizen participation)*. The second priority was given to women, and the third category was youth prioritising programmes to build the groups' political capacity (IDPAC, 2010). Other results include the investment in programmes supporting the mobilisation of excluded groups such as afro-colombians, LGBT and disabled citizens through art, public rallies and discussion forums with the aim to make more visible these groups in the city. These results show the capacity of PB to have a direct impact in the social fabric by supporting the political empowerment and mobilisation of excluded and minority groups, the building of public spaces and infrastructure, and the strengthening of citizen participation.

The results obtained for PB in the SED (2011-2012) show the prioritisation of investment in small scale infrastructure and maintenance of facilities in schools, the acquisition of computers, and investment in extra-curriculum activities for students (see Table 3.5). Other priorities included the investment in school's laboratories, expeditions, libraries, and support for university education. These results varied according to each locality receiving the approval or disapproval by the SED according to their investment priorities programmes and capacities (see the details and results of this process on SED 2011a). It is important to notice that the SED operates under conditions and rules according to its capacity and resources, a fact limiting the respond to the demands of the population. For example, the SED does not build new or additional infrastructure on schools but only invests in existing premises. Also resources for computers (and similar goods) are only given every 5 years, and the capacity of the SED to directly support processes for university education is limited (SED, 2012a). These conditions make the outcomes of the process be of small scale compromising the capacity of PB to challenge structural conditions.

The results obtained for PB in the SED (2011-2012) show the prioritisation of investment in small scale infrastructure and maintenance of facilities in schools, the acquisition of computers, and investment in extra-curriculum activities for students (see Table 3.5). Other priorities included the investment in school's laboratories, expeditions, librar-

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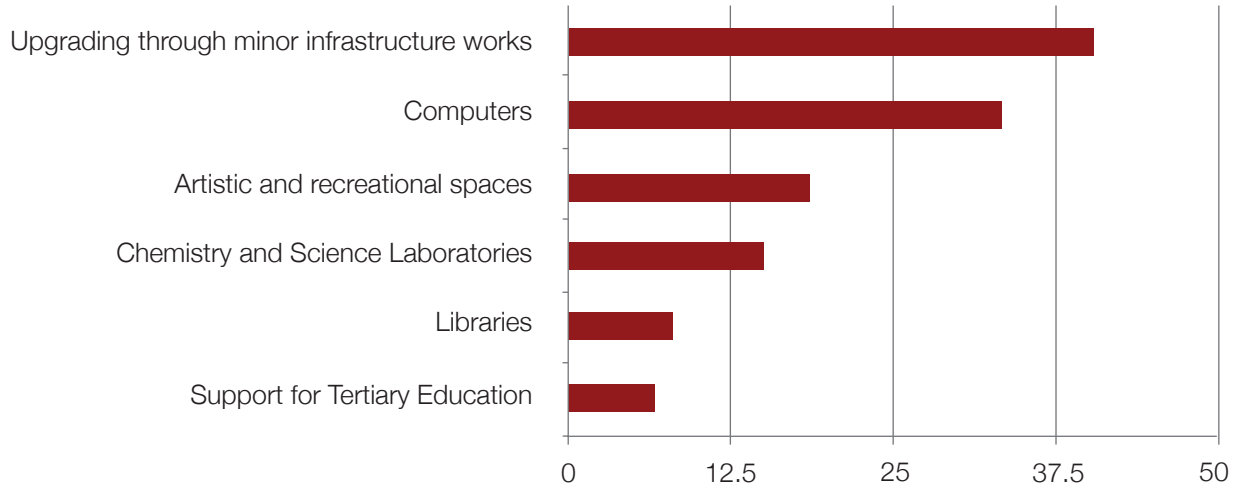
Table 3.4. Results of PB undertaken by the IDPAC 2009. Source: IDPAC 2010

Priority	Budget (Colombian Pesos)	Prioritised programmes
Infrastructure works with civic participation	4,000 million	Infrastructure: • Parks and Roads (see Appendix VII)
Women	263 million	Programmes: • Nothing, either in the house or in the street, justifies violence against women • Women encounters for influencing public policy
Youth	130 million	Programmes: • Bogota bets on the University • Youth and Environment
Disabled citizens	70 million	Programmes: • Positive participation of disabled persons • Local Council meetings for disabled issues
Participation School	430 million	Activities: • Youth participation school • Participation school of diversity and multi-culturalism • Participation school for the city and the territory
Strengthening of social organisations	646 million	Activities: • Development of skills and participatory budgeting in the local and social organisations • Skills development in organisations to support the right to participate • Skills development in organisations to support the use of information technology
Afro-Colombians	90 million	Programmes: • Distrital mobilisation against racism and discrimination
Horizontal Property	70 million	Activities: • III Forum of horizontal property • First Asamblea of local councils on horizontal property
LGBT	75 million	Programmes: • Who are we and where are we? Identification of sexual diversity in Bogota) • Activities to make visible LGBT issues in community centres

Table 3.5. Results of the PB process undertaken by the SED (2011-2012). Source: SED 2012a



The results obtained from the eight *cabildos piloto* under *Bogota Humana* show an interesting range of investment priorities related to infrastructure as well as in social dimensions (see the details and results on IDPAC 2012a). Resources invested in infrastructure where prioritised for the generation and maintenance of public spaces including parks, the paving of streets, security, and sanitation (IDPAC, 2012a). Resources for the social dimension where prioritised in economic development including employment fairs, cultural and sport events, activities for women and children including programmes to reduce violence in families, and environmental initiatives. These results show the potential of PB to have a direct impact in the population and territories by supporting the building of public spaces and infrastructure as well as the strengthening of communities.

3.3 Conclusion

The analysis of the different experiences of PB in Bogota demonstrates that this process is not being successful in transforming power relations and instead is maintaining the political *status quo* in the city. The experiences analysed show that despite PB counting with the political will of mayors, organisations within the City Council, and responses from sectors of the population these processes maintain the logic of representative democracy utilizing consultation rather than a deliberate space of social control and decision-making power. This fact is converting PB into a mainstreamed governance tool rather than taking advantage of its capacities to generate structural changes in society. PB in Bogota appears to operate as an instrument of incumbent political mandates subject to specific rules and procedures, rather than being an integrated part of Bogota's and Colombia's city planning system capable of influencing the system itself and generate a structural transformation of power relationships.

This is supported by the fact that citizens have been unable to have decision-making control over the consolidation of the POTs, City Development Plans and the budget of the city, as well as in the methodologies and rules directing PB processes. In addition, PB processes have generally occurred with a low number of participants, limiting the overall inclusion of the diverse sectors of Bogota's society. This is partly due to the low credibility afforded by the people to the authorities, and the inability of government to work together with citizens for the creation of a common meaning of participation in order to legitimize PB within the social fabric. Finally, even while some experiences have shown promising results with potential to increase the political empowerment of groups and the spatial formation of the city, these processes have mainly generated short-term and small scale benefits incapable of transforming structural power relations.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1 The empty spaces in the table occur due to a lack of information in the specific figures.

2. Note that 1US = 1808 COP (as 25 August 2012)

4. Policy implications for participatory budgeting in Bogota

The analysis of the four experiences of PB in Bogota show the need for transformations in the current models of city planning, the actors involved, and the processes for elaborating rules and decision-making procedures of PB. Based on this the following policy recommendations are made:

1. Participatory budgeting in Bogota should be used as a process to innovate and re-structure the city's rigid planning system. PB should occur as a unified, decentralized and continuous cycle with planning, budgeting, monitoring and evaluation phases where citizens, governments and social movements identify investment priorities and based on these constitute together the Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial (POT) (territorial plan), the subsequent City Development Plan and the local plans for the lower administrative units. This process can occur in different phases in order to consolidate together each of these planning instruments with different timeframes but all following the same direction. This process will facilitate the capacity of PB to act as an overarching process capable of having more influence over territorial planning, social, economic and environmental programmes and lines of investment for the city, as well as the budget assigned for PB. In this way PB can become an integral part of Bogota's planning system rather than continue operating as an isolated procedure and experiment undertaken by different government organisations. The institutionalisation of PB should be done taking into account the need to maintain the flexibility of these processes and allow them to adapt to local and changing conditions in time, as well as the new social and political actors emerging in the city.

   Furthermore, PB in Bogota should be used by government and citizens in a more strategic way in order to address the spatial fragmentation and social inequalities that exist in the city. For this it is important to collectively define strategic areas of investment where the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods are.

2. There is a need to create an independent body similar to the Medellin's Committee for Participatory Budgeting with specific functions and responsibilities for PB. This body should be composed by a range of different actors including locally elected representatives from the population and the diverse social groups in the city, sectors representing the private sector, and government officials.The body should have significant responsibilities such as deciding the amounts and rules for PB, as well as the criteria for distributing resources among the different localities of the city. This body can be created through a re-evaluation of the CDTP, its composition, and responsibilities, and build on existing opportunities to create an independent body for PB and city planning.

3. There is a need for PB to reflect and respond more deeply to the social dynamics of the city. For this it is recommended that PB processes implement a sectoral approach that engages with the groups of the population that are most organised such as women and youth as these groups could support the legitimization of the process within the social fabric acting as a precedent for other groups in the population as well as for communities at the territorial level. Similarly, and following the lessons from the IDPAC experiment, PB in the city should continue to specifically include minorities and excluded sectors of the population in order to provide space to specifically address their needs and priorities.

4. Bogota should increase networking and learning from PB experiences nationally and internationally in progressive cities such as Medellín and Nariño, and countries like Brazil. Existing spaces such as the *Red Nacional de Planeación Local y Presupuesto Participativo* should be used as well as increasing government financial support for different sectors of the population involved in PB to assist and host these experiences.

   These policy recommendations aim to take advantage of the existing opportunities that exist in Bogota for strengthening PB as a more influential process in the city capable of having an impact in the city's planning system and decision-making processes. If envisioned as a deliberate process able to be collectively appropriated by the different organised groups and individuals in city, PB offers changes to structural conditions of social inequality, poverty and exclusion as well as the collective consolidation of a new political system of participatory democracy.

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Appendix 1

Extract- Decision making example in Chucua de la Vaca - Kennedy Locality. Bogotá Humana 2012

UBP	PROYECT	INITIATIVE	ACTION	RESPONSE FROM				#
				INSTITUTION	Observations			
LA CHUCUA DE LA VACA	Finishing mobility corridors	Pavement of a roundabout that connects 3 highways of the UBP to permit better mobility based on the design made with the community	Intervention of various institutions to achieve collective action	Convenio UMV - FDL IDU	Convenio UMV - FDL	N/A	$860.000.000	1
			Technical design and cost - estimation					
	Political school in human rights and participation	Acquire skills, tools and knowledge about participation and promotion of human rights	Workshops on citizenship education and rights with emphasis in the territory. Neighborhood forums in order to strengthen social organization and the formation on the implementation of human rights	IDPAC	Education for citizen participation	S/R		2
			Strengthening the youth council of KENNEDY, in order to support their proposals and implement these	SDIS	Integral protection and capacity development of the youth	YES	$35.000.000	
			Strengthening the capacities of the youth and provide spaces of identification, participation and decision to address the problems associated with this particular group		Coordinate actions within the SDDE to promote activities for 10 youth of the UPB		$1.516.400	
	Commercial fair for the commercial activities within the UPB	Creation and gathering of 100 commercial networks and alternative, collective economies in the UBP	Support in developing a business plan for 6 months	SDDE	Support and promote the existing economic and commercial activities in “chucua de la vaca”	YES	$500.000.000	3
			Articulation with commercial networks in the city to ensure sustainability					
		Commercial Fair for the economic activities in the UBP	Have a 7 days commercial fair within 6 months, and rotate among the UPB					
			Gathering formal and informal markets within the UPB					
			Support with marketing plans					
			Invite different economic organizations and institutions to support commercial activities in the UPB					
			Provide spaces and logistics for the fair					

UBP	PROYECT	INITIATIVE	ACTION	RESPONSE FROM				#
				INSTITUTION	Observations			
LA CHUCUA DE LA VACA	Generation and renewal of cultural, artistic and recreational activities	Promote the renewal and appropriation of the UPB by promoting art, culture and recreation and the integration of youth and adults	Capacity building and support for cultural and sport organizations in the UPB	SCRD	Activate community scenarios with art and culture	YES	$120.000.000	4
			Technical support and human resources in order to implement the activities proposed		Promote the sports and culture activities of the UPB to receive support from outside			
			Financing of the 10 proposals made by artistic and cultural organizations of the area		Provide equipment and resources needed for art and cultural activities			
			Logistics for practicing sports and developing cultural activities	IDRD		NO		
			Provide spaces where sports and cultural activities can be developed	IDRD	Proyect: Park maintainance 1. Villa de la Loma ($47.994.244) 2. Villa Nelly ($35.214.290)	N/A		5
	Infrastructure	Infrastructure	Construction of Community Centre Cl. 40Fs Kr79g	FDL KENNEDY		N/A		6
			Investment to buy a lot for a school	SDIS	Construction of kinder garden in the UPB Chucua de la Vaca, Localidad de Kennedy.	N/A		
				TOTAL BUDGET FOR APPROVED PROJECTS			$1.516.516.400	

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The Development Planning Unit, University College London (UCL), is an international centre specialising in academic teaching, research, training and consultancy in the field of urban and regional development, with a focus on policy, planning, management and design. It is concerned with understanding the multi-faceted and uneven process of contemporary urbanisation, and strengthening more socially just and innovative approaches to policy, planning, management and design, especially in the contexts of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East as well as countries in transition.

The central purpose of the DPU is to strengthen the professional and institutional capacity of governments and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to deal with the wide range of development issues that are emerging at local, national and global levels. In London, the DPU runs postgraduate programmes of study, including a research degree (MPhil/PhD) programme, six one-year Masters Degree courses and specialist short courses in a range of fields addressing urban and rural development policy, planning, management and design.

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dpu Development Planning Unit

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UCL

Development Planning Unit | The Bartlett | University College London
34 Tavistock Square - London - WC1H 9EZ
Tel: +44 (0)20 7679 1111 - Fax: +44 (0)20 7679 1112 - www.bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/dpu