International Institute of Social Studies

Are youth challenging participation?
A relational analysis of the Participatory Process of the Public Policy of Youth in Bogotá, Colombia.

A Research Paper presented by:

Juan Sebastián Pardo Peña
(Colombia)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

Social Policy for Development
(SPD)

Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr. Roy Huijsmans
Dr. Lee Pegler

The Hague, The Netherlands
December 2018

Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Maps

List of Appendices

List of Acronyms

IDPAC   District Institute for Participation and Collective Action
DPY   District Platform of Youth
LPY   Local Platform(s) of Youth
PPOPPY   Participatory Process of the Public Policy of Youth.
PPY   Public Policy of Youth
SDIS   District Secretariat for Social Integration
UNDP   United Nations Development Programme
YDI   Youth Development Index
YC   Youth Colombia, National office for Youth

Acknowledgements

Abstract

This paper explores the different struggles, discourses, practices, representations and power relations involved in the first two stages of the Participatory Process of the Public Policy of Youth in Bogota, Colombia. I examine the discourses and practices of the policymakers and the youth representatives that took part in this process as a way of building a relational analysis of this participatory exercise. At its core, I argue that participatory processes with youth produce and reproduce governmental strategies that manage the youth and, at the same time, young people produce transformative and reflexive strategies. By building a dialogue between theory and practice, I conclude that these strategies are constantly dialoguing and reshaping the youth and the participatory processes itself.

Relevance to Development Studies

In the mainstream development discourse, youth participation in policymaking processes is presented as an effective way for building policies. Thus, researches focusing on this topic tend to fall on evaluative criteria. This research paper approaches to the problem of youth participation from an analytical scope. That is, setting the focus on the interpretations and relations involved in participatory processes. I argue that analysing the motivations and effects of these exercises allows us to understand another face of Development discourse and practice.

Keywords
Participation, youth, relationality, governmentality, agency, Bogota, Colombia.

Chapter 1 Youth participation in the context of the Public Policy of Youth

In 2013, youth participation in policy formulation processes became an explicit right for young people in Colombia (Congreso de la República de Colombia 2013). Three years later, in 2016, a new Public Policy of Youth needed to be formulated in the capital city, Bogota. Hence, the current District government started a multifaceted participatory process, which aims to release a policy that will rule the youth for the next 12 years. At its core, the government is trying to include youth voices as a way of building the most effective policy to "strengthen young people's capabilities and guarantee their execution of rights and responsibilities as citizenships" (Secretaría de Integración Social 2018: 13). During the Participatory Process of the Public Policy of Youth, more than 8.000 youth have participated in more than 500 dialogues (Secretaría de Integración Social 2018) making this process one of the biggest in the country.

According to Rahnema (2010:129), participatory exercises in development programs become a common practice of development agencies and practitioners at all levels. He argues that participation has entered the mainstream development discourse as a means to make development policy more effective. However, Mosse (2004) problematizes the effectiveness discourse embedded in policy making and calls for an analytical approach to participation. One that focuses on the relations and struggles involved in policy formulation processes and moves forward from effectiveness criteria. Then, participation could be seen as a space full of tensions and struggles (White 1996: 6). In that vein, Leal (2007) observes that participation has become an instrument that increases government control over citizens. For instance, participation with young people is packed with unequal power relations that prioritise adult's discourses (Ansell 2017). Consequently, participation becomes a domination tool of the youth that restricts their agency during these processes (Bessant 2003: 87).

Over the years, the concept of youth has been unpacked from different angles (Wyn and White 1997; Honwana & De Boeck 2005; Murphy 2012). However, it is broadly accepted that young people are continuously exercising their agency. Young people have built different strategies to execute their agency even when adults' visions govern their lives. Thus, participatory scenarios are not the exception. Following Kabeer (1999), agency should not only be analysed regarding decision-making processes and voice. Youth in participatory processes need to be approached beyond discourses that look at them as policy clients and consultants (White 1996). Then only can, youth participation be understood as a way of disrupting the hegemonic discourse by postulating alternative ontological foundations (St Martin and Hall-Arber 2008: 52).

Studies on participation with youth tend to focus on either one of the following three versions: (1) from an effectiveness conception, (2) from a domination perspective or (3) from a transformative angle. In this research paper**, I propose to build a relational analysis of participation**. That is, understanding this participatory process as a bricolage. In other words, the conjunction of multiple discourses, practices, interpretations, actors and forces embedded in the process. I follow a governmentality framework (Foucault 1991) and focus on the power relations involved, to understand how effectiveness, domination and transformative discourses and practices operate within the Participatory Process of the Public Policy of Youth. In short, this research paper should be understood as an analytical interpretation of the Participatory Process of the Public Policy of youth rather than an evaluation of the policymaking process.

This paper is divided into five chapters. The following sections of this chapter focus on situating this research regarding context, purposes and methodology. The second chapter discusses the paradox embedded in the effectiveness understanding of participation and the discourses and problems it reproduces. The third chapter presents governmentality as a theoretical framework to approach power relations and the structural approaches to participation. I discuss the domination practices reproduced, its effects and limitations for building a relational analysis. Then, in chapter four I formulate an understanding of a relational analysis, by examining the different ways that youth have found to execute their agency. Finally, in the concluding chapter, I resume the main topics presented in each part of this paper.

1.1 Setting the context: the youth of Bogota

Bogota is the biggest city in Colombia. With a population of about 8 million people, it is the most populated city in the country. According to 'Secretaría de Integración Social' [District Secretariat for Social Integration][1], 24, 1 % of the population is classified as youth. This means that two million people are between 14 and 28 years old. Almost half of the population are female (49.3%) and the other half male (50.7%).

The numbers of young people that live in each locality differ. Bogota is divided into 20 localities that are administratively independent. In other words, each locality has its budget and programs, but they answer to the District office and its policies. Map 1 presents the percentage of the total population of youth that lives in each of the localities.

Map 1. Distribution of the youth in Bogotá by locality
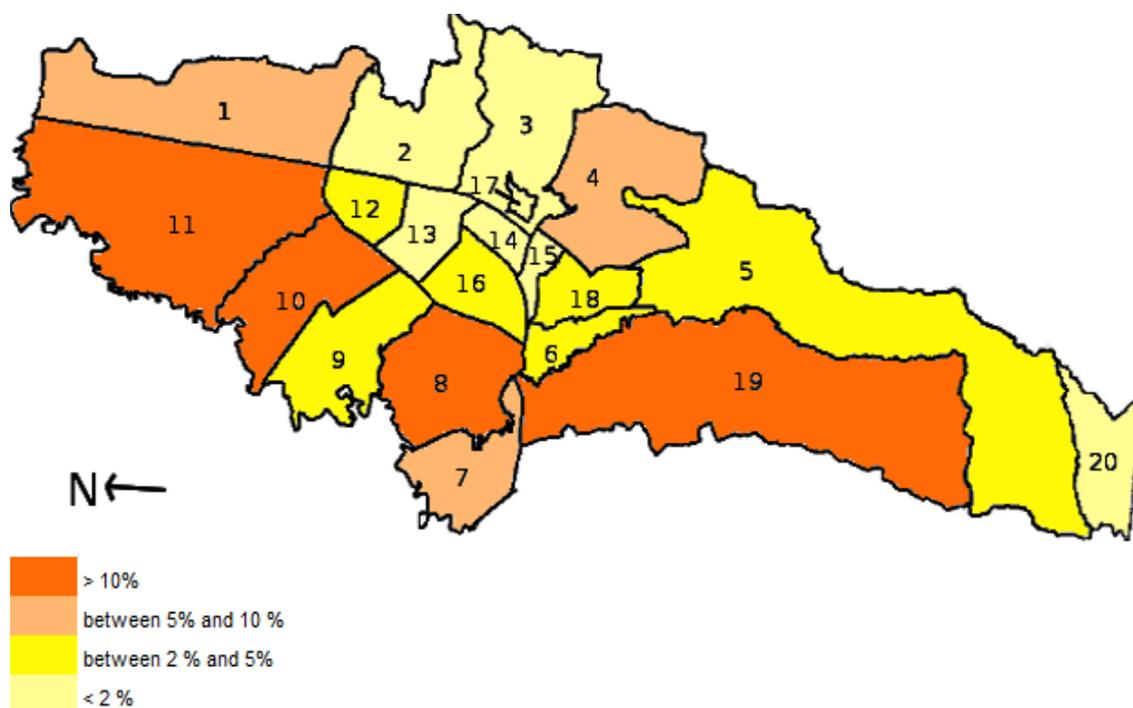
Source: author's elaboration based on Secretaría de Integración Social (2018: 22)

---

[1] This Secretariat is in charge of addressing the policies tackling vulnerable populations of Bogota.

The orange colour in map 1 shows the localities that have more than 10 % of the youth population of the city. That is, localities number eight, ten, eleven, eighteen and nineteen. These localities tend to be presented by the official discourse as the most diverse places in the city. Additionally, the government and the media portray these areas as those with the most vulnerable youth.

The SDIS identifies issues like drugs abuse, lack of health and education facilities and a decrease in quality of primary services, among others, as the issues that need to be tackled in these localities (Secretaría de Integración Social 2018: 16-19). The Public Policy of Youth is the tool that the state has designed to solve these problems.

1.2 The Public Policy of Youth in Bogota, Colombia

According to the 'Ley Estatutaria 1622 de 2013' [1622 Statute of Juvenile Citizenship of 2013], a Public Policy of Youth (hereafter PPY) is "a permanent connecting process of principles, actions and strategies focusing on state and society actions for promoting, protecting and guaranteeing the rights of the youth" (Congreso de la República de Colombia 2013). It aims to create the conditions for the adequate implementation of projects and programs targeting the youth. Consequently, the 1622 law establishes that youth must participate in the formulation, execution, monitoring and evaluation processes of the PPY.

In 2016, the PPY 2006-2016 completed its cycle. Thus, a new PPY needed to be formulated. The recently elected centre right-wing government of Enrique Peñalosa started the formulation process of the 2018-2030 PPY. The District Secretariat for Social Integration (hereafter SDIS); was tasked with leading all the processes involved in this policy formulation and since 2016 they have been implementing a participatory process designed with the collaboration of other District institutions.

The participatory process has been built with the purpose of strengthening the interaction mechanisms between the youth and the District, the youth themselves and the youth with the rest of society. Additionally, The SDIS and the Instituto Distrital para la Participación y Acción Comunal [District Institute for Participation and Collective Action] designed a massive process based on Bogota's current demographic composition. At the end of the process, Bogota's government is expecting a Public Policy that is not only solving youth problems but also building a political path for the permanent achievement of these rights (Secretaría de Integración Social 2018).

The release of the PPY was scheduled for 2017. However, the date has been extended due to several issues affecting the participatory scheme. The District Institute for Participation and Collective Action (hereafter IDPAC) has explained that to guarantee effective participation, the design of the participatory process has had to change several times which has delayed the publication of the PPY.

1.3 Designing a process for the youth

The Public Agenda document (Secretaría de Integración Social 2018) is an unpublished document that gathers the official numbers and results of the Participatory Process of the Public Policy of Youth (hereafter PPOPPY). This text presents the different phases and stages of the design of the PPOPPY along with the policy scope and purposes. According to the SDIS, the document will be published before the end of 2018 and could be modified until the new PPY is finally enacted.

The design of the PPOPPY followed the structure presented in the District guideline for Policy Formulation and Implementation (Secretaría de Planeación Distrital 2017). It is composed of four different stages: (1) preparatory phase, (2) public agenda phase, (3) formulation phase and (4) implementation phase. The first two phases were already implemented when I conducted fieldwork in August 2018. Therefore, this research paper focuses on these two phases.

The United Nations Development Program (hereafter UNDP) was in charge of the implementation of the dialogues. They were conceived as the main participation spaces within the PPOPPY. These dialogues were implemented based on the notion that young people are diverse and make up part of the social organisations of the city. UNDP implemented at least one dialogue per locality and called specific groups to participate in 'differential' dialogues. Thus, women, victims of the Colombian conflict, LGBTQI+, and indigenous organisations among others took part in these dialogues. Table 1 and Table 2 present a summary of the number of participants within the dialogues. In the following chapters, I describe in more detail the participatory design of the PPOPPY while I engage with it to build my analysis.

Table 1.
Number of dialogues implemented by locality with the number of participants differentiated by sex.

Locality Number	Locality	Percentage of the total of youth per locality	Number of dialogues implemented	Number of men that participated in the dialogues	Number of women that participated in the dialogues	Total number of participants
1	Usaquén	5,30%	4	34	33	67
2	Chapinero	1,30%	1	11	16	27
3	Santa Fe	1,20%	2	23	12	35
4	San Cristóbal	5,10%	4	28	26	54
5	Usme	4,70%	3	33	21	54
6	Tunjuelito	2,30%	2	14	14	28
7	Bosa	9,90%	7	67	60	127
8	Kennedy	15,20%	6	90	49	139
9	Fontibón	5%	5	53	37	90
10	Engativá	10,30%	5	45	51	96
11	Suba	15,70%	6	77	51	128
12	Barrios Unidos	2,80%	2	16	8	24
13	Teusaquillo	1,40%	1	7	17	24
14	Los Mártires	1,00%	1	7	8	15
15	Antonio Nariño	1,30%	1	16	8	24
16	Puente Aranda	2,50%	1	11	12	23
17	La Candelaria	0,30%	3	41	29	70
18	Rafael Uribe Uribe	4,40%	3	32	10	42
19	Ciudad Bolívar	10,10%	6	55	40	95
20	Sumapaz	0,10%	2	20	17	37
Total		**100%**	**680**	**65**	**519**	**1.199**

Source: author's elaboration based on Secretaría de Integración Social (2018: 192)

Table 1 shows that the four localities with higher percentages of total populations of youth (51.3% of all youth population) are also the ones with most dialogues implemented. It also demonstrates that the localities where more dialogues were developed, are the ones with a higher percentage of the youth population. Regarding participation by sex, on average, there is not a high difference between men and women. This same conclusion applies to table 2. This table also presents that Bogota's government involved as many young diverse people as possible. Apparently, they focused on understanding the different needs and interests of as many young people as possible by implementing dialogues with youth that make up part of different religious organisations, minority groups, political parties, etc.

Table 2.
Number of dialogues implemented by youth organisations or groups of interest with the number of participants differentiated by sex.

Group	Dialogues	Men	Women	Total
LPY	4	37	40	77
Family	4	18	52	70
Intergenerational	3	22	42	64
Schools	5	86	25	111
Police Forces	1	29	0	29
National foster houses	3	50	0	50
Vulnerable characteristics	16	238	133	371
Scholas	7	81	66	147
Community Action Councils	1	16	4	20
Penitenciary System	13	228	38	266
Councils on the rights of children and adolescents	2	25	22	47
Marketplaces	1	7	12	19
Community kitchens	1	14	18	32
Animal activists	1	3	4	7
Hip Hop	1	9	2	11
Football fans and sports organisations	9	123	31	154
Graffiti artists	4	43	17	60
Political groups	3	30	22	52
Entrepreneurs	1	3	4	7
Universities	9	69	70	139
Artists	3	36	56	92
Peasants	7	69	59	128
Foundations	1	28	0	28
Scouts	3	24	26	50
Women	3	0	67	67
LGBTI	4	32	37	69
Indigenous	14	173	202	375
Victims of the Colombian conflict	3	28	18	46
Afro-descendent	3	12	25	37
Disabled person	4	51	42	93
Total	**134**	**1584**	**1134**	**2718**

Source: author's elaboration based on Secretaría de Integración Social (2018: 193)

The numbers presented in Table 1 and Table 2 reveal a massive attendance. Summing the 1199 participants of the dialogues by locality and the 2718 participants of the youth organisations it is demonstrable that more than 3000 young people participated in this stage of the PPOPPY. Reviewing the participation in other stages, the number of participants moves above 8000. It appears that Bogota's government made a concerted effort to involve as many young people as possible to counteract the lack of their voices in policy formulation processes. However, participation does not intrinsically mean people's control and listening to people is not participation in itself (White 1996: 6)

1.4 Participatory processes with youth: more than one story

In the Colombian case, according to the 'Ley 1757 de Participación Ciudadana de 2015' [1757 law of citizenship participation of 2015], every Colombian has the right to participate in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of public initiatives. The case of the PPY is not the exception, and it seems that Bogota's government took this task seriously. However, as I analyse in the next chapter, participation is more than numbers and indicators. It involves individual and collective dilemmas and struggles that dialogue between each other (White 1996: 6). Even though the numbers of the participatory process of the PPY are significant and the methodology and the structure of the process seem meticulously elaborated, this should not be the only story to tell when analysing participatory processes. The dynamics, struggles, contradictions and changes inherent to a participatory process have also to be considered.

Furthermore, since the PPOPPY involves two different generations, power dynamics are likely to appear. This dynamic tends to prioritise adult's discourses about the youth and are based on hegemonic representations that adults have built about youth realities (Hansen 2008; Jeffrey et al. 2008). In that sense, it reproduces unequal power relations that are usually described from a static structure-agency dichotomy. Thus, I argue that the study of participatory processes should focus on building a relational analysis of these processes. That is, "tying together different actors, dimensions, dynamics or forces and emphasising the relations, networks and frictions" (Huijsmans 2016: 4). **On its core, the objective of this research paper is to understand and analyse the representations and discourses that have shaped the design and practice of the PPOPPY and the power relations it produces and reproduces.**

Consequently, the underpinning question of this research is: *What are the discourses, practices and power relations embedded in the design and practice of the Participatory Process of the Public Policy of Youth?*

The guiding sub-questions are:
- How do policymakers and youth representatives understand youth participation and what are the representations about the youth that have shaped the design and practice of the participatory exercise?
- What are the domination strategies (rationalities and techniques) reproduced within the PPOPPY and what are some of their consequences?
- How is youth agency executed within the PPOPPY?

1.5 Being a Youth while researching the Youth

According to Cresswell (2007: 37), qualitative research is concerned with the meaning that people give to specific processes. This methodology is appropriate to study social relations in which the role of the researcher focuses on "study participant´s knowledge and practice" (Flick 2007: 16). Therefore, qualitative methods are the most suitable for this Research Paper since it is focusing on the ideas and practices of youth and policymakers.

This research should be understood from an interpretative perspective (Denzin and Lincoln 2011: 6) and not as that of a positivist truth-seeker. From this vantage point, I worked as a bricoleur, or a person that builds a "pieced-together set of representations that fit to the specifics of a complex situation" (Denzin and Lincoln 2011: 4). In this context, the bricolage refers to the set of representations built from both, the perspectives of the youth and the policymakers, about their discourses and practices in the participatory process of the PPY.

The bricolage I build is based on different qualitative research tools (see table 3) and a governmentality approach to the power relations embedded in the PPOPPY. These tools are complementary. Both, the theory and the findings nourish each other throughout the study.

Table 3.
Methodology tools.

Tool	Description	Purpose
Document analysis	I read and analysed the documents of the formulation of the participatory process of the PPY as well as other documents and laws that contributed to shaping the participatory process.	The analysis of these documents and laws helped me to understand the official vision that the District institutions have built about the youth. It also helped to seeing how the dilemmas and struggles that happened in the process are presented to the public.
Qualitative Interviews	The interviewees were divided into two groups: - **Policy-makers** working on institutions that engage with the participatory process. I conducted 7 interviews with different institutions that were involved in different stages of the process with different roles - **Youth** representatives involved in the process. I conducted 3 interviews with either LPY representatives or youth organisations representatives.	According to Laws et al. (2003: 286), qualitative interviews are useful when asking about people´s views and experiences. Interviews are required when respondents are not able to express themselves through a questionnaire. Consequently, this tool helped me to understand the rationalities and representations about the youth and how they were executed and challenged. Also, this technique helped me to understand how youth executed their agency. The interviews focused on three levels of analysis: - A **reflection level** focusing on personal experience in the participatory process. - The second level focused on the **analysis of the institutional engagement.** - The third level set focus on **visions about the youth**.
Group interviews	One group interview happened with three youth representatives from different LPY. While the other happened with three different public employees from the same office that engaged in the participatory process at different stages. In the beginning, they were planned as individual interviews. However, when more people arrived and seemed interested in getting involved in the discussion, it became a group interview.	Group interviews are a valuable research technique based on discussions centred on common processes and shared experiences (Flick 2007: 197). Additionally, the discussions and conversations that occur during these meetings are a central source of knowledge (Flick 2007: 196) that will build different alternatives or strategies for solving an issue (Flick 2007: 197). The purpose of these group interviews was to find common interpretations about what the participants would change about the same three levels discussed in the interviews by opposing their visions.
Questionnaire	A 15-question questionnaire was sent to the 19 representatives that form part of the DPY. In the end, less than half of the representatives answered the questionnaire.	The purpose of this tool was to build some general knowledge about the experiences and the composition of the DPY. However, the composition of the DPY cannot be presented since the majority of the representatives did not respond.

Source: author's elaboration.

The interviews (see the guideline in Appendix A) were designed to go deeper into some points of the participatory process but also to get the experiences and impressions of the participatory process that cannot be found in the documents. They took place after a broad document analysis. However, after the interviews, a new analysis of the documents was also needed to keep shaping the dialogue between what is written and what was experienced.

Additionally, in two circumstances (one with youth and one with an institution office) what was planned to be an individual interview ended up being a group discussion between three or more participants.

The scope of the governmentality approach is presented in chapter three. I argue that this theoretical framework is the most suitable for this research since it focuses on understanding power relations from a process perspective.

I emphasise that due to time constraints and the availability of the participants I only interview youth representatives from the participants group (a brief description of the interviewees is presented in Appendix B). It was difficult to find youth that have participated in the process but were not representative of a platform or a youth organisation. In that sense, the interpretations of the youth share the same position. However, I think that recognising what comes from this position strengthens the understanding of the process because, in the end, they are presented as the valid interlocutors by the District institutions.

According to the law, I can position myself as a youth. During the interviews, I realised I was also treated as a youth by both the youth representatives and the policy-makers. At certain points of the conversations, my status of white, educated young men came out as a reference point for discussing the differences in opportunities that are possible for the youth of Bogota. In my opinion, being a white, educated young man from Bogota while doing this research about and with youth allowed me to relate to other youth realities of my city and empathise with them. In the end, when we were discussing the practices within the participatory process of the PPY, I felt myself involved in the situation.

Even when I relate to some of the issues presented by the youth, I had to be transparent with all the participants when I explained the objective of my research. We all accepted that this process is laden with multiple struggles and dilemmas and that to create a dialogue between them I should not be either a project evaluator or a process validator. My role should be understood as an interpreter of the process that will build some reflections. Therefore, as scholars such as Flick (2007), Laws et al. (2003), Denzin and Lincoln (2011) and Creswell (2007) have framed the major ethical issue that was in my mind during the whole research was to avoid harming.

Consequently, confidentiality and anonymity were guaranteed for the participants that explicitly asked for it. Personal information or names won't be presented unless it is strictly necessary.

Chapter 2 Youth Participation: a 'good' way of building policies?

"What we have achieved regarding youth participation is massive" - District Secretariat for Social Integration (SDIS)

Over the years, participation of young people in the design and implementation of policies has been promoted at all levels of policymaking. This includes global development actors such as the World Bank, which called in its 2007 Global Development Report for an "open consultation and feedback from young people on the design and implementation of policies that affect them" (World Bank 2006: 119). For the World Bank, this call is based on the claim that youth are "the most important clients of policies and services are directed at them, the ability of young people to exercise voice, or client power, can be invaluable to ensuring quality" (World Bank 2006: 119). Similarly, Colombian national government has called for "youth engagement and participation in the decision-making processes of policies about them" (Congreso de la República de Colombia 2013: 4). In both cases, the participation of youth in policy formulation appears to be an effective way of building policies.

In this chapter, I take issue with the World Bank's assertion that youth participation naturally leads to 'better' policies. Drawing on the case of the PPOPPY, which as the quote preceding this chapter shows has been celebrated as an impressive achievement regarding youth participation. It is this assertion that I question. I make this case by shifting the analysis away from the effectiveness indicators towards the power relations that have shaped these participatory processes. To achieve this, I build on Mosse's (2004) perspective on development policy and practice. I illustrate that the notion that the policymakers in charge of the PPOPPY have developed as a good participatory process clashes with the requirements for an implementable one, and produce what I call the 'dilemma of participation'. In other words, I will show that the idea of a good participatory process challenges the notion of an implementable one creating a dilemma between both. I argue that by shifting the focus of analysis of PPOPPY to a power relations perspective, I overcome this dilemma.

In order to show how the dilemma is produced, this chapter focuses on three topics that appeared during my fieldwork and that are intrinsically tied. The first topic relates to what I call the 'paradox of participation'. That is, the contradiction embedded in the willingness to involve massive numbers of people in the decision-making process. The second point focuses on presenting the understanding of participation as a means to ensure quality and ownership. Thirdly, I argue that trust should not be underestimated since it is related to unequal power relations involved in the process. Finally, I sum up the main points of each topic with the purpose of showing why it is necessary to focus on the practices and power relations embedded in this process rather than its results.

Whilst Mosse's (2004) work focuses on development policy and practice, it does not centre on participation itself. However, his work is relevant here because it "challenges the assumption that development practice is driven by policy, suggesting that the things that make for 'good policy' — policy which legitimizes and mobilizes political support — in reality make it rather unimplementable" (Mosse 2004: 639). As the emphasis on 'participation' in development policy indicates, development agencies and researchers are preoccupied about getting the policy right, oftentimes without acknowledging that "the things that make a good policy are quite different from those that make it implementable" (Mosse 2004: 640). Therefore, I use this approach to analyse the PPOPPY.

2.1 Giving voice to all and the paradox of participation

"We are in charge of building the Public Policy of Youth […] and during the participatory process the representativeness of all the youth universe in Bogotá, their life experiences and needs have been included".
SDIS policymaker

The SDIS, as one of the leading offices in the government, formulated PPOPPY based on the premise of including the multiplicity of youth realities in the process. The IDPAC, as the coordinating office, also formulated another premise, *"to participate is to be part of the society, to make up part of an organisation and their activities and to take part and be co-responsible in the decision-making […]in that sense this process has been participatory".* Hence, since IDPAC and SDIS are the offices in charge, the vision of these two institutions shows what is desirable for this participatory process and reveals what they understand as 'good' participation. The design of the process is the first step for materialising both premises. Consequently, understanding the design of the process could give us more clarity on what is held behind the discourse of good participation.

An analysis of the official documents (Secretaria de Integración Social 2018:) (Secretaria de Planeacion Distrital 2017) and interviews with policymakers have shed light on the design of the participatory process and the interaction of the actors involved. The process has been designed into four phases; a preparatory phase, a public agenda phase, a formulation phase and an implementation phase. Although these phases are clearly defined in the documents, many of the people interviewed (policymakers and youth) did not have clarity on them. Especially, there was a disagreement on whether or not the preparatory phase should be considered as part of the participatory process or a previous stage. Nonetheless, I have decided to use the stages described in the District Guideline for Policy Formulation and Implementation since it was accepted by the interviewees as the document follower for PPOPPY.

When conducting my fieldwork -August and September 2018-, the preparatory and the public agenda stages (phases 1 and 2) were already completed. The formulation phase (#3) was still in preparation and hadn't been implemented yet. Therefore, the analysis of this participatory process will focus on the first two phases. Figure 1 presents a brief timeline of the two phases with their most relevant events.

Figure 1.
First two phases of PPOPPY timeline.

Preparatory phase (phase 1)	Public agenda phase (phase 2)		
2016		**2017**	**2018**
May Working committee for Youth issues is created. (Only institutional participation) **August** Diagnostic dialogues 57 young people that participated in previous activities.	**October –November** PPY balance dialogues - 216 dialogues - 6586 young people Legal constitution of the LPY **December** Methodology was tested through pilot dialogues in charge of UNDP.	**The Monitoring Committee is established** (Institutions and youth representatives participate) **Dialogues for the construction of the public agenda document** - 222 dialogues with more than 3000 young people - 30 dialogues with (women, LGBTI, indigenous, victims, Afro Colombian, disabilities) - Focus groups by topics. **Conformation of the experts group** Each expert was in charge of leading the formulation process of a dimension of the Youth Development Index (YDI) (6 dimensions) **The SDP releases the new guideline for Public Policy formulation and implementation**	**May to July** Advocacy and feedback dialogues - Dialogues for the advocacy of the dimensions of the YDI - Dialogues for Public Agenda document feedback

Source: Author's elaboration based on fieldwork.

A first indicator that renders the policymaking process as 'good' in the eyes of the policymakers is that it succeeds in involving a large number of young people in the process. As shown in figure 1, more than 500 dialogues including more than 8000 young people were implemented. However, it is not just the absolute number that rendered the process a success. According to an SDIS policymaker, "*since youth is diverse and heterogeneous […] the process should represent this diversity because […] they are the ones who know their needs and their realities, the institutional is not the youth*". The design acted on this realisation that the population of youth is highly diverse by implementing at least one dialogue in each of the 20 localities of the city. This is based on the idea that young people from different localities experience different problems. Diversity among youth was also built into the design through the effort of giving voice to specific groups of youth and particular youth organisations. Hence, smaller dialogues took place with different kinds of youth organisations like; environmentalists, LGBTI+, graffiti movement, hip-hop movement, indigenous, victims of the Colombian conflict, Afrodescendants, women, etc. Through these two kinds of dialogues, local knowledge was enhanced, and particular problematics were acknowledged. In summary, the SDIS and the IDPAC believe that PPOPPY captures the different realities of the youth in Bogota.

Berner (2010: 15) has pointed out that participatory exercises could reproduce ritualistic practices. He states, "consultative meetings become mere rituals to legitimise preconceived plans and to manipulate rather than facilitate the process" (Berner 2010: 15). In the case of PPOPPY, some of the representatives interviewed and one former employee of the youth penitentiary system mentioned that, during the dialogues, the policymakers had previously established the problematics to discuss and youth observations were not always included. As one of the policymakers expressed, "*It is really hard to involve youth in these processes and to build trust when their claims are not included in the documents […] I agree when they say that there is no point on asking them about certain topics if their opinions are not included […] Of course, this is not all the time*". Furthermore, as a former penitentiary system employee observed, "*Sometimes, there was not even dialogue. They brought some printed formats and gave them to the participants to fill them in*". This suggests that ritualistic practices of participation described by Berner are part of PPOPPY. Even when the institutions implemented more than 500 dialogues; the youth themselves and some policymakers recognise that sometimes, youth voices were manipulated. Hence, I believe that ritualistic practices contradict the idea of good participation when some of the voices are manipulated.

The second premise to assess whether PPOPPY is indeed an example of 'good policymaking', is based on the idea that participation is not only 'being part' and 'making up part', but also 'taking part'. In other words, participation is also about being co-responsible in the decision-making process. According to the District Guideline for Policy Formulation and Implementation (Secretaria Distrital de Planeación 2017: 37), phase 2 focuses on building a diagnostic document that identifies strategic topics. Therefore, the purpose of the dialogues was to analyse the current situation of the youth in Bogota and examine the capabilities that youth identify as part of their being (Secretaria de Integracion Social 2018: 184). However, as I discuss later, the dialogues were more consultation and validation spaces rather than a decision-making one. Moreover, in response to this critique, the monitoring committee was generated as a decision-making space. Consequently, it is necessary to understand the way the youth takes part in this space to analyse who exactly is taking part in the decisions.

The monitoring committee is an essential element of the participatory strategy coordinated by IDPAC and SDIS. It is part of what the institutions have called 'mixed dialogue spaces'. In these meetings, policymakers from all the institutions that take part in the process discuss with the youth representatives of the city about the past, present and future of PPOPPY. The youth representatives in the monitoring committee are elected by the District Platform of Youth (DPY) and are the tip of the iceberg in a complex election process. The

Local Platforms of Youth (LPY), were legally constituted in 2016. I will elaborate on their constitution later, but for now, according to one of the representatives I interviewed, LPY are *"the voluntary grouping of the diverse organisational forms that youth have built and are linked to their locality"*. In other words, LPY are the conjunction of different youth organisations that take place in a particular locality that are willing to be part of that mechanism. Additionally, these organisations vote for one person to represent them as a locality in the DPY, which is the cluster of the 20 representatives of all the localities of Bogota. Finally, from the DPY three representatives are chosen to participate in the committee and work as a liaison between the institutions and the youth. As a result, there are three chairs out of ten for youth representatives in this space.

I have explained the two premises of good participation. Now, I analyse how they produce what I call the paradox of participation. That is, the idea that lots of people are taken into account when in the end, few people are taking the decisions. As one youth representative observed:

> *"Platforms are like a rollercoaster, sometimes lots of organisations take part and other times there are just a few, for the election of the representatives the number of organisations that participated in my locality was small […] some platforms are more interested in local processes than in the Public Policy of Youth or the participatory process, each platform has its independence and we are trying to coordinate as a group"*. (Youth representative during interview)

The previous quote indicates that not all youth are interested in participating in the PPOPPY, in fact, some of them care more about their local processes. Thus, the number of people that engaged in the representatives' elections was not massive. To sum up, the participatory dialogues involved more than 8000 young people as a way of 'including' a variety of voices during the process. However, for implementation reasons, they cannot be co-responsible in decision-making. Therefore, a whole election strategy was implemented thus three youth representatives could sit on the monitoring committee. Nevertheless, in these elections, the attendance was not as massive as in the dialogues. As a result, three representatives with common ideas are 'taking part' of the participatory process. In other words, more than 8000 young people gave input to the District government that continuously discuss their findings with only three representatives of the DPY sitting in the monitoring committee.

Once again, Berner (2010:15) calls this dynamic a substitute practice of participation. Firstly, he argues that participatory discourses involve the idea of "leaders that act as multipliers that articulate everybody´s needs" (Berner 2010: 16). In the case of the PPOPPY the multipliers are the representatives. According to Berner (2010), this kind of system ends up excluding the most marginalised parts of the population. With regards to this research, I cannot support Berner's proposition. Less than half of the representatives filled a questionnaire that was planning to build a socioeconomic characterisation of the DPY. However, I stand on Gallagher's (2008) proposition that participation reproduces privilege and hierarchical power relations to the extent that it is only a segment of the participants who can make their voices heard, as is the case of the three representatives in the monitoring committee. For instance, policymakers and youth representatives ensured that the public agenda document was shared during the monitoring meetings. Yet, as one representative of the LPY who was not in attendance at the monitoring committee mentioned: *"after the dialogues they [the government] promised us to give us the document so we could discuss it in our territories, it has been almost a year and I haven´t seen it"*. This criticism shows that communication between the representatives is not as smooth as it is presented and that some people are privileged within the participatory process (Ansell 2017:226). Summing up, as one of the youth participants described *"if you ask a young male or female walking on the street if they have participated in PPOPPY there is a big*

chance that the answer is no. Only the youth that is part of social processes and organisations have participated. And that is a small percentage of the youth population"

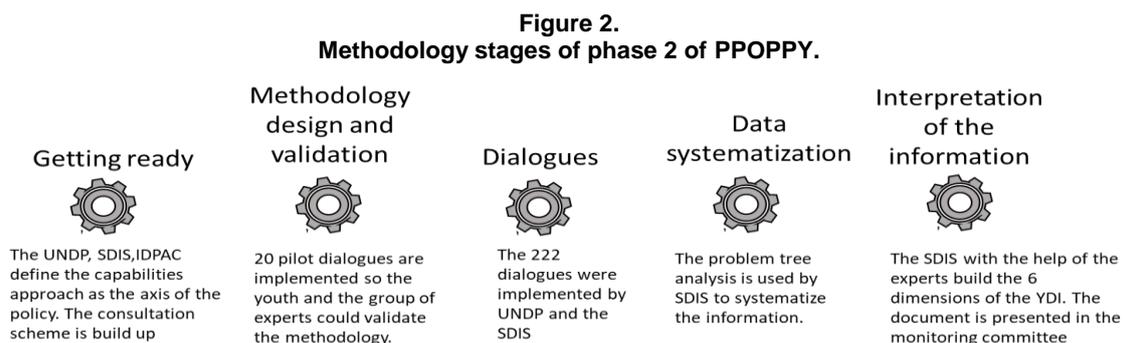## 2.2 Tackling the youth: between outcomes and processes

"We feel that the institutions think in terms of outcomes, indicators, results. They haven't realised that it is necessary to build processes. They just want to measure and show improvements."
-Youth representative

In this section, I focus on analysing the arguments that policymakers and youth representatives have built about the relation between the PPOPPY and the PPY. I show that each party conceives this relation in different ways. On the one hand, the policymakers think of PPOPPY as a means of achieving a 'good' policy that will guarantee a decent 'becoming' for the youth. On the other hand, the youth representatives conceive PPOPPY as a space of 'being' that is connected to the PPY but is relevant in itself. Hence, I discuss that these different perspectives are produced by specific representations about the youth that keep relating to each other during the entire process. Finally, I argue that the dilemma between good and implementable participatory processes links to the relation of these conceptualisations.

First of all, I highlight the comprehension that development agencies and practitioners have produced about participation. The World Development Report (2006: 211-224) presents a full chapter about how participatory approaches contribute to doing policies 'right'. In that sense, participatory processes are conceived as a means in which the main outcome is efficient policies. Youth participation is described as a mechanism for including the client's voice into policies, with the purpose of producing effective strategies that will solve their problems. Focusing on the PPOPPY, policymakers explain that it is a good participatory process if it contributes to building ownership of the PPY. In the words of one of the policymakers: "*one of the main challenges of this process is to get youth to appropriate the final policy document. We need them to multiply the approach we've been building and to work for it. Otherwise, this whole process would be in vain*". To achieve that, they are focusing on building a holistic Public Policy that includes youth voices. To that extent, Bogota's policymakers are conceiving participation as a mean to ensure ownership of the policy (Berner 2010: 15). In other words, in the case of the PPOPPY, policymakers believe that the youth will look after the proper implementation of the PPY since they have participated in the policy formulation process. Nevertheless, I consider that, in the case of the PPOPPY, this particular way of approaching participation hides a variety of adult-centric discourses about the youth that are in confrontation with young people's perspectives.

Furthermore, I analyse the methodology of phase 2 (figure 2) of the PPOPPY to understand the hidden discourses about the youth involved in it.

Figure 2.
Methodology stages of phase 2 of PPOPPY.

Getting ready	Methodology design and validation	Dialogues	Data systematization	Interpretation of the information
The UNDP, SDIS,IDPAC define the capabilities approach as the axis of the policy. The consultation scheme is build up	20 pilot dialogues are implemented so the youth and the group of experts could validate the methodology.	The 222 dialogues were implemented by UNDP and the SDIS	The problem tree analysis is used by SDIS to systematize the information.	The SDIS with the help of the experts build the 6 dimensions of the YDI. The document is presented in the monitoring committee

Source: Author's elaboration based on Secretaría de Integración Social (2018)

To begin with, I focus on the engagement of the youth during the stages presented. It is telling that a policy that *"will build a solution roadmap that will tackle youth problematics"* planned to consult young people during the methodology and dialogue stages but not in the analysis and interpretation moments. According to an IDPAC policymaker, the advocacy and feedback stage on phase 2 happened because *"we convince them to listen to the youth and call for some dialogues to present the public agenda document"*. This planning links to World Bank's client discourse in which participants' contribution is just their knowledge about their realities. Reflecting about participation as a means to an end is relevant once again. Policymakers' objective is to present a final document of the PPY. Hence, they believe their job is to build a set of strategies that will nourish the policy through youth contributions. In consequence, the final document receives more attention disregarding the processes involved in its production. I argue that policymakers are focusing on youth future or becoming rather than on their present or being. Consequently, I unpack the hegemonic definition of youth as a way of approaching the notion of the youth as becoming.

In line with Jeffrey et al. (2008) youth as a concept has been constructed by international organisations and governments based on age definitions and adult's assumptions about them. For instance, Wyn and White (1997: 10) call for a relational understanding of youth. The concept of youth is operationalised in age terms and the cultural understandings that give the meaning to the process of growing up remain hidden. As a result, the youth emerges as category erected from the adults' perspective (Huijsmans 2016: 7). Therefore, from a relational analysis, youth is unpacked as a natural category, and the cultural understandings of this process become relevant. Youth is analysed as a relational concept that "has meaning largely in relation to the concept of adulthood" (Wyn & White 1997: 11). In short, being youth is conceived as the presence (or absence) of specific characteristics in relation to adulthood. Thus, we can surmise that relationality in youth studies is the critique of the adult-centred category that defines the youth (Huijsmans 2016: 7).

For its part, scholars like Huijsmans (2016) and Wyn and White (1997) have unpacked, from a relational perspective, the notion of youth as a problem. They have presented that the representation of youth as a problem is linked to the idea of youth as 'becoming'. They argue that these discourses about the youth keep reproducing the hegemonic assumptions about them. For instance, the discourse that has historically portrayed youth as a population that faces many risks and at the same time represents a risk to society (Johnson 1993: 96), is the same discourse that promotes the creation of strategies to govern and monitor young people with interventions concerned about their future, and their becoming (Jeffrey et al. 2008).

In the case of the PPOPPY, youth is defined in two ways. On the one hand, from a normative perspective (Congreso de la República de Colombia 2013) as a segment of the population aged between 14 and 28 years old. On the other hand, from the policymakers' perspective as "[the population that] *has the future of the city on their hands and they are the reconciliation generation"* but *"they experience a lot of deprivations and special circumstances that should be addressed"*. At its core, this definition embeds both of the components of the hegemonic approach to youth described above; as a problem and as becoming.

Firstly, Bogota's youth is represented as a 'golden' but vulnerable generation. The 'future promise' of the city that faces many deprivations. The *"creative, innovative, energetic, argumentative and deliberative"* segment of the population that is at risk due to *"security issues, health and education inequality, unemployment situation, etc."*. Secondly, they are also portrayed as a 'problematic population'. Even though policymakers were cautious about generalisations, they are still concerned about their relationship with the city infrastructure, the appropriation of public space and the consumption of drugs, among others. Consequently, the PPY (as an outcome) is

presented as a suitable tool that will save them from their risk state and guarantee a proper transition to their adulthood. Hence, the PPY becomes the major goal and the PPOPPY is seen as another stage for achieving that outcome. In other words, the policymakers' discourse about the youth has led them to focus on the outcome of the process and to instrumentalise the PPOPPY itself. At this point, it is necessary to contrast the policymakers' discourse with youth representatives' interpretation of their experience.

On the first Saturday of my fieldwork, I spent an hour getting from my family's place to the bus station where I met the youth representative I was about to interview. The previous times I passed close to that locality was when I travelled to the nearest towns around Bogotá. So even when I knew the location of this place, I was not familiar with its situation and dynamics. Following Chimamanda Adichie's (2009) TED Talk about the representation of other's reality and the danger of a single story, I had got one story about the youth of this locality and I had built a particular discourse based on it. Then, I realised that the majority of the things that I knew about this place were reproduced by the state, the news and the media. Based on that story I was about to go to one of the most unsafe, biggest and poorest places in the city. Once I arrived, the representative and I walked about thirty minutes uphill. While we were walking he described to me the difference between the places we were passing by; *"You see, this is the richest part of the locality, here you can find more services and the structure of the houses is 'safer'"* he said," *"You will see, as long as we go higher, how the situation changes"*. We finally entered into a small house almost at the top of the mountain. The place where he decided to do the interview was a communal house, a lot of kids and young people were taking part in reading activities. This house is the 'operation centre' of his NGO. After we found a spot to sit, he started the conversation *"I know we as youth are framed as vulnerable but also as problematic, but as you can see, at least in this locality, we are very heterogeneous"* he said. *"I think the PPY could be a great tool, […] but they have built this idea of what we are and they need to show results, so they are using the voices of the participants to legitimise the outcomes"* he added.

Following the previous quote, there is a discrepancy between the perspectives of the policymakers and the youth representatives. The youth representatives feel that the way in which policymakers approach them is inadequate; *"we participated to fulfil the goals of a project"* one of them said. Scholars like Ansell (2017) and Hansen (2008) have stated that young people are continuously experiencing their identities and, in that sense, every space in which youth take part should be considered as a space of being. In other words, youth representatives are claiming for spaces where they have the right 'to have a say' but also to be heard and not only for minor matters. Regarding this idea, the notion of patchwork identities expressed by Murphy (2012) takes relevance. Murphy's (2012) work focuses on understanding the ways in which young people build their identity. From her perspective young people's identity is built by the "mix of different styles and values drawn from the supermarket of options presented by the increasingly diverse information and communication technologies" (Murphy 2012: 12). Additionally, she describes how all the spaces in which youth take part are continuously contributing to the formation of these identities. Therefore, if the PPOPPY is conceived as a space that influences the construction of youth identities, analysing the relations involved in the process takes relevance. In other words, following Murphy (2012), I argue that youth representatives believe that the PPOPPY should be approached as a place where their identities are at stake and not in terms of its relationship with the PPY.

In the same vein, when youth representatives call for a processual understanding of the PPOPPY, they are manifesting their right to be considered as 'beings' in all parts of the process and not only as 'becoming' in function of the PPY. As they have expressed, *"It is clear that focusing more on processes than in outcomes takes more time and will fatigue the government. That is why I think they keep focusing on outcomes and results"*. For instance, according to one of the youth representatives that also worked as a facilitator during the dialogues:

"the purpose of the methodology was good trying to engage the participants. But the bureaucratic procedures changed everything. Since the dialogues had pre-established goals and we must fill the formats and the paperwork, it seemed that it was more pressure for accomplishing numbers but not for having quality discussions […] For example, at one time since people did not show up for a dialogue, I had to go to a school and use a class as a dialogue" (Youth representative during the interview)

The discrepancy between these perspectives remains an issue. Nowadays, policymakers' major concern is focusing on young people´s becoming. It is visible due to their interest in releasing the 'best' PPY. Hence, they believe that a good policy will allow the youth to become adults without any inconvenience. Therefore, they are focusing on building an implementable PPOPPY that will allow them to publish the document as soon as possible. For its part, even when youth representatives agree with the importance of building a PPY, they keep calling for a less instrumentalised participatory process. A process where they are no longer portrayed as clients but as co-responsible actors that experience their beings in each of the phases. However, youth representatives consider that adult´s discourses and agendas are prioritized. They believe that it is pointless to focus on whether or not the PPOPPY is a 'good' participatory process. As a consequence, mistrust between the parties continues being reproduced during the PPOPPY and impacts the way in which policymakers and youth interact.

2.3 Distrusting the other: an unavoidable practice

"There's a lack of trust from the youth with the institutions that blurs the PPOPPY"
-Youth representative of Bogota.

During my fieldwork, I conducted more than ten interviews where different perceptions and ideas about the PPOPPY came out. Moreover, all the interviews referred to a topic: the lack of trust of youth towards the institutions. In this section, I argue that mistrust keeps reproducing the dilemma between 'good' and implementable participation. Distrust, I posit, is not entirely because of proper dynamics within the PPOPPY but it is produced by external situations such as previous experiences with institutions. Additionally, I discuss that it is reproduced during the PPY due to policymakers' interest in showing results. Finally, I present that building a trustful space will need a complete transformation of the current power relations which will make the PPOPPY unimplementable.

Firstly, several policymakers recognise that building a trustful participatory space is needed to shape a good participatory process. In that sense, Carreira et al.'s (2016) discussion on building trustful spaces during policy formulation processes is relevant here. They argue that "public institutions contribute to the distribution of power in decision-making processes" (Carreira et al. 2016: 5) and the way this distribution is implemented impacts the level of public participation of individuals. In other words, when individuals consider that their power in decision-making has increased, they tend to believe the participatory process is better. Therefore, to understand confidence dynamics, I focus on youth representatives' visions about whether or not their requests were considered.

In 2016, major Enrique Peñalosa started his second period in office. His first period, from 1998 to 2000, produced divergent opinions. Many citizens and politicians admired his management style that increased the number of implemented public works programmes and changed Bogota's indicators (Semana 2001). At the end of his period, around half of the citizens approved of his government (Semana 2000) and, years later, he won the Gothenburg prize for his results (Caracol Radio 2009). On the opposing side, Peñalosa's critics pointed at his arbitrary methods. They complained about the lack of community engagement in his

projects and his stubbornness to impose his plans (El Tiempo 1998). Several scandals about his policies started to appear years after he finished his term in government. Additionally, a wave of left-wing governments positioned a new 'social' agenda that was more aware of citizens' involvement (La Silla Vacia 2017). Nevertheless, after two attempts of getting back in office, Peñalosa was elected again standing on a results-focused agenda (Semana 2015).

Putting aside the question of whether the detractors of Peñalosa's management style are right, I wish to focus on analysing whether the youth perception about their leaders influences the way in which they trust or not in their initiatives (Brehm and Rahm 1997: 1010). Since Peñalosa is perceived as a moderate right politician focusing on showing results, a majority of the young people of the city started the PPOPPY with doubts about his intentions. Regarding this idea, one of the youth participants of the dialogues told me that he feels that *"A lot of the youth representatives and members of the organisations are clearly positioned on a political left and I am sure that is a starting point of the clash"*. Additionally, he argues that other not related processes around the city have predisposed the participants of the PPOPPY. In that sense, the lack of trust that permeates the PPOPPY was produced by outside dynamics that impacted participants' opinions.

Additionally, youth participants also recognise that during the PPOPPY the outcome-focus view of the policymakers has led to practices that keep reproducing mistrust. For instance, as the IDPAC policymaker recognises*: "building trust has been fundamental for these processes. We are lucky that youth perceive us as a third part of the process. In the case of the SDIS, I believe the lack of trust has to deal with the fact that youth claims and recommendations are not included in the final documents. They have to argue a lot in order to make changes happen"*. Furthermore, another policymaker believes that the lack of trust relates to the fact that *"nor entities neither citizens really know where their job starts and finishes. Many expectations are built and maybe they cannot be fulfilled, that is a reason why promises cannot be kept"*. Consequently, youth representatives accept that they might have had some biases about the government before the PPOPPY, but during the process, the unfulfilled promises ratified these assumptions.

Youth representatives perceive that the institutions are trying to impose their timing, their objectives and views during the PPOPPY. In their opinion, institutions like the SDIS seem thoughtful during the monitoring meetings but, when they meet again, they give the impression to have prioritised the timelines and goals over the arguments discussed. Therefore, the documents do not reflect the youth opinions. In the DPY words, *"the role of the state in the PPOPPY seems more regulatory than supportive"*. As a result, youth representatives distrust the scope of the PPOPPY since they perceive adults' discourses dominate it.

In order to build a trustful participatory space, policymakers could include youth claims in a more genuine way. However, as one of the policymakers recognised *"the SDIS is not willing to accept all their claims, they need to have some control of the process. Otherwise, it will lead to an endless discussion, and as I said, the PPY needs to be released soon"*. At this point, the dilemma appears again. If policymakers are looking forward to building a 'good' participatory space, they should be looking to focus not only on their interests. However, they believe that by adopting this focus it will make the process unimplementable. Therefore, they have chosen to accept some of the claims, the ones that do not interfere with the release of the PPY.

Consequently, since policymakers are trying to impose their discourse, I argue that there are power relations within the PPOPPY that prioritise adults' agenda and contributes to the reproduction of distrust. Furthermore, Ansell (2017: 225) and White (1996:6) have problematized the idea of participation as 'handing over' of power to young people. They call for participatory initiatives that acknowledge power relations and intervene at their core (Ansell 2017; White 1996). In the case of Bogota, it is necessary to acknowledge the current power relations embedded in the PPOPPY. I call development researchers to analyse these relations

rather than to evaluate the process itself. In other words, I call for an analytical approach of the PPOPPY that focuses on power relations rather than a practical evaluation.

2.4 Final remarks: focusing on relations

In this chapter, I discussed how the hegemonic discourse of development agencies and practitioners, which have a participation focus assume that good participatory processes produce good policies. In the case of the PPOPPY, it has been presented that the idea of a good participatory process clashes with the requirements of an implementable one.

In the first place, I have shown that in PPOPPY's case the government of Bogota has produced a discourse about good participation based on three assumptions; (1) massive attendance that implies the multiplicity of youth perspectives in joint decision-making, (2) as a means that will produce a good PPY and will tackle young people's problems, (3) a space focusing on building trust.

However, I have described that these assumptions are not fulfilled in practice due to ritualistic and substitute practices, adult centred discourses about the youth that keep being reproduced during the process and power relations that prioritise policymakers' objectives. Nevertheless, if the PPOPPY would have been designed to achieve these assumptions, it will go against the administrative goal of presenting a PPY before their period is over. Consequently, the dilemma between good and implementable appears. Hence, I argue that in the end, the PPOPPY is packed with power relations that end up producing two different perceptions about the same process. The youth representatives believe that during the PPOPPY policymakers' interests were prioritised and the process itself and the participants were instrumentalised. For its part, the official discourse reports that a good participatory process has been implemented.

In conclusion, I presented that the power relations embedded in the PPOPPY are unavoidable and in that sense, it is naïve to approach the participatory process from an effectiveness perspective. I call for an analysis of the PPOPPY that "ties together different things, actors, dimensions, dynamics, or forces. That emphasises relationships, networks, friction, interaction, negotiation, and power relations" (Huijsmans 2016: 4). In other words, I suggest a relational analysis of participation. In the next chapters, I use Foucault's governmentality as a relational approach to power relations embedded in the PPOPPY.

Chapter 3 Educating the youth: participation as a 'technology of citizenship'

"It is fundamental to re-think how we educate youth so that they can become real participants in these dialogues" -Youth representative

In the previous chapter, I emphasised the need for a relational analysis when studying youth participation. Chapter two itself displays a relational understanding of the PPOPPY. Once again, when I call for relational thinking in the comprehension of participatory processes, I propose to focus on the dynamic dilemmas and conflicts intertwined in these scenarios (White 1996: 6). Additionaly, I discuss that the power relations embedded in the PPOPPY are an essential dynamic of this process. These power relations are evident when adults' rationalities are prioritised. In this chapter, I discuss an approach to understand how power relations operate within the PPOPPY. To achieve this, I utilise Foucault's (1991) governmentality as a relational perspective for understanding the power relations embedded in the PPOPPY. In particular, following Bessant (2003), I present the idea that the PPOPPY has increased the state's management of young people's lives.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first part focuses on presenting a brief explanation of Foucault's (1991) governmentality and its contributions to an alternative understanding of participatory processes. Secondly, I discuss the role of the PPOPPY as a tool that increases the state's control of the youth. Finally, in the third section, I problematize some of the alternative discourses about participation and argue that, from a relational analysis, participatory exercises should be addressed beyond the static dualistic perspective of structure-agency (Huijsmans 2016: 4).

3.1 Governmentality: an approach to power relations

Governmentality is a framework for studying the power relations that take place in a particular context. In this section, I will present Foucault's (1991) governmentality theory, the concepts of rationalities and techniques and the subsequent applications in participatory contexts. To conclude, I argue that the use of this framework is relevant for analysing the power relations involved in the PPOPPY.

During his career, Michel Foucault was interested in, among other topics, understanding the way in which power is produced and reproduced. Following Mills (2003: 35), Foucault argues that power is more a strategy than a possession. In other words, power should not be understood as a 'thing' that someone has, but as "something which someone does or performs in a particular context" (Mills 2003: 35). Following this argumentation, in the 1970's, during his Security, Territory and Population course, Foucault introduced the concept of government to explain how power is executed (Rose et al. 2006: 83). According to Foucault (1997:81), the government relates to a vast set of processes and tools that direct human behaviour. He conceived the notion of government beyond the classical state comprehension (though he also was interested in how states execute their government). At its core, he introduced the analysis of the "government of children, government of souls and consciences, government of a household, of a state, or of oneself" (Foucault 1997: 81).

Based on this idea of government, Foucault (1991: 102) calls for the analysis of "the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which

has as its target population". As a result, he decided to refer to this theoretical approach as governmentality. In other words, following Wells (2014: 342), governmentality calls for the study of governments' logics, dispositions and practices to analyse the way governments work. At its essence, governmentality problematizes the practice of governing the conduct of conduct (McKee 2009: 469) by building a set of rationalities and techniques that reproduce power (Dean 2010: 38). In short, governmentality focuses on (1) the space of thought in which particular problems are identified, represented and addressed (rationalities) by (2) the diverse and contextual set of tools for managing population (techniques) that (3) attempt to lead human behaviour towards a specific end (Donzelot, in Rose et al. 2006: 88). Hence, the government can be seen as a producer of problems for which it has already built the resources to solve and, in consequence, directs the population in a desirable way.

Rose et al. (2006: 94, 100) observe that governmentality has spread and hybridised within multiple disciplines as a useful framework. For instance, the concept of rationalities and techniques has been used by scholars like Barbara Cruikshank (1999) to reflect on the relationship between subjectivity, citizenship and power. In her findings, she presents the concept of technology of citizenship to refer to the strategies for managing people whose problematics need to be addressed by the state (Cruikshank 1999). Following this perspective, Bessant (2003: 88) has argued that participation could be considered as a technology of citizenship that "has the effect of increasing state-sponsored regulation of young people's life". Hence, Bessant's (2003) governmental approach calls for understanding youth participation as an instrument for governing and monitoring the youth.

According to Rose (1990), young people have been intensively governed by the state, asserting that perhaps, it is the most controlled section of the population. They have been managed in different ways and at different times with regards to "their health, welfare and rearing [which] have been linked in thought and practice to the destiny of the nation and the responsibilities of the state" (Rose 1990: 124). Regarding this idea, Bessant (2003: 87) argues that participation serves these controlling interests by masking the domination of governments among the youth by enhancing their democratic participation. She points out that governments have designed participatory processes to extend management among youth rather than to bring solutions to their problems (Bessant 2003: 88).

As mentioned earlier, from a governmentality framework, the way in which this control is implemented is linked to rationalities and technologies. In the case of the PPOPPY, I argue that policymakers' rationalities and technologies work as governmental control with the effects of the participatory processes reproducing unequal power relations (Ansell 2017: 225) In the next section, I engage with the design and practice of the PPOPPY for analysing the power relations embedded in it.

3.2 Governing the youth through the PPOPPY

In chapter 2, some of the representations that policymakers built about the youth were presented. I analysed the discourses that focus on the youth as becoming and as a vulnerable but problematic population. In this section, I argue that both these narratives about the youth feed into a bigger adult rationality. This rationality refers to the state and its particular ways in which policymaking is understood, that is, how it is modelled on the existing formal state practices and includes knowledge of key frameworks, organisational structures, laws, legal vocabulary, etc.

Based on this rationality, the youth's lack of knowledge becomes a problem and the conceived solution is one of training the youth in the state's particular understanding about citizenship. At its core, this rationality presents the youth as a population that needs training in the state's specific conception of policymaking to realise the stated objective of involving

youth in the making of policies affecting them. As governing rationality, it is problematic that the focus is placed on the youth and their lack of skills rather than on the state's adult-centric methods.

First, I argue that the state's idea of how policymaking should work is a rationality since the youth's lack of knowledge appears as a problem that affects the quality of the process. Policymakers believe that youth should be educated in the state's structure and processes as a way of improving the quality of participation during the PPOPPY. As one of them pointed out *"The problem with the youth representatives is their lack of expertise in policy formulation processes. Young people should be trained in how to build relationships and negotiate with the institutions. Otherwise, some policy-makers won't look at them as valid counterparts"*. This perspective is common among policymakers and reproduces the idea that the youth who are going to participate in the process (dialogues and meetings) should be trained to have the same level of knowledge that policymakers do, only then, will the quality of the discussion increase. The assumption is that someone without this training will hinder the discussion within the PPOPPY. Hence, the deficit is firmly placed in the youth and not on the policymakers since the corrective actions are aimed to enhance youth skills and not to change policymakers' perception about youth representatives.

Secondly, it also becomes a rationality when youth representatives identify it. As one of them mentioned, *"It is necessary to educate the youth in the topics we are going to discuss"* or as a result, *"the government will continue to invite to the dialogues the youth that does not know the regulations nor the juridical framework on youth"*. This concern speaks directly to the idea that to have quality in participation, people involved in the PPOPPY should be trained in the topics being addressed. Nevertheless, some of the representatives problematize this rationality *"If you do not follow the times and the specific procedures stated in the law, it is likely that your observations will not be taken into account"*. Others had partially internalised it, as witnessed when a young female representative pointed out *"we need to go to schools and teach there how to relate with the state, all these procedures, the existence of these policies, otherwise they won't be responsible citizens, and rights won't be guaranteed"*. It seems that Bogota's government has mastered to governing the conduct of conduct. In other words, the local state is guiding the youth to act the way they determine. As a result, youth representatives not only became more aware of the procedures, but also some of them start to believe in these procedures and come to reproduce them through their own free will. They have internalised, to some degree, the state's discourse about how policymaking processes should work. They believe that to relate to the state they should follow some specific procedures. They have also recognised the kind of citizen that the state wants them to be. A citizen that knows which procedures and formats to fulfil to achieve their rights. In other words, they have identified the techniques that reproduce this rationality.

The legal constitution of the LPY can be considered as one of these techniques. They were formally constituted in 2016 and as a policymaker from the National Office of Youth (Youth Colombia, hereafter YC) observed, it means that the state recognised them as *"organised spaces that represent the diversity of youth organisations around the country"*. In the case of Bogota, these platforms were accepted by the SDIS as valid interlocutors in the monitoring committee. As an SDIS policymaker highlight *"We voluntarily accept the platforms as valid interlocutors, since the youth councils haven't been elected in 4 years, we decided to give the platforms that role"*[2]. With this recognition, the LPY (at a local level) and the DPY (at the city level) have increased their

---

[2] The youth councils are a representative democratic organ in which their members are elected by a secret vote system in all of the localities. However, in recent years, due to unknown reasons, the elections haven't been called. Therefore, there are no individuals as youth representatives in this organ. As a consequence, the platforms, as a youth organisations conglomeration, are presented as the substitute institution of the councils.

activity during the PPOPPY. Indeed, the LPY have been monitoring the implementation of these dialogues.

In the first place, I argue that the procedures implemented during the constitution of the LPY illustrate the operation of this rationality. Youth representatives have expressed their discontent with the way the platforms were legally established. They discussed that the platforms were built months before December 2016. However, before the PPOPPY started, the SDIS and the Ombudsperson office of Bogota overturned their constitution. In YC policymaker's opinion "*the platforms did not have the rigour they were supposed to have; the election process was not as established in the law and several formats were not completed*". The institutions accepted that the process had to start again with their facilitation. In this new process, the 1622 statute led to the implementation of the LPY constitution. The meetings were arranged based on a specific time frame and the representatives were elected by one vote per registered organisation after they signed the corresponding minutes. The state considered the platforms as valid interlocutors only after these procedures were fulfilled. Additionally, the institutions also guided the establishment of the DPY and the selection process of the representatives participating in the monitoring committee. Thus, I argue that the idea of highly technical and formal decision-making processes (by the one organisation one vote system) and the legal recognition of the platform, operates as rationalities and are reproduced through the bureaucratic techniques embedded in these processes. As one of the youth representatives mentioned, "*the constitution meetings were highly complex, there were several formats to sign and the methodology was inflexible*". When I visited the ombudsperson office, I got to see a bulky folder with all the paperwork of these meetings.

Secondly, following Rose et al. (2006), I argue that rationalities become tangible when techniques to address the problems are produced. I consider that the 'training component' of the participatory scheme of the PPOPPY also operates as a technique that reproduces the state's rationality of how policymaking should work. The IDPAC office introduced this component with the aim of "building discussion panels that will strengthen youth capabilities for the participation of the youth during phase 3" (Secretaría de Interación Social 2018: 191). At its core, the institutions guide these panels to address questions like: what is the PPY? Why is a PPY important? What is citizen participation and how is it working in the PPOPPY? And what are the spaces, instances and mechanisms involved in participation? As a result, policymakers and youth representatives have presented these panels as a successful strategy since "*it helped to understand the components of the PPY and what are the roles of each of the stakeholders*", one of the youth representatives highlighted.

Following Bessant's perspective on youth participation, I argue that organised and educated participation within the PPOPPY is operating as a "remedial or preventive action by encouraging young people to 're-connect' or become more "integrated into society" by acknowledging the 'standard' procedures (2003: 89). Relatedly, it could be conceived as a tool for maintaining the status quo (Leal 2007:543), or in White's (1996: 7) words, an "incorporation, rather than exclusion is the best form of control". As a consequence, the PPOPPY could be seen as a strategy for preventing other ways of citizen interaction with the state beyond formal ones. As one Professor[3] mentioned during his interview "*policymakers have seen what the youth can do, remember the 2011 marches against the Law of Education[4]? I think that they try to involve youth in this process to decrease the chances that something like that can happen again. I believe they are teaching the people to use the channels they prefer*". At its core, this quote reflects on the effects that this call for training could produce. He considers that from the state's perspective it will

---

[3] This professor works at the National University of the country. He has participated in the monitoring committee as advisor.

[4] A youth movement marched against the new education Law proposed in 2011. As a result of their peaceful actions, the law was withdrawn.

decrease the risk of 'inconvenient' mobilisations and contribute to building 'effective' channels of interaction. Furthermore, I argue that other unexpected effects have also been produced.

In the first case, one female representative claims that there is a gender gap in the number of women in representative spaces. She observes that "*even when the gender gap in participation within the dialogues is not big, we are like three women out of 19 representatives*". In her opinion, this results from the convergence of two issues. Firstly, the many challenges women have to face in a patriarchal society that are reproduced in the requirements and procedures of the PPOPPY. She presented how she had to take care of her children, her younger siblings and the house, whilst being a representative, knowing she had to go to meetings, guide the procedures of her LPY toward the state and monitor the activities the LPY is promoting. In summary, I think that the access of women to representative positions is limited due to the clash between the representation duties and 'female responsibilities'. Hence, the design of the PPOPPY contributes to reproduce the gender gap in power political positions and does not problematize the role of young women in Bogota's society.

Secondly, in light of Foucault's governmentality, I argue that the youth are becoming more 'bureaucratic' and 'technocratic' due to the government and the PPOPPY. As the youth representatives expressed, and the institutions accepted, they have got to know the procedures and law regulations to make their voices heard. In that sense, the participatory process has been working as a technology of citizenship (Cruikshank 1999). As claimed earlier, the PPOPPY has been converting the youth into 'state-believers' with the purpose of guaranteeing a smooth transition into adulthood. It has involved the youth representatives in what could be called the adult world by excellence: the state. They might not trust Peñalosa's government, but they believe in the role of the state. As a result, many of the participants of the platforms conceive these spaces as springboards for becoming part in the political arena of the city.

In conclusion, the PPOPPY could be approached from Bessant's (2003) and Leal's (2007) perspective of a technology that directs the youth towards a major rationality: introducing the youth into the state's logic. However, I argue that from a relational perspective the PPOPPY should not be approached only as a dominating strategy. It is necessary to focus also on youth agency and how it dialogues with this technology to build a holistic understanding of this participatory process.

3.3 Beyond the domination discourse: a relational analysis

In this chapter, I present Foucault's (1991) governmentality as a framework to approach power relations. I follow Leal (2007) and Bessant's (2003) implementation of Foucault's framework to discuss how the current government of the city is using the PPOPPY, consciously or unconsciously, to extend management of the youth by the state. Particularly, I argued that this participatory process is reproducing the state's rationality about how citizens should interact with the state. This rationality is reproduced through the daily production and implementation of state procedures. In this case, I present the procedures involved in the constitution of the youth platforms and the implementation of the 'training component' as techniques of government. I illustrate how youth representatives appropriated the rationality in their daily discourses and problematized the consequences in their daily lives. The gender gap in representative positions and the bureaucratisation and technocratisation of the representatives are mentioned as short-term implications. In the long term, massive mobilisations as alternative citizenship expressions could decrease. In that sense, I argue that the PPOPPY is challenging the youth. In other words, youth are being made and broken by PPOPPY.

I do not pretend to demonise the PPOPPY. Far from that, I believe that analysing the domination practices embedded in the power relations of the PPOPPY are fundamental for building the relationality of this process. I argue that Leal (2007) and Bessant's (2003) explanation contributes to that understanding. Yet, it is not the only one. I argue that these governmental approaches to participatory processes leave behind youth agency by prioritising the structural side of the coin. Therefore, I emphasise the importance of a relational understanding of the PPOPPY that moves beyond structure-agency as a static dualism (Escobar 2018: 30) and integrates domination analysis with others. I am not problematizing governmentality as an approach. On the contrary, I believe that a governmental approach allows to analyse both sides of the coin.

In the next chapter, I move forward from the sociological problem that prioritises either agency or structure. I argue the analysis of the PPOPPY should also focus on youth agency as a power manifestation. In other words, I present a relational analysis that conceives the PPOPPY as a space that makes and breaks the youth but at the same time is made and broken by them. (Honwana and DeBoek 2005).

Chapter 4 Youth agency: building a relational analysis of participation

"This government has regulated and also has helped us, however, the transformation is in our hands"
-Youth representative

In the previous chapter, I proposed governmentality framework as a relational approach to the power relations embedded in participatory processes. Furthermore, I introduced some governmental approaches that prioritise the structural component of power. From that perspective, participation emerges as a technology of citizenship that manages youth conduct towards the state's rationalities. I presented how this argumentation contributes to understanding some of the dynamics involved in the PPOPPY. Indeed, I discussed how this participatory process is reproducing state's rationality regarding policymaking by acknowledging some short-term and long-term implications. Nevertheless, based on my fieldwork, I found it extensively problematic to focus only on the domination practices involved in power relations. To build a relational analysis of participation, I argue that it is necessary to overcome the inappropriate dualism between agency and structure (Bagguley 2003: 136) by conceiving them as intertwined within social life (Giddens 1979: 69).

In this chapter, I present youth agency as an essential piece of the power relations puzzle embedded in the PPOPPY. At its core, I argue that analysing how the youth execute their agency contributes to building a relational understanding of the PPOPPY. One that does not prioritise either structure or agency discourses but builds a holistic bricolage of the participatory process. Therefore, I divide this chapter into four sections. In the first part I build on the concept of relationality, following Foucault's power definition, I present some sociological approaches that move forward from the dichotomy between agency and structure. Secondly, I analyse youth agency from policymakers' and youth representatives' perspectives to present other power strategies reproduced within the process. In the third section, I present the relational analysis of the PPOPPY and finally, I summarise the main topics of each section.

4.1 Fostering relationality: defying the static dichotomy

During the interviews, as presented in the head quote, youth representatives highlight that they conceived themselves as a transformative force. Representatives recognise that, to some extent, the PPOPPY is expanding the management of the state over them. They are aware of and acknowledge some of the practices and discourses used to implement that control. Nevertheless, many of them believe they have the power of producing social transformations even when they are being governed.

Governmentality has helped to understand the way power is reproduced within the PPOPPY. Even when some governmental approaches decide to focus only on the structural representation of this reality, the premises and methods are still useful. Therefore, when I refer to power, I continue focusing on it as a strategy (Mills 2003). Inspired by Gaventa's (2006) work, I conceive individuals' power as a strategy used to act and mobilise their issues and make them visible in the public agenda (Gaventa 2006: 24). Furthermore, I argue that power is a relational concept (Giddens 1979: 92) that involves a transformative capacity such as the one produced by structures. In this sense, "power is intrinsically related to human agency" (Giddens 1979: 92).

Relatedly, Bourdieu's (1998) notion of 'social field' might help to continue building a relational comprehension. He argues that society is the conjunction of multiple social fields in which different forces come together. That is, a space in which different social agents (with various capitals) are uninterruptedly struggling. At its core, Bourdieu (1977: 83) presents the existence of schemes that guide humans' perceptions and actions (habitus). He argues that the habitus reproduces the social structures embedded in the field but at the same time is shaping and transforming the field itself. In that sense, actors could be considered as agents that reproduce or transform social systems (Giddens 1984: 171). From these perspectives, I highlight the relation they have built between structure and agency. Conceiving agency as the power that actors have to reproduce or transform the current system is fundamental to understanding that structure and agency are not violently neutralising each other, but, they are dialoguing through different manifestations of human power. As Browne (2017: 66) presents "the transformative potential of agency persists no matter how much agency is circumscribed". In the end, governments do not completely "achieve what they seek" (Li 2007: 18).

In participatory scenarios, Latour (2005: 44-45) has observed how action is not always controlled by one single force but is taken by some actors and often shared with the collective. In other words, following Bagguley (2003:137), I argue that it is necessary to understand the role of the youth representatives as agents that sustain some control over the PPOPPY. I argue that youth should not be considered as a powerless actor even when they are placed in a subordinate position during the PPOPPY. I contend that youth representatives have built some autonomy whilst respecting policymakers and the PPOPPY itself. Consequently, an analysis of the power relations embedded in the PPOPPY should also include how youth agency operates.

Once again, I do not aim to pick sides between the domination or the emancipatory approaches to PPOPPY. I believe that both narratives occur during the participatory process. There is no need to choose one, it is only necessary to acknowledge and analyse both. As such, this is, in essence, a relational analysis of the PPOPPY, one that moves from the static dichotomy between structural and action approaches in social theory (Browne 2017: 84) and focuses on bringing together the diversity of actors, dimensions, dynamics and forces. Therefore, I examine the different ways in which youth agency has been executed.

4.2. "*We are more than voices*": youth strategies within the PPOPPY

During the interviews, I asked whether or not they believed the youth had agency during the process and why they thought so. Neither the policymakers nor the representatives denied youth agency. This speaks directly to Huijsmans (2016: 1) perspective in which youth agency has never been questioned in development studies. However, each of the interviewees gave different reasons and examples to illustrate how this agency was executed. At its base, there is no uniformity when it comes to defining youth agency. I argue that the diversity of perspectives has permeated the power relations involved in this process and thus forms the bricolage of the PPOPPY's.

Policymakers' perspectives on youth agency fall under the same umbrella, as an SDIS officer highlights *"youth representatives have had the chance to discuss and criticise each of the topics and documents presented during the monitoring committee"* in fact, *"we changed the methodology of the dialogues based on youth observations"* he continued. Additionally, an IDPAC policymaker's idea of what participation means *"since they took part in the decision-making of the process, I believe they have agency"*. These sentiments indicate that policymakers operationalise youth agency regarding decision-

making and voice (Kabeer 1999: 438). However, as mentioned in Chapters two and three, youth representatives believe that the process of decision-making has instrumentalised them. Representatives see their role as being more than just their voice. They believe that their agency during the process goes beyond the policymakers' perspective.

Following Jeffrey (2012: 248), young people's agency during the PPOPPY took multiple forms that were not always aligned with the mainstream idea of open resistance agency. To tie together the multiple interpretations mentioned by the youth I use Kabeer's (1999:438) definition of agency as a relational perspective:

> "Agency is about more than observable action; it also encompasses the meaning, motivation and purpose which individuals bring to their activity, their sense of agency, or `the power within'. While agency tends to be operationalized as `decision-making' in the social science literature, it can take a number of other forms. It can take the form of bargaining and negotiation, deception and manipulation, subversion and resistance as well as more intangible, cognitive processes of reflection and analysis. It can be exercised by individuals as well as by collectives"

From this definition, I draw out the idea that agency is not just one thing executed by someone, but different strategies used by collectives and individuals. Hence, I argue that the reflexive component mentioned by Kabeer, is one of the most potent strategies used by the youth during the PPOPPY. It contributed to produce some material changes, but also triggered personal transformations.

When I was in the house upon the hill that operates as one of the platform's NGO bases, the youth representative I interviewed mentioned that since they feel that the government is trying to control them, they started to build their own processes. He mentioned that *"we have created strategies to make our organisation sustainable, beyond government's control"*. In their case, he referred to a small enterprise that produces and sells a 'traditional' low-cost beverage (chicha), the proceeds of which was allowing them to implement social programs within their communities. Particularly, he expressed that the reading activities they were implementing with the young people of the locality, as well as the rent of the house, were funded with the money earned from selling this product. He highlighted that being a 'legally' constituted platform helped them to enhance the business by building relations with other actors beyond the state. In this case, I argue that by reflecting on what being a platform meant to the state, they produced material transformations in their communities. In other words, agency was manifested when these young people used the platform not to fulfil state's initial idea of what it should do, but, by transforming this power into an alternative use pursuing a different outcome (Mosse 2004: 645).

In another case, one youth representative mentioned that his group used the figure of the platform to introduce the agenda of the organisation in the PPOPPY and the PPY. *"We saw the participatory process of the public policy of youth as a way of introducing the organisation's agenda into the public one"* he argued. In this case, I argue that as a collective, this platform reflected on the role they wanted to adopt during the process. They could have adopted a resistant role like other platforms did. However, as Giddens (1974:87) argues, they exercised their agency by considering the risks involved in following what the state was promoting and then, by deciding to accept it as a price to be paid for inserting their agenda into the process. Furthermore, this representative also presented the youth mobilisations of 2011 as another bargaining strategy. *"I have repeated many times, that if this government is not going to work with our visions, then we should mobilise ourselves against them"*. This quote also demonstrates that mobilisations have been part of their reflections. Even when the state is trying to 'educate' them in more 'efficient' citizenship interaction tools, they do not dismiss their resistance strategies. Relatedly, another representative described how in several DPY meetings they have considered leaving the table of the monitoring committee when policymakers do not show interest

in adopting their suggestions. For instance, he explained how some organisations decided to show their frustration to the institutions by not showing up for the LPY elections. He argued that since the state did not accept the first elections, these organisations wanted to execute their agency by neglecting the 'legal' elections.

On the other hand, agency should also be addressed from a personal transformation perspective. At least, two representatives mentioned how their experience in the PPOPPY triggered some transformations. Youth representatives described one of their female colleagues on the monitoring committee as one case of a significant transformation. She recognised that before becoming a leader, she used to feel insecure about herself among other things. However, once she started the engagement with youth organisations, she describes that she became more aware of her capabilities and qualities. She became a visible youth leader in her locality. Now that she is aware of what she can achieve, she is running in the elections for the cultural public council of the city. From this, it is evident that she genuinely believes that by participating in the LPY processes and later on, in the PPOPPY, that she changed the perception about herself and that in itself becomes an expression of her agency. Furthermore, another young male representative also described his process. *"I realised that the state only takes you seriously when you participate on their terms. I believe they are in many cases negligent. Therefore, I started to read about law and state procedures and present my claims in that way. After that, they had to accept my petitions and I start to make our interests happen".* At its core, this reflection portrays how state's rationalities can also be enabling and produce transformations in personal and collective realities (Giddens 1979: 69).

Youth representatives have portrayed their power strategies as positive. However, Jeffrey (2012: 249) observes how young people can also get engaged in "reactionary strategies that sustain and replenish established power structures". For instance, the majority of the representatives are close to the age where they would be considered as adults. Most of them are getting closer to the 28-year limit. However, they have been leading their organisation's processes for more than five years[5] in some cases. Recently, they have started to realise that by keeping control of their organisations they are reproducing what one of them called "*our politicians' practices*". In other words, they are replicating the unequal power relations that are embedded and reproduced in the state's organisational structures. That is, specifically, by being in the same position for that many years they have developed the visibility of the position and their opinions tend to be implemented. However, other members in their organisations have not been able to engage with the PPOPPY in the same ways that they do. As one of the representatives mentioned "*We need to strengthen new leaderships. In the end, we are building a PPY that will not rule us. It will rule the next generation of the youth".*

4.3 Dialoguing through the PPOPPY

I have presented the two sides of the coin. From the conjunction of a governmentality framework and a qualitative research approach, I have shown the multiple ways in which power- as a strategy- has operated within the PPOPPY. One side of the coin tells the story of the state's domination through the government of the PPOPPY. In this chapter, I have presented the other side, youth agency as another power manifestation. I argue that by acknowledging these two sides and telling the story from both narratives, a contribution is made to the building a relational analysis of the PPOPPY.

I aim to build this relationality by presenting the dialogue of these two forces within this participatory process. Huijsmans (2016: 6) points outs that young people are a segment of

---

[5] The LPY exists only since 2016. However, these organisations have been working in their localities for longer time.

the population that experiences most of the conflicts and contradictions embedded in the social realities they experience. On the one hand, adult-centric representations about the youth are guiding the majority of the patterns in which they should interact. In the case of the PPOPPY, rationalities that portray youth at risk and as a becoming population have ruled the majority of the process. Hence, these rationalities are reproduced by a dominant idea of how policymaking should be done. I have discussed how youth representatives have experienced their beings through the reproduction of these patterns. I argue that the PPOPPY is making and breaking them through the state's management at every stage of this participatory process. For instance, having to learn about the legal procedures in decision-making, is one way in which state management manifests.

On the other hand, as Huijsmans (2016: 7) also observes, young people respond with an intrinsic search for balance. They have recognised the unequal power relations that surround them. Thus, they have produced multiple and diverse strategies to break and make the PPOPPY itself. Youth representatives have transformed the PPOPPY. In that sense, they have also transformed the way in which policymakers approach them. In a policymaker's words, *"The SDIS have yielded during the process. Certain things, like the indicators generation, seemed to be impossible to be shared with the youth. Now, they have accepted to open those spaces of discussion"*.

Building a relational analysis of the PPOPPY involves not only presenting both narratives but also, analysing how they dialogue. **According to the findings of this study the youth are breaking and making the PPOPPY, and in that sense, they are challenging it. In the same vein, youth are made and broken by the PPOPPY. Therefore, the PPOPPY is also challenging the youth.**

4.4 Final remarks: An interlinked challenge

In this chapter, I have discussed some approaches to the structure-agency dichotomy that contributes to building a relational analysis of the PPOPPY. Specifically, I presented youth agency as a concept that dialogues with the domination approach about participation. In the case of the PPOPPY, I argue that analysing the way young people execute their agency contributes to building a relational analysis of this process.

In the first place, I presented many strategies developed by the youth during the participatory process. These strategies should be conceived as the multiple ways in which youth execute their agency. Following Kabeer (1999), I demonstrated that youth agency involves not only material transformations but also reflection processes and personal transformations. The different reflections that youth build about their experience within the PPOPPY were presented. Additionally, I discussed some effects of these reflections and strategies.

Once again, I presented both of the narratives about the PPOPPY. I argued that acknowledging this analysis contributes to a relational analysis of this participatory process. Furthermore, I discussed how the youth are making and breaking the PPOPPY but at the same time is made and broken by it.

In conclusion, I argue that when youth executes their agency in the multiple ways described, they are transforming the reality of the PPOPPY and policymakers' rationalities. Hence, they are challenging the way in which this participatory process is implemented. In the same vein, I also discuss that the PPOPPY is breaking and making the youth through the reproduction of it governmental strategies. Therefore, this participatory process is also challenging the youth's being.

Chapter 5 The relational analysis of the Participatory Process of the Public Policy of Youth

Participation has become a desired practice in policymaking processes. From international development organisations to national and local government's it has been promoted as the most effective method for building 'good' policies. In Bogota, a new Public Policy of Youth (PPY) is being formulated. Thus, the city government has designed a meticulous participatory process that aims to be inclusive of youth perspectives. In the last three years, the local institutions have implemented two of the four phases of the Participatory Process of the Public Policy of Youth. The institutions present a succesful story of the participatory process. They refer to the numbers of the process (more than 8000 young people in more than 500 dialogues) as an indicator of effective participation. However, participation should be analysed beyond indicators and numbers. In answering the main research question that has driven this research paper I argue that building a relational analysis is presenting the multiplicity of dilemmas, discourses, representations, practices and power relations embedded in the PPOPPY. Thus, I present some of the findings of this research, by creating a dialogue between the theory and the evidence found during the fieldwork.

The District Secretariat for Social Integration and the District Institute for Participation and Collective Action were the offices in charge of the process. I found that they built a participatory environment based on three main objectives, (1) massive attendance that represents the heterogeneity of youth perspectives in the decision-making process, (2) an effective tool to build a good Public Policy of Youth and (3) a safe space in which the different actors can trust each other. However, I analyse the ideas embedded in these goals and present what I have called the 'dilemma of participation'. That is, the clash between the notion of good participation and the requirements for an implementable one. I argue that the objective of building a space where lots of youth participate and take part in the decision-making is in itself a paradox. I observed that, in some cases, youth participation has been instrumentalised by focusing on the quantity of the participants rather than on the quality of the dialogues. Additionally, I found that in the decision-making process only three young people participate so the PPY can be released sooner. On the one hand, I argue that during the process, policymakers' see the PPOPPY as a means to the PPY. Hence, this relation is based on the adult's representations about the youth that portray them as a population at risk and continues reproducing the imagery of youth as a 'becoming'. That is, focusing on the potentialities and problems of the current youth and trying to solve them before they become adults. On the other hand, youth representatives feel the PPOPPY is a space where their 'beings' are being confronted. Finally, I discussed these dynamics and showed how they produce and reproduce mistrust. I argue that adults' discourses and practices are prioritised during the PPOPPY. Thus, I argue that the analysis of this process should focus on the power relations involved in the process, and go beyond a discussion of the effectiveness indicators.

Governmentality as a framework leads to a better analysis of the PPOPPY. I stand on Foucault's definition of power as a strategy to examine the power relations embedded in the PPOPPY. I found that the state's particular way in which policymaking is understood, its procedures and discourses, is the main rationality that governs the youth during the PPOPPY. Bogota's state has produced different legal procedures and organisational structures to govern youth conduct. For instance, I establish that the state's idea of how policymaking should operate was reproduced through the Youth Platforms (LPY and DPY) and the training component of the participatory process. As a result, I argue that the PPOPPY is a state's technique of domination over the youth. Which is demonstrated by the

following findings: (1) It is perceived as a strategy to control the different ways of citizenship engagement not regularised by the state, (2) it produces a gender gap in youth representative positions and (3) it builds a more technocratic and bureaucratic youth. Since this rationality is conducting youth conduct, **I argue that the PPOPPY is challenging the youth representatives since is reshaping them.** However, I argue that focusing only on the domination side of the process renders invisible youth agency within the PPOPPY. Hence, I call for an analysis of youth agency to build a relational bricolage of the PPOPPY.

Agency is usually operationalised regarding decision-making and voice. However, I present Kabeer's definition of agency as a holistic conceptualisation. Agency is defined as individual and collective, reflexive, and cognitive processes as well as bargain and resistance practices. In the case of the PPOPPY, I analysed the multiple strategies in which youth representatives executed their agency, through the reflexive practices that transformed them personally and that reshaped the PPOPPY itself. I found that (1) they used the spaces of the PPOPPY to introduce their agendas, (2) they used the state's techniques like the LPY to strengthen their capacity and organisational ideas by creating channels with other actors, (3) they expressed they have enhanced their personal skills through consciously using state's techniques against the government. Hence, I argue that focusing on this other side of the participatory process allows us to present that the **Youth are challenging the design and practice of the PPOPPY since they are reshaping it too**.

I have shown the different representations, discourses, practices, tensions and power relations embedded in the PPOPPY. I discuss the approaches that look at the structural component of youth participation (Bessant 2003; Leal 2007) and call for a relational analysis of the PPOPPY (Huijsmans 2016). Following relational perspectives about the structure-agency binary (Giddens 1979; Bourdieu 1977; Latour 2005), I have built the relationality of the PPOPPY by presenting these different dynamics without prioritising one over the other. I argue that a relational analysis of youth participation is the one that examines how dominance practices are challenging participants and vice versa. I invite researches focusing on youth participation to look at this development practice as a dynamic process that involves discourses that challenge domination patterns and at the same time, reproduces unequal power relations (White 1996). Only in that way, can the bricolage about youth participation in policy formulation processes be completed.

Appendices

Appendix A. Qualitative interviews guideline.

I. Personal level.

- What was your role during the participatory process?
- From your opinion, what does it mean to participate, specifically in this process?
- Why do you think that a participatory process is framed for this specific topic?
- Did you contribute to the formulation of the participatory process? How? Why?
- Could you tell me a significant personal anecdote related to your experiences in the participatory process? Why do you think it is significant?
- What do you think is the greatest result of this process? Why?
- While we have been rethinking about your experience in this process, can you tell me which emotions came to you? Why?

II. Institutional level

- What was the role of the institution in the process? How did you execute it? Why? Why did your institution take part in the participatory process?
- In which phase of the process did you get involved? Why?
- How do you think institutional participation should be understood in this participatory process?

III. Youth level.

- What do you think about youth engagement during this process? How would you describe it, from your experience?
- Why do you think that this participatory process was formulated?
- What do you think about the youth of Bogotá?
- How do you think the government should engage this youth?
- Describe the youth with three emotions, which one would you use? Why?
- Did this process change your vision of the youth? How and why?
- Do you believe that youth have agency during this process? How? Why?

I interviewed six youth. One of them participated in the dialogues as part of a youth organisation interested in political topics. The other five youth interviewees were representatives. Two of them take part of the monitoring committee. All of them were between 24 and 28 years. Furthermore, five of them were male and two of them were female. The group interview was conducted with two men and one women.

The map below presents the localities in which the six interviewees live. This is represented in the blue coloured localities. Locality number 20 is red coloured because is the only locality of the city without a representative.

I sent a 15 questions questionnaire using a digital platform to the 19 youth representatives. However, only eight of them answered my questions. Therefore, I was not able to create a characterisation of the representatives.

Finally, I do not give more information about who say what in order to guarantee anonymity. I believe pseudonyms can unveil representatives' identities for potential readers. However, the transcriptions of the interviews are available in case they are requested.
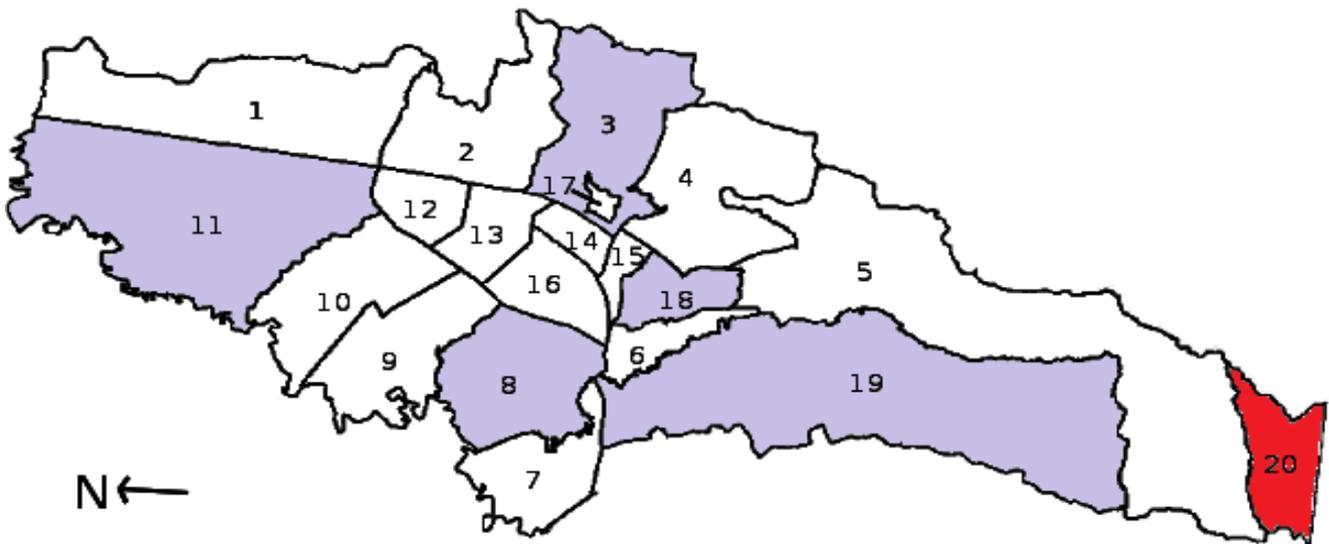
I also interviewed nine policymakers. Seven of them take part of the monitoring committee as well as one professor that was also interviewed. The two policymakers that don't attend the monitoring committee have participated during the process as advisors. These two people participated in the group interview.

The table below presents the offices in which the interviewees work and what are their objectives within Bogota's government.

Acronym	Name in spanish	Translation to english	Number of people interviewed	Description of their work.
SDIS	Secretaría Distrital de Integración Social	District Secretariat for Social Integration	1	Institution in charge of the formulation, implementation and monitoring of the policies targeting vulnerable population.
IDPAC	Instituto Distrital para la Participación y Acción Comunal	District Institute for Participation and Collective Action	1	Institution in charge of monitoring and implementing effective mechanisms for citizenship participation
No acronym	Personería Distrital de Bogotá	Ombudperson Office of Bogota	3	Institution in charge of supporting the constitution of the platforms of youth
No acronym	Veeduría Distrital de Bogotá	Overseeight office of Bogota	1	Institution in charge of monitoring programs with community participation
SDSCJ	Secretaría Distrital de Seguridad, Convivencia y Justicia	District Secretariat for Security, Convivence and Justice	1	Institution in charge of the formulation, implementation and monitoring policies focusing on security and justice problematics
YC	Dirección del Sistema Nacional de Juventudes, Colombia Joven	Youth Colombia National Office	1	National Institution in charge of monitoring and leading youth policies
IDIPRON	Instituto Distrital para la protección de la niñez y la juventud	District Institute for the Social Protection of Children and Youth	1	Institution in charge of the social protection of the most vulnerable children and youth of the city.

References

Adichie, CN. (2009) *The danger of a single story*. TedGlobal2009. Available at: https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story (accessed 6 September 2018).

Ansell, N. (2017) *Children, Youth and Development*. Second edition. Routledge perspectives on development. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Bagguley, P. (2003) Reflexivity Contra Structuration. *Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers canadiens de sociologie* 28(2): 133. Available at: https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/220545212?accountid=13598 (accessed 23 September 2018).

Berner, E. (2010) Participation: Between Tyranny and Emancipation. In: Gómez GM and Berner Erhard. (eds) *Participation for What: Social Change or Social Control?* The Hague: ISS/Erasmus University Rotterdam, pp. 13–24.

Bessant, J. (2003) Youth participation: a new mode of government. *Policy Studies* 24(2–3): 87–100. Available at: https://www-tandfonline-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/action/doSearch?AllField=youth+participation%3a+a+new+mode+of+government (accessed 15 October 2018).

Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge studies in social anthropology. Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1998) *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Brehm, J. and W. Rahn (1997) Individual-Level Evidence for the Causes and Consequences of Social Capital. *American Journal of Political Science* 41(3): 999. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2111684?origin=crossref (accessed 21 July 2018).

Browne, C. (2017) *Habermas and Giddens on Praxis and Modernity: A Constructive Comparison*. Anthem Press.

Caracol Radio (2009) Enrique Peñalosa, ex-alcalde de Bogotá recibe premio Gotemburgo. *Caracol Radio*, 24 November. Bogotá, Colombia. Available at: http://caracol.com.co/programa/2009/11/24/planeta_caracol/1259071380_914537.html (accessed 12 November 2018).

Carreira, V., J.R. Machado and L Vasconcelos (2016) Engaging Citizen Participation—A Result of Trusting Governmental Institutions and Politicians in the Portuguese Democracy. *Social Sciences* 5(3): 40. Available at: https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/E69BD924C8EB4E06PQ?accountid=13598 (accessed 10 December 2018).

Congreso de la República de Colombia (2013) *Estatuto de Ciudadanía Juvenil*. 1622. Available at: https://www.icbf.gov.co/cargues/avance/docs/ley_1622_2013.htm (accessed 10 June 2018).

Congreso de la República de Colombia (2015) *Ley de Participación Ciudadana*. 1757. Available at: https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=65335 (accessed 6 October 2018).

Creswell, J. (2007) *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. 2nd ed. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Cruikshank, B. (1999) *The Will to Empower: Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects*. Ithaca, United States: Cornell University Press.

Dean, M. (2010) *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*. 2nd ed. London: SAGE.

Denzin, N.K. and Y.S. Lincoln (2011) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

El Tiempo (1998) Peñalosa, Al borde del hueco. *El Tiempo*, 22 November. Bogotá, Colombia. Available at: http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-846605 (accessed 12 November 2018).

Escobar, A. (2018) *Designs for the Pluriverse*. New Ecologies for the Twenty-First Century. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Flick, U. (2009) *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. 4th ed. London: SAGE.

Foucault, M. (1991) Governmentality. In: Burchell G, Gordon C, and Miller P (eds) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Chigaco: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 87–104.

Foucault, M. (1997) On the Government of the Living. In: Singer P (ed.) *Michel Foucault: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-84*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 81–86.

Gallagher, M. (2008) 'Power is not an evil': rethinking power in participatory methods. *Children's Geographies* 6(2): 137–150. Available at: https://www-tandfonline-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/action/doSearch?AllField='power+is+not+an+evil'%3a+rethinking+power+in+participatory+methods (accessed 18 August 2018).

Gaventa, J. (2006) Finding the Spaces for Change: A Power Analysis. *IDS bulletin* 37(6): 23–33. Available at: https://onlinelibrary-wiley-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1759-5436.2006.tb00320.x (accessed 13 September 2018).

Giddens, A. (1979) *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. Contemporary social theory. London: Macmillan.

Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hansen, K.T. (2008) *Youth and the City in the Global South*. Tracking globalization. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Honwana, A. and F. De Boeck (2005) *Makers & Breakers: Children & Youth in Postcolonial Africa*. Oxford: James Currey.

Huijsmans, R. (2016) Generationing Development: an introduction. In: Huijsmans R (ed.) *Generationing Development: A Relational Approach to Children, Youth and Development*. Palgrave studies on children and development. London, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jeffrey, C. (2012) Geographies of children and youth II: Global youth agency. *Progress in Human Geography* 36(2): 'Geographies of Children and Youth II: Global Youth Agency'. Available at: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0309132510393316#articleCitationDownloadContainer (accessed 12 November 2018).

Jeffrey, C., P. Jeffery and R. Jeffery (2008) *Degrees Without Freedom? Education, Masculinities, and Unemployment in North India |*. California: Stanford University Press.

Johnson, L. (1993) *The Modern Girl Girlhood and Growing Up*. Buckingham; Open University Press.

Kabeer, N. (1999) Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment | Request PDF. *Development and Change*. 30(3): 435-464. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/227612461_Resources_Agency_Achievements_Reflections_on_the_Measurement_of_Women's_Empowerment (accessed 5 November 2018).

La Silla Vacia (2017) Luis Eduardo Garzón. *La Silla Vacia*, 12 June. Available at: https://lasillavacia.com/quienesquien/perfilquien/luis-eduardo-garzon (accessed 12 November 2018).

Latour, B. (2005) *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Clarendon lectures in management studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Laws, S., C Harper. And R. Marcus (2003) *Research for Development: A Practical Guide*. London; SAGE.

Leal, P.A. (2007) Participation: The Ascendancy of a Buzzword in the Neo-Liberal Era. *Development in Practice* 17(4/5): 539–548. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/25548251 (accessed 9 October 2018).

Li, T. (2007) *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Mckee, K. (2009) Post-Foucauldian governmentality: What does it offer critical social policy analysis? *Critical Social Policy* 29(3): 465–486. Available at: http://journals.sagepub.com.eur.idm.oclc.org/action/doSearch?field1=Title&text1=post-foucauldian+governmentality+what+does+it+offer+critical+social+policy+analysis&Ppub=&Ppub=&AfterYear=&BeforeYear=&access= (accessed 11 May 2018).

Mills, S. (2003) Power & Institutions. In: *Michel Foucault*. London: Routledge, pp. 33–52.

Mosse, D. (2004) Is Good Policy Un-implementable? Reflections on the Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice. *Development and Change* 35(4): 639–671. Available at: http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.467.1639&rep=rep1&type=pdf (accessed 8 December 2018).

Murphy, E.C. (2012) Problematizing Arab Youth: Generational Narratives of Systemic Failure. *Mediterranean Politics* 17(1): 5–22. Available at: https://www-tandfonline-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/action/doSearch?AllField=problematizing+arab+youth%3a+generational+narratives+of+systemic+failure (accessed 20 October 2018).

Rahnema, M. (2010) Participation. In: *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*. 2nd ed. London: Zed Books.

Rose, N., P. O'Malley and M. Valverde (2006) Governmentality. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 2: 83–104. Available at: https://www-annualreviews-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/doi/10.1146/annurev.lawsocsci.2.081805.105900 (accessed 22 October 2018).

Rose, N.S. (1990) *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*. London; Routledge.

Secretaría de Integración Social (2018) Agenda Pública "Horizonte de Sentido" Política de Juventud 2018 – 2030. Unpublished document. Bogotá, Colombia

Secretaría de Planeación Distrital (2017) Guía para la formulación e implementación de políticas públicas del Distrito. Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá. Available at: http://www.sdp.gov.co/transparencia/planeacion/politicas-lineamientos-y-manuales/guia-la-formulacion-de-politicas-publicas (accessed 23 October 2018).

Semana (2000) Peñalosa, disparado. *Peñalosa, disparado*, 14 February. Bogotá, Colombia. Available at: https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/penalosa-disparado/40955-3 (accessed 12 November 2018).

Semana (2001) Enrique Peñalosa Londoño (Alcalde de Bogotá). *Semana*, 1 January. Bogotá, Colombia. Available at: https://www.semana.com/especiales/articulo/enrique-penalosa-londono-alcalde-bogota/44571-3 (accessed 12 November 2018).

Semana (2015) La izquierda perdió a Bogotá en las elecciones 2015 ¿Por qué? *Semana*, 25 October. Bogotá, Colombia. Available at: https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/la-izquierda-perdio-bogota-en-las-elecciones-2015-por-que/447659-3 (accessed 12 November 2018).

St. Martin, K. and M. Hall-Arber (2008) Creating a Place for 'Community' in New England Fisheries. *Human Ecology Review* 15(2): 161–170. Available at: http://www.humanecologyreview.org/oldcontents.htm (accessed 25 August 2018).

Wells, K. (2014) Marching to be somebody: a governmentality analysis of online cadet recruitment. *Children's Geographies* 12(3): 339–353. Available at: https://www-tandfonline-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/action/doSearch?AllField=marching+to+be+somebody%3a+a+governmentality+analysis+of+online+cadet+recruitment (accessed 15 October 2018).

White, S. (1996) Depoliticising development: the uses and abuses of participation. *Development in Practice* 6(1): 6–15. Available at: https://www-jstor-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/stable/4029350?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents (accessed 29 July 2018).

World Bank (2006) *World Development Report 2007: Development and the Next Generation*. 30 September. The World Bank. Available at: http://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/book/10.1596/978-0-8213-6541-0 (accessed 6 November 2018).

Wyn, J. and R. White (1997) *Rethinking Youth*. London: SAGE.