Misrepresentation of the Dreams of Peace

Analysis of Community Participation in the Road Map of the Development Programme with a Territorial Approach (PDET) in Putumayo, Colombia

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Abstract. The Development Programs with a Territorial Approach (PDET) is the planning instrument that would allow the redistribution of rural property in Colombia to be provided with social goods and services. This chapter analyses the methodology of the Roadmap as the instrument that guides the execution of the PDET, based on its implementation in the Department of Putumayo. The conclusions show that the national government is misrepresenting the meaning of the Acuerdo Final de Paz (FPA) and the process of participation of rural communities in the formulation phase. In particular, the Roadmap methodology ignores the development vision elaborated by the communities and disarticulates the implementation of the other components of the Rural Reform, especially land access and use.

Keywords: Development Programs Territorial Approach · Participation · Roadmap

1 Introduction

According to the Acuerdo Final de Paz (FPA), the objective of the Development Programs with a Territorial Approach (PDET) is to achieve the structural transformation of the countryside, based on the active participation of those who live in the territories most affected by the armed conflict. Article 1.2.4 of the Agreement specifies that the active participation of the communities, together with the authorities of the territorial entities, is the basis of the PDETs.

However, the implementation of the PDETs has faced various challenges, including guaranteeing the effective participation of citizens throughout the policy cycle and coordination with the other instruments of the Integrated Rural Reform (RRI), such as the Multipurpose Cadastre, the Plans for the Social Ordering of Rural Property (POSPR), and the Participatory Environmental Zoning (ZAP), among others.

This chapter analyses the participatory methodology designed by the Roadmap, as a guide for the implementation of the PDETs, based on its implementation in the Department of Putumayo, Colombia.

It is hypothesised that the PDET implementation process, developed by the national government misrepresents the meaning of the PFA and the participatory process in the formulation phase. In particular, the Roadmap methodology ignores the development vision elaborated by the communities in the construction phase of the Regional Transformation Action Plans (PATR), and disarticulates the implementation of the other components of the Rural Reform, especially access to and use of land.

2   Theoretical Framework

Citizen participation is a central element of public policy, as citizen involvement and ownership of the objectives of institutional action are a guarantee for achieving policy objectives.

According to Guillen, A., Sáenz, K., Badii, M. and Castillo, J. [1], information, consultation and active participation increase trust in institutions:

> Public administration demonstrates openness, which makes it more trustworthy in the eyes of the citizen, the holder of sovereignty in a democratic regime. By building trust in public authorities and improving the quality of public policies, the strengthening of public institutions-citizen relations increases the legitimacy of government [1].

From the perspective of interpretive public policy analysis, Schneider, Ingram and DeLeon [2] recognise the role that public policy designs play on the extent of participation. According to the authors, "policy designs shape the experiences of target groups, send implicit messages about how important their issues are to government and whether their participation can be effective" [2].

Thus, the methodologies that guide the spaces for participation have an impact on the scope of collaboration and citizen involvement; hence, analysing the designs of public policy and, particularly, the methodological design for the implementation of the PDET becomes relevant, as it allows for the evaluation of the participation model pursued by the Agency for Territorial Renewal (ART) in the implementation of this mechanism [3, 4].

Archon Fung [5] proposes a classification according to the type of public spaces and degree of citizen involvement desired. For the author, there are four spaces for participation: firstly, the educational forum, whose objective is to generate the conditions for citizens to form and articulate their opinion on a public issue. The conditions for this type of space include: the inclusion of different actors/perspectives and the existence of guarantees for access to information.

The second type of participation space is the information panel, which seeks to improve the quality of citizens' opinions and adjust public policies to the preferences expressed. In addition to the above requirements, this type of space requires that citizens' opinions be taken into account in the adjustment of policies.

This type of space includes what Lora, Muñoz and Rodríguez [6] have considered as consultation and initiative scenarios, whereby communities give their opinions and these are considered as elements of judgement for decision-making by the public entity.

The third type of space is collaborative problem solving, which aims to find solutions between public officials and communities to a common problem. In this case, it is

considered that communities know their environment and can provide more precise elements of analysis to address problems. Such interaction creates the necessary conditions for accountability processes on the part of civil society.

This category is related to Lora, Muñoz and Rodríguez [6] proposition regarding the level of participation in oversight, understood as the capacity of civil society to oversee the actions of public institutions and officials.

Finally, participatory democratic governance spaces seek to involve the opinions and perspectives of communities in the definition of public agendas. To achieve this objective, organised communities are required to work hand in hand with public institutions to influence final decision-making. In this link, communities would have the capacity to manage and execute public actions.

Now, this classification of spaces for participation assumes the intention of public institutions to open the spaces of political decision-making to the citizenry. However, there is also the possibility that the intention to open spaces for participation is not honest; this is what Arnstein [6] would classify as the spectrum of non-participation, a concept that encompasses manipulation and decorative participation as forms of simulating participation.

Following this framework, the design of the HDR and its implementation are analysed, in order to assess the type of participatory space and the level of involvement desired by the institutions in charge of the implementation of the PDET.

2.1 Method

To carry out this study, a documentary review of various methodological and policy instruments designed by ART was carried out, including the Putumayo Regional Transformation Action Plans (PATR), the Roadmap and the Definir si Hoja de Ruta se escribirá en inglés o español. To corroborate and expand on the information, petition rights were sent to the entity [3, 4].

All this information was compared and contrasted with social organizations in the departments of Caquetá and Putumayo, within the framework of the organisational strengthening work of the Asociación Ambiente y Sociedad [3, 4]. Specifically, a workshop was held in the Department of Putumayo with 31 delegates from the Driving Group, who were given a survey on their knowledge of the Roadmap and discussed its scope, testing the theoretical framework (Table 1).

Table 1. Types of participation spaces

Participation requirements	Requirements applied to the design of participation spaces	Types of participation spaces	Desired participation.
There are no guarantees for access to information	Information on the methodological design and its results is not public or is difficult to access.	Participatory simulation	Non-participation
Consultation is not a benchmark for decision making	Citizens participate, but their intervention is not an element to be considered in the decision-making process of the public entity.		
Partial one-way information	Citizens are not aware of all the elements of the methodological design, but only those that the authority wishes to make known to them.		
Inclusion of different stakeholder perspectives	The methodological design contemplates the inclusion of different population groups in the participation scenarios.	Education Forum	Symbolic participation
Guarantees for access to information	There are full guarantees for easy and timely access to information.		
Inclusion of views in the adjustment of public policies	The methodological design contemplates the adjustment of decisions, based on the participation of the communities.	Information panel	
Accountability	Formal accountability spaces exist in the methodological design.	Collaborative problem solving	Citizen participation
Auditing of public action	The methodological design includes mechanisms for monitoring institutional action.		

(continued)

<div align="center">**Table 1.** (*continued*)</div>

Participation requirements	Requirements applied to the design of participation spaces	Types of participation spaces	Desired participation.
Impact on final decision making	The methodological design determines that the final decisions are taken with the communities, in concertation scenarios.	Participatory democratic governance	Citizen power
Communities are actively involved in the implementation of public policy.	The methodological design allows communities to manage and be an active part of the implementation of public policy.		

Source: Own elaboration based on Fung (2003) [5], Lora, Muñoz and Rodríguez (2008) [7] and Arnstein [6].

3 Limits to Participation: Roadmap Implementation in PDET Putumayo

After formulating the 16 PATRs corresponding to the PDET sub-regions, ART contracted the firm Deloitte Asesores y Consultores Ltda. With resources from the Colombia en Paz Fund (Contract 029 of 2019) to develop a methodology to prioritise the initiatives and define the implementation mechanisms:

> The intervention and execution of efforts between government agencies and among the national, departmental and municipal levels, in the 170 PDET municipalities, to stabilise them in 15 years as a responsibility to future generations, which must grow up without violence and promoting a culture of legality and coexistence [3].

This methodology proposes the construction of a target scenario and the analysis of potentialities and obstacles to development, as elements for the prioritisation of initiatives. In order to define the target scenario, it is necessary to establish 1) the guiding principles of the desirable future, 2) choose a territory that serves as a counterfactual of the PDET territories as it represents better development conditions, and 3) establish a series of indicators that allow the progress of the transformations to be measured.

With regard to the guiding principles, the Roadmap establishes that the desirable future is associated with the concept of stabilisation, which is understood as a multidimensional intervention strategy in areas highly affected by poverty, the presence of illegal economies, institutional weakness and generalised violence, seeking to close the disparities between the PDET territories and those regions that are at a better level of development or living conditions [3]. Based on this desirable future, a series of policy objectives related to peace with legality and sustainable development are established,
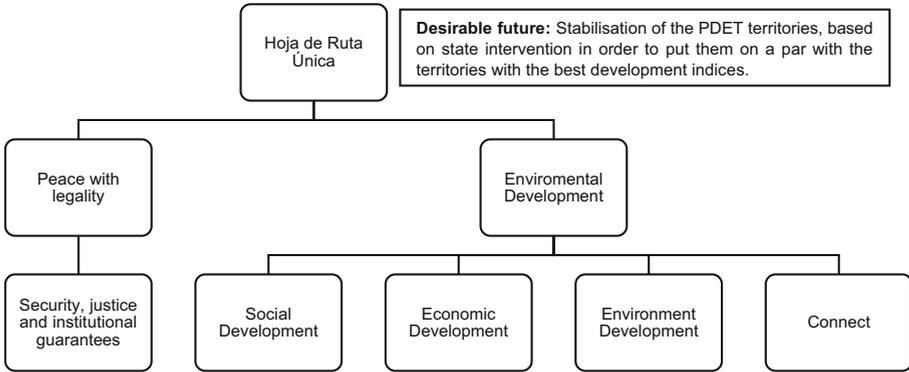
Fig. 1. Structure of the foresight model of the Roadmap   Source: Own elaboration, based on Roadmap (ART, 2019).

which synthesise the desired development paths for the PDET territories, in agreement with the National Government (Fig. 1).

With regard to the second point, a counterfactual is defined as "sub-regions or clusters that are at a higher level of development". These regions are established on the basis of the OECD characterisation of municipalities (predominantly urban municipalities, intermediate municipalities, predominantly near rural municipalities, predominantly remote rural municipalities) (Table 2).

Once the counterfactual has been established, a series of indicators are compared in both municipalities, based on the objectives of sustainable development and peace with legality.

In this sense, in order to analyse the application of the methodology proposed by Deloitte, the Putumayo HDR and its correspondence with the formulation process, as well as the provisions of the AFP, are taken as a point of reference.

3.1   Tensions Between the Development Visions of the PATR and the Putumayo Roadmap

In the process of formulating the PDET Putumayo, the organisations raised the following issues (Table 3):

By 2028, the communities that inhabit Putumayo will have consolidated an integral sustainable rural development, a harmonious and autonomous life, coherent with the Andean-Amazonian conditions and identity. These communities will be inclusive, reconciled and educated; they will respect the differential, ethnic and gender approach and their cosmovisions. Furthermore, they will be conscious, empowered, defenders of the territory and of life in all its manifestations, and permanent builders of a new citizenship [4].

One element of contrast between the communities' development proposal and the Roadmap's development approach is the absence of a territorial approach in the stabilisation policy. This policy assumes a single development path, motivated by traditional

Table 2. Indicators of the Roadmap, based on dimensions

Peace with Legality	Social Development	Economic development	Environmental Development	Connect
• Municipal performance measurement. • Homicide rate. • Kidnapping rate. • Theft rate. • Proportion of victims of antipersonnel mines. • Percentage of illicit crops. • Number of judges per 100,000 inhabitants. • Victimization risk index.	• Electric power coverage. • Aqueduct coverage. • Sewer coverage. • Monetary poverty index. • Multi dimensional poverty index. • Net educational coverage of transition, primary, secondary, middle. • Qualitative and quantitative housing deficit. • Infant mortality rate. • Maternal mortality ratio. • Adolescent fertility rate. • Adolescent fertility rate. • Mortality rate due to child malnutrition. • Proportion of children with low birth weight.	• Average per capita income per household. • Municipal added value. • Formal employment rate. • Percentage of the municipality's own resources	• Deforestation rate. • Water quality risk index. • Environmental crime rate. • Number of hot spots. • High intervention areas. • Secondary vegetation area. • Priority restoration areas in water rounds.	• Percentage of households with internet access. • Cellular network coverage. • Municipal investment per capita in transport.

Source: Own elaboration, based on Roadmap [3].

indicators that do not contemplate ways of measuring progress in terms of a differential ethnic and gender approach, nor the development of "peasant and family economies (cooperative, mutual, communal, micro-enterprise and solidarity-based associative), nor the indigenous, black, Afro-descendant, Raizal and Palenquero communities' own forms of production" [4, 8].

Similarly, it is not clear how the stabilisation policy develops concepts such as Andean-Amazonian identity, or how it integrates the cosmovisions of Putumayo's indigenous peoples into the definition of a development model (Table 4).

Finally, it is not possible to establish how the definition of a counterfactual, characterised by the level of clustering or dispersion of the population centres, allows us to

Table 3. Counterfactual for PDET Putumayo

OECD classification	Sub-region	Counterfactual
Predominantly urban	0%	66,6%
Intermediate	66,6%	0%
Predominantly rural nearby	0%	33,3%
Predominantly rural remote	33,3%	0%

Source: Roadmap (ART, 2019).

Table 4. Comparison of the PATR development vision and the Putumayo Roadmap target scenario

Putumayo PATR's development vision	PDET Putumayo Roadmap
By 2028, the communities that inhabit Putumayo will have consolidated an integral sustainable rural development, a harmonious and autonomous life, coherent with the Andean-Amazonian conditions and identity. These communities will be inclusive, reconciled and educated; they will respect the differential, ethnic and gender approach and their cosmovisions. Furthermore, they will be conscious, empowered, defenders of the territory and of life in all its manifestations, and permanent builders of a new citizenship.	In order to match the development of the counterfactual, it states that greater efforts should be made in: • Reduction of the area of illicit crops, Reduction of the risk of victimisation. • The increase in the municipality's own resources • Decrease the proportion of children with low birth weight. • Increase in the percentage of sites with satisfactory or advanced performance in Saber Pro 9 and 11 tests. • Reduction in the rate of environmental crime. • Increase in the percentage of households with internet access.

Source: Own elaboration, based on PATR Putumayo [3, 4].

contrast a development model as territorialised as the one proposed by the Putumayo communities.

The target scenario outlined by the Putumayo HDR does not establish objectives in terms of access to rural property, land formalisation, extension of collective territories or resolution of land conflicts with the oil sector; central elements in the participatory diagnosis constructed by the communities.

The dynamics of land use, occupation (sic) and tenure currently create social and environmental conflicts: on the one hand there are the peasants with a low level of access to arable land and a high level of informality in tenure (more than 50% - CNA 2014), especially due to the restrictions imposed by the titling in the oil blocks, since it is not possible to title land within 2,500 meters of an oil infrastructure. On the other hand, there are indigenous and Afro-descendant communities that demand the adjudication, formalisation and expansion of collective territories,

often overlapping with wastelands occupied by peasant communities (only 7.6% is collective property -CNA 2014) [4].

It is also unclear how these indicators allow for a solution to the socio-territorial conflicts generated by the oil sector, in relation to the territorial defense proposed by the organizations in the development vision.

The indicator for the reduction of so-called illicit crops is a good example of the tensions embodied in both development models, as the Putumayo HDR does not make the reduction mechanisms explicit, which could lead to an increase in glyphosate spraying, an element that the organizations consider to be a generator of territorial conflicts, which could increase conflict.

In the framework of the meeting with delegates from the Driving Group, the participants were surprised when they were presented with the prioritisation indicators and the development objective for the PDET Putumayo. This is corroborated by the results of the survey carried out at the beginning of the workshop, in which 83% of those surveyed stated that they were unaware of the development objectives defined by the Roadmap.

In short, the methodology defined in the Roadmap does not correspond to the vision of development proposed by the communities in Putumayo, as the prospective methodology does not allow the territorial elements of the construction of development models to be included, nor does it recognise the differential approaches proposed by the communities and, nor does it take into account what was proposed in the AFP.

In addition, the dimensions and indicators derived from the commitments to peace with legality and sustainable development do not take into account the approaches to rurality, access to rights or, particularly, social organisation that are immersed in the eight pillars of the PDET.

3.2 The Roadmap (HDR) Undermines the Participatory Nature of the PDET

In addition to the misrepresentation of the vision of development proposed by the communities in Putumayo, due to the methodological design of the HDR, the spaces for citizen participation in this process are only provided at the end and with limited scope.

According to the methodological design of the HDR:

The Territorial Validation exercise has the following objectives: I) to make known the process, purpose and participation of the territorial strategic actors in the construction of the Roadmap, II) to present the information of the Roadmap components that guide the strategic lines for the implementation of the PDET, III) provide feedback on the information of the Roadmap components through participatory exercises where the information obtained is complemented and adjusted with the participants' field knowledge and the different lines of action are oriented in accordance with the communities' social preferences, IV) socialise the usefulness of the Roadmap for the implementation process and v) encourage the appropriation of the Roadmap tool by community, institutional and territorial actors [3].

Thus, community participation is limited to providing feedback on the HDR and receiving information on the implementation process. Throughout the formulation and implementation cycle, the scope of citizen participation is reduced.

Table 5. Type of Roadmap participation space

Conditions	Roadmap Methodology
Inclusion of the perspective of different actors.	The roadmap contemplates the participation of the 8 people from the driving group, whose election depended on their participation in the different formulation scenarios, but does not seek to include ethnic communities, women or any other differential or population criteria in this election.
Guarantees for access to information.	In the information request exercise carried out by AAS, it was possible to confirm that there are no guarantees for easy, full and timely access to information, as there is still no complete response to the rights of petition. In addition, information on the implementation trajectories of the HDRs, which have been formulated for different PDETs, is not yet public.
Inclusion of opinions in the adjustment of public policies.	The methodological design envisages a validation scenario of pre-selected initiatives following the foresight and multi-criteria model. This validation scenario only allows for a marginal incidence of citizens in the adjustment of initiatives and not in the methodological design, in the definition of the target scenario or the prioritisation variables.
Accountability.	The methodological design does not provide for accountability spaces in which citizens can judge the methodological choices defined by Deloitte and ART.
Guarantees for access to information.	In the information request exercise carried out by AAS, it was possible to confirm that there are no guarantees for easy, full and timely access to information, as there is still no complete response to the rights of petition. In addition, information on the implementation trajectories of the HDRs, which have been formulated for different PDETs, is not yet public.
Public action auditing.	The methodological design does not include mechanisms for citizens to oversee the actions of public and private actors in the implementation of PDET initiatives. The monitoring and follow-up system created by the Roadmap only contemplates this exercise as a competence of the ART, and does not seek to involve the driving groups or territorial entities in the process.
Impact on final decision making.	The Roadmap methodology does not question the methodological design, and therefore does not seek to agree on any of the elements of the target scenario, the multi-criteria model for prioritisation, the implementation trajectories model and the monitoring model.
Communities actively participate in the implementation of public policy.	There is no clear proposal for communities and social organisations to participate in the management and execution of PDET initiatives and works, within the framework of the methodological design proposed by the HDR.

Source: Own elaboration based on Fung [5] and Lora, Muñoz and Rodríguez [7].

This was reflected in the results of the surveys applied in the Department of Putumayo, where 50% of the participants did not know the Roadmap and only 4% claimed to know it very well. In addition, 80% said they did not know the components of the Roadmap and 75% said they did not know the prioritisation indicators.

Indeed, the firm Deloitte recognises that "the (sic) application of the MCDA-PDET (Roadmap) may face certain institutional rigidities, legal risks or legitimacy risks in the community that may jeopardise the process of prioritisation of initiatives or even the development of the Roadmap in the sub-region" [3]. It specifies that the absence of participation in the construction of the scenario can lead to the prioritisation of initiatives moving away from the territorial development vision built by the communities [3].

Based on the characteristics set out above, the type of participatory space proposed by the methodological design of the Roadmap and its materialisation in the case of Putumayo is analysed, based on the theoretical discussions raised by Fung [5] and [7] (See Table 5.).

The characteristics described above show that the methodological design of the Roadmap promotes a simulation exercise of participation, where citizens do not understand their role in the prioritisation of initiatives, because they are not made aware of the complete structure of the HDR (manipulation according to Arnstein, 1969 [6].

In addition to this, motor groups are presented as a sample of citizen participation in decision-making, but this participation is given without clear, prior or complete information about the decision to be taken (decorative participation according to Arnstein [6].

With all of the above, the character of PDET as a participatory planning exercise is in doubt, which is a major setback in democratic terms and in the fulfilment of the objectives of the AFP.

4   Conclusions

The participation of rural communities in the PDETs was conceived as an active involvement in the whole cycle of the mechanism. However, thanks to this analysis, it is possible to identify elements that restrict citizen participation in its implementation.

The design of the Roadmap ignores the formulation process and its relationship with the other instruments contemplated in the Integrated Rural Reform (RRI). Ignorance of the development vision denies the effort and will of the communities, which in the case of the PDET Putumayo were 14,100 people belonging to ethnic communities, women's organisations, producers, victims and other social sectors, who participated in the definition of a development vision that is then ignored in the target scenario of the Putumayo HDR.

This ignorance represents a risk of new violence associated with conflicts over land and territory. The reactivation of glyphosate fumigations and the strengthening of the oil industry, as part of the national government's development plan, contradicts the endogenous development visions, which aim to resolve the situation of informal land tenure, the agricultural question and the quality of life of Putumayo's indigenous and peasant communities [8].

The rupture generated by the design of the Roadmap poses serious limitations to citizen involvement in the prioritisation, monitoring and evaluation of projects, turning communities into mere observers and beneficiaries of works.

This is confirmed by the perception of the communities, where 52% consider that participation in the PDETs is reduced, because they limit themselves to listening, 29% consider it to be of little scope, because only minor adjustments are made, and 19% consider it to be of medium scope. None of the participants considered participation to be incidental, as the communities' proposals are not decisive in decision-making.

In this case, it was observed that the methodology defined by ART is framed within what the authors call **Participatory Simulation**, where the aim is for the population **not to participate.** This type of scheme is characterised by a lack of guarantees of access to information, consultation is not a reference point for decision-making, and the information provided by the institutions is partial.

Therefore, participation - understood by the Final Peace Agreement as the effective involvement of communities in the formulation, implementation, monitoring and control of the PDETs - is reduced to spaces for validation, confirming what was stated by the Centre for Political Dialogue and Thought [9]:

> Despite the great importance of the PDETs for peacebuilding, in the process, both in the methodological design and in the elaboration of the roadmaps, there are inconsistencies and distortions that introduce - at the technical and political levels - degrees of uncertainty about the effective fulfilment of what has been agreed and allow us to conclude that what is underway is more of an apparently sophisticated simulation operation [9].

Thus, the PDETs are transformed into an instrument that is closed to the population, in contradiction to the objectives set out in the Final Peace Agreement, which seeks to make the victims of the armed conflict the protagonists of new development models.

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