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A southern perspective:

Northern and indigenous influences on the establishment of a hybrid culture of participatory planning, the story of Sacaba

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Abstract

Citizen participation has been discussed as an essential feature for sustainability and democracy. Normative participatory approaches, like participatory planning, developed in the North, spread across the globe as 'placeless' generalizations. Embedded in the context of northern cities, normative participatory planning theories resulted in serious failures in the Global South. Planning scholars engaged with the Global South argue that the usefulness of these northern approaches is conditioned by contexts that do not fit southern cities. In critique of the eurocentrism, planning scholars discuss the need for more appropriate participatory planning theory, building on southern perspectives, absent from scientific traditions. This thesis contributes to the debate for more appropriate participatory planning by investigating Bolivia's efforts to decolonize participatory planning through an indigenous-based participatory planning legislation. Findings from a case study of Sacaba municipality show that over time different participatory ideas were adapted and combined to create a particular form of participatory planning. Conflicting rationalities between local authorities, planners and citizens regarding the purpose and scope of participation shaped both invited and invented forms of participation. I argue for the need to consider 'hybrid cultures of participation' tailored to the specific contexts. I further propose three lessons from Sacaba's implementation of the indigenous-based planning legislation: 1) the need to continuously update the understanding of the local context; 2) the risk of sustaining power imbalances within institutional frameworks; and 3) the importance of promoting continuous critical reflection between authorities, planners and population.

Keywords: hybrid cultures of participation, participatory planning, participation, hybrid planning cultures, informality, insurgency, conflicting rationalities, southern-turn, Sumak Kawsay, Soft Systems Methodology

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Una perspectiva del sur. Influencias del norte e indígenas en el establecimiento de una cultura híbrida de planificación participativa, la historia de Sacaba

Resumen

La participación ciudadana se ha discutido como una característica esencial para la sostenibilidad y la democracia. Enfoques participativos normativos, como la planificación participativa, desarrollados en el Norte, se extendieron por todo el mundo como generalizaciones 'aespaciales'. Arraigadas en el contexto de las ciudades del Norte, las teorías normativas de planificación participativa dieron como resultado serios fracasos en el Sur Global. En estudios en planificación comprometidos con el sur global se plantea que la utilidad de los enfoques del norte está condicionada por contextos que no se ajustan a las ciudades del sur. En crítica al eurocentrismo, se discute la necesidad de una teoría de planificación participativa más apropiada fundada en las perspectivas del Sur, ausentes en las tradiciones científicas. Esta tesis contribuye a este debate al investigar los esfuerzos de Bolivia por descolonizar la planificación participativa a través de una legislación fundada en nociones indígenas. Los resultados del estudio de caso del municipio de Sacaba revelan que a lo largo del tiempo diferentes ideas de participación se adaptaron y combinaron para crear una forma particular de planificación participativa. Las racionalidades opuestas entre autoridades locales, planificadores y ciudadanos sobre el propósito y alcance de la participación forjaron formas de participación tanto invitadas como inventadas. Por tanto, sostengo la necesidad de considerar culturas híbridas de participación adaptadas a contextos específicos y planteo tres lecciones a partir de la experiencia de Sacaba implementando la legislación de planificación fundada en nociones indígenas: 1) la necesidad de actualizar continuamente la comprensión del contexto local; 2) el riesgo de mantener los desequilibrios de poder dentro de los marcos institucionales; y 3) la importancia de promover una reflexión crítica continua entre autoridades, planificadores y población.

Palabras clave: cultura híbrida de participación y planificación, planificación participativa, participación, southern-turn, informalidad, insurgencia, conflicto de racionalidades, Sumak Kawsay, Metodología de Sistemas Blandos

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Contents

List of publications

This thesis is based on the work contained in the following papers, referred to by Roman numerals in the text:

I. Ledo Espinoza, P.J. (2020). Peri-urbanization in Sacaba, Bolivia: challenges to the traditional urban planning approach. *International Planning Studies*, pp 1-16.

II. Calderon C. & Ledo Espinoza, P.J. Participatory planning in the Global South: the case of Sacaba, Bolivia. *Planning Theory and Practice* (Accepted with major reviews)

III. Ledo Espinoza, P.J. Tailoring participatory planning to southern contexts: the case of 'communitarian democracy' in Bolivia. (manuscript)

Paper I is reproduced with the permission of the publishers.

The contribution of Paola Jimena Ledo Espinoza to the papers included in this thesis was as follows:

I. I am the sole author of this article.
II. I am second author of this article. Camilo Calderon developed the theoretical framework and discussion of the paper. I developed the research design, collected and analysed the empirical data; and shared the writing process with Camilo.
III. I am the sole author of this article.

1. Introduction

This chapter provides a general background on the research and presents an outline of the research problem, aim and questions of the thesis. Section 1.1 outlines my personal journey as a graduate student conducting the research presented in this thesis. Then, Section 1.2 presents the historical background of the research problem and the field to which this research intends to contribute. This informed the formative research problem and provided the initial direction for the research. Section 1.3 subsequently presents the aim of the research and the questions that have guided its theoretical and empirical work. The chapter ends with Section 1.4 outlining the thesis structure explaining the relation of the different chapters and sections.

1.1 Researcher identity memo

This thesis is part of a bilateral research cooperation financed by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA). In 2014, I was granted a 'sandwich' scholarship for doctoral studies to be conducted in the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU) and in the Bolivian university, Universidad Mayor de San Simon (UMSS). Before that, I had been working for a couple of years as a junior research assistant for socio-economic and demographic consultancies and projects in my city. I was exclusively dedicated to data collection in the field, i.e., conducting surveys, interviews and focus groups, and transcribing data to text or databases.

From my experiences in the field, I became intrigued by the magnitude of informal peri-urban settlements in my city, Cochabamba, and the question of why local governments were not able to control urban growth nor address people's basic needs. For that reason, I decided to dedicate my doctoral studies to discovering the underlying problem behind informal peri-urban

settlements in Cochabamba. However, as a recent college graduate in Economics, my background knowledge about urban development and planning was limited. Therefore, I decided to explore the peri-urbanization phenomenon with an open mind, expecting to focus the research progressively through the emergence of interesting issues during data collection and analysis (see Chapter 3 for details).

Following this progressive focus strategy, I started from a curiosity of understanding why peri-urban informal settlements were the predominant form of urban growth in Cochabamba. This led me to question how local planners were addressing the informal urbanization and how the informal settlers were sustaining themselves. From this exploration, I found that informal settlements in peri-urban areas exceeded local governments' institutional capacity, thus, urban planning was legally participatory but most often focus on formalizing informal settlements rather than planning urban growth. Moreover, informal settlers' survival was reliant on the settlers' own self-helped collective strategies rather than public services. During this exploration, interviewed planners and settlers suggested there was a planning problem; therefore, I directed my focus on examining the participatory planning legislation of Bolivia and how it was implemented in practice locally. While doing this investigation, the national government changed the participatory planning legislation from a neoliberal model of participatory planning to a new model of participatory planning grounded in indigenous principles and paradigms. Consequently, I continued my investigation exploring how local planners implemented the new legislation in practice. This exploration allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of the local history of planning practice and the local culture of participatory planning. Throughout this process of empirical inquiry, I reviewed literature related to the topics I was exploring in the field, i.e., regarding informality, peri-urbanization, planning practice and citizens' participation in planning, in order to gain a wider picture beyond the empirical findings I was studying.

In this way, I identified that peri-urban informality was a common problem for many cities in the Global South. For example, around 25% of the Latin American population live in unplanned peri-urban areas (Muggah, 2018) with poor urban infrastructure and services, which cause negative environmental impacts (Garcia-Ayllon, 2016; United Nations, 2015). Accordingly, urban planning's inability to guide cities in the Global South towards sustainable development was a problem that worried many planning

practitioners and scholars. I acknowledged that planning scholars investigating the challenges of urban planning in the Global South, suggest that planners could not find within planning theory an appropriate guideline for practice because conventional planning theory is euro-centric and decontextualized (i.e., holding the assumption that all cities and their societies, economies, culture and governance are similar). Therefore, planning academics argue for the need to critically reflect on the contextual differences of places in order develop alternative planning ideas, vocabularies and practices from those conventional theories deeply embedded in the North American and European experience (Mabin, 2014; Watson, 2014; Connelly, 2010; Parnell & Pieterse, 2010; Miraftab, 2009; Watson, 2003).

With respect to this, I realized that Bolivia's incorporation of indigenous practices to participatory planning legislation could offer valuable empirical opportunities to investigate and understand participatory planning practice through an alternative perspective from the conventional normative participatory planning theory. Thus, this thesis explores the case of Sacaba municipality planning practice implementing imported decontextualized participatory planning legislation and innovative indigenous-based participatory planning legislation.

1.2 Planning challenges in Latin America

Latin America has a long history of planning dating from precolonial times. Ancient civilizations, such as the Aztecs, the Mayans, and the Incas, among others, developed sophisticated systems of planning their empires that were replaced by colonial (Britain, France, Spain and Portugal) forms of urban planning in the region, which persisted until the industrial revolution (Angotti & Irazabal, 2017; Irazabal, 2009b). Between 1850 and the 1920s, in a context of deep economic and social crisis in Latin America, european positivism became a major intellectual movement. Governments adopted the concept of order and progress, expecting to accomplish the industrialization levels of the US and Europe by emulating the social and economic system of the industrial and capitalist western countries (Irazabal, 2009b). Thus, the western paradigm of 'social and economic development and its developmental planning' spread throughout Latin America as a means to overcome perceived underdevelopment (de Mattos, 2010; Almandoz, 2006).

Since the 1970s, Latin American national governments institutionalized development planning into centralized, rational or technocratic planning systems (Galland & Elinbaum, 2018b; Jenkins *et al.*, 2007). In practice, the institutionalization of technocratic planning was not effective in generating social and economic development throughout Latin America. On the contrary, national plans were disjointed from the economic, socio-cultural and political-institutional challenges that the Latin American cities were facing (Galland & Elinbaum, 2018b; de Mattos, 2010; Irazabal, 2009b). National planning priorities were defined in relation to international development/financing organizations agendas and elite interests, undermining critical developmental issues for Latin America, like informality and marginality (Galland & Elinbaum, 2018b). Consequently, national plans were often not implemented and Latin American cities grew in an unplanned way, with high rates of informality, inequality and segregation (IDB, 2020).

In some Latin American countries the technocratic planning ideas and their ineffective planning systems continue to exist (Irazabal, 2009b). However, in other countries, planning systems were gradually transformed into participatory approaches inspired by the World Banks ideas of participation (Goldfrank, 2006). During the late 1980s and early 1990s, the World Bank sponsored participation to enforce the neoliberal agenda aimed at overcoming underdevelopment in Latin America (Van Lindert, 2016; Connelly, 2009; Watson, 2002). Participation was acknowledged as a synonym for inclusion, a vehicle for engaging the socially excluded in the identification and solving of problems in their urban environments (Gaventa, 1998), the solution to the unjust and undemocratic results of technocratic planning (Angotti & Irazabal, 2017). The World Banks discourse and methods for participation were founded on the ideas developed by US development professionals, Robert Chambers in particular. According to Chambers, participation in development projects was needed to ensure the sustainability and efficiency of the interventions (Hickey & Mohan, 2004).

Moreover, the World Bank required and granted technical and financial support to developing countries to implement neoliberal reforms. Consequently, several Latin American governments committed to the neoliberal agenda and adopted participatory planning models (Galland & Elinbaum, 2018a; Van Lindert, 2016; Irazabal, 2009b; Jenkins *et al.*, 2007; Goldfrank, 2006). These participatory planning models aimed to strengthen democracy and planning efficiency by inviting citizens to inform planning practitioners

about their problems and needs (Galland & Elinbaum, 2018b; Irazabal, 2009b).

Moreover, in the early 2000s, with the spread of leftist governments across Latin America, the idea of promoting and enabling citizen participation in the decision-making processes was reinforced (Ellner, 2013). In contrast to the World Bank's aim of including citizens in the identification of local needs, movements influenced by the left aimed to expand decision-making powers to the lower classes and the politically excluded. The participatory ideas supported by the left encouraged collective formulation and deliberation of goals in a context of cooperation, stimulating popular movements to put pressure on policies and policy-makers (Goldfrank, 2009).

However, participatory planning in Latin American, did not work as the World Bank had expected nor how leftist advocates desired. Latin American planning practitioners faced constraints regarding the applicability of the participatory planning approach on the ground. For example, in some Latin American studied cases, the bureaucratic deficiencies, limited availability of resources and ambiguous mechanisms for citizen participation in decision-making, lead to political power groups continuing to manipulate the participatory planning process and outcomes (Galland & Elinbaum, 2018b; Irazabal, 2009b; Goldfrank, 2006). Particularly, in experiences studied in Mexico and Brazil, the more organized or politically active citizens have greater participation in planning formulation processes and greater influence on public decision-making than other, less organized, marginalized groups (Irazabal, 2009b). Moreover, in studies in Bolivia, Colombia and Brazil, participatory planning is linked to paternalist, clientelist, and corporative relations between appointed citizen representatives, their constituencies and the government (Angotti & Irazabal, 2017; Goldfrank, 2006; Kohl, 2002). Meaning that political parties in office offer material benefits to citizens on the condition that the citizens return the favour with a vote or other form of political support. Furthermore, regardless of the participatory qualities of plan formulation processes, the implementation of plans is often disrupted due to electoral cycles, a lack of political will or deficient intergovernmental coordination (even purposeful for political rivalry) (Irazabal, 2009b).

Consequently, Latin American planning experiences have shown that participatory planning in practice is often susceptible to a dominant minority, who hold political positions, to monopolize the power to make things happen or to prevent things from happening throughout participatory planning

processes (Angotti & Irazabal, 2017; Irazabal, 2009b). Participation in planning did not addressed social exclusion, injustice and underdevelopment as it had aimed to do. To date, planning practice continues to be politically biased (Angotti & Irazabal, 2017; Irazabal, 2009b) and disconnected from Latin America's urban development challenges (Inostroza, 2017; Irazabal, 2009b). The regions nations are subject to intense political conflict, and class and political polarization (Ellner, 2013), and continue growing at an exponential rate of informality, marginality and inequality, i.e., in the absences of planning (Van Lindert, 2016; Fay, 2005).

The challenges experienced by planning practitioners in Latin America resonated with the global critique around the tokenistic nature of participation (Hopkins, 2010; Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002; Cooke & Kothari, 2001) and with global critiques of the strongly normative and procedural approach to participation in planning (Calderon & Westin, 2021; Watson, 2011; Sager, 2009; Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002; McGuirk, 2001; Huxley, 2000; Yiftachel & Huxley, 2000). Planning practitioners and researchers across the globe express concern about the circulation of planning ideas and practices with a high level of abstraction regarding context and place (Cilliers, 2019; Bhan *et al.*, 2017; Watson, 2016; Miraftab, 2009; Watson, 2002).

Planning scholars engaged with the Global South, in particular, argue that conventional planning theory is inadequate for guiding practice in the cities of the Global South. Authors claim that this is because planning theories were developed under the assumption that all places have the same socio-political and institutional characteristics (de Satgé & Watson, 2018; Bhan *et al.*, 2017; Inostroza, 2017; Irazabal, 2009b; Watson, 2009; Jenkins *et al.*, 2007). In turn, they propose the rethinking of planning theories and practices in relation to context differences between places (Frediani & Cocina, 2019; Connelly, 2010; Parnell & Pieterse, 2010; Connelly, 2009; Watson, 2002). Therefore, they argue for an in-depth understanding of the contexts of the Global South as lenses to further theorize and take seriously the existing contexts and practices shaping the cities (Lawhon & Truelove, 2020; de Satgé & Watson, 2018; Bhan *et al.*, 2017; Parnell & Oldfield, 2014; Watson, 2014; Miraftab, 2009). The arguments and discussion of the so-called southern-turn scholars regarding participatory planning specifically are briefly presented below.

1.2.1 The southern-turn in planning

As mention above, the southern-turn in planning is the name given in this thesis to the academic discussion and critique regarding the high level of abstraction of place and context upheld in normative planning theories (Calderon & Westin, 2021; Cilliers, 2019; de Satgé & Watson, 2018; Galland & Elinbaum, 2018b; Watson, 2016; Rosa, 2014; Watson, 2014; 2002). Southern-turn scholars question the 'internationality' of planning theories, arguing that the eurocentrism in planning theorization holds the assumption that physical, social and institutional contexts are the same in different parts of the world. Therefore, scholars discuss the appropriateness of planning theory developed from a limited number of urban cases in the North to explain the worldwide urban diversity, specifically referring to cities in the Global South (Lawhon & Truelove, 2020).

With respect to participatory approaches to planning specifically, scholars argue that normative theory overlooks the socio-political and institutional preconditions under which they were developed, neglecting the real conditions of the Global South where they are implemented (de Satgé & Watson, 2018; Watson, 2009; 2008; Cooke & Kothari, 2001). For instance, research has shown that the participatory planning practices in the Global South is often constrained by the southern cities' context of high poverty, inequality, informality (Bhan *et al.*, 2017; Miraftab, 2009; Watson, 2009; 2006; 2003), deep differences and prevailing conflict (Connelly, 2009, Watson, 2003). Moreover, the Global South's context of unstable governments, limited capacity of planning institutions and practitioners, and limited economic resources affects the participatory planning practices and outcomes (Bhan *et al.*, 2017; Watson, 2016; Parnell & Pieterse, 2010; Connelly, 2009; Watson, 2009). Thus, the neglect of the different political histories, trajectories and contexts of the cities (Connelly, 2010) may constrain the practical applicability of participatory planning theory (Calderon & Westin, 2021), may block meaningful participatory planning in different contexts (de Satgé & Watson, 2018), or may have societal impacts with exclusionary implications for the cities (Watson *et al.*, 2019; Bhan *et al.*, 2017).

The southern-turn in planning theory broadly acknowledges the need to critically reflect on participatory planning in different contexts, in order to produce more appropriate, meaningful and effective participatory planning (Watson *et al.*, 2019; Vainer, 2014). Therefore, scholars claim the need to

build from analytical and normative understandings of different southern planning experiences (Lawhon & Truelove, 2020; Parnell & Oldfield, 2014), to produce alternative ideas and practices from those conventionally used in normative planning theory which were drawn from the experiences of a limited number of northern cities (Mabin, 2014; Connelly, 2010; Parnell & Pieterse, 2010; Miraftab, 2009; Watson, 2003).

The theoretical foundations of the southern-turn are expanded in Section 2.2 of Chapter 2; however, this brief introduction was necessary to point out that it is precisely the argument of building on learnings from different places' experiences to produce alternative ideas from those conventional in normative planning theory, which deeply inspired this thesis.

I support the argument that the diverse participatory planning experiences of Latin American cities can contribute to the development of alternative ideas about citizen participation in planning practice (Van Lindert, 2016; Mabin, 2014). Bolivia, in particular, offers an exceptional experience of developing an innovative participatory planning legislation that combines indigenous and conventional planning ideas, in order to make participatory planning practice tailor-made to the socio-political and cultural characteristics of the country and its population. Therefore, in the following subsection a brief background of Bolivia's participatory planning journey over the years is presented.

1.2.2 Participatory planning in Bolivia

Like the Latin American story mentioned previously, in Bolivia, technocratic planning was implemented in the early 1940s. The technocratic model gained the reputation of being unjust, undemocratic and/or inoperative during the late 1980s (for more details see Paper II, pp.11-12), causing it to give way to the neoliberal discourse. In the 1990s, US based institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and United States Department of the Treasury, promoted the implementation of the neoliberal model in Bolivia as a means of overcoming underdevelopment. The neoliberal reforms included democratization and decentralization in order to overcome exclusion and power injustices (Nijenhuis, 2002; Ströbele-Gregor, 1997). Ideas about decentralization and democratization aimed at promoting the practice of local and regional planning, and enabling citizens to participate in local governance as a recipe for development, i.e., as the solution to Bolivia's socio-economic and political crisis.

Consequently, Bolivia institutionalized a participatory planning model in 1993. The model replicated World Bank ideas about participation in planning, i.e., to allow the historically excluded population to share their needs and demands during the formulation and implementation of more democratic plans (Republica de Bolivia, 1997; Ströbele-Gregor, 1997; Republica de Bolivia, 1994). At that time, the Bolivian participatory model was praised as one of the most advanced decentralization and democratic efforts in Latin America (Kohl, 2016; Altman & Lalander, 2003).

However, similar to other countries in Latin America and the Global South, planning practitioners faced institutional and socio-cultural contexts in the municipalities that hindered the full applicability of the participatory planning model (Kohl, 2016; Goldfrank, 2006; Altman & Lalander, 2003; Nijenhuis, 2002). Participatory planning in practice became a clientelist practice rather than a tool to overcome underdevelopment as was the aim. The failure of neoliberal reforms to address underdevelopment and social injustices resulted in a profound economic and political crisis that forced the resignation of two presidents (Goldfrank, 2006; Kohl, 2002).

The crisis of political legitimacy motivated popular movements, like indigenous peoples and coca leaf producers (known as *cocaleros*), to fight back against the power of elite-led political parties (Postero, 2010). Popular movements, historically influenced by Marxist ideology and the indigenous Andean cosmology, proposed their own political parties in the early 2000s. The most successful of which was the leftist party *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS) led by *cocalero* leader Evo Morales (Postero, 2010). Morales' party argued that US neoliberalism was the fundamental cause of Bolivian underdevelopment. They, therefore, promised to free the country of US imperialism and neoliberal capitalism (Postero, 2010). In turn, he proposed a so-called 'change process' to make Bolivia truly participatory and sovereign; a political discourse that led him to the presidency in 2006 (Peres *et al.*, 2009).

Morales' government implemented structural reforms to the Bolivian constitution and legislation incorporating the indigenous paradigm of *Vivir Bien* ('Good Living' in English). *Vivir bien* is a translation of the ancestral indigenous cosmology of the Andean peoples into normative political principles (Vanhulst & Beling, 2013). The indigenous cosmology of the Quechua Andean people is known in the Quechua language as *Sumak Kawsay*. In its ancestral form, *Sumak Kawsay* is a principle of life loaded

with semantic thickness, that is commonly synthesized on its principles of self-identity, equity and environmental sustainability (Cubillo-Guevara *et al.*, 2014). The *Sumak Kawsay* perspective places man in harmony with man himself, with nature and with all forms of existence (Cubillo-Guevara *et al.*, 2014; Vanhulst & Beling, 2013).

Following this reasoning, during the period of 2013 and 2016 a new participatory planning model was enforced in legislation, as an effort to overcome the limitations and negative effects of the previous (decontextualized) planning model. The new participatory planning legislation draws on *Vivir Bien* (in Spanish) or *Sumak Kawsay* (in Quechua) indigenous ideas about participatory decision-making to complement conventional participation ideas held in normative planning theory. The new participatory planning legislation incorporates and legitimizes indigenous forms of social organization as part of participatory planning practices (more details are presented in Section 2.3. and Paper III, pp. 4-7) in acknowledgment of the sociopolitical and cultural context of the country.

This thesis identifies Bolivia's incorporation of indigenous ideas to participatory planning legislation as an original experience that provides the opportunity to explore alternative ideas about participation in planning. Thus, studying the implementation in practice of the novel participatory planning legislation offers rich empirical material to contribute to the southern-turn discussion about alternative perspectives of participatory planning, and to add to the growing and diverse international 'pot' of planning theories and concepts.

In order to do so, this thesis investigates Bolivia's original experience with participatory planning through a case study of the participatory planning practice in the municipality of Sacaba, Bolivia. Sacaba, is a great example of the planning dilemmas of the rapid growing cities of the Global South, i.e., context conditions like poverty, inequality, informality, deep differences, prevailing conflict, limited resources, and limited institutional capacity that block the practice of decontextualized (northern-based) planning and question the validity of normative participatory planning theories (see more details in Section 3.2). Therefore, the study of participatory planning practice in Sacaba offers learning opportunities for the rapidly growing cities of Bolivia, the Global South and beyond.

1.3 Aim and research questions

This thesis investigates Bolivia's development of participatory planning following indigenous participatory ideas and practices. A case study of planning practice in the municipality of Sacaba is used to investigate such indigenous-based ideas of participation in practice as an alternative to those prevailing in decontextualized (northern-based) planning theory. The aim of the thesis is to develop alternative ideas of participatory planning based on Bolivia´s indigenous-based development of planning legislation and its implementation in planning practice in Sacaba.

Accordingly, the thesis addresses the following overarching research question: What lessons can *Sumak Kawsay* based planning provide for participatory planning in Bolivia, the Global South and beyond?

The empirical work to achieve the aim and answer the main research questions of the thesis was guided by the following sub-questions:

I. How were decontextualized participatory planning ideas practiced in Sacaba?
II. How did the participatory planning practice changed with the implementation of Sumak Kawsay participatory planning ideas?

The thesis will discuss the consequences of the case of Sacaba for Bolivia, the Global South and beyond with the intention of contributing to the southern-turn discussion about the need to build contextualized participatory planning theory and practice based on an explicit recognition of the importance of context (Connell, 2007, 2013).

1.4 Outline of the thesis

The thesis consists of five chapters and three papers. The papers on which the thesis is based are presented in the Appendix of the thesis. The following chapters place the papers in a broader context expanding on concepts and empirical work in more detail than comprised in the papers.

Chapter 1 provides the overall background of the thesis, starting with my personal background as a researcher, followed by the contextual framework of the research problem from which the research developed, and finishing with the aim and research questions addressed in this thesis.

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework from which the thesis builds in order to explore the empirical material. It provides an overview of the

concept of participation in the development and planning field. It expands on the southern-turn critique of eurocentric decontextualized theorization of participatory planning. Then, it outlines alternative ideas regarding the indigenous perspective of *Sumak Kawsay* which persists in Bolivia society. Finally, it introduces the concept of hybrid planning cultures as an analytical lens for investigating the practice of participatory planning in Sacaba.

Chapter 3 presents the research methodology used in this thesis, describing the research strategy and combination of methods used to answer the research questions. The methodology also presents a reflexive discussion on the role of the researcher, and the process of data collection and analysis.

Chapter 4 presents a summary of results from Paper I, II and III, concluding with a synthesis of the main findings and contributions linked to the research sub-questions.

Chapter 5 discusses the results and draws general conclusion, addressing the aim and research question.

2. Theoretical and conceptual context

This chapter reviews the theoretical and conceptual context on which the argument of this thesis is based. The chapter presents four sections, which contribute in two different ways to the development of arguments and discussion of this thesis. Section 2.1 and 2.3 present an overview of different ideas of participation, developed by different schools of thought that influenced the way participation is understood and practice in planning in Bolivia. Section 2.2 and 2.4 present the academic debates with which the thesis engages with in order to discuss the main argument of the thesis and contribute to theory and practice. Therefore, the content of this chapter is not intended to provide a complete overview of theories nor deeply engage with theoretical discussions, but to expand and deepen the understanding of participatory planning practice following a dialectical approach, as described by Maxwell (2012), that combines different perspectives on participation in planning.

In Section 2.1, I present a brief background of the more dominant ideas supporting participation in the fields of development and planning. I then go on to sum up the common tenets held in both fields, which are often critiqued as unrealistic by post-modern social scientists. Among the critiques to participation, I highlight the discussion about the inadequacy of normative theories to fit the different contexts across the globe.

Then, in Section 2.2, I focus on the 'southern-turn' critique of the euro-centrism of knowledge production to explain the limitations of participatory planning theory in guiding practice in the Global South's contexts. The section expands on the 'southern-turn', focusing on three alternative ideas developed by southern-turn scholars – informality, insurgency and conflicting rationalities – that explain the contexts of the Global South more adequately

than the contextual assumptions held on a conventional, one-fits-all participatory approaches.

In line with the southern-turn debate, Section 2.3 presents Bolivia's *Sumak Kawsay* politics in relation to participation in planning, i.e., the idea of *democracia comunitaria* ('communitarian democracy' in English*)*. Then, I provide an overview of three indigenous principles of the ancient Quechua and Aymara peoples in relation to participatory decision-making. The section concludes with an explanation of how these ancient principles partially endure in Bolivia in modern times.

Finally, in Section 2.4, I bring all the previous sections together in the idea of hybrid planning cultures. The section presents the idea of hybrid planning cultures, discussed in planning cultures literature, as a relevant perspective for taking in and further expanding on in the southern-turn discussion about participatory planning practice in the Global South.

2.1 Participation in development and planning

Citizen participation has been discussed for several years in development and planning fields. These fields, while developing in parallel, have not engaged with each other (Watson, 2009). Although both originated in the Global North, each field claimed a different role, focusing attention on different parts of the globe. While planning theory mostly draws on the global cities of 'the North' to address urban modernity, cities of the Global South have mostly been acknowledged in development studies dedicated to addressing underdevelopment (Lawhon & Truelove, 2020; Watson, 2009). Due to the different geographical focuses of the disciplines, parallel ideas of participation have been discussed. Although these participation ideas share common principles and critiques, the different focuses between disciplines did not enable a conjunction, and possible complementation, of the theoretical and practical developments in participation obtained from the experiences of northern and southern cities.

The concept of participation has been a central concern for a number of different approaches to development since the 1930s. However, it became a key feature in development studies in the 1990s from a critique of modernization and top-down development projects (Connelly, 2015; Hickey & Mohan, 2004). In the planning field, participation ideas began to circulate somewhat later, in the 1960s (Lane, 2005), but became a prominent aspect

of planning across the globe in the late 1980s, in opposition to technocratic planning (Connelly, 2010).

The main difference between the two fields is that participation in development originated from practice, while in planning it was more theoretically-informed (Connelly, 2015). In both, the participatory turn followed an evolving ideological path that influenced practice across the globe. In the following sections, a conceptual context of the two strands of participation is presented.

2.1.1 Participation in development field

Participation has been a central concern for a number of different approaches to development since the 1930s up to the present (Cornwall, 2006). While over time some of these approaches have vanished, others succeeded to survive through complementary and critical conversations between each other. These participatory approaches have regenerated around new schools of thought, institutional agendas and changing political circumstances (Hickey & Mohan, 2004). However, most of the focus of developmental studies refer to the participation approaches developed over the 1980s, mostly because using these ideas, international agencies founded their promulgated rhetoric of participation (Cornwall, 2006).

In the 1980s, development professionals like Robert Chambers, began to reflect on the constant failure of the top-down development projects in under-developed countries and critique the biases of conventional knowledge-gathering approaches (Connelly, 2015; Gaventa, 1998). Chambers, inspired by Freire's work, developed the Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) approach, drawing on a belief in the greater knowledge rural people have about their own situation (Connelly, 2015; Hickey & Mohan, 2004). RRA reduced Freire's' emancipatory ideas of participation, to techniques to capture peoples knowledge for more sustainable and efficient pro-poor project interventions in Global South planning (Connelly, 2015; Hickey & Mohan, 2004; Gaventa, 1998), seeing participation in terms of clients providing information about their need to technocrats who make the decisions (Goldfrank, 2009).

Through experiential learning gained by applying RRA in practice, Chambers' participatory ideas develop into the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and then into the Participation Learning and Action (PLA) approach. The evolution of the approach developed as practitioners discussed citizens

(clients) ability to articulate their ideas, analyse their own worlds, and plan improvement when provided with the opportunity and the tools. The development practitioners (technocrats) assumed the role of facilitators, and developed several exercises and tools that favoured client interpretations over technocrats' assumptions and expertise (Connelly, 2015; Gaventa, 1998).

During the 1990s, the use of PLA expanded among NGOs, UN Agencies and southern technical experts (Hickey & Mohan, 2004). Moreover, it became a key feature in development when the World Bank fostered PLA as its main tenet (Connelly, 2015; Gaventa, 1998). The World Bank widely promoted participation as a means to address poverty and social exclusion in underdeveloped Global South countries (Van Lindert, 2016; Connelly, 2009; Watson, 2002; Gaventa, 1998). The Global Souths' national governments were encouraged by the World Bank to follow a neoliberal agenda that included decentralizing and democratizing, and encouraged strengthening community participation and implementing local planning (Connelly, 2015; Hickey & Mohan, 2004; Gaventa, 1998).

Over time, academic criticism of participatory development arose. Critics like Cooke and Kothari (2001) argued that PLA's set of participatory practices was naive about questions of power, and could potentially serve systematically to reinforce existing power imbalances. More positivistic academics, like Hickey and Mohan (2004), attempted to lift participation's potential to be re-established as a viable and transformative approach to development and governance by expanding the understanding of the ways in which participation relates to existing power structures and the politics of development (as discussed by Connelly, 2015).

Despite the academic critique, the participatory approach continued spreading in the Global South in the form of tool kits and 'best practices' promoted by academics and development consultants (Angotti & Irazabal, 2017; Connelly, 2015; Vainer, 2014). Thus, the form of participation introduced by democratization and decentralization continued to be more often engaged with modes of patronage in ways that nullified participations' transformative potential (Ellner, 2013).

With the widespread protests against neoliberalism in Latin America, leftist movements emerged, arguing for popular participation as a tool for social justice (Connelly, 2015; Ellner, 2013). Leftist political parties argued for direct popular participation in decision-making on neighbourhood and

citywide matters (Ellner, 2013). Advocates for the Left proposed the expansion of collective decision-making power to the lower classes and the politically excluded in the form of deliberation, through ongoing debates, demand making, and the construction of proposals on the part of the organized popular classes (Ellner, 2013; Goldfrank, 2009).

Ideas of participation in development gradually expanded its scope and purpose. The evolution of participatory ideals, from collecting clients' knowledge to engage popular classes in deliberative decision-making processes, envisioned benefiting the Global South by including the poor and marginalized in processes of decision-making. Similarly, in the field of planning, ideas of participation were developed and discussed throughout recent decades with the aim of making planning decisions and outcomes more democratic and meaningful for the people. However, the participatory ideas in planning (which are outlined in the following subsection), unlike development, have been more closely related to theoretical advancements.

2.1.2 Participation in the planning field

In parallel with the advancement of participatory approaches in development arenas, in the late 1960s and 1970s, planning theorists began to question the viability of the technocratic planning goals and principles that had dominated planning since the 1950s (Machler & Milz, 2015). Technocratic planning, rooted in the positivist tradition, had an instrumental rationality, positioning planners as specialists or scientific-experts conveying objective knowledge (Healey, 2006). The planners' role was to deliver the best solutions to problems or best strategies for achieving desired political goals (Healey, 2015), thus, technocratic planning was seen as reductionist and undemocratic.

In opposition to the systematic model of technocratic planning, planning scholars discussed providing citizens with opportunities for taking part in planning processes (Theyyan, 2018; Healey, 2006), based on the idea that planning knowledge should constitute a more inclusive and enlarged account of knowledge types (Legacy, 2016). Including citizen's knowledge in defining planning goals was discussed as a strategy for challenging the existing power structures of top-down autocratic planning processes (Healey, 2015; Healey, 2003).

In the late 1980s, Communicative Planning Theory (CPT) emerged, drawing mostly on Habermas and Giddens, as a new normative perspective on planning practice (Innes & Booher, 2014; Forester, 1999; Healey, 1997).

Communicative Planning theorists viewed deliberation as a central feature of participatory planning (Elling, 2017; Machler & Milz, 2015), demanding a shift from representative to participatory forms of governance where deliberation takes place through face-to-face interaction in real time (Friedmann, 1993).

Unlike technocratic planning, CPT does not position planners as experts called in to solve problems, but as facilitators of interactive dialogue with the public in order to find solutions (Machler & Milz, 2015; Forester, 2006; Healey, 2003; Forester, 1999; Healey, 1997). According to CPT, incurporating a diverse array of stakeholders in participatory planning processes is essential to generate new knowledge and identify common interests (Machler & Milz, 2015). Thus, planning processes should be widely inclusive, incorporating as much representation of stakeholders as possible in the deliberative process (Healey, 2003).

CPT upholds the assumption of unified planning participants who stand in a highly reflective relation to their own interests, values, and feelings, and in relation to others and the world at large (Dahlberg, 2005). Citizens participating in planning are expected to detach from their own particular interests in order to engage in an authentic dialogue, to negotiate and, ultimately, to reach consensus over a decision that benefits the collective (Machler & Milz, 2015; Forester, 1999).

CPT proponents argue that during deliberation, contrasting worldviews have the potential to create conflict, which can be solved using the force of the better argument (Healey, 1997). CPT builds on the assumption that in the process of communication, power can be exposed and removed for understanding to be achieved (Dahlberg, 2005). Planners are expected to reduce the risk of distorted dialogue, mistrust and/or power imbalances between planning participants during the planning process in order to ensure that social learning occurs (Machler & Milz, 2015; Healey, 1997).

Although several proponents of CPT recognize that these conditions are not always attainable, they argue that when feasible, there is a need to support inclusive planning processes, counteract communicative distortions, and promote equal opportunities for reasonably effective and fair planning to happen (Innes, 2016; Forester, 2006; Healey, 2003).

In summary, CPT builds on the assumption that participants have the political will to come together, putting aside their personal interests in order to create shared knowledge and consenting action (or substantial agreement).

CPT theorists claim that CPT techniques enable legitimate, comprehensive, sincere, and accurate participatory planning processes where all affected interests are jointly engaged in face-to-face dialogue, bringing their various perspectives to the table, deliberating from equal conditions and finding consenting solutions to the problems they face together (Innes & Booher, 2010).

The advancement of participation ideas in development and planning fields influenced the way participation is implemented in the Global North and South. Although both stances did not engage with each other in a single global discussion, both lines of thought share similar ideological assumptions that have given rise to similar lines of critique presented in the following subsection.

2.1.3 Ideological commonalities, practice and critique

The 1990s confluence of participatory agendas in development and planning brought citizen engagement to the centre of governance. From the two previous sections, it can be argued that common to both strands is a conviction that citizen participation enhances democracy, leads to better-informed decisions and improves public policy effectiveness. Enabling citizens to make their demands and engage directly in local problem-solving activities is believed to expand understanding and raise the quality of public programmes, plans and policies, enhancing economic, social and political inclusion, democracy and development. Therefore, participation represents an opportunity for those who participate to learn new meanings and practices by working together and developing an expanded understanding that allows people to see beyond their own immediate problems or professional biases.

The Rio Declaration in 1992 and the Aarhus Convention in 1998 placed citizen participation as an essential feature of sustainability, establishing that representative political systems needed to be supplemented with more direct democracy through citizens participation in planning and decision-making (Elling, 2017).

The spread of participatory ideas and practices has led to the production of ‘best-practice’ and normative approaches adopted and implemented across the globe (Legacy, 2016; Vainer, 2014). However, critics claim there is a gap between expectations of participatory approaches and the empirical realities across the globe (Legacy, 2016; Watson, 2009; Cooke & Kothari, 2001; McGuirk, 2001). Participatory guidelines are often criticized for

carrying too many assumptions embedded in various contextual preconditions for genuine participation to happen (Cornwall *et al.*, 2007).

A common claim among critics is that participatory approaches do not add up to a one-size-fits-all recipe; context matters (Bhan *et al.*, 2017; Watson, 2016; Parnell & Oldfield, 2014; Cornwall *et al.*, 2007; Hickey & Mohan, 2004; Cooke & Kothari, 2001; McGuirk, 2001). Cornwall *et al.* (2007) highlighted that among the main critical issues regarding contextual differences are peoples' ability to exercise their political agency at different contexts, i.e., people's possibility to recognize themselves as citizens and to acquire the means to participate and engage in participatory planning. The authors also drew attention to how inclusion is affected in different contexts, i.e., the spectrum of citizens invited to participate in planning in different cultural and political contexts. Additionally, Cornwall *et al.* (2007) point out that, at different contexts, the motivations and commitment of those participating in planning, the understandings of 'participation' and the institutional capacity to address power imbalances, exclusionary practices and conflict is likely to vary.

In the planning field, where participatory ideas have been much more theory-informed, scholars have also engaged with the argument of contextualizing and situating participatory approaches in the social, cultural and historical settings (Calderon & Westin, 2021; Watson, 2016). Planning scholars argue that attention needs to be paid to the state–society relations that may reproduce different forms of exclusion and domination in spaces for participation (Connelly, 2010; Connelly, 2009; McGuirk, 2001).

Planning academics and practitioners working in cities in the Global South, in particular, criticize the abstraction and eurocentrism in participatory planning theorization. This group of scholars, referred as the 'southern-turn' in this thesis, discuss the inappropriateness of participatory planning theory developed from a limited number of urban cases in the North to explain the urban diversity of the world, specifically referring to cities in the Global South (Lawhon & Truelove, 2020). This thesis engages with the southern-turn criticism of conventional normative planning theory, which neglects the contextual differences across the globe. A more detailed account of the main tenets and critiques of southern-turn in planning is presented below.

2.2 Southern theory and the southern-turn in planning

The so-called 'southern theory' is a critique of the pitfalls of eurocentric, colonial epistemological perspectives and injustices generated in theory development (Lawhon & Truelove, 2020; Murrey, 2018; Rosa, 2014; Connell, 2007). Proponents of the southern theory argue that, although much has been written about the South, very little has been written from a southern perspective (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh & Daley, 2018). Southern scholars such as de Sousa Santos (2011), propose that we need to look at the world through 'pluriversal' ideas to see what has been rendered absent in the scientific traditions of the Global North (Murrey, 2018). Southern theory calls on scholars not to generalize regions nor suggest specific planning for the North and separate from planning for the South (Murrey, 2018; Watson, 2014) but to explicitly recognize that the Global South and North are in themselves diverse. Thus, southern advocates argue for looking for alternative sources of intellectual authority, to respect multiple local particularities of places and to create dialogue with ideas produced by the colonized world (Connell, 2007).

The 'southern-turn in planning' in this thesis refers to the body of literature that critiques the eurocentrism in conventional planning theory. Although many scholars mentioned in this section do not label themselves as southern-turn scholars, the thesis refers to all authors whose claims relate to the southern theory critique in relation to participatory planning.

Planning scholars of the southern-turn argue that most cities of the Global South have been subjected to planning concepts and models imported from the Global North (mainly the US and Europe) often resulting in serious planning failures as the usefulness and implementation of normative planning ideas is inevitably conditioned by context (Vainer, 2014; Watson, 2014). Critical scholars claim that current conventional planning theories and practices were developed from a limited number of urban cases in the North with specific socio-political and institutional preconditions. Therefore, theory fails to adequately explain global urban diversity, specifically for cities in the Global South (de Satgé & Watson, 2018; Watson, 2009; 2008; Cooke & Kothari, 2001).

Southern-turn scholars stand against the political economy of knowledge production in planning (Connell, 2014), i.e., the assumption that planning ideas from the Global North can be used as 'placeless' generalizations with all places in the world sharing the same physical, social and institutional

context (Watson, 2014). Moreover, the southern-turn rejects the diffusion of 'best practices' that are developed in isolation from an understanding of contextual preconditions for success (Calderon & Westin, 2021; Connelly, 2010; Healey, 2003).

Southern-turn scholars acknowledge that the political economy of knowledge production is linked to global inequalities in resources. Such inequality limits the number of scholars based in southern institutions along with their ability to fund and make time for deep scholarly engagement. Consequently, most of the Global South remains particularly under-studied or at least underrepresented in international academic forums (Lawhon & Truelove, 2020; Roy, 2016). Southern scholars discuss the pressing need to build a new and more appropriate body of planning theory based on assumptions about societies and economies that differ from the northern-based notions that currently inform much of conventional planning theory (Lawhon & Truelove, 2020; Watson, 2016; 2014).

Southern-turn ideas point to the urgent need to internationalize planning theory. To do so, it is proposed to draw on ideas from beyond the Global North, and emphasize context-dependency to avoid 'best practice' transplants and the unsubstantiated universalizing of theoretical concepts (Watson, 2014; Healey, 2012). Recognizing the importance of context implies that the task is to move away from general theory with universalizing pretensions. New theoretical perspectives need to specify the contextual assumptions on which they are based. In this way, it should be possible to source ideas from different parts of the globe to explain urban processes and identify innovative responses. This discussion is similar to the literature on planning cultures (Friedmann, 2005; Sanyal, 2005) which is presented below in Section 2.4.

Southern scholars call for more empirical studies, not as an endpoint, but as the basis for deep understanding, context-based analysis and more rigorous theorization that considers how theory travels and what can/should happen when it does (Lawhon & Truelove, 2020). Scholars engaging with the southern-turn are developing alternative concepts and ideas based on southern cases. In the following subsections, I highlight three alternative conceptualizations about contextual considerations that better fit the reality of the Global South: peri-urban informality, insurgent planning and conflicting rationalities.

2.2.1 Peri-urban informality

Southern scholars often argue that conventional planning approaches have little, if any, effect in the Global South because peri-urbanization and informality are neglected (Singh & Narain, 2020; Inostroza, 2017; La Rosa *et al.*, 2017; Haller & Borsdorf, 2013). Peri-urbanization is a common phenomenon in the Global South that reproduces poor economic, social and environmental conditions (Inostroza, 2017; Haller & Borsdorf, 2013), that go unaddressed by local governments (Garcia-Ayllon, 2016; Watson, 2009). Consequently, peri-urban areas develop mostly through informality in all of its forms, spatial, economic, social and political (Ablo, 2020; Lombard & Meth, 2016; Roy, 2005; Roy *et al.*, 2003).

The widespread informality within the Global South and its neglect from participatory planning theory and practice, has led to discussion by planning scholars on the implications of informality to theory and practice (Ablo, 2020; Rocco & van Ballegooijen, 2018; La Porta & Shleifer, 2014; Roy *et al.*, 2003). Scholars engaged with informality in the Global South claim that, despite the importance that informality has played for many decades in urban development and planning, conventional approaches and methods tend to overlook its importance (Lombard & Meth, 2016; Watson, 2009; Roy, 2005). Informality is conventionally conceptualized in theory and practice in a broad, simplistic and inaccurate way, as an illegal, small-scale, homogeneous, survivalist strategy. However, informality is highly varied, context dependent, functions across scales, and at times, is a consciously chosen strategy for offering better results for both the people and urban development (Lombard & Meth, 2016; Duminy, 2011). Lombard and Meth (2016) assert that such conventional definitions of informality as a contrary problem to formality tend to negate the tangled relationship that often exists between 'informal' and 'formal' sectors.

Southern scholars discuss the validity of the formal-informal conceptual dichotomy and the context-dependency of the definition of informality, and its origin and operation in different contexts of the globe (Lombard & Meth, 2016; Haller & Borsdorf, 2013; Miraftab, 2012; Madaleno & Gurovich, 2004; Iaquinta & Drescher, 2000). Duminy (2011) argues that planning needs to move beyond the formal-informal binary because people do not practice their urban existence in exclusive formal-informal realms, nor is planning practice itself a strictly formal, ruled process.

People combine diverse strategies of life, some that are understood to be formal and others informal (Lombard & Meth, 2016). The interconnected combination of formal and informal forms adopted by people is produced through a complex interaction of historical, social, political and economic forces from their contexts (La Porta & Shleifer, 2014; Miraftab, 2012; Duminy, 2011). Planning is also practiced in a combination of formal and informal forms since practice is characterized by exceptions, contradictions, ambiguity and arbitrary decision-making (de Satgé & Watson, 2018; Bhan *et al.*, 2017; Roy, 2009). Miraftab (2012; 2004) and Watson (2009) question the conventional notion of participatory planning practice as exclusively formal, since planning practitioners in the Global South often find themselves entangled with citizens collective actions and everyday livelyhood strategies when responding to the state's failure to fulfil its promises.

Peri-urban informality needs to be explicitly recognized in participatory planning and management (Lopez-Goyburu & Garcia-Montero, 2018; Madaleno & Gurovich, 2004) in order to make planning approaches more suitable to the prevailing problems of the new urban world in different parts of the globe (Haller, 2017; Watson, 2009). Duminy (2011) proposes that planning theories should recognize that decision-making involves numerous processes (i.e., formal and informal) by which resources are allocated, access is achieved and development takes place. Informality needs to be understood from southern perspectives, such as subaltern urbanism, grey spaces, occupancy urbanism, among other alternative ideas to the dominant conceptualization of informality in western theory (Lombard & Meth, 2016).

The southern alternative idea of informality extends its understanding beyond the urban poor to encompass the actions of different sectors, including middle and high income urban residents, the state, and business interests (Lombard & Meth, 2016). According to Roy (2005) peri-urban informality is a tool to reveal power relations, to expose the limitations of conventional planning theory and practice, and to think of new ways of understanding and intervening in todays' cities.

Drawing on this discussion of the relevance of informality that rejects the binary constructs of formal-informal, southern-turn planning scholars discuss the wide range of spaces within the informal arena where citizenship is practiced (Duminy, 2011; Roy, 2009; Watson, 2009; Miraftab, 2004). Miraftab (2012; 2009; 2004) argues that conventional participatory planning privileges government-led participatory planning processes, and as an alter-

native, she discusses the idea of citizen insurgency in planning, which is presented in the following subsection.

2.2.2 Citizen insurgency

Southern scholars argue that, in the last decade, development and planning agencies have granted legitimacy to grassroots politics and action, while at the same time launching processes of selective inclusion and exclusion that depoliticize grassroots participation (Miraftab, 2004). The World Banks' attention to community-based politics and activism within its neoliberal programs, and participatory planning as understood and practiced in the last three decades, has followed the assumption that representative democracy works for the best interests of all those with equal citizenship rights, including disadvantaged groups (Miraftab, 2012).

The inadequacy of participatory planning is derived from the assumption that participation through representative and formal institutionalized channels alone can reach just outcomes, neglecting the essential role of citizens' direct action (Irazabal, 2009a; Miraftab, 2009; Friedmann, 2005; Watson, 2002). Miraftab (2012) argues that, across the globe, citizens participate in insurgent practices of citizenship that are legitimated, not necessarily through law, but through every day and persistent use in the production of their living environments. Insurgent citizenship refers to democratic practices where citizens do not delegate the defence of their interests to others but take the matter into their own hands, thus, citizens assert their citizen rights, legitimate their claims and promote their political agency (Miraftab, 2012; Duminy, 2011).

Insurgent practices of citizenship offer foundations for the development of the notion of insurgent planning (Miraftab, 2009; Roy, 2009). Insurgent planning draws on participatory planning, while understanding citizenship as a practice constructed from below, recognizing citizens' direct action to self-determine how, why and when to participate (Miraftab, 2012; 2004). Miraftab (2012) argues for the need to recognize the wide range of insurgent practices performed by excluded citizens outside of the formal structures of representative participation, in order to develop an expanded and more just understanding of planning, both as an ideal and as a realm of action.

The idea of insurgent planning therefore builds on the interacting and mutually constitutive concepts of invited and invented spaces of participation. Invited spaces are defined as the formalized, often bureaucratized,

structures of participation facilitated by professional planners and legitimized by donors and government interventions. Invented spaces are defined as those self-determined oppositional citizen practices that constitute and claim urban spaces, directly confronting the authorities and the status quo (Miraftab, 2004).

Miraftab (2012); and Watson (2009) argue that populations mobilize within a wide range of spaces of citizenship, whether making use of formal channels (like courts, laws, local councils) or making use of informal and directly oppositional forms (like rallies, demonstrations, and picketing). Thus, citizens make use of invited and invented spaces of participation according to what is effective in presenting demands and gaining results in a specific time and place in their specific contexts. Therefore, insurgent planning builds on the interaction among multiple actors who determine the spaces and forms of participation (Miraftab, 2012). It reveals both the invited and the invented spaces of participation as not mutually exclusive but parallels, acknowledging the importance of the invented spaces of insurgency and resistance (Miraftab, 2004).

Insurgent citizenship practices do not excuse the state of its responsibilities; rather, they hold the state accountable through means beyond the state-sanctioned channels of citizen participation (Miraftab, 2012). In this regard, in southern contexts, insurgent citizenship practices to influence decision-making might be more meaningful mechanisms of balancing power (Calderon and Hernandez-García (2019); Miraftab (2009). The wide range of strategies adopted by citizens to exert their participation in planning, as well as citizens' right to dissent and to rebel, needs to be acknowledge. Attention needs to be placed on how power domination is exerted along participatory planning practice, but also how it is contested (Miraftab, 2009). The symbolic value of insurgent citizenship in the Global South is acknowledge as an alternative for supporting the ideal of a just society (Miraftab, 2009; 2004).

In the discussion of participation in invited and invented spaces, the issue of prevalence of conflicts between the state-centred perspective and the insurgent-citizen perspective is discussed by Watson (2009; 2003). The author builds on the idea of conflicting rationalities, presented in the next section, as an alternative to the conventional consensus model of society held by conventional participatory planning theory.

2.2.3 Conflicting rationalities

It is essential for southern planners to find a way to work with conflict that prevails on the contexts of informality and insurgency, rather than hindering them through regulation and consensus-building planning processes (Bhan *et al.*, 2017; Watson, 2008). Similar to agonistic planning theorists, southern-turn scholars argue for conflict to be recognized and not eliminated through a mandate for consensus (de Satgé & Watson, 2018; Legacy, 2016; Pløger, 2004; McGuirk, 2001). In this regard, Watson (2009) suggests that a southern alternative assumption should be of a "conflict model of society", rather than the prevailing consensus model. Thus, she proposes acknowledging planning practice in the South as a conflict of rationalities to understand how participation issues in policy and planning shapes what currently happens and what could happen in practice (Watson, 2012).

The argument is that planners in cities of the Global South are located within a fundamental tension between the logic of governing and the logic of survival (both highly diverse and overlapping). In this understanding, the logic of governing is often based on techno-managerial and market-based systems which now operate in many southern urban areas and have embedded rationalities within them which, in many cases, have been inherited from other (often northern) contexts and are strongly shaped by a neoliberal pursuit of modernization (de Satgé & Watson, 2018; Watson, 2003). Hence, conventional and control-oriented forms of planning find their place in modern governments, where they can serve both progressive and regressive ends. The logic of survival, followed by marginalized and impoverished communities, is embedded in informality in forms of income generation, forms of settlement and housing and forms of negotiating life in the city (de Satgé & Watson, 2018; Watson, 2009) and the insurgent mechanisms of citizens to influence decision-making processes (Miraftab, 2009).

Operating in this interface, planners and policy-makers regularly find themselves confronted with informal socio-spatial processes that lie outside of the development logic of local governments, in which informality is often seen as disorderliness and a violation of rules and regulations which need to be controlled (de Satgé & Watson, 2018). This leads to clashes where contestation and resistance are more conflictual and visible than in most northern contexts (Watson, 2009). Southern-turn researchers claim that, to date, conventional planning theory has provided little guidance to planners

working within such tensions (de Satgé & Watson, 2018; Roy, 2005; Watson, 2002).

de Satgé and Watson (2018) argue that finding a way in which planning can work with informality, supporting the survival efforts of the urban poor rather than hindering them through regulation or displacing them with modernist mega-projects, is essential. Thus, a central task for planning and urban theorists is to explore the analytical, evaluative and interventive concepts which could help planners faced with such conflicting rationalities, paying attention to what could be termed the 'interface' between the rationality of governing and the rationality of survival (de Satgé & Watson, 2018).

In line with the southern-turn claims that context should always be looked at for concepts from different parts of the world to be tested (not simply applied) and for new ideas to be developed (as a social learning process not 'best practices'). I argue in this thesis that the three southern ideas presented are essential to understanding the Bolivian context, and specifically the case study of this thesis. Moreover, with the intention to further expand and develop alternative ideas from the southern context, in the following section I present some indigenous concepts and local frameworks that need to be considered when investigating participatory planning practice in Bolivia.

2.3 Sumak Kawsay perspective

As mentioned in the Introduction, this thesis draws on a case study of implementing, in practice, the legislative effort of Morales' government to make planning more attuned to the Bolivian context. Morales' government implemented structural reforms to the Bolivian constitution and legislation incorporating the indigenous paradigm of *Vivir Bien* ('Good Living' in English). Morales' politics of '*Vivir bien*' is built on Andean cosmology called, in the Quechua language, *Sumak Kawsay*.

In its ancestral form, *Sumak Kawsay* is a principle of life loaded with semantic thickness, that is commonly synthesized on its principles of self-identity, equity and environmental sustainability (Cubillo-Guevara *et al.*, 2014). Accordingly, *Vivir bien's* fundamental principles are reciprocity as opposed to liberalism, complementarity rather than competition, and the reproduction of life rather than reproduction of capital (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2015).

The reform comprised a transformation of Bolivia's democratic system; it established 'intercultural democracy' as the new democratic government system for the country, aiming to tailor democracy to the diverse indigenous cultures of the country (Garcia-Tornel *et al.*, 2019; Mayorga, 2017; Zuazo *et al.*, 2012; De Munter, 2009). The concept of 'intercultural democracy' incorporates the idea of 'communitarian democracy', as complement to representative and participatory democracy (Republica de Bolivia, 2008), following the argument that indigenous forms of organization and decision-making are sustained within the Bolivian social movements. Peasant communities, labour unions, syndicates, confederations, and neighbourhood councils known as *Organizaciones Territoriales de Base* (OTB) adopt practices from indigenous socio-political systems in combination with the western political system (Garcia-Tornel *et al.*, 2019; Costas *et al.*, 2004; Choque & Mamani, 2001).

Nevertheless, the concept of 'communitarian democracy' continues to be ambiguous and remains under construction. In Bolivia's constitution, brief reference is made to the multiple indigenous ethnicities and cultures that live in Bolivia and their diverse socio-political systems, i.e., forms of organization and decision-making (Mayorga, 2017; Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2016; Costas *et al.*, 2004). In legislation, 'communitarian democracy' is explained as "the ancient rules and procedures of native indigenous peoples for the election, appointment and nomination of authorities and representatives" (Republica de Bolivia, 2008), and the "norms of native indigenous peasant peoples for self-government, deliberation, qualitative representation and the exercise of collective rights" (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2010).

Despite the limited conceptualization of 'communitarian democracy', planning practitioners are demanded to acknowledge and support all forms of social organization and decision-making mechanisms held by the indigenous peoples of Bolivia (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2016; Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2013). The conceptual vagueness in legislation and the ongoing academic debates of what 'communitarian democracy' entails constitutes a challenge for the municipal planning institutions, particularly regarding the need to implement it in compliance with the *Sumak Kawsay* planning reforms. Moreover, it signifies a challenge for researchers and analysts aiming to study the impacts (in practice) of

including indigenous paradigms and values in the government apparatus and national legislation.

Thus, in order to cope with this limitation, I have focused my research on three ancient principles of the Quechua socio-political system related to participatory decision-making to explore the influence of ancestral indigenous ideas in the understanding and practice of participatory planning in Sacaba. The indigenous principles of *Muyu, Asamblea* and *Thakhi* in Quechua, which are briefly explained below, represent the ancestral ideals of the indigenous Quechua culture, based on the work of anthropologist and historians who studied the Quechua civilization. The purpose of presenting these indigenous ideas is not to critically engage with indigenous conceptual framework, but to facilitate the understanding of the indigenous influence on Bolivia's ideas and practices of participatory planning. Moreover, the section concludes by pointing out the impact of these indigenous principles in Bolivian socio-political practices in present days.

2.3.1 Muyu, an alternative understanding of citizen representation

Muyu, meaning to spin around something, symbolizes community representtation as a binding mandate. Representative positions shift and rotate between all the members of the community; and require a duty of obedience (Laurenti Sellers, 2017; Guzman, 2014; Guzman, 2011).

Muyu symbolizes the appointment of representative positions according to shift and rotation; there is no election or re-election in the exercise of leadership. This means that being a leader of the group is the duty of everyone at least once in their life. The compulsory exercise of the public function nullifies the distance between rulers and ruled and strengths the sense of collectiveness and responsibility over the individual (Garcia-Tornel *et al.*, 2019).

Muyu builds upon the belief that being the representative of the group, i.e., the leader; is a circumstance created by the group and not by one's own merit. Thus, leaders cannot decide on their own behalf, but rather have the duty to make viable the collective will (Garcia-Tornel *et al.*, 2019). It is a form of representation "lead obeying", the leaders are messengers of the will of the community (Laurenti Sellers, 2017).

2.3.2 Thakhi, an alternative understanding of power relations

Thakhi, meaning path, refers to the journey that each individual takes through different levels of community responsibility. It is an understanding of authority as a respectful and prestigious position independent of political positions but built by fulfilling communal duties (Guzman, 2011).

Thakhi is also founded in the idea that the collective is above the individual, thus every member of the community is supposed to train their responsibility with the community by assuming the different representative positions that are required by the community. *Thakhi* is based on the understanding of authority as development through the compliancy with the representative positions to develop wisdom and experience. Thus, all representative positions rotate between the members of the community in an ascending hierarchical tiered trajectory, meaning all members of the community come to assume the lowest and highest representative positions in a scaled manner in order to develop wisdom and experience (Garcia-Tornel *et al.*, 2019; Albó, 1990). The *Thakhi* starts with basic responsibilities, like the organization of religious parties, to eventually becoming regional representatives. Once all the communal responsibilities are fulfilled, the person is acknowledged with great respect by the whole community as the wisest and is appointed as communal adviser when decision-making is difficult, or there are very important problems (Laurenti Sellers, 2017; Guzman, 2011). The authority or respect is achieved with the trajectory; it is built over years and cumulative experience. The status of authority is not intrinsic to a representative position itself, which differs from formal authority that is exercised because of a position of power (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2015).

2.3.3 Asamblea, an alternative understanding of spaces for participatory decision-making

Asamblea, alternatively called *ulaka, ordinario* and *cabildo* depending on the community, is the name given to the highest instance of decision-making (Laurenti Sellers, 2017). *Asamblea*s are communal gatherings of compulsory attendance for the members of the community (at least one person per household) held on a regular basis, on fixed dates, in order to deal with issues concerning the community. The *Asamblea* upholds the principle of equality among all members of the community and the idea of deliberation as a never ending process in order to manage differences and achieved shared

understandings (Garcia-Tornel *et al.*, 2019). Consensus is understood as doing-knowing, that is, it strives to achieve equilibrium and complementarity between positions who respect themselves and others. This is unlike consensus as understood as unanimity of wills that results from the strongest argument submitted by a majority (Mazorco, 2007).

The purpose of the *Asamblea* is to solve problems and make decisions about the future collectively; it builds on the idea that the collective is above the individual (Choque & Mamani, 2001). From the indigenous perspective, reciprocity and complementarity are fundamental in every area of community life. It holds on the assumption that everyone is giving and receiving at all times of their life, thus, for instance, during sowing season, the entire community sows the land of each member, and each member reimburses the help obtained by granting their help in exchange (Garcia-Tornel *et al.*, 2019; Laurenti Sellers, 2017).

The ideas presented above have persisted to varying degrees across Bolivian social movement organization (Garcia-Tornel *et al.*, 2019; Albó, 1990), in combination with other influential ideas that place citizens as protagonist of development throughout the history of the country, as explained in the following subsection.

2.3.4 Ancestral indigenous ideas in indigenous modern times

Over the last decade, Bolivian social movements have developed a distinctive socio-political organization for decision-making that combines elements from the indigenous principles presented in the previous section hybridized with syndicalist union practices (Guzman, 2014; Albro, 2010; Postero, 2010; Albro, 2006; Choque & Mamani, 2001). Throughout the complex interaction of historical, social, political and economic forces in circumstances and contexts, social movements developed their own perspectives and strategies to self-position as protagonists of the production of their living environment, and to participate, support and oppose governmental powers.

From the 1930s, when miners were the most important civil society protagonist, mining workers allied with other labour organizations, such as factory workers, to establish the union (*sindicato*) as the primary form of political and economic resistance. Then in the 1940s, *campesinos* (i.e. indigenous peasant farmers) established their union to take over large haci-

endas and demand the return of their collective lands, echoing indigenous demands since colonial period (Gordillo, 2000; Rivera Cusicanqui, 1987).

Thus, in 1952, miners and *campesino* unions allied as representative of the masses to demand democracy and human rights and lead a national revolution to bring about universal suffrage, rural education and an agrarian reform that distributed land to *campesinos*. Since then, unions have increasingly become the primary legitimate form of acquiring political rights. The union model fused citizenship, labour rights and indigenous demands through a discourse focusing on the historical and national value of labour and indigeneity (Postero, 2010). It reproduced the practice of *Asamblea*s as the main space for decision-making with *Muyu* and *Thakhi* elements for defining their social organization and selection of representatives, while embracing conventional union strategies, like blockades, demonstrations and hunger strikes, to put pressure on the state to take action over the union's demands.

Thus, in the 1980s and 1990s, the indigenous social movements demanded formal recognition and consequently, indigenous movement demands were incorporated into the neoliberal reforms of the 1990s (Ströbele-Gregor, 1997). The participatory planning legislation of the 1990s explicitly recognized indigenous groups and their leaders as OTBs, i.e., actors in municipal development decisions with the aim of incorporating indigenous peoples into the neoliberal project (Postero, 2010; Peres *et al.*, 2009). Although with the neoliberal privatization of mines, miners were relocated throughout different cities of Bolivia, weakening miners labour unions; many relocated miners became involved in urban political struggles and coca leaf production.

Therefore, after this, the legacy of union organizations was combined with agriculture and market rationalities. Consequently, social movements and associations continued being a fundamental form of organizing, especially among *campesinos* and workers in the urban informal spheres (Lazar, 2008). Social movements prefer the union form of organization to that of the political party, which was historically controlled by elites, and continue to ground their socio-political organization on *Asamblea*s (Albo, 2000; Webber, 2007).

Social movements, like the OTBs, build on the *Asamblea* principle of granting all members of the OTB the same opportunity to formulate issues of discussion and share their own point of view about all issues under

discussion. Moreover, drawing on the belief that all issues need to be treated as equally important, which is reflected in the wide variety of topics discussed during OTB *Asamblea*s (issues may range from very specific family matters to wider issues of national interest) and the prolongation of communal gatherings duration. Similar to the principle of *Thakhi* that the collective is above the individual, every member of the community is supposed to apply their responsibility with the community in the OTB *Asamblea* decision-making. This is only possible after every community member has expressed their point of view and listened to everyone else's point of view. Finally, building on the principle of representation of *Muyu*, the *Asamblea* is the instance where the leaders receive instructions from their community on what message to transmit to higher decision-making groups (Garcia-Tornel *et al.*, 2019; Laurenti Sellers, 2017).

From the account of the mixed nature of the social organization of popular movements in Bolivia and the southern-turn discussion of informality, insurgency and conflicting rationalities; I have found the idea of hybrid planning cultures proposed by Sanyal (2005) to be of great relevance for this thesis. Therefore, I conclude this chapter by presenting what is meant by hybrid planning cultures and why I find this literature a helpful analytical tool to develop alternative ideas of participatory planning practices in the case of Sacaba, Bolivia, the Global South and beyond.

2.4 Hybrid planning cultures

In the 1990s, the debate around different ways of planning in relation to local contexts emerged, asking the questions: 'why do the same planning approaches caused different results around the world?' and 'why are similar challenges approached differently in planning in different places?' (Suitner, 2014; Sanyal, 2005). From these debates, the idea of planning cultures became an issue of discussion in planning research, particularly in comparative studies (Friedmann, 2005; Sanyal, 2005). Different definitions of planning cultures have been developed in literature (Suitner, 2014; Getimis, 2012), however, all make reference to the different and particular ways in which planning is conceived, institutionalized, and enacted in different parts of the globe (Friedmann, 2005).

The idea of planning cultures concurs with the southern-turn critique of the importance of the context in defining the way planning is practiced in

different parts of the globe (Calderon & Westin, 2021; Watson, 2016; Rosa, 2014; Friedmann, 2005; Sanyal, 2005). Planning culture scholars, similar to the southern-turn critics (Murrey, 2018; Roy, 2016; de Sousa Santos, 2011) and *Sumak Kawsay* politics, call to challenge the dominance of decontextualized planning theories (Sanli & Townshend, 2018; Sanyal, 2005). Accordingly, Sanli and Townshend (2018) argue the importance of recognizing the different planning cultures in different places, rather than compelling and fitting the realities of planning practice into existing decontextualized planning theories.

In discussing the importance of context in planning culture literature, three features of contexts are often discussed as influencing the creation of planning cultures: the planners' adaptive process, the societal, economic and political context of places, and the temporal dynamics of contexts (Sanyal, 2016; Knieling & Othengrafen, 2015; 2009; Friedmann, 2005). These three features are presented below.

In terms of planners' adaptive process, Getimis (2012) points out that, even under the same institutional and legal conditions, different countries and cities develop different logic concerning planning problems, leading to different outcomes. In this regard, Friedmann (2005); and Sanyal (2005) argue that planning cultures have deep and diverse roots in the collective ethos of planners involved in planning processes. That is to say, the planners' perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, values, and interpretations about the appropriate roles of the state, market forces, and civil society in urban, regional, and national development (Taylor, 2013; Getimis, 2012; Knieling & Othengrafen, 2009; Friedmann, 2005; Sanyal, 2005). Scholars argue that planners collective ways of thinking and acting are shaped by their professional education and are influenced by more general societal values (Knieling & Othengrafen, 2015; 2009). This argument contrasts with the decontextualized assumption that planners are neutral facilitators of unbiased processes (Machler & Milz, 2015; Gaventa, 1998; Healey, 1997), and resonates with southern-turn scholars discussion about the effect of planners perception, motivation and agency in facilitating or hindering participation (Pineda-Zumaran, 2018; Connelly, 2010; Cornwall *et al.*, 2007).

In relation to the different societal, economic and political contexts which influence how planning practice is performed, the idea of planning cultures acknowledges planning practice as a task that is shaped by these ever-specific socio-cultural, economic, and political contexts, not by universal

laws. This consideration of the context resembles the southern-turn critique of the assumption that conventional planning theory can be used as 'placeless' generalizations, as if all places in the world shared the same physical, social and institutional context (Watson, 2014). Accordingly, Knieling and Othengrafen (2015); Friedmann (2005); and Sanyal (2005) argue that the cities' variety of institutional, legal and political settings, achieved levels of economic development, different socio-economic patterns, varied political cultures, different structures of governance and the differential role of civil society exert a substantial influence over both the substance of what planners do and how they do it.

Akin to the southern-turn ideas of peri-urban informality (Lombard & Meth, 2016), insurgency (Miraftab & Wills, 2005) and conflicting rationalities (Watson, 2003), Friedmann (2005) argues that a local planning culture gradually evolves in every city from planners adaptation to the prevailing political culture, accommodating to its institutional settings and availability of resources, battling entrenched interests and traditions. Political cultures are understood as: "the extent to which organized civil society is an active participant in public decisions, the degree to which the political process is dominated by a single party or subject to political competition, the degree of 'openness' in the political process and the role of the media, the application of principles of hierarchy and subsidiarity, legal traditions, the relative autonomy of local governments, and so forth." (Friedmann, 2005).

Finally, the planning cultures literature discusses the importance of context in terms of its evolution over time. Friedmann (2005); and Sanyal (2005) argue that planning cultures are in continuous movement; continually being refurbished to adapt to perceived changes, both internal and external in origin. Thus, planning cultures are historically grounded, and sensitive to the constant transition of the countries and cities (like socio-economic and cultural transformations, demographic dynamics, cultural exchanges, and the images that modern technologies disseminate worldwide).

Sanyal (2005) goes further with a temporal analysis of planning cultures to argue that, like the larger social cultures in which planning cultures are embedded, planning cultures change and evolve in dynamic relation to internal and external social, economic and political changes. In this regard, he argues for "hybrid planning cultures" whose complexity can only be understood through deep historical analyses.

The idea of hybrid planning cultures rejects the notion of culture as an inherently pure, essential and static social construct, and supports the idea that planning cultures are highly fluid, flexible, and dynamic (Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013; Sanyal, 2005). Drawing on empirical evidence from across the world, Sanyal (2005) claims that planning cultures, when subjected to historical analysis, reveal themselves to be in constant flux; evolving in unpredictable ways as a result of endogenous factors and exogenous factors (Sanyal, 2016), like globalization (Hu *et al.*, 2013; Friedmann, 2005).

In line with the southern-turn call for more context-based analysis and theorization of how theory travels and what happens when it does (Lawhon & Truelove, 2020), Sanyal (2016; 2005) argues for a more complex understanding of planning cultures. Sanyal, however, stresses the importance of recognizing context not as demarcated and unchanging characteristics that differentiate the planning practice of different places, but as hybrid planning cultures, i.e., unfixed features that continuously change, develop, combine, and are dispersed in historical processes. Since the evolutionary development of planning cultures do not follow the same route universally, scholars argue for developing more adaptable and less prescriptive approaches, sensitive to the cultural nuances embedded within practices (Sanli & Townshend, 2018; Sanyal, 2005).

Analyzing the substantial contextual factors that support or hinder planning practice is an important issue that extends the spectrum of questions to be approached in planning research (de Satgé & Watson, 2018; Parnell & Oldfield, 2014; Connelly, 2010; Sanyal, 2005). However, the focus of research on planning cultures should be placed within the continuous process of change (social, economic, political, and technological), which affects the way planners conceptualize problems and structure institutional responses to them (Sanyal, 2005). We need to improve our understanding of the drivers of change and the aptitudes of a planning culture to adapt to changes (Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013). According to Sanyal (2016), understanding why and how planning cultures change and how such changes impact public policies is more important than searching for differences in planning cultures as if they convey a totally different collective ethos shaped by the unique characteristics of each place's context. However, the influence of planning cultures on planning interventions remains understudied; on occasions it is indirectly analysed, but rarely as a research objective itself (Suitner, 2014).

Taking into consideration the idea of hybrid planning cultures, a couple of more operatively analytical frameworks have been discussed in comparative studies to study planning cultures across Europe. Scholars like Knieling and Othengrafen (2009), Getimis (2012), Suitner (2014) and Taylor (2013) have developed systematic frameworks to structurally identify the endogenous and exogenous factors that influence planning practice in different cities in Europe. However, these analytical frameworks, indirectly hold on to the idea that planning cultures are fixed, rather than dynamic, in time. The focus of these frameworks is on characterizing planning cultures in the search for differences rather than asking when, why and how planning cultures change and how such changes influence public policies. Much of the planning cultures debate dismisses Sanyal's call to focus research on change, on the continuously transformative dynamics of hybrid planning cultures.

Overall, the contributions and debates in planning cultures mentioned offer an additional perspective to the southern-turn discussion about planning practice in contexts that differ considerably from the assumed northern context on which planning theories were developed. However, the literature on (hybrid) planning cultures centres exclusive attention on the way planning professionals think and act in relation to the characteristics of the context where they situate their practice. Although Friedmann (2005) recognizes that, in practice, planners must confront civil society organizations that resist projects, make demands, claim rights to be heard and taken seriously by the authorities, instead of belittling the value of citizen insurgency. He discusses, from a planners' perspective that marginalized citizens are increasingly prepared to enter into a new social contracts with the state that gives them a voice and mobilizes their own resources for the development of their livelihoods. As noted by Getimis (2012), studies on planning cultures are based mainly on surveys about the different understanding of planners and experts concerning planning practices at the national or city level. Thus, in terms of participatory planning, the literature on planning cultures is limited to invited spaces for participatory planning (as described by Miraftab, 2004), neglecting the role of invented and insurgent strategies of citizens to influence the local planning cultures.

Only when we have more insights about the complexities of hybrid planning cultures across the globe, will we be able to intervene, adapt or improve planning practices (Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013). In this regard, an

important contribution to the planning cultures debate is the outcome of studies on city planning cultures in developing countries and industrialized countries (Getimis, 2012; Sanyal, 2005). Sanyal (2005) argues that understanding hybrid planning cultures in different places could facilitate intellectual encounters of different planning experiences to create a global conversation about the role of planning in the face of change.

Bearing these considerations in mind, this thesis draws on hybrid planning culture ideas and the southern-turn discussion. Departing from the common critique of both bodies of literatures regarding the limitations of (decontextualized) conventional planning theory, the thesis develops a comprehensive analysis of the role of informality, insurgency and conflict in the complex and continuous process of change of hybrid planning cultures in the Global South. Moreover, it explores the ability of a hybrid planning culture to adapt to change.

3. Methodology and case study description

This chapter provides a description of the genesis of the research project in order to introduce the description of the research design and expand on how it guided the fieldwork and data analysis. Section 3.1 starts by presenting a brief narrative of the circumstances under which the research for this thesis started, as a background to present the research strategy. In the following subsection 3.1.1, the two main research methodologies that were combined for conducting the research are presented, Soft Systems Methodology and Case Study Methodology, with an explanation of the reasoning behind combining both methodologies.

Section 3.2 introduces the case study of this thesis, followed by an explanation of the reasoning behind the selection of the case. Section 3.3 outlines the methods used for data collection and analysis of the case study, with the respective justification of the selection of methods. The final section of this chapter, Section 3.4, is a personal reflection on the research strategy, process and methods.

3.1 Research strategy

As mention in the introduction, the research project is part of a bilateral research cooperation financed by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) to strengthen the research capacity of the Bolivian university *Universidad Mayor de San Simon* (UMSS) in Cochabamba. In 2014, after applying and getting a PhD student position ('sandwich' modality) on the topic: "Learning approach to participatory planning to reconcile urban development and the conservation needs of human habitats and environment", the research project started. The background

characteristics of the project are important as they have implications on the design and development of the research.

By that time, I had worked for a couple of years, gathering and processing data for research consultancies and for foreign researchers doing their research in my city. During that time, I learned a lot about fieldwork, specifically, conducting surveys, interviews and focus groups. I found fieldwork a great opportunity to be more acquainted with local problems and perspectives.

Thus, when I was given the task of elaborating my PhD research proposal, I departed from the local issues which had concerned me most while doing fieldwork up to that point. I was intrigued about the rapid, dispersed and predominantly informal urban expansion of metropolitan Cochabamba. Doing fieldwork, I had observed that informal settlements with precarious living conditions were spreading massively and rapidly around the metropolitan center and I wondered why; why was this happening? Why were local governments not in control of urban growth?

I started retrieving data about informal urbanization in Cochabamba. I became aware of the lack of data on informal settlements and peri-urban areas in Bolivian governmental institutions. It seemed contra-dictory to me, that in a context of primarily informal peri-urban growth, the peri-urban reality was neglected in Bolivia's urban planning framework; the census databases were only disaggregated for urban and rural areas, and the local policies (and budgets) were differentiated to target urban and rural situations. From this empirical reflection, I decided to continue exploring on the ground, while progressively defining the focus of the research.

From the latest national census data, I identified that, in the metropolis of Cochabamba, the municipality of Sacaba was the city with the most rapid and recent population growth in urban areas, while decreasing significantly in rural areas. Then I decided to conduct field visits to Sacaba in order to observe the urban expansion situation and to meet local actors to collect an overall insight of the informal urban expansion situation.

During the field visits, I had formal meetings with public servants from the local government and informal conversations with citizens I encountered while walking around the informal settlements. In both cases, I asked their opinions about the main struggles of the municipality and responses were varied, heterogeneous and sometimes conflicting, but always linked to the rapid urbanization process at the urban peripheries. This experience affirmed

my feeling that informal peri-urbanization in Sacaba was a deeply complex and conflictual problem.

My interest in studying the complexity of informal peri-urbanization was defined; however, I knew that my background knowledge about urban development and planning was limited. Thus, I decided to explore the peri-urbanization phenomenon in response to the emergence of issues from the empirical research experience, shaping the research focus towards the issues that appeared most relevant on the ground. In terms of methodology, I decided to conduct a case study with a systemic perspective, I selected Case Study Methodology (CSM) and Soft Systems Methodology (SSM) to guide the research strategy. Both methodologies offered me the possibility of holistic, interpretative and empathic empirical insight generation (Burns 2007). CSM and SSM are empirical tools that aim to help researchers to understand complex social phenomena building on holistic, real-world perspectives (Yin, 2009; Checkland & Poulter, 2006), enabling processes of inquiry towards gradual clarification, and even transformation, of the research problem (progressive focusing). Accordingly, I made use of a combination of methods that enabled a comprehensive exploration of the multiple perspectives and everyday practices related to the focuses of the inquiry.

The research on which this thesis is grounded is primarily empirical, the research focus developed progressively throughout data collection and analysis. The research aim, research questions (RQ) and theoretical literature with which this thesis engages were constantly reformulated during different stages of the research process, which is visible in the paper's focus. The research focus on the complex situation of informal peri-urbanization led me to question local urban planning performance, which led me to exploring the local history of the planning practice, and the evolution of the local culture of participatory planning in Sacaba.

Finally, the combination of CSM and SSM allowed me to navigate from the context-specific case to a wider discussion on urban planning studies. Similar to the arguments of the southern critique and planning cultures literature, both methodologies recognize the importance of the context and the existence of multiple rationalities within it. This thesis offers a deep understanding of the rationalities and daily practices of planners and citizens involved in participatory planning processes in Sacaba to contribute to the southern critique of participatory planning. In the following subsection, I explain in more detail how CSM and SSM were combined.

3.1.1 Soft Systems Methodology and Case Study Methodology: an alliance for grasping the complexity of wicked problems

As anticipated earlier, combining the CSM with SSM as complementary methodologies has been an interesting decision, as both support empirical inquiries that investigates contemporary issues in-depth and within its context. According to Yin (2009), a CSM copes with the distinctive situation in which there are many more variables of interest than "data points for one result". It relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangular fashion for its subjective interpretation, sensitive to the risks of human subjects research (Stake, 1995). Similarly, SSM, a tradition within the systems thinking approach, holds that real world problems are messy and uncertain (Checkland & Scholes, 1990) because everyone sees, understands and evaluates the world differently; thus problems, and their solutions, are perceived in multiple ways (Packham & Sriskandarajah, 2005; Graham, 2003). It presents systems as an aid to the process of insight generation, emphasising not only into interrelationships between things but also into the multiple voices that have a stake in those things (Burns, 2007). For this research, I identified the case of participatory planning practice in peri-urban Sacaba, as an integrated system that required a holistic, empirical, interpretative and empathic type of inquiry.

Case studies are a "step to action" (Cohen *et al.*, 2017) and SSM is an action oriented process of inquiry that follows a cycle of learning that goes from finding out about problematical situations to defining and/or taking action to improve them (Checkland and Poulter,2006). Therefore, the research strategy used for conducting the case study relies on the SSM assumption that research is a learning process of insight generation that builds from the multiple voices with a stake in the issues under research. SSM acknowledges research as a contextual, dynamic and continuous inquiry process, focused on extensive and diverse participation as a right rather than just a means for greater research efficiency (Burns, 2007). Thus, conducting the case study with a soft-systems perspective, gave people power to contribute to the generation of knowledge through rational reflection on their personal experience (Burns, 2007; Packham & Sriskandarajah, 2005) and in joint reflection as a group. During interviews and surveys, research participants were asked about their own experiences, perspectives and knowledge, while workshops enabled communication processes among planners and citizens with diverse experiences,

perspectives and knowledge. This helped to generate a deep understanding of the diverse voices involved in the participatory planning processes practiced in Sacaba (Burns, 2007).

SSM informed the design of the case study as an iterative cycle of plan – act – observe/reflecting to plan again (Burns, 2007); planning data collection, collecting data, and doing preliminary data analysis in order to plan the next data collection. This strategy follows Kolb (1984) experiential learning cycle: "(1) having a concrete experience followed by (2) observation of and reflection on that experience, leading to (3) the formation of abstract concepts (analysis) and generalizations (conclusions) which are then (4) used to test hypothesis in future situations, resulting in new experiences".

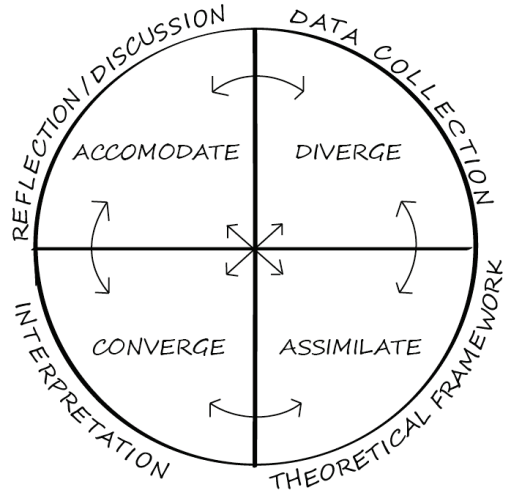

Figure 1. Research strategy cycle.

The research strategy incorporates an iterative process of these stages (also called divergence, assimilation, convergence, and accommodation, see figure 1) for data collection, theoretical framework construction, data analysis interpretation, and reflection and discussion of findings in conducting the case study. This implies that it guided the design of the workshops and interviews, and the analysis of the outcomes; both performed in parallel while progressively tailoring the main focus of the research to the empirical

issues that “mattered the most” for the people in the case (Yin, 1994). This enabled the collection of rich empirical material, addressing the multiple and hybrid rationalities in the case study that is present below.

3.2 The case study: Participatory planning practice in peri-urban Sacaba

This thesis draws on primary and secondary data from the municipality of Sacaba, Bolivia. As mentioned in Section 3.1, I identified Sacaba as an interesting case study because the municipality has had a particular strong informal peri-urbanization pattern since 2012. Sacaba is among the top ten municipalities of Bolivia with the highest rates of urbanization, and is the second most populated municipality in the metropolitan area of Cochabamba. Sacaba’s population grew rapidly from 29,995 in 1976 to 172,466 inhabitants in 2012, mostly in Sacaba’s urban area (from 5,554 to 150,110 inhabitants) (INE, 2012; INE, 1976).

As with other cities in the Global South, rapid population growth has been synonymous with unplanned and informal urban expansion. Since the 1970s, urban growth has been exponential due to Sacaba´s strategic location as a midpoint for transit and economic exchange between Bolivia´s east and west regions. This has attracted economic immigrants, mainly peasants from impoverished rural areas of the country (for more detail see Paper 1). As a result, the population of Sacaba is widely heterogeneous; people from different origins, ethnic identities and cultural practices coexist in the municipality. For example, from the 172,466 inhabitants in 2012, 30% were immigrants, 39% self-identified as indigenous (mainly Quechua or Aymara) and 27% of inhabitant’s main spoken language was the native language Quechua (which was also the mother tongue of 32% of the population) (INE, 2012).

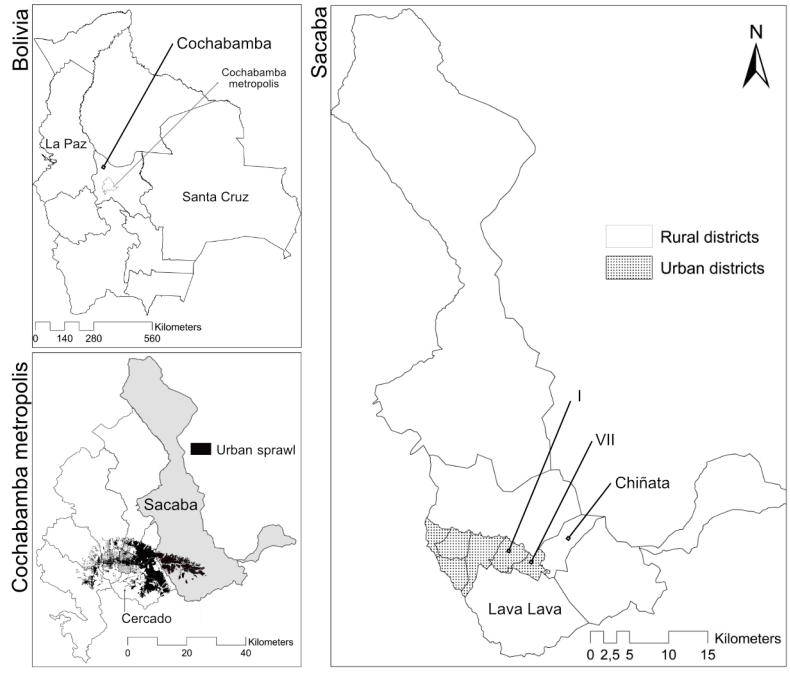

Figure 2. Location of Sacaba in Bolivia (right-up) and in the Metropolitan area of Cochabamba (right-down) and Sacabas' districts (left).

Limited resources and weak planning institutions limit the municipality´s capacity to plan and regulate urban development. By 2013, 46% of Sacaba's built environment had developed informally, mainly in peri-urban areas (GAMS, 2016). This includes illegal occupation of agricultural land and environmentally protected areas, with poor housing conditions and limited public infrastructure and services. In 2014, only 14% of households in the municipality, mainly those in the city center, had access to public water, sewage and waste collection services (GAMS, 2014b). Additionally, for the majority of the population, life was based on day-to-day survival and self-help strategies. 55% of the municipal economy was based on informal jobs with very low incomes and no social security (INE, 2012). These context characteristics have created very special challenges for the municipal participatory planning practice and outcomes.

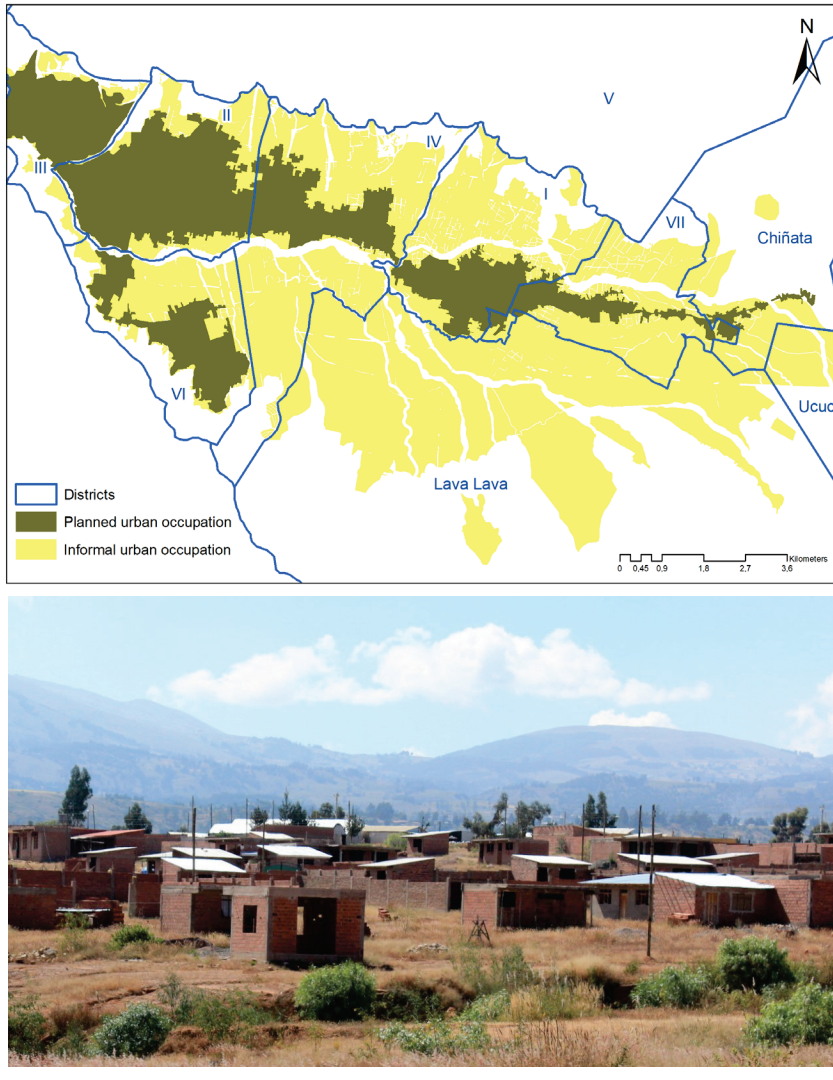

Figure 3. Urban occupation in informal conditions.

Sacaba has an area of 1362.37 Km^2, of which 137.53 Km^2 are plain areas adequate for agriculture and human settlement and the rest are mountainous areas (GAMS, 2014c). The municipal territory is divided politically and administratively into six urban districts and six rural districts. Districts vary in size and population; the population density in the urban districts ranges

from 1,647 to 4,406 inhabitants per Km^2, and in the rural districts ranges from 8 to 204 inhabitants per Km^2 (GAMS, 2016).

Every district population is grouped into grassroots organizations called *Organizaciones Territoriales de Base* (OTBs). Sacaba has 149 OTBs in the urban area (71.12 Km^2 area) and 121 OTBs in the rural area (1291.25 Km^2 area). Every OTB has a leader, elected by the OTB population, who has the responsibility of mediating between the local government and the population, transmitting the demands of the people in the participatory planning processes (GAMS, 2014c; HAMS, 2007).

OTBs were formally created in Bolivia as the basic socio-spatial planning unit in 1993, within the neoliberal reforms. As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, participatory planning was implemented in Bolivia in the face of a socio-economic and political crisis, through a popular participation law (*Ley de Participación Popular* - LPP). Participatory planning was founded on the idea that planning outcomes would be more transparent and fairer for the collective wellbeing (Peres *et al.*, 2009; Republica de Bolivia, 1994). The model sought the formulation and implementation of more adequate, democratic and applicable plans by making participation and inclusiveness the main pillars of the planning practice (Republica de Bolivia, 1997; Ströbele-Gregor, 1997; Republica de Bolivia, 1994). Municipal planners were requested to formulate municipal plans with the representatives of the OTBs from their municipality, which were all urban neighborhoods, peasant communities and indigenous people living within the territory of the municipality. In turn, citizen representatives, appointed by their own OTB, were assigned the role of identifying, prioritizing, evaluating and controlling the execution of the actions to be developed for the benefit of the collective (Republica de Bolivia, 1997).

At that time, the Bolivian participatory model was praised as one of the most advanced decentralization and democratic efforts in Latin America (Kohl, 2016; Altman & Lalander, 2003). It was anticipated that plan formulation processes would allow dialogue between planners, neighborhoods and communities about their different opinions and demands. Then, from a point of mutual understanding, deliberation would follow to prioritize demands and a consensus on the priority actions to be taken for the common good would be reached (Altman & Lalander, 2003; Kohl, 2002).

However, in practice, planning practitioners were faced with institutional and socio-cultural settings in the municipalities that hindered the full

applicability of the participatory planning model through the planning process (Kohl, 2016; Goldfrank, 2006; Altman & Lalander, 2003; Nijenhuis, 2002). Conversely, participatory planning turned into a clientelist relation between appointed citizen representatives, their constituencies and the government. Participatory planning meetings became spaces of conflict between participants prone to escalate from strong verbal discussions to social mobilizations that paralyzed the planning processes model (for more details see Paper II). Consequently, crucial issues like poverty, inequality and informality remained unaddressed in the municipalities (as described in Paper I), which led to tumultuous years of social mobilization and protest which forced the resignation of a couple of presidents (Goldfrank, 2006; Kohl, 2002).

In this scenario of crisis of political legitimacy, the political leader Evo Morales emerged as the main political opponent to the conventional political parties who sought to modernize the country. Morales, instead, argued that the historical influence of the US and Europe in Bolivia's developmental policies had generated greater inequality, poverty and indignity (Martínez, 2016). Morales proposed a so-called "change process" to free Bolivia from colonialism and neoliberalism (Peres *et al.*, 2009), which led him to assume the presidency of Bolivia in 2006. The "change process" builds on the aim to recover ancestral indigenous knowledge in order to replace or complement modern/conventional western knowledge (Villarroel, 2014).

This thesis highlights the following two change process measures due to their direct impact on the field of participatory planning. First, Bolivia adopted the indigenous ideology of *Sumak Kawsay* (Good Living in English), as the country's official development paradigm. *Sumak Kawsay* postulates a cosmocentric vision of development, instead of the western anthropocentric conception (Villarroel, 2014). The indigenous developmental ideology looks to the achievement of a community-centered, ecologically-balanced and culturally-sensitive way of life. *Sumak Kawsay* is defined in the Bolivian constitution as "access and enjoyment of material goods" and achieving "affective, subjective, intellectual and spiritual fulfillment in harmony with nature and in community with human beings" (CPE, 2008).

Second, in acknowledgement of the diversity of cultures and ethnicities within the Bolivian population and a majoritarian indigenous population, the government system was defined as a democratic regime that is participatory,

representative and communitarian (CPE, 2008). 'Communitarian democracy' was included in the democratic regime building with the idea of indigenous socio-political organization and decision-making practices as an additional form of democracy that enhances the democratic system (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2013).

Accordingly, a new participatory planning model was enforced in legislation during the period of 2013 and 2016. The new model sought to overcome the problems that the previous technocratic and participatory planning models faced on the ground (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2017; Villarroel, 2014). It aimed to achieve *Sumak Kawsay* (i.e., a community-centered, ecologically-balanced and culturally-sensitive country). For this purpose, the model embraced the socio-cultural diversity (i.e., pluri-nationality) of the popu-lation, giving municipal planners the responsibility of defining the mechanisms for citizen participation that best suited their municipalities (for more details see Paper II). Similarly, the model legitimized the indigenous forms of social organization and participatory decision-making as part of the planning processes, to be implemented in addition to conventional partici-patory planning practices (for more details see Paper III).

3.3 Data collection methods and analysis

As mentioned in the begging in of this chapter, by the time I started the PhD I had quite significant experience in doing fieldwork. I had reflected greatly on common weaknesses I had observed in the data collection instruments and in the approaches researchers adopted when introducing themselves to the field. I perceived possibilities for collecting relevant information was often constrained when the data collection instruments were not adapted to the context, when people saw the researcher as being in a higher position than them, and when no efforts were made to create a trust relationship between researcher and research subjects. For example, the use of abstract, technical or simply unpopular language in questions; researchers assuming the position of an expert and being too 'to the point', meaning only focused on collecting data of interest to the research. This allowed me to be very careful not to fall into the same mistakes, which in my opinion limit or deviate the quality of data collected.

In connection to the foundational tenants of SSM and CSM, the research builds on the idea of supporting different methods of data collection to make sense of the research problem. Supporting the southern-turn idea of the evolution and completeness of knowledge (Murrey, 2018), a mix of methods that combines different sources of information from different perspectives in order to identify relevant topics in an explorative process. The methodology follows a dialectical approach that takes on divergent perspectives to complement, expand and deepen understanding, rather than simply confirming one understanding (Maxwell, 2012), in an attempt to see what has been rendered absent, unseen and invisibilised by scientific traditions in the Global North (Murrey, 2018).

In the following paragraphs a brief overview of the collection of data is presented, then in the next subsections the different methods are explained in greater detail.

Starting with a household survey to address the lack of data disaggregated for the peri-urban, it was possible to identify differences within the peri-urban districts regarding formal and informal urban development. This led to the need to collect observations in the peri-urban district to further explore these differences. The observations enabled the focus on the informal, day to day, practices performed in the OTB, i.e., the social organization and decision-making process. Workshops were design to place planners and citizens in a space of dialogue and collective reflection about their perceived problems and ideal solutions regarding peri-urban informality and urban planning. The outcomes of the workshops brought to light the need to conduct interviews to gain a deeper understanding of the different perspectives among planners and citizens regarding citizen participation in planning practice. Survey questionnaires, interviews and workshops were designed following two main personal aspirations. The first, to make it as context friendly as possible without losing substance, careful selecting the words and structuring question formulations, and building a setting for people to feel comfortable to share their knowledge. The second, more exclusively for the interviews and workshops, to incorporate the experiential learning cycle in order to create space for self-reflection for the interviews and workshop participants.

The different methods chosen in order to explore the case enabled a triangulation of data (Stake, 1995), in the sense that each method collection complemented each other in constructing a holistic understanding of the

different perspectives of the research participants about the studied issues (Maxwell, 2012). The empirical data gathered for this thesis consists of a household survey to a sample of 665 households from peri-urban Sacaba, 12 participatory workshops with local actors involved in municipal participatory planning in Sacaba, 38 semi-structured interviews and field note observations taken during fieldwork spaced out between mid-2014 to 2018. Additionally, local documents and records of relevance to the aim of the research were reviewed to complement the collection of primary data. The revised secondary data and documents comprised National Census databases (INE, 2012; INE, 2001; INE, 1992; INE, 1976), Sacaba's municipal plans and reports (GAMS, 2016; GAMS, 2015; GAMS, 2014a; GAMS, 2014c; GAMS, 2013; HAMS, 2007), a geospatial database of the metropolitan region of Cochabamba (GADC, 2011) and geospatial databases of Sacaba (GAMS, 2014b).

In the following subsections a more detailed description of the method used is presented.

3.3.1 Survey questionnaires

In 2017, a household survey questionnaire was conducted in order to collect data on the demographic, socio-economic, housing and basic service characteristics in the peri-urban areas of Sacaba. It was decided to conduct the survey because there was a lack of updated data on the characteristics in the peri-urban areas of Sacaba. The characterization of Sacaba's peri-urban area permitted the examination of the relationship between the specific characteristics of the context with the specific planning practice challenges. A representative peri-urban area was selected near the municipality's urban-rural legal boundary. That is to say, around the intersection of the neighboring districts I, VII, Lava Lava and Chiñata. In total, 665 peri-urban households were surveyed (167, 177, 159 and 177 at each district respectively). The household head or the next person in the households' hierarchy to be present at the time of the survey completed the questionnaire survey. The questionnaire contained 76 questions relating to: personal characteristics, health, employment, housing, basic services, land use, agriculture, social organization, perceived needs and incomes-expenses. 77.6% of respondents were men.

3.3.2 Workshops

Workshops were conducted throughout the realization of the fieldwork with the goal of collecting research participants' opinions, and collective reflection. As mentioned before, I designed the workshops based on SSM, experiential learning cycle, in order to allow workshop participants to deliberate and think about taking collective action.

Therefore, the design developed using the SSM process of inquiry (see Checkland & Poulter, 2006), consisted of a four-stage social learning cycle:

1. Divergence. Workshops began with the creation of a rich picture of the present situation. The main activities for this workshop stage were brainstorming, prioritizing of issues, and mapping of the prioritized issues.
2. Assimilation. Workshops then focused on identifying a desired future (in relation to the present situation), and the Clients, Actors, Transformations, Worldview, Owners and Environmental constraints of such a future. According to SSM, Clients are the stakeholders who will be the users of the desired future. Actors are the people that should be involved in the implementation of the changes for achieving the desired future. Transformations are the changes needed to be made to achieve the desired future. Worldview is the reasoning that makes the need to achieve the desired future relevant. Owners are the decision-makers who have the authority to make changes, stop processes, or decide on whether to go ahead with the transformation towards the desired future or not. Environmental constraints are the external limitations affecting the successful transformation. During this workshop stage, participants were encouraged to brainstorm their personal ideal futures, debate their differences and structure their concluding ideas on a mind map.
3. Convergence. Workshops were later oriented to comparing the rich picture of the present situation with the concluding ideas about the desired future of participants. Workshop participants carried out the comparison between present and desired future spontaneously from the previous stage of defining the desired future.
4. Accommodation. The last stage of the cycle consisted of defining actions for progressing towards the desired future. Participants brainstormed and discussed the feasibility of different tasks and outcomes with the available resources. Participants also reflected on the challenges and possibilities faced in the implementation of their desired future.

To conduct the workshops, the OTBs Catachilla Baja, Curubamba Alta, Lopez Rancho and Molino Blanco were selected because of their location on the fringes of the urban sprawl and recent process of informal urbanization. The workshops were conducted with inhabitants and leaders from peri-urban OTBs and employees from Sacaba's municipal government, especially planning practitioners. An invitation to participate was delivered to OTB leaders and to the different heads of department of the local government. In the invitation, the decision of the number of attendees who would participate in the workshop representing their group was left to the discretion and will of each OTB and office.

The workshops were facilitated by the author of this thesis with the assistance of two local colleagues. During all workshops, the participants were asked by the workshop facilitator to respect everyone involved, to value all comments equally and give the same opportunities to all participants to comment. Participants responded accordingly, engaging in respectful debate. However, cases of a lack of voluntary participation were noted among some participants, so it was decided in such cases to request their participation. On average, the workshops lasted around 3 hours with a 20-minute break included.

A first round of workshops was conducted with the participation of OTB citizens and municipal planners in 2015 and 2016. These workshops were focused on the peri-urban issues regarding the weak planning practice in Sacaba. Citizens and planners were invited to present their opinion of the most pressing needs to be addressed in the municipality, and their perspective on how these issues should be addressed. A second round of workshops was conducted with participants of the municipal participatory planning processes of Sacaba during 2016 and 2017. These workshops were focused on discussing planners' experiences and knowledge about past and present participatory planning practice in Sacaba and Bolivia. Planners were invited to narrate step by step the process they followed when the old participatory planning legislation was in force. This story telling created the basis for collective reflection of their practice, the institutional context and the social context. Similarly, planners described their practice after the new legislation was put into force. Once again, narrating their routines and day to day practices led them to self and collectively reflect on their perceived changes, improvements, status quo and shortcomings in practice.

The data produced during the workshops, i.e., the brainstorm of ideas and discussion of opinions, were recorded in field notes and papermakers. After every workshop, all discussions were formulated into a report named 'Synthesis of the workshop' to distribute to the participants of the workshops. Moreover, additional data was collected from the researcher observations and reflections developed during the workshops and participant observations and reflections about the workshops. Data about what took place was permanently recorded in field notes that included observations, interpretations, and my own reflections.

3.3.3 Semi structured Interviews

Similar to the workshops, the design of the semi-structured interviews was based on SSM, and they were conducted between 2016 and 2017. The purpose of the interviews was to collect peri-urban area citizens' and municipal public servants' experiences and opinions about participatory planning in Sacaba within the context of national planning reforms in Bolivia. The questions formulated to guide the interview asked interviewees to first narrate descriptions of places and/or procedures, then personal opinions and finally self-reflections. The questions were about peri-urban characteristics and citizen participation in planning practice. Specific question were asked about the role of planners and the role of citizens during the formulation of the municipal development and territorial plans in the 1990s participatory planning legislation (*Ley de Participación Popular* - LPP), and with the new participatory planning legislation of 2016 (inspired by a *Sumak Kawsay* paradigm). Later, the interview concretely focused on the plan formulation processes developed in 2016 and 2017; for the elaboration of Sacabas municipal plans '*Plan Territorial de Desarrollo Integral* –PTDI 2017-2021' and '*Plan Operativo Annual* - POA2018' (see more details in Paper II and Paper III).

In total 38 interviews were undertaken. Out of these, 21 semi-structured interviews were conducted with planning practitioners from Sacaba municipal government and planning consultants for the municipality. 17 semi-structured interviews were conducted with citizen representatives from the peri-urban area, i.e., OTB leaders and OTB members from OTBs Catachilla Baja, Curubamba Alta, Lopez Rancho and Molino Blanco. The interviews lasted between 45 and 90 minutes and were carried out in Spanish mixed with Quechua language. All interviews were audio recorded and 25 were

video recorded and later transcribed to text documents in Spanish. The researcher's level of understanding of the Quechua language is basic, therefore, for those interviews, translations were provided by other OTB members. Additionally, the translations were verified with language translators when transcribing the audio records of the interviews to text documents.

3.3.4 Observations

Observations were made throughout the research process; however, observations were used as the main method for data collection in 2017 to study the participatory planning process for POA2018. Since 2014, direct observations were made continuously by attending the municipal planning institution regularly, and regularly visiting four OTBs throughout the year. Direct observation was conducted with the aim of understanding OTB practices related to municipal annual planning processes. With this purpose, the monthly *Asamblea*s of the selected peri-urban OTBs (Catachilla Baja, Curubamba Alta, Lopez Rancho and Molino Blanco) were observed. Observations were recorded in field notes and pictures.

In 2017, from July to December, participant observations were carried out on how planners implemented citizen participation during participatory planning meetings arranged by them. The goal was to identify the daily struggles that planning practitioners faced in the participatory planning processes. Observations were also carried out to study how conflict and consensus were treated by planners and citizens when making planning decisions. Observations during these planning meetings focused on identifying power relations, decision-making criteria and institutional strengths and weaknesses during the elaboration of the POA2018. Field notes and pictures taken from observations were formulated to text in observational field notes from three different stages of the annual planning process. The observational field notes were structured according to the Merriam (1997) approach; description of the physical environment, participants involved, and activities observed in terms of interaction and content.

3.3.5 Data analysis

In order to analyze the data, the transcript texts from the workshops and interviews were read several times over different periods, in order to gain a profound cognizance of the collected material, including field notes from

interviews, informal discussions and observations during field visits. The survey results were analyzed using calculations of economic social and demographic indicators and percentages of total households using IBM SPSS Statistics 26.

As a first step, I classified the material according to the topic of each paper of this thesis. Once the relevant material for each paper was selected, I made use of SSM cycle to guide the analytical process. This means that I attempted to construct a rich picture from all the various perspectives of the research participants, and different collected material. Then, from this rich picture, I identified issues on which research participants had more contrasting perspectives. These issues were used as the broader conflicting rationalities, from which a theoretical perspective in conventional planning was reviewed and more nuanced and subtle counter positions in the empirical material were explored. In this process, I searched for connections within the case material and between material and literature about participation in planning theory, the southern-turn critique and propositions, as well as literature about indigenous ideas and practices. Then relevant quotes were selected and translated using Nvivo 12 Plus software to be presented in the papers of the thesis.

3.4 Reflections on the methodology

SSM and CSM facilitated the possibility of collecting many rich insights from people who participated in the survey, interviews and workshops, as well as from the observations made on site. Moreover, the reflection on fieldwork strategy mention in Section 3.1 and the adoption of the research tactics mentioned in Section 3.3 were fundamental for addressing unexpected methodological challenges and preventing problematic or biased results. In the following subsections, challenges emerging during fieldwork are presented and how these were addressed, and a critical reflection on the research strategy, ethical considerations and positionality is discussed.

3.4.1 Data collection challenges

The collection of data followed, as previously mentioned, the experiential learning cycle, in which the experience and learning acquired in every research activity informed the planning and design of those that followed. Therefore, the challenges of the research strategy and the way these were

addressed are of relevance to inform the reader about the reasoning behind the research strategy of the thesis.

To start, in 2014, a household survey questionnaire was conducted as part of the PhD program in order to collect data on the peri-urban areas in Sacaba. The questionnaire consisted of 40 questions divided in thematic sections about household socio-demographics, labor characteristics, migration patterns, housing and basic services, and agricultural production. 2,521 households were surveyed; however, the findings of this survey were not included as part of this thesis because the data collected did not comply with the quality standards needed. The first challenge in conducting this household survey questionnaire was to define the spatial scope of the survey due the lack of a formal recognition of the peri-urban category. A peri-urban area was identified from observations during the field visits. Seventeen OTBs were selected at the intersection of two urban districts and two rural districts, where the fringe of the urban sprawl was located. Secondly, it was planned to survey every household of the selected OTB; however, only 2,521 households were surveyed, since for 1,011 there was nobody present at the time of the survey, 659 were not open to respond to the survey and 4,188 of the houses were uninhabited. Many households were not present at their houses during the day, or even for entire weeks/months, because they travelled constantly for work. Since it was only possible to survey fewer households than expected, the collected data would have uneven spatial distribution. Finally, the early decision to carry out the survey resulted in a questionnaire that collected general data, with an ambiguous focus or aim. Because of these difficulties, the collected data is not presented in the papers that compile this thesis. However, the experience of this survey and its findings became the basis for reflection and planning the remaining research process. From this first experience it was possible to select the peri-urban study area of the research and define the survey strategy for a second household survey questionnaire conducted in 2017.

For conducting the interviews, gaining the trust and willingness of actors to truly cooperate was perceived as the major challenge. However, even when interview dates were scheduled to fit the research participants' preferences of time and location, most times, interviews were not conducted when agreed, but rescheduled for another time. The request to reschedule was not often expressed by the research participants ahead of time but when the interviewer was in situ. The rescheduling of interviews with municipal

government research participants gave the researcher a hint that planners' work was loaded with unforeseen activities. The unannounced rescheduling was also interpreted as a possible sign of lack of motivation to talk about delicate and sensitive issues, protecting themselves from being scrutinized. In response, I had the ambition to never show discomfort, I continuously let the interviewees know that I had no problem adjusting to their busy agendas and that my purpose was to learn. Once interviews were finally conducted, the interviewees contributed with rich and detailed information on their experiences and opinions. Moreover, after so many meetings, it was possible to build an acquaintanceship that developed into a trusting relationship. The positive feedback between the research participants and the researcher resulted in mutual collaboration and institutional alliances for future collaboration between the university, the municipal government and the OTBs.

The interviews with citizen representatives also often went through rescheduling but more frequently changing to a different time in the same day. On the day of the agreed interview appointment, usually very early in the morning, the interviewees asked the interviewer to wait until the end of the OTB *Asamblea* (community meeting) or the conclusion of community works, farm duties or religious activities, among others. The waiting periods were often from 7:00 to 16:00. As with planners' interviews, OTB interviewing was very stressful at first in terms of time consumption and disturbance of the planned fieldwork agenda. However, the situation was addressed in the same way as with planners, adjusting myself openly to the availability and will of the people. Moreover, I made use of my long journeys in the OTB to get involved in OTB activities, to gain their trust and to collect additional field notes from observation of the OTB practices. During this time, people would approach me to ask me more personal questions about me, although I was officially introduced in a OTB meeting. From these interactions, I perceived that the people of the OTBs accepted me as a pupil, a young girl from the city who needed to learn about how things are done in real-life, in order to pass an exam. This relationship of people as the expert and researcher as the student, enabled interviewees to openly speak about their opinions, complaints, and frustrations about the performance of municipal government planning practice, planning outcomes and the impacts on improving citizens quality of life. Rather than being evaluated for giving the right answers or speaking up in sophisticated language, the interviewees put effort into explaining in detail and through their own word selection the

answers to the questions I posed. This meant that, as mentioned in Section 3.3.3, some interviews were a mix of Spanish and Quechua language. Despite the time and effort invested in building trust with the research participants, I recognize that there is always the chance that research participants could use the data collection process to push their agendas forward.

The main challenge faced with conducting the participant observation was the impossibility of the main researcher (PhD student) to perform the observation for the entire planning period. Therefore, from the beginning, the strategy was to perform the observations together with an assistant researcher, a master's student in urban planning in UMSS. The plan included training the master's student about the research (strategy, objectives and methods) for him to continue recording, observing and reporting during the time the PhD student was doing PhD work at SLU, Sweden. The researcher periods of absence from the field were due to the need to travel to Sweden in order to fulfil the yearly requirements of the SIDA scholarship (taking courses, preparing and presenting PhD seminars). The time spent in Sweden allowed me to learn more from PhD courses about research methodology and the literature on which the thesis draws. During the time in Sweden I was also able to work on the collected data, reflect on the research process and findings, write papers and discuss outcomes and future actions with my supervisors.

Finally, the challenge of language. All the data was collected and transcribed in Spanish, including local planning documents, survey databases, workshop outcomes, interview records and my own field notes. I decided to keep all the empirical evidence in Spanish, meaning that I translated the interviews and field notes into Spanish, in order to facilitate my own interpretation of data in its genuine form. During the workshops and interviews, research participants made significant use of idioms and native language expressions that I did not want to lose in translation. Yet, for writing the papers and this thesis, I needed to write the analysis of the data in English, for which I translated segments of interviews and workshop translations, trying to convey in each quote a translation with a similar implicit richness present in every language, and its idioms.

3.4.2 Reflexivity and positionality

I firmly believe that combining SSM and CSM facilitated the research strategy of progressive focusing, offering great opportunities to engage with a research problem of empirical relevance for the case, for the southern-turn project in planning and for the global discussion of participation in planning. By using SSM experiential learning cycle as a guiding foundation throughout the entire research process, I acknowledge my research position as a learner, and I introduced myself always as a student. This facilitated building a trusting relationship with the people I interviewed, with people who attended the workshops and the OTBs I observed in their daily practices. I was invited to local events, communal meetings and festivals, which despite not relating directly to my research interest, helped me get a bigger picture of the local culture.

Additionally, I acknowledged and reflected on my double role of researcher and facilitator in the workshops to signify the critical scrutiny of my own research practices. The decision to facilitate the workshops myself was based on the will to comply with the two tenets I had in mind regarding fieldwork, making it contextualized and in line with the SSM cycle. I wanted to make sure workshops were a safe and trustworthy space for those participating and I always had two workshop assistants joining me in the workshops, colleagues from the university. Before and after the workshops, I always discussed ideas, perceptions and interpretations from the workshop activities with them. Before each workshop, we discussed the plan and they gave their perspective on issues that could be improved or done differently. After each workshop, we shared our impressions and reflections on the outcomes of the workshop. Their perspectives and reflections helped me to think further and complemented my ongoing reflective process on my position as facilitator, in order not to bias the outcomes of the fieldwork.

The strategy of progressive focusing was challenging for the production of written pieces for academia. Although it allowed a more flexible and continuously improving data collection strategy for the research, I collected an overwhelming amount of data with multiple and various possible topics to engage with, which could not fit in a single paper document, nor even in the overall writing of this thesis. The need to focus the research meant selecting the relevant data for such focus, thus leaving behind some empirical data that did not fully addressed the focus of the research. This is the case for the perception survey about participation, the full scope of the survey

database and a couple of topics that emerged in the interviews; I hope I will be able to work on these materials in the future. Also, the lack of a clear focus at an early point, limited deep theoretical engagement during the first years of the research. Consequently, it slowed downed the process of writing (the papers and the thesis) and extended the duration of my PhD education. This situation made me reflect on the rigidity of research education, and the implicit imposition to generate knowledge in a conventional way only, which may limit the possibilities of doing things better.

My position as a researcher native to the context needs to be acknowledged and dealt with as part of the fieldwork. My inside perspective has played an important role in allowing me to identify the problem to study, and contributed to me gaining access to the field and building good relationships with the research participants. However, it could also have made me partially blind to some issues that I may perceive as normal behavior. For instance, my exposure to the local culture blinded me at points to the strong feeling citizens had constructed around the idea of participation as a right, and as the only means to conduct planning. In addition, my familiarity with local practices could have blinded me to the peculiar characteristics of the social norms within *Asamblea*s. In order to avoid this, I constantly reflected on the relation between me as the researcher and the phenomena studied, reflecting on alternative plausible interpretations to my own to critically analyze the collected data, and in discussing my thoughts with local colleagues and my supervisors. The role of supervision, giving an outsider perspective, played a crucial role in this critical reflection. Similarly, being a PhD student from a Swedish university, necessitated moving back and forth from Bolivia to Sweden, allowing me to step back from fieldwork every now and then and critically reflect on the process. It also helped by allowing constant reengagement and the ability to step back from PhD courses and theory review to the field, preventing me from adopting a normative position in relation to the urban planning field from an Anglo, northern and/or western academic environment.

4. Summary of papers

In this chapter I present a brief summary of the papers compiled in this thesis. In the following three sections (Section 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3), I present each paper. In each section, I begin by presenting the aim of the paper, a summary of the main findings and its contribution to the development of this thesis discussion. In Chapter 5, I present a more comprehensive discussion, drawing on the findings of the papers.

The three papers present research based on empirical data collected over the course of the research that underpins this thesis (see Chapter 3). The papers are closely connected to each other, presenting aspects of the practice of participatory planning in the context of Sacaba. The findings and discussions presented in these papers inform and respond to the research questions.

The reader should note that certain terms used in the articles differ from those presented in the summaries of the following sections. This is due to these terms being refined as the research advanced, reflecting my development through the research process.

4.1 Paper I: Peri-urbanization in Sacaba, Bolivia: challenges to the traditional urban planning approach

Paper 1 presents the phenomenon of urbanization as the dominant form of urban expansion in Sacaba, as is the case for most cities of the Global South. The main purpose of the paper is to illustrate the contextual characteristics of the peri-urban OTBs in Sacaba in order to address why urban planning approaches used by local planners had little, if any, effect on addressing the problems of peri-urban areas. The paper aligns with the southern-turn

academic debate around peri-urbanization, which calls for acknowledgment of the complexity of peri-urban contexts in the cities in the Global South.

The paper presents five main characteristics of the peri-urban context that cause conflict within planning practice in Sacaba from both the residents' and the planners' perspective, revealing the different rationalities between them. The first three characteristics, informal land occupation, informal economic activities and self-helped service provision, illustrate the dominance of informal and self-helped living strategies in the face of the government's inability to address their basic needs. The fourth characteristic, social conflicts, shows that differences within the heterogeneous peri-urban population lead to a higher prevalence of conflict than consensus between settlers. Finally, the characteristic of complex dynamics shows the high interconnection between urgencies and the problems that afflict the peri-urban livelihoods.

From the characterization of the peri-urban OTBs, I argue that planners and settlers have different perspectives on the peri-urban situation. While planners disapprove of informality, self-helped strategies and conflicts; settlers perceive them as the solution to their needs. In the paper, I argue that the different perspectives reinforce dichotomist categories of urban-rural, formal-informal, and the sectorial categories conventionally used in urban planning that do not match the peri-urban reality. The empirical material suggests that the use of inadequate categories contributes to the reproduction of peri-urban problems, like further social conflicts, perilous living conditions, economic vulnerability, social marginalization, to name a few. The paper concludes with a call to recognize the peri-urban area and its informal, self-helped, conflicting and complex dynamics in order to adapt urban planning practice to the peri-urban context.

The paper provides an illustrative account of the inadequacy of the assumptions held by conventional planning approaches to fit peri-urban contexts like Sacaba. The papers findings and discussion contribute to both empirical research questions of this thesis. First by providing concrete evidence of the negative effects of the implementation of a decontextualized planning approach, and later to discuss how *Sumak Kawsay* legislation addresses this situation.

4.2 Paper II: Participatory planning in the Global South: the case of Sacaba, Bolivia

The main purpose of Paper II was to explore how participatory planning in Sacaba was practiced following the legislative guidelines of a imported, decontextualized planning approach (LPP) versus the legislative guidelines of a local, indigenous-based planning approach (*Sumak Kawsay*). The paper focuses on the potentials and challenges experienced in practice with both types of legislation from the perspective of local authorities, planners and peri-urban settlers in Sacaba. The paper presents and discusses the empirical findings drawing on the southern-turn ideas of situated analysis and conflict of rationalities.

The paper shows that LPP legislation was incongruent with Sacaba's context circumstances, thus, planners adapted the imposed participatory planning approach to the municipal context. The paper illustrates that, given the limitations of local planning institutions and the socio-political conditions for planning (e.g., very short time frames to make plans, limited resources, insufficient staff and planning experience, as well as powerful political elites), participatory planning practice was limited to the formulation of annual plans to the detriment of medium and long-term planning. The yearly plan formulations focused on budget allocation, where OTB participation was reduced (and deformed) to clientelist practices.

Following this, the paper presents the *Sumak Kawsay* participatory planning legislation, and Sacaba planners' first experience implementing *Sumak Kawsay* legislation to create the 5-year plan for Sacaba PTDI 2017-2021. The paper shows that the *Sumak Kawsay* legislation did not directly lead to better participatory planning practice or more participation. The paper discusses that limitations persisted because the national government did not address the limitations of local planning institutions and the poor socio-political conditions for planning. Although certain participatory principles were enhanced, like inclusion and deliberation, this was only possible thanks to the local planners' agency, motivation and reflexive practice to learn from their experience and identify alternative ways of practicing participatory planning in their contextual circumstances, while building capacity at both an institutional and practitioner level.

I conclude the paper by arguing for the need for institutional development of regulations, procedures and norms that promote and protect participation while providing flexibility for planning participants to test and innovate.

Additionally, I argue that exploring the limitations and potentials of participatory planning practice from southern perspectives, as in the case of Sacaba, can potentially contribute to a new relationality of theory development, and to finding and developing alternative participatory planning ideals and theories for genuinely democratizing planning globally.

As a contribution to the thesis, this paper further exposes the conflicting rationalities between techno-managerial and economic-based efforts, and the logic of survival and informality used by impoverished OTBs found in Sacaba's participatory planning practice. The paper illustrates how conflicting rationalities constrain the process and outcomes of participatory planning as, in the case of Sacaba, there is conflict between the immediate daily needs of people, planners´ professional ethos, and political pressure for clientelism. Similarly, conflicting rationalities are identified in the different ways planners and OTBs leaders viewed ideas like 'development', 'progress', different levels of formal education, different spoken languages, precluding a power-balanced participation of citizens in the planning decision-making processes.

4.3 Paper III: Tailoring participatory planning to southern contexts: the case of 'communitarian democracy' in Bolivia

Paper III is a sequel to Paper II, the goal was to further examine the implementation of *Sumak Kawsay* legislation in practice. In Paper III, I focus on how the indigenous ideas were implemented in practice during the elaboration of the annual plan for Sacaba POA2018. The paper examines how the implementation of indigenous ideas into practice (following *Sumak Kawsay* legislation) enabled a different participatory planning practice than the one developed with LPP.

The paper begins with an overview of the *Sumak Kawsay* legislation (as explained in Section 2.3), and then presents the ancestral indigenous principles of *Thakhi*, *Muyu* and *Asamblea* (described in Section 2.3.1, 2.3.2 and 2.3.3) as conceptual guidelines to analyze and discuss the implementation of *Sumak Kawsay*s' indigenous ideas to participatory planning practice.

The paper shows that, given the rigid mandate to comply with techno-managerial procedures (i.e., articulation between the 5-year plan elaborated

the year before and the POA2018), planners decided to omit citizens' participation in the formulation of POA2018. Therefore, planners did not take in consideration the implementation of indigenous features into practice.

The omission by planners of the customary participatory summits was disapproved of and rejected by OTBs social organizations. OTBs used strikes and protest demonstrations to oppose planners and force them to reformulate POA2018 to match with the previous LPP legislation. Faced with pressure from the OTBs, the planners organized participatory summits on the fly to reformulate the POA2018 as the OTBs demanded. At these participatory summits, OTB leaders circumscribed the planners' agenda, wanting the integration of features from the indigenous principles of *Muyu* and *Asamblea* (for more details see Section 3.3.4), e.g., the use of the Quechua language, prolonging summits for several hours, using their position as OTB leaders as an obeying position.

Based on the findings, in the paper, I discuss that *Sumak Kawsay* legislation did not lead to the implementation of indigenous ideas and practice in planning. However, indigenous ideas were identified during the participatory planning process within the OTBs indigenous-syndicalist rationality. Indigenous ideas influenced how OTBs self-organized to express their rejection of the planners' decisions and how OTB leaders participated in participatory planning spaces. I conclude that similarly to LPP, conflicting rationalities continue to constrain the participatory planning practice, despite the tailoring of planning legislation. Planners' professional rationalities, reinforced by the techno-managerial planning systems, clashed with the OTBs indigenous-syndicalist rationality, which embraces their citizens' right to participate. The influence of indigenous ideas in the OTB way of thinking, self-organizing, and participating in planning suggests the potential to function as a counterbalance to power struggles with planners and local government. However, it also suggests the possibility to act as a way to marginalize citizens that do not share the indigenous perspective of the OTBs.

The paper contributes to this thesis with a broader perspective about the different rationalities of planners and OTB social organizations. The paper exposes how planners' rationality responds to their professional ethos and their work environment, while OTBs' rationality builds on indigenous ideas and syndicalist practices. Similarly, the different rationalities have led planners and OTBS to understand participatory planning differently, and

value each other's methods of influencing the decision-making processes differently.

5. Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter, I present and discuss the main empirical and theoretical findings of the research. The chapter is structured in relation to the questions that guided the empirical work, and the overreaching research question. In this way, the chapter aims to create theoretical engagement with the conceptual context presented in Chapter 2.

In Section 5.1, I address the empirical questions to discuss the relevance of recognizing the hybrid and dynamic behavior by local cultures when planning and participation in the academic discussion of the southern-turn. First, in subsection 5.1.1, I will build my account of Sacaba's hybrid culture of planning and participation, in order to address the question: 1. How were decontextualized participatory planning ideas practiced in Sacaba?

Then, in subsection 5.1.2, I will build on the discussion developed in 5.1.1 to explain the challenges and opportunities that *Sumak Kawsay* legislation faced in practice when changing Sacaba's hybrid culture of planning and participation (answering the question: 2. How did the participatory planning practice change with the implementation of *Sumak Kawsay* participatory planning ideas?).

Following the aim of the thesis to develop alternative ideas of participatory planning, in Section 5.2, I will answer the overreaching research question of the thesis, discussing the lessons that Sacabas' hybrid culture of planning and participation provide to participatory planning practice for Bolivia, the Global South and beyond. Finally, in Section 5.3, I will present some closing reflections on the contribution of this thesis to theory and practice, and on future research prospects.

5.1 Hybrid culture of planning and participation

The historical account of participatory planning in Sacaba presented in this thesis shows that, similar to other places in the Global South, participatory planning was introduced following decontextualized ideas imported from the North (de Satgé & Watson, 2018; Bhan *et al.*, 2017). In practice, the imported ideas were adapted to the local circumstances of the municipality and to what was feasible in the face of Sacabas' socio-economic, political and institutional limitations. During the process of adaptation to context, local government, planners and citizens took on different ideas (local and imported) about participation in planning. The different ways of thinking about participation led to different ways of doing, which altogether established a particular form of participatory planning practice. Sacabas participatory planning practice developed to incorporate alternative spaces of participation than those facilitated by planners, and was established as a hybrid culture of planning (Friedmann, 2005; Sanyal, 2005) and of participation.

In the following subsection 5.1.1, I will now elaborate more explicitly on how a hybrid culture of planning and participation developed in Sacaba. Then, in subsection 5.1.2, I will draw on Section 5.1.1 to discuss the impact of implementing *Sumak Kawsay* legislation on Sacabas' hybrid planning culture.

5.1.1 Adaptation and combination of ideas in the establishment of hybrid practice

In Bolivia, the idea of participation was supported by the World Bank in the neoliberal reforms prescribed to the country in the 1990s (as described in Paper II). The institutionalized neoliberal reforms of decentralization and democratization imposed a participatory planning approach sustained in the Popular Participation Law (LPP). The goal of LPP was to address the problem of inequality that afflicted the country, through a per capita distribution of national resources to the municipalities. Little, if any, attention was given to assuring the implementation of inclusive, deliberative participatory decision-making processes.

Municipal governments were granted planning powers to decide on the expenditure of the distributed resources with the participation of the OTB social organizations. In Sacaba, the imposed participatory planning approach was incongruent with the local social, cultural, economic and political context of the municipality (exhibited in papers I and II). The limited local

resources, experience and capacities regarding invited spaces of participation (as described by Miraftab, 2004) did not match the contextual preconditions of the imposed participatory planning approach. Therefore, planners adapted their participatory planning practice to the local circumstances of the municipality, guided by their collective ethos (as discussed by Friedmann, 2005; Sanyal, 2005, in section 2.4). Planners focused on ensuring the distribution of national revenues by limiting participatory planning practice to POAs formulation.

The reduction of LPP to POA formulation, nonetheless, was not able to compensate for the lack of attention given, by the national government and the municipal government, to ensuring the implementation of inclusive participatory decision-making processes. As often reported in the Global South (Pineda-Zumaran, 2018; Watson, 2009), municipal planners did not have helpful guidelines for conducting meaningful participatory process. The participatory planning guidelines drew on participation in development, in terms of citizens providing information about their needs to planning technocrats who then make the plans (Connelly, 2015; Goldfrank, 2009; Hickey & Mohan, 2004). Therefore, planners combined their knowledge in technocratic planning with the mandate to collect and include the citizens' demands.

From this combination, planners created a particular type of invited spaces for citizen participation (as described by Miraftab, 2004). In these spaces, participation was reduced to a collection of 'wish-lists' of projects that could be rapidly executed, complying with the annual planning timeline. Political elites who wanted to maintain their power, supported the 'wish-list' strategy, adding patronage and clientelism practices to the created invited spaces of participation. Local elites used the yearly execution of projects to negotiate political support in exchange for minor projects that contented and distracted the population in the short time, instead of any long-term commitments. In doing so, participatory planning continued benefiting political interests, rather than addressing the local priorities. This shows that, similar to other countries in Latin America (Irazabal, 2009b), and the Global South (Watson, 2003), participation in Sacaba combined conflicting values including technocratic planning ideas, imported democratic ideas and clientelar political interests (as discuss by planning cultures scholars Knieling & Othengrafen, 2015; Friedmann, 2005; Sanyal, 2005). Hence, Sacaba´s invited spaces of participation provided opportunities for the

historically excluded population to participate in ways that enhance democratic goals, while holding a technocratic perspective and sustaining clientelist ambitions to build political support for the political elites.

Besides, as discussed in Paper I, technocratic planning ideas had other consequences beyond the wish list strategy. The technocratic legacy of simplistic categorizations (e.g., urban-rural, formal-informal), inadequate for the socio-spatial characteristic of the municipality, created power imbalances. The use of dichotomous categorization, which favoured the urban and formal over the rural and informal, generated unequal opportunities for citizens living in these different areas. Consequently, a collective appreciation of hierarchy between citizens arose, which conflicted with the participatory planning process and outcomes. The lack of priority given to rural and peri-urban sectors offered more power for urban OTBs to influence the municipal decision-making than for peri-urban/rural OTBs. Therefore, Sacaba´s invited spaces of participation implicitly excluded rural and peri-urban OTBs and contributed to the emergence of social conflicts. These findings support Miraftab (2004) claim that in southern contexts, invited spaces of participation may grant legitimacy to citizens politics and action, however, these spaces often support processes of selective inclusion and exclusion. The escalating conflicts between OTBs weakened invited spaces of participation. From time to time, social conflicts paralyzed planning processes and blocked yearly budget executions.

As planners adapted and combined LPP to comply with their political and professional interests (Knieling & Othengrafen, 2015; Friedmann, 2005; Sanyal, 2005), rural and peri-urban OTBs also adapted the implementation of participatory planning to their needs and interests. On the basis of the 'wish-list' participation facilitated by planners OTBs empowerment grew in the assertion that their particular demands were to be address effectively by formal means, if small-scale projects were demanded. Therefore, to address the OTBs larger-scale needs, like housing, basic services and employment provision, rural and peri-urban OTB social organizations invented new forms of participation parallel to planners invited spaces (Miraftab, 2012; Miraftab, 2004). OTBs developed informal participatory planning mechanisms (i.e. invented spaces of participation as described by Miraftab, 2004) founded on their socio-political organization. As I have discussed in Paper III, the OTB socio-political organization combines indigenous ideas with syndicalist unions' practices (Albó, 1990). The OTB social organizations adapted

indigenous principles like *Asamblea*, *Thakhi* and *Muyu* (see Section 2.3) to their basic organizational structure. For instance, OTBs make use of ordinary *Asamblea* (biweekly) and extraordinary *Asamblea* (when needed) (as described by Laurenti Sellers, 2017), to decide collectively how to address their needs in extensive and continuous dialogue. OTBs also practice reciprocal and obligatory communal work (building on indigenous reciprocity described by Garcia-Tornel *et al.*, 2019), for self-supply of labour for the construction and maintenance of basic services. OTB social organizations also sustain syndicalist unions strategies, i.e., blockades, demonstrations and hunger strikes, to put pressure on their demands and to oppose top-down decisions that bypass their participatory citizens' rights (Miraftab, 2012; Postero, 2010). Based on these findings, in this thesis I argue that the combination of indigenous influences and syndicalist practices strengthened the OTB social organizations in their position of independence from, and opposition to, the formal setup of the local government. As I show in Paper I, informal self-help strategies are the main mechanism of rural and peri-urban OTBs for addressing the households' basic housing and economic needs (Duminy, 2011; Watson, 2009; Roy, 2005). Similar to Brazilian '*autogestão'* (Friendly & Stiphany, 2019), the OTBs self-help strategies are insurgent practices against the governments' inability to address their needs. Similar to other southern contexts, the OTB insurgent practices allow rural and peri-urban citizens to assert their right to the city and take control of their needs on their own terms, i.e., in invented spaces for participation (Miraftab, 2012; Irazabal, 2009b; Roy, 2009; Watson, 2009).

Although the OTBs invented spaces of participation arose mostly from a need for survival, these have developed to be a consciously chosen strategy for offering better results for the people and urban development (Lombard & Meth, 2016; Duminy, 2011). Overtime, OTB's insurgent syndicalist strategies gained governmental recognition and response over the course of the formal planning process, not in law, but through the historical trajectory of social movements using self-determined oppositional practices to confront the government and the status quo (Miraftab, 2012; Sanyal, 2005). As I show in Paper I, the population acknowledges the self-helped, insurgent strategies as the most effective mechanism for achieving their goals and address their real needs. Thus, I argue that the self-helped, insurgent strategies held by the OTB's social organization has become an additional mechanism of

participatory planning in Sacaba's hybrid planning culture (as described by Sanyal, 2005).

My research shows that, as discussed by Miraftab (2009); and Watson (2009), OTB social organizations make use of invited and invented spaces of participation to influence planning decision-making and outcomes depending on what is effective in presenting demands and gaining results in a specific time and place in their specific contexts. In Paper II and III, I show how, through invited spaces of participatory planning, OTBs sustain their legal rights as citizens, fight for equal distribution of national resources and exert political pressure as voters of local authorities. And, in Paper I and Paper III, I show how, through invented spaces, the OTB social organizations influence planning decision-making and outcomes by taking action over issues not addressed in formal participatory planning spaces, by forcing mobilized pressure to be acknowledge and by changing formal planning decisions that they don't agree with.

From the account developed above, I argue that participatory ideas have travelled, adapted and been combined to create a local hybrid culture of planning and participation. In this thesis, I argue for 'hybrid cultures of participation' as a complementary idea to hybrid planning cultures (discussed by Sanyal, 2016; 2005). As presented in Section 2.4, Sanyal's idea of hybrid planning cultures discusses how planning cultures continuously change and evolve in dynamic relation to exogenous and endogenous factors that affect the way planners conceptualize problems and structure institutional responses to them. Attention is placed on invited spaces of participation only. I propose thinking about hybrid cultures of participation as a way of discus-sing how planning cultures also encompass invited spaces of participation, and therefore how planning cultures change and evolve determined by the impact of endogenous and exogenous factors on the way citizens perceive problems and react to them. Thus, hybrid cultures of participation encompass how both planners and citizens, conceive, act and react to problems in the invited and invented spaces of the participatory planning practice, affecting the planning processes and outcomes.

In the case of Sacaba, imported participatory ideas were adapted to the local circumstances and combined with local participatory ideas, both in the realm of the planners' formal, invited spaces of participation, and in the realm of citizens' informal, invented, spaces of participation. Therefore, I argue that understanding the complexities of the local hybrid planning

cultures in the Global South should not simply focus on the practice and influence of planners (i.e., Sanyal's idea of hybrid planning cultures). In hybrid planning cultures in the Global South, informality and citizen insurgency play a crucial role that needs to be recognized and understood (Lombard & Meth, 2016; Duminy, 2011; Miraftab, 2009; Watson, 2009; Roy, 2005; Miraftab, 2004).

The hybrid and dynamic factors that influence the invited and invented spaces of participatory planning practice in Sacaba demand a deep examination into the intrinsic conflict of rationalities between the logics of governing and the logic of surviving (as presented by de Satgé & Watson, 2018; Watson, 2016; 2009; 2003) that intertwine within the hybrid culture of planning and participation. My findings demonstrate how conflicting rationalities between local government and population regarding the purpose and scope of citizen participation in the planning process have developed and merged over time, resulting in the different methods of participatory planning in Sacaba.

A useful example would be the degree to which the local government's rationality was deeply grounded in technocratic planning and representative democracy. Thus, participation was understood as invited spaces of budget distribution, where OTB leaders were expected to follow planners' terms (i.e., when to meet, where to meet, what to discuss in the meeting and how to do it), submitting to the reductionist approach of the technicians and deciding on behalf of their group. With this logic, insurgent and informal practices were acknowledged as disruptions of the law that needed to be controlled, corrected and even punished. However, the survival rationality of the OTBs' social organization was grounded in informality and insurgency, based on indigenous and syndicalist ideas. From the OTBs' perspective, participation was a citizen right to influence, and possibly decide, the course of action for the municipal resources. Invited spaces of participation were the legal mechanism for influencing planning decisions, but not the most efficient or trustworthy. OTB social organizations preferred self-helped, insurgent strategies to flexibly adjust to the continuously changing circumstances of their living environments, using approaches like the *Asamblea*s, community work, obedient representation, and strikes, among other strategies. In the middle of this are the planners as public servants (whose salaries are dependent on the government), who were strongly influenced by

the governments' rationality, sometimes in opposition to their personal values, as in the case of clientelism (as described in Paper II).

Understanding the conflicting rationalities that exist between government and citizens permits us to comprehend the various ways through which government, planners and citizens participate in and influence decision-making for planning. Yet, more importantly, it enables the understanding of the reasons why the different actors make use of different participation strategies.

The understanding of why government, planners and citizens do what they do, becomes crucial in discussing the aptitudes of the hybrid planning culture for adapting to change (Sanyal, 2016; Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013), as will be discussed in the following section. Building on Sacaba's hybrid culture of planning and participation, in the next section I will discuss how *Sumak Kawsay* legislation changed Sacabas participatory planning practice.

5.1.2 Sumak Kawsay legislation effects on the hybrid culture of participation

In Paper II and III, I explain how *Sumak Kawsay* planning legislation aims to overcome the negative consequences that LPP had created. In other words, the goal is to change the local hybrid culture of participation. The study of *Sumak Kawsay* legislation application to Sacaba's planning practice offers possibilities to improve our understanding of the drivers of change and the ability of planning culture to adapt to change (Sanyal, 2016; Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013).

In the findings of this thesis, one can observe successes and failures in Sacaba's efforts to implement *Sumak Kawsay* legislation. While encouraging results were experienced in mid-term planning (see details Paper II), adverse outcomes were experienced in short-term planning (see details in Paper III). Both processes, conducted by the same planning team, using the same strategies, applying the same planning legislation, triggered different, almost opposite, experiences.

The findings of the case study of the thesis show that the implementation of *Sumak Kawsay* legislation was possible for the formulation of the municipal medium-term plan but not possible for the formulation of the yearly plan. I argue that medium-term planning was successful because it was a new experience for the planners and citizens. As mentioned before in my account of Sacaba's hybrid culture of planning and participation, before

Sumak Kawsay legislation came into force, municipal planners were exclusively focused on the formulation of POAs.

In the case of short-term planning, planners' attempts to change customary participatory planning processes to formulate POAs was not possible. Accordingly, below I argue how the aim of *Sumak Kawsay* legislation to change Sacaba's culture of planning and participation ignores the hybrid and dynamic nature of the culture.

Sumak Kawsay legislation continues recognizing the formal and informal as clashing categories, which neglects the complexity of Sacaba's hybrid spaces of participation used by the OTBs. *Sumak Kawsay* legislation, as LPP, limits participation to invited spaces of participation facilitated by planners. It recognizes informality (self-helped strategies) and insurgency (demonstrations, strikes, and other forms of grassroots mobilization) as limitations on planners' professional practice (Tockman, 2017).

The overlapping of technocratic, participatory, and indigenous ideas sustained in the legislation, force planners to decide where to position themselves within the conflict of rationalities between government and OTBs. In Sacaba, planners decided to comply with the ideals that were closer to their professional ethos and governmental responsibilities, rather than focusing on how to promote indigenous ideas and practice for decision-making. As shown in Paper III, planners' main goal was to articulate POA with the 5-year plan, which led to them deciding to omit the invited spaces of participation habitually developed in past.

When planners decided to skip the invited spaces of participation to formulate the POA2018, they overlooked the OTB interpretation of invited spaces of participation as the device that legally legitimizes their right to participate in local decision-making, in line with the democratic goals of inclusion, representation, and accountability (Tockman, 2017). The focus of *Sumak Kawsay* legislation on LPP failures, led it to neglect LPP successes according to the rationality of the OTBs. As discussed in Paper II and III, LPP led to participation ideas becoming an intrinsic quality of planning for both planners and citizens. The OTB social organizations, having been historically subordinated, came to value the invited spaces of participation as a victory of the struggle and re-vindication of the people. This is the reason why they opposed the elimination of participation spaces as the planners in Sacaba attempted.

Moreover, when planners re-implemented the invited spaces of participation that they had tried to omit, the rationality of the government continued guiding the participatory planning process. As with LPP, OTB leaders demanded to participate on the terms defined by planners. For instance, OTB leaders were asked to make decisions on behalf of their OTBs. Although some OTB leaders agreed, the OTB leaders of peri-urban and rural OTBs refused, influenced by the indigenous ideas of *Muyu* and *Asamblea* (as explained in Paper III). Planners then judged the OTBs leader's refusal to decide without consulting their OTB social organizations as a detriment to the tight agenda of the participatory planning process.

Finally, *Sumak Kawsay* legislation builds on the assumption of culture as an inherently pure and static social construct (as described by Sanyal, 2005). *Sumak Kawsay*'s emphasis on supporting indigenous forms of socio-political organization ignored the fact that local cultures of participation change in dynamic relation to internal and external social, economic, political and technological changes. As the findings of Paper III show, in the face of rapid social change and globalization (as discussed by Hu *et al.*, 2013; Friedmann, 2005; Sanyal, 2005); citizens who do not share the indigenous influences are at risk of being excluded and marginalized by *Sumak Kawsay* legislation from the municipal participatory planning processes.

Understanding Sacaba's hybrid culture of planning and participation, unravels conflict of rationalities that have developed and merged over time under the influence of different travelling imported ideas in the face of the particular local circumstances. The practices that the local participatory culture adopted, i.e., the different amalgams of influences that have resulted in alternative ways of thinking and acting in participation planning in Sacaba, have evolved from constructive trial and error that could be understood as an implicit learning process.

5.2 Planning culture in the face of change

As I argue in Paper II, importing foreign ideas to support the implementation of participatory ideals allowed for testing, learning and identifying what was wrong with those imported ideas, while building capacity at both institutional and practitioner level. The mistakes and challenges became a source of important reflective and learning efforts among planning actors in Sacaba, to which the workshops conducted in the research underpinning this thesis

contributed. Capacity building and reflection on what had not previously worked, allowed Sacaba's planners to innovate and make the PDTI process more participatory.

The discussion of Sacaba's hybrid culture of participation provides lessons about what could and should happen when, in line with calls from southern scholars (e.g. de Satgé & Watson, 2018), participatory planning ideas are recognized as foreign, and significant attempts are made to reformulate them on local terms. In Bolivia, new planning legislation was developed, incorporating local indigenous worldviews and practices of socio-political organization. However, the case showed that, contrary to the hopes of some southern planning theories, the newly situated legislation did not directly lead to better or greater participation.

Even though the legislative planning innovation put significant efforts into tailoring planning to the socio-cultural context, I argue that it did not succeed in making participatory planning more meaningful as it overlooked the hybrid culture of participation in Sacaba. Using Sacaba as an example, I propose three main lessons to reflect on when attempting to tailor participatory planning to contexts in Bolivia, the Global South and beyond.

Firstly, I consider that deeply understanding the context and its local culture requires a continuous process of inquiry. Secondly, I discuss the risk of sustaining power imbalances hidden in the formal rationalities and bureaucratic frameworks of planning. Finally, I argue for the need to prepare the ground as a means to promote continuous critical reflection about the continuous process of change in the southern hybrid cultures of planning and participation.

5.2.1 Continuously update the understanding of the perpetually changing context

The challenges of implementing *Sumak Kawsay* in Sacaba discussed in Section 5.1 and in Paper III, show that the task of making planning tailored to context requires a deep understanding of the context, otherwise shortcomings may continue. From discussion about the hybrid culture of participation in Sacaba, it is evident that the attempt to establish a new approach based on indigenous ideas at a legislative level was not sufficient to overcome planning difficulties rooted in the local hybrid culture of participation. For example, it did not succeed in overcoming the use of formal participatory mechanisms merely in competition over the annual

budget, nor in succeeding in overcoming the neglect of the significant role of informality for Sacaba's development.

Therefore, I argue that planners were unable to change the local hybrid culture of participation because the means to do it (*Sumak Kawsay* legislation) did not truly understand the local context or acknowledge the different actors, mechanisms and rationalities that interplay in 'the doing' of the city. I consider that recognizing informality as one of the most important forms of participatory decision-making mechanisms of the Global South is crucial for understanding the hybrid culture of participation. Informal mechanisms not only sustain important decision-making that affect the city development, but also play a fundamental role in counterbalancing power imbalances that persist intrinsically within formal decision-making processes. Therefore, I argue that a meaningful attempt to contextualize participatory planning should embrace informality rather than punish or ignore it.

However, neither *Sumak Kawsay* legislation nor its implementation in Sacaba recognized the interplay of formal and informal mechanisms of participatory planning and the conflicting hybrid rationalities of participation that exist on the ground. Thus, the partial and ambiguous understanding of the local hybrid cultures of participation led to a lack of clarity about the implications of *Sumak Kawsay* ideas, giving rise to contradictions in practice, and ultimately allowing for the persistence of customary practices like clientelism.

The *Sumak Kawsay* legislative changes were made under the assumption that a new law was going to be able to make an overnight change to the way planning was practiced in LPP times. From this respect, I argue that the *Sumak Kawsay* legislative expectation of change fails to consider that contexts are not static but highly dynamic. As I discussed in my account of Sacaba's hybrid culture of planning and participation, different influential ideas constantly flow and transform actors' rationalities. Therefore, the context continuously, progressively and gradually adapts to new ideas and practices, building a perpetually changing hybrid culture of participation.

In the case of Sacaba, I argue that a limited understanding of the perpetually changing hybrid culture of participation, created conflict between the indigenous ideas and decontextualized ideas of participatory decision-making, which intensified a conflict of rationalities between the local government and citizens. As discussed in Paper III, the study in Sacaba confirmed that the indigenous ideas of participatory decision-making presented in Section 2.3

partially persist within the OTBs form of socio-political organization, therefore, the legislative recognition of the indigenous perspective accurately addressed a local reality. However, the institutionalization of the indigenous perspective as normative did not accurately recognize the highly hybrid and diverse nature of the context. Consequently, *Sumak Kawsay* legislation neglects that, as the country has a strong indigenous influence and high indigenous population, the indigenous influence that shapes OTBs organization can marginalize and exclude citizens that do not share an indigenous identity.

Because of this, I support the southern-turn claim for the need to see beyond conventional normative lenses predefined in decontextualized theories. In order to look beyond conventional normative lenses, the southern-turn's call to develop and test alternative ideas as analytical tools like peri-urban informality, citizen insurgency, conflicting rationalities, and my call for hybrid cultures of participation, seem to be a useful alternative.

I feel that, more important than where the ideas and theories regarding participation and planning originate, the major challenge is to continuously update the understanding of the perpetually changing contexts. Thus, I argue that what is truly needed for planning to be adequate anywhere, is to find a way to be continuously updated on the ingrained understanding of the different ways of thinking and acting that coexist in a context, and how different rationalities and mechanisms interplay to constantly shape and reshape the hybrid cultures of participation. Hence, I suggest that any attempt to change the local hybrid culture of participation may be more likely to succeed if change is also understood as gradual and progressive, demanding continuous testing and reflecting on what happens on the ground.

5.2.2 Pay attention to deeply rooted reproductions of power imbalances

The hybrid culture of participation in Sacaba, illustrates that making participatory planning meaningful to context involves being extremely careful with intrinsic power imbalances sustained within the institutional frameworks and actors' rationalities.

As I argue in Paper I, in the case of Sacaba, the persistent use of urban-rural and formal-informal dichotomies, inherited from technocratic planning, generates a sense of 'first and second class citizens' in the eyes of the citizens. Thus, the neglect of peri-urban informality impedes informal peri-urban citizens recognizing themselves as equal citizens in order to exercise

their political agency and to engage in the participatory planning process (Cornwall *et al.*, 2007). Therefore, I argue that, similar to other cities of the Global South where peri-urban informality is also ignored (Legacy, 2016; Watson, 2009), the institutional neglect of the peri-urban informality is a sign that Sacaba's institutional participatory planning framework intrinsically reproduces power imbalances. The neglect of peri-urban informality in participatory planning frameworks serves to marginalize and exclude vulnerable people, it condemns them to high risks that perpetuate their vulnerability, and it excludes them from exerting their citizen right to participate in planning.

In my account of Sacaba's hybrid culture of participation (Section 5.1), I have discussed how the inflexible use of urban-rural and formal-informal dichotomies intensifies the conflict of rationalities between citizens and government in the same way that the inflexible use of the short-term, medium-term and long-term planning categories do. As Paper I, II and III shows, while citizens perceive peri-urban informality, informal mechanisms of participatory planning, and the urge to make decisions on the fly according to changing circumstances as more adequate to their local reality, the planning legislation is continually limited to replicate categories inherited from decontextualized planning ideas. Imported decontextualized ideas of participatory planning are also sustained in the mandate to articulate the short-term plan with the medium-term plan, which worked to the detriment of participation. Government institutions claim to want to adopt an anti-liberal, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist approach but uphold a western conventional institutional logic of seeking modernity through rigid, static, inflexible planning approaches founded on categorization (urban-rural, formal-informal, sectors), and term-articulated written documents.

Consequently, the conflict of rationalities escalates to obscure the possibilities of constructive deliberation between citizens, planners and government in participatory planning processes. Thus, irresolvable conflict potentially leads planners to biased planning priorities of non-conflictive projects, instead of addressing the real needs of citizens (Cielo & Antequera, 2012). Accordingly, I argue that the maintenance of old categories is a reproduction of decontextualized ideas and a threat to meaningful participatory planning.

Findings from Sacaba show that overcoming dual categories (like urban-rural) that hold implicit power values in the local culture of participation,

have the potential to transform the biased perceptions instilled in the population and the government towards categories like the city and the countryside or the formal and the informal. Thus, I argue that it is also important to avoid replication of categories and labels that do not represent the reality of cities and citizens. The recognition of alternative concepts, like the peri-urban area, which are more adequate for representing the context, should be embraced as an opportunity for developing new planning arrangements and defining the new image of the city (Haller, 2017; Cielo & Céspedes, 2010; Watson, 2009).

The hybrid character of Sacaba's culture of participation suggests the possibility of acknowledging participatory planning beyond the formal planning process facilitated by planners. Informal, self-helped and insurgent citizens in Sacaba appear to be efficient in self-defining their own form of participation in the context of limited institutional resources, intrinsic power imbalances and conflicting rationalities. The ability of informal and insurgent citizens to actively participate in planning makes clear the passive and uninterested position adopted by other citizens in more privileged positions or submerged in their own individuality. The peri-urban and rural OTBs' capacity for building on a sense of collectiveness for self-defining their priorities and self-organizing immediate action over them should be promoted among the overall population. I argue that invented spaces of participation, i.e., the active involvement of citizens in local politics, have the potential to contribute to the avoidance of tyrannous ends of participation and should be the basis for defining the governments planning agenda.

Therefore, I argue that revaluing formal and informal mechanisms as complementary, not contradictory, mechanisms not only shows a better understanding of the context but offers possibilities for partnerships and collaboration between citizens and the state where power imbalances are not yet addressed (Singh & Narain, 2020; La Rosa *et al.*, 2018; Marston, 2014; Wutich *et al.*, 2014).

5.2.3 Prepare the ground to constantly learn from experience

Sacaba's hybrid culture of participation shows that participatory planning ideas, decontextualized and contextualized, have limited effect unless the local capacities to critically and reflexively engage in a continuous learning process are addressed. As discussed in Paper II, in Sacaba, the planners' motivation and efforts to change the hybrid culture of participation and

improve participatory planning practice played an important role in having a positive medium-term planning process. Thus, I argue that the opportunities given to planners to critically reflect about their old practices, learn from their experiences and test new alternative ways of conducting their practice needs to be strongly promoted to make participatory planning more adequate to different contexts.

Sumak Kawsay legislation has allowed planners to find the institutional time and spaces for reflecting, developing and testing, given the flexibility that is granted to municipalities to establish their own mechanisms to develop participatory planning. Moreover, thinking in terms of the culture of participation, building reflexive capacities should also include building citizens' reflexive capacities to address the challenges that hybrid cultures of participation encounter within its hybrid mechanisms and rationalities. As argued in Paper III, citizens were exposed to different ideas that have influenced and developed hybrid ideas that better adjusted to their situations. This process allows OTB social organizations to develop on their own terms a reflective practice about their experience, knowledge and new ideas.

Thus, I claim that, although having an institutional design, regulations, and norms that promote contextualized participatory planning may be relevant, what might be more important is to promote planners and citizens coming together to reflect, test and learn alternative ideas for developing more appropriate participatory practice. This would require placing additional efforts on creating spaces for learning and practicing how to work critically and reflexively, for planners and citizens jointly.

Accordingly, and building on the findings of Sacaba, I argue that spaces for discussion and continuous expression, similar to *Asamblea*s, could promote more balanced exchanges of ideas and information to generate greater possibilities for innovation in the hybrid culture of participation, as well as in the results of participatory planning.

5.3 Concluding reflections

With this thesis, I have aspired to contribute to participatory planning theory and practice. This thesis addresses the ongoing discussion on making participatory planning theory and practice suited to the diverse variety of contexts in the Global South. The thesis finds in the academic discussions of the southern-turn and planning cultures, opportunities to develop an enhan-

ced understanding of planning practice in different contexts. Planning cultures and the southern-turn complement each other in their shared aim to address the problem of decontextualization in conventional planning theories. This thesis finds that both academic discussions make notable attempts to reflect on the limitations of decontextualized conventional planning theory from different perspectives. When addressed together, these discourses contribute to the development of a more complete understanding of participatory planning practice.

The findings of the research of this thesis have been used to envision alternative ways of understanding how participation in planning materializes in practice in everyday reality. Thereby, I call for hybrid cultures of participation based on southern-turn academic advances and planning cultures literature.

I argue that southern-turn academic debate should pay attention to the possibilities of hybrid cultures of participation, in order to develop a better understanding of how participatory planning happens in the Global South before trying to change how participation occurs in a specific place. Moreover, rather than imposing planning approaches based on ambiguous universalizing theoretical concepts, the field of planning could benefit from the possibilities of hybrid cultures of participation based on pluriversal ideas to see what has been rendered absent in scientific traditions (Murrey, 2018).

Based on the lessons learnt from the case of Sacaba, and in line with the southern-turn, I argue that the understudied planning practices of the Global South offer the possibility of tracking how planning ideas travel and are adapted differently in different contexts.

In this thesis, I claim for the importance of nurturing dialogue between academic discussions from different parts of the world, to develop and transform, redirect and refuse alternative ideas in different sites. Thus, further case studies on the acknowledgement of hybrid cultures of participation would contribute significantly to understanding the issues discussed in this thesis in different contexts.

Developing and testing new ways to understand and practice participatory planning should be seen as a means of enhancing and attuning planning theories, making theorization a constant process of validation and adjustment to the dynamic changes of the ever-changing world contexts. Thus, in this thesis I argue that the idea of hybrid cultures of planning and

participation is not merely relevant for Bolivia and the Global South but may be relevant globally.

Finally, I have identified opportunities to engage deeper with hybrid cultures of planning and participation in Sacaba and elsewhere, to further explore the lessons presented in Section 5.2. I have identified some key questions to be looked at in the future:

- How is it possible to keep up with the dynamics of change of the local cultures of participation? How can we be certain that one has the most updated understanding of the context?
- If we are to avoid reproducing power imbalances in planning practice (frameworks, approaches and procedures), What does this mean for planning education and research (E.g., regarding used language, methods, theories, etc.)?
- What of kind spaces could fulfil the needs of promoting continuous reflection, debate and expression between citizens and planners? How could the sense of collectiveness be reinforced within the population? How could citizens active participation be further uplifted as means to counteract the weaknesses of the local political culture?

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Popular science summary

Citizen participation has been discussed for several years as an essential feature of sustainability and democracy. Many cities in the Global South have adopted participatory planning with high expectations but have experienced serious planning failures. Planning scholars engaged with the Global South argue that the usefulness of conventional participatory planning is conditional to contextual preconditions that do not fit the southern contexts. Development of conventional planning theories draw on the contextual preconditions of a small number of northern cities that differ greatly from the conditions of the cities of the Global South. When critiquing this bias in theory development, planning scholars discuss the pressing need to develop more appropriate participatory planning theory. In order to develop an enhanced participatory planning theory capable of fitting the diversity of contexts that exist across the world, it is important to acknowledge the southern perspectives that have been absent in the development of conventional participatory planning theory.

This thesis aims to contribute to the development of more appropriate participatory planning approaches with the investigation of Bolivia's development of indigenous-based participatory planning legislation. The research, explores in-depth, a case study of the implementation of this novel legislation in the municipality of Sacaba, Bolivia. The findings show that over time different participatory ideas have been adapted and combined to create a particular method of participatory planning in Sacaba. Over this process, local authorities, planners and the population have developed different ways of understanding the purpose and scope of citizen participation. Thus, authorities, planners and citizens have adopted different ways of practicing participation in the planning processes in the municipality. Building on these findings, I argue for considering the idea of 'hybrid

cultures of participation' in an attempt to make participatory planning more appropriate to the contexts of the Global South. Hybrid cultures of participation refers to the understanding that the ways in which authorities, planners and citizens understand participation and implement it in practice continuously change and evolve into new understandings and practices. Finally, I propose three lessons to be taken from Sacaba's implementation of the indigenous-based planning legislation. Firstly, the need to continuously update the understanding of the local context. Secondly, the need to pay attention to hidden power inequalities in institutional frame-works that could potentially hinder participation. Finally, the importance of promoting continuous joint reflection between authorities, planners and the population.

Populärvetenskaplig sammanfattning

Medborgardeltagande har diskuterats i flera år som en väsentlig del av hållbarhet och demokrati. Många städer i det globala syd har tagit sig an deltagandebaserad stadsplanering med höga förväntningar, men har fått uppleva allvarliga misslyckanden i planeringen. Planeringsforskare som är engagerade i det globala syd hävdar att användbarheten av konventionell deltagandeplanering är styrd av kontextuella förutsättningar som inte passar sydliga sammanhang. Utvecklingen av konventionella planeringsteorier bygger på kontextuella förutsättningar för ett begränsat antal nordliga städer, som skiljer sig mycket från förhållanden i städerna i det globala syd. När denna obalans i teoriutvecklingen kritiseras diskuterar planeringsforskare det pressande behovet av att utveckla mer lämplig teori för deltagandeplanering. För att utveckla en förbättrad teori för deltagandeplanering som kan passa mångfalden av sammanhang över hela världen är det viktigt att erkänna de sydliga perspektiv som har saknats i utvecklingen av konventionell teori för deltagandeplanering.

Denna avhandling syftar till att bidra till utvecklingen av mer lämpliga metoder för deltagandeplanering genom en studie av Bolivias utveckling av ursprungsbaserad lagstiftning om deltagandeplanering. Forskningen undersöker ingående en fallstudie kring implementeringen av denna nya lagstiftning i kommunen Sacaba i Bolivia. Resultaten visar att olika deltagandeidéer över tid har anpassats och kombinerats för att skapa en särskild metod för deltagandeplanering i Sacaba. Under denna process har lokala myndigheter, planerare och befolkningen utvecklat olika sätt att förstå syftet och omfattningen av medborgardeltagande. Således har myndigheter, planerare och medborgare antagit olika sätt att utöva deltagande i planeringsprocesserna i kommunen. Baserat på dessa resultat argumenterar jag för att anamma idén om ”hybridkulturer av deltagande” i ett försök att göra deltagandeplanering

mer lämplig för sammanhang i det globala syd. ”Hybridkulturer av deltagande” syftar på förståelsen för att sätten på vilka myndigheter, planerare och medborgare förstår deltagande och implementerar det i praktiken kontinuerligt förändras och utvecklas till nya kunskaper och metoder. Slutligen föreslår jag tre lärdomar från Sacabas implementering av den ursprungs-baserade planeringslagstiftningen. För det första behovet av att kontinuerligt uppdatera förståelsen för det lokala sammanhanget. För det andra behovet av att uppmärksamma dolda ojämlikheter i makt inom institutionella ramar som potentiellt kan hindra deltagande. Slutligen vikten av att främja kontinuerlig, gemensam reflektion mellan myndigheter, planerare och befolkningen.

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Papers

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Normative participatory approaches, like participatory planning, spread across the globe as 'placeless' generalizations. Planning scholars engaged with the Global South argue that the usefulness of these northern approaches is conditioned by contexts that do not fit southern cities. This thesis contributes to the debate for more appropriate participatory planning by investigating Sacaba's implementation of the Bolivian indigenous-based participatory planning legislation. From the findings, I argue for the need to consider 'hybrid cultures of participation' tailored to the specific contexts.

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