RECOGNITION OF A TERRITORY
The Forgotten Cultural Heritage of Bogotá's Villages

Autor: Dipl.-Ing. Architektur **Alissa Diesch**
Universidad La Gran Colombia
Prof. Sophie Wolfrum, Chair of Urban Design and Regional Planning, TUM
anna.diesch@ugc.edu.co

ABSTRACT

Due to the extreme growth of Bogotá in the second half of the 20th century, part of the city now consists of six former villages. These prior rural sites demonstrate an equally long settlement history similar to the historic center of Bogotá. However, in a research project realized at the Universidad La Gran Colombia came to light, that they are not fully established as rural-urban heritage of the city and the memory of these sites is in danger to be forgotten. The morphological transition of these former rural sites from rural to urban space will be studied and collective memory of social and symbolic transformations will be made visible by PAR methods. This processes can lead to a more heterogeneous perception of heritage could thereby contribute to a multilayered construction of identity. Representations of the territory of Bogotá drawn by students will be analyzed.

Key words: Critical Cartography, Morphology, PAR Methods, Participation

1 INTRODUCTION

Due to its extreme growth in the second half of the 20th century, the current city of Bogotá is now also made up of six former villages. These former rural sites demonstrate an equally long settlement history to Bogotá: first as Muisca settlements, during colonial times transformed as to (new) foundations by the Spaniards and in the course of the 20th century administratively and physically connected to the Distrito Capital (Capital District of) Bogotá (Cortés, 2006; Higuera, 2013).

Morphologically, the "pueblos de indios" (Indian villages) and their layout of colonial foundation structures are clearly visible in today's urban structure. The characteristic square central plaza with the surrounding "cuadras" constitute a nine-grid square, evident in the fabric of the city up to the present day, proves a colonial origin of the cores of municipalities that used to be rural till the 1950s. Also, later village extensions that continued the colonial settlement structure, field sections and former hacienda estates can be identified and demonstrate the rural background of the territory.

Preliminary work during fieldtrips as well as publications (Cortés, 2006; Higuera, 2013) indicate that rural practices are hardly present in the everyday practices on and around the plazas. The continuation of regular festivals and markets differs according to the site, but in general they are declining. The recognition of the historic significance of these sites is described in the legislation as "sectores de interés cultural" (areas of cultural interest), however, there is a lack in recognition of their immaterial cultural Heritage and a large-scale evaluation of the whole territory. Many of the inhabitants of Bogotá are hardly aware of the cultural Heritage these former villages represent. In urban planning their Heritage is barely included.

Over the past fifty years this cultural landscape, and specifically the village cores, have changed, both in a spatial-architectural way, as well as in social and administrative aspects; they have gone from rural settlements as part of an agricultural landscape to neighborhoods and administrative unites of the Colombian capital in a highly-urbanized region.

2 PRELIMINARY WORK

The current participation in the interdisciplinary research project (2015-2017) "Percepción y valoración del patrimonio de los seis Núcleos Fundacionales anexados al Distrito Capital (Usme, Bosa, Fontibón, Engativá, Suba, Usaquén) Estrategias de apropiación" includes basic research about the urban history of the six former village cores.[1] The general aim of the research project is to develop pedagogical strategies to raise the awareness of the cultural and historical background of the former villages (Diesch, Riveros & Rodriguez, 2015). Investigating the basics of architectural and urban development, research gaps have come to light, especially in the area of urban growing patterns and architectural transition from rural to urban style. The dissertation project intends to bridge some of these gaps and apply a critical discussion of the Concept of Heritage to these villages.

Pondering on how the historical Heritage is currently perceived by Bogotá's inhabitants has led, in cooperation with a photographer and researcher, to the founding of the interdisciplinary student research group, "Fotografía y Cartografía Social" in 2015.[2] The group consists of architecture and photography students of the universities

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[1] (Engl.: Heritage Perception and Assessment of the six foundation cores annexed o the Capital District. Appropriation Strategies) Alissa Diesch Dipl.-Ing. Architektur (TUM), teacher and researcher in the Faculty of Architecture/ Universidad La Gran Colombia and Marcela Riveros (MSc Gender, Women and Development Science UNAL), teacher and researcher in the Faculty of Educational Science/ Universidad La Gran Colombia

[2] (Engl.: Photography and Social Cartography) María José Casasbuenas Documentary photographer (École Superiure des arts de l'image "Le 75" (Brussels) and MSc Cultural Studies Pontificia Universidad Javeriana (Bogotá)), teacher and researcher in the Faculty of Marketing Communications and Arts/ Politécnico Grancolombiano

Universidad La Gran Colombia and *Politécnico Grancolombiano* and explores and maps the students' subjective perceptions of the present state of the central plazas through photography (Casasbuenas & Diesch, 2016).

Results of cartographies by the student research group "Fotografía y Cartografía social"
Fotographies by the author

The aim of the work is to investigate one possible origin of the urban-rural hybrid character of today's Bogotá using the example of the six villages that have been incorporated. In the second half of the 20th century the city did not grow into the "empty space", but has changed together with its surrounding territory, a cultural landscape that has always been closely connected to the city (Cortés, 2006; Peña, 2003). This observation makes it possible to give rural Heritage tangible places of history and identification within the highly-urbanized region of the Capital District of Bogotá, or in an even broader sense in the "Ciudad Sabana" (Calderón, 2016). The urban growth of Bogotá is polycentric which implies a profound change for the territory surrounding the city, from a rural to an urban character. The ethnographic part of the work will investigate whether and how this rural Heritage is perceived and valued in the everyday life of the inhabitants of the former villages and in collective memory.

The overarching research interest is based on previous interdisciplinary research that revealed a Bogotá-wide deficit of collective memory and visibility of the historical value of the foundation cores as well as a lack of scientific work describing this phenomenon in the urban development of the 20th century.

3 QUESTION/HYPOTHESIS

The research project "The Rural Heritage of Bogotá" examines the subordinate questions: *How was the transformation of rural sub-centralities to city districts in a regional city of the 21st century based on the six incorporated villages, in terms of architectural, urban and social aspects? Are the foundation plazas sites of identity*? *What role do these historical centralities play for the cultural Heritage and the future development of Bogotá*? First, the architectural, urban, structural, and hydro-morphological transformations of the villages will be presented and analyzed systematically. Then, inhabitants and visitors' current spatial practices in the former village cores will be examined for traces of rural Heritage and individual or collective memories. The history of Bogotá in the 20th century is mostly described, as Cortés demonstrates in his master thesis *La anexión de los 6 municipios vecinos a Bogotá en 1954* (The annexation of the six neighbor villages Bogotá in 1954) (2006), by a monocentric urban growth (Escovar, von Hildebrand & Peña, 2004). Here, the historic city center of Bogotá is seen as the origin and place of the history of urban development, therefore the place of identification for the inhabitants with their city.

The incorporated municipalities of Usme, Bosa, Fonitón, Engativá, Suba and Usaquén, as well as other municipalities still independent in the administrative process, played an important role in pre-colonial times and were part of the territory's settlement strategy. Also during the colonial period, the Spaniards took over this system of places and connections (Calderón, 2016; Higuera, 2013). The villages became important sub-

centralities for the rural area surrounding the capital and were closely connected with the capital through trade and administration.

The integrated villages are relevant to understand the urban development of Bogotá. They could represent tangible places of the diverse character and cultural Heritage characteristic of the city and its territory for the inhabitants, while contributing to a more complex identity formation. Particular attention should be given to the village squares as they are the historical place of foundation and "conciseness and contingency" (Wolfrum, 2015: 18). The central plazas are highly symbolic and demonstrate a compressed historical change from rurality to the urban and have the potential to release a pulse to alternative further development.

4 SUMMARY OF THE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF BOGOTÁ

Bogotá, presently a city of contrasts stretches over the area of the so-called 'Sabana de Bogotá'. In the following, the history of this territory will be presented. This coherent cultural landscape of manifold urban and rural elements (Peña, 2003) has a diverse Heritage (Higuera, 2013).

4.1 From Pre-Hispanic landscape use to colonial territory

Since pre-Hispanic times, the 'Sabana de Bogotá' with its fertile soil, abundant aquatic bodies and high biodiversity, has offered a perfect terrain for land exploitation and cultivation. From this period on, these factors have contributed to a high population in the zone and remain influential to this day. In the West, there is the river Bogotá and in the East, the mountain chains form the geographical frame of the landscape of the plateau. This geography has largely permitted the establishment of trade routes between the Oriental Plains and the Caribbean Coast, and on a local scale access to the salt mines and the 'Paramos' (Andean Moorlands). Before the Europeans arrived to the plateau, it was administratively divided into three centralities. The area which is now Bogotá was controlled by the Zipa, the political and spiritual authority of various Muisca (the local indigenous group) clans.

Map of the Muisca territory
Map elaborated by the author

The settlements within the so-called Zipazgo, were situated in strategic points or agricultural zones that were connected by a network of roads. The strategic points were located above the territorial limits, like Usaquén and Usme, whereas the agricultural settlements like Soacha, Bosa, Fontibón, Engativá, Suba, Chía y Cajicá (Higuera, 2013) were located close to the rivers or wetlands. Consequently, the land that currently belongs to the metropolitan area of Bogotá has manifested itself as a coherent territory that was defined by geographical factors and social interaction since the pre-Hispanic period (Calderón 2016; Peña, 2003). Some of these precolonial sites and interrelationships can be traced back in the metropolis.

The Spanish arrived to the Sabana de Bogotá in 1536 where they found a territory with similar climatic conditions to Europe, mainly used for farming (Higuera, 2013). Therefore, the plateau became the center for the colonial project. The geographic position, with access through the river Magdalena to the Atlantic coast as well as by land to many other conquered territories, was another advantage. Three years after the first arrival, the Spanish city of 'Santa Fé de Bogotá' was founded and the entire plateau became its dominated territory. The so called 'Pueblos de Indios' were founded in the same period as rural sub-centralities of the territory. These sub-centralities were meant to control the territory, but also served as places for the evangelization of the rural, indigenous inhabitants and life lessons according to the doctrine (Higuera, 2012). The Spanish City, Santa Fé

(Salcedo, 2011) as well as the villages (Calderón, 2016; Higuera, 2013), were erected above sites that had existed previously. This is how the Europeans took advantage of the pre-established networks.

The foundation of cities by the Spanish in the colonies was an allegorical moment and formed the beginning of a new era. It is described in detail in the "Leyes de Indias" (laws for the Indies) by Carlos II but had been practiced before, as the examples demonstrate. The foundation was celebrated within the symbolic presence of the most important representatives of the Colonial project: God and the King of Spain (Salcedo, 1996). The celebration and the physical manifestation were very similar for the cities as well as for the villages and included the construction of a rectangular plaza in the center of a regular chessboard layout. The 8 surrounding squares of the chessboard layout were used as a pattern for urban growth with the most important buildings representing religion and administration, located at the plaza (Romero, 1976). This general concept of founding cities explains the similarities between the plazas of Santa Fé and the villages, in form and use. The urban pattern, still identifiable in Bogotá and its surrounding villages represent a tangible demonstration of the power of the Spanish conquerors.

The change of supremacy introduced by the Spanish also provoked a transformation in the inhabitation of the rural space (Peña, 2003). The contrasts and interdependence between the rural and the urban realm was planned: The city was going to be the heart of the European elite, while the villages would become centers to control the territory and cultivate the food for the city residents and their tributes. During the centuries of colony (16th-18th), the cities were intended to represented Europe and the ruling elite while the countryside – politically dominated and distributed by the conquerors – remained socially influenced by the indigenous.

In order to generate European life style and cuisine in the cities, it was necessary to change the agrarian production of the surrounding land to obtain the ingredients needed. The cultivation of wheat and barley was introduced to complement or replace endemic corn and potatoes. The introduction of cattle farming transformed the rural space of the whole territory (Higuera, 2013). Also, the way of using the land changed dramatically: The Muisca used to have a season-based crop rotation system, that made use of the land close to the river in dry season and moved towards the mountain chain in the wet winters (Peña, 2003), the European conquerors did not adopt this logic but divided the territory, precluding the continuation of this practice. To summarize, since the beginning of the 16th century, the European influence transformed the entire rural-cultural territory of the Sabana de Bogotá; the 'Zipazgo' region was converted into a 'Mestizo' region without losing its coherence.

4.2 Independent Republic and Accelerated Growth in the 20th Century

The beginning of the 19th century meant the end of the colonial period and gave rise to a new political and administrative organization. In the republican period from 1819 on, Santa Fé de Bogotá, due to its central position in the region, became the capital of 'La Gran Colombia'. This caused an intensification in communication between its corresponding territories from Venezuela to present day Ecuador. The importance of the main roads

Bogota and the 'Sabana de Bogotá', including the villages Usaquén, Suba, Engativá, Fonitbón, Bosa and Usme in the years 1791, 1950, 1990.
Maps elaborated by the author

from Santa Fé de Bogotá to other cities of the empire increased and by this also the significance of the villages adjacent to those roads. They had always been gates to the city and stops for travelers on their way to or coming from the capital, but in this era, these connections became more relevant.

In many cases the roads of the republican period followed the same route network as the pre-Hispanic junctions, also called 'caminos reales' (royal paths) during the colonial period. Several of them continue to be important streets within the current city, such as the Carrera Séptima (former 'Calle real'), the Calle 13, parts of the Carrera 30 and the Calle 68. In the first century of independence Santa Fé de Bogotá did not grown but was densified within the existing cuadra grid system. To a lower extent, the same can be observed in the villages. In the second half of the 19th century, the first suburbs began to spread along this route-network. At that time, the neighboring villages were compact sub-centralities with the rural dynamics and local branches of religious, political and administrative power on a municipal scale. The village plazas offered space for activities that gathered people from the whole municipality, including widespread "fincas" and "haciendas" (crofts and farmsteads), trading events like markets, fairs or religious celebrations and other community events.

The 20th century brought great transformation for all Latin American cities and the case of Bogotá is a typical example. The extreme urban growth has multifarious origins, such as the armed conflict in the countryside but also the capital's investment in infrastructure and the labor supply among the new industries.

Current map of the Capital District of Bogotá with former central plazas of the villages
Map elaborated by the author
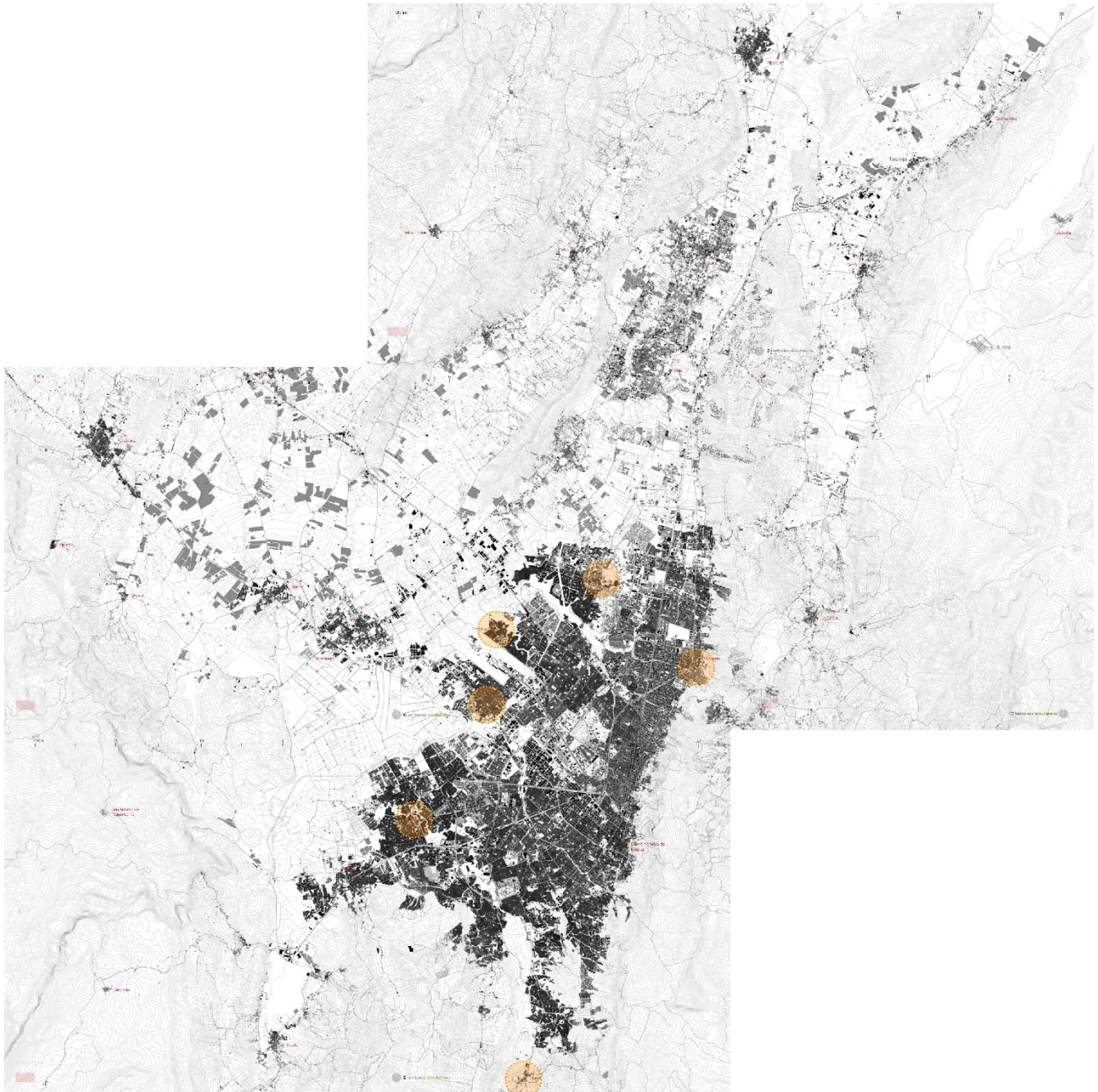
Current map of the "Ciudad Sabana", the annexed former villages Usme, Bosa, Fontibón, Engativá, Suba and Usaquén are highlighted
Based on map "Ciudad Sabana" by Calderón, 2016 (318-326), modified by the author

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These connections brought new lifestyles to the villages that up to then had had an agrarian focus. In the 1950s leisure facilities opened up for the upper class close to Usaquén and working class neighborhoods close to the Bosa railway station.

So, the effects of town developers and constructors dividing the rural terrain around Bogotá and transforming it into urban neighborhoods from the 1930s-1940s on, can be detected around the villages, too. Although much of the growth followed the logics of the offer and demand market, of both formal and informal character, legal plans

were made about the future urbanism of the Bogotá region. Among many highlights Le Corbusier's urbanistic and architectonical 'Plan Piloto' from 1951 and the political-administrative creation of the 'Distrito Especial' in 1954. One of the appealing points of Le Corbusier's plan - and a point that differentiates this plan to prior plans - is that the regional scale is fully taken into consideration. In these drawings, the definition of this region stands out due to its decisive geographies - the rivers Bogotá and Tunjuelito and the Eastern mountains - and includes the existing villages. The administrative and political union of the 'Distrito Especial' annexed the municipalities of the villages Usme, Bosa, Fontibón, Engativá, Suba and Usaquén to the capital in 1954. Up to this period, none of these villages had been connected to Bogotá by a continuous urban fabric. In that time, they were presented morphologically and most likely socially as villages in process of transformation. This annexation wasn't accompanied by legal norms that would permit the execution of the above mentioned urban plans; special plans for the villages weren't made either. Corbusier's Plans were never carried out or used as a foundation for further planning. Strengthened by the political annexation and the continuous strong migration to Bogotá, urbanization of rural terrain between the villages and the city continued.

5 HERITAGE

The idea of Heritage has always been provoked by transitions and the general wish to preserve endangered historic legacy for future generations. The entire landscape of the *Sabana de Bogotá* has experienced extreme changes, during different periods but particular changes took place in the second half the 20th century. However, in the case of Bogotá, the recognition of Heritage is mostly limited to the historic center of what has been the Spanish city of Santa Fé de Bogotá. This is reflected in the legal situation,[3] in publications like the Historic Atlas of Bogotá and the work realized by the Instituto Distrital de Patrimonio Cultural (IDPC). All of them present excellent work, and offer a very differentiated view on the core of the city, the Candelaria, in combination with recommended action for this area that at least in part is also carried out. At the same time, all of these examples lack the equal enthusiasm when it comes to other parts of the current city or the Sabana de Bogotá.

In order to overlook the wider and multilayered Heritage of the entire Sabana-, the Sabana de Bogotá will be regarded as a coherent "territory", a principle pronounced by André Corboz (1983) in the essay "Le Territoire comme palimpseste" (Engl.: "The land as palimpsest"). The notion of territory presented there includes a living combination of urban and rural space as well as the natural and built environment with its socio-cultural relations. This includes continuous changes over time of pieces of that territory without denying the interdependence and relations of these portions that form a palimpsest-like whole and maintain patterns and structures. As mentioned above the original urban piece of this territory, the historic center of Santa Fé de Bogotá, the former city of the European elite, is fully established as cultural Heritage of the area. At the same time the legal framework of Bogotá also recognizes the former villages as "sectores de interes cultural" with a specific focus on the cores of the prior villages, without presenting any binding laws on how to handle this former rural legacy. Some former hacienda-buildings are also part of the protected Heritage of Bogotá and represent all together a rather "traditional site- and point based selective preservationist approach" (Fairclough & Grau Moller, 2008: 14). The interrelation of these elements in a broader context like "territory" or "landscape" is mentioned in Bogotá's legislation as well as in UN Habitat Issue papers, but these legal frameworks do not include concrete recommendations for action.[4]

In practice, an internal study by the IDPC analyzing the history and current state of the annexed villages (Higuera, 2013), closes with the recommendation to present a specific and concrete plan of action for them, as it

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[3] DECRETO 190 (2004), Artículo 125 Componentes del Patrimonio Construido
[4] DECRETO 190 (2004), Artículo 160 Política sobre Patrimonio Construido/ Habitat III Issue Paper 4 (2015) Urban Culture and Heritage

exists for the historic center of Bogotá.[5] A plan for the historic sectors of the former villages has not been presented so far.

The limited recognition of the diverse cultural Heritage of the territory of the Sabana de Bogotá appears to be another example of Schechla's criticism of the Habitat III agenda and its "exclusive "urban" focus" (2016, 34) and lack of consideration of the countryside with its forgotten rural elements, even in official and general agendas. Especially the less monumental, rather subtle landscape structuring elements on bigger scale, that were generated by farming for centuries, strongly influence the current city with its still present patterns (Schröder 2010) and toponymy. These existing structures do not only present a high value for regional identities but offer "a range of climate-friendly house and settlement types, a reservoir for the intelligent treatment of natural forces and developed ground plan, layout, and detail patterns" (Schröder, 2010: 7). This wise input for future planning is not acknowledged in a broader sense.

A possible explanation for the poor representation of the rural aspects in the Heritage of the Sabana de Bogotá might be the fact that "Heritage is a field that is highly contested and social groups which have most power have most chance of having their story or experience commemorated as history" (Byrne, 2008: 154). As Peña (2015) explains in his PhD-Thesis "The Cityscape and the Modern Gaze in Bogotá, 1930-1950" the most powerful class up to the current day in Colombia is an urban elite, dominating image and representation, whereas the rural population is less present in these depictions. Another aspect is, that the declaration of BICs (bien de interés cultural: property/good of cultural interest) is usually realized by officials and the process does not include the any participation of the public or the people interacting with this object/building, a fact that collectives like "niquelarte" try to redraft by proposing the concept of a "bicomún" emphasizing the role of Heritage being a "common good" (Masaguer & Vázquez, 2014). Heritage obtains a crucial role in creating a collective memory and is therefore a powerful instrument for identity policies. The process of creating Heritage consists of interpreting the traces of the past referencing them to current social action (Harrison et al, 2008), and making this signification visible. This process may include a previous selection of things and sites as well and consider their signification and value. In the current representation of Heritage in Bogotá the memory of the ruling class has gained significantly higher visibility than that of the rural Heritage. This does, of course, not mean that there is no rural Heritage. There exist places that have or used to have symbolic meaning for local people and have been properly interpreted, while possibly invisible to the outsiders (Byrne, 2008). The role Byrne (2008) proposes for professionals (which include academics as well as officials in cultural institutions) in the field of Heritage is "to facilitate the visibility of all [Heritage]" (155). In the case of Bogotá one can interpret this as a claim to facilitate a higher (official) visibility of the legacy of the rural, "campesino" (peasant) or "mestizo" culture in general, already supported by some Heritage professionals.

In order to represent a more complete and heterogeneous Heritage of the territory my goal is to find out more about "the rural Heritage of Bogotá" with a special focus on the six formerly independent villages that now in days are part of the city of Bogotá. As these villages represent an equally long settlement history to the historic center of Bogotá they can be considered "historic centralities" (Carrión, 2014: 31). And as "all the centralities in a city are historical, because they have been historically produced" (31) they also represent facets of the history of Bogotá, with its different actors and eras. Multiple layers of time that are present in the six founding cores contribute to a heterogeneous view on the history and therefore to a "democratization of the Heritage" (Carrión, 2012: 52). These historic centralities can be tangible places representing the rural, "mestizo" or "campesino" character of Bogotá and its inhabitants. I believe that a greater general recognition of this patrimony would support the construction of a more inclusive and vital identity of the city of Bogotá. It's important to point out, that these centralities need to be seen in a wider context, rather like knots in the structure of the territory. The

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[5] Like the "Revitalization Plan for the Traditional Center of Bogotá" (Plan de Revitalización del Centro Tradicional de Bogotá) (2015) or the "Special Plan for Management and Protection of the Historic Center of Bogotá" (Plan Especial de Manejo y Protección (PEMP) del centro histórico de Bogotá) (2017) both presented by the IDPC

recognition of the different Heritage aspects of the territory is decisive to form a cultural landscape, as a landscape is a human-made idea in contrast to "the environment that would [also] exist without people" (Fairclough; Grau Moller, 2008: 20), which implies respect of all of its elements.

6 OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

6.1 Superordinate Methodological Approach

The project consists of elements of the architectural and urban analysis for the presentation of the history of urban growth and the evaluation of the current urban configuration and methods from social science, specifically from the field of participation-action-research (PAR) combined with "Inventive Methods" for the study of everyday practice and to visualize the local Heritage.
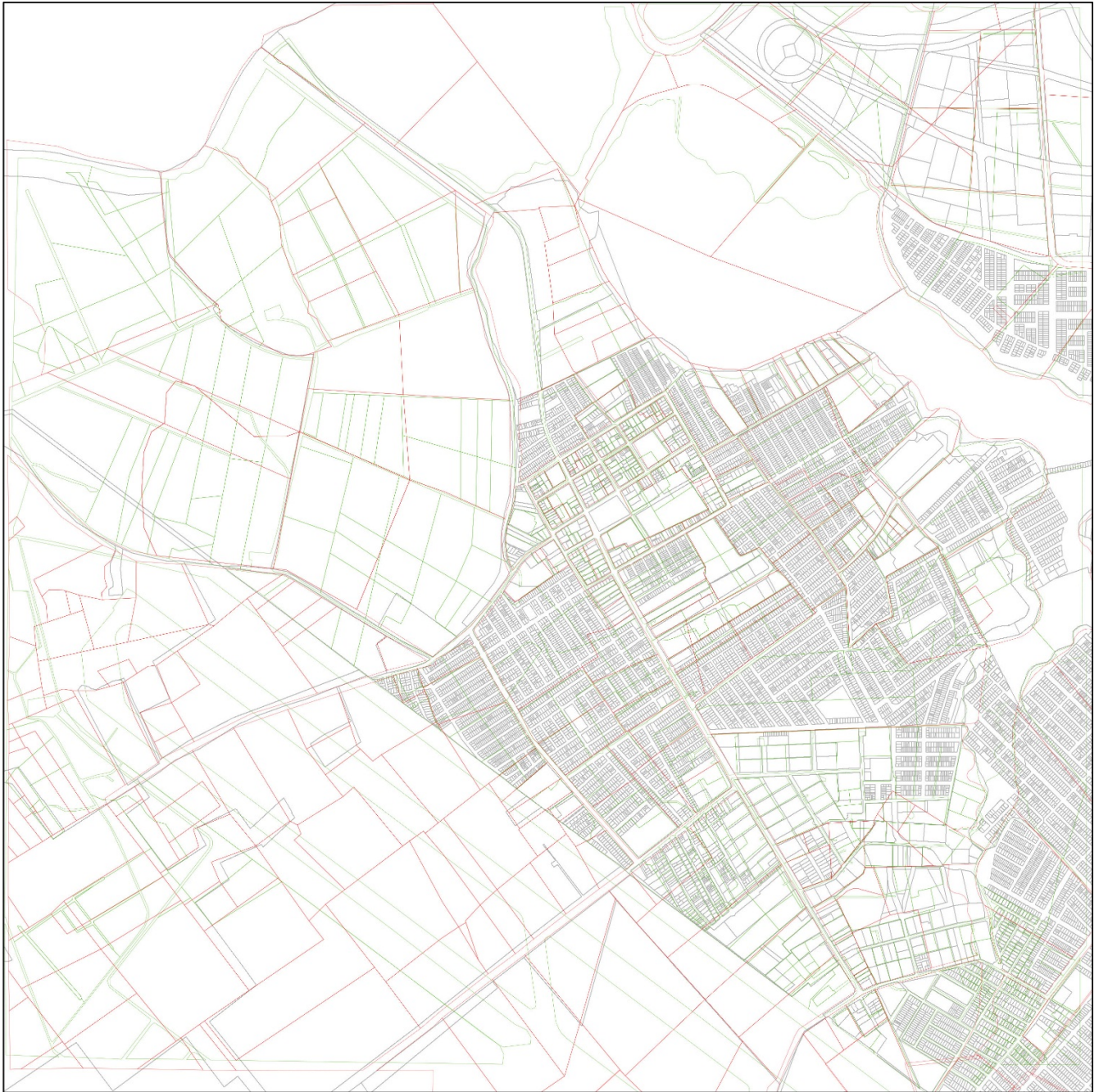
6.2 Plan synopsis
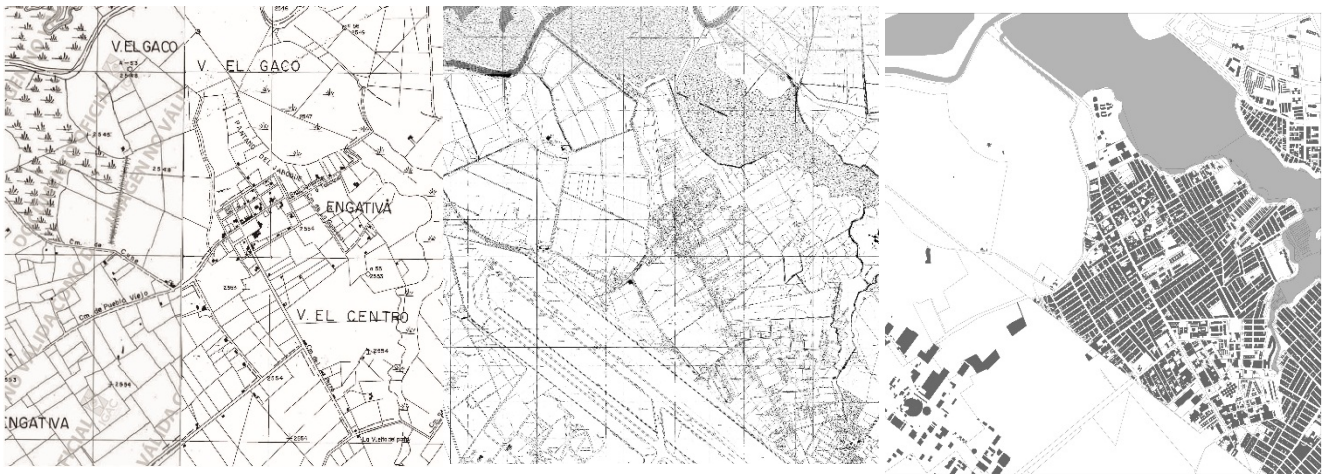
Maps showing Engativá in 1950, 1982, 2016
Maps by IGAC (1950 and 1982) and elaborated by the author using data sets by ideca.gov.co in the GIS laboratory of the UGC

Maps showing Engativá in 1950, 1982, presented graphically uniformed and the juxtapostion of the construction of the three different stages
Map elaborated by the author

Map of the parcellation in Engativá in 1950 (red), 1982 (green), 2016 (grey) presented graphically uniformed and in juxtaposition
Map elaborated by the author

According to Manuel de Solà-Morales (1997) the three elements "parcellation", "urbanization" (including infrastructure but also the modification of geographical elements) and "buildings" form the spatial aspects of the rhythms of the urban project and must be analyzed including the factor time. He compares urbanism with a dance, a play of space and time. Hence, the method for the analysis of the different stages of the morphological growth of the village cores include these elements. The physical connection to the urban fabric and the structural and geo-morphological changes as well as the transition of parceling and land tenure will be investigated over a period from the administrative annexation to the capital in 1954 up to the current time with plans generated though the study of existing maps. The three analyzed moments in the history of the six sites are in 1950, as independent villages, 1980, in a phase of conurbation and 2015, the current state as completely annexed city parts. The phases and principles of the urbanization processes are depicted in a plan synopsis, to determine similar developments in all cases and peculiarities in growth among the six villages. In addition, cross-references to typical urban and rural settlement patterns and architectures are also to be identified in order to draw conclusions about an urban or rural self-understanding of the respective development phases. To this end existing plans and photo documents have to be worked up and presented graphically uniformed. A typological analysis of the architecture of the immediate surroundings of the six central plazas is intended to provide further conclusions as to the when and the how of the transformation of the sites.

These studies shall prove how and when the almost completed process of physical connection of each village to the city of Bogotá took place, in its tangible built environment as witnesses and representatives of different periods and expressions of a rather rural or urban or hybrid rururban self-conception. The conurbation process has not occurred homogeneously with regard to the (in)formality of the connecting barrios. Also, the size and character of the village at the moment of the integration were not uniform. In spite of these differences, there are historically justified constellations concerning the spatial configuration of the local centers, all of them found during colonial times according to the "Leyes de Indias" with the same urban layout (Salcedo, 1996), their connections to the metropolis and settlement principles (Cortés, 2006) and the maintenance or loss of the importance as central places which interrelate with its morphology. The analysis of how land use and land tenure configurations have been transformed in use and subdivision, how settlement patterns have changed in their interrelation to geographic and hydrologic circumstances can show and retell the "cultural aspect of the village system" (Reichenbach-Klinke, 2010: 303) of these vernacular sites and their contribution to the cultural landscape development. The origin of street orientations outlines and names of current barrios and former (hydro) geographic characteristics can be made visible though the analysis of the historic plan material. This knowledge could be used further on to propose a sustainable future urban development based on past structures that have proven their purpose for centuries. These comparisons, however, must be made clear in a uniform graphic representation in order to reflect Bogotá's history and its complexity.

6.3 Social Cartography

These analyses of existing plan material are supplemented by methods of Participation-Action-Research (PAR) and Inventive Methods for the exploration of social space. These methods are qualitative and empirical, and no quantitative results will be obtained. PAR is based on the principle that the people the study focuses on are not "research objects", but their implicit knowledge is made explicit together as "active" protagonists (Leal, 2009). A PAR method developed in Latin America, social cartography, self-drawn cartographies by the inhabitants of a site that reflect the individual and personal perception of the territory from the point of view of the local population, can be seen as an Inventive Method. This means that the research approach is open and explorative, no hypothesis is to be proven (Wildner, 2015). The inhabitants decide what and how to portray of their territory and this gives space to show meanings and ideas that can't be transmitted with codes, techniques and conventions offered by traditional maps (Corner, 1999). Therefore, an interesting aspect concerning questions around Heritage and the historical analysis of places is that the past of the studied site can be made visible as well (Diez, 2012). People have the possibility to express their "social significance" (Byrne, 2008: 152)

through the cartographies implying that memories from the past that are attached to material aspects that might have already vanished. Maps do not only have the potential to represent a territory, they are able to "[uncover] realities previously unseen or unimagined" (Corner, 1999: 213), to reveal new layers and aspects. In the presented case, maps can show the commemoration of a near past that, in some cases, still has material traces, in others nothing visible left. Cartography is never neutral, there are no ""true" and "objective" measures of the world" (Corner, 1999: 215). The question is which aspects and significations are represented in the final map, this means that expert-made maps are "true" showing measurable elements of geographical and constructed environment, but a social cartography of the same site that expresses subjective "rather internal instead of external data"[6] (Diez, 2012: 18), is "true", too.

In this case, the method of social cartography will be carried out by the use of photography instead of drawings and will include a documented collective selection process. Photography here obtains a similar role as cartography mentioned above. Since its invention in the 19th century photography has been closely interrelated with the representation of Heritage and considered an "objective" method to reproduce reality, a fact that visual anthropologists question strongly in the last 50 years, emphasizing the influence images/photographs have on the construction and production of knowledge in social science (Casasbuenas & Diesch, 2017). Sudar Klappenbach (2011) describes how photography plays a vital role in constructing memories and hence, contributes to a notion of Heritage. Similar to cartography, photography has the ability to visualize things but to make invisible other aspects as well (Giordano & Reyero, 2011). Therefore, the interpretation of such photo-social cartographies, already realized collectively by students of the student research group can be considered a way to express the view of inhabitants of Bogotá, "from the outside" to the incorporated villages. These photographs will also form a basis for local exhibitions and workshops as well as interviews with the residents. The comparison of these results, which are initially open and entirely explorative, present both, the vision from the inside and from the outside of collective imaginations. These results are expected to offer a possibility for further ethnological investigations.

6.4 Comparison of both methods

Finally, the two cartographical approaches are to be compared in order to understand historical transitions and the reciprocal influences of physical and social transformations and how these changes have influenced the collective memories and signification of sites. With the comparison of these different spheres and the introduction of time as a fourth dimension they transcend the mere "collective mapping" and give a possible way to "action" (Vélez; Rátiva & Veraia, 2012). As this is on one hand a base for further decision making and urban design in these sites, but can also be useful information for how to think of the role of close municipalities and their relation to Bogotá.

7 FIRST APPROACHES TO ANALYZE THE RECOGNITION FROM THE OUTSIDE

To get a first idea of how the former villages are perceived by inhabitants of the current city of Bogotá and whether there is any recognition of Heritage discussion groups were conducted where students from two different universities in Bogotá drew maps of their associations with the six former villages. There was no further recorded discussion or explanations of the maps, so they cannot be regarded as full social cartography, but rather as quick sketches, mind maps. However, they allow a glimpse of what undergraduate students in their early twenties think of the peripheral territory of Bogotá and intend to support the observation that the recognition of local Heritage in Bogotá is yet to be developed. The group is not representative for the inhabitants of Bogotá and many views and opinions are left un-represented, but there are some general ideas or collective

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[6] Original Spanish: datos territoriales más interna, que externa

"imaginarios"[7] shown in these drawings valid for the city as a whole. Objectives of the group discussion were to show if or how the former villages still function as sites that "structure" the city, knots in the urban landscape and places of identity on a territorial scale for a generation born in the 1990s, when the villages were already virtually incorporated into the Capital District.
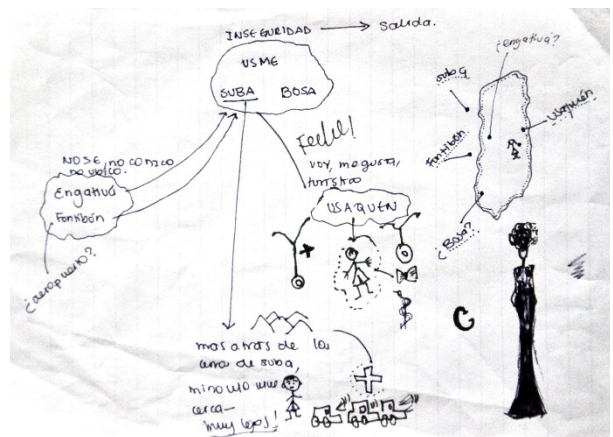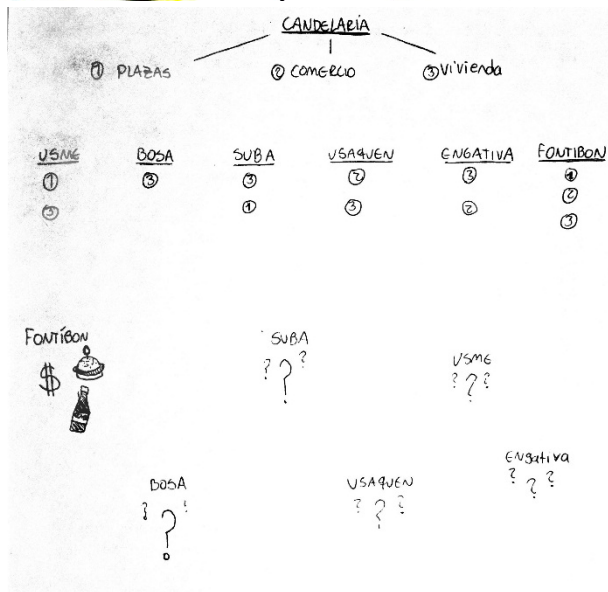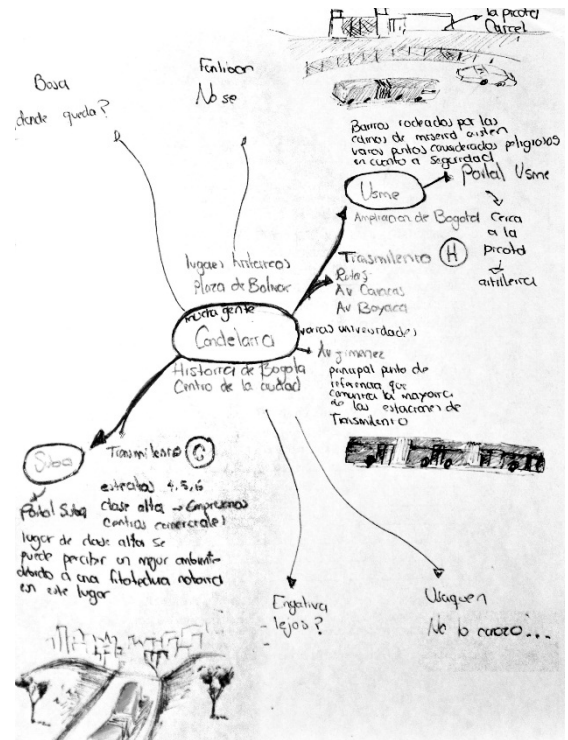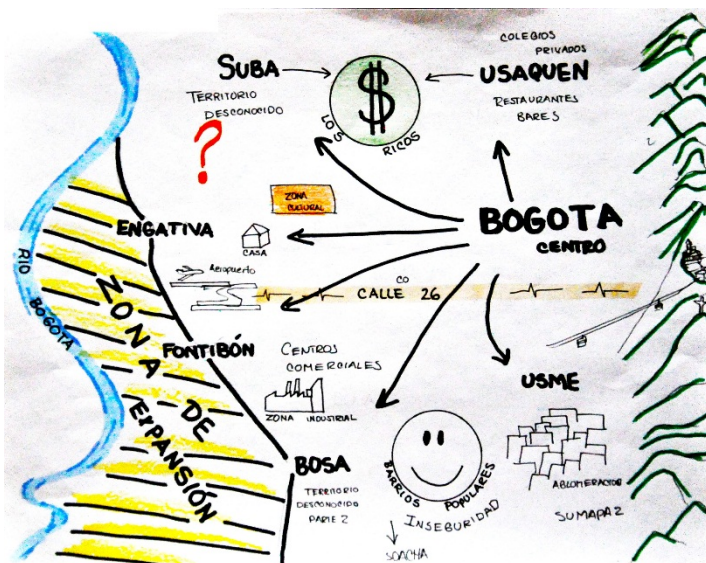
maps displaying the whole territory
clockwise: 1 patrimonio urbano 2017 | 2 espacios urbanos 2015 | 3 mapas 2015 | espacios urbanos 2015

The mappings are the result of four sessions with students of Architecture of the Universidad La Gran Colombia in 2015 (14 maps) and 2017 (13 maps) and students of Design of the Universidad de Los Andes in 2015 (9 maps) and 2016 (8 maps). In all of these sessions the names of the six former villages were given to students without any further explanations and they were asked to draw whatever came to their mind. In the current city of Bogotá, the names of these villages are still present as the names city districts (which are not entirely identical

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[7] A „imaginario" describes a concept of the efficacy of social imagination (Huffschmid & Wildner, 2013)

with the former municipalities). These city districts are important administrative units and often a source of characterization and identity for its inhabitants. The names of the former municipalities are usually linked to the current city districts in an everyday use.
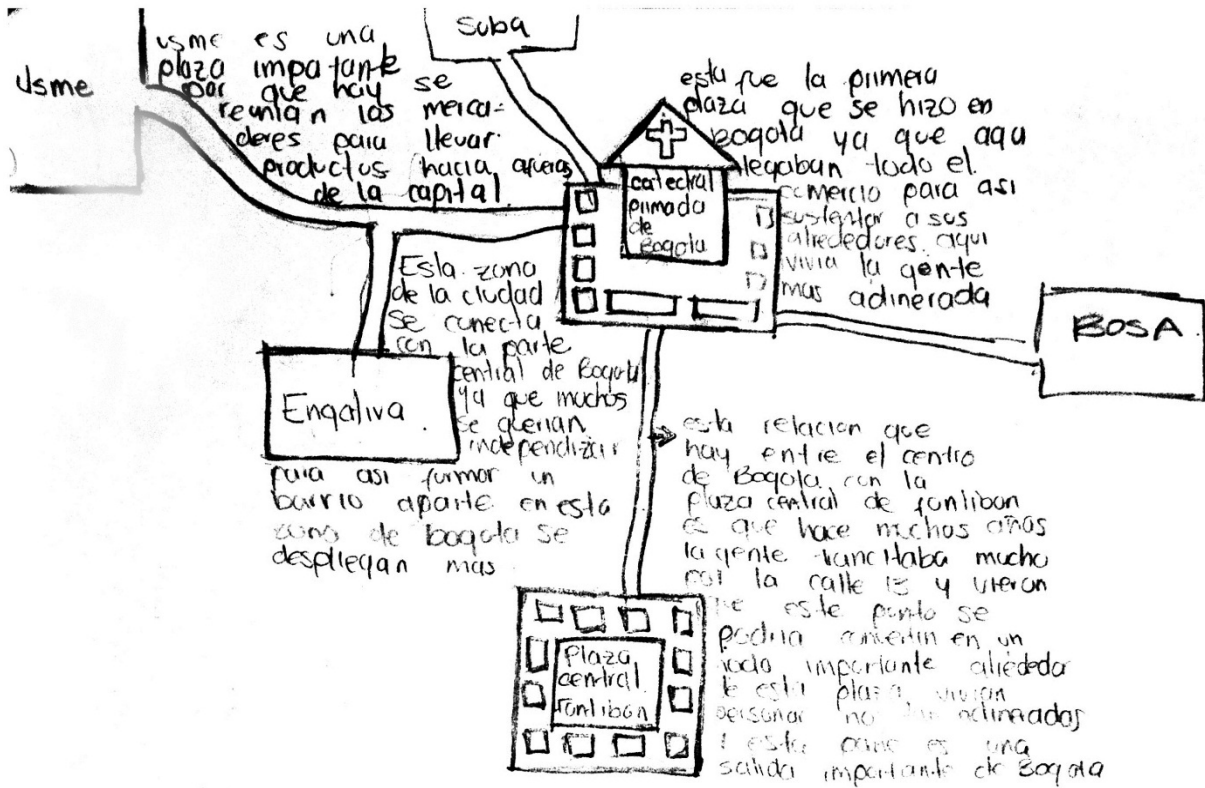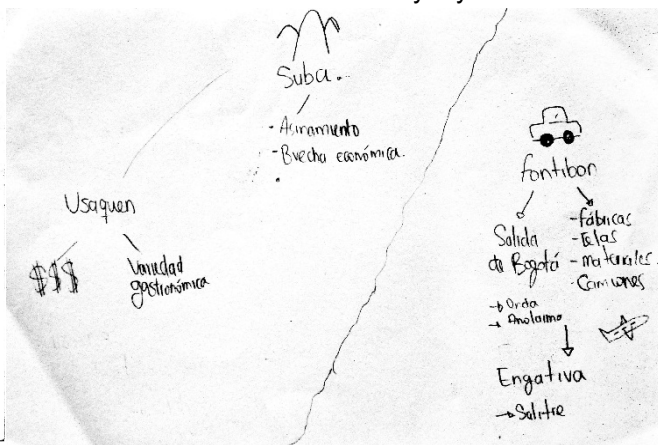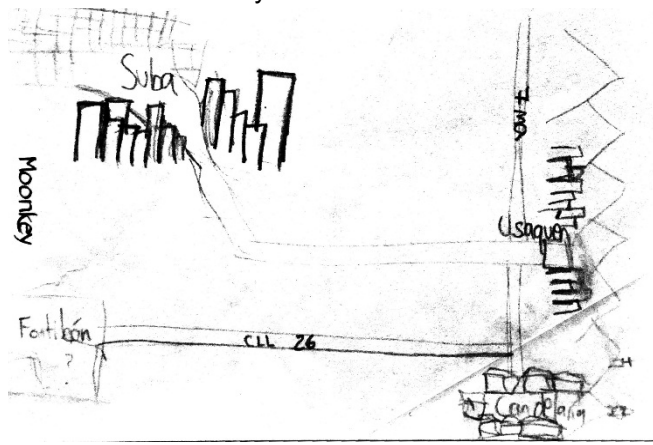
maps with missing sites
clockwise: 1 mapas 2016 displaying Suba, Usaquén, Fonitbón and Candelaria | 2 mapas 2015 Displaying displaying Suba, Usaquén, Fonitbón and Engativá | 3 espacios urbanos 2015 displaying Usme, Bosa, Fontibón, Engativá, Suba

The maps were analyzed on two different scales: one overall view of all the interconnected sites, and on a local scale the characterization of each site. The first allows insight into the students' perception of the entire Capital

District as a whole and how they are familiarized with all the city parts. The second analyzes a current "imaginario" or recognition of each of the former villages.

The 44 maps can roughly be organized in 2 groups; the first group shows the six sites either in geographical order that clearly displays physical interconnections and natural or constructed referential points or in a listed presentation, characterizing all the sites in a written form or with the help of icons or drawings. The other group shows only a part of the city, in a geographical order, but excludes entire places or only describes some of the locations. The maps that indicate the spot but state that there is no further knowledge of these places are clustered in the first group. According to Vélez, Rátiva & Veraia (2012) silences in a map should be considered crucial information about the territory and its conflicts, requiring interpretation according to the context. In the presented case, the less mentioned or absent parts of the city (Bosa and Usme are the ones most frequently missing) were interpreted as a lack of personal knowledge of these districts as well as the desire not to appear prejudiced or biased. The absence often follows the North-South logic of the city that separates lives and work in the "North", commonly associated with wealth, structure, economic and political power, to the "South", where there is a higher amount of informal housing, poverty and insecurity. So, in the analyzed maps, either the localities in the South and to a lesser extent in the North are not represented.

Other maps clearly express the division of the two spheres of Bogotá, usually locating the limit along Calle 13 or Calle 26. As in many maps, the students indicate that they have no knowledge about certain localities and in a few cases, they express where they live or which places the frequent, consequently leads one to assume that they only "inhabit" certain, defined parts of Bogotá. What becomes clear is that there is a tendency Silva (2001) evidences in Latin American cities, where "the micro (the barrio or neighborhood) gains more importance than the macro (the city as a whole)" (398).[8] The maps showing the entire city do not provide personal insights or indicate clearly the "blind spots". In conclusion, my findings from this exercise are that the typical inhabitant of Bogotá isn't familiar with the entire metropolitan area of Bogotá. Much more people inhabit parts of the city, but are able to recognize the structure of the territory without going too much into detail. The tendency to divide the city in a "North" and a "South" realm is considerable. Some maps indicate knowledge of the historical value of the sites, while few connect it to the plazas and churches. Nevertheless, an overall idea of historically grown sub-centralities in a coherent territory is hardly evidenced. The current image or role the city districts play in the city are stronger than the historic network.

The following characterization of the historic sites of the former villages is to be understood as a form of collectively created "imaginario" as they represent just one moment of a city (image) that is in constant transformation and construction (Silva, 2006). It is not only based on the experience living in or touring parts of the city but also through dialogs reshaping an urban image as "the city is not only topography but also utopia and dreaminess" (Silva, 2001: 400).[9]

7.1 Usaquén

Many representations of Usaquén show a strong relation of this site to its central plaza, the gastronomic and leisure offer of the zone. It is related to the Carrera 7ma, a main artery connecting the center of Bogotá with the center of Usaquén, and the mountains, part of the central massif forming the background of Bogotá. There are several indications, and some clear expressions, that it is considered a wealthy neighborhood for living and working. Compared to the other localities the historical aspect here is mentioned rather frequently, it can be evidenced in at least one map of each group.

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[8] Original in Spanish: como lo micro (el barrio o colonia) adquiere importancia sobre lo macro (la ciudad total)
[9] Original Spanish: una ciudad no solo es topografia, sino también utopía y ensoñación

7.2 Suba

The hills of Suba that separate this locality from the rest of Bogotá in combination with the long time it takes to get there are the leitmotif in the maps of this place. Along with this the strong social contrasts, the present rural life with its natural features (wetlands and river) and the rapid growth of population are topics often mentioned. In the groups of students of Architecture some mention Heritage aspects like the plaza, the church and traces of indigenous culture.

7.3 Engativá

Engativá is not mentioned in several maps, and more often it is referred as "unknown". The close by airport is indicated in at least one map on each group. Natural features, like the wetlands, the river Bogotá and the big parks in the zone are shown. Some few references are made to its history, mentioning the church and central plaza or "village" by the students of Architecture.

7.4 Fontibón

A lot of the maps among all the groups consider the airport and the commercial and industrial zone of Fontibón as its most striking feature; also the presence of shopping malls is mentioned. In many maps its importance for ground transport and its role as one of the exits leaving from/coming to Bogotá is expressed, others indicate its position as at the boarder of the city. Only very few maps mention an historic background of the place.

7.5 Bosa

This locality is indicated as "unknown" on many maps, and it's missing on several. Most references are made about the extended areas of popular, often informal and self-constructed housing present in the location. The houses and neighborhoods are described as small and chaotic. Insecurity as well as a lack of (maintained) green spaces is another topic. A positive recognition, worth mentioning, is the popular saying "Bosa, donde la gente goza…" (Bosa, where the people enjoy…") shown on the maps. Some aspects of transportation connections are displayed; only scarce references are made to any historic recognition.

7.6 Usme

On several maps Usme is not even shown and most of the Design students do not describe it. There is an overall recognition of Usme as an important exit of Bogotá to cities in the east. Apart from that, two main aspects are expressed in the maps: on the one hand the rapid growth in a rather informal and chaotic way and the natural resources of the zone like mountains, parks and hydro resources. Some also mention topics related to insecurity. In relation to its historical aspects, some references made to the church and colonial building. The indigenous cemetery discovered in the area some years ago, is not described in any map.

8 CONCLUSIONS

For most people living in Bogotá these findings might not be very exciting, as they portray a rather common image of these city districts. However, the maps give evidence of this view and express also slight differences in how people of different economic backgrounds (Universidad de los Andes has around 4 to 5 times higher student fees then Universidad La Gran Colombia) and places of residence/work everyday life within the city describe the places. Silva (2006) points out that not only the physical city produces a symbolic interpretation but also the other way around, the symbolic "imaginarios" guide the use and the conception of space and therefore also influence forcefully the physical development of the city. In this sense, raising awareness for Heritage and

identity can be a powerful tool to influence the transformation of Bogotá in the long run. Historically grown patterns, structures and even uses could – as mentioned in the legalizations – guide future developments and root the current or future city parts to the history of the place. Instead of erasing entirely these traces they could be emphasized and used for further urbanization processes.

The maps clearly indicate the weak recognition and visibility Heritage has for the common "imaginario" of the former villages, while the city center of Bogotá is usually referred to as the "historic center". This imbalance of acknowledgement of history and identity needs to be tackled by professionals and institutions by the state and the city in the field of heritage. In order to safeguard and maintain the knowledge and consciousness of signification of many sites and activities that have vanished just a few decades ago or are in danger of extinction these memories still alive need to be registered and made visible. The need to raise awareness for the endangered rural origin of many parts of the territory and its inhabitants is crucial for building a more complete and inclusive identity of Bogotá. The aim is to represent this multilayered character of the metropolitan region of Bogotá in a rural-urban landscape with unique characteristics and an inimitable historic evolution.

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