

A Pact for Life: Towards the Sustainable Inhabitation of the Eastern Hills of Bogotá

Co-Learning for Action: Nurturing Environmental Justice in Bogotá

Authors: Yun Nam Chan | Harry Coles | Max Drabwell McIlwaine | Mayra Pacheco Méndez | Ben Richmond

Key messages

- Legal frameworks meant to protect the Forest Reserve in the Eastern Hills of Bogotá are being exploited by private and state actors, leaving residents in a state of uncertainty and vulnerability.
- The state investment in the neighbourhoods in the hills thus far has been limited both in quantity and in direction, are caused, to some extent, by the designations of risk in the area
- Information exchange has caused issues such as getting voices and messages from the community directly into the decision- making processes. This is multiscale – happening between and within barrios, and in interactions with the state.
- Interactions between social and physical risks, living conditions, and investment issues have formed a feedback loop that continues to worsen quality of life in the barrios
- A 'Pact of Life' approach needs to be taken that requires commitments from both the state and the communities to allow for the sustainable inhabitation of the hills.

Introduction

The barrios of Triángulo Alto (TA), Triángulo Bajo (TB) and Manantial (M), located in the hills on the eastern side of Bogotá, have been designated as having various levels of 'risk' from high/unmitigable (TA) to low (TB) by the government.

The rationale behind this is the real and perceived threat of natural hazards, such as landslides, to the residents of these communities. However, these designations of high risk do not tell the whole story. Interested parties such as the Caja de la Vivienda Popular (the government housing department) and private developers such as CAMACOL (Colombian Chamber of Construction), carry out the governments provision for resettlement of the communities, using the risk designation as justification. A negative feedback loop has been created where designations of high risk create circular issues resulting in worsening conditions. Drawing on our research in the Eastern Hills, both internal and external factors were observed, with possible solutions to the problems also requiring both internal and external initiatives. Challenges around investment and collective information sharing and decision making will be analysed. Our methodology comprised first, a transect walk through the neighbourhoods of TA, TB and Manantial, interviews with residents where we constructed personal timelines and timelines of events for the neighbourhoods, and a focus group/ workshop with a group of 20 residents. Using our findings, a proposition is made to adopt and adapt the strategy of 'Pacto de Vida (Pact for life)' (Mesa, 2006) – which is an action plan that requires collaboration and compromise from both the communities and the state to allow the sustainable inhabitation of the Eastern Hills. In formulating this brief, we highlight the key issues for a wider audience, ranging from other communities across the eastern hills to policymakers in Bogotá. The primary target of the brief will be the Mesa de Cerros Orientales, a platform for the interaction of relevant state bodies and socio-environmental movements and grassroots collectives advocating for collective action on the urban-rural borders in the Eastern Hills of Bogotá.



Image 01

Images: top left - water pipe under maintenance (Alto); top right - burst retention wall (Manantial); bottom left - incomplete retention wall (Manantial); bottom right - leaky water tank (Alto).

1. Understanding Precarity in the Eastern Hills

The situation in TA, TB, and Manantial reflects the situation in much of the Eastern Hills, where land tenure insecurity has left the resident's right to inhabit the hills contested (Vieda Martinez, 2021).

The general insecurity that comes with this form of inhabitation often leads to a diminished quality of life as a result of government refusal to acknowledge and invest in these settlements. The conflicts caused by contested tenure and its consequences in the barrios that together form Triángulo is compounded by the designations of risk imposed by the government. 'Unmitigable' risk designations in parts of the area have further infringed on the right to inhabit the hills, threatening to displace those who occupy such apparently 'unmitigable' areas (Allen et al., 2015). The governments process for risk designation is shaped by the agenda to resettle residents. This involves a lack of and misdirection of investment.

1.1. Issues with investment

Investment operates through two distinct categories: 'misinvestment' (where investment is directed) and 'disinvestment' (a lack of overall investment). There are distinct forms and institutions behind these, each with their own agenda and criteria that operate to influence the nature of risk within and around the barrios.

1.1.1. Disinvestment

Disinvestment represents the decline in spending on maintaining existing infrastructure and services. Disinvestment operates on two accounts. It acts to directly increase physical risk, as was seen in 2008 in the Eastern Hills when a leaky government-owned water tank in TA caused a landslide and subsequent eviction of 4 dwellings. It is for this reason that a community leader told us "risk is induced" by the state's inaction. The only response, beyond eviction, was the government body replacing the lid of the leaky tank, rather than addressing the root problem. It cleared the area that posed further risk and created a façade of maintenance.

Defining Ecobarrio

Ecobarrio: The term Ecobarrio refers to a social/environmental movement adopted by residents of the neighbourhoods, particularly in Manantial. It challenges the typical imagining of what a city should look like and instead centres harmony with nature. The notion was initially presented by the Colombian government but in the Neighbourhoods of TA, TB, and Manantial the idea was reclaimed as a resistance strategy to government displacement based on risk (Ome, 2017).



Image 02
Community risk mitigation practice.

These acts can be seen as a form of ‘soft coercion’. The decline in quality of services, such as a water pipe incapable of handling the pressure required for the incline of the hills (Figure 1: Top Left), partially complete retention walls (Figure 1: Bottom Left) and defences unable to withstand the rainfall (Figure 1: Top Right). Unreliable and unsafe infrastructure increases the likelihood of resettlement. This is an act of displacement through disinvestment.

1.1.2. Misinvestment

Misinvestment can be understood as the misallocation of resources by government bodies, prioritising agendas such as protecting the forest reserve or national quotas to fight climate change over the rights of those living in the barrios. Drawing on our research with local residents, it is our understanding that the allocation of these resources would be best served by investing in the community. One of the strongest examples of this appears in the Caja de la Vivienda resettlement scheme. The designation of high levels of risk makes residents eligible for resettlement. The scheme provides government subsidised housing, payment for resettlement and a rental subsidy of between 600,000 – 700,000 COP (\$145-\$170) a month whilst waiting for housing. With an average waiting time for housing of 5.5 years (Sarmiento, 2022) on rental subsidy alone the government can expect to pay 35 million COP (\$8400)

per re-settled per household before factoring in payment for the plot and the subsidies for the construction of housing. For comparison, one community leader estimated that an investment equivalent to 10 million COP (\$2400) per household would instead secure safe water supply and help prevent risk.

Despite clear trends of disinvestment in ameliorating the neighbourhoods, the State has dedicated significant resources to specific goals and projects. A large 4bn COP (\$1 million) risk management project was completed in Corinto after residents had been forcibly evicted. This means that investment was spent protecting the cleared forest reserve rather than the inhabited areas.

Similarly, ongoing fire management programmes are completed by third party contractors who cut down invasive and flammable plants. However, residents told us contractors cut down the plants, inadvertently helping their proliferation by “spreading seeds”. Instead, the residents wanted alternative management techniques using native plants and appropriate cutting techniques.

The community has already demonstrated how they can better handle risk with limited resources. For example, finishing the incomplete retention wall (Figure 1, bottom left) and adapting it to become a multipurpose garden. Similarly, Figure

3 shows channels dug to direct runoff away from the houses and roads. The reallocation of these resources towards upgrading and maintaining infrastructure through using local workers and their own methods can improve the resilience of both the community and the environment whilst reducing risk.

1.1.3. Implications of Resettlement

The pressure to resettle is rapidly increasing, at current rates of population decline (Figure 2). Manantial and TA will be uninhabited within the next 6 years. These two areas are also those with the highest designation of risk – unmitigable in Manantial and high in TA. The pressures of risk and the disinvestment that this brings with it contribute to these rates of decline. The population of Bajo is predicted to stabilise as it has some level of formalisation.

The decline in the population would represent a loss of the stewardship role that the Ecobarrio currently maintains. Thus, exposing the area to the nearby development pressures posed by the universities and CAMACOL group who have acquired land within the buffer zone (Figure 1: bottom left; also Figure 4). The position of the barrios alongside the buffer zone currently acts to stop movement of the zone - moving it would provide legitimacy to their claim of the land and threaten the Ecobarrio’s existence.

If households in Triangulo Alto and Manantial were to be completely relocated, the buffer zone is likely to shift, enabling the development of the area to serve real estate interests, thus undermining the objectives of environmental and social protection while reproducing vulnerability elsewhere” (Few et al., 2021). As evidence of this, one community leader reported how developers purchased an area of land to build social housing, in the process cutting down 20,000 trees and causing a significant landslide.

This contradiction between development and risk lies at the heart of the case in the Eastern Hills. The designation of risk comes from its socio-economic construction.

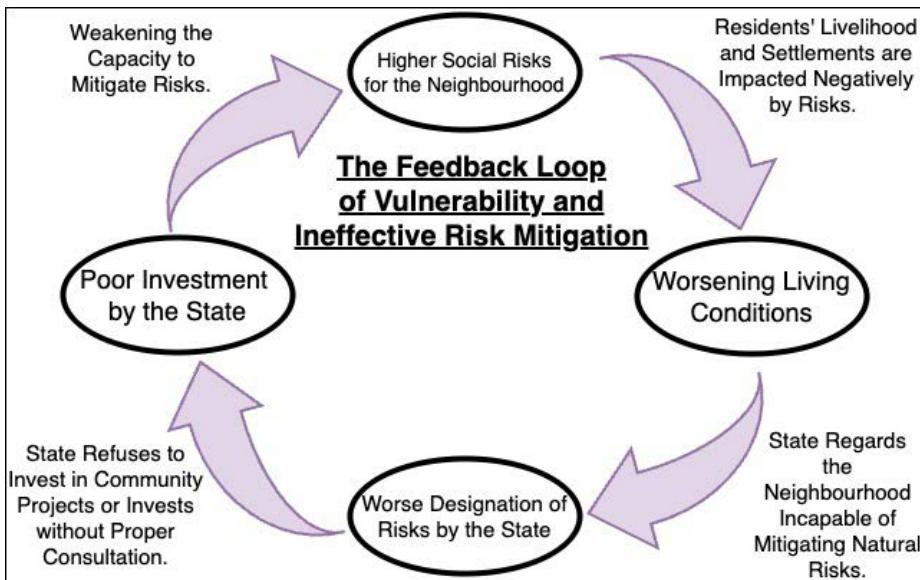


Image 03
Illustration of the Feedback Loop in the neighbourhoods of TA, TB, and Manantial.

This construction of risk assumes that lower socio-economic status, indicates lower capacity to deal with physical hazards, resulting in a higher risk designation (Law 1523 of 2012). Through risk designation these assumptions on capacity become ‘rendered technical’ (Li, 2007) despite highly contingent assumptions, that as previous research (Allen et al., 2015) has indicated, house arbitrary decisions with contradictory elements (Fraser, 2017).

When this is considered alongside the disinvestment by the state within the community, a continually reproduced cycle of active neglect and an increase in risk becomes apparent.

1.2. Lack of collective information sharing and decision-making

“Knowledge is power” is a sentiment and phrase that was stated by several community members during a workshop. They recognised that for the communities to be able to collectively bargain with the state for neighbourhood improvements, knowledge and action needs to become collective. To understand the problems with information flows in the neighbourhoods, they suggested that is important to adopt a multi-scalar approach that considers the intra-community, inter-community, and extra-community levels. One of the clearest issues with the information flow comes from a

disconnect between the state and the communities. It emerged from our research that the government “purposely withhold” information regarding the community; it is only through access to the Mesa de Cerros Orientales that the community can access information on the legislation that exists to displace them, thus leaving the resident in the dark. When information does reach the area, there are further challenges with how it is shared within the communities. There are also issues with the inter-barrio and intra-barrio information flows. Residents made clear that some neighbourhoods received more information than others, and within neighbourhoods, community leaders cannot always manage to reach all residents, calling for more collective spaces to share and discuss information, who stated that there were few community events or meetings that would have allowed them to understand and have their voices heard about community issues. An example of these three levels of inefficient information flow relates to the state resettlement program that has left residents with little idea of how the process works or what it means for them. According to our discussion in the focus group, the state has also done little to explain the process to the communities to which they are offering resettlement to. This means that people must blindly commit to a process about which they have limited knowledge if they want to leave. The lack of clear information in the communities and the uncertainty

that this brings allows rumours to develop that add to the confusion felt by residents.

These three levels of information flow need to be channelled more effectively which will in turn allow for more participation and more representative decision-making processes among the communities. This will arguably increase the collective bargaining power of the territory in interactions with the state which will be crucial for a sustainable solution to the risk challenges.

1.3. Issues with the legal frameworks

Starting with the ratification of the Forest Reserve in 2000 (Decree 619) (Colombia. Departamento Administrativo de Planeación Distrital, POT, 2000), the government has showed intent to prioritise the ecological sustainability of the Eastern Hills, even if this means the displacement of those who inhabit them. Since then, the border of the Forest Reserve and the urban-rural buffer zone has threatened to move further into the hills and closer to the neighbourhoods. This border movement comes with increasing pressure from external actors, as there is an increased demand for ‘social housing’ and private property developers that influence the state’s decision-making process regarding the border zone exert such pressure in the belief that this land can be made economically valuable.

The effects of this border shifting have the potential to be damaging for residents of the neighbourhoods, particularly in Triángulo Alto which is the closest to the current border and with people living in the most precarious conditions. According to our interviews there, the first effect comes through the restrictions it places on the residents’ mobility. If the border zone moves any further up the hill it will cover the main path out of the neighbourhood that Triángulo Alto residents use to access the rest of the city. This will mean that private landowners will own the path and residents will no longer be able to use it. This will add huge amounts of time onto children’s already long journey to school and people trying to go to

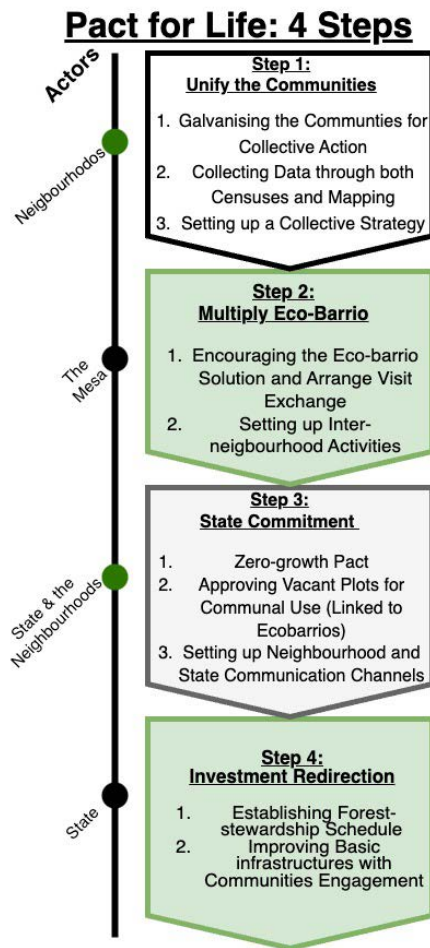


Image 04
Illustration of Four Step Pact for Life action plan.

work, directly infringing on residents' right to the city. The border shifting will also counteract the state's objective to keep the hills as an ecologically sustainable reserve. When the border shifts, the land is bought by private landowners and construction companies who will develop buildings that are not ecologically sustainable. It is therefore government's responsibility to ensure that it does not go ahead. Further issues come from what Ome (2017) describes as a 'Legal Frankenstein' where constantly changing and updating legislation regarding risk and the right to inhabit the hills has left a huge amount of uncertainty in the neighbourhoods. The settlements are left in a 'judicial limbo' whereby their legality and risk status are unclear which leaves the area stagnant and uninvested in whilst also leaving gaps in the law for exploitation by private actors.

1.4. Vicious Cycle

A feedback loop is a process in which the outputs of a system are circled back and used as inputs, creating a circuit (Carver, 1982). This can create negative consequences and make it difficult to break such a cycle. In San Cristobal (comprising our three study settlements), as illustrated in Figure 5, a feedback loop has developed over several decades which has led to a worsening position for the residents in the efforts against the unmitigable risk designation and the consequent displacement.

As communities are deemed high risk, the quality and scale of investments are reduced, which leads to a higher risk for the residents. Worsening conditions are created by the higher risk, leading to an escalation in the risk designation, which then leads to further lack of investment into the community. An example of this would be a lack of investment in barriers to protect against landslides. In this example this higher risk designation means barriers are seen as a waste of time, leading to worse conditions, a higher perceived and actual risk factor, and therefore designation of 'higher risk, in turn leading to a further lack of investment in landslide defences.

2. Strategic Interventions

Drawing on our research in the Eastern Hills, our recommendations are co-developed with local community members and summarised within our adapted version of the Mesa's Pact for Life proposal. We believe this has the potential to ensure an environmentally just approach to addressing the risks faced by communities in the Eastern Hills, providing them with more sustainable ways of living and ensuring their right to the city.

2.1. Objective

State intervention is essential to breaking this loop. The "Pact for Life" promotes mutual efforts and commitments from all parties to achieve the right to the city and stewardship of the forest (see also the Arraigo Platform for similar efforts to

work collaboratively in Bogotá - López Meneses et al., 2022). The Mesa proposed similar approaches with the District Secretariat of Environment in 2006, but this was not enacted, according to our updated research. Strategically, we propose an intra-to-extra approach. By rebuilding the intra-barrios decision-making mechanism, they can build capacity and multiply the Ecobarrio model throughout the Eastern Hills. The stronger alliance among neighbourhoods in the Eastern Hills can then negotiate a mutual commitment pact with the state. This recognition by the state and other stakeholders can be converted into concrete financial support to improve general living conditions. Therefore, we suggest a four-step gradual strategy to achieve stronger environment justice in the Eastern Hills (see Figure 6). The main actor in the first step is the community. The second step should be coordinated by the Mesa de Cerros. The third step is coordinated by both the state and the neighbourhoods, and the final step is mainly enacted by the state.

2.1.1. Galvanizing local capacity for collective action

Workshop participants emphasised the importance of consolidating barrios to work together to address socio-economic challenges, intra-barrio distrust and eviction threats. "We want to merge the barrios and be part of the solution", said one participant.

We propose reconstructing the intra-barrio decision-making mechanism to ensure open and equal representation from different neighbourhoods. This would entail, for example, regular councils and committees, such as juntas de acción communal (JACs) conducting workshops on sustainable risk management. It is crucial that information flow within the barrio is transparent and freely shared among all members rather than centralised. This can be achieved through community press, community boards, or community WhatsApp groups (Maya-Jariyego, 2019). These workshops, committees, and communication channels should be attended by, comprise of, and reach male and female community members as well as all age and racial groups

and those from all displacement backgrounds to ensure that the community is fairly represented.

2.1.2. Collecting Data through Census and Mapping

Accurate and comprehensive data on the barrio is essential for developing a collective strategy, initiating a zero-growth pact with the state, and galvanising the community. Conducting a thorough census and participatory mapping will help identify risk zones, failed state investment projects, and basic demographic and household information as in the case of the favela community of Maré in Rio de Janeiro (Ansarri, 2022).

2.1.3. Setting Up a Collective Strategy

Based on the data collected through the census and mapping, the neighbourhood should develop a collective strategy that outlines goals, actions, and timelines. This strategy should reflect the community's priorities and be designed to engage all members actively.

2.2. Step 2: Multiply Ecobarrio Initiatives

2.2.1. Ecobarrio Exchange visiting and Promoting the Ecobarrio Solution

The Mesa officials should engage with the leaders of the current Ecobarrio project in Manantial to understand successes and challenges and assess the feasibility of Ecobarrio as a solution for breaking the feedback loop across other neighbourhoods in the Eastern Hills. Between communities, the Mesa can create forums for representatives from various Ecobarrios to discuss common challenges, establishing strong communication networks, and initiating joint projects, an information exchange hub, training programs and workshops on sustainable practices – open to everyone in the communities regardless of their gender, ethnicity, age or displacement background. Externally, the Mesa should form partnerships with stakeholders such as the academic sector to support community initiatives like establishing a medicinal garden (potentially in collaboration with the Botanical

Garden), developing strategies to influence policies affecting the community, and promote community gardens for food production and security (Maassen, 2017).

2.2.2. Setting Up an Inter-Neighbourhood Activities

Organising inter-neighbourhood activities can help foster collaboration across the Eastern Hills. This initiative will unite different neighbourhoods, promoting unity and healthy competition while encouraging the youth to engage community affairs. Participants suggested establishing a football league. Although the activity may initially seem male-dominated, it can serve as a starting point for encouraging more inclusive and to prioritise female led inter-neighbourhood activities, as per the case of Ecobarrio Villa el Salvador, Peru, which promoted social cohesion via sport activities (Dammert, 2012).

2.3. Step 3: Securing State Commitment

2.3.1. Establish a Zero-Growth Pact

A Zero Growth Pact is an agreement between the residents of an area and the state (Wigle, 2014). The community guarantees that they no longer build or expand in exchange for the right to inhabit without disturbance from the state.

This is a critical step for the neighbourhood and state to reach a consensus on preventing further environmental degradation and urban sprawl in the Eastern Hills while safeguarding the neighbourhood's right to the city and living on the hill. Based on census data, the neighbourhood will ensure that there will be no increase in new households and new settlements built on the hills. The state will ensure that no eviction plans or actions will be implemented if households agree to stay.

To ensure the effectiveness of the pact, the negotiation process needs to be transparent, with agreements clearly documented and supported at the municipal level. Participation of local communities is key for policy making and management of urban

sprawl (Silva and Ma, 2021).

2.3.2. Approve the Conversion of Vacant Plots to Communal Use

Building on the Zero-Growth Pact, the state will approve the conversion of vacant plots and abandoned houses into communal spaces. This demand was widely supported by the neighbourhood in our workshop. To ensure the credibility of the ZeroGrowth Pact and protect and revitalise the “social and ecological functions of the territory”, the government should actively support the use of these areas as community gardens and recreational areas, promoting collectively used green spaces and community engagement.

2.3.3. Set Up a Formal Dedicated Communication Channel between the Neighbourhood and the State

A formal communication channel should be established to ensure ongoing dialogue between the Mesa, state authorities, and neighbourhood representatives. This channel will set a specific date to facilitate regular meetings, feedback sessions, and collaborative decision-making processes, improving power capacity to activate concrete changes endorsed by the state. A dedicated liaison or committee will manage this communication, ensuring transparency and accountability in all interactions (run by diverse and representative residents).

2.4. Step 4: Redirecting Investments

2.4.1. Establish a Forest-Stewardship Schedule

A comprehensive forest-stewardship schedule should be developed with input from environmental experts, academics, community members, and state officials. Community participation is crucial for the development of nature-based solutions that are rooted in local knowledge (Reid et al., 2024). “We are the protagonists of our own development, we have a lot of knowledge, we have a lot of wisdom, and we can demonstrate these via building our own development”, said one of the community leaders. This schedule will outline specific

activities, timelines, and responsibilities for maintaining and restoring forest areas. The schedule should integrate with the current wildfire mitigation policy, replacing the simple elimination of invasive species with the planting of local species, nature-based solutions, and even economic species planting.

2.4.2. Improve Basic Infrastructure with Community Engagement

Investment will be redirected to improve essential infrastructure within the neighbourhood based on the enumeration results, such as roads, water supply, sewage systems, and landslide consolidation. These projects will be carried out with active community engagement, ensuring that the upgrades meet the actual needs of residents and deploy local knowledge and methods. Community members from all backgrounds will participate in planning, implementation, and monitoring processes, fostering a sense of ownership and responsibility. Improving governance, decision making, policy uptake, and planning efforts (Tovar Tique et al., 2021). Ideally, they will be remunerated for this work by the state in order to avoid a classic pitfall of community participation (Lliso et al., 2020). In the long term, to promote sustainability and better living conditions, settlements will be upgraded with eco-friendly technologies and equipment with state subsidies and technical support.

3. Conclusion

In summary, this policy brief outlines the social and environmental trends that have affected the residents of three communities in the Eastern Hills. Issues of investment and legality and a lack of shared information and decision making, have resulted in a feedback loop that leads to higher designations of risk. This is evident in TA where a lack of investment has led to the neighbourhood being designated as high-risk. The strategies outlined as part of the adapted Pact for Life will be essential step in helping break the feedback loop advancing the right to the city, environmental justice, and gaining greater government recognition for residents. By fostering community cohesion, enhancing communication, and building partnerships, the recommendations are designed to empower residents to actively participate in sustainable development in an inclusive way. Community-driven data collection will provide crucial insights for resource allocation and environmental conservation. Implementing these strategies not only strengthens the Ecobarrio of San Cristóbal but also offers a model for other Ecobarrios to follow, ensuring that more communities can assert their rights and achieve government recognition.

Acknowledgement

We would like to extend our thanks to the communities of Triángulo Alto, Triángulo Bajo and Manantial, especially Hector, without whose help it would have been impossible to carry out our projects. We would like express gratitude to our interns, Luisa Agudelo and Verónica Molano. And to Tatiana Ome and Andres Sepúlveda, for their guidance during the fieldwork. A special thanks to Adriana Allen for her continued and invaluable help over the project.

References

- Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá; Departamento Administrativo de Planeación Distrital. 2000. Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial. Bogotá, D.C.
- Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá; Departamento Administrativo de Planeación Distrital. 2022. Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial. Bogotá, D.C.
- Allen, A., Lambert, R., Frediani, A. A., & Ome, T. (2015). Can participatory mapping activate spatial and political practices? Mapping popular resistance and dwelling practices in Bogotá eastern hills. *Area*, 47(3), 261–271. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24811674>
- Angelini, A. (2012). *Favela: Four Decades of Living on the Edge in Rio de Janeiro* By Janice Perlman Oxford University Press. 2010. 448 pages. *Social Forces*, 93(3), pp. e72–e72. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sos164>.
- Ansarri, M. 2022. Cartographies of poverty: Rethinking statistics, aesthetics and the law. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 40(3), pp.567-585.
- Carver, C., & Scheier, M. (1982). Control theory: A useful conceptual framework for personality-social, clinical, and health psychology. *Psychological Bulletin*, 92, 111–135.
- Dammert, L. (2012). Villa El Salvador: Un ejemplo de desarrollo comunitario en Lima. *Revista Peruana de Investigación Educativa*, 4(1), 123-140.
- Few, R. et al. 2021. Why representation matters in disaster recovery. GCRF Policy Briefings. The British Academy, London, UK.
- Fraser, A., 2017. The missing politics of urban vulnerability: The state and the co-production of climate risk. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 49(12), pp.2835-2852.
- Law 1523 de 2012: Gestión del riesgo, responsabilidad, principios, definiciones y Sistema Nacional de Gestión del Riesgo de Desastres. Available at: <https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=47141#:~:text=Es%20deber%20de%20las%20autoridades,voluntariado%20y%20de%20utilidad%20com%20C3%BA>.
- Li, T.M., 2007. *The will to improve: Governmentality, development, and the practice of politics*. duke university Press
- Lliso, B. et al. 2020. Payments for ecosystem services or collective stewardship of Mother Earth? Applying deliberative valuation in an indigenous community in Colombia. *Ecological Economics*, 169.
- Maassen, J. (2017). *Emergy of an Urban Food Production System: A Case Study of Urban Agriculture in Detroit, Michigan*. [online] Available at: <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1149251/FULLTEXT02.pdf>.
- Maya-Jariego, I. et al. 2019. Personal networks, social media, and community cohesion in the strategies of peace-building agents in Colombia to counteract the segregation of displaced populations. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 47(6), pp.1300-1312.
- Mesa Ambiental de los Cerros Orientales. 2006. *CERROS ORIENTALES DE BOGOTÁ, TERRITORIO SOSTENIBLE Y PATRIMONIO AMBIENTAL*. Working Paper. Available at: https://mesacerros.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2007/10/documento_para_el_alcaldez.pdf
- Ome Baron, A.T., 2017. *An ethnography of Bogotá's ecobarrios: the construction of place-based eco-political subjects, subjectivities and identities* (Doctoral dissertation, UCL (University College London)). https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&as_sdt=0%2C5&q=tatiana+ome+ecobarrios+bogota&btnG=
- Reid, J., Challies, E., Te Maire Tau and Awatere, S. (2024). Adapting to climate change through nature-based solutions and indigenous knowledge: the case for landscape-scale ecosystem regeneration in the Rokohouia Delta. *Kotuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*, pp.1–19. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1177083x.2023.2299364>.
- Sarmiento, H., 2022. Financing climate-related resettlements in uneven geographies of risk: Lessons from Bogota Humana. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 44(7), pp.983-998.
- Silva, C. and Ma, J. (2021). A Sustainable Urban Sprawl? *disP - The Planning Review*, 57(3), pp.50–67. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02513625.2021.2026667>.
- Tovar Tique, Y.P., Escobedo, F.J. and Clerici, N. (2021). Community-Based Importance and Quantification of Ecosystem Services, Disservices, Drivers, and Neotropical Dry Forests in a Rural Colombian Municipality. *Forests*, 12(7), p.919. doi: <https://doi.org/10.3390/f12070919>.
- Vieda Martinez, S.A., 2021. *Housing Informality beyond The Urban Poor: Spatialities, Public Institutions, and Social Injustice in Rich Settlements of Bogotá*. PhD Thesis.
- Wigle, J., 2014. The 'Graying' of 'Green' Zones: Spatial Governance and Irregular Settlement in Xochimilco, Mexico City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38(2), pp.573-589.