The transformation of the Public Space in Bogotá
TIME as Catalyst –Planning & Building with TIME

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Abstract

Bogotá is the capital city of Colombia. The city lies at the centre of the country at an altitude of 2,600 meters above sea level. Since 1999, the capital has embarked upon a significant transformation using public space planning and sustainable urban mobility as a key tool in delivering a more human environment.

Changes in the city administration and successful urban development projects have become an interest and topic of debate for academics, the media, and politicians in and outside the country.

The intent of this presentation is to document the key events, projects, practices and people who have helped shape the City of Bogotá, with special emphasis on the Public Space Transformation process and the task of the Landscape Architects.

Particularly I will examine the critical role of time and change and the recognition of both the positive and negative impacts of change, through two themes: TIME as Catalyst, and Designing and Building with TIME.

TIME as Catalyst draw consideration to the legislated land use and strategic plan and mechanisms who promoted a culture of citizenship; this resulted in an attention on the analysis and understanding of problems and programs that made citizens reflect on the importance of changing their attitude and behavior in the urban setting, and the legislated land use programs which seeks to foster social and environmental sustainability through urban design.

Designing and Building with TIME will illustrate the remarkable Public Space transformation of Bogotá on the following physical aspects: pedestrian zones, road infrastructure, especially the implementation of paths reserved exclusively for bicycles, the revitalization of parks and greenways, the revegetalizacion of the city and the implementation of the Transmilenio bus rapid transit system.

Between 1999 -2004 the city was characterized by a high rate of investment and the rapid completion of an important number of infrastructure projects. Although the changes in Bogota are most evident in spatial terms, the transformation has affected every dimension of life in the city.

Key words

Public space, Landscape Planning and Design; Citizen participation, Sustainability, Urban Mobility, Institutional legitimacy.

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TIME as Catalyst – Planning & Building with TIME

The city of Bogotá\(^2\), grew in the last 30 years, it passed of being a city of less than a million inhabitants to seven millions, until very recently it was one of the most chaotic, insecure and ruthless cities of Latin America, with a chaotic system of transportation, parks covered with garbage, wild grass, a nobody’s land. A city affected by the urbanisation phenomenon and the migration because of the internal armed conflict.

In addition to a quantitative deficit, the city’s environment, landscape and existing urban spaces had a very low quality. Such situation was partly due to the fact that a very generic name was assigned to all of the following: the notions of “cession” and “green zone” imposed a homogeneous and anonymous reason to spaces that could become very important for the collective. Therefore, a methodology was imposed with the aim of promoting not only square meters of space, but also the user definition and the allocation of forgotten social qualities.

The diagnostic of the environmental profile performed between 1993-1996 evidenced an environmental crisis for the city and the fact that its environmental problems should be solved in an integral and combined manner by all entities of the District Administration with a straightforward collaboration of the private sector and the community.

Bogotá’s chaotic growth, together with a weak attention and priority given to non-planned processes of urbanization and appropriation of urban space resulted in a significant part of the city’s population being excluded from proper social and public services.

Rethinking the city from its public spaces, imposing them as the principle of the collective and recovering the administration’s leading role in their construction and regularization are the most important challenges of those who have the opportunity and responsibility to the people, and the city.

Today, not only the academy, but also the different governmental levels, the private sector and professional associations have reacted to include issues such as the environmental problematic, people’s participation and public space in the formulation of the Cities’ Territorial Plans, whose main objectives involve the “Environmental Aim” (seeking to promote a sustainable territorial model), the “Citizen Participation Aim” (encouraging and founding urban culture in the citizens, which consists of promoting a shared vision about the future of the city and the territory...) and among the systems that make up its urban structure proposal it includes that of the “Built Public Space”, which establishes its recovery and management policy, which has become one of the structuring projects to guide the city’s urban actions.

As landscaped architects, we have actively participated in an accelerated transformation of Bogotá’s urban landscape, but we have had little time to question ourselves and have a critical approach to the Plan.

My conference will creates a framework of analysis to approach the program of public space recovery in Bogotá through a reflection.

It also shows how Territorial Organization Plans and the Governmental plans of the three latest administrations were implemented, and how the city’s different administrative levels, trade organizations, professional organizations (planners, landscape architects, architects, engineers, sociologists, etc.) and citizens worked in the construction of a human-scale city with its successes and failures.

TIME as Catalyst
A City with a Plan

The success of Bogotá, is remarkable given the history of disorganized growth and the surrounding adverse conditions of violence and economic recession in the country. In just a few years, innovative planning transformed Bogotá, into one of the world’s leading model for sustainable urban design.

Bogotá’s cultural transformation has important lessons. The experience is politically relevant because it is taking place in a context of high levels of nationwide violence.

These changes were the result of a cultural transformation. This transformation started with the election of Mayor Mockus (1995-1997) when he made of

\(^2\) The 6.9 million inhabitants living in Bogotá account for 15.2% of Colombia’s population. The city’s average population growth rate was of 2.5% in 1999. The population density, at 3.717 persons per Km2, is one of the highest in Latin America.
citizenship culture' an objective of his term in office. Cultural intervention and the built of the infrastructure continued during the administration of Mayor Peñalosa (1998-2000); and citizenship culture is taken up again in Mockus’ second term in office (2001-2003).

These changes were also the synergy of drastical legal framework modifications in the country\(^3\). The transformation of Bogotá’s politics can be understood as a shift from a national-dependent local government to a very autonomous urban governance arrangement.

The 1991 Constitution contributed to the formation of the public space by making mandatory for candidates for majors to register its political program and once elected to use that program as a foundation for the development plan. The Constitution empowered citizens by allowing them to revoke the mandate of the authority if failed to governing according to the stated program of government.

The 1991 New Constitution organized the country into a unitary and decentralized republic with autonomous territorial institutions. The process of fiscal, administrative and financial decentralization is one of the most advanced in Latin America.

As a result of this measure, voters have been able to choose their mayors from a broader political spectrum and according to their programs of government. This is reflected in the tendency to elect ‘civic mayors’. In Bogotá’s election independent candidates won the past 3 elections.

An environmental study following the agenda 21 mandate, conducted between 1993 and 1996 was also an important turning point, exposing the city’s problems and the need for strong political action carried out by district authorities in conjunction with community residents.

A legislated land use program, the Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial (POT), which took effect in 1997, compelled all Colombian city councils to draft a public space renovation plan and put it into action within three years.

The POT seeks to foster social and environmental sustainability through urban design, it focuses on community participation, restoring and preserving the natural environment, and improving the quality of built public space.

Bogotá also has benefited from a two political leaders with a highly progressive view on the importance of urban space. This high degree of continuity has contributed to dramatic changes in several areas, including the Reclamation of public space; the Improvement of public transport; and the progress and expansion of the municipal education system.

Phase 1: 1995 to 1998  
To form City_Culture of Citizenship  
Transformation of a culture of citizenship is a purposeful design on the part of the government of the city.  
The Development Plan for the period 1995-97, done by Antanas Mockus echoes the linkages between culture and peaceful coexistence by stating the main objectives as:\(^4\):
- To achieve a better accomplishment of the norms for co-existence.
- Provide citizens of a better capacity to induce others to obey norms pacifically.
- Increase the capacity to reach agreements and solve pacifically agreements between citizens.
- Increase the capacity of communication between citizens (to express and to interpret their ideas) through art, culture, recreation and sports.

This Plan emphasized on: Culture of citizenship, Public space, Environment, Social progress, Urban productivity, Institutional legitimacy.

Mockus, a philosopher and university professor was well recognized by his pedagogical abilities - he was convinced of the importance of the exchange of knowledge and the role of the educator- his disregard for politics and his honesty as a citizen. Building on this social capital, he was able to conduct one of the cheapest electoral campaigns in a country with strong political machineries.

The case of Bogotá is also important for illuminating things that still need to be done to extend the concept towards a social citizenship.

The concept of citizenship culture refers to “the ensemble of habits, activities and shared minimum rules intended to create a feeling of belonging, facilitate coexistence in the urban space and leading to respect collective goods and to recognize citizens’ rights and duties”.\(^5\)

Contrary to the civic culture approach, Bogota’s\(^6\) concept of citizenship culture is more encompassing. It refers to “the ensemble of habits, activities and shared minimum rules intended to create a feeling of belonging, facilitate coexistence in the urban space and leading to respect collective goods and to recognize citizens’ rights and duties.” A novel component implicit in this notion is the weight given to culture not as something given but as a process of regulation between individuals. Citizenship culture is not something inherited from the past but it is the result of social interactions between citizens and between citizens and public institutions.

The ‘citizenship program' included the strategy of recovering the public space as a key condition for building a friendly city. This strategy encompassed educational campaigns for increase the knowledge and respect of traffic signals, improvement in the system of transportation, the construction of parks and the recovery of public space for pedestrians. He used educational group games as the main tool to establish a culture of “self-regulation,” consideration, and urban citizenship.

Phase 2: 1998 to 2000  
For the Bogotá we want _a City on a human scale  
When elected mayor of Bogota, Enrique Peñalosa (1998-2000) continued with several of the priorities of Mockus' administration. He made of the program of recovery of public space the center of his administration.

An economist with a doctorate in management and public administration, develop a plan ‘Por la Bogotá que Queremos’ ('For the Bogotá we want’) aimed at the construction of a shared image of the city. Unlike Mockus’s pedagogical emphasis, Peñalosa was a great believer in the power that built public space has in shaping people’s behavior and enhancing democracy.

This Plan emphasized on City on a human scale, Mobility, Urbanism and services, Security and harmony among citizens, Institutional efficiency, De-marginalization and Social integration.

This period the city administartors learned that transforming a terrorized city requires more compassion than castigation, more humanity than hostility. Open-space doctrine makes sense not only from an aesthetic or environmental point of view but also from the standpoint of public safety and equality.

The Administration creates in 1999 the The Defense of Public Space office, which mission was to contribute to the improvement

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\(^5\) "Forging a Culture of Citizenship in Bogotá" City by Cristina Rojas  
\(^6\) This concept appears in the Development Plan ‘To Form a City’, Plan de Desarrollo ‘Formar Ciudad 1995-1998’. This Plan was formulated during Antanas Mockus’ administration.
of the quality and defense of the public space, an adequate
administration of the real state of the city and the construction of a
new culture of the public space, that warranty’s its collective use
and stimulates the participation of the community.

The creation of the entity was part of the strategy of adaptation
and institutional modernization that allowed the city to recover,
manage and create a public space culture and give a response to
the following problems:
- A need of preventing and correcting permanent and tolerated
  (in many cases) invasions, appropriations and exploitation of
  public space by individuals, which has noticeably deteriorated
  the city life quality, productivity, security and environment.
- A system of registration, inventory and management of the
district property heritage that was not updated and was
managed in anti-technical and anti-functional manners.
- A low sense of belonging from Bogotá’s inhabitants with
  regard to their environment and a low awareness of the value
  and importance of the public.

In order to arrange actions and projects in accordance with the
POT, the model identified six urban parts that involved the
construction of infrastructure networks required by the city, taking
into account the following:
- A reordering of the road system and a definition of the
  transport system that includes the new TransMilenio
  transportation system.
- The organization of a system of equipments as a basic
  component of the urban structure and as a coordinator of the
  metropolitan, urban, zonal and local scales.
- The definition of a system of parks and pedestrian public
  spaces to make the city accessible to pedestrians and recover
  the notion of the Public.

To do the public space structuring, the plan has gathered, guided
and defined policies, criteria and rules for the city to be structured
in an arranged and equitable manner.

It defines built public space as the support of the urban structure.
In considering public space as a general system that has
established its priorities and preponderances over private spaces
and its roles as an element to unify, structure and order the city,
elements such as sidewalks, bicycle routes, parkways, parks,
paths, bridges low zones, civic places and founders places, have
become networks, circuits, and urban central points that work as a
continuous and compact system.

The Plan has given to the public space the power to keep an
environmentally sustainable city. Through the consolidation of a
city model based on a main ecological structure and a network of
green spaces, the prioritization of non-motorized systems, the
separation of vehicles from pedestrians and the control of
advertising and other elements that affect the landscape, it has
been possible to turn the Public Space into meeting space of the
city with nature, where environmental pollutants from vehicles and
contaminating activities have to be assumed by the individuals
who generate them.

It makes possible the generation of more/better public spaces. It
sets the percentages, uses and characteristics of obligatory
cession zones of the urbanizing, construction and development
processes. It specifies that developers and constructors
must respect these public zones, deliver them and provide tools for
them. It allows different mechanisms to speed up the
acquisition of lands for public works and spaces. It makes
possible for figures such as partial plans, and urban
legalization and renewal to generate more/best public
spaces in these processes. It
ensures and predicts the creation
and maintenance of public spaces required by new
developments, as the city grows
and becomes denser.

It specifies and unifies the
technical conditions of built public
spaces. It takes into account
urban design specifications for
public and private entities to built
and design public spaces in a
uniform, functional and secure
manner. As a result, sidewalks,
closings, bicycle roads, green
spaces, benches, streetlamps
and signalization are
programmed to make up a urban
landscape with aesthetic,
technical and functional qualities.

It provides solutions for public
space management,
sustainability and management.
It establishes the mechanisms for
the city to be sustainable and to
manage its public spaces with an
active private participation and
the participation of people in
general. It involves executing
entities in making management
and administration plans.

Todos velan por el espacio público
All are caring for the Public Space
©DAPD_2000
Phase 3: 2000 to 2003
Living Together on the Same Side

A culture of citizenship received a new impetus with the re-election of Antanas Mockus (2001-2003). His Development Plan "Bogotá Para Vivir Todos del Mismo Lado" (Bogotá All living on the same side) pursued a stronger commitment of building a common space among Bogotá’s residents. As part of this strategy, citizen participation was enhanced.

The development plan Living Together on the Same Side, emphasizes the capacity to reach agreements and to follow rules at the center of a democratic culture. The use of democratic procedures in the elaboration of local development plans and in changing legislation is also crucial for democracy.

The case of Bogotá makes clear the importance of providing a collective space of representation. In this space the symbolic and material interweave together. A symbol, a card, a street mime, a clown have the power to displace aggressive desires, car collusions or gun shoots. In the same way a plaza, a bike path, a tree, a bridge, a bus system, or a public library produces unintended effects on the time that parents spent with their children, or the opportunity of citizens to encounter each other.

Events like ‘rock and opera in the park’ and street theater congregate people from all social strata; residents get together in bicycle-paths, parks and public libraries. All this have improved the quality of life of its 7 million residents, and even more important it has contributed to save the life of at least 2,000 people a year.

Bogotá has reduced in half the number of deaths due to homicides and traffic accidents.

Research also shows that property values in areas with urban upgrades have appreciated considerably when compared to a control group of similar properties. All this is implemented under a healthy financial situation allowing an increasing provision of social services.

Planning & Building with TIME

Rethink the city from their public spaces, impose them as a principle and recover the protagonist and leadership of the administration in the construction and regularization of the open space, these were the big challenges of those who were responsible for the planning and re-construction of the Bogotá capital city of Colombia.

The city administration has won several international prices and awards during the last ten years. In October 2002 the World Health Organization recognized Bogotá’s efforts in the reduction of violence. The United Nations also selected Bogotá by its efforts in sustainable development. According to the Stockholm Partnerships, the city is a model in alternative systems of transportation; the institutionalization of a ‘car-free day’ was the object of an international award, the Stockholm Challenge Award.

Within the Latin American region, Bogotá was the first city in signing a credit with the World Bank. According to the JP Morgan and ING Baring, Bogotá received the rank of the most innovative credit in 1996 in the category of new type of client.

Landscape design can be an enabling tool that can facilitate new partnerships to address the pressing need to find answers for sustainable and acceptable productive green space on the edge and within cities of the 21st Century.

The inclusion of landscape architects in the multidisciplinary teams that planned and carried out the projects sounds a hopeful note for the profession in other Latin American cities, which have been slow to recognize landscape architecture’s value.

The visual memory subject matter of this presentation is the result of a process in which public space has stopped to be a residual space and has become the main support of citizens’ life. This is the main legacy that the transformation of Bogotá can gives to us, and its continuation and growth depends on Bogotá’s inhabitants.

“A journey through the dream that fed the great challenge of making of Bogotá a city for people” will lead us to show you the transformation of the city’s urban space. In this journey I will present, by means of Structuring Operations, concepts and principles in connection with experiences from the different interventions we have participated in as leaders and/or members of interdisciplinary teams, in accordance with the premise of the five integral programs of built public space.

1. Pedestrian Structure: Sidewalks for people

7 Carmenza Saldias DAPD 2003
2. Bicycle routes: The new way to arrive.
3. Parks for learning to live
4. Green Master Plan (Bogotá gets wearing green)
5. Transmilenio the new urban mobility

Building the Public Space
1998 to 2000
Public space was significantly improved from 1998 to 2000. The Defense of Public Space office helps to recover space that had been illegally occupied, and space for pedestrians was substantially renovated through improvements in sidewalks, traffic signals, lighting, and tree planting.
This included the recovery of 338,297 square meters, and the construction of 147,000 square meters, of space under bridges (these spaces previously had been badly planned and inhospitable) and 432,000 square meters of sidewalks (a total of approximately 917,000 square meters of public space).

Between 3 years the administration restored, improved, and maintained 1,034 parks, or 54% of the green space in the city; 110,000 trees planting, installed 183,651 planters, and added greenery to 202 kilometers of roadsides and 280 hectares of parks.

The Master Plan of Bicycle Paths was originally going to be 450 kilometers long. Approximately 270 kilometers were completed by January 2003. This is the largest network in Latin America and the developing world. The cost (more than US $46 million through 2002), was high, but the technical achievements were impressive; most of the 105 kilometers completed were built on difficult terrain.

The Transmilenio follows the model of Curitiba, Brazil, with main arteries and feeder routes. On the main arteries, riders pay for access to an The TransMilenio is widely regarded as an excellent bus system, providing well organized, fast, and comfortable service. In the Integrated System of Mass Transport, the Transmilenio covers the entire city, linking with bicycle paths. Construction of the Transmilenio has six phases, and in 2005 work on phase 3a. is underway.

All of this was done to create a more democratic and egalitarian city, more for people and children than for cars. All of this has had an impressive impact on living standards and the pride Bogotá's residents have in their city.

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8 Alcaldia Mayor de Bogota Dated from 2003
1. Pedestrian Structure: Sidewalks for people

**Structure**
Pedestrian spaces are made up of public goods that were built to move from one place to another, for pedestrians’ use and enjoyment, and they are also made up of architectural and natural elements from visually integrated private properties that shape urban space. They are supported by a network of sidewalks, whose main function is to make pedestrian connection between symbolical and representative elements of the urban structure.

Pedestrians have historically not been respected in Bogotá. Many wide avenues, for example, did not have sidewalks. Instead of looking for ways to reduce traffic, the city team made an effort to expand pedestrian spaces. Millions of people now stroll along the 120 km of streets that have been closed to traffic, because they’re the safest place in the city.

**Components**

**Structuring spaces:**
- Places and small squares
- Sidewalks Network
- Pedestrian roads
- Environmental control zones, separators, cession spaces and other types of land stripes among buildings and roads.
- Walks and parkways
- Bridges and pedestrian tunnels

**Complementary Elements:**
- Benches, streetlamps, etc.
- The urban vegetal layer, woods, gardens, plants, trees.
- Commemoratory Monuments and artistic objects.
- Other elements belonging to private property goods such as closed zones, front yards, porches, facades and layers.
2. **Bicycle Routes System: The new way to arrive**

**Components**
The Bicycle Routes System was made up of 4 functionally integrated networks that cover most part of the urban and expansion lands. The networks are as follows:

1. **Main network**: It is developed over the most important road axes that join the Metropolitan Center with the most densely populated areas in the city.
2. **Secondary network**: It feeds the main network.
3. **Complementary network**: It distributes flows in specific sectors.
4. **Environmental and recreation networks**: It consists of parks, pedestrian public spaces, and metropolitan sports and recreation equipments.

Photos IDU, STT, GVL
3. Parks System: Learning To Live

Parks system

The City Recreation and Parks Department\(^9\) in order to achieve the goal of providing sufficient parks and open space for the city, and the Mandate from the POT, a thorough, consensus-based definition of parks deficiency was necessary, completed in 2002 the Park System Master Plan identifies six classifications\(^10\) of park facilities:

The System was classified as follows:
- Regional-scale parks
- Metropolitan /urban-scale Parks
- Zonal-scale parks
- Neighborhood-scale parks
- Pocket Parks
- Greenway parks

Combining the power of ArcInfo and ArcView, a desktop mapping package was implemented with an inventory of existing parks and recreational facilities, an assessment of Public needs and parks resources, and a plan that attempts to eliminate existing deficiencies.

The master plan was the basis for developing an action plan that lays out a strategy for implementation.

District Parks are green spaces for collective use that act as regulators of the environmental balance; they are elements that represent the natural heritage and ensure a free space aimed at the recreation, contemplation and leisure of all inhabitants in the city. They are arranged in order of importance as a network to ensure the city coverage; they functionally involve the main elements of the main ecological structure.

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\(^9\) IDRD Instituto Distrital de Recreacion y Deporte

\(^10\) Bogotá has 3,574 free public access parks. The parks system integrates 24 metropolitan, 63 zonal, 3,149 neighbourhood and 323 pocket parks. Thirteen sports scenarios and natural areas such as hills, lineal and river ways also belong to this system.
4. Green Master Plan: (Bogotá gets dressed green)

The Bogotá Greenering Master Plan headed by the Bogotá Protection environmental agency and the Botanical Gardens has involved a wide diversity of professionals from many fields and is well advanced in its realization.

In spite of the fact that the Bogotá plateau is one of the great natural green houses in the world, the city does not have the trees that it should have and could have.

The Master Plan set out to remedy this. The only other time that Bogotá had planted trees on a massive scale, was under the guidance of a Japanese architect in the nineteen thirties when Bogotá celebrated its 400 hundred anniversary when the recommended that “Fraxinus chinensis” be planted and nothing else.

The long-term consequences of this planting where that while the city filled up with beautiful trees, they were highly vulnerable to a plague called “Afido chupador”. This began in the nineteen teens and has spread throughout the city affecting and killing more then the 70% of these trees.

Their devastation has been so great that the former major prohibited any further planting of this species.

The current Plan naturally has stated away from this kind of exclusive selection; instead diverse species have been selected, both native and non native.

The methodology to create the plan included a long process that involved professionals from ten different fields. These experts under a landscape architect direction divided the plan into three major components:

- outlined the purpose and functions of arborization with the city. Fourteen points were established. The most important being in general terms: ecological, economical, esthetic and social.
- studied in depth candidates for massive planting both native and non native species.
- dedicated to mapping the city in GIS according to its distinct and diverse ecological an urban condition in relation to arborization, at same time, it was carried out a thorough inventory of the quality and quantity of the existing trees in the city. We were thus able to calculate such things as number of trees per inhabitant, by neighborhoods.
5. The TransMilenio System

Cities all over the developing world are struggling to come to terms with the rapid growth in motorization, which has resulted in air pollution, congestion and increased traffic accidents, the provision of public transport had traditionally been left to a unrelated group of private sector operators. With uncoordinated and relatively uncontrolled services, the operators fought amongst themselves to grab passengers. Thus, prior to the year 2000, public transport in Bogotá often meant an uncomfortable, unsafe, and generally unpleasant experience.

The TransMilenio System is a proposal for change in terms of urban mobility by means of a bus-based passenger transportation system. It is founded on two general objectives: improving citizen’s quality of life, and bettering the city’s productivity on the grounds of six main principles: quality, consistency, affordably, and respect for life, user’s time and human diversity. The network has a immense impact on the urban recuperation of a degraded areas and a great transformation on the urban tissue. It is organized as a set of exclusive corridors for public transportation using modern vehicles controlled via satellite that circulate by central lanes of main arteries.

The Articulated Bus "Transmilenio" is an advanced state-of-the-art traffic management system alternative to daily traffic congestion. It was implemented in Bogota at the beginning of January, 2001. The system started with 92 articulated buses, which are constructed of two red bus structures connected in the middle by a flexible tube. There are exclusive paths for these buses that run throughout the city.

Unlike expensive subways or elevated trains, the TransMilenio actually runs at a profit. And the city plans to add a number of new lines to the system by 2015, so that 85 per cent of residents will live within 500 meters of a bus station.

Today, citizens in Bogota are showing a positive change of attitude, reflecting in spontaneous compliance with civic rules, thus generating respectful behavior and friendly coexistence, cooperation, mutual support and civil commitment. In addition, a personal sense of belonging with regard to the System is particularly strong among children as privileged contemporaneous witnesses of its birth, and its ongoing growth process in the turn of the Millenium.

The results were impressive enough that Colombia finally got international press about something other than drug trafficking, guerrilla kidnappings, and bloody civil war.

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Less than a decade ago, Penalosa told Grist, Bogota was a city "hated by its ...

Safer Cities Projects
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