Collective memories, place-framing and the politics of imaginary futures in sustainability transitions and transformation

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Collective memories, place-framing and the politics of imaginary futures in sustainability transitions and transformation

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ABSTRACT

A geographical perspective is crucial to understanding sustainability transitions and transformation, but previous research on place framing in sustainability transitions and transformation has had a marked focus on the politics of the future and its performativity in the present. This paper analyzes place-framing in sustainability transitions and transformation by examining how the conflicting collective memories of a place and the framings of the future of this place interact and lead to the justification of particular forms of socio-material development, land use and sustainability of the peri-urban spaces of the city of Sogamoso, Colombia. Based on 38 semi-structured interviews, we identify three distinct assemblages of future visions, collective memories and place frames, which we call urban development, recovering tradition, and cultural revitalization. The analysis shows that place framing is an exercise through which collective memories and future visions are connected and co-constituted in a spatio-temporal 'dialogue': collective memories, future visions and place frames are processes of social construction activated in the attempt to shape or contest sustainability transitions and transformation. We contend that the existence and mobilization of collective memories—and their critical influence on future visions—are a core aspect of the politics of place framing fundamental to the socio-material processes of sustainability transitions and transformation. Furthermore, a politics of place-making in sustainability transitions and transformation involves acknowledging and negotiating collective memories of the past as much as future visions. This suggests ways to critically counterbalance the marked future orientation taken in recent years by sustainability science and transition studies.

1. Introduction

A geographical perspective is crucial to understanding sustainability transitions and transformation. The notion of *place* is central to these understandings as part of a set of emerging research agendas that consider and analyze scale, space and other spatial constructs in the politics and processes of the transition to more sustainable societies (Bridge et al., 2013; Hansen and Coenen, 2015; Truffer et al., 2015; Bridge and Gailing, 2020). In much of the literature on sustainability transition, however, place has been conceptualized as the site, location or container in which sustainability transitions unfold (Binz et al., 2020).

Recent research on sustainability transition has focused on developing more sophisticated, relational understandings and conceptualizations of place "as 'bundles' of space–time trajectories drawn together by individuals through cognitive and emotional processes" (Pierce et al., 2011:58, following Massey, 2005). Sustainability transitions[1] are associated with *place making,* i.e. "the process of reproducing, eliminating, and/or modifying the structures, identities, meanings, geographies, positionalities, and power relations associated with a given place" (Murphy, 2015:84). Central to place making is *place framing,* i.e. the creation of particular visions or imaginaries for the current or future development of places (Murphy, 2015). Place framing involves the strategic selection and assemblage of symbolic and material elements

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[1] Following Markard et al. (2012: 956) we understand sustainability transitions as "long-term, multi-dimensional, and fundamental transformation processes through which established socio-technical systems shift to more sustainable modes of production and consumption".

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that are discursively ‘bundled’ in the representation of place(s) and their possible futures (Pierce et al., 2011).

Place—and, more generally, geographical imaginaries—matter for the ways in which transformation imaginaries are constructed (e.g., Crowe and Li, 2020; Chateau et al., 2021; Walker et al., 2021). Strategically constructed place frames—and the politicized processes involved in their constructions—support place making, which occurs through collective action and/or the everyday material and symbolic performances of place (Martin, 2003; Murphy, 2015). For example, Martin (2003), Murphy (2015) and Weller (2019) show how different social groups create particular place-frames and then use these in political processes in order to form coalitions to support, contest or hijack sustainability transitions. Similarly, Håkansson (2018), in an urban context, and Lai (2019), in a rural context, demonstrate how grassroots innovations for sustainable development are expressions of material, socio-cultural, and political-economic place making.

The aim of this paper is to analyze place making in sustainability transitions and transformation by examining the interconnection of place framing to the contested collective memories and future visions of place. While the extant literature on transitions and futuring emphasizes the performative role of the future in the present and describes techniques that might bring future imaginaries to the present in creative ways, here we ask how the past—and *which* past—is brought into the present via place framing to justify visions of a desirable future. Based on 38 semi-structured interviews conducted in the city of Sogamoso, Colombia, where agriculture, urban expansion, mining and environmental conservation compete for the same limited peri-urban space, this paper aims to make sense of how a diverse range of competing memories of the past are used by distinct social actors[2] to frame place(s) to justify divergent future socio-material visions of urban sustainability transition. We analyze how the conflicting collective memories of a place—and the framings of the future of these places—interact and lead to the politicized justification of particular forms of socio-material development, uses and sustainability in the peri-urban spaces of Sogamoso.

The paper’s aims have both an empirical and a theoretical rationale. Building from existing research (Feola et al., 2019; 2020), our on-the-ground engagements suggested that social actors such as planners, developers, farmers, and members of local civil society groups were not only framing place differently to justify diverging visions of the future of contested peri-urban space in Sogamoso, but that place frames were based on crucial social constructions of the past. In particular, our participants established narrative connections with different periods in the history of the city—e.g. pre-industrial versus pre-colonial—and, when referring to the same historical period, they mobilized very different interpretations and representations of the socio-economic, cultural and ecological nature of place and social identities at those points in time. Crucially, it appeared that distinct collective memories were constructed *in the present* for leveraging symbolic resources that frame place differently vis-a-vis ongoing land use conflicts and the contested nature of sustainability in and around the city (Feola et al., 2019).

In addition, our interest in the functions of collective memories in place framing raises conceptual and theoretical questions given the relative lack of attention to the role of collective memories in debates surrounding sustainability transitions and transformation. Some researchers have drawn attention to the importance of understanding the temporality of place framing, i.e. which frames are put forward first and how they are then re-elaborated by other actors in contested political processes (Van Neste and Martin, 2018; Zhang, 2018). Yet, current research on place framing has paid little attention to the processes of collective memory construction and to the ‘social shape of the past’ (Zerubavel, 2003), i.e. the collective socio-cognitive structures that are used to retrospectively structure the past to give it and the future particular meanings through place framing being performed in the present.

The paper continues as follows. The next section situates our empirical and theoretical arguments within the context of research on place framing and collective memory to further relational approaches to place making within transition and transformation debates. This then leads to a discussion of the theoretical framework integrating collective memories, future visions, place framing and place making, which informed this study. We then move to present the methodological approach and context of our research in Sogamoso. The subsequent section of the paper presents our analysis showing how spatiotemporal memories of the past matter for visions of the sustainable future of a place. We conclude by discussing the paper’s main contribution: that the existence and mobilization of collective memories—and their critical influence on future visions—are a core aspect of the politics of place framing fundamental to the socio-material processes of sustainability transitions and transformation. More specifically, this study suggests that collective memories and future visions are connected and co-constituted through collective processes of place framing. Thus, we suggest that further analysis on the social constructions of the memories of place, as well as future visions, will lead to a fuller accounting of the processes of reproduction, elimination and/or modification of the structures, identities, meanings, geographies, positionalities and power relations involved in sustainability transitions.

2. Previous research on place framing, past and future imaginaries and the social construction of memories

Previous research on place framing in sustainability transitions and transformation has had a marked and more narrow focus on the politics of the future, in line with an ongoing turn in sustainability studies towards investigations into future imaginaries and their performativity in the present (Bai et al., 2016; Muidermann et al., 2020; Beck et al., 2021; Oomen et al., 2021). For example, Braun (2015: 239) has argued that, while.

> “a robust critical literature has done much to help us understand how we have arrived at this juncture and has highlighted the deeply uneven geographies of socioecological change, it has been far less successful at imagining and engendering just and sustainable alternatives to existing political, economic, and ecological practices”.

The strong future orientation of sustainability transitions and transformation research is reflected in notions such as anticipatory governance (Vervoort and Gupta, 2018; Muidermann et al., 2020) and imagination (Moore and Milkoreit, 2020). Oomen et al. (2021) suggest that, if we knew how people come to hold particular fictional expectations, it might be possible to create promising imaginaries of a post-fossil fuel future.

According to Milkoreit (2017), the imagination of desirable futures is a form of transformational change that operates through the establishment of a bridge between imagination processes in the individual mind and collective imagining that informs social and political decision-making. Indeed, as Oomen et al. (2021) argue, while the social sciences are used to emphasizing the degree to which the past explains what we do in the present—and, thus, risk overweighting the importance of the past—there is abundant evidence to suggest that it is also our conceptualizations of the future which inform what we do in the present. Expectations and predictions about the future, including those developed through various ‘techniques of futuring’ (Hajer and Pelzer, 2018; Moore and Milkoreit, 2020), foresight (Vervoort and Gupta, 2018), and more mundane everyday activities such as reading novels and watching advertisements (Moore and Milkoreit, 2020) influence decision-making in the present (Beck et al., 2021; Marquardt and Nasiritousi, 2021). Thus, while it seems difficult to think about possible post-fossil fuel worlds (Hajer and Versteeg, 2019; Marquardt and Nasiritousi, 2021), those social actors who can make their imagined futures more authoritative can more effectively influence decision-making processes in the present (Oomen et al., 2021). Such a proposition highlights the deeply political nature of the imagined engagements with the future (Vervoort and Gupta, 2018; Knappe et al., 2019; Beck et al., 2021).

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[2] Social actors here include “interest groups, social movements, communities, political parties, states, firms, and/or other actors” (Murphy, 2015:84).

Yet, without de-emphasizing the role of the future and techniques of futuring in influencing visions and actions in the present, we contend that the existence and mobilization of collective memories of the past—and their critical influence on future visions—are a core aspect of the politics of place framing fundamental to the socio-material processes of sustainability transitions and transformation. When such formalized techniques of futuring are absent, social actors' competing visions of desirable sustainability transitions will 'hold the future together' by situating their present in a constant tension between their past and their future (Brown et al., 2012). As Spzunar and Spuznar (2016) argue, "collective future thought is simultaneously dependent on the past and itself acts as a catalyst for the (re)construction of the past" (ibid.: 376). While some literature on future visions and imaginaries recognizes and discusses their connection with memories and histories of the past (Adam and Groves, 2007; Beck et al., 2021; Hoffman et al., 2021; Oomen et al., 2021; Priebe et al., 2021), considerably less progress has been made in understanding how such connection occurs in practice and how it can be conceptualized. As we show here, then, place framing is an exercise through which collective memories and future visions are connected and are co-constituted through collective processes of the socially constructed framings of place.

Just as importantly, we contend that examining the role of the past, as well as that of the future in co-constitutive processes of place framing, is significant in order to do justice to grassroots, radical and subaltern social movements that often find inspiration in reflecting on the historical analogy of the current predicament with past experiences of societal transformation. Very often, the examination of the past enables—and thereby demands—a reckoning for these movements with past colonial and current capitalist exploitation of land and people (Collard et al., 2015; see also Batel and Devine-Wright, 2017; Spanier, 2021) and, as we would argue, it binds together the negation of that exploitation with the hopeful prefiguration of the future (Dinerstein and Deneulin, 2012). As argued by Haiven and Knasnabisch (2014:3, emphasis added), with reference to the co-construction of memories of the past, present framings and future imaginaries,

> "the radical imagination is not just about dreaming of different futures. *[It] is about drawing on the past, telling different stories about how the world came to be the way it is, and remembering the power and importance of past struggles and the way their spirits live on in the present…*".

The exercising of memory, and the construction of alternative memories, then, does more than provide 'lessons' to be applied in the present (as, for example in Newell and Simms, 2020), or idealized romantic utopias to go back to. It enables the 'historicization of the Anthropocene' (Gismondi, 2018; Barca, 2020; Armiero, 2021): the recognition of the loss and sacrifice that makes dominant development models possible and the violence that these models have often brought to socioecological crises and their 'solutions' (e.g., Barca, 2014; Lövbrand et al., 2020). This active memorialisation also provides space for the acknowledgment of persisting colonial and/or exploitative relations embodied in symbolic and material infrastructure (e.g., Batel and Devine-Wright, 2017) and, specifically, the recognition and exposure of dominant narratives and ways of thinking that need an 'unmaking' for telling alternative histories and envisioning just sustainable futures (e.g., Larsen, 2006; Feola et al., 2021).

Memory offers symbolic, empowering resources to envision "past abundance as a marker for what might be; looking back shows us what rich socioecological worlds looked like" (Collard et al., 2015:327). Even though past landscapes might have been less pristine and socio-ecologically rich than remembered and reported, in the context of violent conflict and expropriation of natural resources, the exercise of memory supports demands for remediation, reparation, justice and dignity.[3] In these and similar situations, memory activates political and symbolic resources that are necessary for processing the trauma of past 'development' projects (Perry, 2012; Anguelovski, 2013; Cadieux and Slocum, 2015; Feola et al., 2021) and for articulating futures that are not only ecologically sustainable, but also socially just (Haiven and Knasnabisch, 2014, also see Legg, 2007). And yet, crucially, there is no single past to retrieve. The act of remembering always involves social construction: selective remembering, forgetting and assembling which serves social actors in the present (Lewicka, 2008; Perreault, 2018). Therefore, establishing analogies with any specific remembered past is, much like the construction of expectations and future visions, an inherently political act (Said, 2000; Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004; Larsen, 2006; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012; Haiven and Knasnabisch, 2014; Batel and Devine-Wright, 2017; Perreault, 2018; Kojola, 2020).

3. Theoretical framework: Relational place framing, collective memory, and the power in/of imagined futures

Our understanding of place framing builds on the relational approach proposed by Pierce et al. (2011) and Murphy (2015). These authors posit that place framing involves social actors selecting elements, such as physical or social features, which comprise places in their experiences. Building upon Massey's conceptualization of space (2005), Pierce et al. (2011) and Murphy (2015) argue that place-making occurs when interest groups, social movements, communities, political parties, states, firms, and/or other actors mobilize collective or shared place-bundles in order to achieve social and political ends. Thus, while place frames are partial and sometimes imagined or ideal representations of a place, they serve as strategic devices to advance social and political objectives (as, for example, in Perreault, 2018; Weller, 2019; Chateau et al., 2021; Kojola, 2020; Walker et al., 2021). Social actors use place frames to legitimize particular understandings of place and, by extension, forms of collective action and political agendas around which coalitions can be formed or resisted (Martin, 2003; Van Neste and Martin, 2018; Zhang, 2018; Crowe and Li, 2020).

The process of place framing bundles elements in particular ways, thus connecting and positioning certain individuals, collective actors, sites, practices, material and symbolic elements, but not others. That is, it entails both the selection and assemblage of numerous different and/or linked elements (Pierce et al., 2011; Zhang, 2018). Pierce et al. (2011), Truffer et al. (2015) and Murphy (2015) stress that the analysis of place frames can provide insightful perspective on the

> "conflicts that accompany [attempted, desired, or on-going changes] to or in places. [… E]xaminations of competing place frames, and the networks and bundles of elements that constitute them, can reveal the central actors, institutions, meanings, technologies, materials, discourses, and sites that are associated with different sides of a transition-related conflict. Additionally, such analyses can identify actors who have more or less power in stabilizing or promoting particular place visions" (Murphy, 2015:84-85).

In a similar vein, Said (2000) and Hoelscher and Alderman (2004) observed that the construction of geographical places and spaces may pay negligible attention to the manifestation of a region's physical or social features, but more accurately reflect the fantasies and pre-occupations of dominant and/or colonizing groups. Importantly for the present study, they also acknowledge that the confluence of the construction of place and space with that of collective memories facilitates *particular power relations*. Through such confluences, constructions of

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[3] This is show in sharp detail by Perreault (2018) through his analysis of mining in Bolivia and LeGrand et al. (2017) surrounding violent land conflict in Colombia.

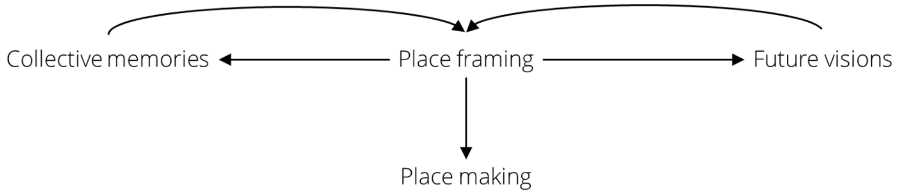

Fig. 1. The co-constitution of collective memories, place framing and future visions involved in the processes of place making in sustainability transitions and transformation (source: the authors).

place are used to anchor divergent constructions of the past, that is, of social and cultural identities and associated power relations (Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004; Lewicka, 2008). Anchoring occurs in various ways, including via material forms, the repeated performance of everyday practices and symbolic representations and performances (Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004; Lewicka, 2008; Jones and Garde-Hansen, 2012). While dominant groups use constructions of the past and of place as an instrument of rule (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012), subaltern groups may utilize their own constructions of place to anchor divergent constructions of the past in order to contest colonial relations of domination and power relations in the processes of fomenting social change (Said, 2000; Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004; Legg, 2007; LeGrand et al., 2017).

In this study, we understand collective memory construction as a social activity that is an expression and binding force of group identity (Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004). As noted by Lewicka (2008: 212), “[w]hat we remember is often less a product of direct personal experiences and more of our embedding in social structures (family, nation, ethnic groups, etc.)” and other mnemonic communities (Zerubavel, 2003). Such understanding of collective memory follows the foundational contribution of Halbwachs (1996), who proposed a conceptualization of collective memory as the set of collective frames that enable individual memory: individual memory is only possible through collective frames, to the extent that it reproduces and renews the collective memory of the social group or mnemonic community (nation, professional or ethnic group, etc.) to which the individual belongs or has belonged in the past (Jedlowski, 1996). As argued by Zerubavel (2003), there are many memories that individuals share with no one else, but there are specific recollections that are commonly shared by entire social groups: the act of remembering the past is marked by a pronounced social dimension. In this,

> “[b]eing social presupposes the ability to experience things that happened to the groups to which we belong long before we even joined them as if they were part of our own personal past. […] Indeed, acquiring a group’s memories and thereby identifying with its collective past is part of the process of acquiring any social identity” (Zerubavel, 2003: 3).

Yet, far from being an exercise in recovering or conserving the past, collective memory is in fact an active process of the *re-construction* of the past in the function of a/the present (Fig. 1): much like place framing, the construction of collective memory is then a social activity that occurs in the present, and that therefore depends on the interests, mental models and needs of present societies, and especially of dominant frames within a society or social system (Halbwachs, 1996; Batel and Devine-Wright, 2017; Perreault, 2018; Kojola, 2020). As Lewicka (2008) and Zerubavel (2003) argue, collective memory is an important factor of collective identity, social integration and social cohesion (also see Jedlowski, 1996; Jones and Garde-Hansen, 2012). Yet, any totalizing collective memory cannot exist because in every social system there are different collective identities, social groups and subcultures and, consequently, spaces for different—and potentially competing—memories. Thus, Halbwachs’ (1996) understanding of collective memory as a dynamic process of re-construction of the past also opens the possibility to understand the ways in which diverging memories of the past coexist in society, support social differentiation, and are leveraged in social conflict in imagining potential futures (Jedlowski, 1996).

As Zerubavel (2003: 4) notes, “the social nature of human memory is evident not only in the actual content of our recollections, but also in the way they are mentally packaged”. This gets at what he calls the ‘social shape of the past’: collective memory entails on the one hand the recollection of facts, which is influenced by social filters largely independent of personal experience, influencing which events are remembered and which are forgotten, and the way mnemonic communities remember the general shape of past events. The automatic use of such filters is a product of mnemonic socialization, i.e. the interiorization of social norms of remembering (Zerubavel, 2003). On the other hand, collective memory also and crucially entails ‘packaging’ or assembling memories into intelligible structures: that is, “the social meaning of past events is essentially a function of the way they are structurally positioned in our minds vis-à-vis other events” (Zerubavel, 2003: 7). Collective memory involves plotlines (i.e., the ways in which the past is thought to have unfolded, such as in terms of progress, decline, zigzag, cycles, etc.), a perceived density (i.e., the eventfulness of the past, or the uneven chronological distribution of important historical events), a conceived progression (i.e., as a smooth flow between continuous historical periods, or as a sequence of abrupt changes between those periods), and perceived continuity (i.e., as maintained by constructs of ancestry and descent, or lineage) or discontinuity (i.e., through construction of association and differentiation). Such cognitive structures retrospectively structure the past to give meaning to it in the present as well as efforts, such as in this paper, to envision the future and its transition and transformation.

4. Case study and methods

4.1. Case study background: Urban development politics in Sogamoso, Colombia

Sogamoso is a city of approximately 120,000 inhabitants (DANE, 2018), situated on the Cordillera Oriental of the Andes at ca. 2600 masl (Fig. 2). It is the capital of the Province of Sugamuxi in the Department of Boyacá, Colombia. Approved in 2016, the revised planning document for the municipality—*Planes de Ordenamiento Territorial* or POT—formalized the city’s expansion into areas of unauthorized residential developments (see areas marked in Fig. 2). These were areas formerly designated as ‘rural’ and responded to local pressures to increase land values and allow further construction. The POT also aimed to respond to significant numbers of legal disputes concerning land use allocations as well as social conflicts arising from residential uses in non-residential designated areas at the urban fringe (Alcaldía de Sogamoso, 2013, 2016). However, the changes did not necessarily reflect actual land uses, given that most of the areas for urban expansion are still occupied by rural activities such as agriculture. Changes in the POT

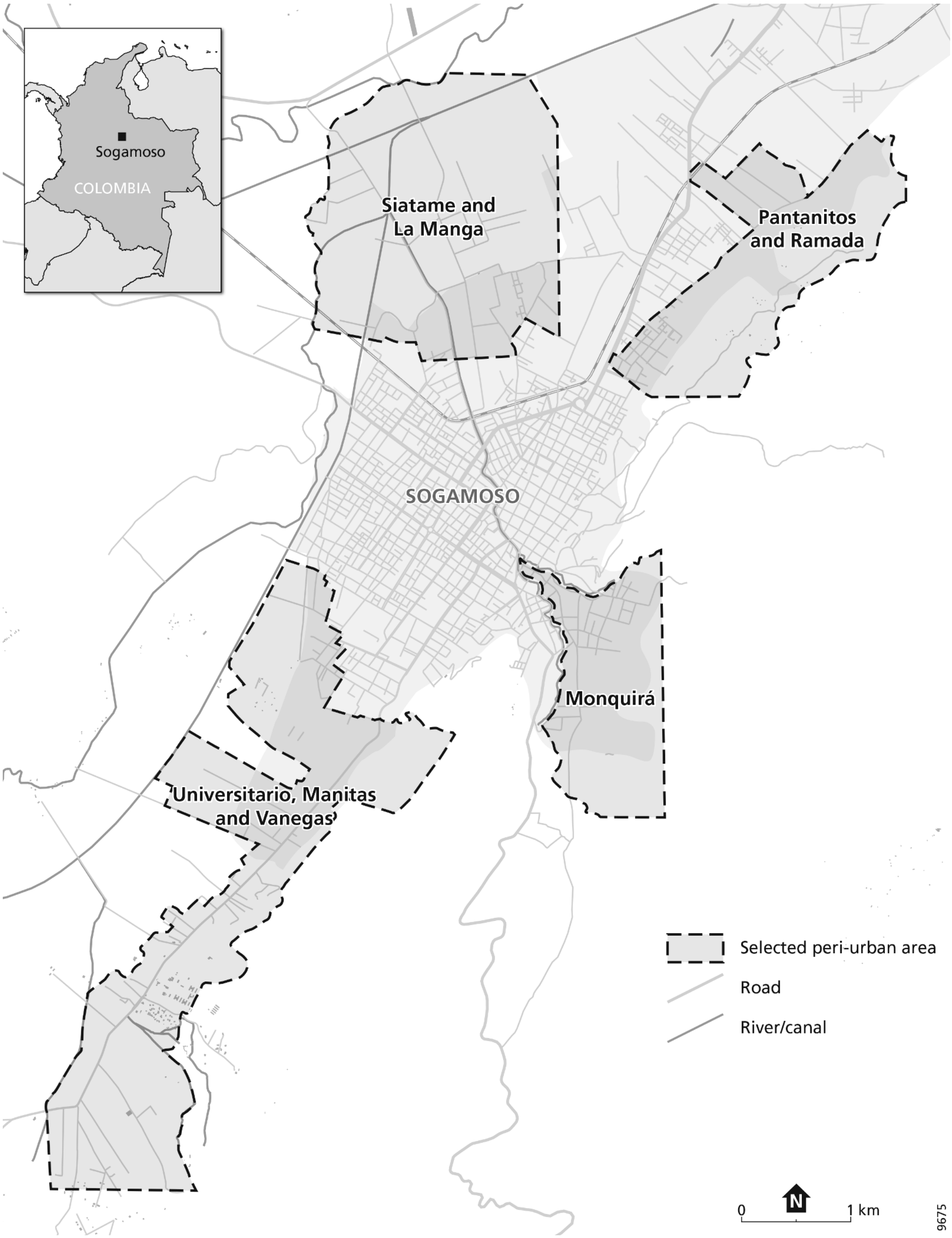
Sogamoso
COLOMBIA
Siatame and La Manga
Pantanitos and Ramada
SOGAMOSO
Monquirá
Universitario, Manitas and Vanegas
Selected peri-urban area
Road
River/canal
0
N
1 km
9675

Fig. 2. Map of Sogamoso, Colombia.

instead reflected the aspirations of planners, builders and residents to expand the urban area for urban development. Developers have actively engaged in influencing the urban zoning process, including resorting to legal disputes to expand urban zoning through the POT in some areas in the southern peri-urban fringe of Sogamoso.[4]

The expansion of the city's urban areas into peri-urban spaces has largely occurred at the expense of agriculture. Agriculture is still practiced in Sogamoso's peri-urban spaces, where soil is highly fertile, in vacant lots between residential developments as well as back gardens and patios (Feola et al., 2020). For example, besides the commercial farms that operate within the urban perimeter, the Municipality of Sogamoso reported over 630 households that engage in food self-production (Alcaldía de Sogamoso, 2016). Furthermore, a network of family and community gardens has emerged in the past few years through grassroots mobilization and community building, which has partly been funded by the Municipality. However, peasant and small-holding commercial agriculture in the region has faced a crisis in the last two decades due to low productivity, competition from national and international markets, outmigration of younger generations, and lack of government support (e.g., Feola, 2017).

In 2017 alone, the Municipality of Sogamoso approved 427 residential construction licenses, most of which were for housing in the peri-urban fringe (Cámara de Comercio de Sogamoso, 2017). Urban development is largely operated by local and regional companies that target the middle and upper middle classes wishing to move out of the city centre to enjoy a less congested and 'greener' environment in relatively high standard, often gated community housing (Feola et al., 2019). Urban expansionism is also promoted by individuals—both locals or those from larger Colombian cities (who often have family roots in Sogamoso)—who build family homes as primary or secondary residences. Both developers and individual buyers, including younger generations of former farming families, used either informal channels or the formal participatory process that is part of the elaboration of the POT to influence land designation. Furthermore, an informal coalition of planners, developers, and local authorities, among others, has tended to project peri-urban spaces as 'empty' and devoid of productive or valuable activities. Such developmentalist discourses are not shared by all social actors in Sogamoso. Various members of the local scientific and civil society communities (university researchers and teachers, non-governmental organizations, citizen groups) contest urban expansionism and identify the phenomenon as the main driver of the fragmentation of the environmental, productive and social fabric and the cultural loss associated with the disappearance of agriculture in the areas around the city (Feola et al., 2019; 2020).

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[4] While we do discuss the general outline of the politics and conflicts of the development and application of the POT in Sogamoso in this section of the paper, we do not have the space to present this in full. Please see Feola et al. (2019) for a more detailed discussion of the impacts of the POT to those living in and around Sogamoso through what we refer to as 'ordinary land grabbing' in a peri-urban environment.

In addition to discursive disputes, the peri-urban space in Sogamoso is also characterized by on the ground land conflicts. Earlier studies have associated land conflicts in Sogamoso's peri-urban space with policy-incoherence and governance problematics (Feola et al., 2019). The former include a fragmented policy landscape and contradicting policies within and across sectors (e.g., agriculture, trade, housing, industrial development). This situation generates normative uncertainty, a sense of vulnerability for target populations, and frustration about the operations of municipal authorities. In turn, this uncertainty further justifies citizens' and social groups' informal strategies to defend their interests or pursue their own self-defined goals through both formal and informal governance systems. Governance problematics include poor technical capacity and the lack of reliable data on the state of the city, public servants' pursuit of personal interests over the common good, the lack of strategic leadership, and a poor participative policy-making culture (Feola et al., 2019). The injustice resulting from the effects of policy incoherence and governance problematics is evident, with peasants, farmers and other marginal citizens losing land, income, and access to resources in a peri-urban space that is being functionally configured for more political and financially powerful and better connected collective or individual actors (Feola et al., 2019).

4.2. Methods

This study is part of larger research project investigating the practices and spatial impacts of grassroots, sustainable agri-food initiatives focused on peri-urban agriculture (PUA) around the city of Sogamoso in the context of urban expansion and land use conflicts involving also mining and environmental conservation. This study is based on 38 semi-structured interviews with key informants comprising key members of Sogamoso's civil society (social, cultural and/or environmental non-governmental organizations, journalists), public servants at local authorities and members of the construction, education (universities, social enterprises) and across various farming sectors (peasants, self-provisioning farmers, commercial farmers, leaders of farmer organizations, food retailers) (see Electronic Supplementary Materials). Interviews were conducted between July 2017 and August 2018, in Spanish given the participants' mother tongue, and lasted between approximately 20 and 90 min. The interviewees were selected via purposive sampling, with the support of the local network of two of the paper's authors, and with the aim to represent a diverse range of professional backgrounds and roles.

The interviews were structured into four sections which focussed on the following themes: farming, food sovereignty and sustainable development in Sogamoso; the peace agreement and the expected impact of outlined rural development reforms on Sogamoso; governance of agriculture in the city's peri-urban spaces; and envisioned policy directions and possibilities to support and expand the benefits of peri-urban agriculture. Interviews were recorded with the interviewees' informed consent, and transcribed for analysis. The interview transcripts were content-coded by using a combination of pre-set and emergent codes. The pre-set codes reflected the theoretical context of this study as discussed in the previous sections, and specifically included codes for place frames (place identity, relations and valuation logics) (Pierce et al., 2011), future visions (Pierce et al., 2011, Murphy, 2015), and collective memories (plotline, density, progression and dis-continuity) (Zerubavel, 2003) (see Electronic Supplementary Materials). The ways respondents spoke about future visions, place frames and collective memories emerged from our conversations with them and our subsequent analysis of the this 'talk data'. These narratives, as we explore in more detail below, coalesced around three specific and reoccurring assemblages and visions.

5. Findings: Collective memories, place frames and future visions in Sogamoso

From our analysis, we identified three visions of a sustainable future for Sogamoso, which we labelled *urban development, recovering tradition,* and *cultural revitalization*. We analyse these three assemblages of co-constituted future visions, collective memories and place framings in turn.

5.1. Framing the future as urban development

In our conversations with a critical sub-section of people in Sogamoso—i.e. a land developer, the planners in the local authority, a local councillor, and a journalist—there was a shared future vision of continued urban development through the construction of infrastructure, middle class family housing, gated communities, shopping and service facilities. This future vision is reflected in the changes to the POT in 2016 and therefore already informs place-making through the building of a more urbanized, more service-oriented and, in the hope of its proponents, much wealthier Sogamoso.

These participants also framed place almost exclusively through an economic lens. Place was conceptualised, for example, in terms of land productivity and value, while the cultural meaning of land, agricultural practices, crop diversity and/or ecosystems richness did not contribute to their place framing, as illustrated by the following quotes:

> "Any plot of land in Sogamoso, anywhere you like, becomes more valuable building houses than growing crops" (developer, interview #28).
>
> "There are some cases in which people like to grow crops at least for their consumption […], but there should be more agricultural production to use the soil more. They are using it for a few sheep, for a cow, and much is abandoned there" (journalist, interview #17).

This economic perspective serves to erase not only the material presence of small scale or peasant agriculture in and around the city—with its ubiquitous presence in back yards, vacant lots, and the extensions of commercial agriculture—but also the economic and cultural value of those practicing it in these peri-urban spaces. Thus, this place frame is used to actively construct an 'empty' peri-urban fringe in order to make it more 'productive'. By emphasising the valuelessness of non-productive land, discounting the economic and cultural value of agricultural production and those communities devoted full- or part-time food production and by stressing the lack of infrastructure and poor living conditions of 'undeveloped' peri-urban spaces, this frame depicts an peri-urban space that is 'empty' of valuable features; hence it can be appropriated for the development of a more modern, productive and wealthier future:

> "The peripheries of the cities [like] Sogamoso are very ugly; they are cordons of hunger, of misery […]. [W]hat you have to build is pretty houses, so that at least those pretty houses generate development, generate resources. A farm. This was a farm; all this was a farm. I paid 650, 700 [pesos] of property taxes. Today it is paying more than 6,000,000 […] we put the land to work, […], we sacrificed an area where we there were [only] 10–11 cows; there were not more in the whole farm" (developer, interview #28).

The supposed valuelessness of the peri-urban space is reinforced in this vision by the remarkable absence of an ecological or aesthetic framing of the natural environment. This absence contrasts greatly with the overwhelming *presence* of these ecological and aesthetic framings of agricultural landscapes, water and soil in the visions and place frames expressed by other participants of this study; more on this below.

This future vision of urban development finds support in a collective memory of poverty and social and moral degradation characterizing traditional peasant society before the industrialization and modernization of both Sogamoso and Colombia. For example, there is a popular local saying mentioned by a developer, which states that "*the field makes one dark, poor and ugly*" (interview #28). In contrast, urban development is seen as a form of modern 'progress', as an historical move away from 'tradition' and towards a transition defined by modern, urbanized and technologically more complex, cleaner, more civilized and more economically valuable livelihoods and local communities. This collective memory of the agricultural and rural past of Sogamoso—and of Colombia more generally—attaches a negative moral judgment to agricultural production which is implicitly transferred to present-day urban farmers and gardeners. They are viewed with contempt by these participants, with urban and peri-urban agriculture considered as barriers to urban development, and as a relatively 'valueless' economic activity that is unable to adapt to or fit within a modern, urbanized, forward-looking city. In the words of a planner from the Municipality:

> "[…] we had very good people to work [in agriculture]. Unfortunately […] for the peasant it was never good […] for the peasant, in my view, never wanted to grow and remained [stuck]. [… A] very tenacious and unfortunate culture is that of our peasant" (interview #13).

Agriculture is constructed as an historical and currently morally and physically degrading activity, an economic coping mechanism or a survival strategy of the poor. peri-urban fringes, then, are conceived of as places of an inevitable spatiotemporal transition from a poor, traditional, backwards, static rural past, to a modern, dynamic, forward looking urban future. In other words, peasants are seen as embarrassing remnant of an uncomfortable collective identity and history that is to be forgotten because it is perceived to operate in contrast to 'better' and, thus, more 'modern' urban development.

The collective memory leveraged in the service of a future defined by urban development both blames and makes peasants responsible for their supposed inability or unwillingness to adapt to modernity. This vision, then, positions future urban planning and development as a way to 'un-stick' the past culture and identity of Sogamoso to realize a desirable future of modern economic progress. As a local councillor remarked in the context of changes to the POT in 2016:

> "[…] we incorporated 745 ha of urban expansion land and urban land to give *dynamism* to the territory." (city councillor, interview#25, emphases added)

Unsurprisingly, then, the planning process is leveraged to overcome a collective memory of the past which persists in the present and is a barrier for realizing this envisioned future of economic, social and material progress.

5.2. *Framing the future as the recovery of tradition*

Other research participants, many of whom worked as farmers, in local authority offices, as self-employed professionals or in local cooperatives, environmental organizations and NGOs shared a future vision that we label as the *recovery of tradition*. This future vision claims an attachment to traditional peasant identity—or its historical social construction—socially and materially 'betrayed' by the unrealized promises of 'development'. As the following quote illustrates, this future vision articulated and foregrounded a strong, direct critique of modern, capitalist development:

> "The economic models that have been implanted throughout the world are economic models that, I say, a true economist or a true lawyer or student should review, and propose what laws have been made to torpedo and hold or enslave [sic] man through the economy […] when they can invent another organic model […] then to what extent is this question justified so that there is really no harmony, there is no tranquillity […] in the spirit of [sic] man in being a person […] because that has made [sic] man competitive: it is [sic] man who has destroyed and devastated and intervened the planet" (agronomist and urban gardener #1, interview #33).

This future vision is informed by a sense of trauma, cultural uprooting and loss of dignity that resulted from the onset of modern, capitalist development as well as a desire to restore autonomy, self-sufficiency and control of one own's life through, as the above agronomist and urban gardener argued, food production. Interviewees expressing this future vision looked back to the past with nostalgia in order to envision a future in which they find meaning and a place for themself in the world in which they feel worthy and respected and are (again) able to 'do things well' ("*trabajar bien*") as they once used to:

> "there was […] an agricultural vocation that we have lost" (geologist, leader of local environmental NGO, interview #7);
> "unfortunately we have not managed to preserve a number of things, especially gastronomy; many aspects of our food [culture] have been lost" (leader of local cultural organization, interview #8);
> "so the diets [are made of] more processed foods […]. [Ask] a peasant, even a citizen: what is the typical [food] of Sogamoso?[sic] He does not know. It is already lost. We do not know. There is nothing" (university teacher, interview #21).

Yet, while most participants are aware that there is no simple way back to the past, and while their future vision is, at times, abstract in terms of concrete ways forward—which adds to the sense of loss, nostalgia and trauma in their visions—some participants did envision a more full recovery of 'tradition':

> "we are a region that can […] take back its agricultural vocation" (member of local trekking group, interview #1);
> "things have changed […] once upon a time one could see a lot of maize, barley, peas, beans. One would sow a lot around here and all one could see was agriculture. Nowadays, one looks with sadness at those vacant lots, either with half-built constructions, or pasture that gives no services; others have been devoted to cattle raising, pasture…all of this, what a sadness. People are no longer engaged in home gardening. And this has also to do with the municipal government that gives no incentives to people to engage in gardening […] How nice it would be if they motivated people to grow crops and do gardening. […]" (vendor in the city's fruit and vegetable market, interview #36).

Overall, these interviewees framed peri-urban places of development as 'full' of deeply felt economic, ecological, social and cultural relations and meaning. In the words of an interviewee:

> "well, in my view this [peri-urban] space is the place where we were born and have lived; it's our land, the site where we want to keep

> living, and we want to improve it to obtain what we need to live, such as our food, our home…and how do we take care of it and how we are going to improve it to avoid to harm the environment […] how can we live in harmony with nature and how do we conserve [it]; therefore it's important for us, or for me, this place, this site, this soil" (miner, artisan and urban gardener, interview #12).

This place frame involves a strong appreciation of rurality and a conflicted positioning towards the city and its further development. In contrast with the future vision of urban development, in this vision the countryside and traditional peasant culture, which are temporally located in the past (see below), stand as a moral compass for future visions, while the city is a morally and physically corrupted and uncomfortable place to live as the following quotes illustrate:

> "we are poorer and poorer not only physically, but mentally; every structural and cognitive aspect has been deteriorating" (education entrepreneur, interview #2);
> "the metropolis is a tumor, a sick space, morbid […] both mentally and physically" (member of local trekking group, interview #1);
> "the more distant [from the city], the more sustainable" (architect, interview #5).

The construction of collective memory is central to place framing and this future vision of a recovery of past cultural and material traditions. These interviewees personally reflected back to a pre-industrial time, often articulating a direct connection with relatives who lived then or with their own childhood. The collective memory of pre- or early-industrial Sogamoso is one of relatively little economic and material wealth, but of dignity, autonomy from the market, awareness of environmental limits, rich experiential knowledge and solidarity and respect for one another. In contrast to the forced displacement from the countryside to the city in the present, the past is represented as a time when people could decide about their lives and, for example, whether they wanted to live in the city or in rural spaces:

> "the grandparents produced and supported themselves […] that is, what we produced [what] we consumed, the industrial era arrived and we became consumers and stopped producing, and that is costing us and that is why we do not have food security" (education entrepreneur, interview #2);
> "the problem is that they sold us […] development and industry […]; my grandfather sowed fruit trees; my grandfather used to sell horses, to have milk cows. At my grandmother's all the grandchildren ate and the grandchildren lived in the grandmother's house, all patched up and there was food for every-one […] food was the main thing; in an old house in the region to have food was [the main thing]. We harvested the grains, the seven grains" (geologist, leader of local environmental NGO, interview #7).

As the above quotes illustrate, the plotline of this constructed memory of the past is one of contemporary decline, with a strong sense of abrupt change brought about by capitalist industrial development, and a sense of symbolic continuity with a lost past and set of cultural traditions. These interviewees are in an in-between spacetime: they are caught between a distant and unrecoverable past and a future they do not like, and which they do not know how to change for the better.

5.3. *Framing the future as cultural revitalization*

An environmental consultant, an architect, an historian, an anthropologist, some members of local NGOs, gardeners, and some so-called 'new-Muiscas' or new-peasants[5] shared a future vision that we label as a form of *cultural revitalization* for Sogamoso.

This cultural revitalization future vision departs from a critique of capitalist development—in contrast to the recovering tradition vision and its nostalgia for and (re)establishment of traditional peasant culture—to instead look *even further back* into the past to the pre-colonial Indigenous civilization of the Muiscas to find symbolic resources and practical solutions to ongoing challenges. In this vision, agriculture has a crucial role: ancient culture marks a direction of travel to realize forms of development that are culturally and ecologically appropriate for the local context and its landscape. For example, these participants discussed their visions of chemical-free agriculture, the recovery of native crops and of irrigation and housing techniques developed across Sogamoso's territory and ecosystems in pre-Columbian times. This future vision does not exclude science or technology, but it does subordinate them to ensure their social and cultural appropriateness:

> "the Muiscas inhabitants had their science and technology […] those who inhabited this place they used to seed this way, and to grow that [way]. That's how we were […] (urban gardener, interview #29).

Furthermore, agriculture is often seen as a resource to build a future economy through eco- and agri-tourism. Food and farming are resources that are not looked at with nostalgia for a return to the past, but rather as a pedagogic, social and material set of resources which need to be *revitalized* in the modern world for a future that strengthens territorial relations and builds new, sustainable livelihoods:

> "how to benefit from these mountains? How to benefit from our cultural heritage? One can try to convert these mountains into tourist destinations. At least, by following [ancient] ceremonial paths […] These were Indigenous paths […] there are ecological corridors that have the potential for tourism development. […] [O]ne can also try to find ways to articulate all the work that has been done around the recovery of the native potato varieties" (historian and member of local NGO, interview #32).

As the above quotes illustrate, this future vision establishes a reconnection with pre-colonial cultures and their legacy up until pre-industrial times in order to provide symbolic resources for identity building and cultural meaning, as well as inspiration for current and future transformations and transitions to sustainability:

> "I've seen something that one wouldn't see before: the basic need of identity, of knowing the territory. […] We are not left with anything else than to change and to search for the origins. Searching for the origins, I see it in the future more than in the past. […] They haven't taught us who we are; the person of Sogamoso, the person of Boyacá, this is how they are and how they behave […] We have this lack of identity, I think, which is something serious. And because we ignore who we are, we lack the capacity to unite, because I do not know who you are, and who is my neighbour, and perhaps my neighbour wants to take something from me […]." (urban gardener, interview #29).

Furthermore, inspired by Muisca culture, this future vision also entails an ethics of care for humans and non-humans. Indeed, agriculture and the practices of farming are seen as ways to slow down the pace of modern life, to learn to take care, to share, to live within ecological limits and according to principles of sufficiency, respect and cooperation. Several interviewees envisioned a society in which every-one knows how to grow food and is aware of the region's historical cultural and ecological context. Core to this is that these histories should become an important part of the school curriculum as an essential component of supporting communities to learn who they are and how to care for others and for the environment:

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[5] The so-called 'new-Muiscas' is a new-Indigenous movement committed to recovering "ancestral" practices, crops, technologies, and the values of the pre-Columbian people called Muiscas. Sogamoso is a former sacred settlement of the Muisca people and is a regionally important archaeological site hosting an archaeological museum on pre-Columbian peoples.

> "native, ancestral seeds must be highly promoted and each house must have its own garden and cultivation area" (new-peasant #1);
> (Showing a tomato plant) "This [plant] produces a lot. [This tomato] has more than 15 days which seems a long life if it were a manipulated or transgenic tomato; but no, look at this, without chemicals, and taste it. It is tasty and it has been there for several days, it is very tasty. What happens is that time moves more slowly. I will pick fruits or tomatoes or any fruit […] in a somewhat longer time, more spaced, calmer more relaxed. But if [they] want it more competitive, then they make it transgenic, produce it faster […] but it is not a normal tomato" (agronomist and urban gardener #1, interview #33).

The participants who expressed this vision are motivated by a sense of responsibility and solidarity and tended to see themselves as agents of change. They are prepared to be frontrunners in autonomous, if small scale, projects of alternative development, such as an emerging network of urban gardens in which autonomy is highly valued and acts as a counterpoint to instrumental, market-based relationships and the often ineffective and corrupt local authorities:

> "There's this deep Colombia. This Colombia full of colours, of histories. So, I want to be part of this Colombia. That's it; it's simple. First of all, turn off the TV set, stop drinking Coca Cola, and from then on many more changes. At least, getting into this process of [building] a network of urban gardens means making some steps […] to seed, to harvest, to love, to take care, to involve our children, the neighbours. […] I govern my territory, I defend it, I love, it, I take care of it. So, one also needs to understand this concept: I govern [my territory] from my household" (urban gardener, interview #29);
> "I can talk to you about people here that somehow instead of following a flag, generated some ideas, but who over time ended up smashed because the system is complicated … [now] they do it through alternative ways like a foundation […] to be able to work with dignity" (architect, interview #5).

This future vision relates to place frames that conceived peri-urban spaces as 'full' of historical, social, cultural and ecological relations of meaning, connection, care and physical human- and nature-made infrastructure:

> "To believe that building apartments and eating out [in] this part of the territory is an economically viable option… well, no. They are totally misguided from an ecosystemic perspective, because if one starts to understand the territory, […], this was in fact an ecological corridor. It was an area [that used to function] as a draining system. And this has also to do, if one looks at it from an archaeological perspective, with […] the Muiscas" (historian and member of local NGO, interview #32).

For some participants, this place frame reflects a reconstruction of Muisca Indigenous culture. In particular, for some of our interviewees, land and water are as "sacred" as they are thought to have been for the Muiscas. For example, in the words of a new-peasant:

> "The most important aspect [of peri-urban areas] is that most are water recharge areas, so areas to care for. There are other wetlands that are being lost, damage is being done, care for the wetlands is a sacred space" (new-peasant #2, interview #31).

Alongside the social (re)construction of a collective memory of place that extends back to the Indigenous culture of the Muiscas, central to this place framing is an opposition to the social disruption caused by the arrival and consolidation of the metallurgic industry in Sogamoso in the first half of the 20th century. Several participants stressed the discontinuity that this industrialization of Sogamoso caused, including the projects of urban development "*based on iron and concrete*" (historian and member of local NGO, interview #32)—and the subsequent outmigration of communities from surrounding rural areas to supply cheap labour for the mining and metallurgic industry. For these participants, outmigration from rural areas was seen as a wider 'repudiation' of the rural and the Indigenous past of Sogamoso. Recovering a collective memory that dignifies the Indigenous, rural and agrarian roots of Sogamoso—and which acknowledges the marginalization of this non-white, rural culture and its potential contribution to pathways of alternative forms of development—was seen by these participants as a way to renew their own and the region's wider place identity. This collective memory of a pre-industrial but also pre-colonial culture is a symbolic resource that permeates these place frames and future visions, as various quotes above illustrate, and which stimulates new visions of what Sogamoso could become in the future.

Thus, the recovery of Indigenous culture is a way to reconnect with a forgotten identity in order to re-define directions for the future and vice versa: through the search for an alternative future model of development, these communities reconstruct their past not to 're-emplace' the city's ancestral heritage.[6] Rather, this distant past, which is seen to persist in the present in niches of peasant farming and cultural practices, traditional food, religious practices or music, functions as an historical reference point: present predicaments of unsustainability and development are understood against, or explained via those ancient cultural roots which hold much socio-economic and sustainability promise for the future of Sogamoso.

6. Discussion and conclusion

This paper analyzed place framing in sustainability transitions and transformation by examining how the conflicting collective memories of a place—and the framings of the future of this place—interact and lead to the justification of particular forms of socio-material development, land use and sustainability of the peri-urban spaces of the city of Sogamoso, Colombia. Here we reflect on the theoretical and empirical contribution of this study and discuss its implications for future research on the geography of sustainability transitions and transformation.

6.1. Theoretical contributions and implications for future research on the geography of sustainability transitions and transformation

Based on the empirical evidence from this city, which resonates with studies of place framing elsewhere (e.g., Batel and Devine-Wright, 2017; Perreault, 2018; Weller, 2019; Kojola, 2020), we contend that the existence and mobilization of collective memories—and their critical influence on future visions—are a core aspect of the politics of place framing fundamental to the socio-material processes of sustainability transitions and transformation. While some research on future visions and imaginaries recognizes and discusses their connection with memories and histories of the past (Adam and Groves, 2007; Beck et al., 2021; Hoffman et al., 2021; Oomen et al., 2021; Priebe et al., 2021), considerable less progress has been made in understanding how such connection occurs in practice and how it can be conceptualized. This paper's main finding is that place framing is one important way through which collective memories and future visions are connected and are co-constituted in a spatio-temporal 'dialogue': collective memories, future visions and place frames involve interconnected processes of social construction activated in the attempt to shape or contest sustainability transitions and transformation.

This finding contributes to understandings of the geography of sustainability transitions and transformation in at least two ways. First, this paper suggests that collective memory plays a crucial role in processes of place framing in sustainability transitions and transformation. To date the emerging literature in this field has given little attention to the geographical and sociological accounts of collective memories of place. Future research examining the social constructions of the memories of place, as well as future visions, will lead to fuller accounts of the processes of reproduction, elimination and/or modification of the structures, identities, meanings, geographies, positionalities and power relations that are involved in sustainability transitions (Pierce et al., 2011; Murphy, 2015).

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[6] The reference to "ancestral", "pre-Hispanic" and "Indigenous" practices, knowledge, technologies, etc. recurs frequently in the narrations of these interviewees.

Place frames, future visions and their co-constituted collective memories of place are political processes that create the embattled politics and political ecologies of imaginary futures. In order to appreciate and critically analyze such processes, it is important that future research makes sense of claims and struggles for just transitions whereby the production of an alternative representation of the past offers strategic opportunities to the social groups that are oppressed, marginalized or otherwise excluded from institutionalized governance processes (e.g., Perry, 2012; Anguelovski, 2013; Haiven and Knasnabisch, 2014; Cadieux and Slocum, 2015; Weller, 2019). This was the case, for example, for the proponents of the *cultural revitalization* vision in Sogamoso, whose voice was less prominent in the planning process and in the mainstream public discourse more generally. Due to the governance problematics outlined above (see also Feola et al., 2019), their visions of the past, present and future did not end up being realized in planning documents, in which the perceived 'valueless' and 'empty' productive capacity of the previously flourishing rural communities of the past prevails.

This study makes a second contribution to understandings of the geography of sustainability transitions and transformation. By recognizing the role of collective memories of place in the co-constitution of place frames and future visions, it is our hope that this paper contributes to an active counterbalancing of the strong 'future orientation and outlook' taken in recent years by sustainability science and transition studies (e.g., Bai et al., 2016; Knappe et al., 2019; Muiderman et al., 2020). Without de-emphasizing the important role of the future and of varying techniques of futuring in influencing vision and actions in the present (e.g. Marquardt and Nasiritousi, 2021; Oomen et al., 2021), this paper suggest a more balanced approach that engages with the *simultaneous* social construction of *both* the collective memories of place *and* the future visions of place. In cases like Sogamoso, the past is not necessarily leveraged as a just simply a way to learn or be overtly nostalgic. Rather, collective memories are used as symbolic resources for supporting desired socio-material transformations of place in both the present *and* the future.

Furthermore, in the case of Sogamoso and as other scholars have shown, while it may be difficult for some social actors who are more institutionalized and/or with vested interests to envision alternative futures (Hajer and Versteeg, 2019; Marquardt and Nasiritousi, 2021), there may be no scarcity of alternative imaginaries and critical 'histories from below' (Gismondi, 2018; Lai, 2019; Feola et al., 2021; Spanier, 2021). As shown in this study, in Sogamoso, the expansion of the urban frontier markedly reflected an *urban development* future vision, which was mostly shared by key decision-makers and economic and political actors, while other visions that saw development "based on iron and concrete" as problematic, remained marginal, albeit clearly present among other social sectors and groups such as peasants and much of civil society.

The broader implication of this for future research is that the politics of envisioning sustainable, post-fossil fuel, post-growth, post-colonial futures may not only entail helping mainstream decision- and policy-makers to imagine the future differently through various techniques of futuring (e.g., Oomen et al., 2021). It may also, crucially, entail an acknowledgment of already existing marginalized, alternative future visions—and their claims about the present and the past—to give them a voice and empower them in the search for more democratic and just planning processes. In other words, we suggest that a politics of place-making in sustainability transitions and transformation crucially involves acknowledging and negotiating coexisting collective memories of the past held by social actors in ways that prevent the risk of future visions being constructed on the basis of an assumed 'blank slate' of a supposedly shared understanding of past trajectories of place, including how environmental crises were generated, who can be held responsible for varying contributions to those crises, and which dominant thought categories, forms of knowledge, and sociocultural imperatives have informed the production of unsustainability (e.g., Barca, 2020; Lövbrand et al., 2020; Armiero, 2021).

6.2. Supporting inclusive place making in Sogamoso and the layered geography of sustainability transitions and transformation

Having mapped the collective memories, place frames and future visions that coexist in Sogamoso and which underly the land use conflicts that have been described in the city (Feola et al., 2019), this paper has potential implications for governing a transformation towards sustainability in this city. The paper spelled out points of contact and crucial divergences across three identified future visions, which in turn can become a basis for possible coalition shifts and readjustments, while also providing a key for social actors to understand their relative position and thus favor mutual understanding. For example, the *recovery of tradition* and *cultural revitalization* visions share similar place frames, relations and valuation logics, but differ substantially in their future vision and collective memories and mnemonic frames. Furthermore, the participants who shared the *cultural revitalization* vision and hence a collective memory of pre-Columbian and pre-colonial Sogamoso seemed to find important symbolic and knowledge resources in such spatio-temporal connection, which those sharing a *recovery of tradition* vision lacked.

On the other hand, this study spells out the multiple ways in which *urban development* and the *cultural revitalization* visions differ, but also identifies some points of overlap in the socially constructed discontinuity and the orientation towards building a better future for Sogamoso. The mutual understanding that such mapping can facilitate might serve as a basis for negotiation processes around the future of peri-urban spaces and of the city more broadly. We suggest that an arena in which this is especially relevant and particularly urgent is the planning process, in which decisions on structural material changes are made with potential long lasting effects on the urban and peri-urban space and people's livelihoods.

Planning in this city has been plagued by various governance problems including poor participatory culture and practices, which have limited the recognition and inclusion of a plurality of visions on urban development, and the pursuit of personal interests among public servants, officials and citizens alike (Feola et al., 2019). Therefore, while it is may appear obvious, it is worth emphasizing that this study's findings suggest that it remains vital to design inclusive, participatory planning processes enabling a plurality of visions of the future, as well as memories of the past, to be voiced and discussed by different social groups and coalitions as a fundamental part of the planning process. These processes do not need to be necessarily initiated or led by the Municipality as they are currently, but they can be taken on by civil society organizations, as occurred for example with some success through so-called citizen observatories ("*observatorios ciudadanos*") across other parts of Latin America (Silva Robles, 2013; Delgado Quintana, 2016).

In turn, a more deliberate and conscious, as well as inclusive, effort to pay heed to not only visions of the future, but also memories of the past can contribute to reducing social tensions and conflict around land use, as well as to diversifying and enriching the collective construction of the past, present and, hopefully, a more sustainable future. In this, an important question remains for future research: how do visions and concrete attempts to pursue sustainability transitions and transformation intersect with other processes of societal change, such as those of democratization, post-colonialism and, in Colombia, post-conflict? An effort to re-elaborate collective memories of the past in the context of Sogamoso, Colombia, and other countries with an experience of colonialism and neocolonialism highlights that processes of sustainability transitions and transformation necessarily occur amidst other processes of societal change. Sustainability transitions and transformation come to exist in a 'sedimented' context of past and ongoing uneven development, (neo-) colonization, ecological injustice, and nation building projects, among others (e.g., Ulloa, 2017, 2019; Perreault, 2018; Ojeda, 2019). Thus, visions of sustainable futures are formed by various social actors in relation to locally meaningful notions of sustainability, which construct place frames to often serve simultaneously not only—and perhaps not primarily—the purposes of sustainability transitions and transformation, but also those of their other social, political, cultural and economic projects. Thus, while some social actors may negotiate notions of sustainability to realize the global, national and/or local imperatives of economic development, as the proponents of the *urban development* visions did in Sogamoso, for other social actors a move away from colonial relations and sustainability transformation are inherently integrated processes, as was the case for the proponents of the *cultural revitalization* vision in this city. Hence, the examination of the co-constitution of future visions, place frames and collective memories, as well as the support of inclusive processes that give space to less visible imaginaries—and that enable a genuine effort to re-elaborate collective memories of the past—is central to answering questions about the intersection of sustainability transitions and transformation and other historical processes of societal change.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Giuseppe Feola: Conceptualization, Methodology, Investigation, Formal analysis, Funding acquisition, Writing - original draft, Writing - review & editing. **Michael K. Goodman:** Conceptualization, Methodology, Funding acquisition, Writing - review & editing. **Jaime Suzunaga:** Methodology, Investigation, Funding acquisition. **Jenny Soler:** Methodology, Investigation, Funding acquisition.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Data availability

The data that has been used is confidential.

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Appendix A. Supplementary material

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2022.103668.

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