BANGKOK
13°45'N 100°29'E

NEW YORK CITY
40°43'N 74°00'W

BUENOS AIRES
34°36'S 58°22'W

(UN)ANTICIPATED FUTURES

SYMPOSIUM 2012
Chulalongkorn University February 16-19
BANGKOK, THAILAND

PROCEEDINGS

BANGKOK SYMPOSIUM ORGANIZATION

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This symposium entitled *(Un)Anticipated Futures* is hosted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand and Chulalongkorn University. The second day of the four-day workshop is graciously hosted by the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affair as part of its Thai-US Creative Partnership program. The program consists of three panels consisting of historians, social scientists and designers from Chulalongkorn University, the University of Buenos Aires, and The New School in New York. What captivated me in the discussion leading up to this event was the fundamental question: where are we going? At a time of dramatic social, economic and environmental uncertainty, how can we know how to move forward? We at the Faculty of Architecture at Chulalongkorn University are committed to answer this question through sustained dialogues across disciplines and national boundaries.

This event is also made possible by the planning and organization of INDA The International Program in Design and Architecture at Chulalongkorn University. INDA was founded in 2004 with the goals of introducing a broad, English language, non-professional undergraduate degree in design and architecture to compliment our many Thai language degree programs at the Faculty of Architecture at Chulalongkorn. Under the leadership of Dr. Preechaya Sittipunt, INDA has been a hugely successful initiative growing to more than 300 students, but also achieving a high quality of innovative pedagogy in a short period of time. In addition to a rigorous on-campus curriculum in design and liberal arts, the program also requires students to participated in international workshops abroad and community design programs during the summer. INDA has also begun a dialogue with Parsons The New School for Design about integrating strategic design thinking into the curriculum.

I welcome you all – from Argentina, the United States, and Thailand to participate in the dialogue during the symposium in Bangkok, and I look forward to continuing this discussion in Buenos Aires and New York in the future.

Sincerely,

PROF. DR. BUNDIT CHULASAI
Dean of Faculty of Architecture
Chulalongkorn University

INTRODUCTION
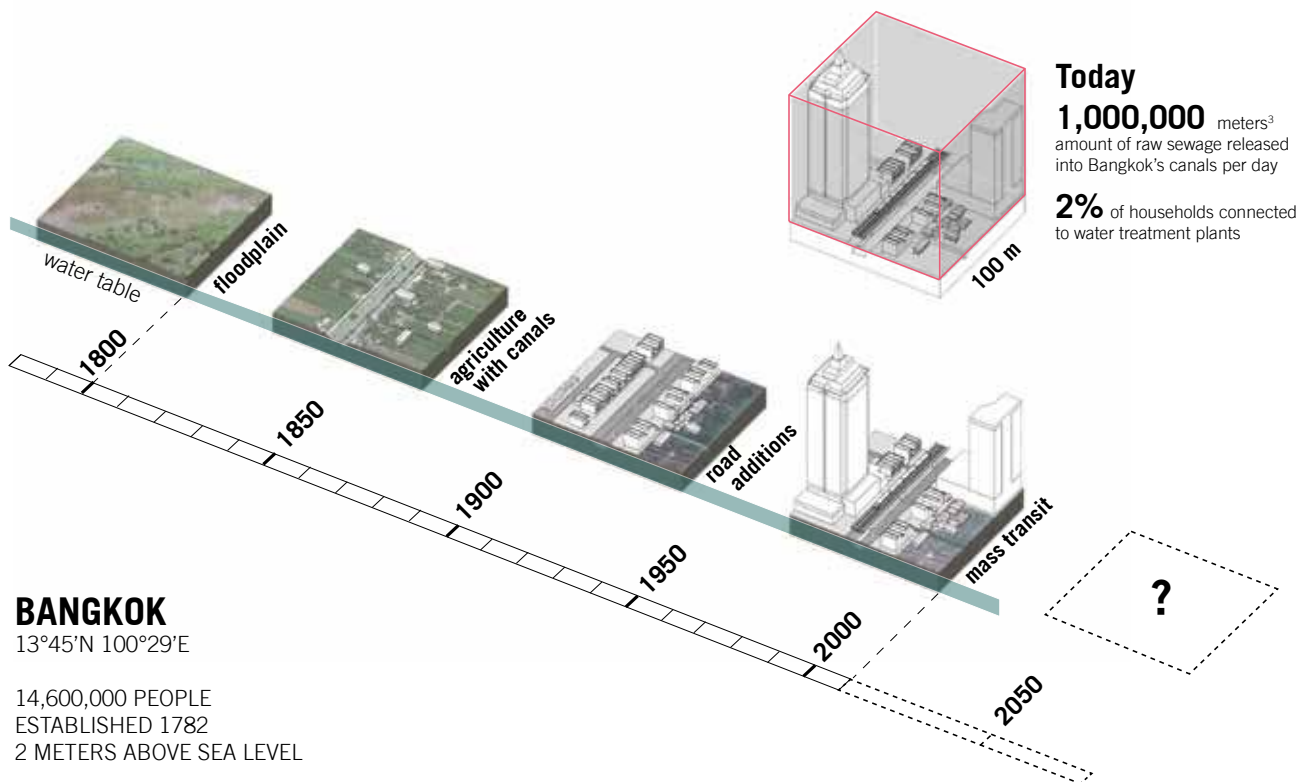
BANGKOK
13°45'N 100°29'E

14,600,000 PEOPLE
ESTABLISHED 1782
2 METERS ABOVE SEA LEVEL

Today
1,000,000 meters³
amount of raw sewage released
into Bangkok's canals per day

2% of households connected
to water treatment plants

(Un)Anticipated Futures is an international Symposium bringing together research from three universities – Chulalongkorn University in Thailand, The New School in New York, and University of Buenos Aires in Argentina. This international collaboration gathers historians, social researchers, and designers in a context of unprecedented economic and ecological uncertainty. As financial crisis and environmental disasters appear around the globe, cross-disciplinary and international approaches are urgently needed to address design and development in urban landscapes increasingly in flux.[1]

After the opportunity for cooperation between the three participating universities materialized for a series of symposia, the format of the inaugural event was extensively discussed by teams residing in Bangkok, New York, and Buenos Aires. A historian, social researcher, and designer from each institution would attend and each present a paper illustrating the urban condition of city of their respective institution. The benefits of collaboration between the invited speakers would set expectations for future projects between these institutions.

Through a series of meetings in Bangkok and teleconferences across several time zones, the symposium was programmed to not only feature conventional paper presentations but also actively engage with the host city through small workshop projects. These workshops would enrich the curriculum of the International Program in Design and Architecture (INDA) by directly involving undergraduate students with experienced academics from foreign countries. The outcome would not be an imposition of preconceived solutions or prescription of action based on a superficial reading of the context. The format of the workshops would call for reactions to rigorously developed student investigations by a cross-disciplinary, and trans-institutional, panel of critics.

The challenge remained to quickly introduce the new visitors to the host city, Bangkok, in order to promote correlation of local issues with academic paper discussions. A single day tour of sites was selected for visit by the Bangkok symposium organizers that forms a path transecting ecological, social, and economic conditions to begin to illustrate the complexities of modern Bangkok. This tour took place the first day of the visit from symposium speakers with paper presentations commencing on the second day. Workshop critiques with the INDA program took place on the third day and public presentation concluded the symposium on the fourth day.

This symposium is the first of three collaborative events within the Design and Social Development Program, which will be held in Buenos Aires and New York in 2013. Through the analysis of similarities and differences across cities from different disciplinary perspectives, the Design and Social Development Program focuses not primarily on the disciplines themselves but rather on how to build a common language. The program works at the intersection of design and social science in an effort to identify innovative ways of interpreting urban phenomena.[2]

DAY ONE: A TOUR THROUGH BANGKOK

Our passage started with a vehicle ride north from the congestion of the older parts of the city along rail routes that link the capital to the vast agrarian terrain of northern Thailand. As the land slowly reduced in building density, pockets of fruit trees and rice emerged between homes and large infrastructural land uses. The Don Muang International Airport near our route was submerged only two months prior due to widespread flooding throughout the Chao Phraya River watershed. We made our first stop at the Bang Bua Canal Community where that flood event left unmistakable water stains over meter above the ground.

As with many informal settlements throughout Thailand, this community had settled along the vacant canal banks decades ago in unsafe stilt houses built from found materials. The Bang Bua community was able to upgrade their housing through non-profit community upgrade initiatives.[3] Architects worked with residents to devise housing typologies that supported existing social structure within the community. Local elected leaders explained that a newly built walkway along the canal reduced the quantities of refuse dumped in the water and reclaimed the canal as a social gathering space. The community had gained long-term leases and low interest loans which offered residents legal claim to the land for the first time.

The next destination was Koh Kret, an island within the banks of the Chao Phraya River. This land was settled by the Mon people of Myanmar after the 6th century, predating the foundation of Bangkok by over 1000 years. The fine grain sediment deposits from this point in the river were used in sacred pottery made and distributed by the Mon throughout the kingdom, connecting natural landscape phenomena with cultural heritage.[4] A shipping canal dug in 1722 cut the sharp bend in the river around Koh Kret to create the island condition seen now. Quiet pottery operations and brick kilns on island highpoints survive as valuable tourist draws next to multistory entertainment venues that continue to spring up along the river. Increasingly severe flood events along the Chao Phraya River has threatened much of Koh Kret's housing stock and older shop structures.

The journey turned toward the old city center by means of a boat ride on the Chao Phraya River, similar to how most traffic in Thailand reached the capital from the north before the proliferation of highways only a few decades ago. The density of stilt housing above the river and existence of rigid riverbank erosion infrastructure physically exhibited political jurisdiction. Single-family homes and government offices gave way to contemporary condo highrises and aging warehouses as we moved downstream and

approached the capital. The magnificence of the Grand Palace and Wat Arun at sunset signaled our return to land and we continued our tour by the modern convenience of the elevated BTS Skytrain. From several meters above Bangkok's financial district, we traced old canal right-of-ways that have been filled in to create wide city streets. The group landed in the city's busiest public transport station in Siam Square, known for being one of Thailand's premiere retail districts. 50 year-old shophouse blocks filled with young entrepreneurs and street vendors are under threat by additional luxury shopping mall development. Recent political protests and took place in Siam Square's highly visible roads that led to global media coverage.

The final branch of our crossing through Bangkok was in the Ban Krua community along the old San Saeb Canal. Muslim refugees from Cambodia settled in the area in 1785 after the Kingdom of Siam granted them land for supporting efforts in the Nine Armies War . Members of this community dug the San Saeb Canal in 1837 and routed the waterway to avoid their mosques and cemeteries. San Saeb is one of the few remaining water taxi routes in the city after decades of covering Bangkok canals to add to an expanding road network. Islam remains heavily practiced in the Ban Krua community and livestock is raised in this unlikely urban condition to supplement Halal diets. The day was filled with an array of questions, discussions, and joy that served as a strong and true introduction to Bangkok.

DAY TWO: PAPER PRESENTATIONS
The presentation of papers allowed guest academics to return to the territory of their expertise and share research with symposium participants while ensuing discussions would explore commonalities between Bangkok, New York, and Buenos Aires. Papers on seemingly varied topics, spanning across traditionally bounded academic disciplines reflects the magnitude of components that comprise the urban condition. The three historians presented comprehensive views of the growth of their respective cities and each highlighted the role of images as indicators of the conception of the city throughout time. Social researchers from Bangkok, New York, and Buenos Aires discuss behaviors of city inhabitants in relation to crime prevention, neighborhood identity, and spatial appropriation. Finally, the invited designers promote a future where projects of various scales strive for inclusion and digital technology explores sustainability from physical, social, and economic perspectives.

DAYS THREE & FOUR: STUDENT WORKSHOPS
The third day of the symposium was devoted toward the visiting academics participating in workshops conducted by International Program in Design and Architecture (INDA) faculty and final year INDA students. This provided the opportunity for Chulalongkorn University faculty to join the guest academics in reflection on international design education through the lens of architectural proposals and analyses set within greater Bangkok. Informed by the extensive site visits throughout Bangkok and discussion of papers with fellow symposium speakers, the visiting academics were able to make rich connections between areas of their expertise and their developing conception of Bangkok. Representatives from each of the three universities participating in the symposium formed a panel of critics for the four separate workshops. Sites and scales of interventions vary between workshop briefs that illustrate the wide possibilities designers have to impact the future of this great city.

The four workshops expand on themes of the symposium by conceiving varied scenarios the define Bangkok's unanticipated urban future. Infrastructures and services that make life in this city possible are calibrated, re-purposed, and built new to reflect a provocative supposition of life in the city. The student group of Kerrie Butts and

Nilay Mistry generate mappings of organisms, territories, and systems impacted by the 2011 flooding of the Chao Phraya River as part of a semester-long studio investigation. Through a series of interventions that extend between the disciplines of architecture and landscape, the students create solutions within the realities of Thailand's recurring flooding in vital population centers. 'The Architectural Apparatus' organized by Narin Paranulaksa and Pannasan Sombuntham analyzes the physical and cultural components of ubiquitous street vending vehicles in Bangkok and imagines how this phenomena of informal vending will take form during dramatic shifts in the Bangkok context. Moe Ekapob and Camille Lacadee led students to learn from various organisms during emergency conditions and develop scenarios for Bangkok that take advantage of those reactions. Their workshop, 'The Shape of Things to Pass', uses an abandoned tower construction project as a site to reinvent relics of unfulfilled urban ambitions. "Superskywalk" organized by Dr. Preechaya Sittipunt and Dr. Scott Drake explores new relationship between pervasive Thai street activity and a multiplication of Bangkok's elevated walkways.

The following material in this publication note the formal submissions to the (Un) Anticipated Futures 2012 Symposium. The event marked what should be the start of several new academic endeavors between these three universities.

KERRIE BUTTS
NILAY MISTRY

(Un)Anticipated Futures Symposium 2012 Academic Coordination and Publications
International Program in Design and Architecture (INDA)
Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University
Bangkok, Thailand

ENDNOTES
1 & 2. From (Un)Anticipated Futures Symposium 2012 promotion material, formulated by Kerrie Butts, Brian McGrath, and Nilay Mistry
3. Bang Bua Community was featured as part of the "Design With the Other 90 Percent: Cities" exhibition at the United Nations Headquarters in New York City, http://www.designother90.org/cities/solutions/bang-bua-canal-community-upgrading
4. From Catibog-Sinha, C. & Wechtunyagu, P. Journal of Tourism and Sustainability. 1(1): 29-45

(UN)ANTICIPATED FUTURES
SYMPOSIUM 2012
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(Un)Anticipated Futures is an international symposium bringing together research from three universities – Chulalongkorn University in Thailand, The New School in New York, and University of Buenos Aires in Argentina. This international collaboration, started by the Design and Social Development Program of the three universities, brings together historians, social researchers, and designers in a context of unprecedented economic and ecological uncertainty. As financial crises and environmental disasters appear around the globe, cross-disciplinary and international approaches are urgently needed to address design and development in urban landscapes increasingly in flux. The Design and Development program focuses on the intersection of design and social science in an effort to identify innovative ways of interpreting urban phenomena. This symposium is the first of three collaborative events with the second event to be held in Buenos Aires and the third event in New York.

EVENT SCHEDULE

DAY 1   **City Explorations (visiting scholars, INDA faculty, and students)**

DAY 2   **Paper Presentations and Discussion (open to the public)**

DAY 3   **Workshops (visiting scholars, INDA faculty, and students)**

DAY 4   **Workshop Presentations (visiting scholars, INDA faculty, and students) and**

            Planning for next international symposium in Buenos Aires

THE NEW SCHOOL

Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs | Chulalongkorn University Faculty of Architecture | The New School | Universidad de Buenos Aires
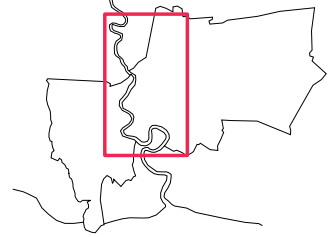
9:00		Briefing at Hotel
9:30	❶	Van pickup from Hotel
10:00	❷	Bang Bua CODI Project
12:00		Lunch
13:00	❸	Koh Kret-transfer to boat
	❹	Bangkok Noi Canal
14:30	❺	Wat Arun
16:00	❻	Saphan Taskin Pier
		Transfer to BTS
16:30	❼	Siam Square
17:00	❽	San Saeb Canal

OTHER AREAS OF INTEREST
A. Don Muang Airport
B. Jatujak Market
C. Grand Palace
D. Wat Pho
   Reclining Buddha
E. Thong Lo Street Food
F. Victory Monument
G. Lumpini Park
H. Chinatown
I. Hualampong
   Train Station
J. Khlong Toei Port and
   Informal Communities

PUBLIC TRANSIT LINES
━━ BTS/Skytrain
━━ MRT/Subway
━━ Airport Link

SCALE
1 km ━━
1 mile ━━
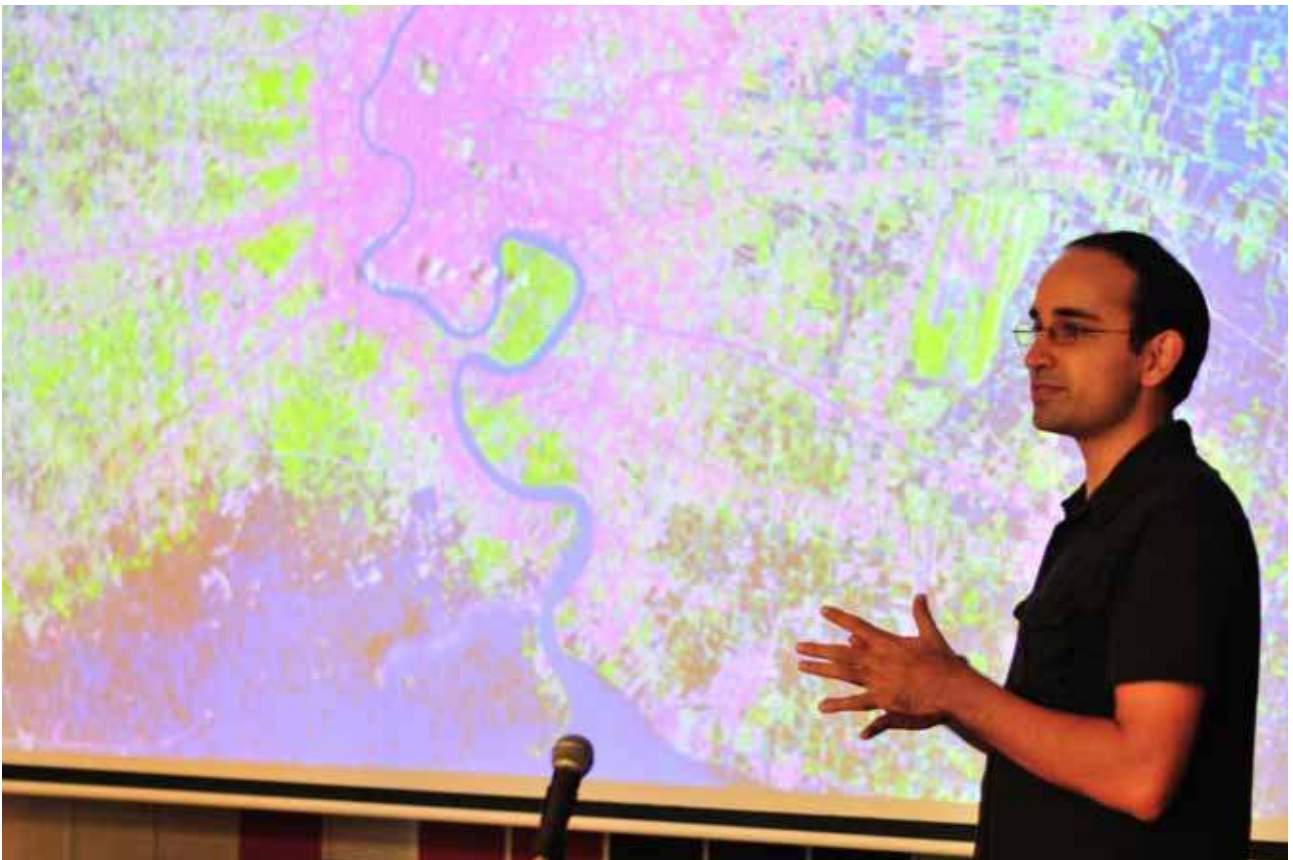
↑N

BRIEFING PRIOR TO SITE VISITS

BRIEFING PRIOR TO SITE VISITS

LOCAL VENDORS NEAR BANG BUA CANAL

BANG BUA CANAL

BANG BUA CANALSIDE COMMUNITY

HOUSING UPGRADES AT BANG BUA CANALSIDE COMMUNITY

MEETING WITH COMMUNITY LEADER PRAPAS SANGPRADAB AT BANG BUA COMMUNITY

GROUP PHOTO AT BANG BUA CANALSIDE COMMUNITY

HANDMADE POTTERY AT KOH KRET ISLAND

WALKWAY AT KOH KRET ISLAND

CHAO PHRAYA RIVER BOAT TOUR

DINNER WITH DEAN BUNDIT CHULASAI AND H.E. ANA MARIA RAMIREZ, ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR

SCHEDULE

8:00-9:00	Registration
9:00-10:15	Introduction and Opening Remarks
10:15-10:30	Break
10:30-12:00	History Presentations
12:00-13:00	Lunch
13:00-14:30	Social Science Presentations
14:30-15:00	Break
15:00-16:30	Design Presentations
16:30-17:00	Final Discussion and Closing Remarks

MORNING SESSION

9:00-10:15
Introduction:

Introduction and Opening Remarks

Prof. Dr. Bundit Chulasai, Dean of Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University

Assoc. Prof. Brian McGrath, Research Chair in Urban Design at Parsons and the founder/ principal of Urban-Interface, LLC

Opening Remarks:

Mr. Chalermpol Thanchitt, Deputy Permanent Secretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs

H.E. Ana Maria Ramirez, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Embassy of Argentine Republic

Mrs. Judith B. Cefkin, Deputy Chief of Mission of the Embassy of the United States of America

Prof. Dr. Kua Wongboonsin, Vice President of Chulalongkorn University,

Master of Ceremony:

Dr. Preechaya Sittipunt, Program Director of INDA International Program in Design and Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University

10:15-10:30   Break

10:30-12:00
Moderator:

History Presentations

Margarita Gutman, Associate Professor, and Director of Programs of The Observatory on Latin America (OLA), The New School; Profesora Consulta, FADU UBA

BKK:

"Visions for Venice of the East: Mapping and Planning of Bangkok 1850-1950." Pirasri Poyatong, Assistant Professor, Department of Architecture,Chulalongkorn University

BsAs:

"Poverty and marginality in the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area, Coexistence and Conflict, Formality and Informality." Paper by: Adriana Clemente, Professor, Vice Dean of the School of Social Science FCS UBA, Margarita Gutman, Professor, FADU UBA & Associate Professor, The New School; and Ileana Versace, Assistant Professor, FADU UBA; with the collaboration of Martín Gromez, and Lucila Pugni Reta. Speaker: Ileana Versace

NYC:

"Tuxedos, Landscapes, Commuters and Urban Interiors An alternative Urban History of New York." William Morrish, Dean of the School of Constructed Environments, Parsons The New School for Design

12:00-13:00	Lunch

AFTERNOON SESSION

13:00-14:30 **Moderator:**	**Social Science Presentations** Robert Buckley, Fellow, Graduate Program in International Affairs, The New School
BKK:	"Survey of Crime Reduction through Architectural Design :A Case Study of Bangkok Metropolitan, Prathumwan District." Amorn Wanichwiwata, Professor, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University
BsAs:	"Design, diversity and inclusion: Debates for a future vision of the city." Paper by Carolina Mera Sociology, Professor, Director of Research of School of Social Science FCS UBA; Mónica Lacarrieu, Professor of Anthropology, FCS UBA. Speaker: Carolina Mera
NYC:	"Speculative City" by: Vyjayanthi Rao, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, The New School for Social Research. Speaker: Mandy Goodgoll, Coordinator, The Observatory on Latin America
Master of Ceremony:	Nilay Mistry, Instructor, INDA, Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University
14:30-15:00	Break
15:00-16:30 **Moderator:**	**Design Presentations** Scott Drake, Visiting Associate Professor, INDA, Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University
BKK:	"Vanishing Landscape: the Hydro-Agricultural Landscape of Bangkok,Thailand." Paper by: Danai Thaitakoo, Department of Landscape Architecture, Chulalongkorn University; Brian McGrath, Research Chair in Urban Design at Parsons; Suebsiri Srithanyarat, Department of Landscape Architecture, Chulalongkorn Unviersity; and Ying Palopakon, Chiang Mai University. Speaker: Danai Thaitakoo
BsAs:	"The forms of informal. Elements of reading inclusive project management from projective research." Paper by: Javier Fernandez Castro, Professor and Architect, FADU UBA; Juan Pablo Scaglia, Associate Professor, Architect, FADU UBA; Pedro Senar, Assistant Professor, Industrial Designer, FADU UBA; and Ariel Misuraca, Professor, Architect, Secretary General FADU UBA. Speaker: Javier Fernandez Castro
NYC:	"(Un)anticipated Design Futures: New York." Brian McGrath, Associate Professor, Research Chair in Urban Design at Parsons and the founder/principal of Urban-Interface,LLC
16:30-17:00 **Moderators:**	**Final Discussion and Closing Remarks** Michael Cohen, Director of The Observatory on Latin America, Directory of the Graduate Program in International Affairs, The New School; and Ariel Misuraca, Professor, Architect, and Secretary General of FADU UBA.

BRIAN MCGRATH
Friday February 17, 2012 | Ministry of Foreign Affairs | Naradhip Auditorium

"Our kind hosts from Chulalongkorn University – Dr. Bundit Chulasai Dean Faculty of Architecture and Dr. Preechaya Sittipunt, Director of INDA, the International Program in Design and Architecture have asked me to answer the obvious question:

WHY ARE WE HERE?

(Un)Anticipated Futures is an international symposium bringing together innovated research from across three disciplines, three cities and three universities.

The three university partners are:
Chulalongkorn University, founded in 1917 by King Vajiravudh (Rama VI), Chula is the oldest University under the Thai modern educational system. The University is a comprehensive public research institution comprising nineteen faculties and institutes. The Faculty of Architecture was founded in 1939, and includes departments in Architecture, Interior Architecture, Urban and Regional Planning, Industrial Design, Landscape Architecture and Housing. The Faculties of the Social Sciences are also represented here today. Chulalongkorn University has a number of faculties concentrating on the social sciences including Political Science, commerce and Accountancy, Economics, Communication Arts, Education, Law, Pharmaceutical Sciences and Psychology. Their research and graduates are making important contributions to social, economic, moral, human rights and media development. We are very honored that Vice President Dr. Kua Wongboonsin, has welcomed us today.

I also thank students, faculty and the leaders from Chulalongkorn University for hosting us so graciously during this four-day event, but more importantly, for adding your voices to the discussion this week.

We are also joined by faculty from The University of Buenos Aires. The University of Buenos Aires was inaugurated in 1821 has been a national university since 1881. The huge modern university of 300,000 students, free to all who attend, is dispersed around the city with 13 faculties, 6 hospitals, 10 museums and is linked to 4 high schools.

The Faculty of Architecture, Design and Urban Studies, (FADU-UBA) was founded in 1947 and currently has 23,000 students enrolled, offering six degrees: Architecture, Graphic Design, Industrial Design, Landscape Architecture, Textile Design, and Film Production. The School of Social Sciences includes programs in Communication Sciences, Sociology, and Political Science. It has a prestigious faculty, which together with the students, researchers and staff number about 30,000 people working in the institution. I am so impressed by not only your willingness to travel so far to join this meeting, but your enthusiasm and openness to explore the question of design and social inclusion in the new context of Bangkok. I also thank H.E. Ana Maria Ramirez, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Embassy of Argentine Republic for joining us today.

The New School, located in Greenwich Village in Manhattan, was founded in 1919 as an alternative to traditional universities, with an open curriculum, minimal hierarchy, and free discussion of controversial ideas. In 1933, The New School gave a home to the University in Exile, a refuge for scholars forced from Europe by the Nazis. In 1934, the University in Exile was incorporated into The New School for Social Research as

the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science. In 1970, Parsons joined The New School providing the design school with new resources to expand and strengthen the connections between design and social action. We have representatives from the Parsons School of Constructed Environments, The Graduate Program in International Affairs in the School of Public Engagement and the Anthropology Department of The New School for Social Research.

This is a pioneering collaboration between historians, social researchers and designers in a context of unprecedented economic and ecological uncertainty. As financial crises and environmental disasters appear around the globe, cross-disciplinary and international approaches are urgently needed to address the challenges of urban landscapes increasingly in flux.

Yesterday, we spent an incredible day in the field, led by Kerrie Butts and Nilay Mistry from the INDA faculty. We visited canal side communities where the historical, social and design issues to be discussed today are so viscerally present in everyday life. We also saw glimpses of the unparallel grandeur of traditional Thai architecture in our journey down the Maenam Chao Phraya. Finally we soared above the bustling metropolis on the spectacular BTS Skytrain. Truly Krung Thep Maha Nakorn – the heavenly city of angles – is a most remarkable city, and is the perfect locus to inaugurate our discussion between three disciplines, three cities and three universities on possible urban futures.

Today's symposium will be followed by a two-day design workshop at the Faculty of Architecture at Chulalongkorn University. INDA faculty and students will take us inside some of the more detailed issues that confront this city. We are committed to follow the words discussed today with ways to put these ideas to practice in the future. Practice based learning is the method that ties design and social research at The New School, and we are very pleased to see it in action at INDA.

As the title of this symposium – (Un)Anticipated Futures - suggests, the results of this four-day workshop involving scholars from three universities, three disciplines and three cities cannot be predicted. Nor could this extraordinary event have been anticipated even one year ago. We are hear due to the unlikely triangulation of two bilateral discussions:

The First, is the Thai-US Creative Partnership. The Thai-US Creative Partnership is an effort created in cooperation between the American Embassy in Thailand and the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs to build on more than 175 years of successful political alliance between the United States and Thailand in support of Thailand's creative industries. I would like to thank Mrs. Judith B. Cefkin, Deputy Chief of Mission of the Embassy of the United States of America from the American Embassy in Thailand and the Mr. Chalermpol Thanchitt, Deputy Permanent Secretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs for joining us today.

William Morrish Dean of Parsons School of Constructed Environments began a discussion with former Ambassador Eric John two years ago with the offer that Parsons could contribute to this new cooperative diplomatic effort.

Parsons School of Constructed Environments and the Faculty of Architecture at Chulalongkorn have been in partnership since Fall of 2007 when INDA had hosted16 Parsons students and, as part of an international workshop. We exhibited the results of that studio in both New York and in Bangkok. Dr. Preechaya, Ajarn Komthat and ten INDA students came to New York for that event in January 2008 when we first met Priya Kempon, Consul-General of the Royal Thai Consulate in New York when INDA and Parsons students exhibited work in Bangkok in Parsons' 5th Avenue Galleries. Consul-General Priya has been a frequent visitor to The New School where he has met

our President and Provost and has since brought many scholars from Thai Universities as part of the Thai-US Creative Partnership.

Bill came to Bangkok, at the invitation of Chulalongkorn and INDA last January, and was subsequently invited together with Parsons School o f Fashion Dean Simon Collins by the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs to participate in a discussion on Green Design in October. At that time Dean Bundit and Dr. Preechaya.

The Second bilateral discussion, was initiated by Dr. Margarita Gutman and Dr. Michael Cohen from the Observatory on Latin America and the Graduate Program in International Affairs at The New School initiated this discussion by inviting a cohort of colleagues at The New School in a discussion around design and development. OLA was formally launched at The New School in September 2006 by the current Argentine President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. OLA is working during a time of political change and renewed interest in Latin America. New leaders in the region are seeking new policies and approaches to strengthen democracy, to define new economic and social policies, and to achieve social justice in their countries. The Design and Development program focuses on the intersection of design and social research in an effort to identify innovative ways of interpreting urban phenomena.

We have been having multiple discussions at the New School about how to break down the disciplinary boundaries between design and social science, in order to take advantage of the unique juxtaposition of Parsons' leadership in design education and the public engagement and social research strengths of The New School. The Dean of the Faculty of Architecture at Chulalongkorn, Bundit Chulasai, joined the Design and Development discussion on his visit to Parsons last year. It was at that time that that he extended the invitation to bring these two initiatives in dialogue here in Bangkok. This is the real answer to the question why we are all here, it is due to the generosity of Chulalongkorn, Dean Bundit, Dr. Preechaya, and the entire INDA faculty and staff.

Today's discussion is structured as a 3 x 3 matrix to facilitate this complex dialogue across time and space. There will be three panels today. The first will begin with three papers that provide an historical analysis of design and development in Bangkok, Buenos Aries and New York. A discussion comparing the impact of the historical past on the present moment in the three cities will follow. The second panel will bring together social science perspectives from the three cities, again followed by a discussion that will compare the social present as experienced in Bangkok, Buenos Aires and New York. The third panel will be comprised on three papers on the design futures of the three cities. As we move from historical past, to social present to design futures, we hopefully will see, as Margarita Guttman has so eloquently said, the footprints of the future in the present and the past.

As we have found in even planning this event, three way discussions are difficult and unstable. Bilateral relationships are the norm. The third leg is always in the way upsetting easy agreement or solution. However, in our multipolar world, these kinds of discussions are increasingly important, particularly when positioned between north/south and east/west. So in addition to traveling between three continents, we will also cross the equator from winter to summer, and also the international date line from day to night in our three point conversation.

Today will culminate with a synthetic discussion, focused on how, when and where we as a group will take this dialogue into the future. We have the grand ambition to continue this discussion in Buenos Aires in New York in the future, and hope you will join us."

VISIONS FOR VENICE OF THE EAST: MAPPING AND PLANNING OF BANGKOK, 1850 – 1950

Pirasri Povatong
Faculty of Architecture
Chulalongkorn University

Abstract

This paper examines the series of wishful maps, plans and schemes that were created between 1850 and 1950, to improve and modernize the city of Bangkok. In their constant attempt to make Bangkok "modern," the Siamese elite had acquired the expertise and representation techniques of Western engineers, planners, and cartographers, with different forms of urban representation that correlate with the shifts in the perception and transformation of the city. From the first cadastral map of the city to its first comprehensive land-use plan, the maps and plans of the city illustrate how modern mapping techniques were constantly challenged by indigenous conception and social use of urban space, and the pre-existing modes of cartographic representation.

Mappings of Bangkok

In the nineteenth century, the city of Bangkok was gradually transformed from a semi-aquatic fortified settlement to a modern city, at least in parts, complete with wide tree-lined grids of streets and avenues that rivaled any colonial city east of Suez. As outlined elsewhere, that transformation was the result of gradual modernization processes: the centralization of political and economic powers of the absolute monarchy (Wyatt 1969; Kullada 2000), the shifts in consumption culture towards the Western- dominated standards of taste (Peleggi 2002), modern sciences of sanitation, and the proliferation of modern languages of architecture and urban design, which greatly transformed the city by the end of the reign of Rama V, in 1910 (Askew 2002). By the mid 20th century, the growth of the city was accelerated after the Second World War. The U.S. became the new paradigm of development and progress, and Bangkok's role as the center of the country was reaffirmed through rapid developments in transportation, industrialization, and urbanization, with the art and science of city planning as the centerpiece of this period of urban change.

Central to these transformations of nineteenth and early-twentieth century Bangkok, this paper argues, is the mapping of the city. A closer look at the maps of the city reveals not only the shifting configuration of the city, but also the increasing importance of maps as a tool through which the various power groups deployed to broadcast their perception and understanding of the urban present. Maps also represent their visions and aspirations towards the urban future, expressing their wishful control over urban space and urban growth.

The correlation between cartography and the discourse of nationhood, in the case of Siam/Thailand in particular, was first explored by Thongchai Winichakul (1994). In Siam Mapped, Thongchai describes how cartography was crucial to how nations imagine themselves as geo-bodies – the concrete, cartographically-represented identifications of a nation. Using Thongchai's ideas, this paper explores the applicability of the notion of geo-body in the urban rather than national space. It also seeks to study the different forms of cartographic conventions in the various maps of Bangkok that were created during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which suggest that there were shifts in the perception and representation of the city that was also undergoing dramatic physical changes. Finally, the paper also describes how modern mapping techniques were constantly challenged by the indigenous urban space, and the pre-existing modes of cartographic representation.

Early Mappings of the Siamese Capital

Prior to the advent of modern urban cartography in Siam, the city of Bangkok had been mapped by both indigenous and foreign agents. The area was called Bangkok as early as the 14th century, a strategic spot on the Chao Phraya river, between the ancient capital city of Ayutthaya and the Gulf of Siam. By the 16th century a town of Thonburi Simahasamut was established on the west side of the river, a moated entrepôt town. During the reign of King Narai (r.1656 – 1688), the French established a garrison at Bangkok, with Vauban-style citadels commanding this stretch of the Chao Phraya (Fig.1).

In 1782, King Rama I established the new capital city at Bangkok, moving the center of power from Thonburi on the west side, to the east side of the river. Krung Rattanakosin, the Jeweled Celestial Abode of Indra, was a moated and fortified area of 4.14 square kilometers, with the Chao Phraya river as its western boundary, and the population of

20,000 living on both sides of the river. True to the traditional Thai urban principles, the city form was rather organic; the geometry of its urban fabric conformed to the natural lines of deltaic floodplain rather than any sacred geometry, in spite of its illustriously auspicious name.

Foreign visitors to the city began to map it as early as 1797 (Sternstein 1982, p. 10); their maps usually represented only partial and caricaturish views of the city, given the temporary nature of their visits. An example is a chart of the Chao Phraya river, from the Gulf of Siam to the city of Bangkok, published by the Hydrographer of the Royal British Navy in 1797 (Fig. 2). In this map, the city was simply depicted as a perfect oval as the map's focus was rather on the navigational route rather than the city itself.

As for the indigenous tradition of mapping and documenting the city, the early maps were either piecemeal endeavor specifically created for certain purposes, or diagrammatic, idealized city plans. An example is a map of the city published by John Crawfurd, the British envoy to the court of Rama II in 1827 (Fig. 3). Sketch of the Town of Bangkok by a Native is one of the earliest maps of the Bangkok, then with the population of 50,000, showing the town as a fortified rectangle, surrounded by a network of city moats and canals. Following the pictorial convention of traditional Thai paintings, the city was represented in the Sketch as a perfect rectangle, a far cry from the actually rather irregular shape of the city whose geometry grew from the bends of the Chao Phraya and the numerous canals crisscrossing the deltaic flatland.

By the reign of Rama III (1824 – 1851), however, foreign residents in Bangkok began to produce more accurate – in the Western sense – maps of the city that were made possible through their extended stays in the city. An interesting example is perhaps the quaintly named A Geologigal Map of Pasts of Klong, Wat, ..., of Bangkok in the Siam, published by Captain James Low in Calcutta in 1835 (Fig. 4). An employee of the British East India Company in Penang, Low's knowledge of the Kingdom of Siam brought him to Bangkok as part of a British envoy to the Siamese court in 1824, which probably led to the creation of this map (Smyth 2007, p. 159). An interesting hybrid, the map combines modern topographical accuracy with traditional pictorial conventions like the flowing lines of the waterways and the projected views of the major buildings, depicted as symbols rather than true depiction.

Another curious cartographical hybrid is Bishop Jean Baptiste Pallegoix's 1850 Plan de Bangkok, published in his book on the Kingdom and its people published four years later in Paris (Fig. 5, Pallegoix 1854). Relatively inaccurate in terms of the city's general outlines, the Plan nonetheless reflects Bishop Pallegoix's conceptual perception of the city, most notably the regular grids of streets within the city proper, nonexistent during the reign of Rama IV (1851 – 1868). Moreover, the Plan also shows some urban features of particular interest to the European residents such as the exact locations of Catholic churches, or the floating markets on the river. The city by then was much enlarged, with the construction of Khlong Phadung Krungkasem in 1854 as the new ring of city moat, effectively expanding the city proper in the north, east, and south directions. The city size grew twofold, just in time for the formal opening up of the kingdom to trade and diplomatic relations with Western powers after the signing of the Anglo Siamese Bowring Treaty in 1855. Within the city, land became increasingly precious as commodity, after real estate industry grew following the construction of rice mills, saw mills, and shipyards. Bangkok became a threshold of trade, a place of exchange between colonial capital and Siamese natural resources.

With the growth of colonial trade network in Southeast Asia, the city continued to expand rapidly during the early years of Rama V's reign (1868 – 1910). The Siamese elite began their large-scale expansion of the city and its infrastructure, while the businesses

of the foreign merchants prospered. The intersection of these two interests resulted in the very first large scale map of Bangkok, published by Dr. Dan Beach Bradley in 1870, in Singapore. Spending most of his life in Siam, Dr Bradley was an American Protestant missionary who also introduced printing and publishing in the kingdom, and his map, titled Map of the City of Bangkok, was yet another instance of cartographical hybrid (Fig.6). Showing the city on both sides of the river, from Klong Bangkok Yai in the West to Klong Phadung Krungkasem in the east, Dr Bradley's map was in fact a collage. As annotated by Dr Bradley, information of the area within the city wall was copied from a chart made by the command of the Second King of Siam, Prince Wichaichan, while the rest of the map was based on surveys made by Dr Bradley himself (Bradley 1936, p. 286 7). Placing the Bradley residence at the very center, the map deftly described with cartographic details the three constituencies of the city : the walled area in the east, the Thonburi domain of the Bunnags in the west, and the foreign businesses south of the city. Accordingly, the contours of power were mapped out through the combination of indigenous and Western urban cartographies in Dr Bradley's map.

During the early decades of Rama V's reign, urban growth continued after what was laid down by Rama IV. Within the city walls new roads were constructed, together with two storey shophouses alongside the roads. The banks of the Chao Phraya, especially in the south part of the town, were lined with factories and mills, with the new district of Bangrak as the enclave of European residents. Though there was no formal planning or designation, parts of the city became distinct as districts, populated by different ethnic groups and social class. As the young Rama V was quickly sent on inspection tours of Singapore and Batavia (1870), Burma and India (1871), Asian colonial cities and architecture provided models from which the Siamese elite could apply towards the beautification of Bangkok. Bridges, public gardens, and canalside promenades were constructed within the city walls, providing new civic space for the progressive Siamese and European residents alike. New roads were illuminated with gaslights, while tram lines spread around the city.

All these new urban amenities came with institutions of civic control, also modeled after the colonial ones. Postal service began in 1881, after the first postal census was made, and all addresses within the city were numbered. In the following year, the Survey School was established, and one of tits tasks was to create the first surveyed map of the city. In 1886, the Municipal Committee was established as Rama V's attempt to modernize urban governance. With jurisdiction over Bangkok's police, fire control, sanitation and public works, the Committee replaced the centuries-old position of Nakhonban minister. By 1888 the Committee became the new Ministry of Local Government, a precursor of Ministry of the Interior.

After the establishment in 1882, the Survey School was staffed with selected officers of the Royal Body Guards Regiment, trained to be surveyors under Henry Alabaster, a British advisor to the Siamese court who was also the Commissioner of Roads. Accordingly, these surveyors' early work constituted mostly of surveyed maps for the construction of roads within the city walls (Giblin 1980, p.19). Later on, the state-sponsored mapping of Bangkok soon spread well beyond the city proper, as Alfred J. Loftus, Alabaster's successor, was given the task of making surveys for the new telegraph and railway lines in the countryside, together with the navigational charts for the Siamese waters.

In the year 1880, however, the British India government asked the Siamese court to let its Trigonometrical Branch conduct a survey of parts of the kingdom, a crucial part in the British endeavor to measure their colonial outposts in the South and Southeast Asian regions. After much debate among the Siamese elite, Rama V finally agreed to let the British do their triangulation surveys in the kingdom, with the stipulation that the British India government would let one of their officers, James McCarthy, be subsequently

employed by the Siamese government to comprehensively map the kingdom.

Under the direction of Prince Damrong, McCarthy played a crucial role in the mapping of Bangkok during the first half of Rama V's reign. In 1882, McCarthy established the Surveyor School, training the first generations of Siamese surveyors and cartographers who would assist the European technicians under Siamese employ. Among the first maps the Surveyor School produced was a large-scale survey of Sampeng, the heart of the Chinese commercial community in Bangkok. Made in the year 1882, the purpose of the map was to expedite the collection of the Chinese head taxes in the area (Thongchai 1994, p.118).

In the following year, the Siamese elite furthered their spatial knowledge of the city of Bangkok through the creation of the Sarabanchi, the citywide directory compiled for the newly created postal service (Sarabanchi 1998). Each and every house in the city was given a number, a street-by-street directory was compiled, and a reference map was made. In 1885, Prince Prisdang, the Siamese plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James, wrote to Prince Devawongse, the Siamese Foreign Minister, asking that a copy of the map of Bangkok be sent to him "to show the Europeans that Siam was a major sovereign nation that was civilized enough to have city maps worthy of its name" (Prisdang 1985, p.85). Evidently, maps of Bangkok became crucial to the Siamese elite's siwilai discourse quite early on (Thongchai 2000).

The 1887 Plan of Bangkok

In 1885, the Survey School became the Royal Survey Department (RSD), under the Ministry of War. Staffed by European and Siamese officials, the RSD's initial priority was given to frontier demarcations and large-scale mapping of the kingdom. Nonetheless, in the same period the RSD also produced the very first surveyed map of the city of Bangkok. Titled Plan of Bangkok, the map was based on the data gathered from surveys made in 1886, most probably under the direction of Alfred J. Loftus (Giblin 1908, p.121). In the following year, when Prince Devawongse traveled to Britain to attend Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, the Plan of Bangkok was printed in London under McCarthy's supervision (Phraya Mahaammat 1980, p.8).

The first large-scale map of the city that was based on a systematic triangulation, the 1887 Plan of Bangkok must be quite a revelation to the Siamese elite. With the Golden Mount, the highest spot in the city then, as the triangulation base, for the first time the city's surface was conceptually laid over with a Cartesian grid that connected quite seamlessly to the rest of the known world. At the scale of about 1:4000 and the coverage of the entire city, the map showed, for the first time, each and every building in the city, together with all roads and lanes, canals and ditches, to a very great detail. With the advent of modern mapping techniques deployed by the Siamese elite through their European agents, the 1887 Plan of Bangkok put forth a new perception of the city which paid greater attention to the details of its physical structure. Unlike the older generation of city plans which had focused rather on place names and locations, the 1887 Plan of Bangkok seemed to revel more in the exact forms of the city that was viewed uniformly from above.

One notable exception, anyhow, was the area within the walls of Phraborommaharatchawang – the Grand Palace, and Phraratchawang Bowonsathan Mongkhol – the Front Palace, both of which were kept blank. While the absence of cartographic information on these two spots in the entire map might be due to security concerns, the presence of absence reminds one of the Siamese tradition of representing

majesty through visual prohibition (Apinan 1995; Peleggi 2002). Although the traditional prohibition of seeing and representing the royal body had declined since Rama IV began to commission his portraits in various media, the cartographic representation of the royal residence remained strictly prohibited well into Rama V's reign, as shown in the subsequent series of maps of the city.

While the original 1887 Plan of Bangkok was published as a set of eighteen sheets of maps covering the entire city, complete with its vicinity, five sheets of the map covering the city proper within Klong Phadungkrukasem, the outer city moat, were later reprinted in one oversized sheet. Two copies of this map remain to this day in the National Archives, covered in parts with hand-drawn lines showing the planning of roads cutting through the various neighborhoods in the city (Fig. 7). City maps thus obviously became the tool through which the Siamese elite used in their urban amelioration projects early on.

Nine years later, Prince Damrong ordered the complete update of the 1887 Plan of Bangkok and had it printed in Calcutta. Printed in one oversized sheet in the scale of 1:11880, the map features the cultivated areas outside the city proper as well as the wealth of details of the urban forms inside. The city proper, however, was placed off-center to the upper part of the map; the attention to the orchards and rice fields is indicative of the nascent interest in cadastral mapping of the city that would constitute the RSD's scope of work in the following decade (Fig. 8). Named the Nai Von – Nai Son Map by later scholars after the Siamese mapmakers whose names appeared on the map, the 1889 map had been reprinted several times by the RSD and thus became a standard reference in the study of the city during the reign of Rama V, the capital city of the newly centralized kingdom.

The Cadastral Turn : Mapping Fin-de-Siècle Bangkok

Five years after the publication of the 1887 Plan of Bangkok, the Royal Survey Department became part of the Ministry of Agriculture, as by then the need for a thorough cadastral survey of the kingdom became acute. As the economy, agriculture, and industry of the city grew, land management became the crucial issue for the Siamese elite. Land became real estate, and detailed maps of the city were needed for not only the physical planning of the city, but also for the administrative and revenue purposes (Giblin 1980, p. 24).

For practical purposes, in the latter part of the year 1896 the first cadastral survey in Siam was started. Prince Damrong gave the supervision of the cadastral survey to Ronald W. Giblin, James McCarthy's successor. After much discussion, the Siamese elite and the European technocrats decided to apply the Torrens System of registration of titles to land first to the cultivated monthons mostly of the Central Plain : Krungthep, Krung Kao, Prachin, Nakhon Chaisi, Ratchaburi, Chanthaburi, and Phitsanulok. Developed in the colonial outpost of Australia by Sir Robert Torrens, the system's main feature was the exact and detailed map showing each and every plot of land that could be cross-referenced to the drawing on the title deed given to the landowner, and the master database kept at the Land Registration Office. As the cadastral survey was new to the Siamese, the RSD borrowed some European and Indian surveyors from the Survey of India, their colonial counterpart, for several years (Giblin 1980, p. 24).

After completing much of the cadastral survey of the surrounding monthons, in November 1905, the RSD began its cadastral survey of the city of Bangkok, which took two years to complete.

Before discussing in detail the 1907 cadastral map of Bangkok, however, an interesting set of Bangkok maps should be brought to attention. In 1899 the Privy Purse Bureau wanted to create a thorough inventory of the crown property lands in the city for revenue and administrative purposes. With the cooperation of the Ministry of Local Government, the Privy Purse Bureau had all the nai amphoe, the district officials, make the survey of the crown property lands within their jurisdiction. The result constituted of lists of lands submitted by the nai amphoes, complete with accompanying hand-drawn maps indicating the location and the physical attributes of the crown property lands. Obviously untrained in the modern cartographical techniques, the nai amphoes represented the parts of the city under their jurisdiction with the cartographic convention similar to those used by the native mapmakers several decades earlier (Fig. 9). With the use of pictorial symbols and the simultaneous and multiple projection of architectural and urban space, the 1899 Privy Purse survey maps indicate that there indeed was the indigenous cartographic convention that remained strong in spite of the establishment of modern mapmaking science since the foundation of the RSD in 1885.

The 1907 cadastral map of Bangkok, of course, was the Siamese elite's response to the inexact and subjective nature of the indigenous cartographic convention that was exemplified in the 1899 Privy Purse survey maps. Unlike the earlier cadastral survey which recorded only property plot lines and the referencing landmarks, the cadastral survey of Bangkok was an extremely detailed record of not only the property lines, but also all the physical features of the buildings and urban forms (Fig. 10). At the scale of 1:1000 and the coverage of the entire city, the 1907 map gave the Siamese elite both the overview and the minute details of the built environment of their capital city.

With such an ambitious scope of work, the making of the 1907 map inevitably came across many obstacles in its process, the foremost of which was the issue of territoriality. As the survey was extremely detailed, the surveyors were practically the state's intrusions into the private social spheres. Although the Ministry of the Local Government issued a letter of reference for every RSD surveyors to enter every household and property in the city, the surveyors were not always welcomed by the property owners. The tension was especially heightened in the domestic domains of the princes and the noblemen who were not eager to let the all-male surveying teams into the female quarters of their often polygamic families (Phraya Mahaammat 1980, p. 6). For example, in September 1906, the RSD surveyors tried to enter the palace of Prince Abhakara, Rama V's son, and was promptly and literally kicked out of the palace. Subsequently Mr Giblin, the Director of the RSD, had to send the prince a letter of apology, and the head surveyor team, Nai Pleng, had to meet the prince in person to offer the RSD's formal apologies, before the survey of the princely palace could proceed.

Another area of contention was the premises of the European subjects in Bangkok. Due to extraterritoriality rights, teams of surveyors could not enter any of the embassies, business premises, and residences of European residents and their subjects. In November 1906, the Ministry of Agriculture sent notices to the Embassies and Consulates of Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Switzerland, Japan, and Belgium, asking the foreign envoys to inform their subjects to let the surveyor teams do the cadastral surveys.

After the cadastral survey was complete and the maps published, Giblin presented the complete set of maps to Rama V through the Minister of Agriculture. In the cover letter, Giblin proudly stated that, in addition to land registration purpose, the maps would be useful to other purposes, such as public works, sanitation, policing, and transportation planning. Unfortunately, Chaophraya Thewet, the Minister of Culture, thought otherwise that it was a waste of the Ministry of Culture's budget to do such a detailed set of maps that would give not much benefit to the Ministry.

After the turn of the twentieth century, Bangkok's growth continued unabated in the north, east, and south directions. The establishment of Dusit Park, the suburban royal enclave north of the old city proper, brought new geometry to the city. Tree lined avenues opened up new vistas, bustling with modern motorcars and electric trams. At the same time the southern districts of Bangrak and Banthawai became fashionable residential neighborhoods for the affluent residents of the city. Speculators built modern roads and canals in their attempt to turn old rice fields into real estate projects.

Sanitation, Census, and Mapping

By the early twentieth century, Bangkok's population increased to about half a million. As the population boom came with increasingly Westernized lifestyles, sanitation became one important matter that the Siamese elite had to cope with. In 1897, Rama V issued the first Bangkok Sanitation Act, in his attempt to improve sanitary conditions of the rapidly growing city. With this act was the establishment of the Sanitary Department under the Ministry of Local Government, to be in charge of garbage collection, public lavatories and latrines, and the maintenance of roads and bridges. The administration of the new Sanitary Department was given to Chaophraya Devesr, the king's highly trusted aide. With no knowledge in civil engineering, Devesr had to rely on various European experts like the City Engineer L. R. de la Mahotière, the Principal Medical Officer Dr. H. Campbell Highet, and the water supply engineer Fernand Didier. In 1898 the city established its zones of sanitary control: the Department was in charge of the areas within the city wall, while another agency was created specially for the sanitary upkeep of Dusit Park.

Another initiative under the Ministry of Local Government was the first citywide census that was done in 1910. The urbanized areas of Bangkok were defined into 25 tambons (subdistricts), covering both sides of the Chao Phraya river. Civil servants and students were trained to conduct the house-by-house survey, which revealed, for the first time in its history, the demographic profile of Bangkok. In terms of population, the census gave the number, in 1910, at 540,679.

In order to keep up with these urban initiatives, new maps of the city were produced by the Royal Survey Department during the first decade of the twentieth century. An example was the Plan of the City of Bangkok Siam, published by the RSD in 1903 (Fig. 11). At the scale of 1:16,000, the Plan covered the urbanized area under the aegis of the Sanitary Department. The area covered was remarkably different from those of the pre-Dusit Park, pre-Sanitary Department maps like the 1888 Plan of Bangkok, which represented the city as it was surveyed by James McCarthy of the RSD in 1888, though it was published much later, in 1900 (Fig. 12). The vertical frame of the 1903 map fits well over the major parts of the city: the City at the center, Dusit Park to the north, Pathumwan to the east, and Bangrak Banthawai to the south. This frame of cartographic coverage was also found in J. Antonio's Guide to Bangkok, an early guidebook to the city that was published in 1904 (Fig. 13).

Also around the turn of the century, Bangkok began to be perceived by the Siamese elite at its regional scale. As rice became the kingdom's major produce, fertile yet uncultivated lands of the Lower Chao Phraya river basin were developed through modern irrigation canals. In 1889 the Siamese government granted a twenty-five years concession to the Siam Canals Land and Irrigation Company, a multinational venture, to dig a series of canals through the vast but uncultivated plain northeast of Bangkok (Fig. 14). Later known as the Klong Rangsit Project, by the twentieth century the area of 400,000 acres were converted into valuable paddy-fields, with the newly-liberated corvée labor turning profits for their landlords in Bangkok (Homann van der Heide 1908, p. 200).

The Siamese elite's interest towards the regions east and north of Bangkok was also represented in the 1895 Map of Monthon Bangkok (Fig. 15). Monthon was the provincial administrative unit that was newly applied by the Siamese elite in their efforts to centralize power through modernized bureaucracy. Cities and town, protectorates and fiefdoms through the entire kingdom of Siam were re-organized into monthons, with Monthon Bangkok at the center. As cartographically represented in the 1895 map, Monthon Bangkok spanned areas on both sides of the Chao Phraya river, though the eastern part was much larger and seemed to receive more cartographic attention. The map clearly depicted the expanding transportation networks of canals and railways that Bangkok extended firm territorial control over her monthon and beyond. Compared with the whole Monthon Bangkok, which covered the area of about 1,440 square kilometers, the urbanized area of Bangkok was relatively small. Nonetheless, the map nicely captured the distinct geometries of the city: the dense City, surrounded by gridiron suburbs of Dusit Park, Pathumwan, and Bangrak, overlaid on top of the roughly centripetal network of canals and railways that provided intra-monthon transportation.

After the turn of the twentieth century, the Siamese government tried harder to increase their comprehension of Bangkok's economic position in relation to rice agriculture, irrigation, and geography of the Lower Chao Phraya river basin. In 1902, J. Homann van der Heide, a Dutch hydraulic engineer, was lent by the colonial government in the East Indies to work for the Siamese Government. His main task was to draw up an irrigation and drainage scheme for the Lower Chao Phraya river basin, yet Homann van der Heide went a step further by proposing essentially a national economic and development plan that would turn Siam into the world's major producer of rice. Naturally, he proposed a comprehensive scheme much larger than the old Rangsit Canal Project, starting all the way up to the city of Nakhon Sawan, and all the way down to the estuary on the Gulf of Siam. A system of dams, weirs, sluices and navigation locks was proposed, in order to put the ebbs and flows of the Chao Phraya under Bangkok's control (Homann van der Heide 1908, p. 201). Homann van der Heide's General Plan was too costly in the eyes of the Siamese elite, so only some of his recommendations were heeded during the reign of Rama V. Nonetheless, the General Plan and its map showing the prospective Lower Chao Phraya river basin would remain a landmark in terms of the visionary, regional view of Bangkok, for decades after (Fig. 16).

The Prewar Years and the Early Ideas about Siamese Town Planning

During the reign of King Rama VI (r.1910 – 1925), Bangkok continued to grow along the pattern that was already set during the previous reign. In 1915, the government re-adjusted the monthon boundaries so that eventually Monthon Bangkok covered the area of about 4,000 square kilometers. The monthon consisted of two "inner" provinces – Bangkok and Thonburi, and four "outer" provinces – Nonthaburi, Minburi, Phrapradaeng, and Samut Prakan. In 1919 this area had a population of 666,719, and by 1931 the number rose to 971,660. During the reign of King Rama VII (r. 1925 – 1932), the "inner" provinces of Bangkok and Thonburi covered the area of about 1,000 square kilometers, with a population of 599,785. The form of the urbanized area of the inner part of the city remained practically unchanged, with the old City at the center, the northern suburbs around Dusit Park, the southern suburbs of Bangrak, Banthawai, and Pathumwan, and Thonburi on the western side. By then, the semi-aquatic urbanism was largely replaced by the land based one, as motorcars, trams and trains became regular modes of transportation in early-twentieth century Bangkok. The first bridge across the Chao Phraya was completed in 1926, connecting railway lines on both sides of Bangkok together. This was followed by the Memorial Bridge, the first vehicular bridge across the Chao Phraya that was completed in 1932, an attempt to expand the city in Thonburi direction.

It was also during the reign of Rama VII that early ideas about city planning in Bangkok were seriously discussed by the Siamese elite. Indeed, ideas about various schemes of urban amelioration had been discussed – largely by European advisors to the Siamese government – since the latter part of Rama V's reign. Apart from the old hobby horse discussion about municipality and local self-governance, issues like clean water supply, sewage treatment, garbage disposal, street lighting, or prevention of contagious diseases were sporadically addressed by the Siamese elite in their intermittent attempts to make Bangkok modern. However, it was only during the 1920s that the possibility of "planning" Venice of the East was taken into serious consideration. Indeed, the initial cause was rather minor: the king was displeased with the plans for the building of the new Law School, to be built in close proximity to the Grand Palace. Accordingly, in May 1928 he asked the Ministry of Interior to set up a committee to work on "town planning" for Bangkok, with the planning of the area around the proposed Law School as its pilot project (NA SB2.47/104). Incidentally, the seven-member committee included the best of the king's men like M.C. Iddhidhebsan Kridakara, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts-trained Siamese architect, or Luang Sarote Rattananimman (Sarote Sukkhayang), another first-generation Siamese architect who was trained at the School of Architecture, University of Liverpool. With their exposure to the new discipline of town planning, these men envisioned ideas about town-planning for Bangkok that went way beyond the king's initial wish. Right from the first meeting, one of the committee's major concerns was acute lack of data on the present configuration of Bangkok, so a preliminary survey of the city was immediately suggested. In the second meeting, M.C. Iddhidhebsan pushed the matter further, asking for "a General Ground Plan" of the city, a set of cartographic depiction of Bangkok's physical, social, and physiological attributes. By the third meeting, on May 21, 1928, the committee came up with its outline for Bangkok's town planning. Briefly put, planning the city was twofold: "town planning" – rules and legislations pertaining to the various aspects of the city, and "planning of a town" – the civic design that correspond to those rules and legislations (NA SB2.47/104). Nonetheless, there was no evidence that this committee had eventually realized any of their town-planning ideas by the final years of absolute monarchy in Siam.

In terms of urban cartography, during this time the Royal Survey Department created a series of 1:4,000 map of the city, another cartographic landmark (Fig. 17). With the modern science of geodesy, RSD personnel surveyed the whole city between 1925 and 1930, and published the maps in 1932. Unlike the use of the Golden Mount as the point of reference in the 1907 Cadastral maps, the 1932 RSD maps were framed by global geographic coordinate system; Bangkok effectively reaffirmed its national importance through the global cartographic reference. Nonetheless, the maps clearly depicted a city that was essentially unchanged, as few substantial physical changes occurred in Bangkok during the reign of Rama VII. The number of roads within the city may had increased, but as many of these were filled-up canals, urban configuration and pattern of the urban fabric were relatively unchanged.

Although Siam's absolutist rule was abolished in 1932, the new democratic regime did not have any immediate effect on the configuration of the city. Architectural transformation was gradual; the new regime was partial towards Art Deco and Moderne styles of architecture for their new buildings, yet they seemed equally eager to recycle palatial residences of various historicist styles for their republican use. As Bangkok remained the seat of government, the city's role as the national center of power continued unabated (Askew 2002, p. 45). For "town-planning" of the city, one significant change was the promulgation of Bangkok Municipality Act in 1936. After so many years of discussion, finally Bangkok became a municipality administered by locally elected board of representatives. The 1936 Act effectively reaffirmed the boundaries of inner-city areas of about 50 square kilometers in the heart of Bangkok – on the east side of the river

– as depicted in the map accompanying the Act (Fig. 18). This was followed by the establishment of Thonburi Municipality on the west side of the city later in the same year. Finally, it should also be noted that another significant development of the Prewar years was the establishment of the City Planning Section, under the Department of Public and Municipal Works, Ministry of the Interior, in 1936 (Nims 1963, p.2).

Postwar Bangkok : Mapping and Planning the Primate City

After the Second World War ended, Bangkok underwent a series of massive transformations of unprecedented scale. Siam became Thailand, but Bangkok steadfastly remained the kingdom's fulcrum of economic and social change. The rise of the Cold War in Southeast Asia brought various phatthana [development] programs to Thailand, and Bangkok was naturally the main beneficiary. The city's exponential growth quickly made it a primate city that attracted hundreds of thousands from the provinces. As high-rise buildings and department stores made Bangkok as "international" as any mid-century global city, overpopulation, traffic jam and ecological deterioration began to be seriously problematic.

During the time of dramatic changes in the 1950s, the dictatorial regime of Sarit Thanarat began to address these urban problems with development aid and technical assistance from the United States, which became Thailand's major ally (Askew 2002, p.52). In fact, as early as 1952 the Thai government promulgated its first legislation on urban planning. Inspired by Great Britain's 1944 Town and Country Planning Act, the 1952 Town and Country Planning Act was directed towards "city reconstruction and construction" rather than comprehensive planning. In addition, its major handicap was the lack of personnel and funding to actually effectuate the laws and implement the plans (Litchfield 1964, p. 187).

By the mid-1950s, as the population of Bangkok was already 1.5 million, an alternative city planning mechanism was sought by the Thai government. In 1955, Mangkon Phromyothi, the mayor of Bangkok, asked for city planning assistance from the U.S. (Nims 1963, p.3). In the following year, the U.S. Department of State's International Cooperation Administration (ICA) quickly sent Harold V. Miller, a city planning consultant, to examine the possibility of creating a comprehensive city plan for Bangkok (Nims 1963, p.3). Not unlike M.C. Iddhidhebsan Kridakara during the 1920s, Miller was quick to point out Bangkok's lack of basic cartographic data. In his 1957 report, according to Miller, the first of the "Procedural Steps" was to "collect maps and prepare working base map materials as necessary" (Miller 1957, 12). The maps were necessary, of course, for the compilation and integration of materials into the comprehensive plan document.

After Miller made the 1957 recommendations, in the very same year the United States Operation Mission (USOM) contracted the New York-based company of Litchfield Whiting Bowne & Associates (LWB&A), to be Bangkok's city planning consultants. Their task was to work with Thai government agencies to come up with a comprehensive plan that would give directions to the growth of metropolitan Bangkok for the next three decades. As the plan was completed in 1960, B.E. 2503, it was published as The Greater Bangkok Plan 2533. Nonetheless, it has since been generally called the Litchfield Plan. From March 1958 to August 1960, American consultants avidly worked with teams of local technocrats, trying to comprehend the present and plan for the future of the fast-growing city (Nims 1963, p.3). Time was running out, as Bangkok's population was increasing fast, from 1,622,461 in 1958, to over 2,000,000 in 1960 (Donner 1978, p.792). The urban configuration was also changing fast. A highway running from the old city center to Don Muang International Airport north of the city became its new

growth corridor. At the same time, suburban area east of the city along Sukhumvit Road, became another growth corridor, driven by the industries and businesses of the new Port of Bangkok at Klong Toey, and the U.S. Air Force Base at U- Ta Pao further east.

As predicted by Miller, one of the first tasks of LWB&A was to get as much cartographic data as possible. In a progress report dated September 30, 1959, David D. Longmaid, the Chief of Party of LWB&A reported that: "suitable base maps did not exist and a topography map had not even been considered. It was necessary to have new aerial coverage flown, researched, and have a controlled photogrammetric map prepared of the Metropolitan Area" (NA KKh.0301.2.1/54). Working with Thai technocrats, the LWB&A team prepared base maps on existing and available materials. "This included the drafting and reconstruction of maps for the Bangkok – Thonburi Metropolitan Area. The series of maps are completed, and include maps covering the Metropolitan Area, the Four changwat area, and the Thailand Central Plain" (NA KKh.0301.2.1/54).

As a result, the Litchfield Plan was – in major parts – a cartographic fantasy. The publication was filled with numerous fold-out maps and plates showing the messy present and the well-ordered future of the Thai metropolis as envisioned by American city planners. The introductory part of the plan described the history and the present of Metropolitan Bangkok's demographic, social, and economic profiles, culminating in a map showing the chaotic state of land use in 1958 Bangkok (Fig. 19). This was followed by the main part of the Plan, consisted of proposed comprehensive plans for the city's land use, circulation, utilities, services and facilities in 1970 and 1990. Again, fold-out maps and plates were profusely used to illustrate the visions of well-planned Bangkok, the modernist ideal city with adequate infrastructure, functional public transportation, and well-regulated land use (Fig. 20). Finally, LWB&A concluded with a list of recommendations on how to actually implement the comprehensive plans through legal and financial schemes (Litchfield 1964).

After the Litchfield Plan was completed and approved by USOM and the Thai Ministry of Interior in 1960, it was never fully implemented (Nims 1963, p. 75). The legal and financial schemes needed never materialized, and the various agencies of both national and local governments failed to cooperate. Devoid of any real enforcement power or an effective planning authority, the Litchfield Plan remained just a cartographic fantasy (Askew 2002, p. 55). Nonetheless, the visual power of its plans remained strong. Eventually, various projects in accordance with the Litchfield Plan were realized. During the 1960s infrastructures – highways, railways, water supply – were significantly improved, industries were zoned, and major slum clearance projects implemented (Nims 1963, p.3-4). Bangkok continued to grow exponentially, especially during the peak of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. In 1958 the built-up area of the city was 96 square kilometers; by 1968 it was 141.5 square kilometers (Sternstein 1982, p. 121). By 1966, the government came up with a draft of the Town and Country Planning Act, a revision of the 1952 Act of the same name that was hardly ever used. However, it took the government ten more years to approve the Act, which was promulgated in 1975. Although inspired by the Litchfield Plan, the 1975 Town and Country Planning Act failed to incorporate key aspects of the Litchfield Plan like well- rounded zoning, infrastructure-led development, or mapped street ordinance (Nopanant 2000, p.5). The 1975 Act had subsequently been revised four times, in 1982, 1992, 1997, and 2002, but the essential features of the 1960 Litchfield Plan remain visible, awaiting effectuation (Fig. 21).

Conclusion

Since the 1960s, the growth of Bangkok has continued unabated, and the city becomes the largest metropolitan region in Southeast Asia. In 1977 the registered population was 6,644,460; by 1997 it was 9,004,850 (National Statistical Office of Thailand 2001). In 1999 the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) came up with yet another comprehensive land-use plan of the metropolitan region, encompassing an area of 1,568.73 square kilometers. Naturally, the 1999 Comprehensive Plan was equipped with a color-coded map, showing visions and aspirations of the Thai urban planners, trying to establish some sense of order for Bangkok's future growth.

In retrospect, since the mid nineteenth century, the city of Bangkok had always been central to the spatial imaginations of the Siamese elite who kept on trying to improve and modernize the city. In their constant attempt to make Bangkok "modern," the Siamese adopted various cartographic techniques, combined them with the indigenous one, for their purposes and intent. From cadastral plan to comprehensive land-use plan, Bangkok had been variously perceived and represented; the representation techniques vary, according to the specific context of each set of the maps. The maps and plans of Bangkok, "Venice of the East," constantly remind us of the limits of modern mapping techniques – and modern planning theories – in the comprehension and vision for the non-Western cities, with their social and cultural specificities.

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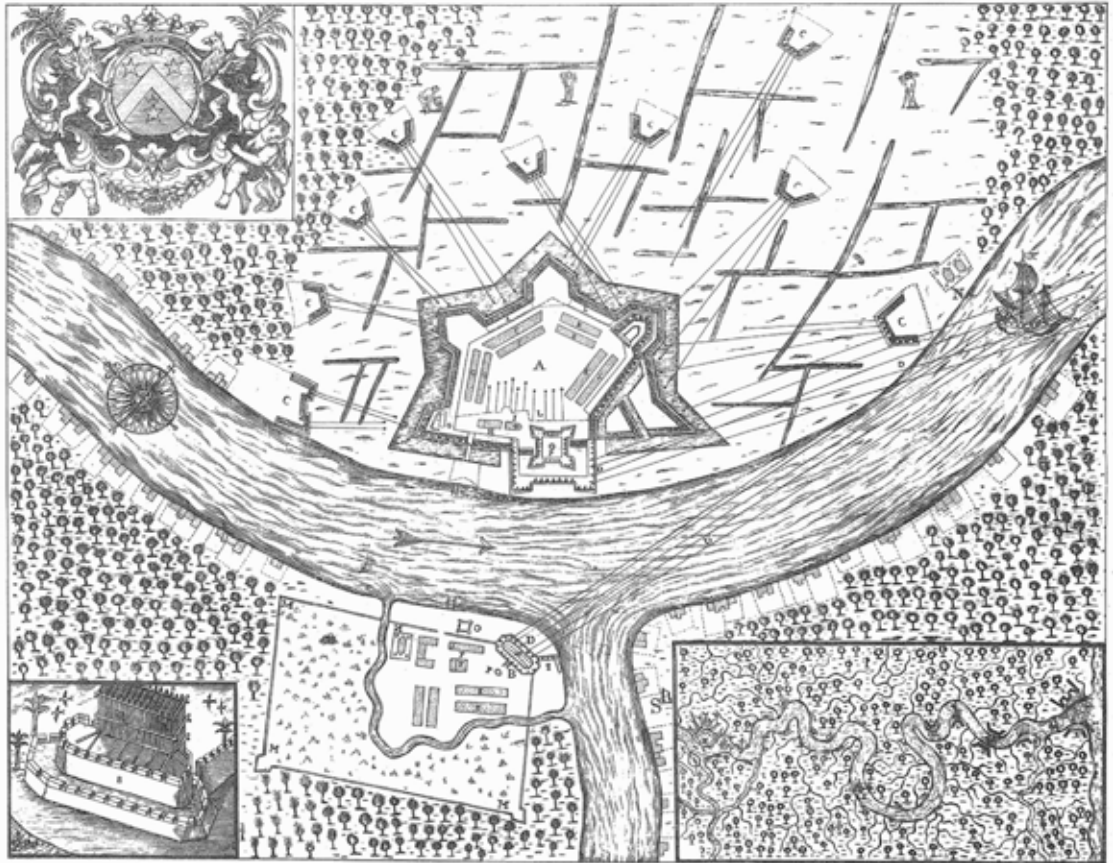
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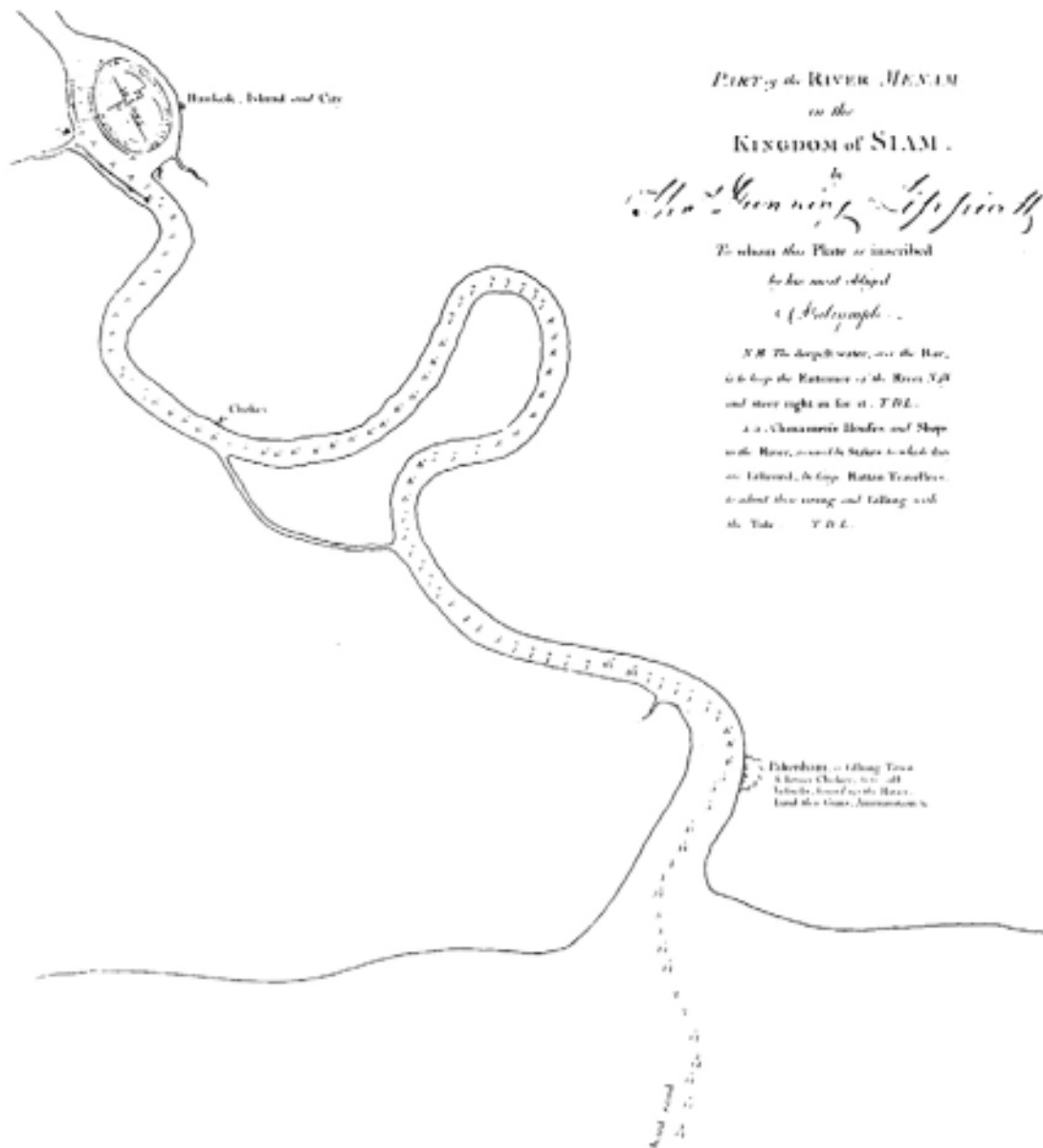
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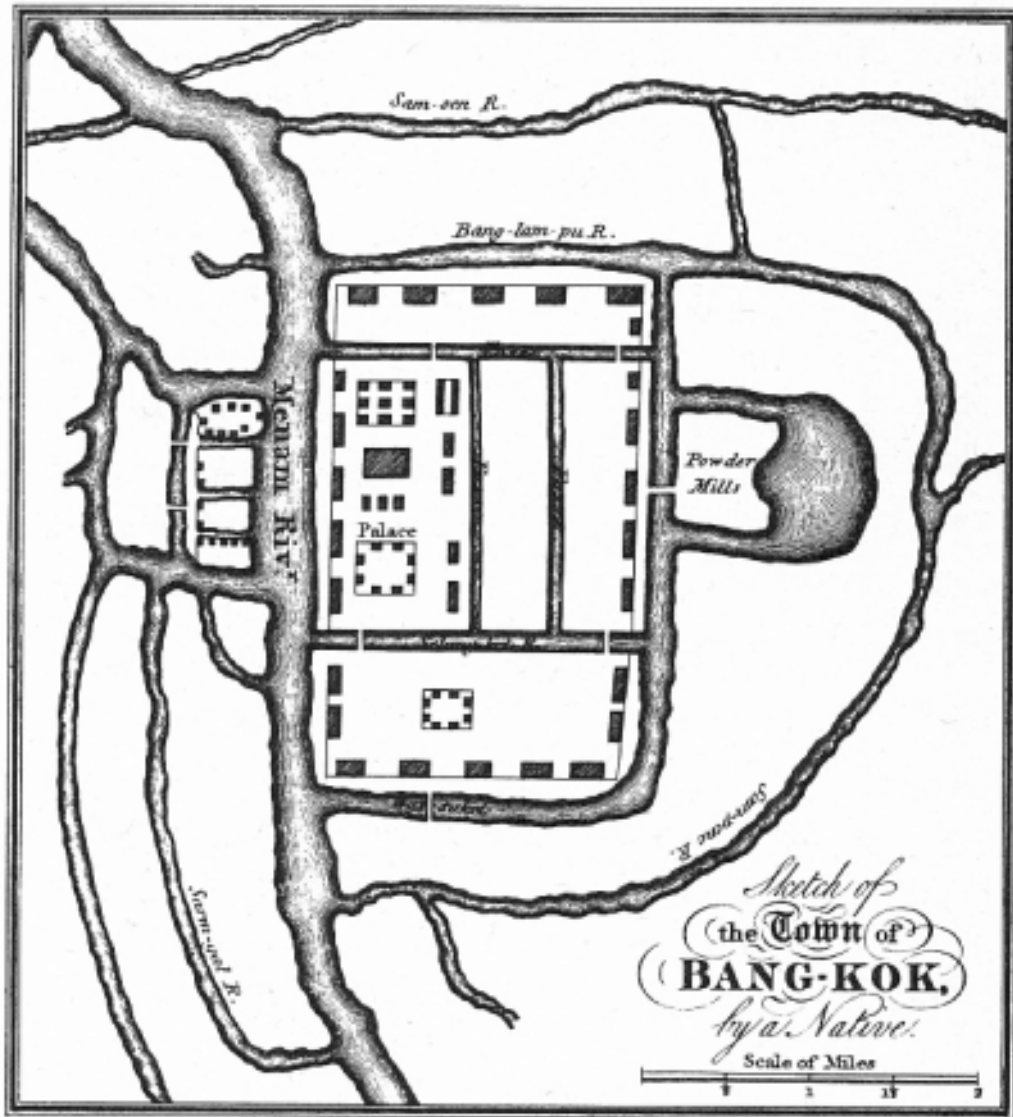
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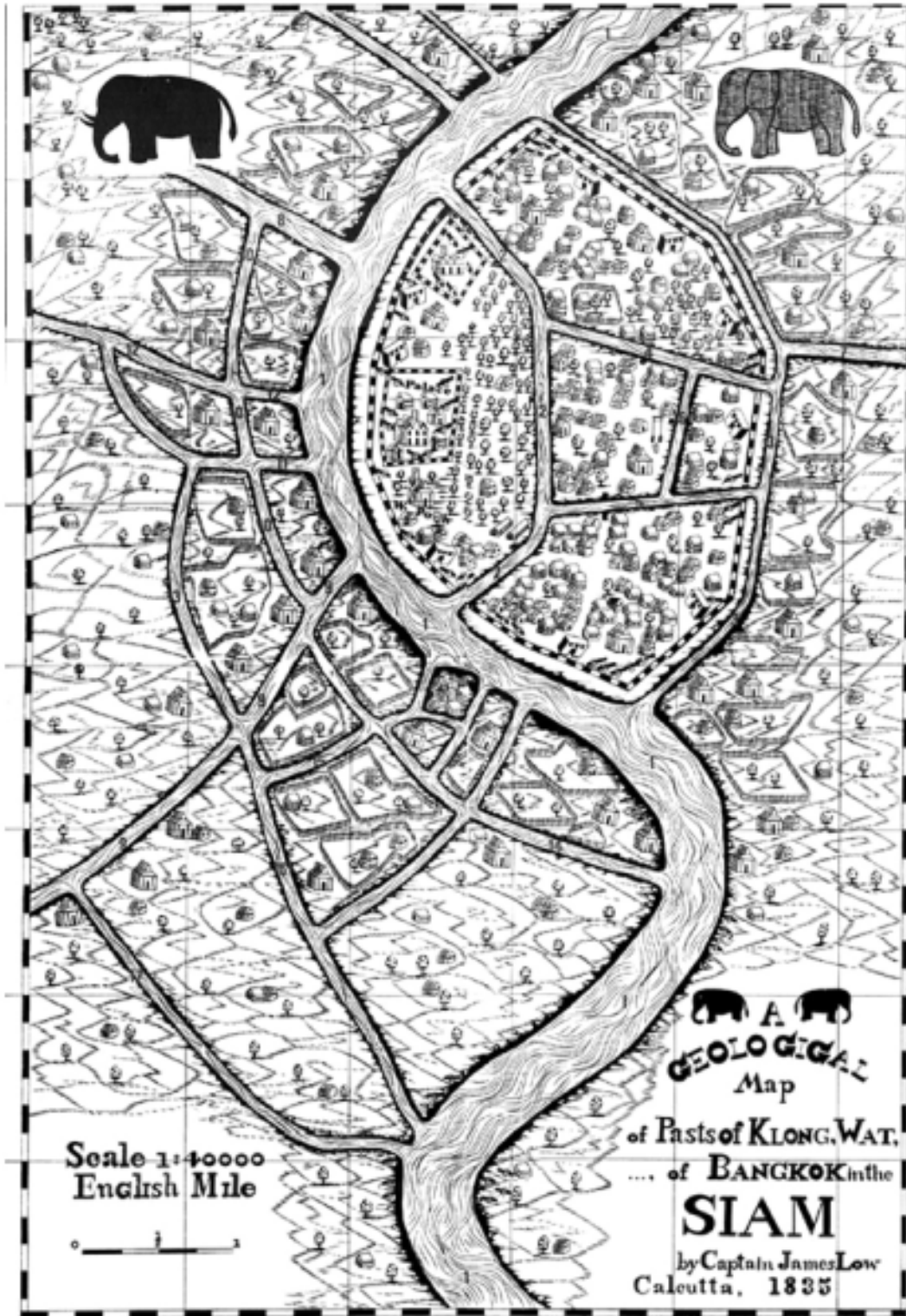
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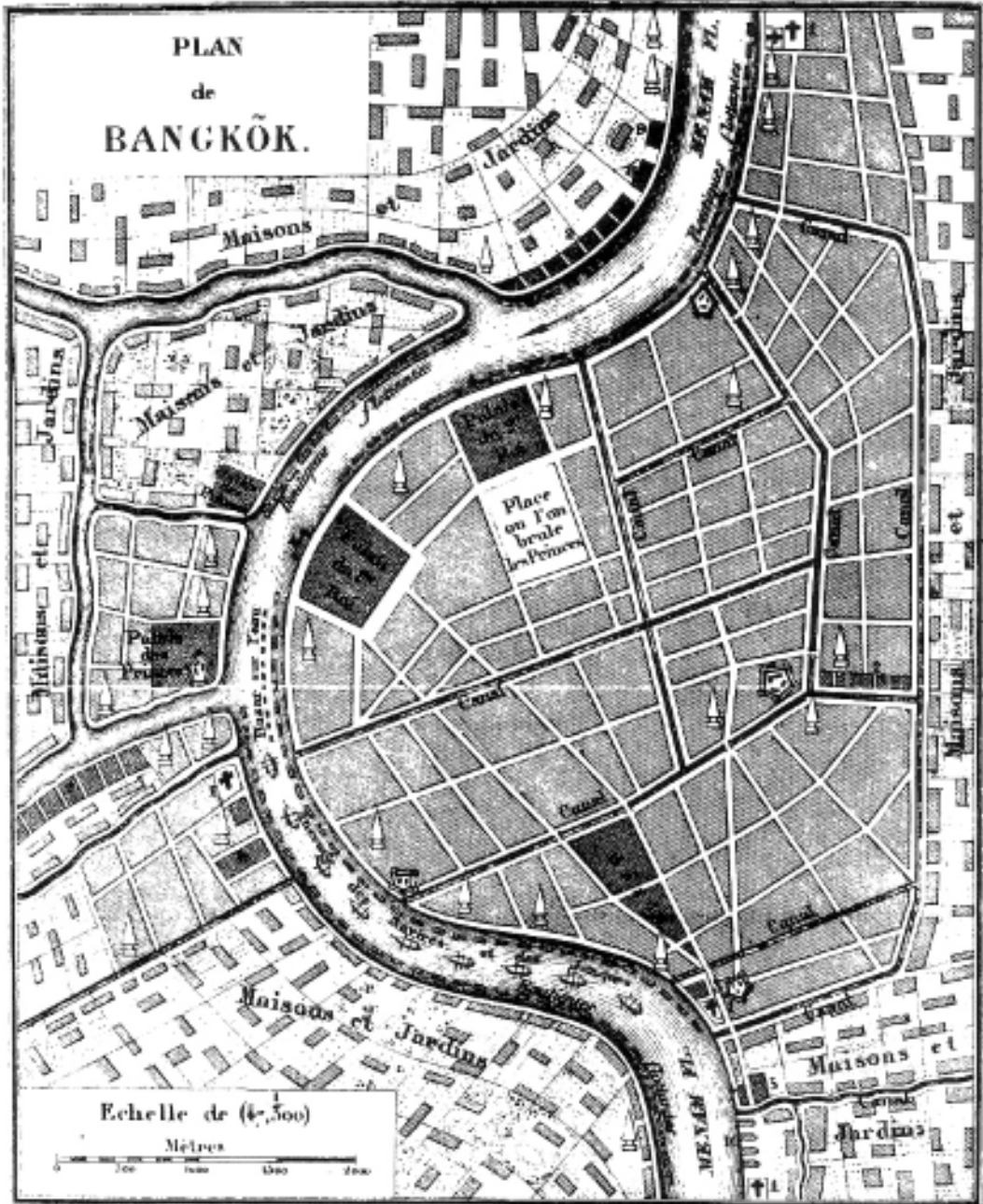
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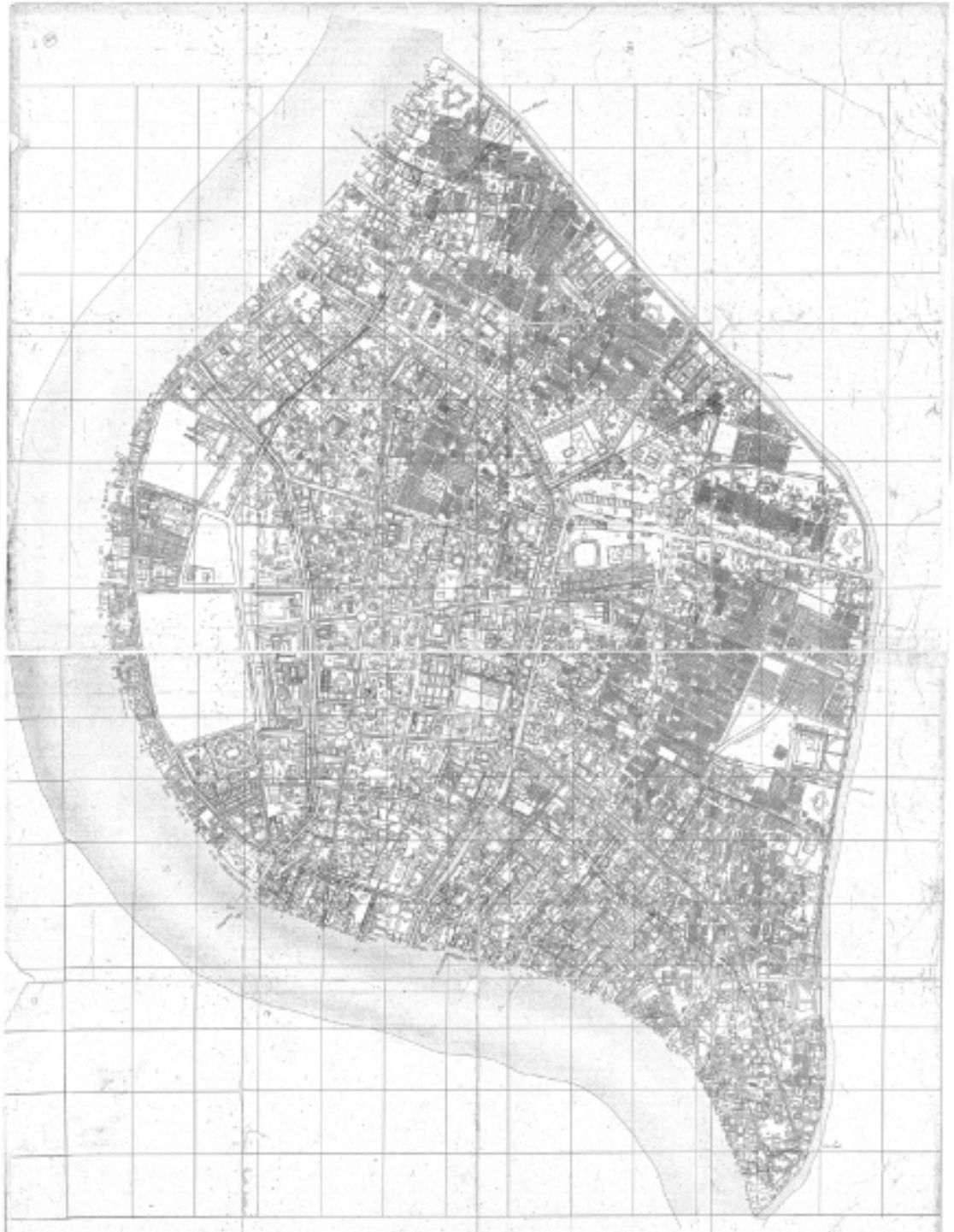
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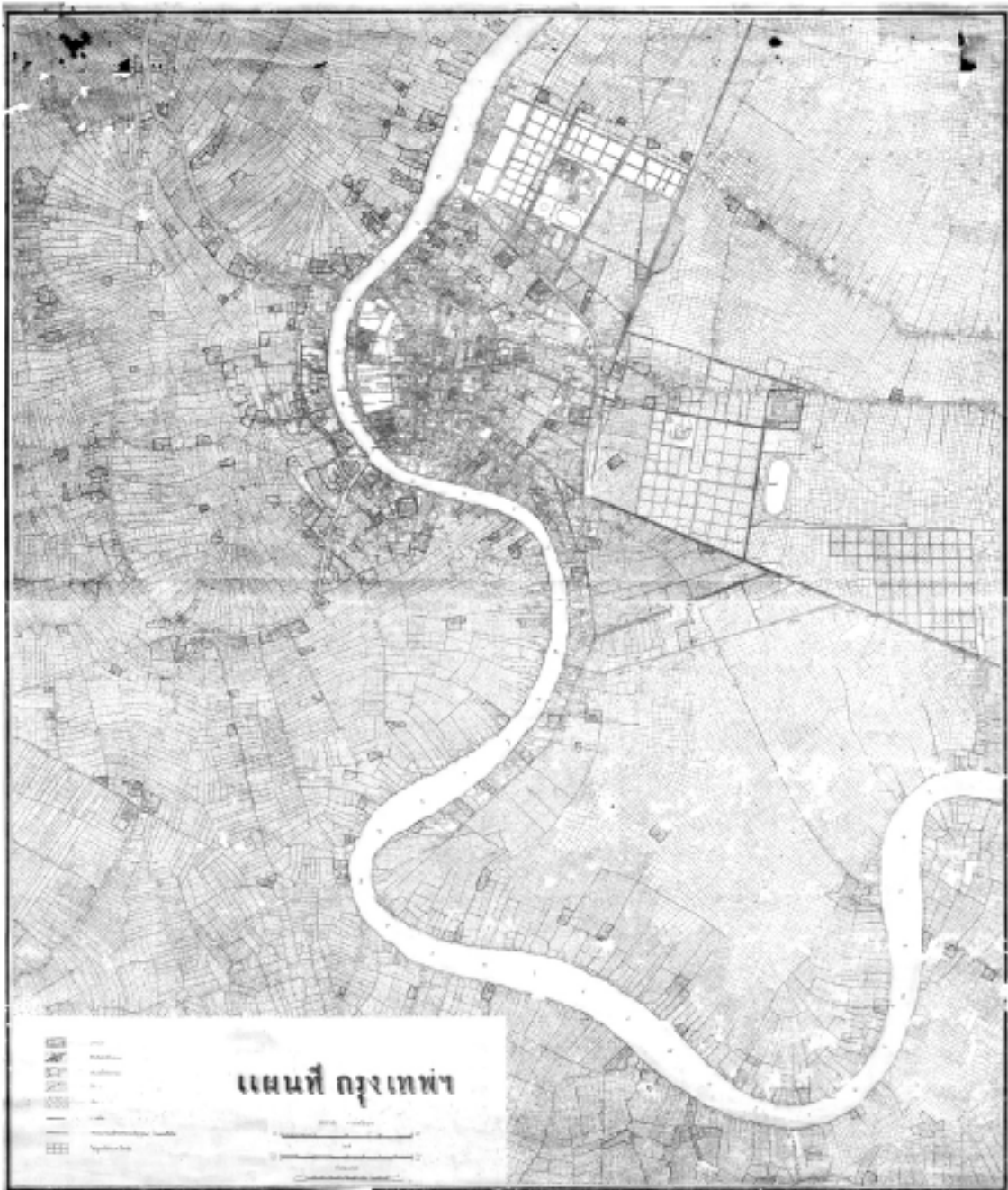
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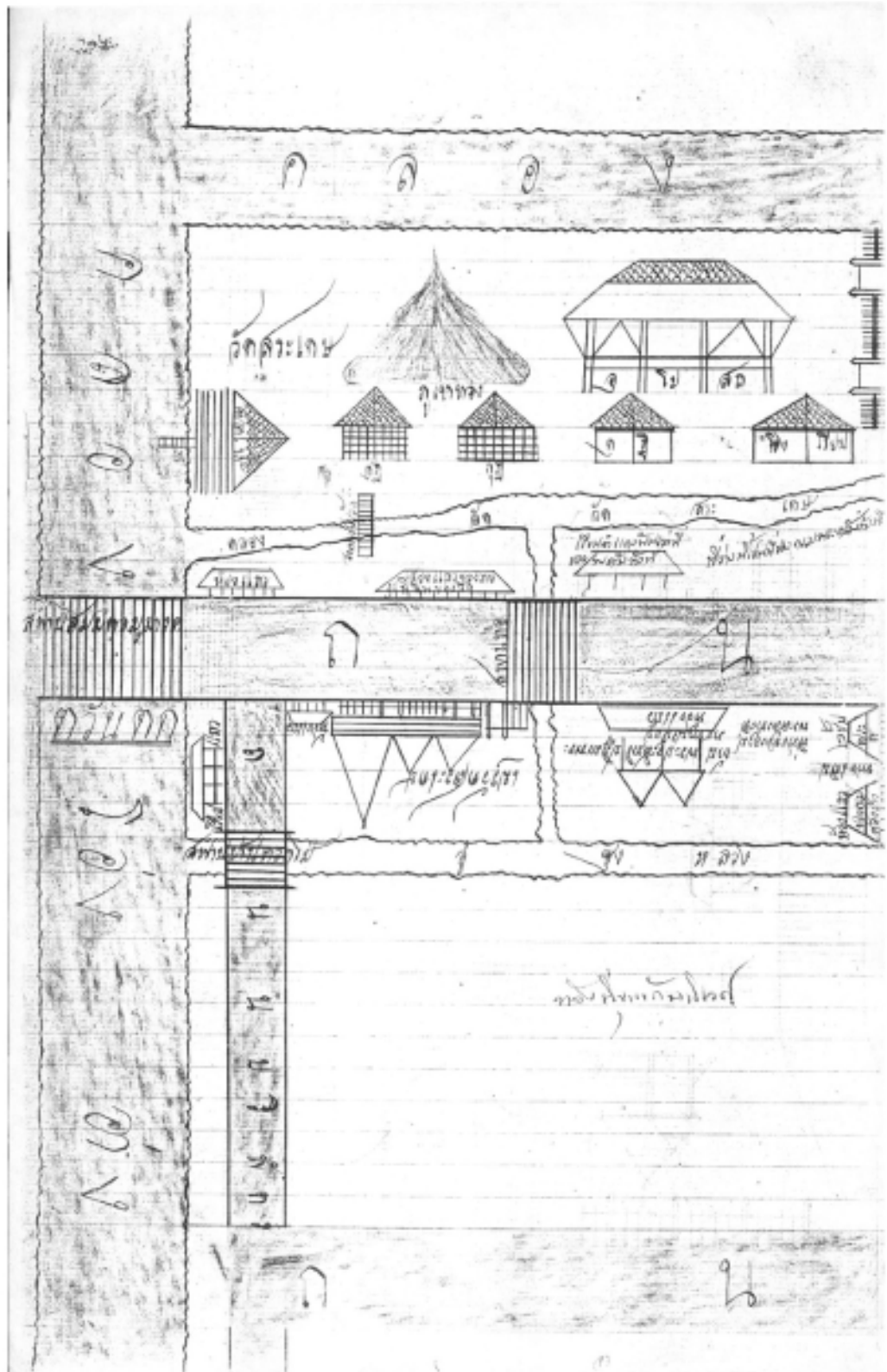
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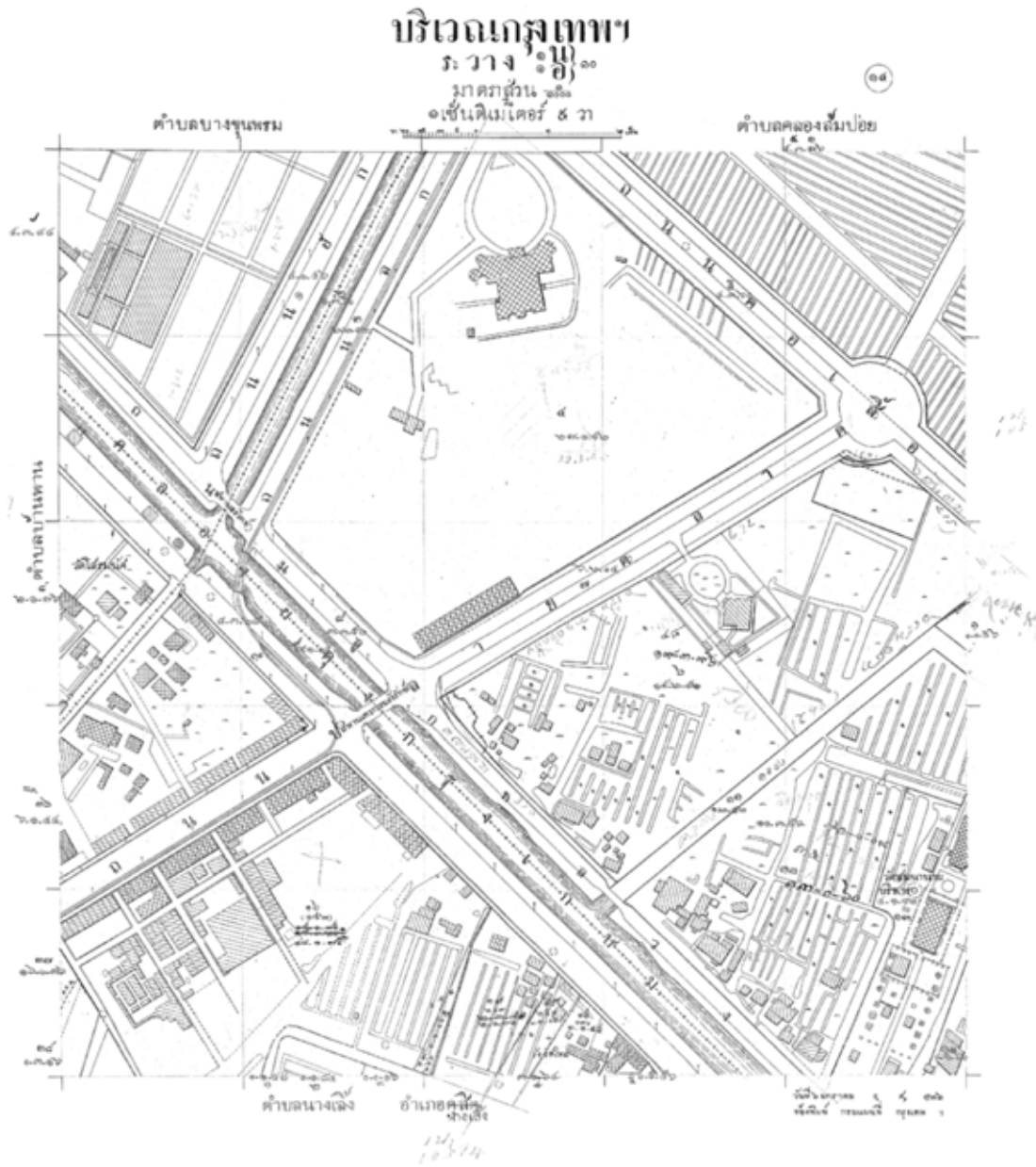
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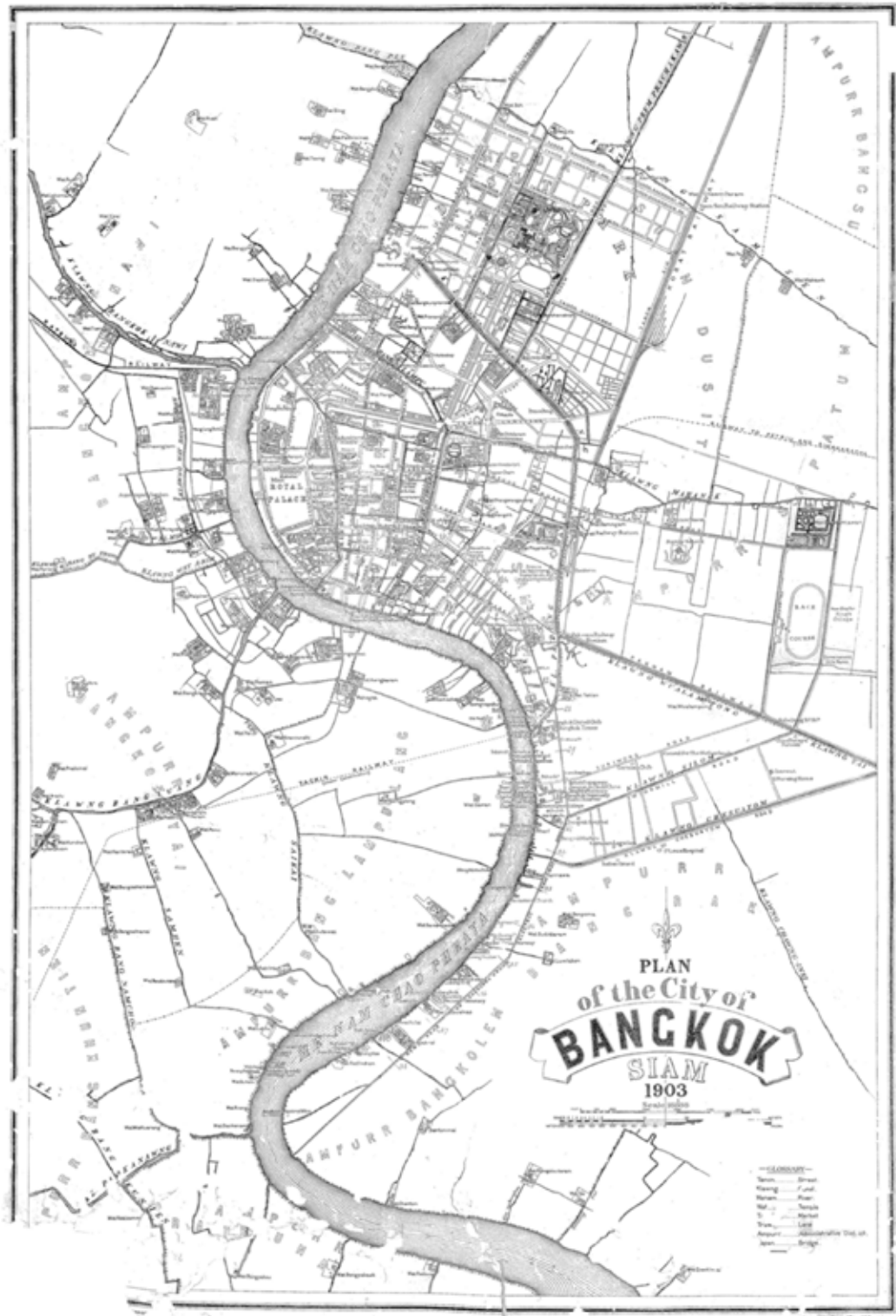
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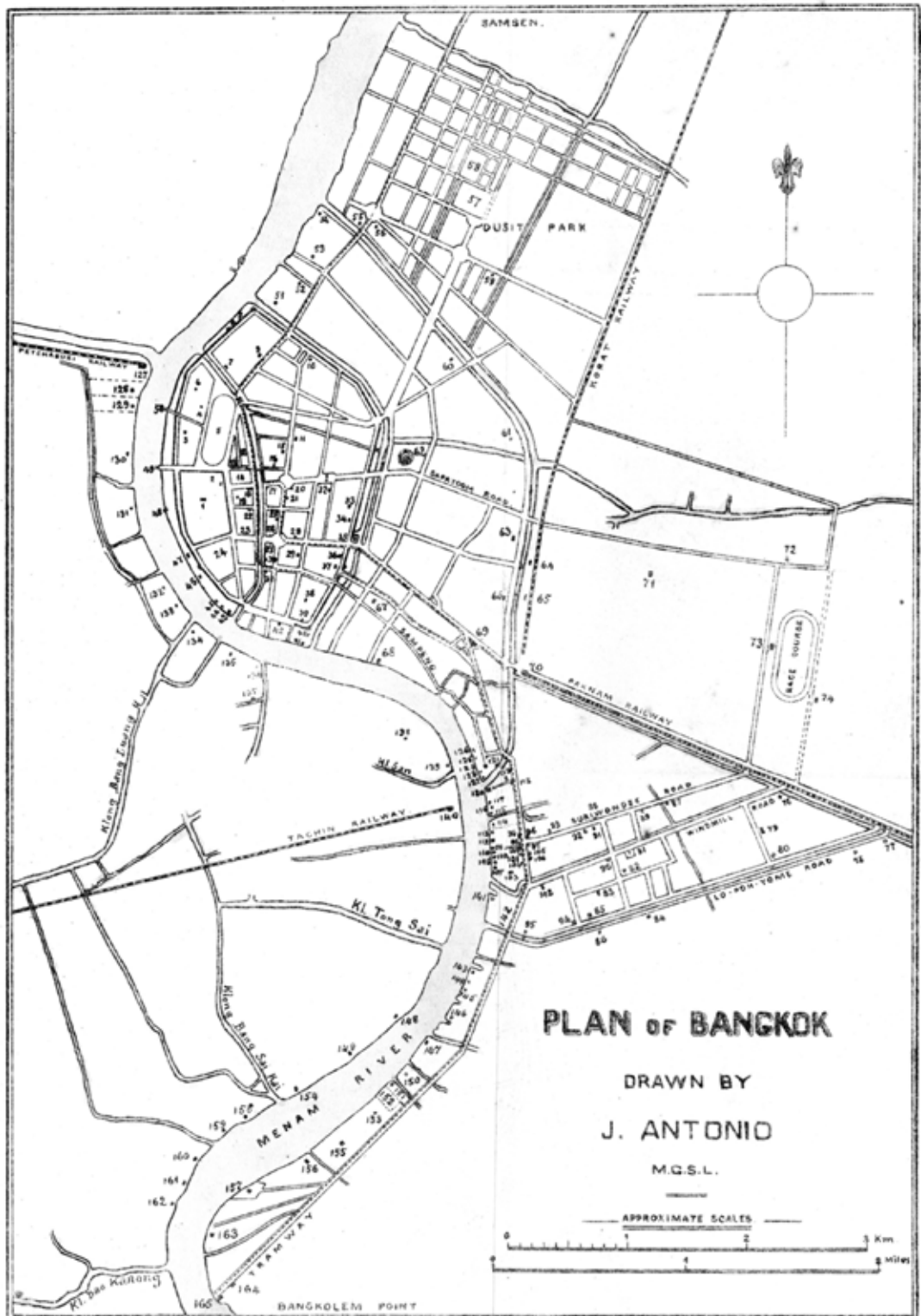
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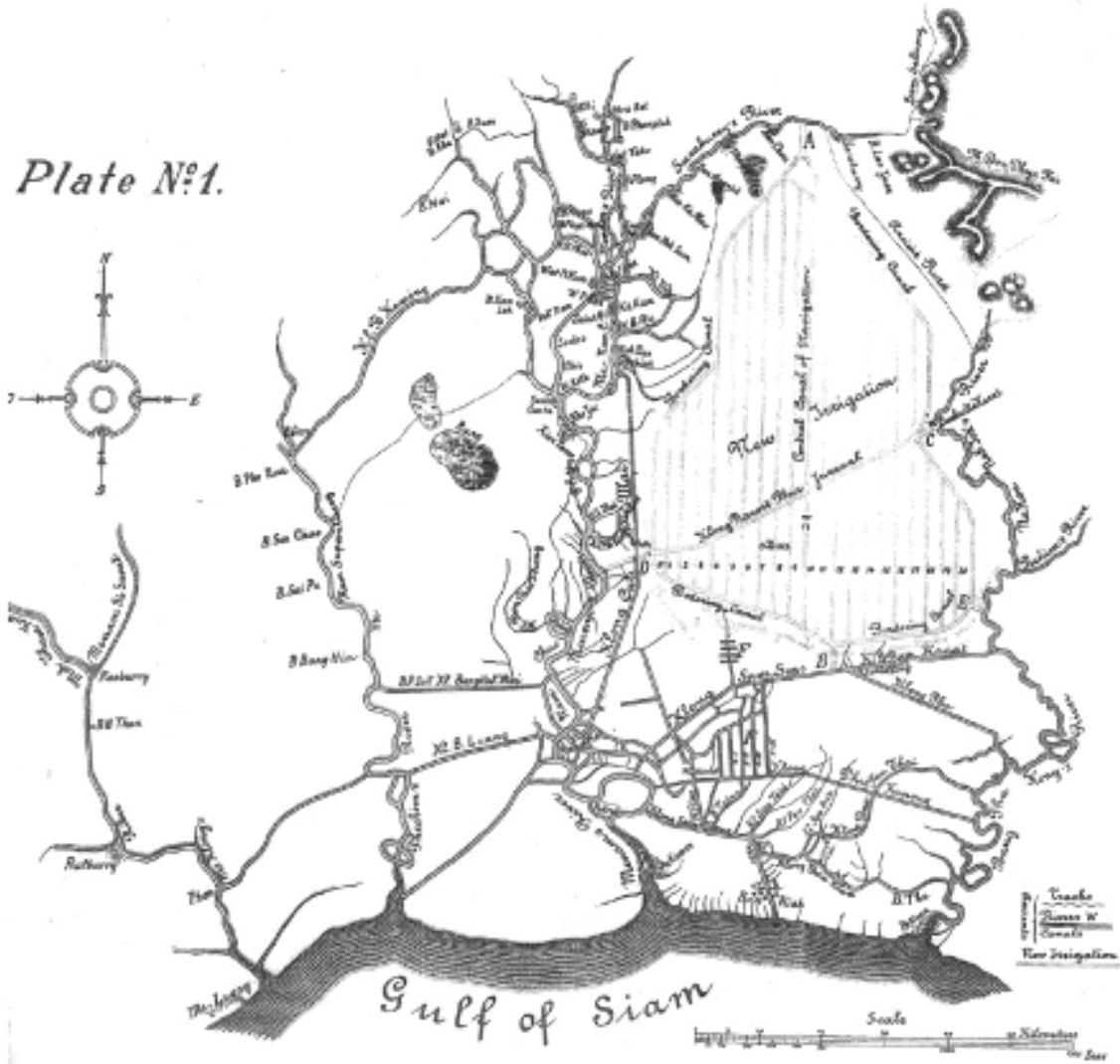
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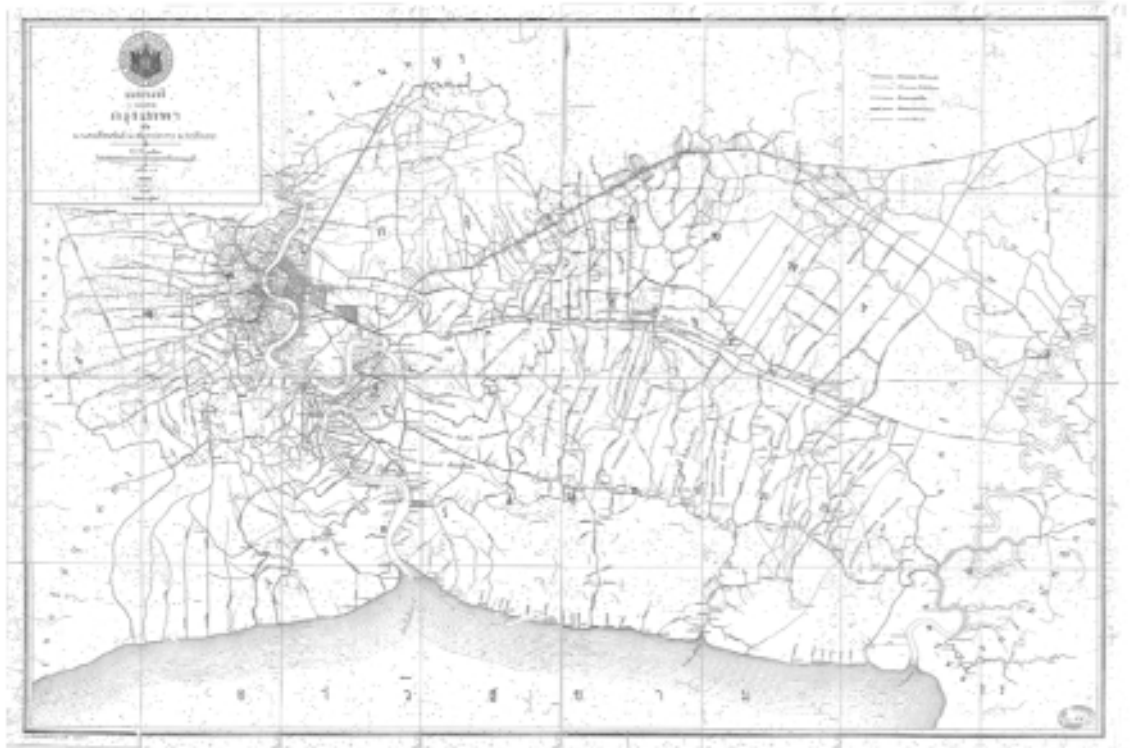
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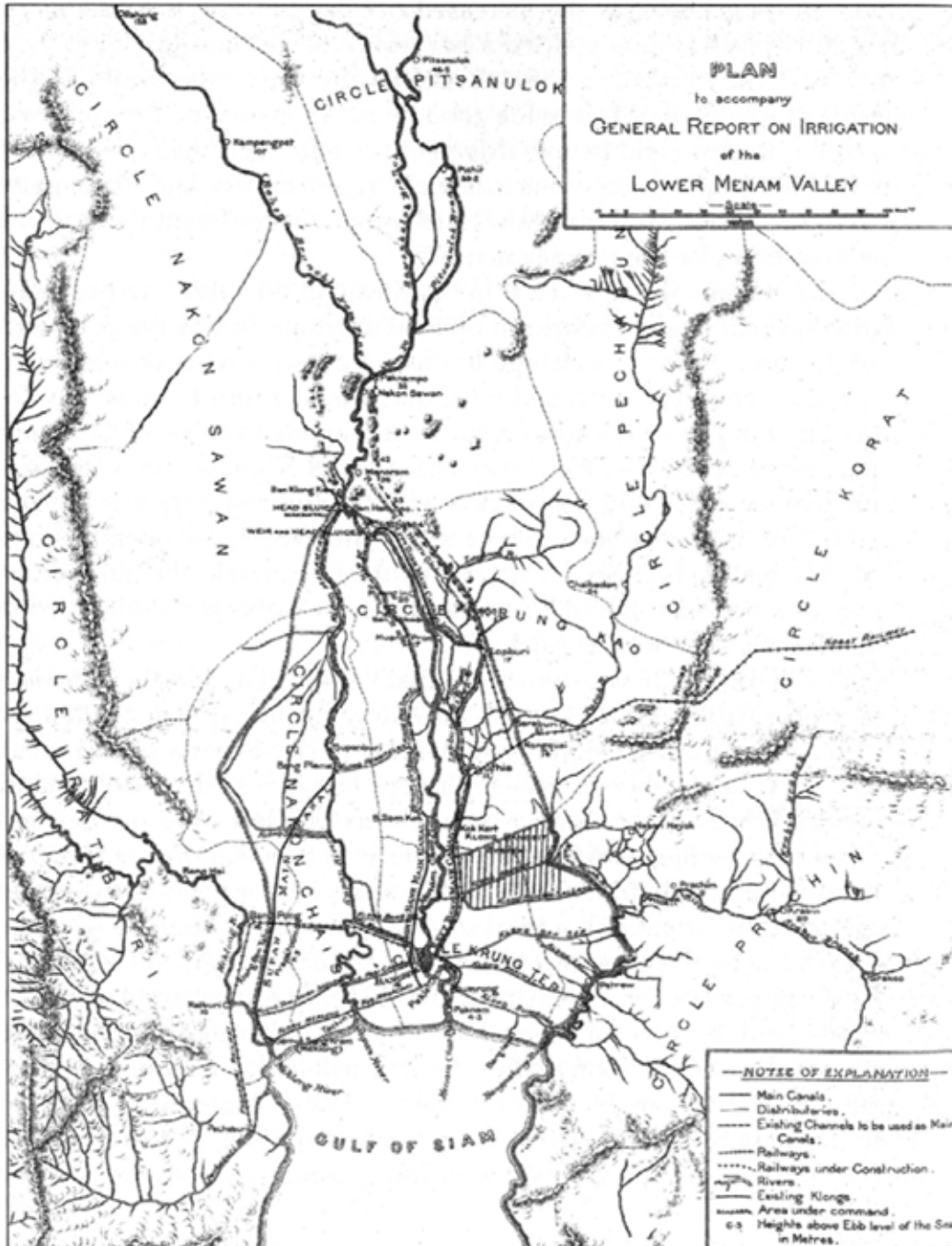
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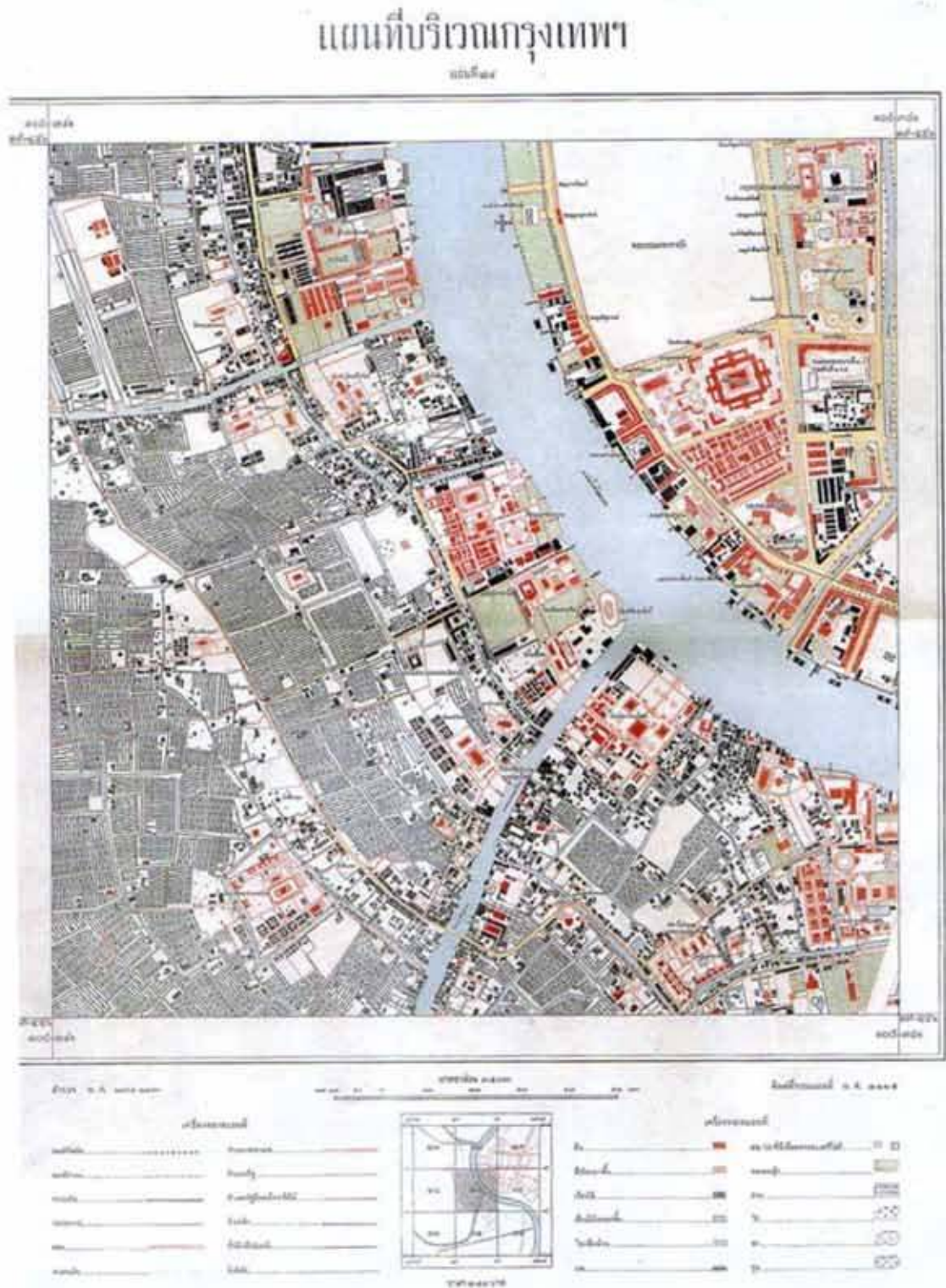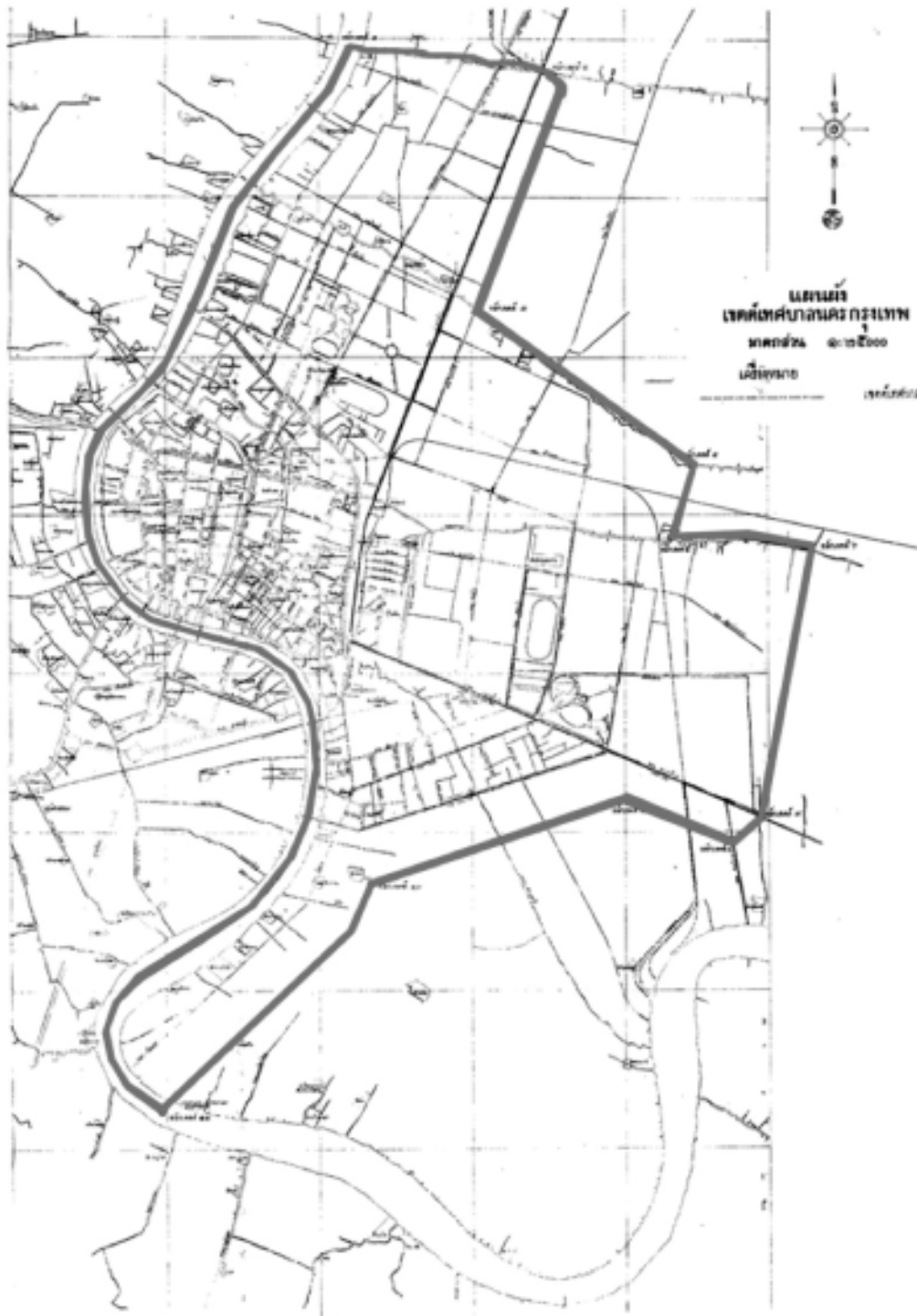
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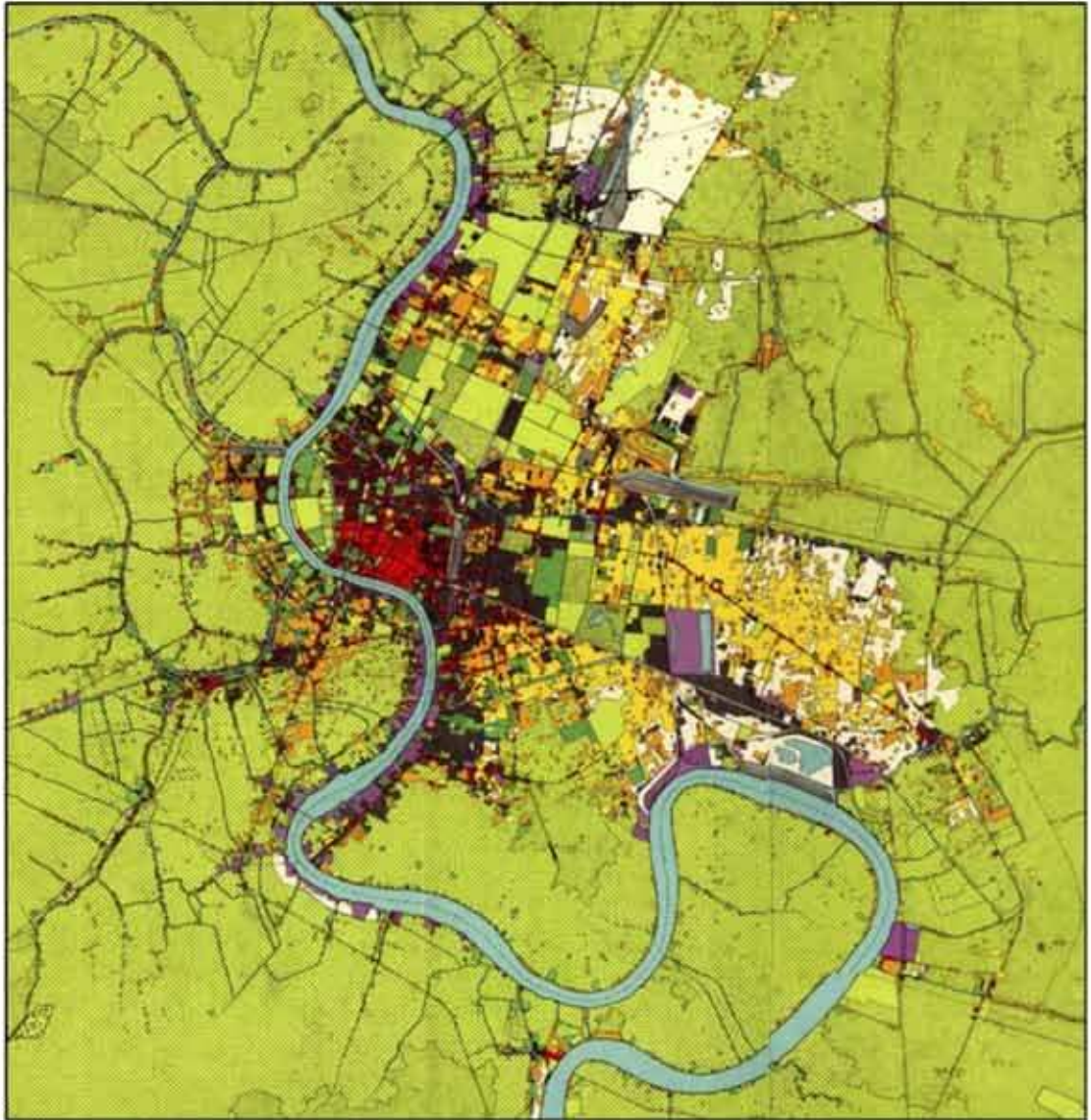
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POVERTY AND MARGINALITY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF BUENOS AIRES (AMBA): BRIEF INTERPRETATION OF COEXISTENCE AND CONFLICT; FORMALITY AND INFORMALITY

Adriana Clemente, Margarita Gutman, Ileana Versace,
with the collaboration of Martin Gromez, Lucila Pugni Reta and others
Faculty of Architecture, FADU
University of Buenos Aires

Abstract

Buenos Aires, before becoming a city, was a design. As hundreds of other American cities founded by the Spanish Crown, it initially followed a plan regulated by the 1573 ordinances of Philip II determining settlement patterns in Latin America. Those patterns were defined during the founding of cities during the first century of the Spanish conquest and colonization of the region.

In Buenos Aires, the grid defined by that urban design, albeit with modifications, was used in periods of population growth, densification and territorial expansion, and still defines the fine-grain of much of the existing urban configuration. The reading of poverty and marginality, and the interpretation of coexistence and conflict, formality and informality in the city, takes place within that grid, and incorporates other categories of urban structure as centralities and accessibility (transport and communications), environmental problems, housing conditions, infrastructure (water, sewer, electricity networks) and services (health, education, public spaces). For its part the welfare state and its evolution in the urban context has been the expression of the role of the state in determining whether poverty in the city was a public concern. In this sense the objective of this essay is to explore how the city and its progress has become a large field of interactions (public and private) for the satisfaction of social needs.

This essay thus briefly presents the significant territorial transformations of the metropolitan area from 1880 onwards, taking significant milestones in four periods: 1880-1930, 1940-1970, 1980-2002, 2003-2011, to identify significant changes in the territorial distribution of vulnerability (poverty and marginalization), its modalities, and the actions of integration, rejection or appropriation by civil society and the state, the latter through public policy. This essay provides the historical context for understanding current processes of transformation of the population in conditions of vulnerability, and the projects which in future can address the city as an area for development and social integration.

Part I: Urban History

Margarita Gutman and Ileana Versace
Collaboration: Martin Gromez and Lucila Pugni Reta

1. Introduction and historical context 1536-1880

Current situation in the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires

The Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires (AMBA), with almost 12 million inhabitants in 2010, is the second megacity of South America. It is ranked after Sao Paulo, which has 20 million inhabitants (2010), and is followed by Rio de Janeiro with 11 millions. In population, it is relatively similar to the metropolitan region of BKK (14.600.000) and a little smaller than NY (18.800.000).

The AMBA consists of the Capital City of Argentina and other 24 municipalities and does not have a centralized administration. The Capital –where all the organism of the National State are located- works as an autonomous state, with mayors elected by its inhabitants since the amendment to the Constitution of 1994; and the 24 municipalities also with elected authorities, depend administratively on the government of the province of Buenos Aires, located in the city La Plata, 60 km. South of the Capital.

The city of Buenos Aires was founded by the Spanish Crown for the second time in 1580[1], in the upper part of the river Rio de La Plata, near the confluence of the rivers Parana and Uruguay, important waterways towards the interior of the territory. It is located on a flatland, with minimum unevenness that do not reach the 30 meters, and it is crossed by two basins of flatland rivers that drain in the Rio de La Plata, called Sweet Sea by the Spanish "discoverers", since it was as wide as a sea. The flatland continues towards the river, defining a muddy bank and shallow waters for hundreds of meters of bank. This characteristic was an element of defense during the colonial centuries, and later on, from the end of the XIX Century onwards, once the republic was established (1852) and the first international port (1895) was built, this situation forced the constant dredging of the channels of access. These, together with a few rivers and streams that run over the area are all the geographical accidents of the metropolitan area. With abundant potable water, it is the natural gateway to vast extensions of more fertile lands in Argentina (La Pampa Húmeda), it has good winds and comfortable flat lands for an unlimited urban expansion as regards the construction and installation of provisioning, transport and communication infrastructures. However, due to the magnitude and type of urban growth, it does not get rid of the environmental pollution. And the areas of lesser resources are the ones that suffer the most said pollution by settling on more vulnerable lands.

The AMBA is the most important built-up urban area of Argentina: with its almost 12 million inhabitants, it is ten times bigger that the second and third cities: Rosario and Cordoba, which have about 1.200.000 inhabitants each. The AMBA contains about a third of the total population of the country (40.000.000) and about 40% of its total urban population. It is highlighted that Argentina has a high rate of urbanization; almost 90% of the population are urban inhabitants, similar to the cases of other South American countries, like Venezuela, Uruguay and Chile.

The port, located in the city of Buenos Aires (declared Federal Capital of the republic in 1880), was a key piece in the urban development and in the international trade, where Argentina participated as farming and agricultural exporter. It is still today the most

important port of the country, concentrating a major part of the international trade. The AMBA occupies only 1% or the national territory, but concentrates 50% of the total GDP of the country. It is the major center of activities of the industrial sector (45.1% of the industrial establishments), the commercial sector (38.5% of the establishments and the labor sector), and the services sector (44% of the establishments and 50% of the manpower of the sector) of the country[2]. Its establishments overpass in size and productivity its average, as well as in technological and human resources capacities. The level of existing economic concentration in the area is even higher than the population level[3].

In the last years, the supremacy of AMBA in the urban structure of the country decreased, and it also slowed its annual growing rate, as it happens in other big built-up areas in Latin America and the world.[4] This situation is related, according to some authors, to the crisis of the Fordist productive model, and to profound changes in the international trade and its impact on the socio territorial configurations, producing a restructuration of the urban systems, urban unemployment, poverty, and inequality and crime growth.[5] However, despite the slowing down of the growth, it is expected that it will continue to increase in absolute values, estimated in one million more inhabitants for the next decade, with the consequences of demand on new employment, infrastructure and residential spaces.

The Metropolitan Area acquired its modern industrial structure. During its formation in the XX Century, with a center and suburbs clearly defined, industrial locations surrounding the Capital, a very homogeneous social and territorial tissue, and radio-concentric centralities hierarchically organized. This metropolitan structure coexisted with the development of the public means of transportation and the installation of electricity, water, plumbing, transport and communication infrastructures, mainly in the center and the most privileged areas. [6]

Since the decade of 1980, new tendencies appeared in the processes of change of the metropolis, qualified by some authors as a process of "blurred urbanization" produced by transformations at an economic, social and technological level. The services sector increases its participation and the industry decreases as regards employment and establishments, in a context of economic globalization. This new transformations highlight the densification of the central area and the increase of their functions as management and business control center, the consolidation of suburbs, the growth of the periphery acquires new roles and it is populated in mono-functional isles, and the emergence of new centralities that superimpose the tissue and preexisting centralities of strong inertia. These new centralities (malls, hotels, entertainment centers) are fed by the laying of highways independent to the streets and avenues, and allow the localization of discontinuous residencies of low and medium density, separated from the traditional tissue, consisting of neighborhoods and closed neighborhoods for the increasing purchasing level sector.[7] In this process of socio-territorial urban restructuration, it should be acknowledged that the increase of poverty and the number and size of poor settlements produces an increase in inequality, parallel to an increase in the urban segmentation and fragmentation, and the transformations on mobility.

The AMBA contains nowadays in its territory the widest inequalities in the country, concentrated inside the richest economic sector as well as the poorest.
Now we will analyze the origins of the city and the Metropolitan Area, with special attention to localization and characterization of poverty.

Founding, colonial period and first decades of Independence (1580-1880)

Before being a city, Buenos Aires was a design. Like hundreds of other American cities founded by the Spanish Crown, it followed a plan that was first regulated in 1573 (Bylaw of Population of Phillip II) and then it was redefined in the foundational practice during the first century of the conquest and colonization. Following the failure of the first founding of Buenos Aires in 1536, the second and definite founding occurred in 1580, where the bylaws were applied on the organization of the urban territory in way of a grid, street disposition, parks, main buildings and of distribution of plots, including the zoning of the surroundings.

But the city, as a living organism constituted by a society that interacts with a built space, took centuries to be made up. Two hundred years after its founding, the area of the founding plan was not yet covered. Because the city had been created as a base for the conquest and colonization of the territory that extended South from Potosi, a mining center located in the current Bolivia. For centuries, it was no more than a dusty parish city with neither attractions nor defenses, closed for international trade by imposition of the Spanish Crown that channeled the extraction of silver from Potosi through Lima, the Pacific Ocean, and the galleon that sailed from La Habana to Cadiz for protection from pirates' attacks.

By being legally closed for international trade, Buenos Aires lived on some farming and agricultural activities, but mainly on the smuggle until the XVIII Century, when Spain opened the trade routes and created in 1776 the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata, with its headquarters on Buenos Aires. That is when the growth of Buenos Aires begins.[8] The May Revolution of 1810, located in Buenos Aires, unraveled the fight for independency that led to the formation of the Republic in 1852, and its National Organization in 1880, in which Buenos Aires was declared Capital city.

Between 1810 and 1852 the population doubled, and doubled again between 1852 and 1969, reaching the total of 178.000 inhabitants in the city and 242.215 in the current AMBA, constituting 12.8% of the national population. The supremacy of Buenos Aires was beginning to accentuate in the territory of a country that was in reality a great demographic void, with a scarce population of 1.877.990 inhabitants, half of them concentrated in the provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, Entre Rios and Corrientes.[9]

Until 1810, Buenos Aires had had an insignificant population and extension, and a weak economy, although a bit more diversified towards the end of the colonial period. Despite this, the laying out of the city and the location of some outstanding buildings marked the uses of the ground and the possible characteristics of the center for a long time. The grid, although it had modifications, has been used from the periods of population growth, densification and territorial expansion practically until today.

The first attempts to order and modernize the city were promoted by Rivadavia in the decade of 1820, with the extension of streets and avenues. He created a beltway in what was by then the boundary of the municipality (Callao-Entre Rios Streets), and designed nine avenues that started from there towards the South, West and North, seven of which continue to exist.[10] Thus the avenues structure is defined as a fan from the center that characterizes the current city and defines its exit ways towards the Greater Buenos Aires.

The care of the poor, that in the colonial period was carried out by the Church, due to the modernizing measures of Rivadavia, passed to the hands of the State with the creation of the *Sociedad de Beneficiencia* [charity organization] (1823), supported financially by

the State but managed by the ladies of the elite. In this way, at an early stage, women became participants of the public matters, dedicating themselves majorly to the care of the poor women, and also their education. [11]

By the middle of the XIX Century, the city of Buenos Aires, that continued to have the layout and structure of a colonial city, was already a built-up of surprising dynamism (Plan Sourdeaux 1850). A topographic plan of the surroundings of Buenos Aires, that included the grid of the city, surveyed by Adolfo Sourdeaux circa 1850, indicates the location of the center of Barracas in the South, by the Riachuelo; San José de Flores in the West; and Blanqueadas (Belgrano) and Palermo de San Benito in the North. 80% of the population of Buenos Aires was concentrated in the foundational area or in the prolongations of the original checkerboard. The city already showed an important growth towards the West, reaching Plaza de las Carretas (current Plaza Once de Septiembre), and towards the port and Riachuelo and the South where the first salting houses were settled. Most of the villages were aligned to the three main roads that connected the center of the city to the immediate rural area and to the rest of the country. Many of these villages consisted of modest hamlets and housed a population of lesser resources.

2. 1880 - 1930. From the capitalization of Buenos Aires to the modern city [12]

1880: Buenos Aires, Federal Capital

In 1880, the territory of the Argentine Republic was completed with the integration of the Patagonian territories obtained in the war against the indigenous nations (La Campaña del Desierto) that expelled them towards the South by blood and fire. In the same year, the national authorities established the Federal Capital in the city of Buenos Aires. The nation, thus unified, was ruled by a liberal-conservative government, directed by an elite with unprecedentedly an economic and political control. During the last two decades of the XIX Century, the farming and agricultural and industrial activities was expanding, the exports were rapidly increasing, the laying of railways infrastructure was advancing, and the results of the political activity of promotion of overseas immigration were beginning to show. At the same time, the differences between the economic stagnation of a great part of the interior of the country was accentuating, as well as the advancement of the zone of most direct influence of Buenos Aires and its port, which new installations were under construction (Puerto Madero, 1895)

The Capital was beginning to experience some changes in its urban characteristic, partly determined by the location of the railway stations and the new port at the traditional Plaza de Mayo, which maintained its commercial, administrative, religious and cultural prestige. The fast physical growth of the city orientated towards North and West, through roads which layout dated back to the colonial period.

In 1887, the borders of the city were broadened to the almost 20.000 hectares it keeps today, and its population reached 433.375 inhabitants: it had grown at an annual rate of 4.77% during the previous 18 years, between 1869 and 1887. This rapid increase was produced by overseas immigration and internal migrations: more than half of the population was foreign (52%), predominating first the Italians and then de Spanish, while the inhabitants born and raised in the Capital reached only 17.6% of the total.[13]

During these years, it began the construction of buildings for the accommodation of the national government organisms and to modernize the city, in order to put it at the level of its new representative needs. Modernization implied three concepts:

urban embellishment, traffic order and hygiene. The embellishment, copied from the Parisian model, inspired the transformations that operated in central areas, of which the meteoric demolition of the arcade that separated the two colonial squares in 1884 stands out, forming the current Plaza de Mayo. It also took place the opening of the Avenida de Mayo (1889-1895) from Plaza de Mayo to the West where today is the National Congress, cutting in half a row of highly occupied blocks between Rivadavia and Victoria streets. This avenue was the first boulevard of the city and it soon became a promenade and a place of intense commercial activity. Modernization was completed with the creation of parks and monuments. The embellishment had criteria for traffic order and buildings harmony that was manifested in the rectification of the layout of the streets, in the regulation of heights and of certain activities.

The continuous threat of the epidemics that had befell on the city during the decade of 1870 and the development of hygiene concepts orientated the municipal action towards regulation plans of certain activities and towards the construction of infrastructure. Amongst the plans there was the removal of the hospital for chronic patients, the beggars' asylum, cemeteries and garbage services to the periphery that would be defined by a future great green beltway boulevard, thus pushing away the extreme sickness and poverty off the center. The infrastructure works began in the center, where networks of running water and sewers were built, old streams were filled, streets were paved in stone and the cleanness and healthiness of the Southern tenements near Plaza de Mayo were controlled.

For the rest of the city, the adornment was not taken into account so seriously, and the regulations were made according to order and hygiene. However, in the neighborhoods the hygiene matter was applied with less severity than in the center.[14] The order granted by the checkerboard design and the avenues that run to the neighborhoods were more associated to control, traffic flow and speculation rather than to the urban adornment.

Tenements or ghettos constituted almost the only available choice for the growing migratory mass, and they were the answer of the private sector to the demand of housing for the lower income sectors. They were mostly located in the Southern neighborhood near Plaza de Mayo, and they were the result of the sub-division and room rent of the big houses that the elite abandoned during its migration to the North of Plaza de Mayo after the epidemic of yellow fever in 1871. There were tenements in all the sections of the old municipality, in Flores and in Belgrano, but the sectors with the higher percentages were La Boca, the six sections that formed the traditional center and neighboring sectors, such as El Socorro and Balvanera, in fast urban expansion due to the development of the tramway railways. In 1887, there were 2.835 tenements in the old municipality, which represented 9.35% of the houses and housed 116.197 people that represented 28.7% of the population. More than half of the inhabitants of these tenements were foreigners and mainly males. In almost all sections, the number of foreigners was higher that the number of Argentineans.

By the end of the XIX Century, the ruling sectors considered the tenements as a hygienic problem, and did not acknowledge them as a social or moral problem. They took care of them only because the saw in them a health threat. From 1880, the social uneasiness was beginning to be seen in the associations of workers and the protests of some popular sectors for the improvement of working conditions; there were strikes and the "social matter" was slowly introduced in the subject matter of the ruling sectors. The lack of hygiene was also associated to the speculation that tried to be charged in its excesses, but regulating its effects and not its causes. They could have speculated on the causes,

since the speculation on lands and buildings accelerated the physical growth of the city, in extension as well as, in certain districts, in height. In this process, the ruling sectors themselves had considerable profits.

In the city, only one out of three houses was inhabited by its owner. The rent was high and growing higher in relation to the incomes of those who looked for lodging. The great mass of population did not have access to property and the most part of the low rents was in the neighborhoods of Barracas, La Boca, Belgrano and Flores.

Modernization and urban plans (1910 y 1923)

At the beginning of the XX Century, Buenos Aires was growing fast and it was heading to be most important city of the country. This was a direct consequence of the consolidation of the agriculture exporting model adopted during the last decades of the XIX Century. Exports of grain and meat produced in the intensely exploited Pampa Humeda, which area extended as the railways did, and the development of foreign trade channeled through the broadened though insufficient Buenos Aires port installations. All commercial and financial activities related to exports and imports increased and they acquired an economic, social and political decision making importance. During these years, there were substantial British investments, and in a lower scale, French and German, and then American. They were destined mostly to the financing of public works in the city of Buenos Aires, such as the construction of urban services of running water, gas, electricity and tramways, the port and railroads.

During the last two decades of the XIX Century and the firsts of the XX Century, the population of the city of Buenos Aires grew again fast with the incorporation of new contingents of European immigrants.[15] Between 1887 y 1914 its population almost quadrupled, from 433.375 inhabitants in 1887 to 1.575.814 in 1914; with an average annual growth rate superior to 5%, Buenos Aires grew faster than at any other stage of its history.

The city expanded physically at a rate unknown until then, and in only 40 years, between 1870 and 1910, its physiognomy changed radically. The placid "Great Village" became the "Paris of South America" and was on the ways to become, at least in the central area, in a worthy par of the best European cities. During those years, the old central district was consolidated, densified and equipped, acquiring a good part of the image that characterizes it today, and the neighborhoods of the city were formed and populated.

By 1910, the Centennial of the May Revolution, the center had already lost its colonial features with the construction of new government and private buildings that followed the European style models, including a large commercial and recreational equipment, a large number of high buildings, and luxurious private residences. It also modernized its urban structure with the opening of diagonal avenues that cut the closed colonial grid of the center, following the brand new urban plan of 1910, a pure Parisian inspiration. The old narrow streets of the center seemed even narrower due the height of the new buildings, the concentration of pedestrians, carriages and rental cars, and due to the numerous tramways that operated constantly. On its sidewalks run rich salesmen who looked like dandies, employees, beggars, and a crowd of immigrant workers. The contrast was deeper in the center and in the richest districts, such as El Socorro and Pilar, but in the popular neighborhoods such as Balvanera, or a bit further away, La Boca and Barracas, there was a more homogeneous diversity of economic, social and ethnic features. Buenos Aires was already a cosmopolite city due to its inhabitants, its constructions in the center and North, its urban life and its culture.

Creating a fan surrounding the center, numerous neighborhoods of low and modest edification arose, and grew spontaneously on a layout that repeated the old grid, in accordance with an old municipal plan elaborated on 1895 that designed all the streets of the municipality. The tramway laying by private companies (electrified in 1897), the market of urban lands that promoted the sale of plots on many installments and the increase of salaries produced by the economic prosperity of the years 1904-1912 were the highlighted features that regulated and orientated the process of creation and consolidation of the neighborhoods.

Neighborhoods had little infrastructure, planning and almost no public investment. In contrast to the central district, the neighborhood streets were wider and of lower profile, made up of one or two-story edifications mainly built by constructors and builders just arrived to the country. They were the ones that built countless houses on their own plots purchased on installments by the workers and more well-off employees, and they shaped the neighborhoods of the city of Buenos Aires. Immigrants also made up the manpower in the construction of public works and infrastructure, such as suburban railways, port docks, tramway rails, sewers and running waters, paving, construction of schools and hospitals, and large public and private buildings.

In the decade of 1900, the urban growth overpassed the Southern boundaries of the Federal Capital, and the process of metropolization began. Some villages near the Capital, such as Avellaneda in the South, were incorporated to the suburbs, and others grew fast such as La Matanza and San Martin. This expansion was related to the development of industries orientated to the exportation, such as slaughter houses and flour mills, and others orientated to the consumption, some of them of artisanal characteristics such as match making, soap making, smithy and printings. However, the industrial base was not the one that determined the great metropolitan growth. It was produced by the development of the internal market, foreign trade and services, and by the promotion of big benefits produced by the real estate speculation.

Buenos Aires did not show strong spatial segregations, neither by nationality nor income. It was a city of ethnic mixture where there were no remarkable enclaves, except for the Italians in La Boca and the Jews in Balvanera. In every neighborhood, even in the closest to and farthest from the center, there were people of different nationalities. There were not either well defined districts segregated by the incomes of the population. For example, in El Socorro and Pilar, located in the zone of the highest real estate value of the city, new palaces and mansions of the bourgeoisie coexisted with tenements and modest houses. Workers and employees, salesmen and professionals, were the population of the neighborhoods even when there were differences among them, since Western and Northern neighborhoods were notoriously more expensive and prosper than the ones located in the South and Southwest.

There was not either a clear ethnical segregation between the traditionally rich sectors and those who were becoming rich, those who, during the last decades of the century located North of Plaza de Mayo, on Florida and San Martin Street, and later farther on the North, in the neighborhoods of El Socorro and Pilar (Barrio Norte). If the origin of the owners is observed, to take a factor that indicates a higher economic level, there is no evidence of strong spatial segregations. It is remarkable that Buenos Aires was, by that time, a city of great social mobility, and the formation of a larger medium stratum was manifested in the access to the ownership of the single-family house.

The first plans that included the whole of the city were designed during the first decade of the XX Century in answer to the fast growth of the city and the necessity to adequate the Capital, mirror and shop window of Argentina, for the celebration of the Centennial of the May Revolution.[16]   The most important one was the New Plan of the

Capital elaborated between 1906 and 1909 by the French city planner Joseph Maria Bouvard, in collaboration with municipality employees, and published in 1910.[17] The plan proposed a system of new and independent diagonal ("radiating") roads, opened by expropriation, that connected selected main dots of the city, the creation of new squares, parks and gardens, and the opening, widening or continuation of public roads. The Bouvard Plan was passed by the Municipal Council, but was never sanctioned at a national level. However, following his proposals, the National Congress passed the opening of diagonal avenues, of which only Diagonal Norte was commenced, and only in the decade of 1930 the North-South Avenue was opened, leaving Diagonal Sur only two blocks long.

Three observations: first, the persistence to make the transformations in the city included the road infrastructure, on or from the center, had possibly collaborated to the preservation its centrality. Nowadays, this centrality, even when it shows signs of decay and new sub-centers have been created in the city and in the metropolitan area, distinguishes Buenos Aires as one of the few Latin American metropolises that keeps today an active center with different commercial, residential and financial activities. Second, the proposal to integrate the city to the river, attributed to Bouvard, was an expectation that was kept with a greater or smaller degree for a century until today, and that motivated the some posterior works such as the municipal beach, North and South riverside avenues and the seaside edge project of Urban Environment Plan. Last, it should be remembered that at that time, urban municipal plans only took into account physical aspects of the formal city. Problems and locations of poverty and informality did not appear on them. They were invisible.

The second urban plan for the city of Buenos Aires, the "Organic Project for the Urbanization of the Municipality", was published in 1925. It was not sanctioned, but many of its projects were carried out during the following years, and its regulations were incorporated to the Regulation of 1928 and to the Building Code of 1944. This plan set in order of importance the central areas of the city, it proposed, among others, the division of the city in six zones starting from the existing neighborhoods and according to a classification of their functions, it regulated the buildings use, the volume that could be built in relation to the area of the plot, the maximum height for construction and the green areas. It also proposed a traffic system differentiating primary and secondary roads, and the creation of a system of parks, balancing the green areas in the South and North, in an attempt to overcome the historical difference between the poor and poorly serviced South, and the rich and well equipped North. This incipient attitude of inclusion can also be seen in the explicit need in the future to regulate all the territory that was being settled outside the municipal boundaries, incorporating the adjacent municipalities, the same way Flores and Belgrano were annexed in 1887. It acknowledged that the municipalities of Avellaneda, La Matanza, Lomas de Zamora, San Martin and Haedo had areas that "are called to share its future and (that are) present resources of supply and taxes of the urban services of the Federal Capital".

Workers' housing

The choices for housing for the working population of Buenos Aires were limited, for the immigrants as well as for the natives. Tenements located in the center and some surrounding neighborhoods, such as San Cristobal, Balvanera and El Socorro, and other neighborhoods located further away such as La Boca and Barracas, were the receptors by choice of the immigrant workers. The advantages of these overcrowded tenements was the proximity to the working places and the possibility to use running water and plumbing services, even in the poorest bathrooms, sinks and kitchens, as well as sidewalks and paved roads, schools, medical care and shops in the proximities.

This form of housing of the popular sectors concentrated the highest public and institutional concern, and the greatest efforts for control, for the dramatic conditions of these poor living conditions in the very heart of the city. But, despite the fact that this is the housing form on which there is the most information, tenements were neither the only housing alternative for the workers nor the most spread, since in the years when the highest rates of housing lack occurred, they did not take more than 20% of the population. In the center, many workers' families lived in bad habitation conditions, and very similar to those of the tenements. They lived in rooming houses or family houses that rented rooms or sub-rented rooms by the tenant, or in small apartments or narrow two or more story houses that accommodated many families as tenants.

Other options for the poor were the small meager houses built with cheap construction materials and waste located in the remote neighborhoods and in zones of fast urbanization, sometimes on owned land. There was also the occasional housing such as abandoned wagons and houses built in the same work place that included from houses for the servants inside the family houses to employees or workers that slept over or behind the counter of shops or workshops. Last, it should be highlighted that a great number of the houses and rooms were used as work place and their habitation conditions were the least advantageous. In general terms, taking into account the quality of housing and its surroundings and accessibility, La Boca and South San Cristobal had the worst conditions, followed by the regular conditions of the rest of the city, with the exception of the center, North Balvanera and Pilar, Flores, South San Carlos and the vast and unpopulated sections of Belgrano and Palermo, that had tolerable habitation conditions.

The proportion of inhabitants that lived in tenements until the decade of 1890 kept a steady percentage of about 20%. Later on, this proportion diminished considerably: in 1904 it dropped to 14.1% and fifteen years later, in 1919, tenements accommodated only 8.9% of the population. This decrease was parallel to the already mentioned peak of sales of small plot on numerous and reduced installments, the raising of salaries of workers and the laying of tramways that determined the rhythm and trend of the urban expansion in the first decades of the XX Century, making and populating the neighborhoods of Buenos Aires.

During this time, the access to housing depended exclusively on the private initiative and the savings, and was subjected to the swings of the real estate market. In general, it was understood that the State should not have direct intervention in the construction of workers' housing. Its main function was to control. There were, however, some scarce direct initiatives from the municipality such as that of Torcuato de Alvear in the decade of 1880. By the end of the century, there was already in sight a change in this trend and a reformist conception was developed promoted by the workers' protests, the vindications of the socialists that in1904 accessed for the first time to parliamentary representation and the public emergence of the malaise by means of the tenants strike of 1907. The Municipality was the one that regulated the franchises of private parties for the construction of workers' housing in 1904. In the same year, the Municipality also sanctioned a law that authorized the construction of 300 houses on fiscal lands, financed by the issuing of bonds, by means of which two neighborhoods of 64 and 116 individual houses were built in the South of the capital: the Butteler, on lands donated by the family of that surname, and the Patricios, on municipal lands. The neighborhood made by the Sociedad Católica de San Vicente de Paul has to be added to that list.

The action of promotion of construction was led by the Banco Hipotecario since 1899 until it stopped in 1914 due to World War I. In the legislative environment, in 1912, Representative Juan F. Cafferata presented a project that after long discussions became the Cheap Houses Act, passed in 1915. Through the National Commission for Cheap Houses, the State had a direct participation, for the first time, in the construction of

working-class housing, but it delivered only 1.095 houses between 1916 and 1943, year in which it stopped working.

3. 1940-1970. Formation of the metropolis [18]

Second demographic growth and internal migrations

During this period, there was a continuous growth in the population in the Metropolitan Area, and in 1947 the Capital had the 3.000.000 inhabitants that it keeps to the day. During these years, the city densified, in particular in the neighborhoods located in the North (Barrio Norte, Palermo and Belgrano), and in a disperse way the first and second ring of the Greater Buenos Aires were populated. A great part of the augmentation in the population was due the migrations from the interior of the country and from neighboring countries, by people that came to the Metropolitan Area in search of better labor opportunities and improvement in the quality of life.
Between 1914 and 1947, the population of the Metropolitan Area had grown from 2.100.00 to 4.700.000 inhabitants, with an annual average growth rate of 2%. More than half of this new population (2.600.000) settled in the Capital, and a little less than half of it in the surrounding municipalities of the first ring. Between 1947 and 1960, the growth accelerated again in the Metropolitan Area, with an annual average rate of 1.9%, reaching the 6.800.000 inhabitants. Two thirds of this new population (2.100.000) settled in the municipalities of the first ring. With absolute values much smaller, the municipalities of the second ring were the ones with the fastest growth.

During the decades of 1940 and 1950, this important demographic growth was promoted by the migrations from the interior of the country, mainly from the province of Buenos Aires. People would leave the fields for lacking of opportunities to reach proper incomes, but they were also attracted by the opportunities of labor offered by the fast industrial development in the Metropolitan Area and by the improvement in the quality of life that the fast growing urbanization promised. In this period, groups of people from Paraguay, Bolivia and Chile added to the former migrants.

Since 1960, there was a deceleration in the growth of the Metropolitan Area. In 1970, the percentage of the population in the area in relationship to the country reached its highest rate, more than 30%. This tendency is associated to the changes in the spatial distribution of the population in the country, characterized by the increase of the population in cities of medium size[19].

Conformation of the Greater Buenos Aires

During these years, the Metropolitan Area finished the process of consolidation that had begun many years before, adopting many of the current features: the densification in the central areas and in the axes of growth in the suburban area; and the retreat of the zones with poor habitability conditions.

In 1947, the National Census acknowledged the existence of the Greater Buenos Aires[20], the first ring of the Metropolitan Area was consolidated, and the axes of growth towards the second ring were already engrossed. Thus, an urban structure orientated geographically along the railroad tracks with direction center-periphery was being configured. The urban stain of 1972 shows the consolidation of the second ring, yet with gap spaces between the axes of development.

As regards the distribution of the population in the metropolitan territory, between the decades of 1940 and 1950, the sectors with lower incomes settled in the periphery

(especially South and West), while the middle sectors densified the Northern neighborhoods of the Capital, encouraged by the Condominium Act of 1948 that allowed the building in condominium height. From 1960 on, there occurred a phenomenon of residential suburbanization in the sectors of higher incomes (mainly in the Northern area), attached to the extension of the road net.

The new peripheral neighborhoods, built outside the housing plans proposed by the government in the period of 1945-1955 for middle and lower income sectors, did not have paved streets, sanitation services, good public transportation systems, and the houses tended to be self-constructed. During these years, the slums began to be settled; poor informal settlements. The socio-spatial quality of the "bad" zones of the Metropolitan Area worsened during this period. According to Torres [21], this quality was determined by the average distance to the center from each of the zones. In 1943, the "good" and the "bad" zones were at the same average distance (9 km), while in 1960, the "good" zones were at the same distance than the previous period, but the "bad" zones doubled their distance to the center (18 km)

In relation to the urban policies, in 1947 new organisms were created. They were in charge of equipping the total built-up area with a Regulatory Plan destined to ENCAUSAR the vertiginous metropolitan growth. In the Capital, the *"Estudio de Plan Regulador"* [Research for Regulatory Plan] was created, and in the Greater Buenos Aires a *"Comisión Asesoradora"* [Consulting Commission] had to declare on the regulation for its functioning. The Capital got its plan in 1962, but the municipalities did not. In 1966 only three municipalities had an approved Regulatory Plan: Tigre, San Isidro and Morón.

Consolidation of the industrial ring, creation of the road net for automobile transportation and for the great urban equipments

During these decades, the Metropolitan Area defined its supremacy in front of other cities in the interior of the country, in terms of industrial development. This development, as opposed to the previous years, was no longer subjected to the connection of the establishments to the railways nets but to the communication to the road systems. From the decade of 1960 on, the localization of industrial establishments was spreading towards the North of the Greater Buenos Aires. This new connectivity was seized by the State to install sanitation equipment, collective housings and recreational facilities in the Southwest of the city.

In 1914, the Capital and the province of Buenos Aires gathered jointly more than 69% of the total of the industrial employees and workers of the country, 60% of the installed driving force and 65% of the salaries paid in cash. The Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires was the most important market of the country, at the time that it concentrated the majority of the industrial manpower, and the majority of the factories and workshops. The nearness to the railways and the access to shipping through the Riachuelo lost importance in the new industrial radiations, facts that had determined the settlement of industries in the South of the city, and the nearness to the great paved accesses was determinant. Between 1936 and 1941 the avenue General Paz was built, a beltway around the Capital, and a few years later the Acceso Norte was built, which would facilitate, from the decade of 1960 on, the entrance of the traffic from the North and West to the Capital.

In the beginning of the decade of 1940, the Capital was still the most important industrial area of the metropolis, overtripling the 3.000.000 of the total of workers of the 24 municipalities of the Greater Buenos Aires. From the next decade on, the proportion of workers in the Capital was reduced, due to the fact that it was more profitable for industries to locate themselves in the Greater Buenos Aires.

In 1963, of all the 1.800 industrial establishments with more than 25 workers that existed in the Metropolitan Area, 85% was located in a range of 20 km from the center of the City. A new industrial zone began to be defined along this highway with the construction of the Acceso Norte. This new concentration was integrated to the denominated Industrial River Axis, that runs along the rivers Parana and de la Plata from the Metropolitan Area of Rosario, in the province of Santa Fe, 320 km North of Buenos Aires, to the Metropolitan Area of La Plata, Capital of the province of Buenos Aires, 70 km South.

Besides the important road nets, thanks to the interventionist action of the State, public works and projects of equipment were undergone, especially during the first administration of president Juan Domingo Peron (1946-1952). The First (1946-1951) and the Second Five-Year Plan (1952-1957) settled the bases of a housing policy that also contemplated healthcare, education and recreation plans. Thus the answer to the growing needs of the workers and middle income groups begun, in constant increase.

Three polyclinics were finished in the South and West of the Greater Buenos Aires, inserted in the National Health Plan, and other two began their constructions. Also two airports were built; *Aeroparque Metropolitano Jorge Newbery* for domestic flights in the Capital, and *Aeropuerto Internacional Ministro Pistarini* for international flights in Ezeiza, 25 km away from the city.

The latter was connected to the city of Buenos Aires by means of the construction of the highway Riccheri. Now that the access was improved with this highway, the Southwest zone of the Greater Buenos Aires was chosen for the installation of recreational facilities of big dimensions and of metropolitan scale, such as popular pools and tree parks (Bosques de Ezeiza). Also, in the Southwest of the Capital, historically the less urbanized, the Parque Almirante Brown and the *Autódromo* were settled. The first sets of collective monoblocks were settle along the highway Riccheri in the Greater Buenos Aires and along the avenue General Paz in the Capital, initiating a tendency to densify the occupation of the land that continued to develop during the following decades.

Condominium Act, coming up and development of the slums, and first national policies on housing

The process of consolidation of the neighborhoods of the Capital and the suburbs of the Metropolitan Area was favored by the extension of the road net, the industrialization, and by a series of public policies that direct and indirectly intervened in the access to housing for the lower and middle sectors of the society. Those who could not participate in those plans settled informally in public plots, originating the first slums in the city.

In the decade of 1940, for the first time in the history of the country, the housing policy was taken charge of by the national government, and was incorporated to a general plan. The housing policy between 1943 and 1955 was orientated to improve the life conditions of the workers, and to promote the construction sector by its multiplying effect over the industry and the economy in general.

The promotion of the construction of houses through subsidiary credits was fostered by the new *Carta Orgánica del Banco Hipotecario Nacional* [Organic Chart of the National Mortgage Bank] (1947), the Condominium Act (1948), and Plots Sales Act in monthly payments (1950).

Credits for houses, granted by the *Banco Hipotecario Nacional*, multiplied the quantity of owners that settled in suburbs farther away, in search of plots at low prices. This situation would heighten between 1960 and 1970 with the installation of houses in the farthest municipalities, less industrialized and with the worst conditions for habitability.

Also, owners in the Capital also increased when the tenants could opt to buy their houses, after the passing of the Condominium Act. Many existing apartments were purchased during this regime, for condominiums or houses, as well as new constructions. This law became one of the instruments for the densification in the City, especially in the neighborhoods located in the North. The quantity of owners tripled during this period, from 17% in 1947 to 45% in 1960.

The Banco Hipotecario Nacional, besides granting credits for the construction of individual houses, promoted the direct construction of collective houses. Despite the fact that they were not many in numbers, they were of great importance in the Capital, and, in the Metropolitan Area, they established trends of localization and typologies. The new sets were preferably located in the peripheral zones of the Capital, and in the South and Southwest of the Greater Buenos Aires. The predominant typologies used were two: the neighborhoods of individual houses on its own plot, and the neighborhoods of collective housing in monoblocks.

Many rural migrants who had no Access to the public housing plans and who could not afford a rent, increased the number and the population of the slums, which grew quickly in the suburban belt and in some areas of the Capital. They consisted of neighborhoods of irregular drawing, with poor houses, lacking in infrastructure of services and transportation, located in public or private vacant lots. The first metropolitan slums were settled at the end the decade of 1930: Villa Esperanza (Puerto Madero) and Villa 31 (Retiro). In the decade of 1940, they appeared in the municipalities of the first ring, mainly in the flood zones of the basins of the rivers Matanza-Riachuelo and Reconquista. The settlement in slums was at the beginning a solution of transitory character, but later it became a permanent housing solution.

One of the remarkable features is that the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires, during this stage of demographic growth, parallel to a development of the light industry and the promotion of the heavy and semi-heavy industries, did not register a great process of marginalization of the groups of lower incomes, as it happened later on in other cities of Latin America.

4.   1980 – 2002. Globalization and deepening of the gap in the AMBA

Deceleration of population growth in the first ring and growth in the second and third ring of the AMBA

In the last decades of the XX Century, the population of AMBA increased slowly, with lower migratory rates than in the previous decades. There are ruptures from the institutional, politic and economic point of view, but there have been an increase in the Metropolitan Area in the growth of poverty and the trend of urbanization in zones farther from the center, with limited access to services infrastructure and with poor conditions of habitation. The population in the Capital kept steady, the population in the first ring grew at a low rate, in the second ring at a medium rate and the third ring at a high rate. In the third ring there was the concentration of the greatest inequalities: the highest number of slums and of private urbanizations.

Between 1960 and 1991, the population of the Metropolitan Area went from 6.800.000 to 11.300.000. It continued being by far the most important built-up of the country, but its process of growth became slower every time. Since 1970, a smaller number of inhabitants were added to the Greater Buenos Aires each decade, while the population in the Federal Capital was steady.

The economic policies implemented by the military dictatorship (1976-1983), that promoted the opening to imports and the step back and deterioration of the productive system, provoked the backing down and restructuring of the national manufacture industry, and influenced the deceleration of the demographic growth in the Metropolitan Area.

Between 1960 and 1991, the composition of the population growth in the Metropolitan Area began to depend more on the vegetative growth and less on the intern migrations. Since 1970, the natural growth was the responsible of the two thirds of the population growth, while net migrations represented only one third. The census of 1980 registered the lowest figures of intern migration and foreign immigration of the century.
During this period, the demographic growth of the Metropolitan Area was produced exclusively in the municipalities of the Greater Buenos Aires. The growth was slower every time, but this behavior was not even: some municipalities kept steady, such as the Capital; others grew at low and lower rate, such as the municipalities of the first ring, others kept a decreasing yet high rate, such as the municipalities of the second ring, and only the municipalities on the third ring grew quickly, especially in the most peripheral and lest populated municipalities.

The municipalities that compose the first ring were highly populated, had few green areas, and a decreasing industrialization. By contrast, the municipalities that compose the second and third ring still keep wide green areas, partially occupied by horticultural productive activities and small farming exploitations, with small to medium size industries and numerous workshops and shops.

The economic recession and the crisis of the foreign debt of the decade of 1980 were followed by a decade of extreme liberalization of the economy. This system collapsed towards the end of 2001, triggering one the biggest economic, political and social crises of the national history, with its posterior devaluation of the currency and the suspension of payments of the foreign debt.

In the decade of 1990, the country experienced higher levels of inequality, especially intra-urban, and also the increasing urbanization of poverty. In 2001, the total population of the AMBA was of 12.000.000 inhabitants, and it is estimated that by the middle of 2002 the percentage of the population that had fallen under the line of poverty was of 48%.

During the period of 1980-1991, the first and second ring the Metropolitan Area had experienced a relatively slow growth, at an average annual growth rate of 0.77 and of 2.97%, meanwhile in the third ring the growth was of 4.44%. These trends in the growth continued in the period 1991-2001, when the third ring reached an average annual growth rate of 5.21%.

This period of growth generated lags in the provision of infrastructure. For example, in 1991, while only 0.1% the houses lacked access to running water in the Federal Capital, this percentage was of 43.6% for the metropolitan municipalities. This situation improved towards the end the decade of 1990, but it continues to exist in the third ring of the AMBA.

During this period, the characteristics of the occupation of the AMBA territory were clear, the population densities were distributed in shape of rings: the highest rates located in the Capital and North bank of the AMBA, and along the access axes, decreasing towards the periphery and the gaps between the access routes. This grading of densities was coherent in general lines with the grading of the socioeconomic levels, decreasing from the center to the periphery, and from the North to the South.

Deindustrialization and application of neoliberal policies, privatization of infrastructure and public services, increase of poverty and informality

Between 1980 and 1991, the neoliberal policies and the economic recession dismantled the industrial system that had been during the previous decades the engine of the national economy and of the AMBA as the biggest built-up of the country. The following decade, there was the disarticulation of the institutional networks that had until then defined a social tissue and an urban weave with greater continuities. The absence of social policies at the national level, and the difficulty to implement the territorial strategies and urban plans at a provincial and municipal level, increased drastically the levels and types of poverty and the spatial segregation of the urbanized territories of the Metropolitan Area.

The policies applied by the military dictatorship between 1976 and 1983, based fundamentally on economic measures of monetarist kind, and on the opening of imports, led the country to a clearly recessive state, marked by a strong deindustrialization. Between 1975 and 1987, 20% of the biggest industrial establishments were closed; the industrial investment dropped about 50%; and the factory employment dropped 35%. Meanwhile, the concentration of the industrial capital increased and large economic groups were formed, while small and medium size corporations weakened. For having historically concentrated the greatest industrial development of the country, the Metropolitan Area suffered the worst effects of the crisis, losing industrial establishments and works in the municipalities of the Greater Buenos Aires. Meanwhile, the Capital generated commercial and financial activities, and of services and communications. The difference in the quality of life between the Capital and the greater part of the municipalities of the Greater Buenos Aires increased. The Capital kept and increased its role of center of political, economic and social decisions, while the peripheral municipalities concentrated a good part of the poorest inhabitants of the Argentina. The municipalities of the first ring had the highest rate of layoffs, while in the second ring there was an increase, but lower than the increase in the population.

Also, there began a fragmentation between the different zones of the Capital and the Greater Buenos Aires: in the center and North of the Capital, and in some zones of the Northern Greater Buenos Aires, there were the localizations of economies with much developed technologies, in companies with high productivity, highly specialized staff and relatively high salaries; while in other suburban zones the economy was organized in small companies of little productivity and capital, employing lowly specialized staff, with low salaries and very little stability in the jobs.

According to the National Census of 1980, a quarter of the population of the Metropolitan Area lived in poverty, overcrowded and without plumbing services in their houses. The distribution of this population was not even: more than 7% of the inhabitants with unmet basic needs were in the Capital; of the other 93%, 40% were located in the second and third ring of the Greater Buenos Aires.

Towards 1990, by effect of the mentioned facts and by the constant retraction of the participation of the State in the promotion of social politics, the increase of poverty was not only a problem of magnitude but also of type: there were more poor people and the different classes of poor multiplied. Beside those who could never leave poverty –

structural poor-, many members of the traditional groups of middle incomes entered the qualification of poor –"pauperized"-. This situation was due to a strong polarization in the incomes, characterized by a strong decrease in the strip of the middle salaries.

During the last decade of the XX Century, most of the urban problems reflected the social inequality that prevailed in Argentina: the presence of speculative markets, the drop in the productive activity, the discontinuities in the political life, the lack of social policies, and the lack of institutional representativeness. These situations overloaded the municipal and provincial management of the following administrations, more concerned on the urgencies of the political times than on the long time policies.

During the decade of 1990, with the political institutions of the country normalized, but under and administration of neoliberal economic trends, the actions of the central government on the urban problems were marginal. The national government carried out a process of privatization of the public services in the country and the AMBA, rarely applied in other countries at such an extent: oilfields, water, telephone, electricity and gas companies and highways were privatized. The criteria met with the companies had been the profitability, than in practice meant a rise in the costs to be paid by the users and the impossibility to access them on behalf of those who lacked and could not afford them. Besides, the decentralization of the services of education and health to the municipalities, without the following decentralization of incomes, translated into their detriment. The urban problems of the Metropolitan Area were not either included as a priority in the agenda of the municipal and provincial governments.

Therefore, the great majority of the new constructions in the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires were carried out by private initiatives. On the one hand, there were the great real estate entrepreneurships that developed the closed urbanizations destined to the most favored sectors. And on the other hand, there were the small but numerous interventions launched by the poorest inhabitants of the city in the slums or the so called informal settlements.

In the settlements, the poor self-built their neighborhoods, invaded a lot, organized and then demanded the possession of the land. In some cases, the State would build social facilities (schools, health centers or maternal and children's centers) in the perimeter of the neighborhood, the municipality would authorize a line of buses to circulate on a peripheral paved street, the provincial or national government would extend a water tube to one of the boundaries of the neighborhood, and the inhabitants would connect clandestinely to an electricity net of some near electrical installation. More than one million inhabitants of the Metropolitan area lived under those conditions circa 1991, in very poor houses and with reduced infrastructure of services. Another million, maybe, lived overcrowded in tenements and pensions' rooms of old deteriorated buildings.

Among the privatizations that had a greater impact in the Metropolitan Area are: 1) the construction of a paid highway system, vital for the expansion towards the second and third ring in the Northwest zone, and functional to the projects of residential urbanization of the closed neighborhoods; 2) the awarding for 30 years of the management of Obras Sanitarias de la Nación, a public company that supplied water and plumbing services to the AMBA; 3) the telecommunications services.

These privatizations contributed to the definition of residential guidelines of spatial segregation and social fragmentation, polarizing the suburban areas between the groups of middle and high incomes in closed neighborhoods and the increasing slums that proliferated in the vicinity.

Intensification and complexity of the spatial segregation, differences between North and South, and center and periphery

During this period, there was a deepening in the gap between the poorest zones and the most privileged ones. In the Greater Buenos Aires, the poorest and worst serviced zones increased their population and urban surface, and only the historically well serviced sectors of the municipalities in the North and some suburban centers and residential enclaves in the West and South improved. In the Capital, the improvements were expressed more strongly in the central and Northern districts than in the rest.

Between the decades of 1960 and 1980, the situations of extreme poverty or richness were not visible in the center of the city. The poor, settled in the neighborhoods or in the suburbs of the Greater Buenos Aires, did not go to the center frequently. And the richer sectors displayed their social lives in neighborhoods in the North of the Capital or the Greater Buenos Aires. Thus, there began the constitution of the closed circles of use in the different areas of the metropolis that narrowed every time, defining new urban centralities.

By then, Buenos Aires was not a very fragmented built-up, like so many other cities of Latin America, but the spatial segregation was increasing. In some zones of the AMBA, this rupture was expressed by the vicinity that existed between the residential suburbs and the informal settlements. For example, in Lomas de San Isidro, one of the most expensive neighborhoods and of lowest density of the Greater Buenos Aires, is near La Cava, a slum with thousands of inhabitants and a density of hundreds of persons per hectare.

However, this spatial segregation was not always so sharp. In the Capital, that in general housed a population of medium to high resources, there were also very poor houses. In the Greater Buenos Aires there was still a certain continuity in the urban and social tissue by the presence of the middle and middle low groups. In the Metropolitan Area there was still the historical scale of higher to lower economic level according to two directions: a radial one, from the Capital to the periphery, and a ring-shaped one, from the North to the South.

In the period of the military dictatorship (1976-1983), one of the works that had the greatest impact on the urban tissue was the construction of high urban highways that penetrated into the center of the Capital, connecting it directly with the International Airport of Ezeiza and with the beltway General Paz Avenue. The dictatorship also completed the extension of 9 de Julio Avenue, between Constitución in the South and Libertador Avenue in the North, joining the South Highway. The policy of public investments, the activity of the real estate market, the construction of urban highways and the development of the automotive market, they were all factors that increased the historical privilege of the Capital over the suburbs, and of the North over the South.

This process of differentiation was deepened during the decade of 1990. The case of Puerto Madero, in the center of the city, is a good example of these contrasts. By that time, the greatest project of urban transformation, was developed in the historical port zone, and it included a series of works destined mainly to the higher incomes sectors and the big corporative groups: the re-funcionalization of the old docks, the construction of apartment buildings for the high class, of first line office buildings, of selected shops and luxurious hotels, together with the design of a series of public parks. This strategic intervention intended to place Buenos Aires in the map of the great global cities of the world, answering to the demand of the powerful local groups and the big multinationals. At the same time, it was notorious the absence of the State in the most vulnerable zones, that were affected by the scarcity in investments on education, health and housing infrastructure.

Crushing of the metropolitan territory, peak of private urbanizations and multiplication of informal settlements

The politics of the middle of the decade of 1970 and the first years of the decade of 1990 intensified evermore the economic distances between the sectors of lower and higher incomes. The processes of concentration and separation of each of these groups were disintegrating the city, understood not only an urban weave but also as a social tissue. The private urbanizations and the informal settlements constituted along this period the new ways of settlement of the society in the territory of the AMBA, with the consequent changes in the production of the urban culture. During the military dictatorship, the Planning Code of the Capital was modified, regulating smaller buildable surfaces per plot, which led to the suspension of construction of high buildings and the densification. The lower rent of the urban land defined by this new Code, and the posterior stop of the construction industry in the recessive context of the decade of 1980, determined a very slow urban renewal in the Capital, in the center as well as in the neighborhoods. The activity was reduced mainly to renovations and the construction of supermarkets and malls in the Capital and in some of the suburbs, and to the country houses in the private urbanizations. Only by the end of 1991, the economic stability allowed the reactivation of the construction industry that designed the trends of the decade of 1990.

Between 1970 and 2002, different organizations were created to deal with the public construction and the financing of housing for groups of population of low incomes, even for the eradication of slums, but in practice most of the units were acquired by groups of medium incomes.

In the decade of 1970, in the lower zones of the Southwest of the Capital, the Municipal Housing Commission built some big neighborhoods. The neighborhood General Savio I y II was the biggest, with about 10.000 houses. Its design, based on high buildings in the shape of broken screens, with shops and services in the ground floors and houses and high corridors, defines an urban life style of quality worst than any other neighborhood in the city. The set Catalinas Sur, with 2.200 houses in 32 towers, in contrast, runs very integrated to the surrounding neighborhood and offers an acceptable quality of life. Other sets of big dimensions were the ones built later, such as Piedrabuena (676 houses) and Villa Soldati (3.200 houses).

Between 1976 and 1986, in the Capital as well as in 19 municipalities of the Greater Buenos Aires, the National Housing Fund (FONAVI) financed the construction of about 27.000 housing units. The biggest ones were: Villa Tranquila (1974) in Avellaneda, consisting of 5.000 houses; Las Catonas (1981) in Moreno, with 1.600 houses; and Don Orione (1981) in Claypole, with 4.290 houses. The latter is maybe one of the sets that present more social problems, of equipment and lack of security in all the Greater Buenos Aires.

While this construction activity was being developed, both private and public, the population settled in the slums in the Capital increased: from 180.000 inhabitants in 1975 to 280.000 in 1977. Of the different attempts to eradicate the slums, the one carried out by the military dictatorship was the most drastic one since it did not include any plan at all for the re-accommodation of the expelled population. In 1978 it was estimated the population that remained in the slums of the Capital had diminished to about 50.000 people. In practice, this eradication promoted the creation of new slums in the municipalities closer to the Capital, mainly in the South axis.

As the physic expansion of the Metropolitan Area was growing, the families of low resources settled on the low lands, that periodically flooded, and old dumpsters. The

slums constituted a new border between the urban and the rural, built by the new migrants and by those expelled from the more consolidated urban neighborhoods. In general, the slums do not have parks; almost do not have trees and a few houses have gardens. They are neighborhoods of low houses on narrow plots, built by their occupants. By 1990, it was estimated that in the 19 municipalities of the Greater Buenos Aires there were 580.000 people in slums, 6.5% of the total population of these municipalities, with higher concentrations in the South.

In the other end of the economic gap, since 1980, more than 400 closed urbanizations were created, known as "countries" and "private neighborhoods", with houses, schools and other facilities inside. By the year 2000, It was estimated that 500.000 people lived in an area of 323 square kilometers, a surface 1.6 times bigger than what they occupied in the Capital.

These real estate developments met their peak in the decade of 1990, and they were the spatial expression of the system of the urban privatization. The AMBA became then a mosaic of public spaces and, ever more often, private –also described as "insularities"- on which there have developed new ways of territorial settlement and urban culture, coherent with the impacts of globalization, technology and information.

In the decade of 2000, the contrasts and juxtaposition of zones of extreme richness and zones of extreme poverty were deepened. The higher income sectors settled in quasi-autonomous sectors in all kind of closed neighborhoods, and the most vulnerable ones settled informally in lands of lower real estate value and worst environmental conditions, in the form of "slums" or "settlements". The densities of these informal settlements were equal to those of the metropolis (250 inhab/ha), both higher in the center and North, and lower in the peripheries.[24]

Nowadays there are about 1.000 informal settlements. The "slums" are located in the Capital and the first ring of the AMBA, while the "settlements" or "groundings" are located in the farther periphery in zones of lower population density[23]. They are the consequence of different socio-territorial processes and in both of them the density has increased in the last years. At the same time, the informal real estate market grew and produced the verticalization of slums and densification of settlements. The increase in the informality was due to the increase of poverty, but also to other factors such as the sanction of a restrictive regulation for the access to urban land for the workers, the rise in the costs of public services of transportation, and the increase of immigration from neighboring countries.

5.   2003 – 2011. New public policies and economic recovery: impacts and pontencialities in the AMBA[25]

After the crisis of 2001, there began a new cycle of political and economic recovery at a national level. Poverty and the crisis of governability were produced mainly by the progressive application of the neoliberal economic model for almost 30 years. In the field of recovery of social indicators, there were two peaks, one promoted by the economic reactivation, and the other, later, consequence of that reactivation plus the universalization of direct subsidies to the families with the greater problems for insertion in the work market.

On the contrary, the city of Buenos Aires experienced a step back (conceptual and material) as regards the active function of the State as promoter of the wellbeing as bases for development. Since 2008, the city of Buenos Aires, far from its progressive tradition, materialized from its government a neoliberal vision that could be called late or extemporary regarding the perspective proposed by the national government of

Nestor Kirchner (2003-2007) that picked up the justicialist postulates of the decade of 1950 and vindicated the premises related to the recovery of rights and the subordination of economy to politics.

Measures such as the expiration and the veto to the projects of renovation of the Law of habitation emergency expressed the worst combination that can be made by the low incomes of the precarious work and the real estate speculation that has affected the city since the middle of the decade. During the four years of this administration, people living on the streets increased exponentially regarding the eviction policies and the no renewal of temporary subsidies for accommodation that the city offered historically as a palliative measure. The result is that there are not more poor people that have to live on the streets but that there are fewer resources to answer the demand of the evicted families. To this it has to be added the suspension of the construction under social housing policies and the virtual dismantlement of the institutions that took care of it. In 2011, poverty in the Greater Buenos Aires was higher than in the Capital, but it is remarkable how this decreases quickly in the Greater Buenos Aires between 2002 and 2011, while that same decrease is less noticeable in the Capital.

This decrease of poverty and the reduction of the distance between poverty in the Capital and the AMBA highlight the impact of the progressive work and economic policies of the national government.

However, despite the growth of poverty in the AMBA, the gap between the rich and poor is considerable and is expressed strongly on the territory. The segregation and spatial fragmentation expose the problems and conflicts of a dual society that brew during the decades of application of neoliberal policies.

The facts above described, though as a brief approximation, allow us to reflect on the way in which the different social sector can access and remain in the city.

Este relato propone un marco histórico para la comprensión de los procesos actuales de atención de la población en condiciones de vulnerabilidad, y a los proyectos que a futuro pueden permitir pensar la ciudad como un ámbito de convivencia, desarrollo e integración social.

Part II: Notes on poverty in the city. The case of the city of Buenos Aires

Adriana Clemente
Collaboration: Vanesa Marazzi

The hypotheses for these developments is that the way in which a society solves its problems, especially the ones related to the wellbeing of all of its members, is an indicator of its development and future projection; more specifically, the treatment of poverty and inequalities acquire realization in the configuration of the city and its surroundings, expressing tensions, conflicts and convergence between the interventions of the State, the market and the population. The combination of these interventions (inter-sectoral and multi-sectoral) make a specific field of observation in matter of design and development especially what regards the expression of poverty and inequalities in the city. The education and healthiness offer coverage, the provision of public services, the connectivity between zones of different development stages, the treatment of informality and the geographical anchor of the social policy of the institutions are material indicators of the way in which the living in the city is planned and modeled.

In this sense, it is proposed the recuperation of some events that throughout the institutional history of the State of Wellbeing in the city account for how poverty was expressed and approached since the end of the XIX Century until today. The selected events refer to administrative and political decisions in forms of bylaws and regulative projects and plans that with very different results acted on the social matter stating its importance in the physical and social configuration of the most important city of Argentina.

1.   1880 - 1930. From the capitalization of Buenos Aires to the modern city

In matter of social policies, this period had as seal the coexistence of welfare models that went from a strong influence of the rich class in the charitable attention of poverty to the consolidation of a welfare system that stood up in relation to the rest of the country because of its scope and quality strongly supported by the double financial adscription (national and municipal) of the services (mainly health and education) that the city of Buenos Aires enjoyed as capital city of Argentina.

The decade of 1880 is the foundational period of the nation State, the philanthropic model loses ground to other modernizing approaches like the Sarmientino[26] that made of the public and mandatory primary school the vector on which to install moral and virtue on working-class homes (Creole and immigrant) by means of the children, leaving for the Charity Society and the Church the comfort of the poor and the needy.[27]

The precedent of the philanthropic tradition in the city of Buenos Aires is the *Hermandad de la Santa Caridad* (1779), the first institution related to what is today called welfare and which intention was to solve the problem of the corpses that were left unburied. In Buenos Aires there were constant epidemics that generated mortality rates significantly high, and opened graves were used, holes in the very center of the city such as the *"Hueco de las animas"*, in the intersection of today's Rivadavia and Defensa Streets, in front of the Plaza Mayor. In other cases, the corpses were lay under the arcades of the town council for exhibition in case someone would claim them.[28]

Poverty and its most frequent expressions (begging and disease) are at the same time related to other problems such as insanity and crime. Until 1853, *black or Creole* alienated poor in the city were locked in one of its prisons. The white could be confined in closed convents. Only in 1860 there is the creation of the *Hospicio de las Mercedes* (today's Hospital Mental J. T. Borda). By then, its capacity was of 1.200 beds, approximately same number as today.

In the decade of 1880 the city of Buenos Aires was the most prosperous of the country, but it suffered a very serious deficit in matter of services and mainly of hygiene. This deficit became being a problem during this period and gave place to the medical-political model, which main postulate was to promote the participation of the State in the control and prevention of infectious diseases. Due to it, during this period, the expansion of the health facilities of the cities is requested, and also the first plans for water and plumbing provision. The first plan for running water and plumbing was made in 1859, but it began and stopped in 1874 to begin again in 1880. (Memoria 1910–2)[29]

The territorial location of healthcare facilities (hospices, hospitals) were concentrated in a zone known as *La Convalecencia* (Barracas), where there existed since the end of the XVIII Century some of the main welfare institutions (*Casa de Ejercicios para mujeres* and *Casa de Expósitos*, later on called *Casa Cuna*).

The first mayor of the city Torcuato de Alvear (1883-1887) broaden the health scope of the zone of La Convalecencia to the zone of Flores and Belgrano. The project of (planned) extension of the city was completed with the construction of working-class houses (that were never fulfilled).

The habitation situation of the poor families appeared for the first time as a problem in this period by a survey of tenements requested by the mayor Alvear to bring the problem to the attention of the rich classes. The report described the situation with expressions such as *"of those fetid pigsties, which air was never renewed and in which environment the most terrible diseases are cultivated, that later on go from emanations to the palaces of the rich…"*. These rental houses were located mainly South of Plaza de Mayo, but towards the end of the century immigration had extended throughout the city.

In 1882, Alvear approved the first welfare plan of the city directed by Dr. Ramos Mejía (1883-1887) with its headquarters in the Hospital San Roque (today Hospital Ramos Mejía). The program preview preventive actions with doctors (20 total) prepared to work with the poor population. During this period, there were fundraising initiatives for the poor such as the tax in the show tickets, a nurse school "so that those who did this work were not illiterate", the regulation of prostitution and the creation of a *register of the poor* (1888). All these measures proved the disciplining character with which the State assumed the intervention with the poor and other matters associated such as childhood abandonment and begging, as recorded in the census of 1887.

"… Due to the noble efforts of the Ladies of Charity of Buenos Aires, two maternity asylums were created, entrusted with the moral and religious instruction, and even yet the feeding of poor children while the work of their parents last, thus preventing them from turning to vagrancy and vices". (Census 1887)

Regarding the necessity to create a night asylum for the homeless, the city authorities appeal to charity under the argument that *"the city will grant a location, but it has no means for its equipping and it should appeal for the people's philanthropy, never thought false of it… Who would refuse to afford immodest bed, when he knows he will remedy other people's misfortunes?"*

In 1881, the city of Buenos Aires became the Federal Capital. This meant the movement of competence from the city to the nation. At this point, the city would benefit with the nationalization of the main welfare services specialized in health, without it preventing the city from being its main beneficiary.[30]

In 1910, Argentina was a "prosperous" society, as designed by the 80' generation. Illiteracy between 1869 and 1914 had diminished from 80% to 35%, but it was still estimated that there was in average one bathroom every 60 people. The urbanization and the commercial activity were sustained mainly by the immigrant work force, most of it without political citizenship.

The decade of 1930, affected by a world recession, had contradictory figures that went from an unemployment of 28% at the beginning of the decade to a unprecedentedly growth of the industrial sector by the effect of the imports situation, that enabled that the Argentine industrial sector in 1939 to be 35% higher than in 1930.[31]

The manufacturing activity is the one that began to blur the territorial boundaries of the city and adjacent municipalities such as Avellaneda, that in less than two decades would become an important industrial pole. This process of industrialization motivated also the intern immigration with two associated phenomena, a fast urbanization and the strengthening of unions[32].

2.   1940-1970. Formation of the metropolis

This period was characterized by the construction of a development cycle clearly differentiated from the previous one by the distributive model proposed and the consequent configuration of the Argentine society as a society, though segmented, with high levels of social integration. The change of paradigm in the treatment of poverty, which went from an approach of survival to one of right, tensioned in an expansive manner the welfare system of the city.

In the decade of 1940, the whole public welfare system modernized, with the objective to turn the social expenditure more efficient, which sustained the administrative system under the form of subsidies mainly from charity institutions. In 1943, the creation of the *Dirección Nacional de Salud Pública y Asistencia Social* [National Administration of Public Health and Welfare] (DNSPAS) allowed the State to have a more active role in this field. This Administration absorbed the functions of the old National Department of Hygiene, as well as the organizations related to the provision of charity, social welfare, housing and health.

From a historical perspective, the justicialist period (1946-1955) was undoubtedly the period when the policies of State played an active role in the process of social integration in the Argentine society. In this period, besides the extension of the social agenda with structural issues such as land, housing and preventive health, a new approach of the social policy was consolidated such as right to family (understood as workers) and responsibility of the State (as regards the influence of the Keynesian ideas of the time). For the justicialism, the main distributive tool was the policy of incomes joined by high social expenditure.[33]

During this period, as regards the treatment of poverty, the polemic Fundación Eva Perón (1948) also established in the South of the city, marked the rupture with the philanthropic tradition in the assistance of the poor and the unprotected (the ill, children and old). For the Fundación Eva Perón, the core of its actions consisted of the possibility to improve life quality of the poor, wide opposed to the survival model proposed by the charity institution. The change of paradigm had a significant political impact since it narrowed the power (symbolic and real) of the traditional interlocutors that acted between the State and the poor, which were the Church and the charity organizations. Thus, the Fundación was dissolved by the *Revolución Libertadora* (1955) and its tasks distributed among two or three departments to dilute the memory and model of the Fundación.[34]

During the administration of Peron, by means of the *Planes Quinquenales* (I y II) the State incorporates the idea to *regionalize*, that is translated in governmental proposals such as the organization of the rural colonization, the creation in 1948 of the Jurisdiction of the Greater Buenos Aires. The formation and growth of the slums during this period, more than as a poverty indicator should be read as an expression of the expectation of social mobility generated by the city, with its work and public services offer, very different to other urban centers of the country. During the long period of substitution of importations, 60% of the national industry concentrated in AMBA, which at the same time became the main market for consumption of the country. So the expansion of the slums has its correspondence in the expansion of the industrial activity. At the same time, it is agreed that until 1960 the growth of the region is not the effect of a plan but the effect of the development of the real estate market. (Tomas Calello, 2000)

In correspondence with the justicialist statements, during this period, the municipality of Buenos Aires underwent a review of the social function of the modern municipality.

The city is defined as *"the civilization of a people"*, the matters of hygiene in the city and redistribution per service rate were addressed (it was believed that the services should be paid by the people who made use of them), as established by the Organic Act. It is stated the need to achieve a system of mandatory medical services and the recommendation that the scope of these services should be of a broad coverage under the premise that the city did not belong only to its inhabitants but to the Argentine people. (Revista de la ciudad de Buenos Aires, 1946).

During this period, the nation handled the provision and extension of the health services and made significant transferences to afford the model of wide coverage and quality of the services that were promoted by the national government, such as the case of the financing on behalf of the national government of the free health care.

The intention of the Revolución Libertadora (1955) to disarticulate the system of social protection generated by the justicialism was quickly discouraged by the developmental advance made by the administration of Arturo Frondizi (1958-1961). During this period, the *Dirección Nacional de Asistencia Social* [National Department for Social Welfare] was created.[35] The debate on poverty and development was reinstalled in the decade of 1960 because of the effects of the revolutionary movements and the influence of the Alianza para el Progreso (1961). [36]

For Frondizi, the important thing was the development of the economy, since once the economic development was reached, it was not necessary to protect the poor, and he stated it this way: *"I am convinced that with the apparition of a new oil well, of the installation of a high furnace of the completion of a dock, the bases for a new house, a new school or a modern Hospital are being created, here or in any other place in the country."* (Presidencia de la Nación, 1960) [37]

The creation of Caritas Argentina (a mega NGO of the Catholic Church), strengthens the ideal that nongovernmental organizations, especially Catholics, are the ones that should handle the assistances to the poor. If it does not deliver, then the administration of Frondizi, continuing the legacy of the *Revolución Libertadora*, gives the legal status back to the *Sociedad de Beneficiencia*.

The *Plan Director para la Capital Federal y Lineamientos Estructurales para el Área Metropolitana y su Región* [Administration Plan for the Federal Capital and Structural Guidelines for the Metropolitan Area and its Region] designed between 1958 and 1965 (Suárez, 1986) continued the idea of the frustrated second *Plan Quinquenal*. The regional perspective also had an impact on the social field reconsidering and stressing the scope of the system of social services beyond the borders of the city, initiating the still current debate on areas of programmatics and competences.

In the habitation matter, the overview at the end of the decade of 1950 and beginnings of the decade of 1960 was emphasized by the increasing pressure that eradicated the State, and, on the other hand, the greatest organization and politization of the slums inhabitants. During the administrations of Frondizi and Guido (his de facto successor), provisory housing plans were a failure.

In 1963, the National Housing Commission (CNV) was created, its first mission was to make a census of the population of the city. In a first report submitted to the Executive Power, it was reported that in 1964 there were 21 slums in the city, inhabited by 33.920 people. In the metropolitan area, the slums population reached 78.430 inhabitants. To quantify the slums population meant, for the first and at the same time, to assume the slums matter as a "problem" and to propose a policy of eradication.[38]

The results were far from the ones obtained by the justicialist administration. If during the period of 1948-1954 the annual average of social houses built by the State raised to 840, between 1956 and 1963 was of only 30.5. The State could not answer the problems of the slums, and with its new policy of eradication it became an enemy to its inhabitants.

The military dictatorship of 1976 generated a step back that took back the approach of service to poverty to the beginning of the century. The dictatorship understood poverty and approached it as a *threat* for the society development. For the dictatorship, the main issue was to have control on the poor, rather the control of its growth and its causes. In the city evictions were compulsive and supported by arguments that referred to modernization and embellishment of the city. As regards accessibility to the social services system, the social expenditure kept high and constant, the system reintroduced the hygienist and disciplining approach above described. Among the many restrictive measures were: the charging of the hospital services and the reissuing of certificates of poverty of the end of the last century. The free circulation of vehicles inside the slums was also restricted by municipal bylaw (June 1978), and the institutions for the tutelage of minors and the homes for the elderly and homeless were militarized.

In the case of the city of Buenos Aires, in 1962 the population of the slums represented 1.4% of the total population, in 1976 this proportion raised to 7.2% while in 1980, after the policy of eradication carried out by the dictatorship, it decreased to 1.2%.

3.   1980 – 2002. Globalization and enlargement of the gap in the AMBA

This period was characterized by the dismantlement of the State of Wellbeing at a national level from the composition of a sequence that was initiated by the dictatorship, and that during the democracy completes the market logic with the instauration of a neoliberal model. This model is supported by the foreign indebtedness and the dismantlement of the instruments that enabled the regulation of the economy and wellbeing on behalf of the State. In this context, the city of Buenos Aires did not eliminate the dominant accumulation model and deepened the historical social inequities, but it also preserved its social institutions (childhood, health and education) due to the institutional inertia and the conviction of the progressive political and social forces in the city.

The return to democracy faces, among other problems, the growth of poverty that, in cases as AMBA, during the first six years of dictatorship had doubled. With the return to democracy the increasing trend of slums population continued.

Meanwhile, the work market had already installed the work flexibility and the poorest sectors received clear signs of its impossibility to reinsert themselves in the formal work market in any of its segments, even the traditional ones such as construction and sanitation. With the progressive decrease of the social expenditure, a long cycle of detriment of the public institutions began with the lack of building maintenance and ended with the dismantlement and collapse at the end of this period.

After a succession of inflationary outbursts (1989-1990) that increased poverty and unemployment, the matter of the "new poor" was settled, who tripled in less than five years the demand for public assistance services.[39] In short, the hyperinflationary process generated a new broadness in the gaps between the rich and the poor, at the same time the bases for the passing from an integrated society to a dual one were established.[40]

During the administration of Menem (1989-1990), a new model of intervention in social policies is settled, which besides establishing the intervention by programs

and consolidating the model of co-responsibility (State/beneficiary), it established a methodology of foreign indebtedness as method for the co-financing of the social policies, increasing the indebtedness compromises, main variable of the social expenditure restriction.[41]

In the treatment to the matter of poverty applied by Menem, the State never stopped to be present for these groups and its organizations, since they were the objective of multiple social programs of contention. The substitution the incomes from work for subsidies of survival created a high dependence of these groups to the public assistance network. The impoverished medium sector, that were not the objective of specific programs of contention, started to claim the State for the quality of social policies (health and education) ostensibly underfinanced by that time.

Since 1995, the social policy expenditure kept constant, while poverty went from affecting 15% to 50% of the population. This lag between the offer that kept constant and the demand that increased exponentially explained in part the detriment of the social services and its deficient compensatory impact.[42]

In the year 1994, due to the amendment of the National Constitution, Buenos Aires acquired the status of Autonomous City, a new institutional figure that involves a level of autonomy similar that of the rest of the Argentine provinces. In 1995, constituents wrote the Constitution of the city. The Constituent Assembly took place in a national context in which the perverse effects of the neoliberal policy implemented by the national government could be clearly seen. Within this global conception of the society, legislators established in the article 29 that "the City has an *urban and environmental plan* (…) that constitutes the grounding law to which the rest of the urban development regulations and the public works comply with". That is to say, its propositions and guidelines had to comply with the programs and plans of the successive administrations of the City. The plan did not introduce explicit elements referring the social matter in the city, but it explicitly stated objectives for the improvement of the urban life conditions under the promotion of the South of the city, plumbing features, connectivity within the city and the decentralization of the government in municipalities. This last item was only fulfilled fifteen years later.

Between 2001 and 2005, 24 new slums appeared. According to the INDEC, between May 2000 and May 2003 poverty went from 27.2% to 54.7% and homelessness doubled from 11.6% to 26.3%. These figures only began to revert from 2006 on.

The programs of reform and adjustment, that affected the Argentine society for more than two decades, had a turning point with the social outburst of the 19th and 20th December of 2001. When these events occurred (street protests and lootings) that resulted in 39 deaths (5 in the city and its surroundings) by cause of police repression, the social expenditure had a sub-execution of 30%, meanwhile poverty and unemployment reached figures similar to those registered during the hyperinflationary period at the end of the decade of 1980. The devaluation of 2002 was a new milestone in the loss of the channels of social mobility and the deepening of the inequalities in favor of the dualization of this society.[43]

Since 1995, the expenditure for social policy keeps relatively steady, while poverty went from affecting 15% of the population to 50% of the population. This imbalance partly explains the detriment of the social services and its deficient compensatory impact.[44] During this period, under the first administration of Anibal Ibarra (2000-2004) the city tensioned its capacity to meet the demands and health and food from a regional perspective and in cooperation with the municipal governments of the AMBA.

4.   2003 – 2011. New public policies and economic recovery: impacts and potentialities in the AMBA

This period creates a new cycle marked by the political and economic recuperation at a national level. Poverty and the crisis of governability are explained from their structural causes derived from the economic models applied progressively along almost 30 years. In the orbit of the recuperation of the social indicators there are two peaks, one promoted by the reactivation of the economy and the other one, later, consequence of that reaction added the universalization of direct subsidies to the families with greatest problems for insertion in the work market. On the contrary, the city of Buenos Aires experienced a step back (conceptual and material) as regards the active function of the State as promoter of the wellbeing as basis for development.

During this period, the city expressed in its physical and social physiognomy the consequences of the successive crises. According to the IVC of the City of Buenos Aires (2005) 129.029 people were registered (34.479 family groups) living in slums and temporary habitation cores in 27.193 houses. According to this source, there were 4.7 persons per house, while 38% of the homes had to share a house, which results in an extremely high overcrowding. In 2006, a research carried out among the beneficiary population of the subsidy program *Ciudadanía Porteña* showed that 16% of the males and 17% of the females did child labor. (Bialocosky, 2010)

Since 2008, the city of Buenos Aires, far from its progressive tradition, materialized from its government a neoliberal vision that could be called *late or extemporary* regarding the perspective proposed by the national government of Nestor Kirchner (2003-2007) that picks up the justicialist postulates of the decade of 1950 and vindicates the premises related to the recovery of rights and the subordination of economy to politics.

Measures such as the expiration and the veto to the projects of renovation of the Law of habitation emergency (2009) express the worst combination that can be made by the low incomes of the precarious work and the real estate speculation that has affected the city since the middle of the decade. During the four years of this administration, people living on the streets increased exponentially regarding the eviction policies (10 a day during the first three years of the administration) and the no renewal of temporary subsidies for accommodation that the city offered historically as a palliative measure. The result is that there are not more poor people that have to live on the streets but that fewer resources to answer the demand of the evicted families. To this it has to be added the suspension of construction under social housing policy and the virtual dismantlement of the IVC.

Curiously and according to the declarations of the Chief of Government (2010), the problem of poverty in the city is explained by the demand generated by immigrants and inhabitants of the conurbation who can work and leave their meager profits in the city, but they should use none of its public services. The idea of poor beneficiaries promoted by the old Sociedad de Beneficiencia of the beginning of the XX Century became current again when the chief of government explained poverty in the city as a derivation of the "generous assistance offer" that the city provided, which promoted the settlement and migration of the poorest to it.

There are two main strategies that the conservative administration of Mauricio Macri has been implementing to transform the State of Weelbeing in the city of Buenos Aires, they are strategies that are familiar to us, since they were tested in

the decade of 1990 under the neoliberal administration of Carlos Menem. They are: outsourcing of social assistance and emptying by the effect of cuts in the financing of the universal policies in the city.

Outsourcing refers to the delegation of the attention of the problems of poverty to nongovernmental organizations, with the objective of diluting the responsibility of the State in the results. In turn, both the cutting of financing and the sub-execution of the social expenditure produce delays and inefficiency in the answer with the consequent "discouragement of the demand" that progressively moves to the private sector. Nowadays, 69.5% of the population of the city has health insurance, either as social security or prepaid insurance, while 21.9% depends only on the state coverage. As regards health effectors, the City of Buenos Aires has 13 General Hospitals, 19 specialized hospitals, 2 Mental Health Centers, 2 Children's Dental Care Centers, 40 Medical Centers, 39 Neighborhoods Medical Centers, family doctors' offices and 68 family dentists' offices. From the point of view of the government of the city, this equipment is expensive and does not answer to the demand of the city, currently seriously dualized. Today, the population with unmet basic needs represents 10% of its total population, while in the conurbation the average is doubled. There is again the debate on the competence of the specialized establishments and the appropriation that the city does on these services, obtained by its old condition of capital city.

Observations

The facts above described, though as a brief approximation, allow us to reflect on the way in which the different social sector can access and remain in the city.

The quality and scope of the social public services (expansion or retraction) is the result of the political decisions that precede the technical work. As regards poverty and its treatment, we can observe that the planned interventions in this sense are posterior to the emergence of the problems, and, at the same time, the "problems" vary according to the described periods as regards the dominant conception of each era and political management. In the case of the city of Buenos Aires, planned interventions on the social matter, besides being discontinuous, have been reactive and corrective. The conception of progress and development in each of the described eras have been captured as geological strata in the physical configuration of the city, and in that process the city of Buenos Aires has become more hostile each time for the popular sectors in general and the poor in particular.

Endnotes

1. The first founding of Buenos Aires was in 1536, but no trace of it remained on the territory.

2. "This concentration also has its own characteristic, since the City of Buenos Aires has 63% of the total units of service of the AMBA, which generates 72% of the added value" in "Problemas Ambientales del Área Metropolitana de Buenos Aires", http://www.farn.org.ar/docs/p21/cap1_1.html#top5

3. Problemas Ambientales del Área Metropolitana de Buenos Aires, http://www.farn.org.ar/docs/p21/cap1_1.html#top5

4. Abba Artemio, Metrópolis Argentinas, Café de las Ciudades: Buenos Aires, 2011, p.37

5. Portes y Roberts (2005), citados en Abba Artemio, ibídem.

6. According to Edward Soja, the modern industrial metropolis, or Fordist city, has a discreet geographical unit, recognizable, unitary, that has a beginning and an end, with clear boundaries, where the urban and the rural are differenced. It is representative of a National State and of territorial and national cultures and identities. Its shape can be compact or disperse, but recognizable. Its infrastructure systems are integrated and are controlled mainly by the state, to which most part of the population has access to: water, energy, transportation, telephones. Edward Soja, Postmetrópolis Critical Study of Cities and Regions, Blackwell: London, 2001.

7. Likewise, a suburban integration is produced, from the great La Plata to Zarate Brazo Largo. Abba Artemio, ob. cit., pp.41-42, 53.

8. However, the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata was the poorest a least populated of the four Spanish viceroyalties in America, and lasted only three decades, until 1810, when the struggles for independence begun, leading to the formation of the Argentine Republic in 1853 and its later organization with its capital in Buenos Aires in 1880.

9. By 1869, 27.5% of the national population was classified as urban. The fast demographic growth of Argentina during those years was due mainly to the balance of immigrants that by that time already represented 12.2% of the national population (211.000 people).

10. Continuing with the existing streets, he designed the Santa Fe, Cordoba, Corrientes, Belgrano, Independencia, San Juan and Patagones (today Brasil) Avenues, and added an avenue in the North and other in the Southr: Juncal and Ituzaingó (today Caseros), respectively. The plan included regulations for the drawing of building lines for the roads that communicated the city with other important towns in the rural area, such as San Isidro, San José de Flores and Barracas.

11. José Luis Moreno Eramos tan pobres... De la caridad colonial a la Fundación Eva Perón, Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2009.

12. This section is based on two books: Gutman, Margarita y Jorge Enrique Hardoy, Buenos Aires 1536-2006 Historia Urbana del Area Metropolitana, Buenos Aires: Ediciones Infinito, 2007, and Gutman Margarita Buenos Aires: El Poder de la Anticipación, Buenos Aires: Ediciones Infinito, 2012.

13. "At the middle of the decade of 1880, Buenos Aires was the city with the highest number of inhabitants of Latin America, having beaten a few years earlier Rio de Janeiro and Mexico. The average annual rate of growth of the population of Buenos Aires between the National Census of Population of 1869 and the Municipal Census of the city of Buenos Aires of 1887 reached 4.77%. Its growth was lower than other fast growing cities of North America during the same years, such as Chicago (6.8% between 1870 and 1880) and San Francisco (5.6% between 1870 and 1880) and of Latin America cities such as Montevideo (5.87%) and Bogota (6.26%) in the decade of 1880.
However, Buenos Aires' rate was higher than Rosario (4.52%) in the decade of 1880, and than Rio de Janeiro (3.64%) and Sao Paulo (4.2%) in the decade of 1890". Gutman, Margarita y Jorge Enrique Hardoy, op. cit.

14. For example, in the plumbing work plan of the engineer Bateman of 1883, the designed nets only reached Medrano Street and its crossing with Corrientes Street; furthermore, the stone paving of the streets was focused on the centric area, while in the neighborhoods only the avenues and some of the crossing streets were stone paved.

15. Argentina was second among the countries that received European immigrants, after the United States of America, and before other countries such as Canada, Brazil and Australia, absorbing 11% of the net European emigration. Of the 6 and a half millions of European that entered the country between 1857 and 1941, 3 and a half million settled, forming a contingent of very important relative magnitudes, only comparable to few of the mentioned countries. Between 1896 and 1914, the proportion of foreigners in Buenos Aires was much higher than the proportion of foreigners in the country, about 50%. Most of the foreigners settled in Buenos Aires were from Italy and Spain. In 1914, Italians and Spanish constituted in equal parts about 90% of the foreigners, and about 40% of the total population of the city.

16. They were preceded by the creation of some technical instruments such as the Cadastre, created in 1892, and the Official Plan of the Municipality, prepared in 1895. Based on it, the plan of the definite layout of all the streets of the city was entrusted to a municipal commission. Passed by the Municipal Council, it was used for the layout of new streets since its publication in 1904.

17. The models that inspired the plans presented for the Capital were mostly European. The experiences of Haussmann in Paris were taken as paradigms. The theories of Camilo Sitte were widely accepted, and through them it was intended to enrich the foundational inherited layout with varied visuals and partial layouts. One of the also evoked referents was the North American city beautiful movement. In short, it is possible to state that to modernize the city during the years previous to the Centennial, basically, meant to take care of three issues that continued to be key issues by then: the traffic, hygiene or healthiness, and the urban beauty or aesthetics.

18. The bibliography of this section includes Caride, Horacio "La conurbación de Buenos Aires como objeto de estudio histórico. Argumentos científicos y lógicas disciplinares". IAA, FADU, UBA. Buenos Aires, 7 de septiembre de 2007; Di Virgilio, María Mercedes y Vio, Marcela. "La geografía del proceso de formación de la Región Metropolitana de Buenos Aires", Julio de 2009. http://www.lahn.utexas.org/Case%20 Study%20Cities/Innerburb/BA/UrbanizacionAMBA.pdf; Gemini, Rosa (dir.). "¿Qué es el Gran Buenos Aires?". Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos (INDEC), República Argentina. Buenos Aires, agosto de 2003. http://www.indec.gov.ar/ glosario/folletoGBA.pdf; Gutman, Margarita y Hardoy, Jorge E. Buenos Aires 1536-2006. Historia urbana del Área Metropolitana, Buenos Aires: Infinito, 2007; Torres, Horacio A. El mapa social de Buenos Aires (1940-1990), Buenos Aires: FADU, UBA, 2006; Ministerio de Infraestructura de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, http://www. mosp.gba.gov.ar/sitios/urbanoter/sig/maparecon.php

19. Medium size cities: between 50.000 and 1.000.000 inhabitants.

20. By means of a decree of the Province of Buenos Aires, in 1948 the official denomination of "Greater Buenos Aires" was adopted for the territory occupied by the Capital and the adjoining municipalities, name that first appeared in the National Census of 1947. From 1994 on, the year of the amendment of the constitution that established the autonomy of the Capital, the 19 municipalities of the Greater Buenos Aires were divided into 24 by means of a series of administrative subdivisions.

21. Torres, Horacio A. El mapa social de Buenos Aires (1940-1990). FADU, UBA. Buenos Aires, 2006.

22. The densities of these informal settlements were equal to those of the metropolis (250 inhab/ha), both higher in the center and North, and lower in the peripheries

23. María Cristina Cravino, "La metamorfosis de la ciudad informal en el Área Metropoltiana de Buenos Aires" in Revista Líder, Vol. 15, Año 11, 2009, p.32.

24. María Cristina Cravino, "La metamorfosis..." op. cit., p.36-39.

25. This chapter was developed with the support of Adriana Clemente and Vanesa Marazzi, who developed these subjects in the second part of this paper.

26. It refers to Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, one of the main promoters of mandatory primary education in Argentina. Sarmiento, who was also president (1868-1874), left on the mandatory primary education the possibility to integrate a society made by illiterate creoles and poor immigrants.

27. Until late last century, the Sociedad de Beneficencia created by Bernardino Rivadavia in 1823 took care of providing assistance for the poor and vulnerable groups by means of donations, but mainly by means of State subsidies.

28. Quoted by Alfredo Carballeda. Del desorden de los cuerpos al orden de la sociedad. Espacio. 2005

29. In the report of the census of 1887, it is stated that the city had 450.000 inhabitants, with an average of 13 inhabitants per house (collective housing is not discriminated here) and of a total of 30.313 houses, only 12% had Access to running water. Of 4.200 deaths by smallpox produced in 1883, 50% occurred in tenements.

30. The change in jurisdiction will impact first negatively in the services that depended on the municipality, in less than two years the statistics worsened as regards mortality in relation to the specialized hospitals that depended on the Nation.

31. It is estimated than in average salaries were 80% higher than Marseille's and 25% higher than Paris', but we do not have data on how many the wage-earning workers were. Between 1895 and 1914, the industrial establishments of the country had gone from 22.000 to 48.000, it is estimated that 60% were in the area of the City of Buenos Aires. Gerchunoff, P. y Llach, L. (1998).

32. According Gernuchof, the configuration of the working sector during this stage of industrial expansion has two main characteristics: the condition of internal immigrants of the workers, that in 1943 represented 28% of the population of Buenos Aires, and the growth of the female participation in the industry, that between 1935 and 1939 was 39% of the total of industrial workers of Buenos Aires.

33. The Movimiento Nacional Justicialista or Peronism is an Argentine mass movement created around the figure of Juan Domingo Perón, who starred the last 60 years the Argentine history. The formal name of the party is Partido Justicialista.

34. The work of the Fundación was colossal. It built twenty-one hospitals and policlinics in eleven provinces -22.650 beds- and nineteen Stay-in School -25.320 vacancies- and developed a plan for the construction of one thousand schools in the country –farm schools, workshops schools, infant and nursery schools. Its Homes for the Elderly housed more than 2.300 people and the Home for the Female Employee provided bed and food for hundreds of poor women. The Fundación also extended charity to the neighboring countries in situation of catastrophe or need, among them Spain and Italy.

35. The main observation to the profile of the social policies during this period is,

among other changes, the relevance acquired by the research and sectorial planning for the social policy.

36. Since its dominant conception at that time, poverty is the cause of exclusion and together they constituted the vicious circle of poverty. In order to integrate the poor it was necessary to promote specific policies destined to promote (in a exogenous way) the development of the poor individuals, the families and communities and the underdeveloped countries.

37. Quoted by Noemi Glodman (1996).

38. Mariano García. "Historia de las Villas Miseria en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires" Parte 3. El inicio de las políticas de eliminación. www.solesdigital.com.ar/sociedad/historia_villas_

39. In the AMBA, the poor, according to an Integrated Poverty Measurement Method (NBI and LP) went from 3.5 in 1974 to 6.5 in 1980 and 12.0 un 1987, evolution that confirms the progressive movement of the medium strata to the condition of new por. "La Pobreza en el ÁMBA", IIED – AL (Argentina).

40. Between 1974 and 2001 the gap between the richest and poorest sector went from 12.3 times in 1974 to 28.7 times in 2001, and nowadays it is of 28.2 according to the INDEC. This aspect confirms the trend of this indicator when there are no proactive policies to remedy it.

41. During this period, the percentage of services of the public debt inside the total public expenditure went from 5.2% in 1990 to 15.1% in 2001. In the process of reconfiguration of social policies, the Bancos Multilaterales de Desarrollo [Development Multilateral Banks] (BMD) had an active role. In more than ten year of participation in the Argentine social policy, its involvement did not improve the assignment of the social expenditure (main argument of its participation) and it did not achieve a better coverage of the programs (estimated in more than 30% of the deficit of the demand) either.

42. The increase of the public expenditure between 1998 and 2001 is due to the interests of the debt and the fall of the GDP and not to the raise of the investment in the reduction of poverty.

43. Buenos Aires, as headquarters of the national government, was the place where the determining decisions were taken for the events of these tragic days. The governability crisis and the street protest of the medium strata were most evident in the city.

44. The increase of the public expenditure between 1998 and 2001 is due to the interests of the debt and the fall of the GDP and not to the reduction of poverty. De Simone, C. (2003).

TUXEDOS, LANDSCAPES, COMMUTERS AND URBAN INTERIORS: AN ALTERNATIVE URBAN HISTORY OF NEW YORK

William Morrish
Parsons The New School for Design

Abstract

Manhattan's skyline of skyscrapers, bridge towers, and gridded blocks may symbolize New York City, but it is in the everyday urban activities that operate in local meeting places, workspace, living habitats and movement channels that define it as a cosmopolitan city.

The development of social norms, the development of new urban professions, narratives on mobility and the selling of urban lifestyle underpin the towers of commerce and land tenure systems of New York's history. Anticipating any urban future requires a deep understanding of the interactions and independencies between the skyline and the local urban habitat. The social urban architect Teddy Cruz identifies this boundary as a fertile place space where everyday people are engaged in the acts of "civic imagination"—re-designing the political landscape and urban systems of governance into regenerative economic and ecological practices.

Unfortunately, urban knowledge within the design and social sciences tends to be segmented between the formal public and private sector narrative focused on national policy, big projects and plans; and the informal domestic and environmental sectors focused on the poor, social inequities and local pollution. The idea that a city's economic, political, and culture is a composite of formal and informal activities is an outdate mode of organizing history and anticipations of urban futures. It perpetuation limits are ability to tackle the complexities of city form, function, operation and regeneration.

This presentation and paper will outline the terms by which urban history needs to be redesigned to identify past and existing active areas of "civic imagination" produced in the middle between the formal and informal through an alternative view of the urban history of the City of New York in the last 150 years.

Cosmopolitan is defined as the city that integrates the formal and informal into a set of physical formations and political governance operations that generate new economies and ecologies, :

- "Acknowledging the otherness of those who are culturally different"
- "Acknowledging the otherness of the future"
- "Acknowledging the otherness of nature"
- "Acknowledging the otherness of the object"
- "Acknowledging the otherness of other rationalities"

(Adapted from Ulrich Beck, Cosmopolitan Vision)
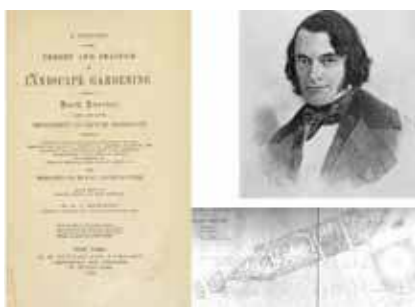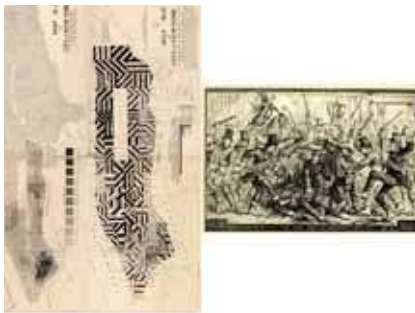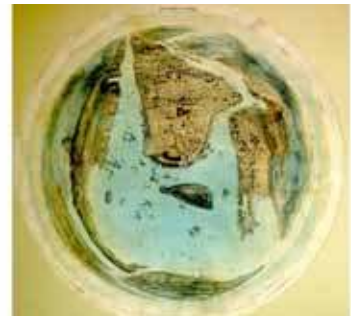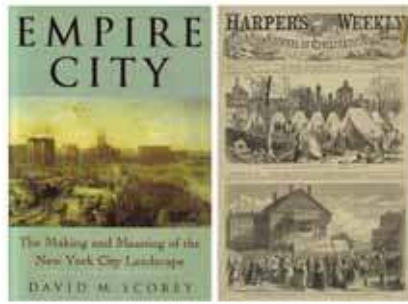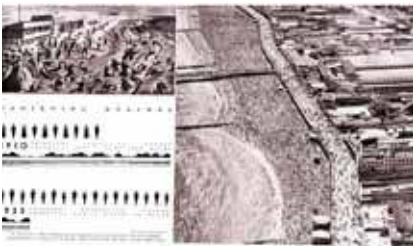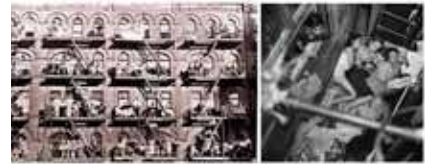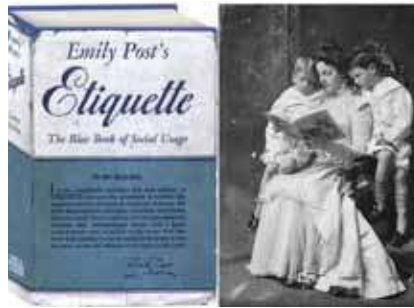
SURVEY OF CRIME REDUCTION THROUGH ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN: A CASE STUDY OF BANGKOK METROPOLITAN, PRATHUMWAN DISTRICT

Amorn Wanichwiwatana, D.Phil. (Oxon)
Faculty of Political Science
Chulalongkorn University

Abstract

Crime prevention focused on city planning and architectural design can control and deter perpetrators of harm being done to others. The so-called CPTED; crime prevention through environmental design which use the physical environment to deter crime (Jeffery, 1971) will apply to this study. These CPTED techniques include natural access control, natural surveillance, and territorial reinforcement. This survey provides examples as well as specific guidance for those who have keen interest in designing or altering physical and social environment to deter crime. While each individual housing and community has different flaws and weaknesses which require unique solutions, however, the process which leads to the solutions often share similarity in one or more aspects. Results that emerged from an earlier survey indicated that the quality of life in the heart of the city could be enhanced by strictly enforce the urban planning laws, expansion of slums and public space intrusion must be stopped; and new forms of community policing, technological applications, and effective public communication must be provided in any new housing complexes. In addition to this, the study also found that citizen involvement has become a central element for the success of the CPTED strategies. The authorities who play a vital role in law enforcement and social control must get involved. The survey will mainly discuss a study of crime reduction through the CPTED in residential, business areas and 'crime-preventive' architecture in Bangkok Metropolitan, Prathumwan district which found that defensible space in a strictly architectural sense influences the level of crime. A concluding section recommends some feasible ideas to combine various forms of crime prevention and architectural design dimensions.

This survey presents crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) in Prathumwan district, Bangkok Metropolitan with a special focus on the role of local practices and culture in dealing with major street crimes. The main question that is sought to be answered is: can there be an effective or best practices for all?

Addressing insecurity and the feeling of insecurity is a high priority and a serious concern to people from all walks of life. The survey will present the outcomes of the attempt and initiatives by the local communities to curb the so-called 'street crimes' using CPTED. This is hoping that there will be some improvement in terms of the competences of crime prevention; development and recommendation for an appropriate model of crime prevention for the locals taking into account the cultural differences.

Getting to know the city of Bangkok and Prathumwan District

Bangkok, the Thai capital contains some 7 million people living within a sprawling metropolitan area and clearly constitutes an EMRs (Extended Metropolitan Regions). (David W Smith 2001 p 441) Moreover, urban development of the capital has outgrown the administrative boundaries of the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA or local government) and encompasses the neighbouring five provinces. (Office of the

Geographical Area, Prathumwan District: (Information details as well as pictures are courtesy of Prathumwan District Authority)

Pathumwan is really located in the heart of Bangkok city. Details from the website of Bangkok Metropolitan Authority (BMA) describes the area in more depth information. (www.bma.go.th/bmaeng/pathumwan) The district was established in 1914. It is named after a Buddhist temple Wat Prathum Wanaram (literally meaning lotus forest temple) and the nearby Sa Prathum palace (means lotus pond palace). Both were built to the order of King Mongut (Rama IV) and named so because of an abundance of lotus in Khlong Saen Saeb during his reign.

The district is sub-divided into four sub-districts (Kwaeng):
1. Rong Mueang
2. Wang Mai
3. Pathum Wan
4. Lumpini

Shopping Centers

MBK Centre

Paragon

Central World

PathumWan is best known for its shopping centers. Siam Center is the oldest one in the area. Opened in 1973, it is now flanked by Siam Discovery Center and Siam Paragon.

One of the most crowded and popular to both local people and tourists is MBK Center (also known as Mah Boon Krong). It is packed with shops offering fashion items, mobile phones and souvenirs. A covered, air-conditioned pedestrian bridge over Phaya Thai Road connects to a congested sister shopping center, the Bonanza Mall, which mostly sells inexpensive clothing and fashion accessories.

Siam Square, unlike others, is a shopping area consists of a block of buildings and lots of small roads full of shops, attracting mostly teenagers. There are three cinemas in Siam Square, built in the 1970s and run by the Apex chain: the Scala and Siam theaters offer a single, big screen; the Lido is a small multi-plex with three screens. Besides shops, many exam preparation schools are found in Siam Square. So the area is full of students during evening and weekends.

The Ratchaprasong intersection is in Pathum Wan district, which is flanked by CentralWorld (formerly World Trade Center and then Central World Plaza), Narayana Phan, Gaysorn and Central Chit Lom shopping malls.

Famous Places

A large portion of Pathum Wan is occupied by several organizations. Near MBK, Chulalongkorn University is the oldest university in Thailand. The main auditorium together with Faculty of Arts buildings Maha Chulalongkorn and Maha Vajiravudh are famous architectures. The Museum of Imaging Technology within the Faculty of Science houses a large collection of cameras from old to new. Next to the university are Chulalongkorn Hospital and Thai Red Cross. Inside the Red Cross there is a snake farm

Jim Thompson House

Chulalongkorn University

Ratchaprasong

called Queen Saovabha Memorial Institute (or Sathan Saovabha in Thai) showing venom extraction and producing serum to treat snakebites.

One of the major tourist attractions is the Jim Thomson House. It is a complex of manificent Thai wooden houses formerly home to James H.W. Thomson, an American who lived in Thailand, developed Thai silk industry, and brought it to fame to the western world. Now it is turned into a museum filled with lots of antique decorations.

The Erawan Shrine at the Ratchaprasong intersection is a sacred place where people come to pray and make wishes to Brahma. Wishes could include getting admitted to university, babies, jobs, and so on. Flowers, wooden elephants, or traditional Thai dances are returned when a wish is granted. Also located in Pathum Wan are Royal Bangkok Sport Club, a horse racing track operating every other Saturday, the National Stadium, the Lumphini Boxing Stadium where traditional Thai boxing matches are held, and Lumphini Park, the first park in Bangkok.

Every year around Christmas and New Year, shopping centers, hotels and sidewalks in the Ratchaprasong shopping district are heavily decorated with lights celebrating the event. It was started by Peninsular Plaza and The Regent hotel, and later expanded to Sogo (now out of business), Amarin Plaza, CentralWorld, Central Chit Lom, Gaysorn and more. Bangkok Metropolitan Administration also provides lights along the BTS Skytrain pillars. During the period, it is the brightest lit area of Bangkok. The countdown is held on the ground in front of CentralWorld.

Transportation (Public Transits)

Rail
Hua Lamphong is the central train station of Bangkok and the State Railway of Thailand. Trains depart from the station to destinations throughout Thailand.

Mass transit
- Bangkok Metro subway stations in the district are Hua Lamphong, Sam Yan, Si Lom, and Lumphini along the southern border of Pathum Wan.
- Bangkok Skytrain's main interchange station, Siam, is here providing connection between the Si Lom Line and Sukhumvit Line. Other BTS stations in Pathum Wan are National Stadium and Ratchadamri on the Si Lom Line and Chit Lom and Phloen Chit on the Sukhumvit Line.

Waterway
Express boats run along the narrow and polluted Khlong Saen Saeb, the canal on the northern district border.

Diplomatic missions
The embassies of Japan, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States are located in Pathum Wan.

Research Methodology

The purpose of this section is to discuss the investigative techniques considered appropriate for this study and the methods of data collection. These include direct observation in the field, interviews, newspaper archive and official document dossiers, as well as geographical survey within the studied district. Also we inevitably pry on some socio-cultural factors contributing to the local techniques or designs that proved to be an effective deterrence to the crime prevention.

The data collection process of the main fieldwork occurred over the course of nearly 2 months between November 2011 and December 2011. A total of 29 people, both residents in the area and the relevant groups (namely, policemen, business owners etc), were interviewed to provide a substantial amount of their attitudes towards and experiences of the crime reduction through CPTED. In addition, direct observation was undertaken by me as well as 15 participated students.

The primary concern of these interviews was to gauge the extent to which this diverse range of citizens believed that there had been a change in crime level and their attitudes towards the CPTED, as well as their perceptions and their willingness to cooperate with the authorities.

This project would not have succeeded without the help of many people. Thanks to all of those who participated in the survey and interviewing groups. In particular, I would like to thank all my students in processing surveys, taking lots of pictures which consume a huge amount of studying time. I hold a unique interest in strengthening the cooperation of the communities and the authorities sharing ideas as well as useful information to improve their physical environment for crime prevention. Improvement is not only possible but must become the expected outcome of policies, practices, and alternatives for future crime prevention.

Proposed Measurements

As said in the "Thisday" newspaper that Urbanization is often viewed as a negative trend. Urbanization as defined by the United Nations is "the physical growth of urban areas as a result of global change, it is also seen as a movement of people from rural to urban areas with population growth equating to urban migration". The United Nations projected that half of the world's population would live in urban areas at the end of 2008. As more and more people leave villages and farms to live in cities, urban growth results." The rapid growth of city like Bangkok can be attributed largely to rural-urban migration as well as crime. (http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/how-urbanisation-affect-qualityof-life/82851)

Statistics shows that the rapid urbanization of the world's population over the twentieth century. The global proportion of urban population rose dramatically from 13% (220 million) in 1900, to 29% (732 million) in 1950, to 49% (3.2 billion) in 2005. The same report projected that the figure is likely to rise to 60% (4.9 billion) by 2030. (Also in Thisday newspaper, ibid)

Considering Tom McKay's proposal into account, he proposed that CPTED emphasizes new way of dealing with street crimes through the development of three overlapping CPTED strategies. (Tom McKay 2000 p 1)   These strategies are:

• Natural Surveillance
• Natural Access Control
• Territorial Reinforcement

Natural Surveillance is a design strategy that is directed primarily at keeping intruders under observation. It uses design maneuvers to increase the visibility of an estate or a building. The appropriate arrangement and design of windows, lighting, and landscaping increases the ability to observe intruders. When natural surveillance is adjusted to its highest utility, it maximizes the potential to deter crime by making the offender's behavior more easily noticeable to the community, police patrol, or passersby.

Natural Access Control is a design strategy that is directed at decreasing crime opportunity. Natural access control utilizes things such as windows, doors, bushes, fences, and gates to deny access to a crime target and to deceive offenders that there is a risk in entering the area. Control-locks, bars, and alarms can supplement natural access control measures if necessary.

Territorial Reinforcement is a design strategy that realizes that physical design can create or extend a sphere of influence so that users develop a sense of proprietorship or territoriality.
Territorial reinforcement employs such design elements as sidewalks, landscaping, and porches to set apart between public and residential areas and allows the resident to exhibit signs of "ownership" that send "unwelcome" messages to would-be offenders.

More importantly, care and maintenance allows for the continued use of a space for its intended purpose. Deterioration and ruin indicate less concern and control by the residents as well as the authorities alike. Proper maintenance will protect the public health, safety and welfare in all existing structures, residential and nonresidential, and on all existing premises.

Results interpretation (Findings)

Our approach in understanding and explaining the causes of crimes generally uses a combination of three major elements as follows:
Firstly, In order to suppress, prevent and possibly punish the criminals and their crimes, classical school of criminology proposed upon utilitarian notions of free will and the greatest good for the greatest number. "At its core, classical criminology refers to a belief that a crime is committed after an individual weighs the pros and cons. The decision to commit a crime is a rational decision, and is best countered through a deterrence-based system." (Eric See et al 2004 p 7)

Secondly, Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) as an alternative way to fight crimes. This refers to a set of practices designed to make potential criminal targets less attractive. The belief that crime is a rational act is used to make a potential target less attractive to a criminal, and thus not a "rational" target. (Ibid p 7) A variety of environmental design could have an adverse affect on chances for criminal activity. somehow, C R Jeffery the founder of the term CPTED said that a coherent theoretical model of CPTED never existed. (C R Jeffre, 1999 p1.) Jeffrey demanded that the new urbanism must be used to plan urban growth in a more logical way, and to guide urban policy for the future, including crime as a major urban problem, something now neglected by urban planners. (Ibid p2) It is believed that citizen as well as the authorities become more aware of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design and possible reduction of criminal opportunity when loopholes and many other weaknesses are covered. It is therefore the CPTED is implemented with some creative solution where possible.

Routine Activities Theory. This theory or the so-called 'casual model' states that for crime to be committed, three elements must be present: an available target, a motivated offender, and a lack of guardians. (Ibid p 8)

These three important elements including some socio-cultural aspects will be used to analyze all hurdles and offer appropriate guidelines in terms of CPTED solution to suit the demand of changes for the local and the authorities.

What we learned through this survey is that of the 29 people randomly interviewed, the majority (27 people made up of about 93 percent in total) trusted that their quality of life will be remarkable improved by strictly enforce the urban planning laws, stop expansion of slums and halt public space intrusion along with new forms of community policing, technological applications, and effective public communication. These methods would be also very helpful and effective means to deter crimes in the area.

Categories of crimes	2008		2009		2010	
	Reported	Arrested	Reported	Arrested	Reported	Arrested
1. Serious violence crimes	17	12	18	15	17	9
2. Aggravated assault and rape	92	33	81	56	71	49
3. Property crimes	441	160	243	126	323	151
4. Crimes that caught public attention	271	18	206	54	152	32
5. Crimes against the state	556	556	435	435	450	450

Table 1: Number of Cases categorized by the type of major crimes within the Precinct of Prathuwan Police Station focusing on category 2 aggravated assault and rape as well as category 3 Property crimes
(Sources: The Courtesy of Prathumwan Police Station)

After the CPTED was implemented and adopted by the local and the authorities in Prathumwan district, we found that aggravated assault and rape went down from 92 in 2008 to 71 cases in 2010 with a good result of arrest rate. Even though the arrest rate for property crimes seems to be in a dissatisfactory way (number of cases dropped from 441 in 2008 to 323 in 2010, arrest rate was nearly a half of those arrested in 2009 the year before), a CO (Commissioned Officer) disclosed that *"there is a rapid population growth and people lived in high–rise condominiums and residential apartments which had recently emerged in a big scale ever. The city also offered a more convenient public transits (sky train and underground train) in which allowed criminals travel freely in the same way as ordinary passengers. This was about urbanization and crime rate increased! We didn't have enough police force to deal with the running criminals, somehow, we still trusted that the so-called 'Help Yourself Help Others' program like the CPTED was still a useful tool in fighting some kinds of street crimes"*

It is with all these in mind that I have sought to adapt a broad criminological causal model (classical school) to the task of understanding how CPTED works in the communities. The model to explain the causes of crimes I chose is the 'routine activity' approach first put forward by Cohen and Felson, and subsequently elaborated by Marcus Felson *(L Cohen and M Felson 1979) American Sociological Review 588-608. See also Marcus Felson California 2002) ix.*

This posits that for deviance to occur, there need to be a supply of motivated actors, opportunities, and a lack of 'capable guardians', meaning persons or institutional arrangements capable of and willing to prevent or control the behavior in question. This , of course might be 'a bore bones' model: it does not specify what provides motivation, nor what the nature of the opportunities must be for the risk to be taken, nor what

might be encompassed by the vague notion of 'capable guardians'. Nevertheless, CPTED does have some heuristic value in helping us to understand and design the environment to curb with the urban crimes.

The motivation force is the dissonance between the individual values and the failure of government or the authorities to provide, through the public pursue, sufficient resources to the police for them to carry out their work effectively as well as other negligence such as the expansion of slums, public space intrusion as well as the lack of effective urban planning for long. The majority Thais tend to be self-centred individuals which leads to a norm of indifference to others (Thu-Ra Mai-Chai as quoted by Mulder: *it is a culture of cynicism and indifference regarding the public and world around them'... which drives them to a stronger identification with family, friends, and other particularistic associations that emphasize individual worth (Neil Mulder p 135).* Neighborhood crime watch scheme is also Neighbourhood Crime Watch scheme is also another thing to substitute the effectiveness of CPTED, somehow, this seems to be a Herculean task to bring about the promised cooperation between the authority and the public so that the CPTED approach becomes more successful. As one respondent said during the interview that *'it's the government program, none of our business to get involved, there're lots of things to do for my own family '*. a kind of neutralization technique' for rationalizing things people do not willing to cooperate.

The opportunities issues is quite obvious particularly Prathumwan district is located in the very heart of the city as above mentioned. There are several high-end shopping centers, financial institutions, government facilities and many others within this 5 square kilometers. This could be an opportunity galore for the criminals and opportunity sometimes creates crime. If there is an opportunity where there is a temptation or attraction of something to be obtained so easily, it will be taken up by the onlookers or criminals. If this opportunity is removed, it removes the chances of temptation and crime can be stopped. For example if a car is parked in an area where presence of CCTV is observed, this could reduce the temptation and might distract a car thief and prevent such crime more or less.

Gottfreson and Hirschi proposed that (Michael Gottfreson and Travis Hirschi 1990 p 4-5) people like us have a propensity to crime but not everyone engage in the criminal acts due to the fact that we experiencing various opportunities and balancing of the risks and the benefits (classical criminological concept). Both see that *in all criminal acts involve little foresight, planning, or efforts; they are mostly simple, trivial and easy. (Ibid p 12)*
Therefore the more controlling the opportunities, the less chances for the criminal to do their activities. As a CO (Commissioned Officer) at Prathumwan Police Station also divulged that *'It is the policy and guidance for all residential areas are well lit at night time along with a good neighbourhood scheme in place, an adequate police activity and CCTV in operation, the statistics shows that there are reduction in car thief and burglary in the area".* However, he added that "CPTED measures do not deal with crimes that occur in some specific areas. For example, they do not help to prevent crimes in which the victim personally knows or provides access to the offender, namely, domestic violence, acquaintance rape, and other measures are needed to deal with these situations on case by case basis."

It is evident from our survey on the above that a reduction in opportunities shows a decline in the crime rate.

What do we need in crime fighting?

It is worth defining culture at this point. Culture is a complex and broad concept, which can be defined in many ways. Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1871) stated that "culture in its wide ethnographic sense is that complex whole which includes knowled*ge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society* " (Marvin Harris 1988 p 122).

It involves what people think, what they do, and the material products (design) they produce. Culture touches members of a society in which it shapes their value, assumptions, perceptions, and behaviour.

The question is: How does culture impact the architectural design and people thought and action especially for crime reduction in each community? There is a need for a survey on people culture and its impact on environmental adjustments or designs in crime fighting.

Triandis (Harry C Triandis et al Vol 54 No 2 pp 323-338)   The American Psychological Association 1988) identifies aspects of cultural variation as individualism-collectivism. He states that Asian countries represent the collectivism culture, while the United States and European industrial countries are characterized by individualism. This is in contrast to Mulder's notion as discussed earlier. He also describes further that collectivist cultures are interdependence, group identity, self-restraint, and hierarchical control.

Individualism, in contrast to collectivism, it highly values individuality and freedom. These basic cultural characteristics strongly shape the social systems, lifestyles, and values of each society which is passed on to the idea as well as their ways in crime fighting or prevention.

The following are examples of CPTED in which various Prathumwan communities are carried out effectively at the present.

1. Back to basic : Security guard on spot

Security guard

(Information and Picture: Courtesy of Bangkok Post)

(Information and Picture : Courtesy of The Nation)

Harry Gold puts that it is the so-called "street" crimes such as murder, armed robbery, assault, and rape that the public is most likely to identify as the crime problem. So the presence of security guard or the police is intended to alleviate fears of crime in the city as well as to serve as a crime deterrent. (Harry Gold 1982 p 292)

2 . Dummies!!!

Dummy cameras
According to the present Bangkok Governor (MR Sukhumbhand Paribatra), there are now 10,000 CCTV cameras operating in Bangkok to make the capital safer. The Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) had installed the 10,000 surveillance cameras near junctions and in areas where there was a high crime risk, and near schools, hospitals, community areas and important places around the capital (Bangkokpost 30 6 11) These also included 1,325 dummy closed-circuit security cameras which had been installed throughout the capital city (Bangkokpost 22 12 11)
The Metropolitan Police had installed "intelligent" dummy police officers, nicknamed "Jah Choey" or Sergeant Idly Silent, where accidents take place frequently, like intersections, bridges or roads with solid white lines, or where motorists break traffic laws often. This is in order to keep an eye on traffic law violators the dummy officers would capture images of traffic violators and help real traffic policemen with their job. The dummies are equipped with security and speed cameras to detect motorists who violate the law as well as help cut down on traffic violations and make Bangkok drivers more cautious. The cameras embedded in the dummies will transmit images to traffic police officers' smart phones or tablet computers within a 2 to 5 kilometre radius as well as to the Traffic Police Command Centre. (The Nation 30 9 11)

3.Ghost out there! Death Symbol!

Many Thais apparently fear a variety of Ghosts and evil spirits that might affect their lives to the same extent as the Karma concept (Law of action, one's personal lot in life' as said by Neils Mulder (2000 p 84) Every household will pay respect to the spirit that they believe provides protection and guards their family members: 'Phraphum is the lord of the place (Chao-thi), that is, the local ruler whose presence should be recognized and respected' (Neils Mulder 2000 p 25). Accordingly, many Thai households will erect a spirit house (san-PRA-PUMi) , big or small depending on their resources and concerns, at a corner of their house in order to worship the spirit.

A Thai local erected a God of Death statue in order to warn passersby of well behave as well as intimidate the potential offenders.

Spirit Houses (San Phrapumi in Thai colloquial)

Mulder also suggested that "San Phraphum that stand prominently at the road side, however, likely indicate danger spots. *"some believe accidents occurred because the dead took other lives to replace their duties, or the victims showed."*

Another foreigner further criticized the important of this fearsome structure *"Thai belief in spirit houses can be positively defined as a sign of concern for safety on the highway the ad asserts. Thus, shrine power overrides human control over destiny. Some drivers turning past Erawan Shrine in Bangkok (Prathumwan district) lift both hands off the wheel to wai. The modernity of a shrine lies not just in the architecture, but also in changes in usage, who gets worshipped, and the demographic of the devotees."* (Philip Cornwell-Smith 2011 p 184).

4. Local Improvements

Two way mirrors at Chulalongkorn University are often used as a surveillance tool helping to save students' belongings as well as university's property from theft and create a perception of risk to offenders.

A shop owner within Prathumwan district installed several wall-sized mirrors for shop security as a deterrent to theft and to monitor her corridors and reception

Most late-night convenience stores in the city cooperated with the police to implement visibility standards, burglary alert training and cash control.

Chulalongkorn University installed benches for students can sit and observe activities on streets, sidewalks, open spaces, etc

Using technological appliances: Chulalongkorn University also deploys access control measures using electrical/mechanical devices such as CCTV and various physical means to deny offenders' activities. CCTV was installed in various places within University's areas; the below picture shown a dummy CCTV near a football field, and another CCTV with a yellow warning sign installed at a main building.

Flyover allows easy access to the public with some adjustments for crime prevention.

The newly refurbished clear-roof flyover connecting MBK centre and Siam Discovery center delivered wider pavements, better lighting and better visibility for the public.

Parking lot in a department store: security is the first priority

A famous department store within the area provides a better-looking garage with quality lighting which will not only improve the environment, but will attract more customers. The idea of creating a comfortable environment will attract more customers and makes them feel safe and secure.

Powerful spotlights were also installed outside the department store provided a better visibility at night.

"Safe and sound" elevators
Another well-known department store provides its customers with glass elevators in creating a safe and aesthetically pleasing environment

Freebies!
Examples of Unfriendly (undesirable) architectural design

CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

The implementation of CPTED should be revised regularly in order to check factors that affect the success or failure in crime reduction. Designers need to construct meaningful frameworks for making appropriate decisions regarding the effectiveness of changed environment. It is important that we need to provide the communities as well as public members with a more environmental friendly living which will not disrupt or disturb the way people live. Cooperation is a key to success, we need to create new environment that they feel comfortable sharing and living in. This is where the CPTED provides concerned parties with the ability to incorporate both cultural factors and environmental design strategies.

local authorities must play a vital role in coordinating security measures and partnerships involving numerous actors and concerned parties. Everyone should take part in sharing information, good practice, experiences and innovative approaches to create safe and sound environment.

It could be seen that to achieve all these important goals we need a blend of both the new creative ideas and communities' acceptance. This does not mean that we simply recreate the environment in a unique setting and then offer it to the communities as a multipurpose solution. However, if we utilize the fruitful solution and uphold the said above strategies that have produced successful results in the past and apply them in the new neighbourhood, we will begin the process of creating blended the CPTED concept with the social diversity.

It will be through the blending process that we will be able to provide once and for all solution regardless of the location and culture, with a dynamic changing environment. This process will empower the communities with the ability to discover best practices to fit their individual living styles. Some dimensions that could make the strategies a successful approach are:

- Satisfies both people in the communities and other concerned parties.
- Creates a more environmental friendly living.
- Enhances community capacity to adjust them to the new environment.
- Stresses on blending cultural factors and changing environment.
- Provides clear guidelines and direct messages to members of the public.
- Coordinates and facilitates access to new technology.

- Enhances communication and interaction styles.
- Decreases difficulties and barriers in communication.
- Minimizes the opportunities for criminal activity within the area as well as next-door communities.
- Allows for more effective and highly satisfactory cooperation between the authorities and communities.
- Enhances self-learning, self-motivation and independence.
- Reduces time and unnecessary costs.
- Supports various living styles and strategies.
- Provide a balance between new and traditional changing environment.

A good deal of research will be required to develop guidelines for effective environmental designs that accommodate different cultures. This may encourage researchers to explore further into the awareness of cross-cultural differences in applying CPTED as best practice.

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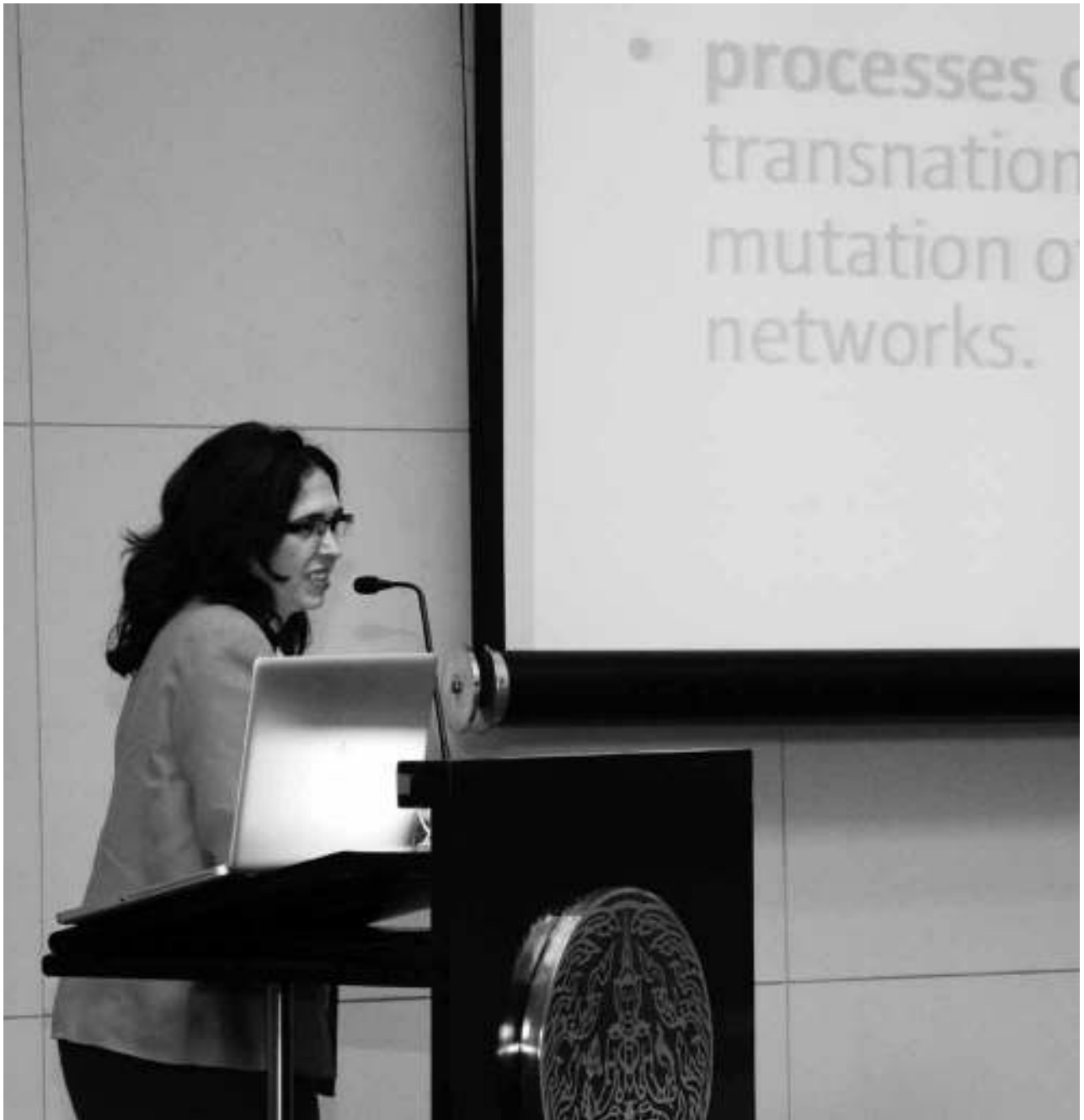
DESIGN, DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION: DEBATES FOR A FUTURE VISION OF THE CITY

Carolina Mera and Mónica Lacarrieu
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Buenos Aires

Abstract

Our proposal, coming from a socio-anthropological perspective, deals with the complex relationship between design and social development in the city of Buenos Aires. We start from a design concept associated with the idea of cultural symbolism that can contribute, and stress, social development - considering also that the concept of "social development" should be reviewed in terms of its original concept, as one that links development to change. From this point of view, we start from the assumption that in contemporary cities, and in this sense also in Buenos Aires, there are processes that are in tension with culture in relation to the social: processes that exalt the cultural as "wealth" and devalue and/or minimize the social, which is always linked to "poverty".

From this perspective we will critically analyze the processes of requalification in which culture is a resource for urban planning. Culture as symbolic plot materializes in objects, goods, artifacts (infrastructure) and even in "intangible" expressions which are modeled in a design vision, in terms of aesthetics and beauty. This contributes to the formation of a "politics of places," a kind of space narrative, which includes both central neighborhoods and popular settlements. Some authors, such as Jordi Borja, have called this model a "scenographic urbanism" and others, from a socio-anthropological perspective, a process of "culture without copyright" (Nicholas Bautes). They are processes that are formed separating local individuals from their histories, expressions, and property, generating spaces of contemplation where the "right to beauty" (an authorized aesthetic) produces a "partial inclusion based on the observation" - the idea of the "right to beauty" takes place against the "right to the centrality" for the popular sectors. We consider that the vision associated with contemplation is associated with the assumption that current governance focuses its policy in the intervention on public spaces rather than on housing. In other words, we believe that today it is more important to generate interventions that consider the individuals "in transit" (although "individual in transit" does not mean immigrant), i.e. that prioritizes the mobility rather than the individual resident, local and located.

The truth is that culture appears as a tool for apparent social inclusion, a builder of images and signs, therefore as a resource of apparent administration and regulation of urban and social conflicts, when in reality the same culture becomes an instrument of power and social control. From this perspective, the practices of the inhabitants become similar and assimilated to these processes (not only in central areas, but also in popular settlements), but occasionally they also become "response practices" of those. The affinity of the practices usually goes hand in hand with diversity as "utopian" management tool behind the public processes of urban requalification. It is therefore of utmost relevance to note the role that "multiculturalism" plays the in these processes. Thus, it is possible to observe a hegemonic multicultural narrative that runs and aestheticizes these redefined spaces, at the same time in which migrant individuals - often subjects of that narrative - contribute in the ways that they inhabit and territorialize to build cultural identities, and also social networks. In this sense, it is interesting to observe how the integration/inclusion of communities of migrants (Bolivian, Chinese, Korean, Senegalese, among others) in the city of Buenos Aires involves a redesign of unique urban landscapes in its cultural and symbolic sense, through the visibility of its diversity (typical features that mark the space), producing mechanisms of intercultural relations from which it is possible to generate basis for exchange and coexistence, for the urbanity and the aesthetic sense of design. But at the same time, how these processes can be transformed into multicultural situations when they become necessary and functional to the requalification produced by groups and individuals with greater material and symbolic power. It is in the tension between both situations, that a door to the discussion on the rights to diversity and cultural difference opens.

Now we question: Are design and culture, as symbols, the necessary resources for the requalification? Does social relegation not need these resources? Is it possible that culture as aesthetic design becomes a resource of legitimation for individuals considered relegated, such as migrants, the popular sectors, among others? Why and who are the social individuals that compete for places in terms of culture, design and aesthetics? Is it possible that the culture can be part of the design beyond aesthetics and beauty? Is it possible that design can contribute to the construction of multiculturalism and the processing of the rights to cultural difference? We will endeavor to respond critically through empirical contexts and situations, controversial for a Latin American city like Buenos Aires.

Introduction

The following reflection focuses on the design and sign language used for the communication and transmission of images and symbols in pursuit of a public debate on the ways of appropriation of the public spaces, the collective memory, the identities and the social and productive development.

In this sense, we work from two types of urban expressions; on the one hand, with processes of requalification implemented from the public and/or private power by "new cultural middlemen" (Bourdieu, quoted on Bovone) that intervene from the design articulation culture and aesthetics with mechanisms that enable the accomplishment of certain changes in the uses, appropriations and valuations of spaces; and on the other hand, with processes or urban transformations which have certain transnational migrant communities as actors. During the last years, there was also the incorporation of design and mutation of landscape, not from the policies applied by the cultural middlemen but from the installation of networks that leave an imprint of their cultural particularities.

It is our intention to create a dialogue between these two types of processes, as far as they are both part of the impact that the "globalization" logics have on the cities.

In the first case, by turning them more homogeneous aesthetically, especially by the economical and consumption model they promote; and in the second case, by promoting the emergence of transformed spaces in their aesthetic patterns by migrant groups that question the system of hegemonic cultural representations.

It is on that tension that we analyze Buenos Aires today and intend to think it in its present-future. Not all cultural urban interventions have or produce the same sense. This depends, as we will see in the article, on the actors involved (their interests, strategies and motivations), and on time and space. Culture as a creative process is a part of the daily life of the social groups which are expressed on the territorial horizon. In both processes –whether the main actors are the migrants or the cultural middlemen- culture becomes a link to the design, communicating and conveying senses.

The cultural tensions in relation to the social matter have to be view from all the rights, not only from the socio-economical ones, but also from the right to cultural diversity understood as an expression of organization and production of cultural logics and not as folk processes of commercialization of their cultural features, that like the processes of requalification propose a work "by no actor/author".

So, while the requalified zones are taken by the hegemonic speeches as part of the processes of social inclusion, where the "socio-cultural" component has a fundamental importance to legitimize these processes of urban "regeneration", the presence of "ethnical neighborhoods" is not understood as a possibility for the acknowledgment of the right to cultural diversity, including the debate inclusion-segregation, but as potential resources for "requalification". To highlight the difference between these diverse ways of culturally molding of urban spaces, what we call "ethnical neighborhoods" and requalified spaces, we mention the presence of the Barrio Chino [China Town] that, as we will see, uses the oriental cultural structure to carry out a process of requalification that reifies folklorizes and empties the group…

Thus, in the present article we make a critical analysis of the processes of "scenographic urbanism" taking first the processes of requalification in which culture is constituted as a resource of design in pursuit of urban planning; and second the analysis of processes of emergence of urban spaces signed by cultural particularities product of certain migratory groups (Koreans and Bolivians) that question the patterns of the hegemonic culture (mono-cultural and supposedly homogeneous) by making it dialogue with the process of renovation of the Chinese neighborhood of Belgrano C, as Oriental Neighborhood, that valorizes the ethnical difference but from a marketing functionality. Finally we present some lines of reflection to contribute to the debate.

1- "Culture without author" : keys to reflect critically on the new "policies of places" re-qualified

Why relate culture, design and urban spaces? On the one hand, because the contemporary cities, especially since the deindustrialization, are no longer structured on the basis of social principles, but on the basis of culture, on the contrary of modern cities. If, in the conformation of the industrialization cities the primacy was the technical element, the design and "type of corresponding symbolic representation" (Fiori Arantes 1996) are the new strategies of planning . A long time ago, while we were writing another text, we concluded that heaviness characterized the cities of the modernity, a heaviness bluntly marked by the industry, that had unavoidable became in levity as deindustrialization was gaining space and the signs were being more important every time. If the cities of the modernity were built based on an objectivistic perspective of space –the objects in their materiality were protagonists of the planning, even over the subjects, in consequences

as a metaphor of "the city… without bodies" (Pillai 1999)-, contemporary cities are going through changes in their nature that, according to Lash y Urry (1998), imply transformations in the type of objects that are being emptied of materiality, producing each time more signs than material goods, things and infrastructures.

On the other hand, because it is precisely from this perspective that the design has included new actors, called by Bourdieu "new cultural middlemen" (quoted on Bovone, 1997). If the cities of the modernity were planned by the city planner, nowadays not only are they the experts in the urban, but also the specialists on design, aesthetics and communication –cultural producers, communicators, publicists, graphic designers, image and sound designers, journalists, cultural managers, cultural entrepreneurs, among others- who have acknowledged the public spaces, in favor of re-qualifying whole zones resorting to resources of culture, through which they have become themselves in "chains of transmission" of images and signs (Bovone Op.cit:111).

The city of Buenos Aires is not alien to these new processes of the transnational public agenda. Processes that, besides being transnational, are also trans-urban, as they are applied on a vast proportion of the cities of Latin America. But, are all these urban actions the same? Or, in another words, do all the proposals constituted under this perspective materialize in the same conditions, with the same involved actors, producing a strong consensus on them? What are the scopes of this proposal? What are the limitations of attempts of transformation of the existing in terms of image-show, beauty, past-patrimony, nature, culture-art in cities, such as the Latin American ones, where most part of the population is under processes of impoverishment and social inequality?

Although it is clear that these processes, in each city, have to be view and understood at the light of the specific urban histories or of their historical processes of conformation , there are common features that seem to trespass the boundaries and appropriate diverse spaces. Under the perspective of N. Smith (1979, 1986) these transformations are related to processes heightened by the globalization, speculation that due to them such urban changes can be traced under "one form" that is materialized in the commodified city and is visualized as "object of consumption". However, as formulated by Massey (2005:129) in relation to the view associated to the global space, the processes of re-qualification analyzed hereunder are not a "real" description of those produced in different cities in the world, but rather "an image through which the world is being made", or an image through which the processes of re-qualification are being developed. During the last years, not only the planners and managers have been convinced of the feasibility of the development of these processes view as global, but even that academic specialists have come to talk of "cities of unique thinking" (cfr. Arantes, Vainer y Maricato 2000), omitting multiple trajectories and temporalities through which each city and inside them, each space produced in this sense answers differently.

In the case of the city of Buenos Aires, the primacy obtained by these processes that began to be seen in the decade of 1990 –obviously this data is minor, and it indicates that the urban actions carried out under this perspective, also respond to socio-political contexts- have led to the observation not only of the relevance given to culture, but also above all the tension between the cultural and the social: processes that highlight the cultural, as "richness" and devaluate and/or minimize the social, related always to "poverty".

This tension is contradictory in relation to how culture has imbricated in the contemporary world. Therefore, to understand these processes it is necessary to understand the changes that have been produced in relation to how to understand culture today. For the last years, culture has exceeded the traditional field of transcendence and cultural excellence, becoming a strategy –a resource for authors like G. Yúdice (2002)- that is

supposed to be able to act on other areas of social life. It could be speculated that, from this perspective, it has been picked up in its anthropologic conception: with a symbolic tissue that crosses all the environments of our societies – by now the idea naturalized around the idea that "everything is culture" exemplifies this vision-. The trivialization on which culture is built as a resource, by the effect of its supposed extension that comes from thinking it as a resource that be flexibilized and spread beyond the social and cultural distinctions –from this point of view there would not only be extension but also apparently inclusion-, is based on an essential and practical idea of culture that at a first stage relegates the importance of thinking culture as "the cultural" (Appadurai 2001), that is to say, as a difference located by effect of specific processes of localization, and unequally built in relation to them. Thus, culture in these terms dedifferentiates (reproduces models apparently generalizable and equally necessary, denying its hegemonic dimension).

Culture, in this sense, transcends the field of artistic quality, and under this expansive look, is appropriated by other environments related to the cultural intermediation and production. This new conception contributes to the structuring of an "economy and [architecture] of signs and spaces" (Lash y Urry 1998) –in relation to the intensive design and the innovating creativity-, by means of which it contributes to the communication and vehiculization of senses.

Culture as symbolic tissue materializes in objects, goods, artifacts (infrastructure) and even "immaterial" expressions that pick up the vision of design under the key of aesthetics and beauty, contributing to the conformation of a new "policy of places" (Delgado 1998), a sort of spatial story, that includes central neighborhoods as well as popular settlements. This allegedly advance related to the uses of the culture in the urban conformation of the cities, seems to contradictorily lead to a new perspective – although not that new since it is settled on the anthropologic conception of culture- on which it seems to acquire its own identity, impose itself over and beyond the subjects, juxtaposing itself to the goods and objects sometimes without mediating among them any appropriation of behalf of themselves. In this sense, it "creates an atmosphere", levitating as "spirit" and "soul" of the "things", as an autonomous field as regards the subjects and social groups. Under this perspective, culture is seen as an antidote for the urban pathologies, associated to the vision of creativity. Creativity and expansion of culture beyond the fine arts and the historic patrimony suppose a disarticulation in the culture and the specialization and consecration instituted by the effect of selective cultural policies, also they suppose an equality of production, circulation and consumption of the of the tissue of symbols that cross the social life. It is expected that the ability to imagine and innovate comes from the acknowledgment of the creativity that we all can develop –which makes us wonder on what would be the role of the cultural producers, the managers, the designers- beyond special intellectual and/or cultural abilities. This perspective leads to the thought that every city has resources associated to culture and that we are all potentially creative. A vision that unavoidably evokes the idea that "everybody has culture", nevertheless, as pointed out by G. Canclini (2005), it omits the question on who, where and how it can be developed.

In the path towards its use in processes of urban re-qualification, culture behaves with a certain ambiguity: on the one hand, it spreads as attribute and attribution expanded on the structuring of the daily social life –it subjective itself- and, on the other hand, it acquires a sense of "transcendence" every time it becomes a resource of said processes –in the transformation of a "common place" to an "extraordinary and out of the common place" (Monnet 1996) it is necessary to select and highlight certain symbolic referents from which parameters of definition of place and a matrix of socio-cultural inclusion-exclusion are established-. Thus culture turns to patrimony or the art (in the case of the cities, the public art), that by means of uses of design, aesthetics and

beauty, operates on the conformation of exceptional and of cultural excellence referents –exceptional because they can represent by the excess and condensation of signs, not by cultural transcendence-. Culture is re-institutionalized objectivating and materializing manifestations of immaterial nature.

This new relationship between culture and the social life, undoubtedly controversial, has been modifying the place of the former in the urban spaces. Augoyard (2000:17) pointed out that the city has been the object of art and/or temple of art –the patrimony in its conservationist sense was inseparable from this vision, but so were the fine arts- and that, currently, this type of relation with culture coexists with a new one: "the city as substratum of art", i.e. "places can evolve into material for creation, immanent support, interactive set; and the citizens, free spectators, participants or actors".

The city of Buenos Aires has been part of these changes, in the decade of 1990, emphasizing more in determinating apparent actions that led to talk about a "fragmented city" (more related to cultural operations associated to cultural relativism), but that as it can be observed, it had more to do the construction of "policies of places" intertwined; while in the period posterior to the socio-economic crisis (2002 onwards) focusing on the city in its whole and operating on it with "culture of design". This idea was expressed in our city, especially after the crisis, it was an elaborated and institutionally legitimated construction, probably from the thinking that there are cities that, like ours, have more reserves of "creativity" or with a higher capital of "cultural expressiveness", which tends to happen at a higher degree in the capital cities, although not always (such as the case of Bilbao, Manchester, Evora in Europe would be proving otherwise). In Buenos Aires, the socio-economic crisis was the trigger from which there was the re-appropriation of that preexisting cultural capital, seen as outlet of the crisis itself; however, the consequences generated later as regards the selectivity that this same expansion and inclusion of design produced among the inhabitants themselves (depending on the social classes, symbolic capitals, generational gaps) show that design and culture are also tools for social exclusion.

The same way that it happened in the decade of 1990, the processes of urban regeneration contributed to the production of urban image –as stated by Lash y Urry)-, in the context of the crisis, the appeal to culture and design in an integral sense, also had as an objective the recreation of positive image of the city –cities has always been represented through images, only that nowadays imaginary is an inherent and integral part of them-. Thus, the design was not only promoted as professional field in lines such as clothing, or in its relations to the cultural industries, but also it was part of the gestation of "spatial arrangements" that imply the selection and definition of a "specific type of looking and view" (Freshe;1997:125). But, does the image say it all? Images allow to absorb the objects and condensate them in signs, values, beliefs, behaviors. The crystallization of positive image becomes the raw material of speeches, but necessarily designed so that it has a place and can become object of the economic swings. The territorialization of an image, built on the basis of several positive images from different exceptionalized and designed places, legitimates a vision on what the city must be, how it should be lived, and at the same time, it produces and promotes an organization into hierarchies and boundaries on the natural and the foreign, what is allowed and what prohibited, what is tolerable and what intolerable, what is visible and what invisible.

Nonetheless, these prescriptions that the image also produces tend to be left submitted in the selected synthesis of some symbols. So, the generation of a positive image is producer of socio-cultural identity? Up to where does that image identify us as inhabitants, passersby, residents, etc. of the city of Buenos Aires? Who becomes de deserver of that image? Who does it build as "us" in the city? The fixation of an image secures an idealization of the urban life but also of an "ideal citizen" (in the case of

Buenos Aires: as city of design, a city characterized and qualified according to values associated to aesthetics and beauty, likewise with inhabitants and visitors that can identify themselves the proper values of that image, different to what most of the inhabitants produce, reproduce, consume). But this image not necessarily as a "mark" enables the visualization of social and cultural identities that surely can generate resistances to those marks (although sometimes also being functional in order to compete and feel as part of the ideal city).

In this line of urban conformation, in which culture and design are strategic vectors of requalification of the places of the city, on the one hand, it can be seen that they promote a strong economic relation (from which the idea of city marketing comes), and on the other hand, they seem to go through all the spheres of social life. Nevertheless, the apparent advantages of this new relation are complexly intertwined with the social and the politic: although they seem to join for a greater democratization and social inclusion, they tend to separate themselves from the social by means of less politic and more segregationist landscaping interventions, and at the same time, they are resources that end up automating and disconnecting themselves from the political and social role they should be implicated in. The trend of the uses of culture and design in the management of the cities lead to be thought of as resources of no management, outside the processes of urban planning and in a depoliticized way.

In this sense: from the view set in the contemporary cities, culture and design have joined in the staging of processes of cultural requalification (the so called "scenopraphic urbanism"). The idea of scenographic urbanism appeals to the conception of a "creative city" in which the resources of culture –by extension also those of nature- are seen as innovative and original solutions for the urban problems proper to contemporaneity. But the conception of scenographic urbanism is also related to the idea of "city-event" that is being developed so strongly in some big capitals, such as Berlin or Barcelona. The "industry of the imaginary" is the basis of these urban development processes, by means of which it is intended to "exorcize" the possible effects on segregation (Fiori Arantes, 2004), an issue that can be metaphored in the idea of "voodoo city" –picking up the expression of Harvey (1988; quoted on Featherstone, 1995:150)- in which the postmodern façade of the cultural re-development can be seen as a Shrovetide mask that veils the decadence of all the rest".

But maybe what is interesting about this "new urbanism" is that it takes into account the public space as strategy for zoning and planning of the city by the instauration of public policies, but also private ones, that are supposed to help in the creation of a "strategy of place" by transforming processes that facilitate the "circulation of senses" around the new sense of place on which the intervention occurs (Berdoulay and Morales, 1999:86). In this sense, the vision of scenographic urbanism breaks the classic assumption of Da Matta (1991), according to which there were two spaces and two times, one related to the ordinary and the other to the extraordinary, on which he placed the Shrovetide Festival.

They are resources that from their apparent lack of conflict intervene on the space of urbanity controlling bodies and behaviors, "sterilizing the diversity and the fear" (Zukin: 1996), in short, procuring the masking of a segregation each time more deepened. New policies of places generating cultural landscapes in aesthetics, design and beauty substitute the social and daily matter regularly conflictive.

In relation to these new processes it is necessary to consider some of its key and structuring aspects. First, it is no longer enough to live in the neighborhoods, but also those neighborhoods and/or their places have to be "picturesque", and picturesqueness

is not easily achieved. Not any place –neighborhood, street, landscape, etc.- have the same material and symbolic elements necessary to become picturesque: first of all there is the gestation of a script, or in the words of Certeau (1995) "an account of the journey" that allows to practice the space between milestones and icons that turn it more beautiful, exotic and at the same time purer.

From the "neighborhood" to the "cultural landscape" (Zukin 1996) there occurs the transformation that modifies the conformation of the cities. The idea of "cultural landscape" implies that perspective of "spatial arrangement" and of impression/condensation of symbols that make said space "picturesque/typical". In some spaces, the idea of "picturesque" is invented in favor of this type of processes, but in other spaces, such as La Boca, it is possible that that transformation is the result of a re-acquisition of the "accidents of history" (Coelho 2008). The colorful houses (tenements) that have produced a traditional image of the place, nevertheless product of a cultural invention that was assumed as original and with historical continuity, are a good example of cultural reproduction on which re-qualifications are produced. This specialization is supposed to produce a city that is more associated to the consumption than to the production, which reaches to a higher level of consensus without conflict related to processes of resistance.

Second, the re-qualification operates on a higher degree on the public spaces than on the habitation spaces, habitability and housing –i.e. although it is expected that these actions towards culture as a resource intervene on the social, normally this sphere is relegated, even contributing to the deepening of poverty, not only by means of expulsion of the population, but also by means of masking the segregation-. The centrality of the public spaces is an aspect that has been clearly observed in the rehabilitation of Puerto Madero –those who planned this place from the beginning suggested that this type of "cleaning" of the public spaces would imply "new frictions" among the people, that is to say, the conformation of a "new urbanity" based on an urban moral that, nevertheless, is selective-. But even the relation of this type of processes with the historic center, San Telmo, shows how the relevance given to the public spaces has been crucial in the deepening of social segregation. Just as an example, the construction of a "cultural landscape" in this place produced micro-landscapes that are central to the revaluation of the public spaces. The eviction of the former Padelai (at that time inhabited by 300 families) and its transformation into the Cultural Center of Spain is a good example of that objective and, at the same time, it shows the consequences of that change: on the one hand, the idea of a cultural center that trespasses its own boundaries, takes the street into account, and even authorizes the access to the place in favor of activities that exceed culture in the conventional sense of the word; and on the other hand, its transformation has contributed to the devaluation of the housing needs of the popular sectors, and the revaluation of culture as trace and urban footprint. The manager of the cultural center said: "…there is a concept of culture that is culture for everyone. Culture for everyone has to have accessibility, that is the main thing… accessibility for the handicapped, for anyone who wants to come, that no one has an impediment to go to a cultural center if he desires so, whether he is handicapped… or his sate" and "… people have to enter your cultural center to pee, I always say so, I mean, when you get that people enter to pee without asking anything it is because he has already made that place his own, maybe he pees and does not see anything, but you would have accomplished that sensibility that, really, what is more important?, that people do not feel strange entering into a cultural center, because a cultural center has to be their own", it has to be like their homes! It should have no physical impediment." Therefore, one of the central changes of these processes is the importance given to the public spaces as if democratization and social inclusion were possible from them, because everyone can get in, walk them, appropriate them. As it can be gathered from the testimonies, culture in its broadened conception seems to be fundamental.

Third, to action on the public spaces means to generate a vision associated to the contemplation and circulation, prior that to social appropriation. We think that this vision associated to contemplation is related to the assumption according to which the current public management focuses its action, as we have said, in the intervention of the public spaces rather than on the housing. In other words, we believe that today it is more relevant to generate interventions that consider the subject "in transit" (although "subject in transit" does not translate as immigrant subject), that is to say they prioritize the circulation and mobility rather than the resident, local and localized subject. A contemplation that, according to Gravari-Barbas (2002), can be translated into a right to view, a right that would be related to the right to beauty stated by Amendola (2000). The view seems to be a quality and even an asset (in the sense of Bourdieu) that experts posses in a higher degree than the inhabitants of the places. From re-qualification it is possible to see this matter: the historic center is more visible and understandable for the patrimonialists (that are not only academics or managers of the patrimony but also social groups that have acquired that asset) than for those who try to become invisible in illegally taken houses or attached to poverty. The primacy given to the circulation and contemplation is linked to the visibility-invisibility in which the spaces objects of re-qualification are produced. Some authors, like Jordi borja, have called this model "scenographic urbanism" and others, from a socio-anthropologic perspective, as a process of "culture without author" (Nicolás Bautes), for they are processes that are constituted by disappropriating the social local subjects (of the places) from their histories, expressions and goods, generating spaces of contemplation where the "right to beauty" (an authorized aesthetics) produces a "partial inclusion based on the observation" –the idea of "right to beauty" is produced contrary to the "right to centrality" for the popular sectors-.

We can speculate that among the components with higher symbolic value in the new urban world there is the aesthetics and the color. However, color has not been historically constituted as a sensorial element inherent to the cities. The imposition of scenographic urbanism on behalf of the public and private actor implies the inscription of color in the aesthetics of the city. Color grants visibility, it introduces shapes that shape and color the "reality", although it also exposes that which results from the world of the undesirable. That is why, that even with the apparent harmlessness that the inscription of color on the facades, walls, doors, streets and promenades in general supposes, the same can turn into some of the worst effects of this type of urbanism. To the color that are introduced in the processes of re-qualification of certain places, it should be added the projection of those on reduced spaces as it was the case of Lanin Street, in Barracas, or Zelaya Street in The Abasto. The first case is a good example of the new use that is being made on the public spaces, as objects of play and dramatization with a high aesthetics potential (Augoyard, 20009. Lanin has been object of the so called "urban artistic actions" –following Augoyard- or of the "street arts" –picking up Chaudoir- or what the plastic artist himself as generator of the process has called "public art". Whereas the "theater has trespassed the walls", the plastic artist and his work go out on the streets "forcing" the neighbors to contemplate his art on a daily basis. Although with subtle and big differences, Caminito, Lanin and Zelaya are the prototype of places on which it is supposed that the recovery of the image in times of crisis will allow the reanimation of the public space, and also the production of new public sociabilities invited to be constituted form the appealing incitation of art, culture and show. Although Caminito has been object of color since the time that the industrial city was the protagonist, it should be highlighted that during the last years it has been potentiated from said aesthetics in favor of re-qualifying the neighborhood in its totality, of invisualizing the surviving popular sectors that still inhabit the surrounding gray and faded tenements, and appealing a greater degree of tourism needing exoticism and picturesqueness. Caminito appeals to an available emblem (Gorosito, 2001) that comes

into present from the past, disputed as fundamental symbol, and actually from it, it looks for social consensus locating on said landscape, that icon that everyone respects and has even naturalized and incorporated as part of the collective memory, even if the new inhabitants of the tenements are not a part of that past. In Lanin, the artist uses a new way to make culture-art, that involves the public space, appealing partly to the old and known like Caminito, that makes it socially approved, and at the same time acting as a gap in the daily routine that leads to impose a clear distance and cut as regards the past, making the present to be built more towards the future than towards the past (for example when neighbors say that the old Lanin was gray and that now it is alive and that that was positive for the place). Note that the past is not used in the same sense, it is constituted in a conflicted way and becomes a resource for instrumental manifestation, instrumented by those who decide on the way to make progress –sometimes from the past, other towards the future, although past and future should converge in the present-. To reanimate Lanin from the strategy of color, establishing and consolidating the boundaries of picturesqueness three blocks away, was an initiative of a plastic artist of the street who, supported by the City Government, negotiated in a conflictive manner with his neighbors in order to create "an identity architecture" and a "communitarian life" camouflaged in the figures and shapes of his art, and the color given to them. It is through color, design and aesthetics that scenographic urbanism recreates the already mentioned right to beauty. Paradoxically, as Amendola (2000:132) has pointed out, it is in the name of urban equality that people demand beautiful places that make the city more beautiful, as if urban beauty was accessible for everybody equally. In the same sense that the author has postulated it, "beauty becomes an object of positive normalization" by means of a homogeneously "decreed aesthetics". "Lanin has become more pretty" –as the slogan of image of Barcelona says- and their inhabitants feel it as a detachment from the dark and little elegance of the neighborhood in which they are inserted. Color differentiates, manages boundaries, establishes fringes and separates and/or join what visualizes and invisualizes. As it was mentioned in the case of Zelaya, the lack of color make the occupants of the gray taken tenements hypervisible, that are necessarily forced to uniform under the scope of colors chosen for that street in order to become imperceptible. In this sense, color becomes a useful sign of segregation. The visibility of the occupants is the price pay for their no-color, their lack of aesthetics and elegance, their lack of beauty, their dark deterioration, becoming the undesirable image of a society and city that are desired scenographically beautiful set as example of extreme segregation in the public spaces, as they bear the identity signs such as the gray color, that make them unpleasant. Only the integration to the legitimated color, that is usually neither gray nor black, can invisualize the occupants and blend them in the urban aesthetics –in a certain way it is a sort of negotiation of its integration, although poverty continues to exist and it continues to reproduce in the social deterioration-. In Lanin, those who have denied the art in their facades are also discriminated and stigmatized as those who have not understood the sense of the project of reanimation of the street. Even when they are neither old, nor poor or occupants, they are out of the norm, of an aesthetics reached by consensus, and that place them in the condition of self-exclusion of a neighboring and communitarian life associated to the street.

Culture, aesthetics and color define who has access and who does not in a certain space and who can or cannot appropriate of a certain place. Behind those components, there is control and power, even when there is the speculation of blending of inequalities, dangers and suspects by the effect of multiple aesthetizations. As we have pointed out, the vision of culture as a resource and its extension of the idea of creativity suppose a higher balance and democratization and inclusion of the subjects and social groups in their diversity.

But the inclusion of the subjects does not guarantee their incorporation as historic subject and producers of culture. Those who are incorporated are the so called "creative

classes" that are not socio-economic vulnerable groups. But if something has changed as regards the urban uses of culture, it is the reading that we can do today on the urban society. If the industrial was understood from a classist point of view, current cities produce mixtures –under the prism of diversity- that make that the definition of those who are included or excluded is not only definable by the social class, but also by who can or wishes to negotiate with the resources of re-qualification. That is why, as it is clearly seen in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, but also as it is began to be seen in the shanty towns of Buenos Aires, culture take space through practices negotiated and functional to this processes –the colors imprinted to the houses of the Villa 31 or even the intention to set a monument to Father Mujica, are examples of these negotiations that, sometimes, also can contribute to practices of resistance-. Culture is not only a tool for apparent social inclusion, but also an instrument of control and power. These control and power are not only property of those who have the capital and material and symbolic resources, but can also be appropriation of groups and subjects that, although far from culture, associate by practices that are assumed today as cultural –festivities, rituals, clothing, etc.-. It is probable that, assuming that the apparent "less creative" subjects and groups, "lesser producers of culture" and socially vulnerable, have the potential of producers and cultural creators, they are a viable option for the integration and connection of culture, design and the social life. Although there are groups that reproduce processes of resistance with their use of the culture, their ways of designing and communicating, often what triumphs is the rhetoric of the democratization rather than the politicized transformation of the social inclusion.

2. Transnational migrations and transformation of space

We can observe the presence of migrants' communities (Bolivian, Chinese and Korean, among others) in the city of Buenos Aires in the intersection between urban landscape design and production of physical and symbolic intercultural spaces. The empiric evidences lead to the reflection on the territorial inscription of these cultural identities and their ways of sociability with mechanisms of delimitation of the social matter, according to the ways of appropriation, design and use of urban space. We understand space as dynamics of neverending creation that requires interrelations, time and multiplicity . In the contemporary life "the urban space appears, in both graphic and typographic space, as the place of multiculturalism materialization, coexistence of different languages, tongues and times in the random accumulation of advertisements and signs, brands and inscriptions that offer a true anthropologic puzzle: the high and the low, the new and the timeless, the mixture of specialties and lines, the crossing of different communities and ethnic groups" (Arfuch, 1997:220). This way, the analysis of the diversities in the models of territorial insertions should prioritize the debate on the strategies of life, conception and diversity, of installation –in ways of habitat, health, associative and economical/working insertion, culture- according to the local and global dynamics of intervention in the space.

On the other hand, international migration is an evermore urban phenomenon that should be included immediately in the agenda of the cities and local governments. There are only few policies for migrants that foresee urban inclusion and promote an intercultural spirit. Thus, the movement of people –with different types of qualifications- and the impact on the cities have to be seen from a critical analysis of the management and production of the differences, that discusses the terms of assimilation, integration, pluralism, inter-culturalism, cosmopolitanism, etc. The transnational view on life from the reduction of the cost of communications and transportation, new forms of communication, the internationalization of economy, education and art, also impose a critical reading that includes the new and old dynamics of inequality that have an impact on the cities.

The practices of the transnational generate differentiated mobilities and life styles, where the positive value is increasingly set on the types of mobility associated to the new global forms of power that lead us to see the called "no-places", or those places charged with senses in the asepsis of the aesthetic of the global market. But thinking on a future Buenos Aires, we propose to think on those "other" mobilities, of transnational migrating groups that make particular aesthetic imprints. In general, they are identities that are produced in their own imprints, being the space an integral part of the constitution of the identities and subjectivities of those groups.

For the analysis, we have selected migrant groups that show dynamic attributes of self-identification associated to strong imprints of visibility on the urban space. Groups with a certain stability in the settlement as far as they conform neighborhoods (Chinese, Koreans, Bolivians), but that are nevertheless product of networks in constant circulation and remigration. This modifies the perception of the migratory phenomenon that imprints new aesthetic and sociability logics in the urban life. The territory becomes a fight for the political appropriation of the space from a daily dimension that refers to use, circulation, distribution and identification.

We wonder how to understand the paradoxical process of the emergence of "ethnical" neighborhoods with visible particular imprints (Korean, China and Bolivian town), and the consolidation of transnational migratory movements characterized by their mobility and the remigration movements. The movements of the people become every time more elusive, but their cultural imprints in the urban space become more visible and stable.

The strategies of incorporation to the territory of these migrating communities mean new processes of production of urban identities. What is the place –material and symbolic- of the migrant and his urban design in a city such as Buenos Aires, so global on one hand, and so clinging to the assimilationist imaginary on the other hand? What struggles for inclusion and rights are expressed to the State from this proposal of cultural dialogue?

The city enables the emergence of these actors, it is the platform for their demands and their conflicts, assuming dynamics of productions of inequalities and differences. The use and appropriation of urban space and the processes of construction of cultural imprints configure spaces of interculturalism where the City becomes the scenario for the dispute of rights. Economical rights, civic rights and rights to the city, that lead us to question the processes of territorial exclusion of certain migrant groups and of more or less conflictive cohabitation of others.

This characteristic of the City of Buenos Aires invites us to reflect critically and creatively from the Paradigm of mobility on the migrant diversities in contemporary cities. To overcome the pretension of assimilationist-homogeneous-hegemonic analysis accounting for the plural-complex realities which present unconformities and transgressions to different dimensions of the system of social, national and international organization. Tarrius (2000) proposes within the paradigm of mobility the idea of "circulatory territory" that takes the socialization of spaces according the logics of mobility. He proposes the duo mobility/alterity to understand the transnational relations leaving behind the approaches that prioritize the concepts of integration-identity. He proposes to talk about mobility where migration would be only a stage in this higher process that gathers the triage identity-space-time, of subjects of "here" and "there", of micro urban spaces and macro networks of transnational circulation. These social models present bi- or multicultural social patterns of management of the differences that question the paradigms of the Nation State (Mera, 2011).

The views of the urban migrants that prioritize the vulnerability that affects this type of population in the cities use different types of approaches. First, the socio-economical situation, related to the consequences of the development models little integrative

and tremendously expelling of the workforce, the concentration of the income, the unemployment, informality and job insecurity. Second, the scarcity in the exercise of political rights such as police protection, access to health, education or work.

Besides, those views that prioritize positive aspects also fall in a process of deification of the other. This is the case of the double speech that, on the one hand, values a certain current mobility that has to do with the "globalization" life style, at the same time that they denigrate other mobilities related precisely to several inequalities and exclusions. Or views that prioritize the idea of diversity, the symbolic dimension associated to the ethnical and cultural difference but that ends up promoting the folklorization, ethnic tourism as commodified values. But the real collectives are stigmatized, they are criminalized, underestimated, negatively stereotyped, when not denied.

As regards the insertion in the urban space. In general, migrants settle on peripheral zones or on low economical value zones in the City of Buenos Aires. We verified that certain groups (such as Bolivians) tend to concentrate on neighborhoods built by themselves from the communitarian aid and in general have particular names (for example, Barrio Charrúa). The Peruvian residents or the more recent ones from Africa, on the contrary, settle dispersedly in centric neighborhoods in the city such as El Abasto, San Telmo, San Cristóbal, by means of the occupation of inhabited buildings or in hotels. Residents from Chile and Paraguay do not have their own neighborhoods. Korean migrants adopt a strong trend to regroup in neighborhoods by the modality of repopulation in the peripheral area. The Chinese residents build economical ethnical networks and their settlement in the city is disperse since it follows that pattern of location. The "Barrio Chino" (in Belgrano C) that we analyze is a commercial entrepreneurship of certain groups of Chinese and Taiwanese and the government of the City, addressed to not Chinese populations , the residents of that nationality usually do not go to that neighborhood (Mera/Halpern, 2011). On the contrary, the Korean and Bolivian Neighborhoods were the product of the long process of settlement and circulation of these communities and were grouping not only family houses but above all communitarian services and shops (Sassone/Mera, 2010). While Baekku and Charrúa concentrate the signs, the institutions and most of the circulation of these residents, re-elaborating certain values and rules of behavior, the China town of Belgrano concentrates cultural signs and imprints, but does not articulate in the ethnical life.

The ethnic sociability networks are objectivized in the neighborhoods conformed on the bases of personal, familiar or social relations, results of the migratory circulation networks. These spaces constitute the core of a type of identity that recreates the cultural asset through time, and is the environment where the negotiation and construction dynamics of identities develop towards the interior of the groups. Furthermore, these transnational groups' networks promote ways of concentration in certain lines of the urban economy that have their impact in the ways of visibility and imprinting of the space.

Thus, the urban concentration of these communities from their symbolic dimension let us see certain logics from which the concentration in the ethnical neighborhoods are developed, as forms that reflect the struggles for power in the physical space (Bourdieu 1987). The migrants settle in the urban space and they make an impact on it, establishing new social hierarchies, redefining its social space of belonging from the new territorialities, but also intervening in the new ways to name diversity in the local societies.

The Korean, Chinese and Jewish neighborhoods in every city in the world are not only the physical place where these populations settle, but also that social space where relationships are reproduced by means of mobilities and multiple dynamic interchanges

that redefine at each stage the sense of circulation space. For this reason, the city and the neighborhood, as cores where the cultural differences are manifested with greater intensity, become a fundamental part of the process. The particular imprints that appear objectivized in the urban space are emotional loads; and images and fondness create representations in the sensible world and convey meaning to that experience in the dialogue with other identities.

The following of this line of interpretation relativizes some analyses on the formation of migrants' neighborhoods. They are not longer conceived as evolutionary stages of insertion, where they gather at a first stage in the process of settlement, to, at a second stage, once settled, they mobilize territorially, abandoning the peripheral neighborhoods for others more centric (Noiriel 1988, Hurh, Won Moo, 1980). From the analyzed cases we can say that the choice of life in communitarian neighborhoods has to do with the joining to a circulatory or transnational identity, and that the urban mobilities follow logics that are different to the ones proposed in the above mentioned schemes.

In this sense, the ethnical presences in the cities represent spaces of circulation, and they are not the mere result of traditional migratory movements. They are identity dialogues with the space. In the city and the neighborhood, the possibility of existence of the multiplicity becomes a struggle for the acknowledgement of identities, rights and histories. The migrant neighborhoods highlight the territory as a symbolic entity, constituted by the space and time circulations understood as struggles for power. So the fact that each migrant group assumes its own dynamic of territorial use and appropriation makes sense.

The notion of territory (material and symbolic) is articulated to that of migrant or ethnical neighborhood because in this relation of territoriality, of signification between identity and space, there is the creation of principles of collective organization that involve the aesthetic dimension of the urban design.

The articulation between the processes of construction of identities and the spatial behaviors creates uses of the space and senses in relation to the social spheres where the working, familiar, religious, educative and recreational circulation occurs. Behaviors that imprint new colors, figures, images and routes in the City. The continuity of cultural features such as language, food or religion are constitutive elements of this urban-social-cultural dialogue. We can add some spaces that convey an emotional stability and ways of communication with the socio-urban context such as festivities, types of houses, shops, means of communication, sport leagues, among other meetings, features that appear as cultural codes that objectivize the transnationality.

Right to cultural identity. The neighborhoods can be read as "metaphorical spaces" of the transnational circulation, conformed by dense and complex networks of cultural dialogue. This type of settlement allows us to affirm that the "physical deterritorialization" of the migration is recreated symbolically in the process of circulation. The contemporary migrant communities are subjected to a double logic, that of the integration to the country of settlement and that of the conservation and reproduction of their transnational identities in territories of circulation.

There are significant differences among the Korean, Bolivian and Chinese migrant groups, since the sociability is conditioned to the type of geographical settlement of these communities in the city.

As regards the Korean and Bolivian neighborhoods, they are neighborhoods of ethnical concentration where the residential function and the commercial activities are concentrated. On the contrary, the Chinese neighborhood of Belgrano is not primarily

residential and the commercial activity there is based on a strategy that aims to the appeal of extra-communitarian consumers. The difference as regards strategies for creation, actors involved and functionalities of the neighborhoods generate differences in their aesthetics and designs. In the analysis of these processes from the point of view of the paradigm of mobility, we can verify that the communitarian network does not need ethnical neighborhoods, as in the case of the Chinese, where the design and the aesthetic distinction are accomplished by the symbolic spaces of the circulated space.

Thus, we can affirm that the Korean neighborhood of Flores, the Bolivian neighborhood of Liniers and the Chinese neighborhood of Belgrano show an appearance of ethnical neighborhoods, but their function and experience are not. The characteristics assumed by the aesthetic signed by the cultural difference are distinguishable from the function that these neighborhoods have for their own community, and for the others. As we have mentioned, the Korean and Bolivian neighborhoods' primary urban function is that of cultural and commercial community, and they gather the signs, institutions and greatest circulation of these residents that are not reproduced in other urban spaces of the city; meanwhile, the neighborhood of Belgrano concentrates cultural signs and imprints, but does not articulate on it the social life of those groups, and its primary function is an extra-communitarian one in its dominant strategy and only a part of the cultural activity of the group. It would seem more a process of requalification than one of autonomous and active settlement of migrant groups.

As a final reflection

Interventions in the urban space are produced according to strategies of the actors based on speeches that, however, produce impacts sometimes contradictory to what was intended.

The processes of requalification implemented by the "cultural middlemen" by means of the intervention of design use culture and aesthetics as attributes to value the space. In this sense, they state that intervention of measures of regeneration of spaces using culture, design and art contribute not only to improve aesthetics and quality of life but also the process of social inclusion of certain groups.

As we have seen, this has two consequences that inspire reflection. On the one hand, the embellishment of these spaces in most of the cases implies also the eviction/displacement of the groups that tried to be included. On the other hand, there is still the use of conceptions of "cult" culture that repels the more democratic dynamic conceptions, plural and inclusive.

As regards the process of urban transformation product of the settlement of transnational communities, they develop ways of design and cultural imprints that change the urban appearance. However, even in times when "cultural diversity" is acknowledge as a right, the visibility of those groups produces negative speeches and many times discriminatory in the local populations.

As part of the process of globalization, these two types of processes of urban change expose complexities and contradictions that call for a profound debate. This makes us pick up the unsolved debate on the homogenizing (or not) trends of the globalization in the fields of aesthetics, economy and consumption and their consequences. But also the very process of globalization produces other differences, such as the analyzed cases of the migrant groups. This "difference", product of the migrants' networks, is not desired by the hegemonic speeches that prefer processes of re-qualification.

In this sense, we have presented the Chinese neighborhood of Belgrano C as an example of this strategy that, paradoxically, does not generate the rejection generated by the Korean or Bolivian neighborhoods.

The cultural tensions and their pertinence in the "social matter" should be considered from all the rights, economic, political and cultural; but above all from the right to citizenship (to circulate, transform and live it).

We understand the processes of re-qualification, treated as "scenographic urbanism" on which culture is constituted as a resource in favor of the urban planning, including the Chinese neighborhood; and we understand the urban spaces that emerge in the transnational migrant practices as "circulating spaces". So, we ask a fundamental question, what is intended to be visualized in each of the processes? The city and its art without a doubt, but in one case from the recurrence to the features of the "culture" that we could call conservative and exclusive, in the other case from the reification and folklorization of the migrants.

Endnotes

1. Socio-anthropological reflection based on the researched carried out by the two authors in the frame of the projects UBACyT and CONICET. Mera in "Migración internacional en ciudades de la argentina: lugares, territorios e identidades en la era de la globalización" CONICET PIP (2010-2012) and "Afecto y lazo social: experiencia, memoria y narración", UBACyT (2010-2013). Lacarrieu in "Etnografía de los espacios públicos urbanos: procesos de tensión entre lo social y lo cultural en la ciudad de Buenos Aires" PIP CONICET (2010-2013), and "Cultura y territorio", UBACYT (2010-2013)

2. We borrow the concept of "culture without author" developed in the text of Nicolás Bautes.

3. We use the concept of design in the sense that most associate it to the cultural and to determined resources that derived from this field. This explanation is made because modern cities were certainly built and planned on the basis of a design, only that that design was not a synonym of culture, but of urban planning ruled by socio-urban principles.

4. Although most part of the Latin American cities during the XX Century have answered to planning related to industrialization, not because of their urban histories being homogeneous, and neither the histories written today are strictly global.

5. Lecture given by Ricardo Ramón Jarne, Manager of the Cultural Center of Spain in San Telmo in the Posgrado de Gestión Cultural, FLACSO, Buenos Aires, 2010 (highlighted is ours). I thank Soledad Laborde, student of said postgraduate, for lending me the audio.

6. According to Massey: "Space is the product of interrelations. It is built by means of interactions, from the immense of the global to the smallest of intimacy", "space is the sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity", "space is always on the process of formation, evolution, never finished, never closed" Massey (2005: 104)

7. In Buenos Aires, the Barrio Chino was created as a strategy for the installation of a comercial neighborhood, Andrea Papier says –according to data provided by the Commercial and Cultural office of Taipei in Buenos Aires, that the zone was especially chosen because its centrality and purchasing power of its neighbors, "due to its location

on a safe and accessible zone, surrounded by neighbors of high purchasing power. It is easy to get there by bus, train, or car from Avenida Libertador" (Papier, 2006). Dirk Vetter (2008) also agrees with our analysis when he says that the location of the Chinese neighborhood was programmed in a rich zone of the Buenos Aires, and that it works as a tourist attraction more than principal place of residences.

8. As regards the most important economical activity of these migrants groups, in the case of the Koreans it focuses on the textile, in the case of the Bolivians in focuses on the construction, textile production and horticulture. For the Chinese, the most important activity is in the line of food –restaurants and minimarkets- .

9. According to Fang (2007) about 70% of the Chinese live inside the supermarkets. This explains the dispersion of them in the city, very different to the Korean and Bolivian case.

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Flags at Battery Park

SPECULATIVE CITY

Vyjayanthi Rao
The New School for Social Research

The morning of the 10th anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, before sunrise, I set out with a friend for a walk in our neighborhood, meeting at the corner of Broadway and Fulton, a block from Ground Zero. Our intention was to join a community remembrance service in Battery Park, on the other side of the site. But all cross streets were blocked so we had to walk around the tip of the island. As we approached the old Battery Park, in the half-light of dawn, our eye was drawn by the three thousand white flags planted around a battered globe, rescued from the ruins of the Towers. The flags stood like soldiers at attention but also like orderly rows of gravestones, in an especially crowded necropolis.

Views of Lower Manhattan

Afterwards, that encounter with the ghosts of 9/11 marked the rest of our walk. We continued on our walk, looping back to Broadway but ducking in and out of the financial district, taking in the scene in front of Wall Street subway. Silent crowds of people were beginning to gather around the area, especially along Broadway and people were passing out American Flags, in lieu of the daily morning commuter newspapers.

No news was necessary this day – no events could replace what had transpired in this place, even after a decade or perhaps, especially after a decade. Later, as we continued our walk, we encountered small groups walking around in specially made T-shirts bearing pictures of lost loved ones, logos of social associations from near and far who had made the journey to remember and commemorate and TV crews roaming the gathering crowds snatching sound-byte interviews with individuals in the gathering crowd. Barricades blocked off the sidewalks of Broadway cordoning the crowd into an orderly, linear file as the time of the attacks drew near. Church Street, a block west, was closed for the families of the victims and those who had been invited to take part in the ceremonies when the 9/11 memorial was to be dedicated by the President within what is now a vast construction site where once the twin towers stood.

Church street

We joined the orderly crowd and found ourselves in the chapel of the Trinity church, which had ministered to the wounded and the workers fleeing the towers after the attacks. From the backyard of the church, amidst New York's oldest graves, the ceremony could be heard in progress across Church Street (the chapel and graveyard cover the block between Broadway and Church). We found ourselves there in that leafy graveyard, on that balmy September morning at the appointed hour when a bell of peace rang out to make the moments when the first and the second planes hit the towers. The silence was eerie.

Afterwards, we filed out with others and found the streets lined with what then appeared to be an odd assortment of protestors. Across from the now famous "liberty plaza" or Zuccotti Park, adherents of the homophobic Church of Westbourough had planted

themselves firmly, barricading themselves with signs. In the plaza itself, firemen were having their own ceremony commemorating first responders, frustrated at being shut out of the many ceremonies taking place at Ground Zero. Further down, Chinese placard-holders were supporting the rule of human rights and immigrant rights while across from them stood a group of protestors refusing to buy the official account of the fall of the Towers, suggesting an underground conspiracy of state against citizens.

This assortment of claims, grievances and theories being aired publicly along a stretch of Broadway, in a ceremonial time-space bringing the highest elected official to town, prefigured the Occupation of Zuccotti Park, a few blocks south of Ground Zero, which began a week later with a gathering of individuals called upon via the internet. In a dramatic melding of real and virtual spaces, these individuals demonstrated their anger by laying siege, staying put and using that space as a giant soap box for broadcasting the human voice without the mediation of channeled air waves. While their grievances

are diverse and their demands nebulous at best, what the occupation foregrounds so far in the dramatic microcosm of the park, a process of politics at work in the midst

Lower Manhattan at night

of a sudden and disruptive assembling of diverse voices attempting to speak together without the mediation of a singular voice or narrative. The occupation of the park and the destruction of the towers both draw on this disruptive and dispersive power of suddenness in which an ephemeral performance of being and being-together is the political point to be made, drawing on conflict fueled by the intimacy of a contact powerfully capable of transcending the virtual.

The space of Lower Manhattan brings together three distinct geographies today – that of mourning, of protest and of a speculative surplus. My goal in this paper is to investigate the relationships between these three geographies, which I suggest goes beyond a self-evident economic determinism that both the event of violence against an architectural anchor and the protest against Wall Street's excessive practices are somehow explained

Occupy Wall Street

in their fullness as forms of protest against the excesses of a capitalist economy. In his classic study Economy and Society, Max Weber cautions against defining economic actions not just in terms of the satisfaction of needs but as actions that connect a "desire (demand) for utilities (which is true even in the case of orientation for purely monetary gains)" with the provisions that are made to "furnish the supplies to meet this demand." Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, in their work on desire and capitalism point to the complex interweaving of forms of coding social collectives and their practices with the self-generated expansion of capital as profitable surplus as capital circulates across different social scales, ranging from the individual to collectivities of different sizes. The ascendance of finance capital implies a certain autonomy to the money economy – although connected to manufacture and consumption, money and especially credit has gained a level of autonomy, crystallized into independent market structures that collectively go under the shorthand of "Wall Street." Within this form of economy, Georg Simmel writes in The Philosophy of Money that "speculation itself may determine the fate of the object of speculation" (to quote Simmel) and economic actions are fundamentally speculative or oriented towards making decisions under the constant cloud of uncertainty, taking the form of wagers on the future course or price of the object of speculation.

In Saskia Sassen's work on the global city and Manuel Castells' work on the informational city, the city appears as the quintessential spatial correlate of this kind of economic action – one that intertwines desire with the circulation of a surplus that has turned irreducibly speculative. It is therefore itself fundamentally unstable and vulnerable to the contradictions that open and close down possibilities for investment and profit making. The global city serves and services this surplus and maintains its circulation through securing standards and rules for its "free" movement or, in other words, by creating an infrastructure for its movement. This infrastructure is both visible in the emblematic architecture of the business district and invisible, in the form of rules, regulations and protocols governing the play of credit. A question remains, however,

Ground Zero Redevelopment

about how the abstractions of the finance economy relate to the abstractions through which cultural texts, including architectural texts achieve meaning for individuals. This is the central question is raised by Frederic Jameson in his article "The Brick and the Balloon: Architecture, Idealism and Land Speculation," which takes, as its central case, an investigation of the emergent economy of New York city, driven by land speculation, which replaced the industrial city in the mid-20th century. He is particularly interested in the place of urban design or the urbanization of the singular objects of architecture in this city and concentrates on the innovation effected by the Rockefeller Center within that economy. For Jameson, as for other cultural critics, the symbolic value of the cultural text lies in its critical reflection or anticipation of the social contradictions that capitalist economies give rise to and the resolutions that the cultural text proposes in order to unify the autonomous levels of economic, social and political action.

In his article Jameson considers four different readings of the Rockefeller Center – that of Robert Fitch, that of Manfredo Tarfuri, of Sigfried Gideon and finally, that of Rem Koolhaas. In the first of these accounts, by Robert Fitch, the Center is simply embedded into a larger account of New York's transition from an industrial to a post-industrial city. The Center's role is then connected to an account of the corruption of politics and public value by Rockefeller's political clout, marrying an account of the inevitable logic of capitalist triumph to an account of political power in a capitalist system. On Tafuri's reading, the Center aesthetically represents a contradiction between a public as an autonomous political body and its subservience to business interests as the destroyed working class city is replaced by the city dominated by the office building whose ultimate embodiment is the Rockefeller Center. For Gideon, the Center is seen purely from the aesthetic perspective, as a design innovation that opens up the intolerably constricting (for him) Manhattan grid enabling the free disposition of the skyscaper in an open area. Finally, for Koolhaas, the Center exemplifies his concept of congestion – which "condenses several different meanings: use and consumption, the urban but also the business exploitation of the parcels, traffic along with ground rent, but also the

Goldman Sachs Headquarters

foregrounding of the collective or the popular, populist appeal." (Jameson 1998: 41) The Center can thus be read as a mediation between the economic and the cultural or the public realms.

The post-9/11 context of Lower Manhattan poses anew this very question of the relationship between the realms of economic action and political action – the contradiction between the space of private interests and that of the public interest. But I would suggest that it does so in a manner that is somewhat different from that of the mid-century moment of the Rockefeller Center. The transformation of a monumental business center – the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center – into a space of national memory and mourning is accompanied by the proliferation of the business center into and around the space vacated by the Towers. The emptying of the site, which sat for several years as an open wound upon the city's body, occasioned massive projects of construction in the blocks surrounding the site, which took on an almost patriotic commitment to a system that was interrupted by the 9/11 attacks. Together, the memorial at the site of the towers and the new constructions surrounding this empty space of mourning attempt to implant, a new conception of the public.

This public is a stoic, heroic public returning to the site to remember and be strengthened by the wound. The collective is expressed in this place of mourning for individual lives sacrificed to maintain the American way of life. But it is the individual, whose sacrifice is celebrated at the memorial site, who is also being resurrected, as it were, in the securing of Lower Manhattan for business, once again. The autonomous individual, in pursuit of freedom, is, of course, also the agent and the condition of possibility of business itself. And the ghost of the past can only be laid to rest by mirroring the site of national mourning in the rising the curtain walls of the new financial centers, signifying, once more the future to come, rising from the ashes of a past now laid to rest symbolically in the form of the memorial. The new conception of the public that was coming into being was to be one unified in mourning and, simultaneously, in their purpose of nurturing the economy through consumption. In formal terms, these new towers exemplify the privatization of both grief and its transference into speculative

Julie Mehretru's mural

forms of surplus accumulation.

The new Goldman Sachs Headquarters, across West Street, is a case in point. Committed to remaining in Lower Manhattan as a sign of solidarity after 9/11 – rather than moving across the river to Jersey City – the iconic financial firm commissioned the building in 2002. By the time it was completed in 2008, its design itself came to symbolize the dysfunctions of the economy. An asymmetric tower composed of different shapes, it is impossible to grasp the whole from any one angle. Unlike the Rockefeller Center, the building itself does not shape or sculpt the space that surrounds it in order to make a public statement. Two large murals, by well-known contemporary artists, which provide a singular gesture of public engagement, are themselves largely obscured by the reflections on the windows. The whole aesthetic experience of the building suggests the isolation, secrecy and alienation that have come to characterize dominant interpretations of finance capital today. This is not to suggest an intentional statement on the part of the firm or its architects but to speculate on its changing meaning as the historical context changed dramatically precisely during the period of its construction. The euphoric growth of the previous decade, driven by a surplus of credit manufactured by strategies that now appear corrupt and even criminal but provides a context for interpreting the Goldman Sachs HQ in terms of the firm's monumental self-identity as a vital node in the "free" or frictionless circulation of capital. Julie Mehretru's mural, facing West Street, is in fact a spatial interpretation of the global history of capital and its insertion into the entrance lobby of the building itself signifies the firm's self-image and its ambitions. Yet the mural's murky visibility to the public can perhaps also signify the very murkiness of the privatized world of banking and its concentration in the hands of a few firms and individuals.

By the time the building was completed and occupied, this context had changed dramatically, culminating in the occupation of Zuccotti Park, just one week after the 9/11 anniversary during which the memorial was unveiled and opened to the public. Looking back on the occupation and its drama now, it appears that the movement was
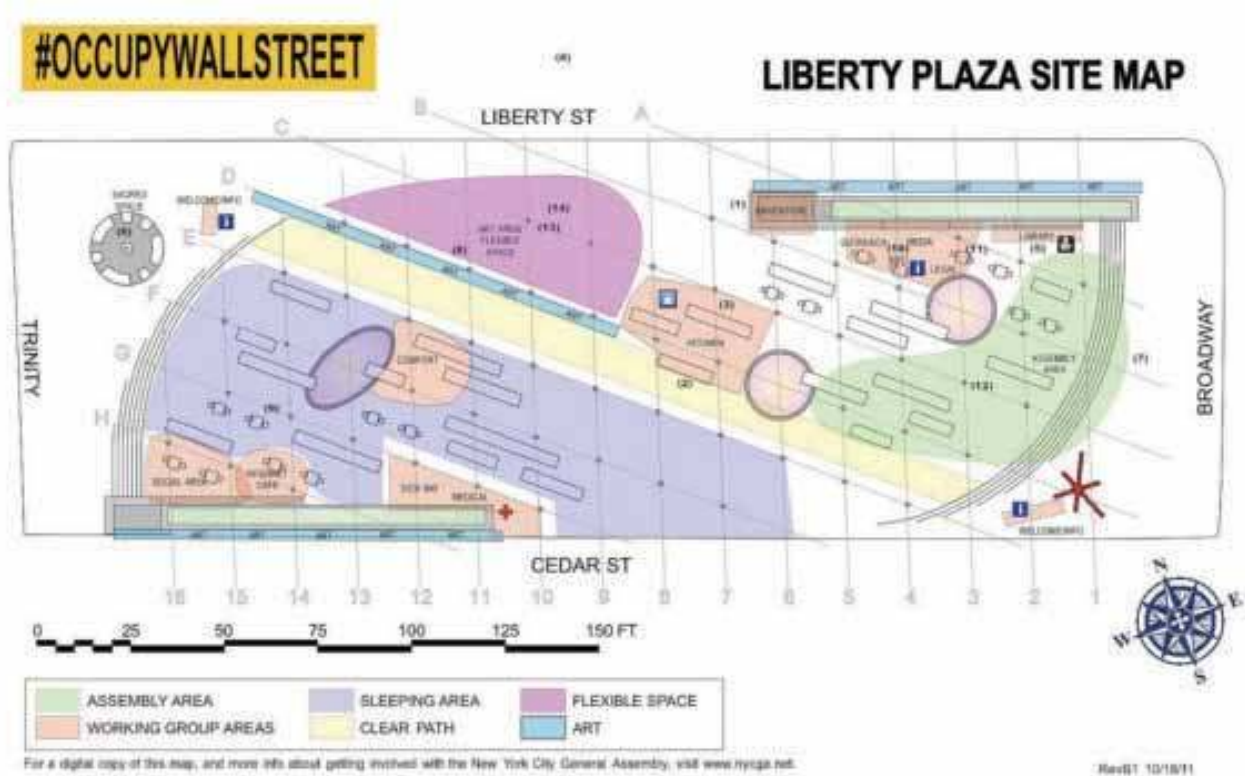
Liberty Plaza Site Map, courtesy of New York City General Assembly

calling for a renewed conception of the public itself, one that would be different from the public that was being curated by the mirroring constructions of the 9/11 memorial and the edifices housing major institutions of the finance economy. Frequently, commentary focused on the question – "what do the occupiers want?" – the refusal to articulate demands was being seen as a problem across a spectrum of political commentators, both on the left and the right. The New York Times architecture critic, Michael Kimmelman wrote a month into the occupation, about the "power of place" in protest, something, which seems strikingly original in the era of social media and virtual community. Two points made by Kimmelman are worth noting – first, that "consensus emerges urbanistically" and that the acephalous governing process adopted by the protestors was itself a fundamental "message"; second, he notes that the protestors are building an "architecture of consciousness," by raising a demand to know what was being kept from them in the speed and murkiness of the transactions that collectively signify "Wall Street."

But a further point that was not especially elaborated by Kimmelman is the temporal dimension of the protest – as an occupation – and the urbanistic infrastructure it demanded as a result, in order to coordinate the actions of a group of diverse individuals. Although Kimmelman does note the emergence of a 'polis' like infrastructure – providing for basic needs of food, sanitation, comfort, health, intellectual stimulation and media – what he does not mention is that it is time that plays a critical role in the production of that infrastructure. If it were a protest of people taking to the streets during the day and dispersing at night, this infrastructure would not be necessary. Oscar Brett, a student and an artist created one of the early community art projects at the site, a balloon floated camera to take pictures of the protestors walking onto the Brooklyn Bridge. He called this project not only an exercise in news-gathering but also one of community building, recognizing the performative nature of that community which was attempting to constitute itself as a public. The occupation of Zuccotti Park itself ended abruptly and brutally but the lingering question it raised for me, from the vantage of my perch in Lower Manhattan, was whether or not this movement had changed the parameters of political action, however subtly and how we might think of the role played by the

spatio-temporal architecture of the occupation to help us imagine those parameters.

I want to conclude by speculating, by hazarding some thoughts on this question. This map, spatializing the infrastructural 'functions' of Zuccotti Park suggests a return to an idea of the economy as a 'household' – the greek oikos – at the root of the modern political system in which the nation is imagined as a family and the polis as a superior governing body composed of the heads of autonomous households. The occupants of the park however, suggest the members of a dysfunctional family, not genetically connected by blood or soil as national citizenship imagines, but connected by their raison d'etre of seeking to diagnose the problem that Wall Street had created, which was, in itself, inaccessible to them as common people because of its abstraction, disembedding and autonomy from the rest of the nation. The occupation is an act of re-membering the two halves of an old equation – that of political-economy – as well of dismembering given connections to constitute new ones through the act of questioning itself. But such acts of questioning need an architecture to support their coordination even if it is not a structure that establishes itself with some permanence. Despite its transitory nature, the occupation, in this sense was also an architectural exercise, on par with the other exercises in monumentality in Lower Manhattan. It continues its journey as a transversal, transecting the political and economic vectors of a quintessentially speculative city or a city governed by its speculative surplus.
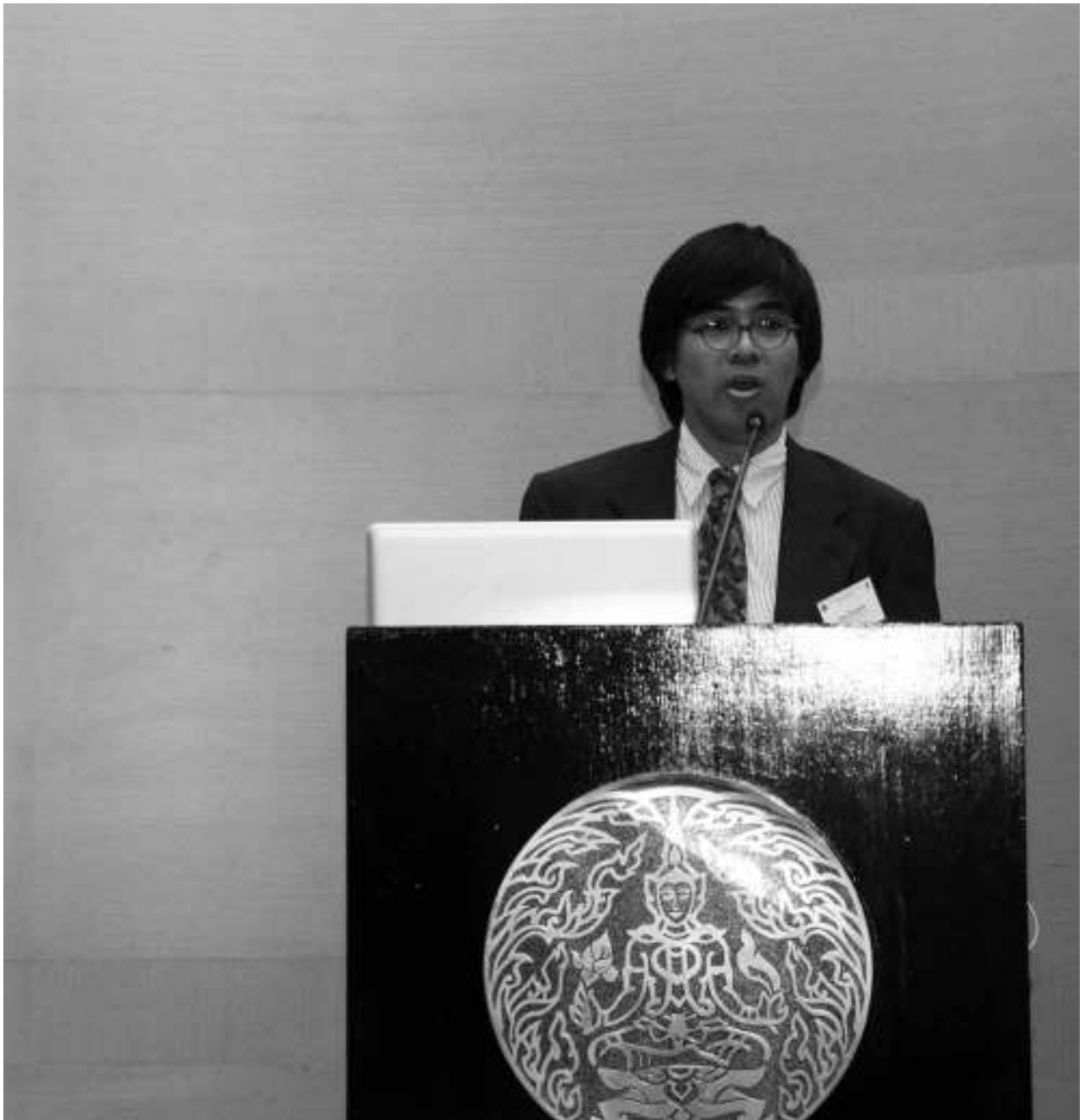
VANISHING LANDSCAPE: THE HYDRO-AGRICULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF BANGKOK, THAILAND

Danai Thaitakoo[1), Brian McGrath[2), Suebsiri Srithanyarat[1), Ying Palopakon[3)
1)Landscape and Urban Ecology Laboratory,
Department of Landscape Architecture, Chulalongkorn University
2)Parsons the New School for Design
3)Faculty of Architecture, Chiang Mai University

Abstract

Bangkok, the capital city of Thailand, can be viewed as the center and economic engine of the Kingdom. Most of developments in Bangkok have been focused on economic growth, which has carried with it the country's growth and wealth indicators. Changes of land use and urban landscape have been focused more and more on economic return without any concern about environmental consequences. The deteriorating of environmental quality in the city, for example, air and water quality and environmental risk such as flooding are clear evidence of this short sighted approach.

Development practices opposed to natural processes of the landscape are clearly visible in the urban fringe of Bangkok Metropolitan Area. These views are reflected in the recent transformation of agricultural areas to intensive built-up areas. As the consequences of different views of development, different urban actors perceive the roles and functions of natural processes and the landscape differently. These different values play a major role in resulting conflict and change in the landscape and land use.

Change along the ecological and cultural edge of developing Bangkok urban fringe area is a very complex emerging issue,. Development concerned within an ecological system is multi- dimensional and multi-disciplinary process. Focusing on the natural process, the landscape, and human roles in changing the landscape, this paper lays the groundwork for understanding the complex processes of landscape change and the consequences of fringe development.

The Watery Chao Phraya River Delta and Bangkok

Bangkok, the capital of Thailand, is situated in a slight deltaic high amidst a predominantly low lying, flat terrain of the lower Chao Phraya River Delta. The area was first urbanized during the Ayutthaya period (1350-1767), as a vast network of mixed fruit orchards and market towns planted within a harsh marshland (Tachakitkachorn, 2005). The rapid development of the lower delta for export rice cultivation affected the rapid urbanization of the city of Bangkok (Takaya, 1987). In the early years, many canals were constructed and functioned as highways (Takaya, 1987). The canals radiated outward from the center of the city, providing access to the city center as well as the agricultural market towns along the waterways. Along the canal banks were homes and shop

Figure 1: The watery Chao Phraya Delta with Bangkok sprawling into rice fields to the east and fruit orchards on the west bank.

houses. The lands in between were fruit orchards and rice paddies. The early residents relied upon canal and river water for their basic needs (Jarupongsakul and Kaida, 2000).

The land and waterscape of the Chao Phraya River delta has been radically modified and transformed through the processes of modernization, first, early in the 20th century, becoming a major part of the world's rice bowl and the undisputed world leader of rice production for export. Secondly, by the end of the 20th century through conversion and replacement of agricultural production by urbanization and export manufacturing, its inhabitants also have been through long periods of adaptation and resilience in dealing with various kinds of changes.

Bangkok's Hydro-Agricultural Landscape

In the lower part of the Chao Phraya Delta, at the location of present day Bangkok, the area along Chao Phraya River was consisted of sparsely settlement of fishermen (Sukhavadhana 1979). Bangkok was the name of the area given by local people. Bangkok and the lower deltaicplain were completely inundated in the rainy season and this swampy landscape did not provide a suitable environment for human habitation (Jarupongsakul and Kaida 2000)

From the beginning of 1860s the vast landscape of the lower delta was transformed from a swampy area and swamp forest to paddy rice field as a result of the commercial cultivation of rice (Takaya 1987). In term of landscape changes and urbanization, more canals were built to open up the land for rice cultivation and transportation and more buildings to support the growing population (Takaya 1987). The growth of the nation and the city brought rapid urbanization to the low-lying flat terrain of the lower

Chao Phraya Delta. Once considered unsuitable for human habitat (Takaya 1987), Bangkok has grow into a tropical megacity.
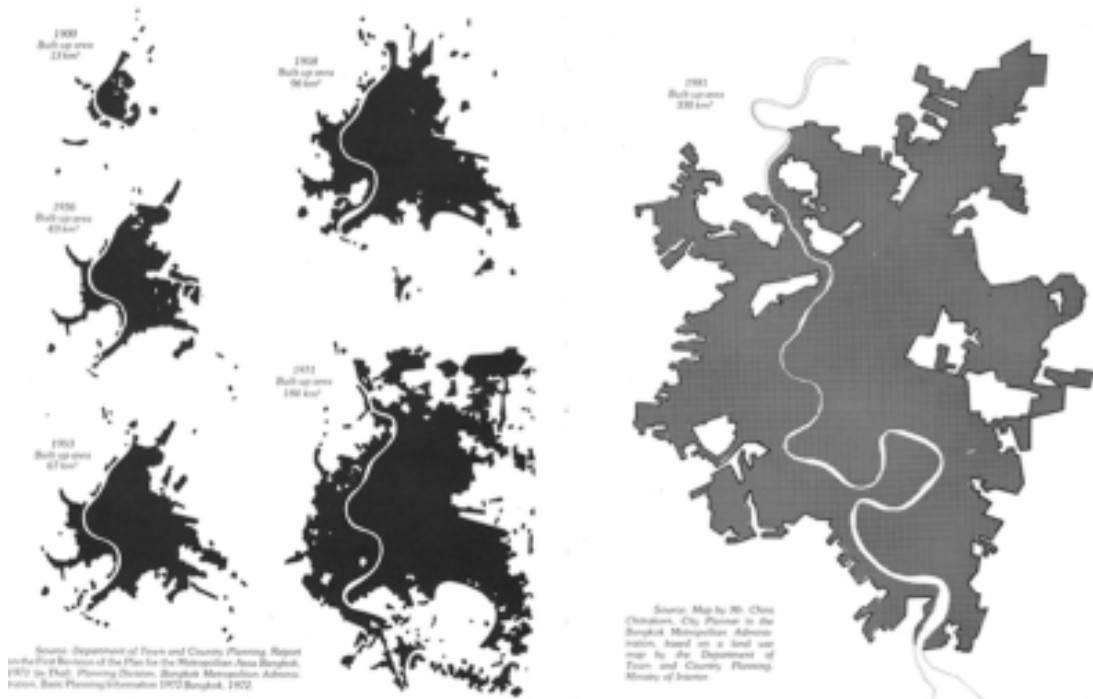
Figure 2: The growth of Bangkok metropolitan area (Sources: Sternstein 1982)

Figure 3: Bangkok's Urban - Hydro - Agriculture Mosaic

The Deltaic Landscape Structures, Functions and Changes

The Chao Phraya River delta's rice growing society is a complex socio-economical-ecological relationship of structures and functions and changes (Ishii, 1978 and Brummelhuis, 2007). Based upon the condition of climate (Kyuma, 1978), topography (Takaya, 1978) and soil (Hattori and Kyuma, 1978) the low land/wet rice cultivation has been adopted in according with nature (Hattori and Kyuma, 1978). Landscape and people evolved together through rice cultivation with indispensable water into a rice-economy (Ishii, 1978). The rice-economy was significantly influence by water availability,

Figure 4: Bangkok circa 1890 (left) and 2004 (right) (False color ASTER vnir Image): the two views show how the Bangkok urban morphology follows the pattern of water- based rice and fruit framing

Figure 5: The old course of the Chao Phraya River, a new public beach has formed over Khlong Om Nont.

thus traditional water management, was in place for distribution of water and flood control at a small scale according to hydrological and topographical characteristics with unique local social organization (Ishii, 1978 and Brummelhuis, 2007).

The alteration of the delta landscape during the Bangkok's early day consisted of land reclamation for rice culture and human settlement. The construction of vast canal networks was turned the swampy land into the prolific producer by the way of irrigation and drainage (Takaya, 1987). The vast canal network also functioned as a highway system, providing accessibility to the landscape and surrounding area and beyond, as far as the waterway went (Takaya, 1987). This scene of landscape change was continued until the end of the Second World War.

The Chao Phraya River and vast network of canals were bloodlines for Bangkok's residents. As a part of their lives, people lived in concert with the natural process of hydro-ecological of flood and flooding. Adaptation was the key in living with the rhythm of the natural process by building their living environment according to hydro-ecological dynamic without any action against the course of the natural processes.

The tributary cultural geography in the Chao Phraya River Basin terminates in the distributary network of an endlessly meandering network of natural streams and

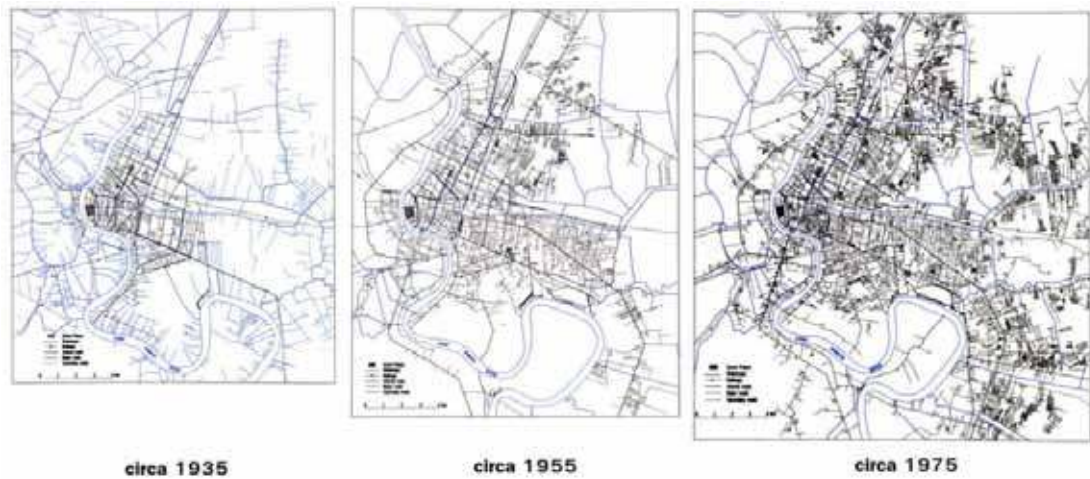circa 1935   circa 1955   circa 1975

Figure 6: The vanishing land and waterscape: rapid changes brought the number of land based infrastructure and other constructions that resulted in a rapid increase in built up area at the expense of cultivated land and the hydrological matrix. (adapted from Sternstein 1982)

constructed waterways in and around Greater Bangkok. Absorbing, distributing and retaining water during the dry season and draining excess water during wet season, the vast network of canals brings tangible evidence of the regions larger hydrological cycles to the details of every-day life in the historically urbanized delta.

Vanishing Landscapes: Bangkok Hydro-Agricultural Fringe

During the beginning period of city establishment (1782-1900), Bangkok grew rather slowly. The city's rapid urbanization and increase in population started after the Second World War (BMA 2004). These rapid changes brought the number of land based

Figure 7: Wet Rice Cultivation

Figure 8: Wet Rice Cultivation and Subdivisions

infrastructure and other constructions that resulted in a rapid increase in built up area (BMA 2004) at the expense of cultivated land and the hydrological matrix. The swift expansion of Bangkok's industry and suburban development occurred in the late 1960s and 1970s. Consequently, the growing demand for housing sprawled eastward into the paddy fields (Jarupongsakul and Kaida 2000). The rapid urbanization also affected the city's vast canal network. Many canals were filled up for developments or replaced by the construction of new roads, while many others became stagnant and non navigatable, reduced to drainage ditches and open sewers.

The recent trend of urban growth is concentrated in the urban fringe area, a transition between the inner city and the outer part or suburb area. This urban-rural intermixed area can be characterized by the sprawl of old and new residential estate developments, clusters of industrial estate, strip developments of commercial areas along the roads and large shopping centers. These settlements situate in the old agricultural areas that can be viewed as the pattern of patchy human developments in the matrix of agricultural and open fields.

The East Bank: Wet Rice Cultivation and Subdivisions

Minburi was the site of Lucien Hanks' landmark human-ecosystem study of the Ban Chan rice-growing community. Hanks carefully documented extended-family households who responded to changing market and technological conditions through an intricate feedback system, moving from shifting, to broadcasting and, finally, to transplanting rice during Thailand's first period of modernization. Hanks' study demonstrated how village- level decisions affected environmental change in concert with shifting market trends (Hanks, 1972). The present landscape is much more fragmented and heterogeneous, with many methods of cultivation and income-producing activities competing, and various stages of planting, growth and harvesting coexisting. Historical evolution and seasonal rhythms have collapsed into a mixed-time image of lapsed land-use fragmentation and superposition.

The endless flat plane of Rangsit consists of 200,000 hectares with no large rivers or topographic relief. In the 1890s, Dutch hydrologist Homan van der Heide, the first director-general of Siam Land, Canals and Irrigation Co, who worked for the Thai government between 1902 and 1909 and the creator of the royal irrigation department, rationally planned the diversion of water through 20 straight north–south canals, 30 to 40 kilometers long and spaced at 2 kilometers, with smaller numbered irrigation canals repeated at 1-kilometre intervals. Large areas were opened up for habitation as feeder canals assured a steady water supply for newly developed paddy fields. In the early 20th century, the Bangkok periphery became the primary rice bowl for the region, and the kingdom's primary economic base. With global food shortages following the Second World War, World Bank loans allowed the completion of van der Heide's plan of a modern irrigation system, resulting in a human-controlled water system where growing

Figure 9: Abandoned mixed-fruit orchards and coconut groves revert to wild grasslands awaiting new housing-estate development and a vegetable farm consists variety of market vegetables and herbs growing: lemon grass, ginger, spring onions, lettuce and other leafy greens.

cycles could be in sync with markets rather than seasonal precipitation (Takaya, 1987). Now, however, the emerald-green carpet of Rangsit's fields extends in narrow rows chequered with a grey pattern of new housing and factory estates. Developers have planted these crowded single-family homes and factories in dense rows on the kingdom's most fertile soil. Fishing nets are suspended over the waterway, and narrow wooden pedestrian bridges cross to rice-farming villages hidden behind jungle-like vegetation. A few kilometers down the road, a giant helium balloon marks the entrance to a new housing estate perpendicular to the canal. A security guard stiffly salutes outside a gated estate raised above, and walled from, the surrounding paddies. Inside, a faux New-England-common green lawn is lined with concrete colonial homes with terracotta roofs in four varieties crowded together within the former rice plot.

The West Bank: Crossing the Meanders – Orchards, Gardens and Gated Communities

The thickly vegetated orchards along the river meanders, this area is a poldered flood-control reservoir, where excess water from the city centre is discharged. A west bank orchard and vegetable garden consists of a corduroy pattern of rows of small dredged ditches alternating with built- up mounds. The layered tree canopy of a deltaic mixed orchard consists of spindly betel nut and sugar palms at the highest level, blocking little sunlight from the next layer of coconut palm, durian, mango, pamelo, jackfruit, star fruit, mangosteen, guava, rambutan, rose apple, banana trees and orange saplings. The lowest layer consists of vegetables or herbs, benefiting from the filtering of the strong tropical sun. However, all over the west bank, this cool, aromatic and verdant mix, the green lung of greater Bangkok, is rapidly being replaced by up-market gated housing estates taking advantage of the attraction of a lush green area now minutes away from the centre of the city.
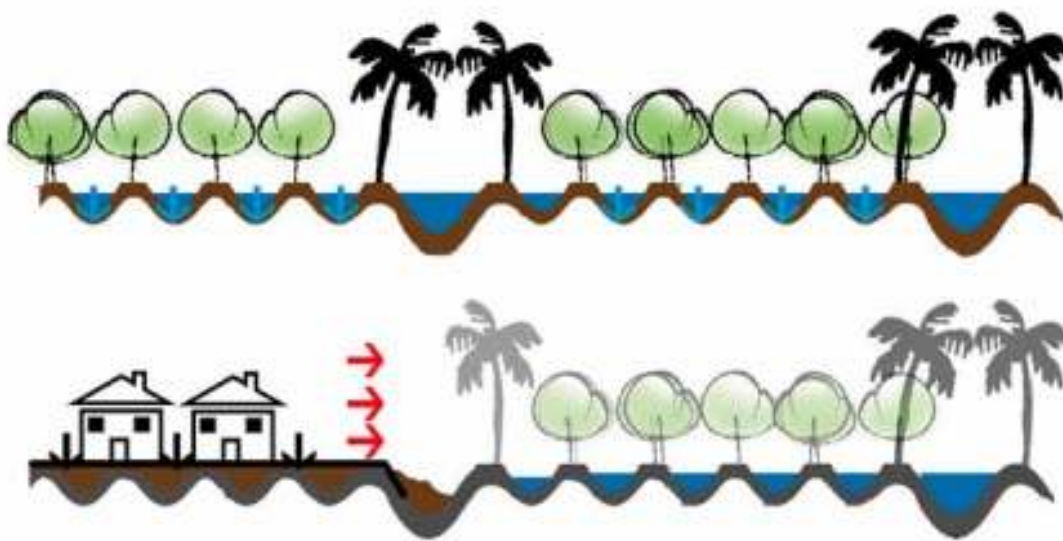
Figure 10: Canals and Abundant Resources

Figure 11: Mixed-fruit orchards transformation

Coconut palms still line the major supply canals, but much land is uncultivated, and unpicked coconuts clog the canals. Labor-intensive fruit production has declined and farmers widen irrigation ditches below in order to farm fish inside the orchard canals. The type of fish varies depending on market demands and water quality, and provides a temporary source of income on land awaiting redevelopment.

Diminishing Ecological Services

The lower part of the Chao Phraya River, the geomorphologically younger part of the delta, is a part of "the center of the geographical living space" of Thailand (Tanabe,

Remnant canal
Remnant Orchard Ditches   Abandoned Orchards
Abandoned Orchad Ditches   Land Filled Areas

Figure 12: Mixed-fruit orchards transformation, 1952-2002-2006

Figure 13: Mixed-fruit orchards Destruction

1977). This view was built upon the capability of the landscape to provide functions or potentials for human inhabitation and exploitation, such as the capacity to produce foods and resources, the capacity to build human's habitat and places, a self-regulated environment, based on the resilience of the landscape's ecosystem and the capability to link with aesthetic, scientific, cultural and other interest of human kind (Zonneveld, 1988).

The vanishing views of natural processes and the vanishing land and waterscape that reflect the relationship between human and natural processes are clearly visible in the Bangkok metropolitan area. These views are also reflected in the recent transformation of agricultural areas to built-up areas in the urban fringe of the metropolitan area. As consequences of these different views, the roles and functions of natural processes and the landscape are perceived differently. These different values play a major role in dictating different changes in the land and waterscape and land and water use. The encroaching of agricultural land by development is increasing at alarming rate. Consequently, the functions of the deltaic landscape which perceived as "ecological services" have been severely diminishing.

The lost of hydro-agricultural landscape such as paddy rice fields, Mixed-fruit orchards and water matrix of canal networks and orchards affected ecological functions or ecological services (Sathianpantarit et al., 2000 after Yuyama et al. 1996 and Yuyama,
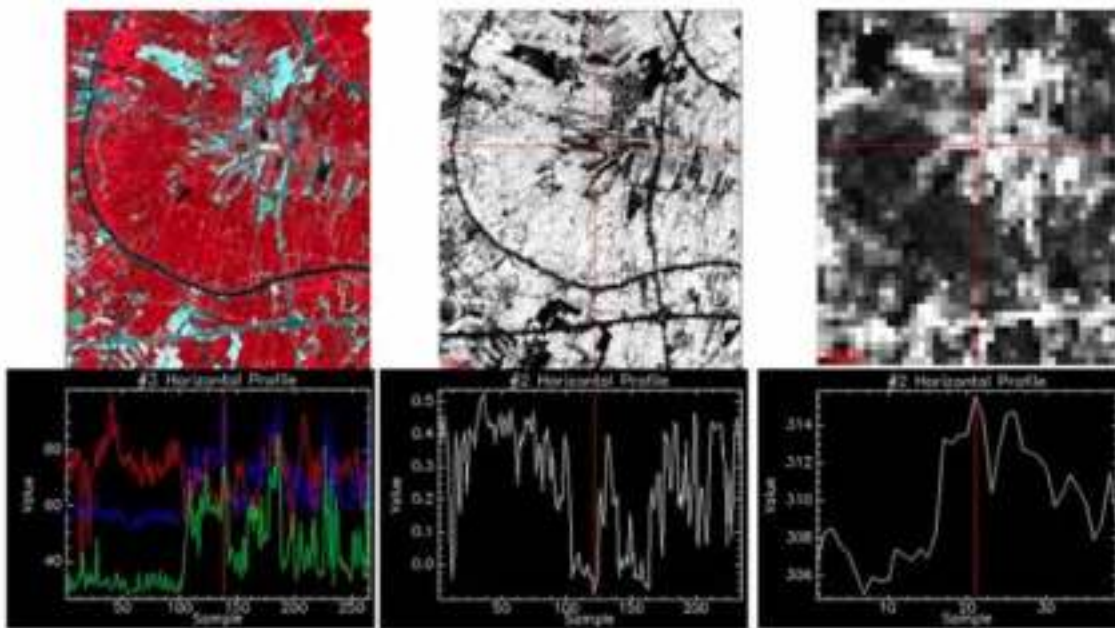
Figure 14: Urbanized lands in mixed-fruit orchards area: vegetation cover vs. built up area and vegetation index and surface temperature comparison

1999, Palopakon, 2009, SriThanyarat, 2009) such as:
Food production
Water resource regulation - retarding basin and regulation pond
Water retention and infiltration
Water quality and conservation - reservoir and filter
Soil erosion protection
Oxygen production
Microclimate control

The delta and the city present threat to each other because of the lack of recognition of the natural hydro-ecological processes and the indigenous and traditional knowledge of living in concert with natural cycles of wet and dry seasons. In searching for a better future, we suggest looking into the past - the understanding of historical resilience and adaptation of living with water evident in indigenous and traditional processes are crucial in land and waterscape planning and design for an uncertain future for the Chao Phraya delta facing climate change, land subsidence and sea level rise.

An Unanticipated Future: Planning and Design for Urban Resilience

Contemporary Bangkok might look to the historical context of Thai waterscape urbanism for solutions to the pressing problems of vanishing urban agricultural land and climate change: a pre-modern, locally controlled, human ecosystem watershed model structured and sustained Thai cities for centuries. A reassessment of how river and water flows have been adjusted to pass around and through cities rather than flushed under them is critical in order to create new dynamic design models of urban ecosystems. The understanding of historical resilience and adaptability of living with water of indigenous and traditional processes would be crucial for dealing with future uncertainty. This is not just a historical model, but contemporary urban ecosystem designs around the world are looking for ways to retain water in cities (McGrath,

2008). Contemporary urban ecosystem science and Thai urbanism both point to the creation of cities as water retention systems for socio-cultural as well environmental reasons.

Envisioning urban resilience, McGrath and Thaitakoo (2005) suggest:
•	Comprehending the city as an ecosystem - the biophysical and socio-cultural life-support conditions of a city
•	Localized strategies must be deployed on the ground
 •	Revaluation of pockets of the city's hydro-agricultural fringe in order to provide breathing space, temperature moderation, water-quality maintenance and new perspectives is critical
•	Cultural production of localities within such disjunctive flows is quite complicated work, and requires new collaborative tools developed between design, education, ecology, and social research.
•	Careful reexamination of the historical resilience and adaptability of living with nature of indigenous knowledge and local wisdom would be crucial for dealing with future uncertainty such as climate change
•	A bottom-up approach for emerging democracies and sustainable community development
•	Recognizing patchy rather than centralized urban development, localized air-, water- and food-quality management could be strung among the under-utilized open spaces concentrated on the orchard meanders and the long, ancient irrigation canals, made visible and publicly accessible
•	Physical connections provide feedback loops between farmers, consumers and policy- makers
•	This is not just an engineering solution towards sustainability, but the recognition of a patchy new symbolic realm as well as a sensual and seductive new cultural space where water and agricultural lands can become the fuel source for the mobile culture on both roads and canals to reweave the geo- and aqua-bodies into a new cultural landscape.

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Figure 1 Satellite image source: The Global Land Cover Facility (GLCF), University of Maryland http://glcf.umiacs.umd.edu/index.shtm

Figure 2 Ying Palopakon

Figure 3 Bangkok circa 1980 Map: Larry Sternstein, 1982. Portrait of Bangkok Bangkok ASTER VNIR image: The acquisition of ASTER data was supported by a research project, 'Investigation of Rapid Urbanization Processes Using ASTER, MODIS, and Landsat Data', by Dr Philip Christensen, Principal Investigator, NASA Grant number: EOS/03-0000-0502.

Figure 5,7-10,13 Danai Thaitakoo

Figure 6 The triptych of maps from 1935, 55 and 75, adapted from Sternstein 1982.

THE FORMS OF INFORMAL ELEMENTS OF READING INCLUSIVE PROJECT MANAGEMENT FROM PROJECTIVE RESEARCH

Arq. Javier Fernández Castro, DI Pedro Senar, Arq. Juan Pablo Scaglia
Faculty of Architecture, FADU
University of Buenos Aires

Abstract

The crisis and rejection of the neoliberal model began a way of reformulation of the economic project development and public policy in Argentina, this process had its counterpart in the projectual disciplines. Proposals that resisted the modern paradigm, professionalism, and aimed at globalizing, the appearance and fashion, began to find space and resources to apply and test their relevance and effectiveness, while demanding the development of new theoretical tools and new methodologies.

From the Institute of Human Space FADU, a group of architects and designers is running a series of experiences based on an integral concept of the project as transformative praxis of meanings. Integrating Research and Praxis also, Project and Management, professional and academic excellence with popular participation. All this in the management of multi-actor projects where public universities, the national government and social organizations redefine their meaning in the dialectic of their implementation. This paper will cover these experiences without prejudice ranging who goes from initial evaluations of punctual designing experiences and future projections of new approaches to urbanistic developments in the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area (BAMA)
Design:.

 The designs have constituted specially in Argentina during the current decade a strong movement linked to the "social matter ". Under various nomenclatures such as inclusive design, management design, social design, micro design, etc. Proyectual activity was positioned as a committed public with social development policies established from: the state, the private sector and civil society.

With various actions who goes from capacitacions to the economic resourses generacion, from the development of inclusion groups to the strengthening of small capital enterprises, the designs have explored and activated from the identification of several social problems showing his versatility and permeability to developing strategies for equal rights from intense institutional learning within its done.

In the years following the crisis in Argentina that is internationally displayed in 2001, but has constitutive roots in international policies applied from 1970's in Latin America, developed a set of public policies which allowed to change the social precarization situation generating gradual but steady improvements in the quality of life people. Throughout these years there was a sharp decline of "indigencia" (worst than poor in the scale), poverty and unemployment rates, increased the formal employment and the wage share. The current situation has no resemblance to the beginning of this decade, not only for the macro and micro social conditions but also by the experience acquired by agencies and stakeholders involved in policy social.

 In this frame designs have been active players through its inclusive side and a conceptual managment framework and consolidated in the assistance and support for the social productive sectors. During this decade have accompanied the process of growing up in social public action.

 In this process of consolidation of the social situacion, by the end of 2000 design begane to overcome the emergency action and to establish strategies of right Comparisons and from integral transforming the ways of living subjects. In this sense began to act, for example and occasion of this writing, coordination with redevelopment projects in neighborhoods in the City of Buenos Aires with characteristic "informal tissue" .This is the case of the action in the "villa 31" in the Community 1 and neighbohoods 21-24 in the "civic center 4" of that city.

These actions propose an integral vision and structural equal rights taking the social habitat element as a complex and inherently diverse. The conjunction between the architecture the urbanism and design approach propose a broad spectrum of urban transformation.

 This paper will discuss the development of the designs in the Argentina in the postcrisis period, we will describe interactions subsistence production units, we will analyze them in especially through the assimilation process of the proposals constituted and the containment of socio-cultural diversity in the generated transformation processes. Finally generate conclusions in the form of hypotheses about the possibilities of designs incorporating the matching process right in the context of redevelopment projects.

Urbanism:
Spatial manifestations of urban informality require new categories of reading, project management, able to guide inclusive policies. Several Latin American history in the last decade, both research and practical management, are based on the confluence of architecture and design, articulated in the integrity of the urban project, following the popular production improvement and sustainability of productive habitat. The paper, goes to the replicability of the experience developed by the Institute of Human Space UBA FADU in the 31 Carlos Mugica neighborhood defines series of projective hypothesis able to guide the development and subsequent management of social and spatial inclusion projects.

These hypotheses review the traditional categories of urban project (contextualization, configuration and arrangement) defining operational guidelines that impact on the quantification and qualification of several case studies, allowing the specific and precise formulation of new programs for the Metropolitan Region of Buenos Aires. About the contextualization notions of urban integration, situational integration and productive modality will be developed. On the configuration will be explicated the notions of typological mixture, appropriate technology and consistent density, in treating of disposition will be formulated the notions of room diversity, multi-scale programming and articulary components. The treatment of the significance of these

developments products serves to recollections of old paradigms and discourses space as well as projections of new, trying to contribute to the construction of an imaginary contemporary popular habitat.

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SUMMARY

The socio-political crisis and the rejection of the neoliberal economic system in Argentina as of 2001, led to the beginning of the reformulation of the model of national development and its associated public policies. This process had its necessary mirroring effect in the projectuals disciplines. In the Instituto de la Espacialidad Humana de la FADU [Institute of the Human Spacialty of the School of Architecture, Design and Urbanism], a group of city planners, architects and designers is executing a series of experiences based on an integral conception of the project as a praxis transformer of senses, conjugating academic investigation and transference, project and management, academic knowledge and popular participation. Immersed in multi-players projects, the Public University, the National State and the Social Organizations redefine their senses in the dialectic generated by its start up. This paper intends to analyze these first experiences oscillating without prejudice between the fields of urbanism, architecture and design, referring to specific approaches and incipient joint developments in the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires (AMBA), in order to develop some provisory conclusions.

Urbanism and Architecture for the inclusion

The space manifestations of the urban informality require new categories of reading, project and management that are able to bring inclusive policies. Diverse Latin American antecedents in the last decade, regarding investigation as well as concrete management, are based on the confluence of the architecture and the designs, articulated in the integrity of the urban project, accompanied by the improvement by the popular production of habitat and its productive sustainability.

This lecture, advancing in the replicability of the experience developed by the Institute of the Human Specialty of the FADU UBA in District 31 Carlos Mugica, defines a series of hypothesis and projectual guidelines able to orient the development and later management of urban and architectonic projects of socio-spatial inclusion.

These hypotheses review the traditional categories of the project (contextualization, configuration and disposition), defining operative guidelines that affect the quantification and qualification of diverse cases of study, allowing the concrete and specific formulation of new programs for the AMBA. The treatment of the meaning of products of these developments evokes old paradigms and space speeches, as well as inevitable projections of new ones, trying to contribute to the construction of a contemporary imaginary of the popular habitat.

Designs for the inclusion

The Designs (Graphic, Industrial, Fashion and Textile) in Argentina have also constituted, during the last decade, a trend strongly linked to the "social matter". Under diverse nomenclatures as inclusive design, management of design, social design, design for microcompanies, etc. the projectual activity was being positioned publicly as an actor committed to the policies of social development of the State, the private sector and the civil society. With diverse actions that go from the qualification to the generation of economic resources, from the development of groups of inclusion to the fortification of micro-companies of capital; the designs have explored and acted from the identification of diverse social problems, showing their versatility and permeability for the development of strategies of comparison of rights from an intense institutional learning to its core. In this paper we will approach the products of the designs in Argentina in the period posterior to the crisis, structuring diverse lines and modalities of the resulting performance of said experiences.

Integrations and opening-ups

We have recently begun to act in the coordination of these projectual disciplines, applied to cases of study of the AMBA, in new cuts of popular habitat, with projects that combine the space inclusion with components of productive sustainability. These actions propose an integral and structural vision of comparison of rights, taking the habitat of the social subject as a complex and intrinsically diverse element. The conjunction between urbanism, architecture and design proposes new hypotheses and a broader and more complex spectrum in the transformation of the urban habitat.

I. URBANISM AND ARCHITECTURE FOR THE INCLUSION

Urbanism and Architecture as disciplines had for a long time an important debt with the matter of inclusion. The public Universities and professional Schools in Argentina, except for honorable exceptions, had left out the them subject matter in their programs, the investigation and transference, paralleling the absence in the State of integral social policies that characterized the years of neo-liberalism (1976 - 2001)[1] .

The increasing duality of the Latin American metropolis, in which the badly denominated "informal city"[2] competes in extension with the "formal" sectors, presented in our societies a scale phenomenon unknown until then, in which the traditional recipes were insufficient to the new organization and magnitude of the challenge to be solved.

The focus of the interventions in the housing, understood by that time as an exclusive urban component, its deficits consideration essentially quantitative, required a new overcoming integral vision where the place of the project was necessarily revalued.

The consideration of the stages, not only the domestic ones but also and fundamentally the productive and social ones in interdependence, the spatial qualification in the answers, position again the urban and architectonic project as a tool in the search of new paradigms capable of including new and improved citizenship conditions. Successful regional programs[3], new lines of investigation, and the incipient generation of new formal imaginaries of intervention, have begun to revert this scene.

In Argentina, the post-crisis social policies destined to the popular habitat were, at a first stage, destined fundamentally to the generation of employment, where the public

work was seen basically as a tool for indirect inclusion. The federal housing plans, social infrastructure and equipment, as well as the programs for social development in the promotion of micro undertaking and popular economies, were thus evaluated as regards their quantitative rather than their qualitative performances.

Once the virtuous circle of growth with inclusion began, and the highest figures of unemployment were reverted, policies are currently in process of reconversion towards quality paradigms, where the sustainability and collective appropriation of results are pondered[4]. The emptying of the technical schemes of the State during the neo-liberal stage, and the gradual recuperation of its capacities and fields of management in recent times required the public University as the shaper of technical-political schemes able to face the new challenges and already proposed programs.

In this sense, diverse pilot experiences of interaction have been being conducted, and we are part of the work team of some of them. In the area of Urbanism and Architecture, the Institute of Human Spacialty has been conducting a series of researches in the field of the popular Habitat, one of them is the assistance to several collective neighborhoods in the generation of participative projects of (re)urbanization[5] of settlements.

The neighborhood "Carlos Mugica"[6] in Buenos Aires, a settlement 80 (eighty) years old, in the center of the city, currently of 30.000 (thirty thousand) inhabitants, turned to be very important as the first and emblematic object of projectual investigation. The formulation of an urban project by the public University, in a joint work with the neighbors, at the same time attending to the urban requests of other multiple actors for the area, resulted in a tool of high political incidence. Despite the pre-existence of strong speeches of exclusion for which the permanence of a popular habitat cut in the middle of the finance downtown was and is "intolerable", the mobilization and demand of the neighbors, who had in their hands the "technical" document elaborated by the researchers, ended up originating a specific law for urbanization in the Legislature of Buenos Aires, currently undergoing a particular treatment for its execution.

This unheard of experience of intense transference is attempted to be duplicated by other collective neighborhoods in AMBA, that requires from the University and its Institute the generation of specific projects proper of the (re)urbanization in order to imitate its management.
From this particular experience, we can extract some general projectual guidelines and hypotheses, with the capacity to be applied in other cases, contributing to the qualification of the public policies. In this sense, we are currently working on other neighborhoods together with neighboring associations, and working for diverse agreements with the National State for the reformulation of its models of territorial intervention in the subject matter.

I.I. An inclusive notion of the Project

All Project that attempts to transform the socio-spatial conditions of the context can and has to be understood as an urban project. This involves the management and pondertation, aware of its different scales of influence. For several years, the profession has been talking about the "right to the city". It is time to go from instructions to actions, assuming the categories and products of the urban in its total complexity and synergy. We must, if we intend to really rebuild the political technical capacity of the State, qualify its actions adding new ways. If in the beginning the social policies of post-crisis contention only explored the generation of employment, the new policies for development and consolidation of a virtuous model have to include the generation of City.

Work and city are not and should never be understood as antagonist elements. We must evade the qualitative-quantitative dilemma as excluding adjectives. Each intervention in the popular habitat is an opportunity to qualify and quantify the territory at the same time. In this sense, the problem has to stop being seen as a particular deficit to which it is answered with ad hoc indicators, and be view integrally in the concept of Habitat. It is not only the lack of housing what is being answered to by the construction of isolated rooms, the lack of infrastructure what is being answered by programs of improvement, the absence of public space what is solved by the building of scenarios, and we could continue to specify each and every focused components in which traditional policies are fragmented into. It is the lack of an integrated and inclusive Habitat what is being demanded from us, for which the variable is not the isolated subject matter but the complex territory as the object for the actions coming from diverse references.

The socio-spatial exclusion has multiple manifestations. Traditional policies tend to address only the ostensible ones. The shanty town, evident difference, contrasting image, tends to hoard all actions. In the contrary, houses taken over, tissues that require reconversion, hipersets degraded, tenements, and hovelled centers would pass as invisible. Maybe upon them falls the prejudice of counting with at least a formal envelope that conceals its lack and relaxes the inactive consciences. This oblivion also includes the territorial focus of the actions in the peripheries and its formal associated answers. Centers and neighborhoods also contain manifestations of poverty that should be contemplated and dealt with in their specificity.

The "privilege" of the actions of peripheral surroundings has resulted in the extension as an urban policy. The poor would be destined to the periphery, the remoteness, the inconnection, where the habitational solution would no longer contemplate neither the productive sustainability nor the minimal conditions for accessibility. In the name of a good conscience, the return to the popular types, the access to the land as speeches simulated as inclusion can also mask the expulsion of the poor off the City, extending infrastructures and locations to the infinite. The density, essence of the urban fact, has to be the subject matter of the project again. We must retrieve, appropriate and update the teachings of those paradigmatic examples that knew how to handle higher scales and proposed new viable alternatives[7].

Current to this line of diversification of the object of study, we are working in the popular habitat of AMBA indentifying the following configurative modalities[8]:

> New enclaves
Generation of areas "ex novo" over suburban territories, associated to eco-technologies.

> Consolidation of borders
Adaptation and improvement of pre-existing tissues bordering big metropolitan parks.

> (Re)urbanization of shanty towns
Production of spaces and public equipments, services infrastructures and habitation.

> Rehabilitation of hipersets[9]
Projects on modern structures on crisis, based on the growth and hybridization of uses.

> Reconversion of factories
Operations of transformation of productive containers in disuse for mix programs.

> Recycling of tenements
Adaptation of the habitational historic patrimony for social housing in central areas.

For that, it will be necessary to review some unique speeches, those traditional hypotheses of supposed universal validity, among them the notion itself of urban project.

The urban Project, in context of abundance, tends to be understood as an adequate instrument for the real estate development of the "areas of opportunity" or for the "embellishment" of the public space. However, when the requests are of more basic and essential nature, the repeated trivialization of the tool should not prevent us to come back on it to redefine it. Far from leaving it, it is about reconsidering it for other targets in other surroundings. Some extremists will state it refers to other things, other knowledge, that the idea of the urban project is definitely associated to Olympic villas, pedestrian streets in historic centers, o new focuses of speculation.

We prefer to talk about other ways of exercise, not other exercise. The difference is not minor. To talk about other knowledge is to state the idea that there is a project for the rich and that for the poor there has to be something else; in other words, that the Discipline, the original one, with capital letters, attends and shall only attend to the cuts in the habitats that are kind to it, leaving the poor to the will of voluntarism and transgressions.

In contexts where the supposed exception, in our case poverty, acquires the ruling dimension or at least in its constitutive aspect, new speeches should lead way to different ways of professional exercise, as a direct consequence of diverse ways of production and occupation of space.

I. II. Some projectual guidelines[10]

Traditionally, we understand projecting as a production of knowledge pre-figurative of the habitat, that tunes the synergies categories of contextualization (relation with the physical and product surrounding), configuration (material consistence and formal appearance), and disposition (programmatic organization and geometrical structure)[11]. These general categories, applicable to any project, act upon the popular habitat, in our cuts of specific performance, its own intents. It is according to them that we propose the following guidelines.

I. II. a. Guidelines of contextualization

> Urban insertion.
If the projects of socio-spatial inclusion have so far been considered as necessary guarantee for the urban continuum, favoring strategies of uniform extension of the tissue, it is necessary to power them as catalysts for reconversion; this is like opportunities for urban qualification. The projectual decision between the like and the different has to allow new balances in the structure, capable to set features of continuity, and at the same time distinction, qualifying the surroundings. Each project is an opportunity not only to lessen a quantitative deficit, but also to qualify a cut in the urban structure.

> Situational integrality.
The inclusion overpasses the Access to housing in itself. The necessary articulation of the different urban conditions in the project has to add up to the habitation, reference to spaces and public equipment, flow in the drawing of its streets and transportation accessibility; interchange in the directionality of virtual and material networks, and separation in the distinctive consolidation of identities. Housing is a necessary and substantial component but not sufficient per se. The incorporation of productive

components, where other branches of the design can converge in the qualification of the pre-existing popular economies, is a situation many times claimed, but yet underexplored. The subject will be analyzed again under designs.

> Productive modality.
The image built from the State should avoid the temptation of repetition and conventionality, incorporating projectual materials from different productive ways. The true inclusion is given by the availability of the same infrastructures, languages and technologies of the "official" or "formal" city. This command has been passed on from history, from our mythical "state of wellbeing", and we tend to forget the popular identities, under bad readings of modernity or pretended adaptations, wrongly understood as lost essences rather than sense permanent constructions.

I. II. b. Guidelines for configuration

> Typological mixture.
The consistency of the Project should be achieved by starting from diverse components, in the construction of a complex order. The ensured diversity of requests by the environment, the need to create differentiated spaces to different conditions, or even in the exclusive dimension of the house, the acknowledgement of mixed programs and varied sets of inhabitants, result in a necessary mixture of types. This does not imply the absence of ideas of globalized conception in the project, its dissolution in a mere superposition of the different. The only possibility for order is not the repetition of uniformed components; on the contrary, we should be able to set general systems that start from distinctive unities.

> Appropriation of technologies.
The projects of socio-spatial inclusion cannot be tied exclusively to the following of traditional technologies. This is the generalized convention based on the expansion of unqualified manpower, but precisely here arises a necessity for discussion. The project can, from its material conception, encourage the creation of qualified manpower in the materialization of the most sophisticated components, allowing at the same time the contemporaneity of the project and a higher sustainability in the time of employment. This is the only way that will break the circle of poverty workers qualified to solve only poverty situations. The technology, its access and availability are also instruments for inclusion.

> Density and consistency.
The traditional parameters for density should undergo a deep review. It is necessary to redefine the best relationships between land, infrastructure and architectures, in order to be able to intervene in the different modalities of insertion suggested. We have already acknowledged that the low density in extension is the only possible solution. The critical rereading of the best examples of the modern density, the study of its hits and the interpretation of its failures, the understanding that poverty issues cannot be addressed by suburban solutions, or worse yet, not to condemn them to the expatriation in the suburbs breaking pre-existing practices and social ties, it should encourage the reintroduction of solutions of medium and high density, free of prejudices.

I. II. c. Guidelines for disposition

> Habitat diversity.
The necessary equipping of spaces that can manage multiple requests, always surpassing the most ambitious predictions, needs space manifestations coherently multiple. The traditional specification where every pre-configured space receives a specific practice needs to yield to the concrete possibility of its modification through time or the

apparition of new request in the usage. In this sense, the pre-imaginings should think about heterogeneous, unspecific and variable environments and programs, capable of absorbing the inexorable mutation of the conditions originally foreseen.

> Multiscale program.
Different works see scales of macro, mezzo and micro study. Another scale dimension is the dialectics public – private. We agree with François Ascher in his categories of circumstances larger than the "metapolitan" life: to be in myself, among others, among us. Translated literally to spatial terms, the projects should assume the necessity to organize and dispose of individual, group and collective spaces. Again there arises the situation to overpass the mere housing program. The spatial inclusion should provide for spaces of sociality for the group identities of nearness and for the global generals.

> Articulatory components.
The concept of articulation can be physically and correctly translated in the definition of public components that serve as nexus with the environment. The disposition of equipment should not only be design for the satisfaction of the project itself, but also and substantially for its area of influence. The articulation, in this sense, goes from a theoretical category to realization. The "boundaries" of the project are not mere limits but spaces of bending and fusion with environment where the disposition of programs "among others" and "among us" promotes their influence. The articulation is then a program of insertion, belonging and allotted to the project itself and the immediate and mediate environment.

I. III. Evocations and designs

The fulfillment of all projects is the will of re-significance of an urban space. All significance is social convention; therefore it implies the evocation of pre-existing senses and the projection of new senses in permanent construction. Designing, when reading the pre-existences as conditioning material and enabler of developments, should not be carried out only from its physical dimensions but also from its significance dimensions. The re-significance work cannot pretend to establish a new social codification out of nothing. The future acknowledgement and possibilities for popular appropriation depend greatly on their capacity to lean on and begin from pre-existing senses.

In every projectual equation there are constant, previous, memorable elements that should be evaluated for their continuity. It is about the features that the project should make its own, the permanent sense, even in contexts where from a superficial and an a priori point of view nothing seems worthy of being recuperated. The construction of memory implies actions of selection and intent. From the set of the pre-existing, regarding the projectual guidelines and the goal of the research, memorable should be separated from disposable, regardless they are physical elements or veiled senses present in the Habitat.

Not all that has been read is essential to the Project. It is not about taking infinite samples and variables in scientific terms, it is about pondering variables and constants regarding the construction of a new scenario. In this sense, they are significant contexts of the project, not only the ones derived from their own spatiality but also the states of the matter, the thematic precedents, the external references capable of bringing replicable elements.

Adjectives used in speeches for the projects of "social interest", such as cheap, worthy, experimental, flexible, etc. belong to systems of thinking that were taken as valid at some point, bringing a casuistry of memorable and disposable examples. The project

should, whenever possible, handle and consciously include these mechanisms for the achievement of a greater degree of appropriation.

To push forward is in the root of the word "project". Evocation implies where we push from. But the project has goal to install a new system of balances in the world. So pending significances and the senses to propose and built become worthy. New formal paradigms able to house new social practices, contemporary images founded in past senses that would not crack them, on the contrary, that project and define them. The apparition of new objects and subjects means the necessary incorporation of variables of the old constants, the definition of new architectures. The construction of a new "modernity", but this time pertinent, aware of its possibilities and consequences, stripped of messianisms and conformisms.

II. DESIGNS FOR THE INCLUSION

During the years that followed the crisis of 2001, a new set of public policies was developed, that allowed the modification of the social impoverishment situation that generated progressive but constant improvements in the quality of life of the population. During these years, the rates of abject poverty and poverty, and unemployment decreased, and the rates of formal employment and salary participation increased. The current situation does not resembles the one at the beginning of this decade, not only because of the macro and micro social conditions but also because of the experience acquired by the organisms and actors related to the social policies.

In this frame, the designs have participated actively through their inclusive aspect and with a conceptual and management frame made up and consolidated for the assistance and support of the productive social sectors. During this decade, they have accompanied the process of maturation in the social public action. Thus, by the end of the decade of 2000, the designs began to overpass the action on the emergency and began to build strategies of equity of rights coordinated with and arising from global transformations in the ways of habitation of the subjects.

The traditional Argentine design has replied with different modifications to the global one in terms of social and cultural specific conditions. The called social design imposes a different local version, rooted in the social, political and cultural reality of the territory. Today, dissimilar actions which pertinence depends on the specific contexts in which they are produced are grouped under this name. The broadness of this term and of the actions has led to confusions as regards their concern and pertinence. We shall try to develop some partial and temporal categories that allow the differentiation of possible areas for social action.

First, we shall adjust the term under which these projectual actions are grouped under: social design. Is it possible to think of the design from the outside of a socio-productive context? We therefore believe that the term inclusive design is more precise regarding the field of action to be defined, without a purifying sectorization that leaves out actions of valued carried out during the decade and that refer to the field we try to demarcate.

II. I. Inclusive design and its aspects

We shall sub-divide the inclusive design in order to explain some the different shapes it can take. We will generate a classification in which we include initially a category already built internationally, called *universal design* [12] and we define other two, that characterize and group sets of practices: *design of social products* and *design for the*

socio-working inclusion. Amongst others, each area distinguishes objectives, ways of approach, roles of actors, etc., and allows the visualization of those of higher pertinence for the different strata and programs of public policies of inclusion.

II. I. a. Universal design

This professional aspect proposes and develops actions of product design based on guidelines of generation and material realization that are aimed to establish accessibility for the broader part of the users of the product as regards its sense of acquisition, use and discard. It proposes to design and produce objects that can be used for all the users regardless their creed, education, economic situation, physical characteristics, etc. In practice, the universal design has been used in projectual actions related to the inclusion of subjects with diverse psycho-physical handicaps, taking into account their limitations and generation answers – products.

Aligned with the ergonomic studies, this orientation proposes the amplification of the contemplated users, mainly from the variable of use of the objects. A great amount of the products that are transcendental for the life of the subject arise from this projectual trend, not only in the private environment but also in the public one. In this sense, there is a strong relationship with the areas of the public policies of inclusion. Examples of the productions that have had penetration in our country in the last years are the inclusive playground equipments. They have already been implemented in public spaces in different municipalities (San Isidro - Buenos Aires, Tunuyán - Mendoza y Pueblo Belgrano - Entre Ríos, among others).

II. I. b. Design of social products

This aspect of inclusive design is characterized by the resolution of conflicts of exclusion of subjects and populations from the development of specific products so that the principal can overcome the detected difficulties. It proposes to solve situations related to inaccessibility: such as lack of housing, energy, potable water, etc.

Once the problem is located, projectual actions are developed in order to design products that overcome it, as a strategy for the solution of the specific social problem. Unlike the universal design, its action does not focus on the psycho-physical characteristics of the subjects and their possibility for developing objects that aid in this sense, but to overcome matters of inaccessibility in economic-territorial terms. It orientates its projects to an audience that has no possibility to acquire the developed products by means of market logic. For this reason, the associations in this aspect tend to include relationships and associations with State organisms and/or civil society as a strategy for the obtaining of the necessary economical resources for the production and distribution of material goods.

We understand that this orientation proposes to perform attached contributions to solve the observed problems and to generate bridges –networks- to the local and regional organisms for the economical sustainability of the production. Examples of this are: the known project *One laptop per child*[13], and the advertised product *LifeStraw*[14] among others.

II. I. c. Design for the socio-working inclusion

This projectual orientation is addressed for the management of social projects from the action of the designers in interaction with productive unities of survival.

It proposes to improve the situation of vulnerability of the actors of these units, from the innovation of processes and products technologies. The concrete actions are based on: improvement of the productive and communicative performance and/or counseling for the improvement of the general management of the unit. They have diverse objectives related to the possibility to increase the competitiveness, the social insertion and/or its activity of resistance. It groups the actions of inclusion under the intention to improve the accessibility of the members of the unit to the productive/commercial and social systems and/or the networks of organizational and institutional relationships.

Unlike the two aforesaid, and as an inflexion and local characterization point of the projectual action, this orientation includes the citizen – producer – worker as the main actor of the process of innovation, as recipient of the projectual activity, which results in a novelty for the traditional practice of the designs in which the producer of the material good is a necessary actor of the process but not the central one. The incorporation of these practices produced a new relationship for the discipline between the changes in products pretended technologies and processes and the improvement in the quality of life of the recipient, in this case, the subject producer.

In Argentina, as in other countries of Latin America, it is an emergent singular phenomenon as regards the professional forms this discipline has acquired in the world. In this context, the incorporation of the practices of the designs for the socio-working inclusion in actions of re-urbanization generates new questions and possibilities[15].

Starting from the hypothesis that citizen's equity of rights, in order to be sustainable, cannot be developed in separated ways over the logic of professional specialization, we infer that, like others of the socio-working axis, the right to the land, the accessibility to housing services and formalization of their territory are a global part of the urbanization actions of the social habitat.

II.II. Possibilities of the Designs in the urban Project frame

The actions of the designs in this frame are in the exploratory stage. The preliminary observations and the established precedents allows us to detect three possible dimensions for the performance and development of inclusion capacities, and to support the incorporation of social networks and markets in order to accomplish the transformation of the habitat requested by the community.

II. II. a. The productive unity and its internal management

This dimension proposes strengthening actions that focus on the improvements of product – production and communication of the productive unity as a core – objective of the project, from the definition of some characteristic of the unit. Among them we define the ways of appropriation and disposition of resources, the external constituted relationships (of competence, symmetric and asymmetric solidarity), the internal established relationships (democratic, horizontal, associative, hierarchical, competitive, etc.), the targets of the unit (reproduction of life and work force under the best possible conditions, resolution of the workers needs and their natural and cultural environment, the humanization of social relationships, the accumulation of capital).

Depending on the type of organization and its interest, they center their strategies according to the nearness to one of these three aspects:

> The elaboration of products and changes in the productive management, with objectives that are based on the innovation sustained on the adaptation of the behaviors

and the externalities of the productive unit for its best adaptation to the dynamics of the market economy.

> The construction of inclusion strategies that strengthen the social development of the subject –in Max-Neff[16] words: the human scale development- not necessarily attached, in all their aspects, to the dynamics of the market economy. It acknowledges in these units actions of inclusion that have a greater degree of complexity, which adaptation to the market can produce the subject's disaggregation.

> The revitalization of the resistance act by means of innovation actions to generate a strategic positioning of the productive unit in the networks of relationships that will provide sustainability through communication, broadcasting and development of the activities.

II. II. b. The productive unity and its insertion in the local/neighborhood networks

This dimension proposes the approach of strengthening task around the strategic associability of the unit understood as a node inside a neighborhood network and/or also as a link in a productive chain[17]. These actions propose strengthening in:

The acquisition of raw materials, the technological capacity through which the complementarity (delivery to clients requests), the improvement of the productive trade, the capacity for the raising of economical and financial resources (relationship with the State, NGOs, private parties, subsidy and credit organizations), the potential for legal registration of the productive unit (acquisition of rights and legal security, non-profit associations, cooperatives, etc.), the accreditation of regulations and quality seals of the products, the distribution and commercialization networks (webs, blogs, joint printings, social networks, orders intake centers, local commercialization centers, trademarks (set, packing and commercial presentation).

Each type of network association proposes a strategic challenge to the organization and it needs modifications in the internal management of the unit and of the habits constituted by the actors.

These two acting dimensions have been widely explored during the last decade. The action of generation and/or strengthening of productive units of survival has positioned as one of the most spread strategies for socio-working inclusion in the inclusion politics nowadays. So is denoted by the Programs, Plans and Projects that operate within the public sector in their assistance and consolidation and the theoretical development in this sense.

II. II. c. The productive unity and its urban insertion

This dimension proposes the insertion of the productive unit within the formal city exchange networks. Like the other two, it has also been widely explored, in particular, in the individual action over a productive unit or consortium or groups of units and their territorial participation in a broad context. But when included in the action of re-urbanization, it acquires a differential significance that, for us, it exposes so far unexplored particularities in the actions of designs for the inclusion.

An environment of social mixture is formalized by the existence of a space for the productive practices that incorporates the center – referent characteristics –as in the Brazilian case of the "Centers of Employment and Income Production"- in the urban projects.

The precedents of the traditional markets and fairs are here empowered by the overlapping of the other social programs such as sports or cultural spaces, promoting references that transcend the Neighborhood itself and that are appealers of the rest of the City, adding to its pre-existing icons.

II. III. Platforms for interaction.

In the last decade, these actions allowed the observation of the diversification of the strategies in the exchanges. In the analysis of the experiences, we find the possibility to generate a classification that proposes at least six management formats. It stills needs to be verified as regards the action in the urbanization projects; however, we take it as a starting point.

> Training
It is a unit of action that is characterized by the generation of transference dynamics of knowledge by means of seminars or courses with a specific planning and thematic embodied in a work program. In general, the trainer or teacher is a designer and the contents are related to the projectual areas. Generally, it has a pre-established time and schedule and is carried out in formal or non formal education spaces.

> Workshop training
This interaction format is carried out by means of seminar-courses, like the former item, but with the difference that in this case the courses have a workshop module, i.e. they do not only approach general theoretical-pragmatic contents but also specific situations of the participant productive projects from, for example, the observation and analysis of products, the display forms, technologies, etc. Analysis and tutoring of every productive unit alternate. It can be bi-directional, i.e. the trainer and the actor of the productive unit, or multi-directional: every participant actor participates in the analysis and search for alternatives. These actions are carried out in spaces destined for formal education and/or in spaces provided by local organizations.

> Technological consultancy
It is a format of interaction developed through the visitation of professionals and designers technicians to productive centers and the assistance in singular or specific problems in the productive unit at matter. Unlike the other two cases, the exchanges of knowledge are mainly tacit and the approached themes need in situ reflection and observation of the action. It has a defined extension and it refers to the overcoming of the particular problems approached.

> Productive laboratory
It is the relation generated by the production workshops. It is characterized by its dynamic of meetings of the producers in order to accomplish new objectives or transformations in others already generated. Horizontal synergies and exchange of knowledge occur, on the base of the doing and its tacit component. These are dynamics that enable the construction or strengthening of networks between individual producers and generate objectual visible results. Designers collaborate through guided comments as regards the development of the each actor's product and also through general orientations. They are carried out in the workshop of one of the producers and/or in local education spaces institutionally provided.

> Professional intervention
It is the association produced by means of the professional traditional practice of the discipline in which the designer projects and presents the solution to the client that required it. In general, the solutions have objectual character. The authorship is the professional's and it is carried out in meetings in which they generate a work program

and create alternatives that the "client" takes into consideration choosing and proposing changes.

> Extended technological consultancy
It is an interaction characterized by a complex format of visitations, technological consultancies, trainings and workshop trainings, productive laboratories and professional interventions, coordinated according to the needs of the groups that participate in it. As in the previous cases, the organizational and transference actions include the designers. The application of every format of action is instituted based on the needs of the productive processes and alternate with the emergent ones. They are long in time, they combine stages of intense interaction with prolonged lapses of assimilation for the observation the real difficulties and consequences. They are carried out in actions in the productive centers and also in local institutions, depending of the format and the duration.

Altogether, these categories enable to link the performed experiences in this field of projectual action in the six types above mentioned and their variables express that a high social sensitivity is equally required in order to adapt these actions to contexts, actors and specific demands. These types of approach may turn pertinent provided that their complementation and mixture are taken care of when responding to the productive forces of the neighborhood tissue and the singular frame provided by a re-urbanization project.

The preliminary analyses enable us to infer the necessity of heterogeneous approaches due to the diversity of productive institutional maturity stages of the productive units. These approaches, added to the strategies for strengthening of the productive tissue already built in the neighborhood, and powered by the required transformations in the process of re-urbanization, make possible the generation of new significant productive units associated to the constructions works.

The inputs required for this process allow generating or strengthening productive units. However, it is understood that the election of these works has to refer to the possibility to transcend the specific re-urbanization context turning into strategies of socio-working inclusion sustainable in time.

In our research project, we have approached as witness case the generation of production units of bathrooms and module kitchens. We are currently in the stage of product reformulation[18]. The developed equipments intend to be able to adapt to the new housing units and equipment to be built as well as to their inclusion in pre-existing constructions to be consolidated.

In these cases, the project of re-urbanization brings a unique synergy. For example, 9000 (nine thousand) bathroom units were requested, and as much of kitchens for the case of the project for Barrio Carlos Mugica and 15000 (fifteen thousand) for the re-urbanization of the Barrio 21-24

Many other products developments and technological-productive scales are compatible with the necessity and requirements for actions of re-urbanization, providing protection for the incubation of productive units; for example, the aluminum extrusion sectioning for the development of metallic woodwork[19]. Urban furniture can also be mentioned: seats, landings, bus stops, signage, bicycle parkings, public luminaire, etc.

This productive horizon that arises from the re-urbanization project, in particular from the necessity of input supply, will generate other forms of interaction not contemplated in the constituted typologies of interaction. The actions of research – participative action

will provide information that will enable us to question the mentioned differences and to broaden the developed constructions in order to generate more inclusive practices.

III. INTEGRATIONS AND OPENING-UPS.

III. I. To project "with" others

At the beginning of the second decade of this century, Latin American Urbanism and Architecture are again focusing on the pending social debts. The great metropolises of the region, with diverse shades and particularities, are in full execution of inclusive programs achieving new ways to project and manage.

The Designs, the ones we define as inclusive, are at the same time in a stage of consolidation. Their orientations, in particular the socio-working aspect, also constitute a particular action in the Latin American context and confer it an identitary path.

The identitary strategies are not based here in the morpho-symbolic character of their objectual production, particular and distinctive images, but rather on the possibilities of their management: their commitment to the quality of life and the construction of citizenship by means of its spatial and productive scopes.

This rooting in the social problems relevant to the territory generates a strong social anchor that projectual disciplines as a whole have been enunciating and searching since the beginning of modernity. Proposals that resisted the "professionalist" paradigm, globalizing and orientated towards appearance and fashion, began to find room for their application and put to the test their scope and efficacy in our specific contexts, at the same time that they demanded the development of new theoretical tools and methodologies. It is honest to say that this is not a supreme posture in the academies nor it intends so, but it does mean an alternative in constant development.

In these experiences, the city planners, architectures and designer with the neighbors of each neighborhood or ventures are beginning to position as members of a team, and no longer of a multi-discipline that share a same general formation, each one with a role of specialty in a set. They share the work with professionals and non professionals, who in most cases begin ignoring or having a wrong idea of what the contributions of the designer may be.

In this "team", the designer does not lead nor is he led; his contribution will consist of proposing and transforming his proposal at the beat of the democratic debate. In this doing "with others", the traditional position varies, it is no longer projected "for others", he is no longer a giver or taker, as such he is neither generous nor mercenary, the equity of the relationship has a correlate in its production, if there is no "giving" there is no "product", there is contribution of work to the process of the team.

III.I. An"other" sense in the design.

In this introduction of a work team, one of the many questions that arises is that the social organization members and the professionals of other disciplines do not know the scope of the projectual disciplines or they have a wrong idea of it. In this sense, we will call these a priori perceptions Pre-judices.

In general, they tend to catalog the designers as producers of beautiful, complex, strange, new, expensive or exclusive spaces and objects. We technicians and professionals appear

under a positive light but distant and unreachable for the inhabitants or survivor amateurs or mere reproduction; and the neighbors in general start from a negative point, linked to the loss of time and little pragmatic direct application.

This is why one of the first strategic objectives we propose is to perform actions that tend to make visible the fact that it is possible to design with "other" senses, based on other ideological premises and other professional position.

One of the definitions that we had to agree on and that required most part of the discussion work was the one related to the questions:
Do we design alone? If so, why designers?
What is specific to projectual practices?

And their derivatives:
If there is something only a designer can do, how does this articulates with a democratic and horizontal praxis?; how to avoid the knowledge dictatorship?; how to preserve the quality and excellence in a participative frame?

The answers are neither simple nor univocal, but we can make some agreements:

> To design is inherent to the human condition, thus "we all design", "we always design", "we design together".

> To design is to pre-view a transformation of the reality and the actions to accomplish it.

> This "pre-view" in the habitat field is the praxis that becomes professional in the projectual disciplines.

> In the path of his traditional praxis, any designer makes a reading or interpretation of the current reality, detects the possible difficulties and obstacles he shall find in the desired transformation and acknowledges the great options he must choose from in the final product and in the path to concretion.

> This is the work the designer inserted in a work team will do, the decisions will be debated in group, likewise the previous thematization.

> This is the differential anchor of this new position, and it requires the put into the common ground and development of options. The general way will be that "everybody designs", but the specific professional way will "elaborate pre-views and options".

III. II. The margins of freedom, the transforming objectives

In every project there is a pending discussion that verifies particularly in the academic environment. In its most Manichean version, it is the option between the "mercenary" architect that has to exhaustively abide his client's requirement, who is the one that brings the money, and the omni-im-potent architect who intends to impose how people should live and when he is not understood it is not his problem.

This option (overexaggerated here) is false: the requirement is never exhaustive to the littlest detail and the passive acceptance of the architectonic fact is never total, (no matter how prestigious the designer is) there is always a process of appropriation that implies acceptances and rejections.

The designer has the responsibility to explore his margins of freedom and exploit them. The demand is never sufficient neither explicit, and what the professional has to offer will never satisfy the requirement completely.

The social policies have largely debated about actions and programs orientated to the offer or demand, and about focused or universal decisions. Here the project disciplines can work and here is the anchor of the possibility for articulation between both views. In Argentina, where a deep process of transformation has begun, public policies include within their objectives: social inclusion, Political Participation, Democratic Organization, etc. These objectives are not reached through the satisfaction of the basic life needs (food, health, shelter), but it is undoubtedly the necessary foundation and many times the engine of the main accomplishments.

Analogically, it is required from de designer more than one "answer" to a "problem", the satisfaction of an evident dimension of the request, but he will also include other objectives, those derived from his comprehension of other variables less evident, of the interests to be articulated with other decision-making actor, definitely, and why not, desire.

These premises were not expressed in the "demand" and they are not based on the "necessity". They constitute first a "betrayal" to the expectations on him deposited, but, at the same time, to his "offer", the incorporation of the project as generator of proposals that exceed the evidence, to be debated, the transformations arose from this debate, the organization that that debate implies, the empowerment of all the actors.

III. III. Projectual research and society.

The dialogue under construction between the projectual research and the policies of social inclusion constitute a new perspective in the history of our disciplines. The experience of the past decade establishes a true step forward in this construction. As we have seen when enumerating the strategies for action and categories for comprehension, the dialogue enriches and the answers produced show a synergy in the actions, a feedback that enables to approach the complexity of the urban and productive space, social definition, from a broader perspective.

The joint action allows visualizing gaps between the disciplinary knowledge, putting to the test theoretical frames, generating methods, reviewing managements and proposing alternatives, evaluating results and re-proposing strategies. The project as a specific form of production of knowledge enriches and defines its praxis when faced to the cases of complexity and social incidence greater every time.

The pending challenge is to consolidate this frame of action, generalize it and also make it every time more pertinent and efficient in the generation of processes of innovation. For the public policies, the symmetric challenge is to facilitate management context in plural dialogues, with different actors, generating filiation, promoting actions that are singular and adapted to the view of the world of the subjects with whom they interact.

The relationship of the Universities and the State, the inhabitants, the social organizations, and the private parties are fundamental. The human resources, the organizational structures, chairs, research, investigation and transference teams are engines for the construction of knowledge and action in the field. The inter-institutional knowledge is a necessary experience for the construction of these gaps. They consume efforts from every organization engaged, but also from every interlocutor. Technicians, professionals, social actors, we all constitute an active part of the construction, simply trying to contribute to the collective project.

ENDNOTES

1. Despite the fact that in the period there can traced some truncated attempts of alternative projects, the stage inaugurated by the military dictatorship in 1976 and finished with the crisis (already in democracy) of 2001 can be characterized as a predominance of the neo-liberal socio-economic model that lasted through several administrations. The gradual destruction of the state of wellbeing, that existed since the middle of the XX Century, produced a strong reconversion of the economy and the society in Argentina, characterized essentially by the growing unfairness in the distribution of the national rent, the farfetched external indebtedness and the destruction of the productive national machinery.

2. The notion of "informal" refers to the absence of rules and regulations made official under which the self-built habitat is executed. For us, the word is confusing because it leads to believe that the way of production is shapeless since it is configured in a manner different that the regulated. On contrary, we believe that the "popular habitat" (we consider this word more appropriate) has other shapes that should not be overlooked just because of the fact that they are different. This acknowledgement, free of prejudices, is the base of its potential for positive projectual transformation.

3. The programs "Favela Bairro" of Prefetura de Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; PROMEBA (Program for Improvement of Neighborhoods) of Argentina; and "Urbanismo Social" of Medellin, Colombia, deserve a special mention in the Latin-American sphere, each of which has brought diverse elements of innovating management in their respective contexts.

4. The President of the Nation has characterized this new stage as "perfect tune" in the speech of her second administration period assumption.

5. The term "(re)urbanization" we use was originated in documents of the shanty towns screed of Buenos Aires, heir of the Works of Father Mugica. It attempts to bring the significances of inclusion to its real condition by stating that works of improvement of the habitat in these popular cuts are originated by a preexisting urban condition that has to be acknowledged. For the priests, the shanty town is already City, is a consequence of the current ways of production. It is a cultural identity with its own values that have to be respected. In this sense, plainly "urbanize" resembles to altering the essences, not acknowledging the previous identities and pretending to homogenize (ignore) diverse cultures. The word "(re)urbanize" is associated, on the contrary, to the generation of spaces of coexistence, mixture and articulation among the different element that acknowledge themselves in their particular identities without a relationship of dominance.

6 . The Neighborhood receives the name of the third world priest Carlos Mugica, who was a parish priest in the shanty town of Retiro and a referent of the shanty town Peronist movement in the 1970's. He was murdered by a parapolice gang of extreme right in 1974, his person became in Argentina the symbol of the struggle for urban inclusion. Nowadays the Secretary of State for the Social Habitat of the Presidency of the Nation is named after him as homage.

7. High and medium density solutions tend to be completely discarded in the habitual speeches, setting as example diverse failures in the so called modern movement. The study of these sets shows that besides the existence of other many successful examples quotable in our environment, the causes of the lack of appropriation are centered more in the repetition and conventionality of the morphologic answers than in the quantity of floors of each building. These conventionalities and repetitions also characterize several

sets of low density equally unsuitable.

8. These categories are developed in projectual researches in the "taller forma&proyecto" of FADU UBA, carried out in the basin Matanza-Riachuelo, south AMBA, where there are the highest rates of poverty of the metropolis. To view some the experiences carried out as final dissertation go to www.fernandezcastro.com.ar ; PA; galería de trabajos.

9. In this sense, it is of special interest the experiences of the French research Anne Lacaton – Jean Philippe Vassal in the recovery of old sets that the French State intended to demolish in order to build new projects. Their proposals of amplification and production of equipments have proven to be substantially more economic and of great architectonic quality, well appropriated by its inhabitants, also developed in their system of participation management. See LACATON VASSAL 2008. "Plus. La vivienda colectiva territorio de excepción" Ediciones GG Barcelona

10. To see a broader development of these guideline: FERNÁNDEZ CASTRO, CRAVINO, EPSTEIN, TRAJTENGARTSZ 2010. "Barrio 31 Carlos Mugica. Posibilidades y límites del proyecto urbano en contextos de pobreza" IEHu FADU UBA, Buenos Aires.

11. These definitions are taken from Roberto Doberti and Liliana Giordano in their works on Teoría del Proyectar. See DOBERTI, Roberto 2007. "Espacialidades". Ediciones Infinito. Buenos Aires.

12. This subcategory is used in some cases as synonym of inclusive design. Authors and actions confuse universal design, design for all and/or design for the human being with inclusive design, adding to the formation of an underlying that positions theses international aspects as the only possibilities for design in the social field.

13. "The One Laptop per Child is a laptop designed as an educational tool to bring closer to the children of the developing countries the learning, information and communication" Source: http://other90.cooperhewitt.org/.

14. "Mobil object of water depuration design to transform any water surface in potable water". Source: http://other90.cooperhewitt.org/.

15. The universal design and the social products design are necessary and transcendental actions in the frame of the re-urbanization programs, but they achieve a greater nearness to the processes in the interior of the projectual disciplines and their precedents are broader and more diverse.

16. Participation, creation, freedom, identity, protection, understanding and survival. (Max-Neff, et al. 1986.)

17. It attempts to act in an integrated form in all its links from an associative logic in order to generate a more equitable distribution of power and decent incomes in all the units of the chain. The assessment of its action is centered in the changes in the power distribution, the insertion of the productive actors and the generation of economical resources for them. In general, it is related to territorial nodes, and it shows little development in the neighborhood productive tissue.

18. The concept of the object adapted to the spatial dimensions was abandoned, i.e. the objectualizacion of the architectonic gesture, giving place to the design of a product that provides all the features necessary for each of the spaces. The relationship of the two axes of projectuality: furniture and spatial intends to turn this set of objects into a product category.

19. The amount of required meters allows us to think of specific matrix development and productive units for the setup and construction of elements. Likewise, systems of bars and banisters which scale let us think of processes of serialization, generating actions that diverge from the ones developed for each unit in particular.

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(UN)ANTICIPATED DESIGN FUTURES: NEW YORK

Brian McGrath

Parsons the New School for Design

Abstract

New York's fiscal decline in the 1970's was radically reversed in the wake of financial deregulation and electronic trading in the 1980s. While, at this time, New York architects debated different versions of post-modern historiography, New York's artists were often more engaged in the social present. But no one could anticipate the transformations the introduction of new digital technologies would unleash by the end of the 20th century. The 80s was followed by three decades of the irrational exuberance in the wake of the dot.com boom and bust, Rudolf Giuliani's Zero Tolerance policing, the attack on the World Trade Center, mounting evidence of the irreversibility of climate change, and the financial meltdown of 2008. This essay unfolds an intimate perspective of the unanticipated future resulting from the migration of computer technologies from globalizing financial markets, to digital design practice and finally into the twittering social activism of today.

June, 1981

The present-day future of New York City began on a weekend in June 1981. Personally I could have not anticipated the importance of this transformative moment from my vantage point as a recent graduate of architecture school. I had just started working - at a drafting board - at Jim Polshek's office on Union Square West, and hadn't yet moved from Princeton into my East Village tenement flat. Sifting through the archives of the New York Stock Exchange a decade later I was able to fix this epochal date precisely. There, searching for images for my first book, I found a folio of photographs of some construction activity above some scaffolding that covered the trading floor of the Exchange over several months in 1981. In the final sequence of photos, old wooden desks, files and cubicles for paper trading were removed over the weekend in June, and a spider's web of fiber optic cables, computer terminals and display screens was lowered from above. That Monday morning, the course of the city and the world's future changed as workers arrived to work ready to unleash the future with the new tool of electronic trading. The aftershocks around the world in the wake of the digital globalization of capital was felt in Bangkok in 1997 and in Buenos Aires 2001, and finally circled back to New York in 2008.

Urban development in New York had plummeted during the fiscal crisis of the mid-70s. The city's infrastructure was collapsing, crime was rampant, and the new metabolism of the air-conditioned, artificially lit office tower exhausted the regional power grid, resulting in a massive blackout in 1977. I came to live in New York City in 1978, first as an undergraduate intern at the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS). Some of the great design thinkers of day from both sides of the Atlantic assembled at that think-tank overlooking Bryant Park, but their discussions were less fixed on the problems of the deteriorating city of the present, but pulled to different utopian pasts, whether romantic - Robert Stern's research on origins of the Anglo-American suburb; or revolutionary – Tony Vidler's work on late 18th Century Paris; or modernist revival – Peter Eisenman's analyses of Giuseppi Terragni or Rem Koolhaas' infatuations with Russian Constructivism, Coney Island and Rockefeller Center.

However, that year, installations by Gordon Matta-Clark's at the Institute and by Bernard Tschumi at Artists Space, and the publication of Heresies by a feminist art collective are three notable exceptions of the designer's gaze more clearly turned towards the social present. Matta-Clark dramatically shot out some windows of the Institute's galleries, and carefully inserted mounted photographs of some of newly constructed housing projects in the Bronx with the windows broken by vandals. Tschumi, taking a "cooler" approach, mounted serial filmstrip drawings of Central Park as a crime scene, 42nd Street as a local for an illicit tryst, the skyscraper as a site for a suicidal plunge, and the inner life of a Manhattan block as a theater of perverse voyeurism. Both Matta-Clark's show marked the end of his life as an architect and Tschumi's the beginning, both were architects practicing as artists in order to conceptualize design in a social present beyond historical memory.

Art-based practices were particularly inspiring to me from my vantage point of the East Village in New York. I arrived there at the same time as Madonna, Ai Wai Wai and Keith Haring, and together we joined long time resident Alan Ginsberg in a dream of bohemia in NY. But we also arrived with Ronald Reagan entering the Whitehouse, and a deathly virus led to a deadly disease later identified as Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). The AIDS activist group ACT-UP was an important nexus of art, design, media, politics and street theater with an innovative research arm that radically changed national policy on research and treatment protocols. Unique – composed of Wall St traders and Madison Ave media producers First ACT-UP demonstration on Wall Street on March 24, 1987 marked a new era in social activism as the first protest in the

age of globalization. Seeing so many young friends sick and dying, I was immediately captivated by ACT-UP and was present at the next demonstrations at City Hall.

The East Village performing artist, poets and painters, were both agents in the gentrification of the Lower East Side, as well as allies in the struggles over the rights of the homeless to occupy Tompkins Square Park and for squatters to occupy abandoned buildings and community gardens to maintain open space in the neighborhood. On the night of August 7, 1988 I found myself caught in a melee at Tompkins Square Park - a night you can still see on you-tube as a local artist caught the event on video tape. Again a first use of non-journalistic reporting, through video, of a news event. Transportation Alternatives was another nascent East Village organization that brought together bicycle advocates in pressuring the city's traffic engineers to make the city more hospitable to non-motorized vehicle transportation.

All histories, like this one I am telling, are stories, constructions of human imagination based on archaeological exhumations of layers of archives, but also of reflections and memories. Architects' histories are especially selective, as they often serve as justification for projecting into an imagined future. But as the last three decades in New York City have shown, design history, if selective of the past, is also often blind to the future. Unbeknownst to us in 1979, the first experiments in electronic trading that took place at the New York Stock Exchange, would change the architecture of the city and the world beyond what any close reading of that social present or any exhumation of the historical past could anticipate.

So from 1981 to 1985, when I wasn't working on the mechanical drawing tables at Polshek, a tried to keep up with the social activism of my artist friend and neighbors. After taking the examination for the license to practice as a professional architect, I spend a sabbatical in Rome, an experience that offered my historical insight into the dramatic changes in New York at the time. When I returned, I opened my own practice as well started teaching at New Jersey Institute of Technology in Newark. I established a summer study in Rome. In Rome, the shrunken city divided into inhabited and uninhabited zones provided great lessons in urban adaptation and change. New self-sufficient institutions, for instance the monastery of San Clemente and the convent of Quatro Coronatti served as models of social adaptation in their architecture. During the last years of the decade, with students studying in Newark, we conducted a comparative design research which tried to understand archeological Rome as a modern, almost cubist – or the preferred term in the 80s – a deconstructivist landscape, and in modern New York tried to uncover an archeology of the capitalist city.

Moving between historical analysis and the social present I established my own research based practice, which I would like to present today. The practice began with an architecture focus, but by the year 2000, I founded Urban-interface. I remain interested in making connections, through design, through micro short-term social behavior and macro environmental long-run trends. The focus remains on the actors and spaces engaged in urban adaptation and change. Urban-interface is a term in forestry to describe the edge where wilderness interacts with urbanized area. This seems to be a key area to explore in design. But of course interface has quite a different, immaterial connotation in the age of digital social media.

1. Design as Damage Control

I have catalogued my design work in New York as a kind of damage control in the face of digital globalization of capital into four thematic areas: Domestic Uncertainty, Housing Difference, Unpacking Institutions and Urban Ecosystems. These four themes

also represent an evolution of my practice from the interior to the city. My interest is how such huge technological change was affecting bodies as well as social and material relationships.

Domestic Uncertainty

The architecture of the interior is where you first feel the impact of a changing historical paradigm on the human body, and the focus of the work is on the interface between the bodies in everyday life interacting with material change. Old row houses, tenement apartments on the Lower East Side, a prewar apartment on the Upper West Side that was subdivided during the Great Depression, an old industrial loft were redesigned for artists, performers, young professionals producing a space to re-inhabit New York at the end of the 20th century. A group of my generation of architects exhibited in a show called Room in the City which brought this issue into public debate.

Housing Difference

Together a group of friends joined the Architectural League to help organize a design study project called Vacant Lots for the Housing Preservation and Development. We tried to provide prototypical solutions for the thousands of small city owned vacant lots in poor neighborhoods throughout the five boroughs. We also worked on our own project in Brownsville. With New York State Council on the Arts I worked on a design proposal for affordable housing in Harlem and with the students at NJIT, we created a project for Architects for Social Responsibility to reconcile the conflict in the Lower East Side between housing and community garden advocates. With Design Trust for Public Space, I developed a housing proposal for Hells Kitchen Neighborhood Association. The project for Hells Kitchen was developed from a deep dive into the archives of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey and a documentary collaboration with the artist and photographer Ana Marton. Combing through the annual reports of the organization since its founding in 1921, I calculated the number of housing units demolished in the various infrastructure programs beginning with the construction of the Lincoln Tunnel, its expansion, and the construction and expansion of the Port Authority's bus terminal. The project called the Port Authority to become the developer of affordable housing in the heart of Hells' Kitchen before it got caught in the quagmire of rebuilding the World Trade Center. These projects extended that research on domesticity into the plurality of living together in New York at the time. Experiments combined row hose, loft, elevator and corridor apartments flats in new hybrid types that expressed the need to accommodate the mix of new professionals and poorer older residents in gentrifying areas.

Unpacking Institutions

Beyond domesticity, the architecture of institutions, is where social life can be reinvented in charging times. Here are twos example of schools, with their social role of preparing youth for the future, and two memorials, with their obligation of constructing a memory of the past. New Schools for New York was another project with the Architectural League and the New York Public Education Foundation.

For Flushing Middle School and a competition for a high school in Perth Amboy, New Jersey worked with new models of smaller embedded academies that broke down the scale and provided suburban amenities of urban schools. Flushing Middle School occupies the ground floor of a commercial building next to the colonial era Quaker

Meeting Hall. The roof of the commercial development's parking garage is used for recreation.

The Perth Amboy High School is divided into five academies that take the form of glass and steal sine and cosine waves. Exhibition forums are like wooden arks caught between the cresting forms.

The AIDS National Memorial and the Memorial for the rediscovered African Burial Ground both gave spatial and material expression in the present to great injustices in the past.

The AIDS Memorial, combines space to store and exhibit the AIDS quilt, health service offices and a community church. The quilt storage is in fact a spiral ramp that provides a sacred route to the church's sanctuary as well as demonstrating the ever-increasing rate of deaths at the time of the competition.

The Burial Ground Memorial proposed a catacomb-like space under the Federal Office Building whose construction first disturbed the hidden graveyard.

Urban Ecosystems

My comparative research in Rome and New York the 1980's resulted in a publication called Transparent Cities published by SITES Books in 1994. Transparent Cities Is a boxed set of 24 acetate maps each showing an elemental layer of the Rome or New York from a particular period of time, and again was the result of diving into archives, in this case the map collections at the New York Public Library and at the Bilbliotecca Nationale in Rome. The idea was to represent the city not as a fixed plan, but as a landscape in flux, changing slowly or abruptly according to technological change or social desire. The plates can be juxtaposed and superimposed in any order, producing new discoveries with each overlay.

Urban ecosystem design projects that used this overlay method in order to balance social and environmental change include a vision for the Hudson River Waterfront for the Municipal Art Society as a kind of open air museum to industrial archaeology, that in some way anticipates both the contemporary Hudson River Park and the Highline. Envisioning East New York with the Department of City Planning took on a whole territory between the end of the glacial moraine in southeast Queens, to the flat flood pain draining into Jamaica Bay that constitutes one of the most impoverished areas in New York City. With the Department of City Planning and the Van Allen Institute, there was a design study of incorporating big-box retail into New York neighborhoods and waterfronts, this project for Sunset Park in Brooklyn. The new global distribution logistics constitutes a new ecosystem, and this project refocused the question away from contextualizing a big box, to providing a modern distribution space for small and medium scale local businesses. And finally a project for Queens Plaza, again for the Department of City Planning and the Van Allen Institute was the first project that literally explored embedded digital sensing in public urban space. In the wake of 9/11, security and environmental monitoring is combined with news and cultural event displays combining digital sensors with electronic display devices.

The trajectory of these projects dating from 1986 to 2006 can be seen in relation to that week-end in June 1981 at the New York Stock Exchange. My work evolved from a material involvement as an architect with what we can call the damage control of the digital globalization of capital as it physically transformed New York following the fiscal collapse of the 70s. Gradually you see the introduction of digital design tools

for more complex and systematic analysis and exploration of urban domesticity, social institutions and ecosystems. And finally you see digital tools embedded in space in order to create a more activist urban public.

2. Digital Modeling

In the 1990 and early 2000s, I started teaching at Parsons where I was asked to teach urban and housing studios and drawing – incorporating the new tool called CAD - Computer Aided Design. One week before classes started for the first incoming Parsons Graduate Architecture students in the Department of Environmental Design in the fall of 1991, an undergraduate student from Buenos Aires taught me new 3d modeling software called Form-Z. I took the layered approach of Transparent Cities to the three dimensional and cinematic environment of computer with the belief that the way we taught design students should be fundamentally changed by this new tool. Early experimentation with co-teacher Jean Gardner on the fundamental difference to the human sensori-motor system in drawing with a computer rather than a mechanical drafting board led to the publication Cinemetrics. Having purchased the first Macintosh computers, the School of Environmental Design was leading Parsons in digital design. Two of our first students to graduate extended digital design beyond our department. Anthony Deen, went on to be the founding Director of the Masters in Design Technology Program at Parsons, and another student, Mark Watkins, introduced computer aided design teaching to the First year Foundation Program.

A few years later, my interest in urban design led me to accept a position in the Architecture and Urban Design program at Columbia's Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation. Here, Bernard Tschumi as Dean, introduced the paperless studio to the architecture studios, with the idea that higher education would lead the profession in exploring more radical uses possible for the computer rather than just creating a digital drafting board. In the urban design studios, we created hybrid experiments using mixed media explored a transnational and transdisciplinary urban based pedagogy to a newly globalized student body, Including students such as Chulalongkorn Professor Pirasri Povatong.

A web page of virtual folders contains the archives of these first experiments in digital urban design. For over a decade I experimented with video and 3d modeling skills in the summer and led the New York Urban Design Studio in fall, leaving the Spring Semester free for me to teach at Chulalongkorn. The challenge was to use digital design to foster collaborative cross-disciplinary processes to approach the complex problems of the paradigm shift in New York that by the 1990s everyone had fully recognized. The layering approach from Transparent City formed the basis of a pedagogy that engaged 3d modeling as a way to test urban design scenarios as the resolution of the diverse desires of different urban actors, as well as understanding material, informational, financial, social and ecological flows in time.

Starting in the early 1990s with Grahame Shane, we worked with the Department of City Planning and Downtown Alliance on the issue of large scale vacancy in the Wall Street business district, and the urban design implications of the area shifting to a more mixed use area with the introduction of housing into many of the older prewar office towers. In parallel with those studios, we partnered with the leaders of the newly designated Harlem Empowerment Zone, a Clinton era policy for Housing and Urban Development funds for impoverished neighborhoods.

I was interested in not only expanding urban design disciplinarily, but also geographically with partnerships with the Mayors' offices of Peekskill New York up

the Hudson, and Perth Amboy on the Raritan River in New Jersey. While for many students from abroad, New York in their imagination was Manhattan Island, for us it was how the Environmental Protection Agency designated the region ecologically – The Hudson Raritan Estuary. One of the important regional partners, who worked with us for many years, was the New Jersey Meadowlands Commission. The work at Columbia culminated in the early years of the 21st century with a partnership with the Baltimore Ecosystem Study, a long-term urban ecological research project funded by the National Science Foundation. New York was now defined in the Fall Studio as the Boston-Washington megalopolis, and we focused on the phenomenon of exurban sprawl paralleled with inner city abandonment as parallel national policy issues.

3. Designing Social Activism

A pivotal project in transforming my design practice to take advantage of both 3d modeling and the web, is Manhattan Timeformations, an interactive web site developed for the Skyscraper Museum and The New York State Council on the Arts in 1999. The project helped me to understand more clearly the historical context of the structural changes to the New York, American and global economy that followed in the wake of that weekend in June of 1981 that I began with. In this first sketch for the project you see a graph of high-rise office building construction in Lower and Midtown Manhattan between 1890 and 1990. Moving from left to right you see the increase in office building speculation in concert with the rise of the stock market in the roaring 1920s before the collapse of the Great Depression in the 30s and World War II. Moving right we see the emergence of Midtown Manhattan as the central business district of a new consumerist American Economy. New glass towers housed the corporate headquarters, advertising firms and the TV Broadcast companies between Park and 6th Avenues. The second construction collapse can be seen in the steep decline during the 1970s that I described early in my talk. The decline is reversed in 1981, just at the moment of the introduction of electronic trading. Finally we see the trajectory of what Tom Wolfe called the Bonfire of Vanities, as the normal slope is reverse due to over speculation in the new technologies and de regulations, with another collapse by 1990.

Together with Mark Watkins and two undergraduates from Parsons, we developed over the summer a 3d model where we gave time a dimension– one year in time is scaled at one hundred feet on the vertical z-axis of the model. A digital interface was developed in multiple public forums where we presented the work in progress at the museum in its temporary location in a Wall Street bank lobby. We interacted with tourists, traders during their lunch hour, and delegations from the Department of City Planning and the Mayor's Office a few blocks north.

What we discovered in this project was that it is during the economic busts that innovation happens. Air conditioning, glass curtain walls, automatic elevators and fluorescent lighting accompanied the world economy changed following World War II, and the inventing of the mediated consumer economy. And of course, I have already demonstrated the impact of the introduction of the computer into the workplace in the 1980s.

The reception to Manhattan Timeformations when it was posted on line was quite remarkable as first nascent digital art organizations, journalists, scientists and only later architects and urbanists responded to it in very different ways. It was through this project that I began to understand the role of digital design as social media; something Beatrice Colomina so clearly expresses when she demonstrates that architecture became modern only when it was mediated. Digital drawing enabled me to continue my interest in an art practice and I had opportunities to participate in exhibitions, residencies and

media performances. Timeformations became a type of memorial itself after 9/11 as it still had the twin towers of the World Trade Center in its virtual skyline. Reaching a vast unseen audience via a web site alerted my to the global social impact possible in digital design.

Much of my design activity today is in long term urban ecological research, most significantly with the Baltimore Ecosystem Study. Here the evolution from single project based design practice, to designing systemic change can be understood, as instead of working on a green design project for a single client or site, we've developed a series of scenarios creating various choices for people throughout the Baltimore region, from plush estates, to older suburbs, to inner city row house neighborhoods. I am also interested in extending this work into institutional change as well, especially through art, cultural and educational institutions.

Today at Parsons and The New School we are committed to employing strategic transdisciplinary and transnational design thinking as a way forward to social and environmental change. This conference is emblematic of that mission. Although I've focused on a personal perspective of design in New York over the past three decades, it is obvious to everyone in this room the effects of the change in interior design on the trading floor of the New York Stock Exchange has had on all our ives. In conclusion I would like to point to a few ways I hope we can work together with our students in the future. I have great hope in this generation but growing up with the complex social networking tools as a part of everyday life. The political demonstrations around the world in the last few years demonstrate the power of youth when given access to critical public platform.

As a research agenda, I am interested in going back to where we began – the impact of this macro trends on our micro behaviors. The framework for this research I call The Sensori-motor City. As a research agenda it includes work with partners such as Cambodian Living Arts, a non-profit based in Phnom Penh, in a project Bill has led called the Living Arts City. It also includes a new partnership with the Secretary of Housing and Habitat in Sao Paulo and Mackenzie University that we call the SITlab – The Smart Informal Territories Lab that will exhibit its first work in the Rotterdam Architecture Biennale this spring. And finally, there is the recent work of The Drawing Lab at Parsons, which conducts workshops, choreographs performances and mounts exhibitions around the world. I have to acknowledge the support of Dean Bundit in early experimental Cinemetrics workshops here at Chulalongkorn when he was Director of Architecture. INDA students continue to participate in these workshops, most recently in Taiwan last October. Their work was also part of the Taipei World Design Forum and an exhibition at the Shelia Johnson Design Center back at Parsons in October.

This short personal history of design futures in New York outlined a trajectory from the introduction of electronic trading on Wall Street in 1981 to the occupation of Wall Street via digitally fed social activism in 2011. The present passes into embodied memory before it becomes historical time. Digital design developed in New York in the three decades between these two events, but has yet to fully engage the implications of neither that first Monday on the trading floor of the New York Stock Exchange, nor in the realization of an equitable and environmentally sustainable urban design future.

H.E. ANA MARIA RAMIREZ, AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE EMBASSY OF ARGENTINE REPUBLIC

AUDIENCE AT MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

JUDITH B. CEFKIN, DEPUTY CHIEF OF MISSION OF THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DR. PREECHAYA SITTIPUT, PROGRAM DIRECTOR OF INDA

PROF. DR. BUNDIT CHULASAI AND MR. CHALERMPOL THANCHITT

MODERATED DISCUSSION FOLLOWING THE HISTORY PAPER PRESENTATIONS

MODERATED DISCUSSION FOLLOWING THE SOCIAL SCIENCE PAPER PRESENTATIONS

QUESTIONS FROM THE AUDIENCE

FINAL DISCUSSION AND CLOSING REMARKS

PAPER PRESENTERS AND SYMPOSIUM ORGANIZERS

INDA, the International Program in Design and Architecture at Chulalongkorn University is a four year program that produces graduates with a Bachelor of Science in Architectural Design. While our program's main focus is architecture, the core philosophy of INDA is more about producing critical inquisitive individuals whom are driven to better themselves and the world around them through design.

With an INDA education, one may choose to continue on to graduate studies and become a practicing architect, or choose a specialization in other related architectural disciplines such as historian/theorist, conservationist, building technologist, real estate investor, facility manager. One may change to graduate studies in other design and planning disciplines, such as urban design, landscape architecture, industrial design, interior design, or design innovation. One may be keen to explore the realm of business and management.

The world constantly changes, with unforeseeable developments in geo-politics, world economy, global climate, and rapid advancement in technology, our students must be prepared to face unpredictable future. While a four-year Bachelor of Science in Architecture provides students with the fundamental discourse in architecture, our program is designed to encourage students to connect their own dots and confidently venture into the uncharted territories. In order to think "new" and make "new" connections, students are cultivated to seek out new knowledge and become independent inquirers capable of sustaining their life long learning and career.

While INDA is an international program, we train our students to operate in both local and global settings. They are expected to understand and respect particular needs of the regional and national issues while never losing sight of their commitment to universal progress. Their awareness for values, ethic, and social responsibilities is pursued in parallel with their rigorous intellectual development.

For more information about INDA please visit: www.cuinda.com
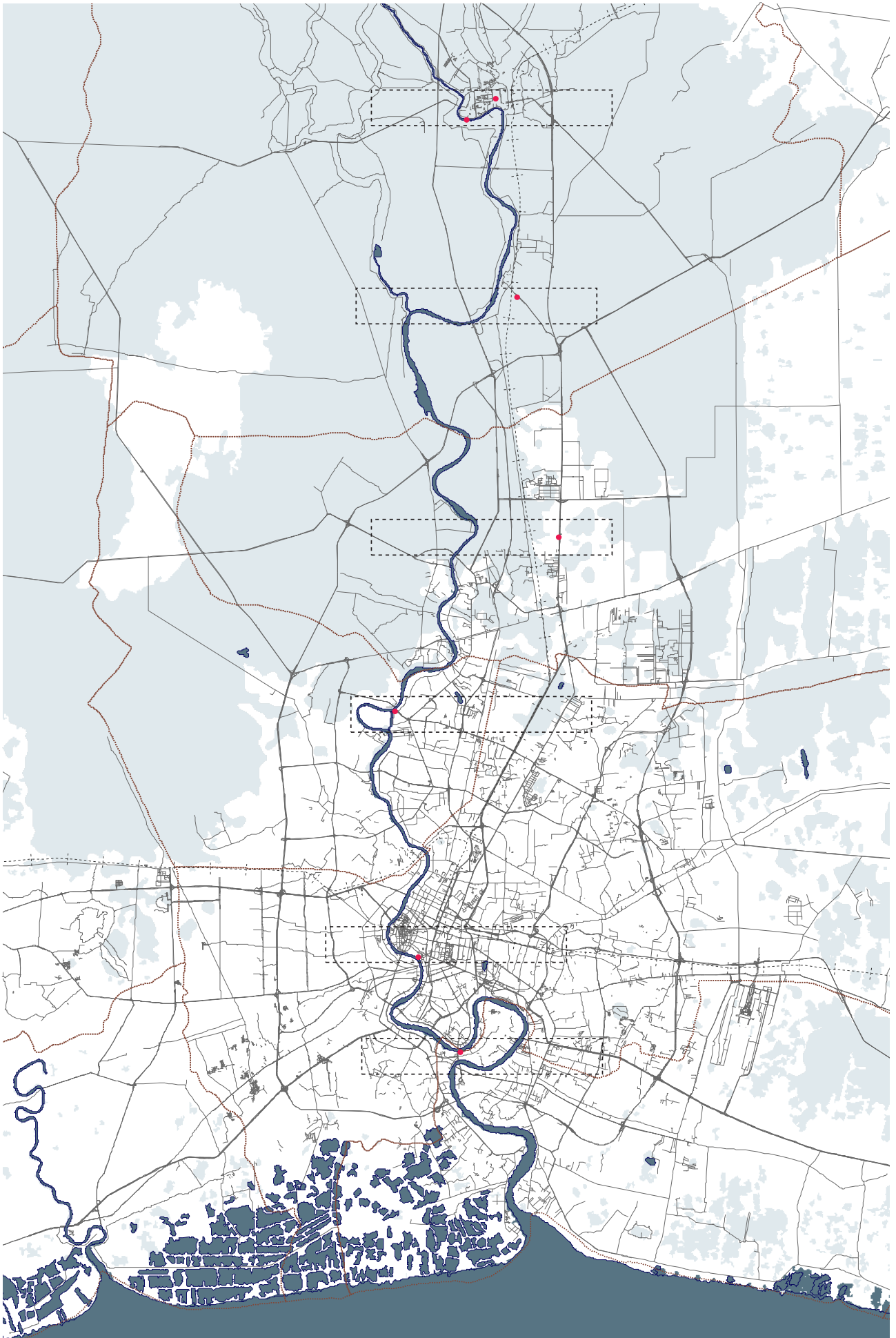
MAPPING THE POST-FLOOD LANDSCAPE OF BANGKOK

**Kerrie Butts &
Nilay Mistry**

The devastation from the 2011 flooding of the Chao Phraya River and neighboring watersheds has brought to international attention the desperate need for coordinated water management practices throughout Thailand and across political borders. Global sea level rise and land subsidence amplify the perils to Bangkok metropolitan area and surrounding infrastructure. Modern settlement patterns and construction in the region has neglected traditionally respected rhythms of the annual rainy season and ensuing swelling of the Chao Phraya River. New landscapes of occupation must account for flooding with site-specific strategies, which will in turn alter the engagement people have with recurring water. An interdisciplinary approach via architecture, landscape architecture, policymaking, and urban design is needed to addressing issues of this magnitude. Designers need to respond.

The first portion of this ongoing studio project has focused on inventory and mapping of the territories connected to the Lower Chao Phraya River, in effort to explore the confluences between physical elements in the landscape and cultural artifacts. This workshop will incorporate issues and topics raised in the paper presentations in mapping and visual representation of the Chao Phraya River.

INDA Students:
Khanittha Torchareon
Natta Srivatanachai
Mariya Chusakulthanachai
Lertkit Kitcharoenwong
Somruthai Vipaswatcharrayothin
Thiranya Mitrakul
Pachara Chanatanayingyong
Ployphan Saengporm
Jutipun Boonsoong

Thiparat Santaannop
Thanop Pongtana
Yoltera Jongjirasiri
Varithorn Kanpaibool
Thathien Anujorbhand
Nuphap Aunyanuphap
Amornthep Thongsaeng
Narat Atsawarat

APR MAY JUN JUL AUG SEP OCT NOV DEC JAN FEB MAR

Chao Phya river

Chao Phya river Elevations

yearly average ▮ rainfall ▮ high tide ▮ low tide

last year ▮ rainfall ▮ high tide

FLOOD INTENSITY LEVEL:

TYPICAL ANNUAL FLOOD & FLASH FLOOD

30 YEARS

1880 2000 2100

▮ rising sea level ▮ global temperature ⬚ predicted level

SECTION A-A
SCALE 1:500
Wat Chaiwatthanaram, Ayudhaya, Thailand

SECTION B-B
SCALE 1:500
Koh Kret, Nonthaburi, Thailand
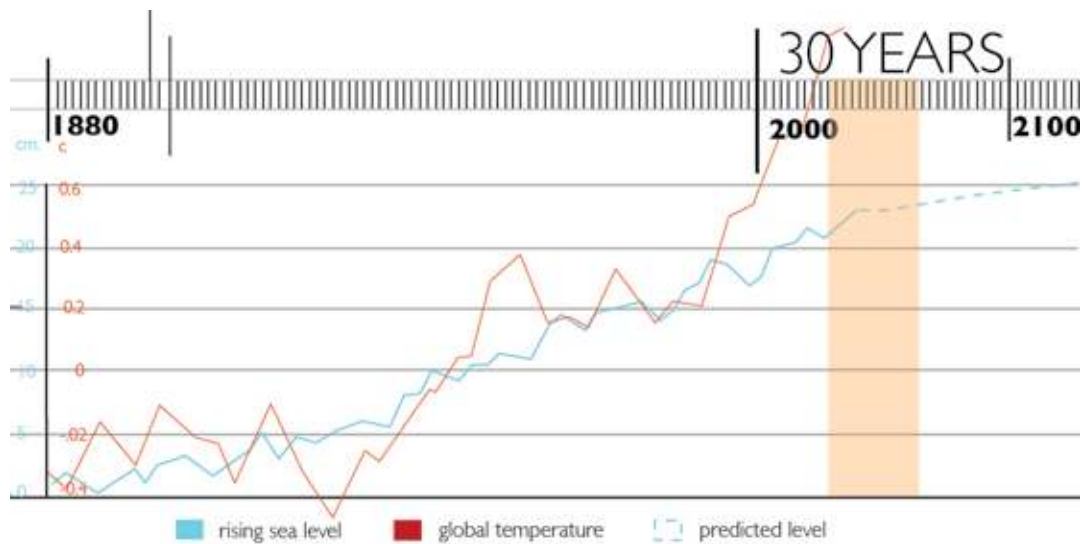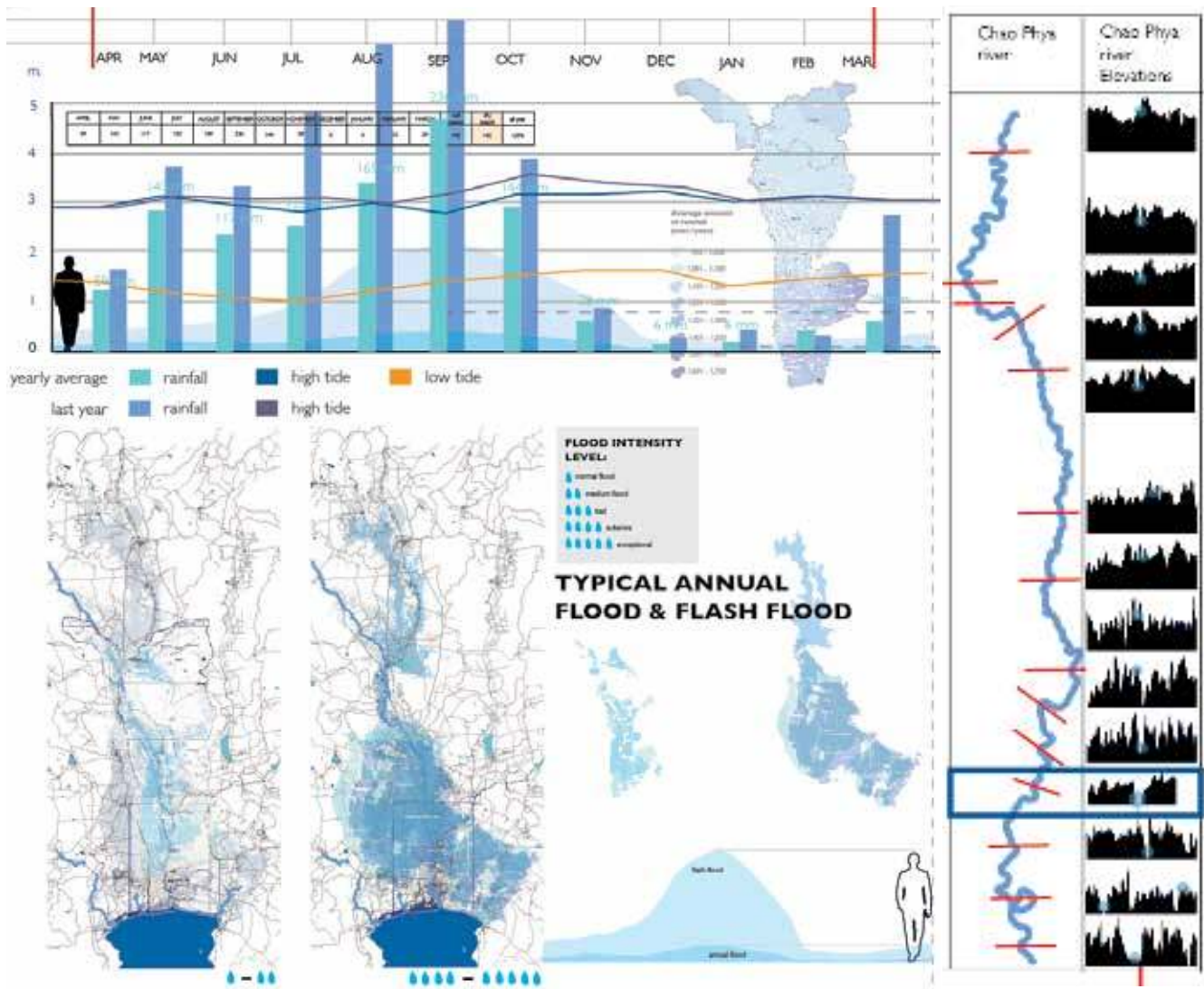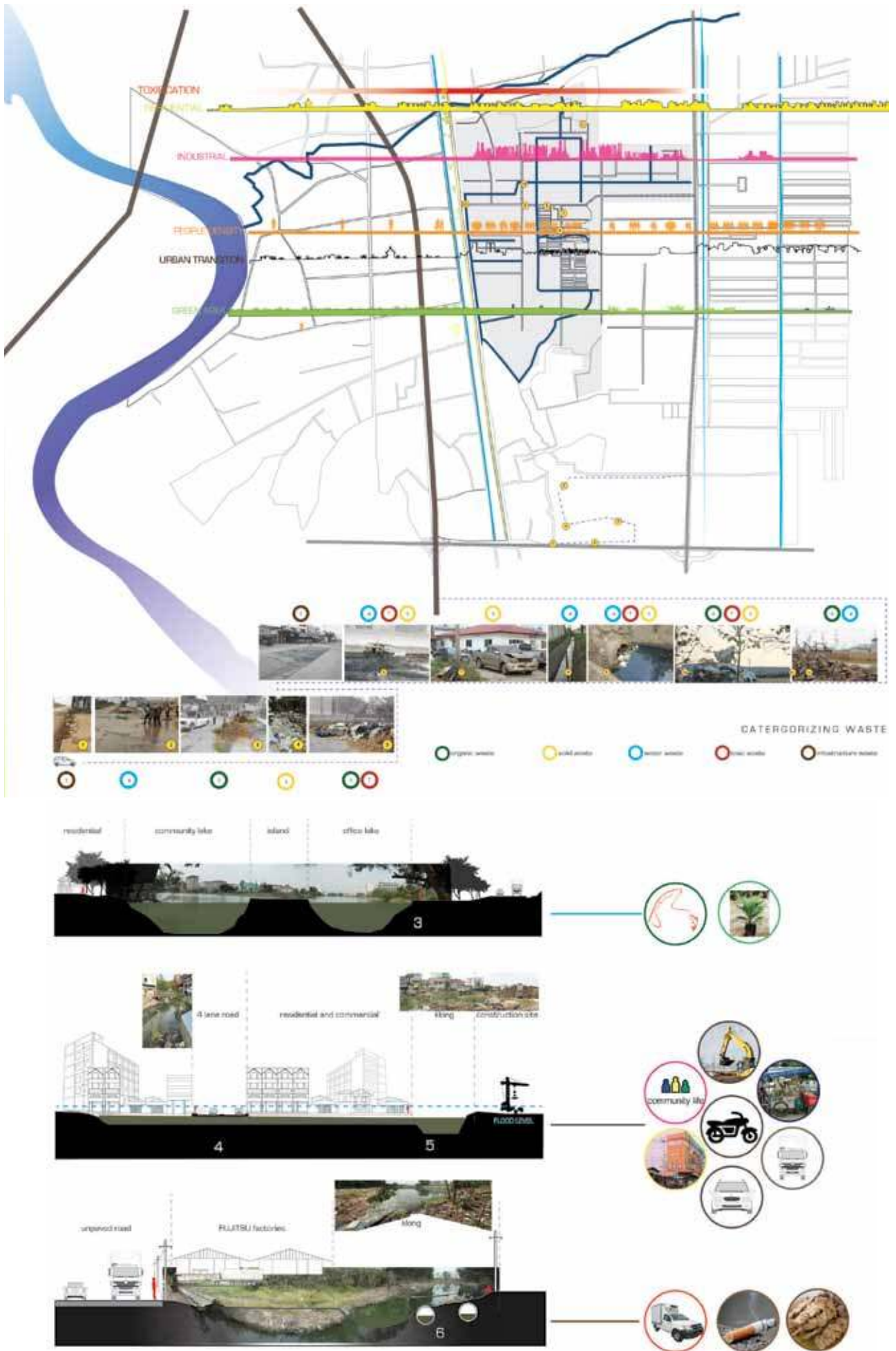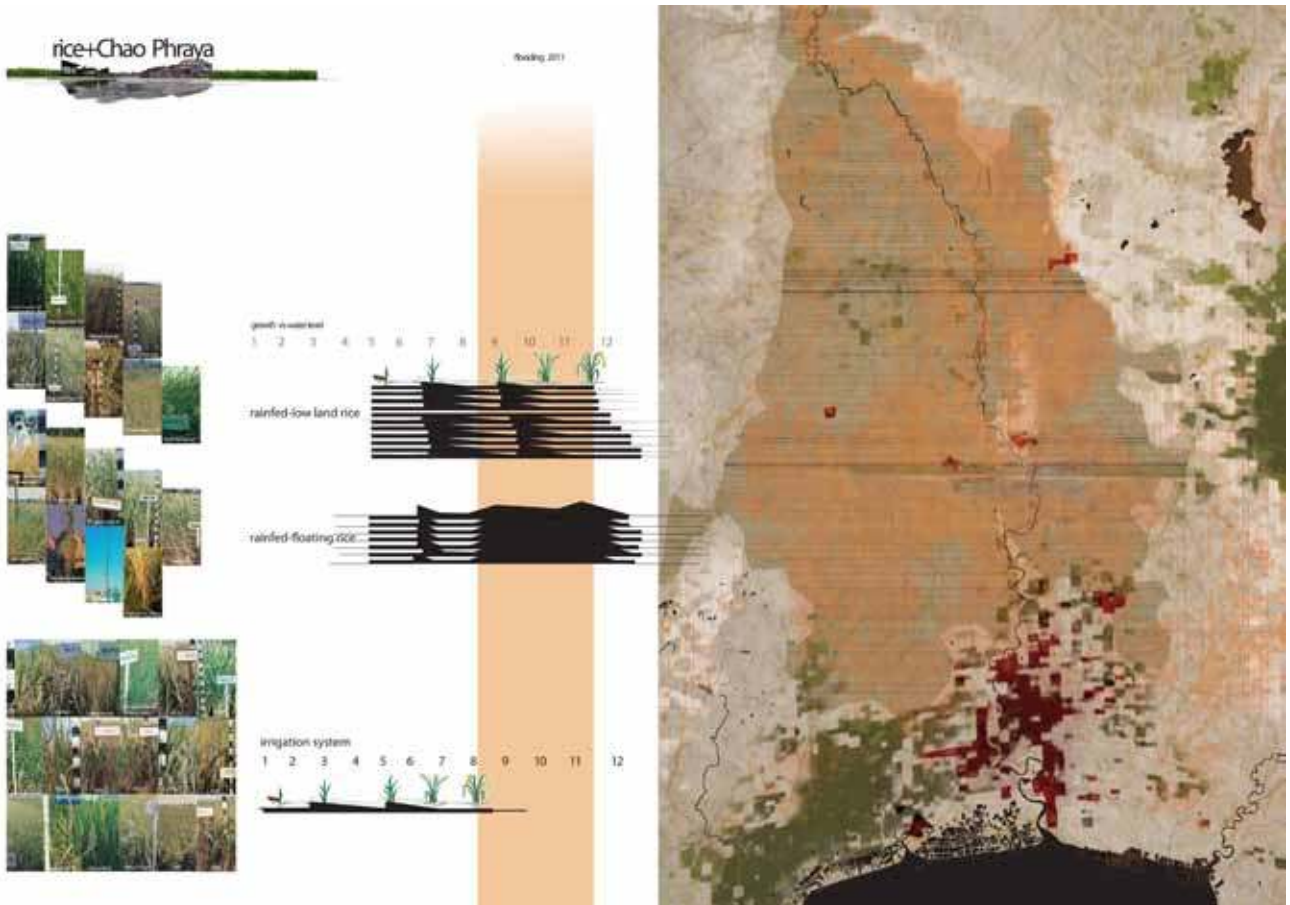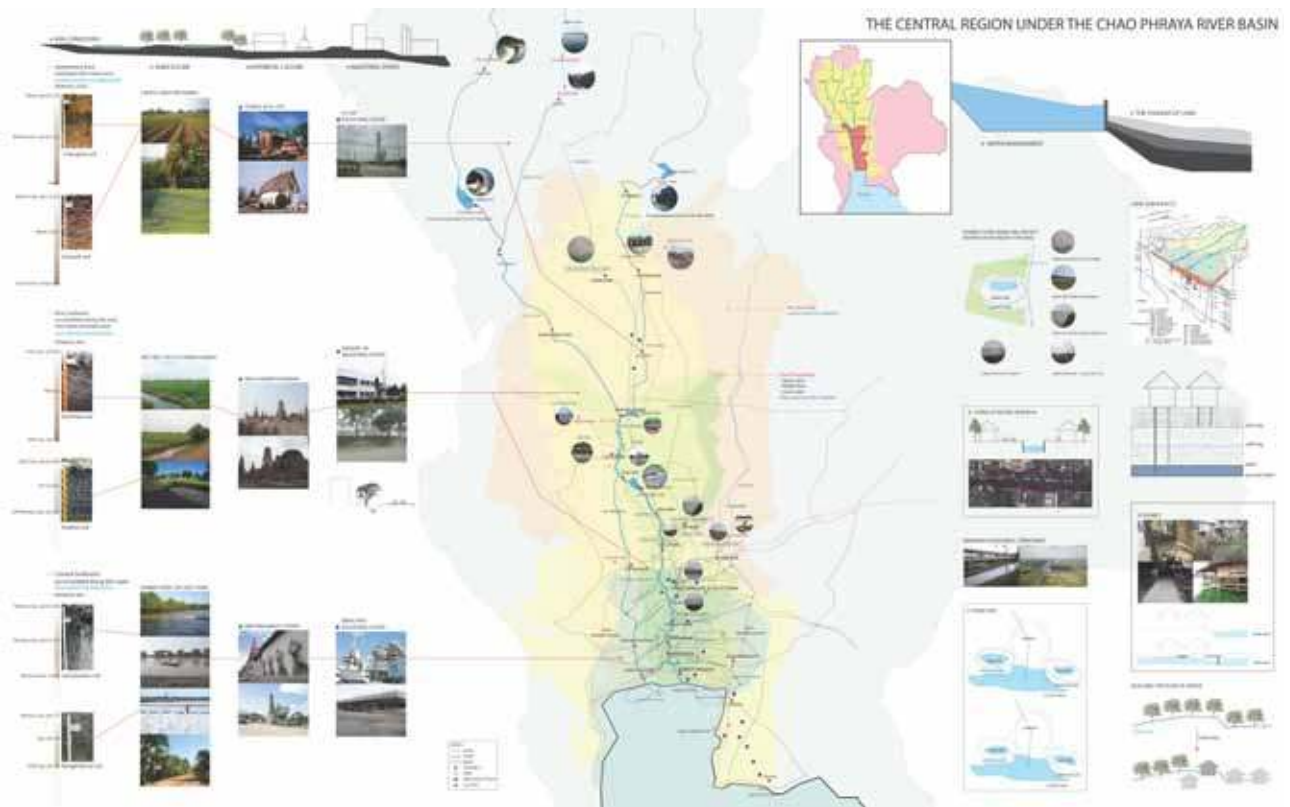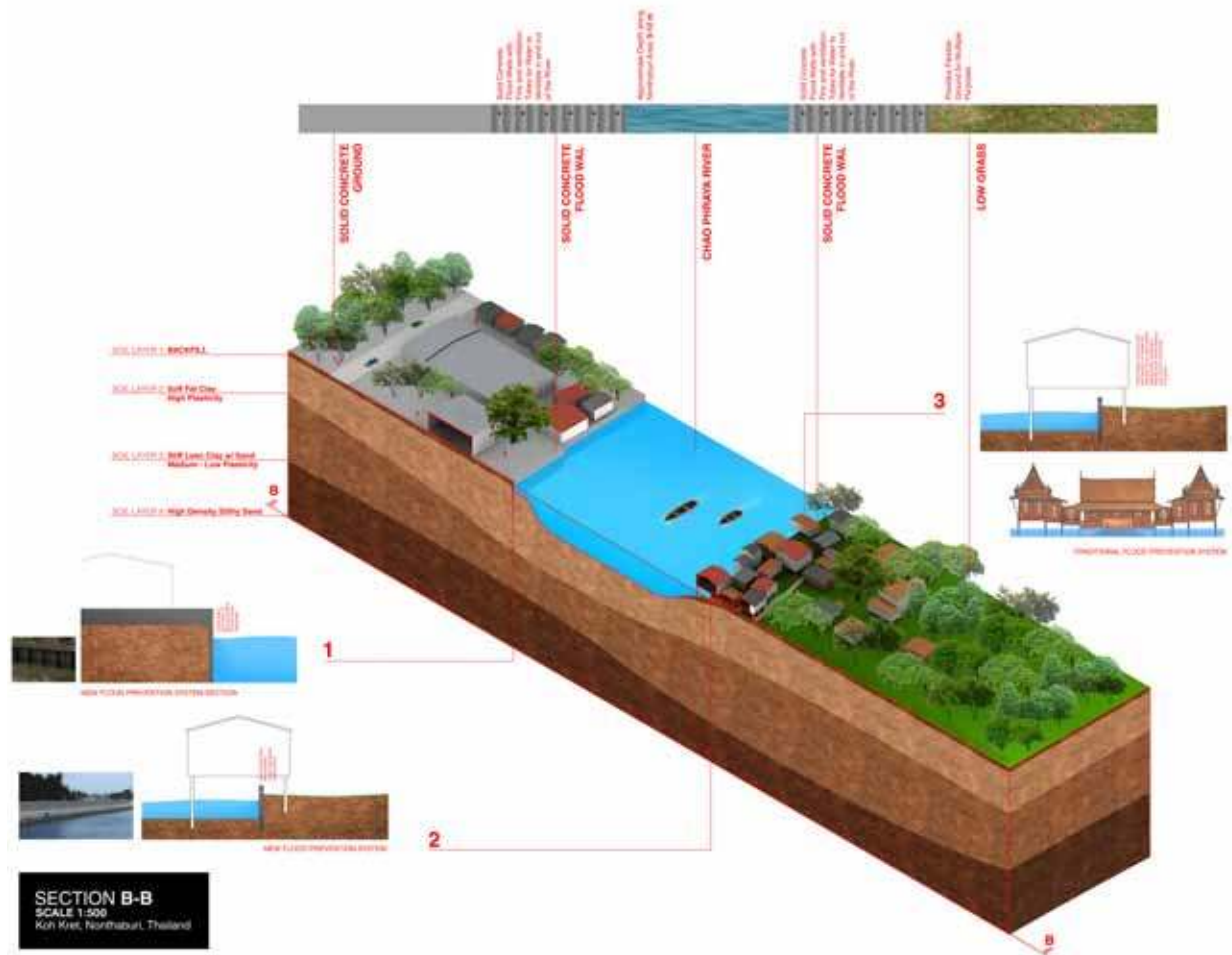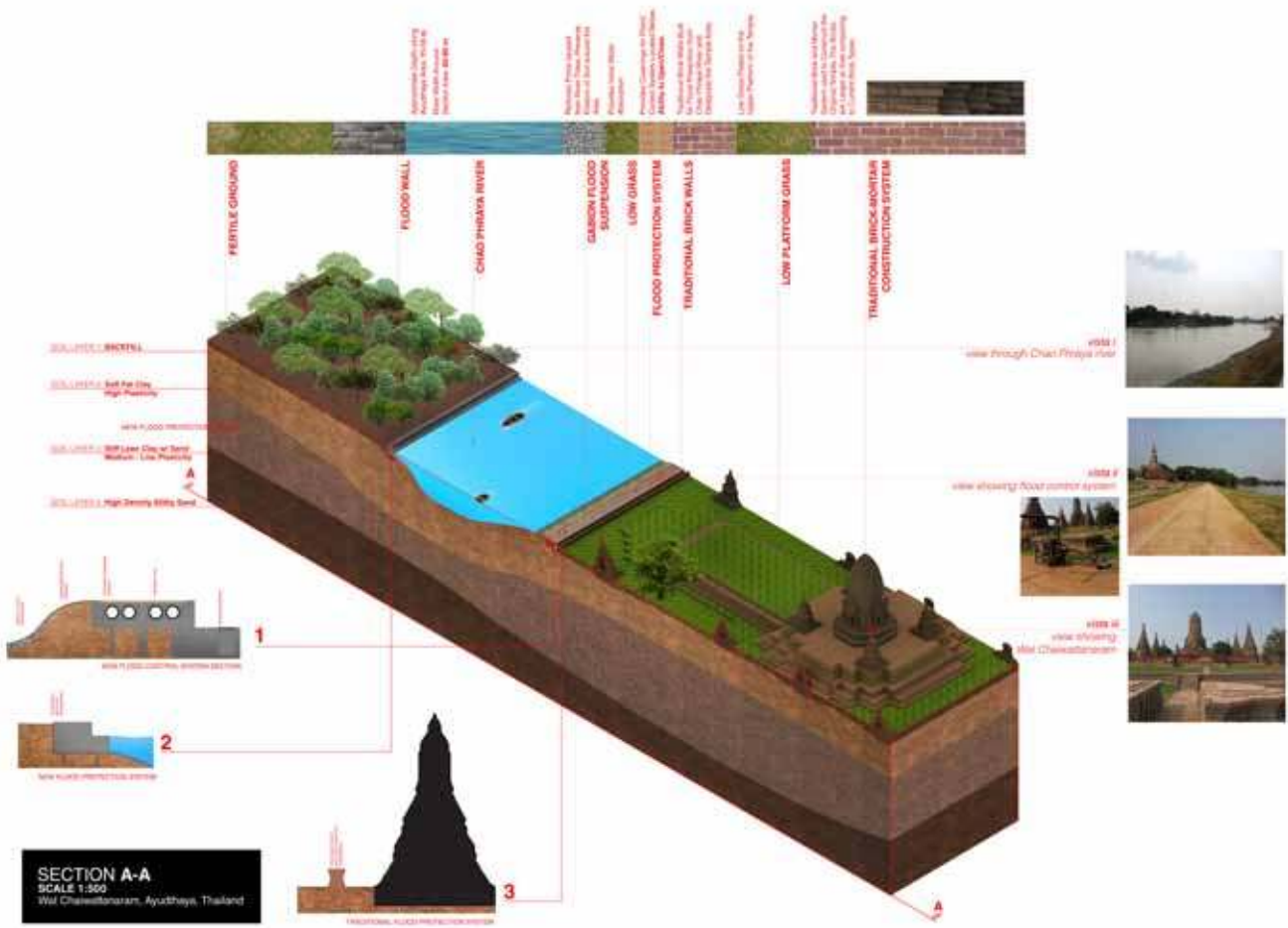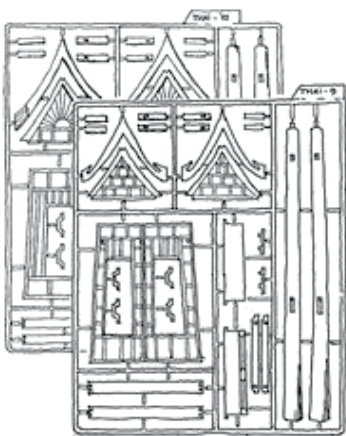
THE ARCHITECTURAL APPARATUS

**Narin Paranulaksa &
Pannasan Sombuntham**

Thailand is the country where 95% of population follows the Theravada tradition of Buddhism. According to the article, "The Role of Buddhism in Enhancing Environmental Philosophy and Psychology in the West Today" by Phil Brown, the author stated that "Buddhism provides all the essential elements for a relationship to the natural world characterized by respect, humility, care and compassion." Thais are not different from other lay Buddhists around the world. Thais of different generations have been taught to understand, adapt, and appropriate themselves passively to both the constructed and natural environments. The slow and simple approach to Thais' way of living can still be seen outside of the metropolitan areas. In this light, one cannot deny its deeply rooted influence of the Buddhist teachings and philosophy on Thai people.

The various forms of informal settlements can be found all around Thailand for more the reason of adaptation to different environmental conditions than financial reason. The three seasons of Thailand present its people with substantial shifts in temperature and humidity level within the cycle of each year. Thai architects and builders have long been on the quest to finding architectural solution which appropriately adapts to the environmental flux and serves different functions of the people.

Traditional Thai-house typology is a great example of architectural solutions which deals with the issue of environmental shifts in Thailand. Raised floor, high pitched roof, semi outdoor spaces, and kit-of-parts construction are the main features which boast the success of the Thai house. However, the Thai house typology has unfortunately lost its regards due to the changing values and ideals of people in the society. For this workshop, students will be asked to investigate the downscaled architectural typology which shares similar philosophy in its capacity to adapt to the environment as the Thai house. Vendor's carts of distinct characteristics and properties will be the workshop's subject of investigation

The economy of Thailand has long been driven by transactions which took place at these small mobile units of architecture. Universally, the vendor's carts are vehicles which incorporate spaces to store and display products while commuting to different locations. Not only have these small vehicles hosted the transactions between sellers and buyers on streets of Thailand, the lesser formal nature of these "shops" have also shaped the more contiguous social structure between individuals within communities of Thailand. Perhaps, the most apparent proof is in the way Thais generally address strangers as their family members including the vendors who pass by their front doors.

Process
Stage 1: Research of different vendor's vehicles categorized by products and (or) services
Stage 2: Selection of the specific vehicle to analyze

-Students shall study:
a) Environments at which the selected vehicle travels and adapts to,
b) The physical properties of the selected vehicle,
c) The different function(s) which the selected vehicle can accommodate, d) The cycle(s) involved in the operations of the selected vehicle.
Stage 3: Documentation of the findings
Stage 4: To imagine and speculate on the possibilities of how the selected vehicle can evolve in different context(s) and perform different function(s) in future time of each student's choice. For this stage, students will have the freedom to visualize environmental and cultural conditions that are dissimilar to those found in reality of the selected vehicle. Students shall also propose new or additional usage(s) of the selected vehicle.

INDA Students:

Yanisa Niennattrakul	Nicha Varadharma-pinich
Pat Teerasawat	Phailin Tangkaravakun
Parawee Wachirabuntoon	Ratipan Panpinij
Witee Wisuthumporn	Vinita Tejapaibul
Wasamon Santikarn	

mobile architecture catalogue

exploded diagrams

1. mobility mechanism
2. cart
3. cart modification supported cooker
4. cart modification rack
5. light system
6. a hook
7. plastic bags: container
8. string
9. tongs
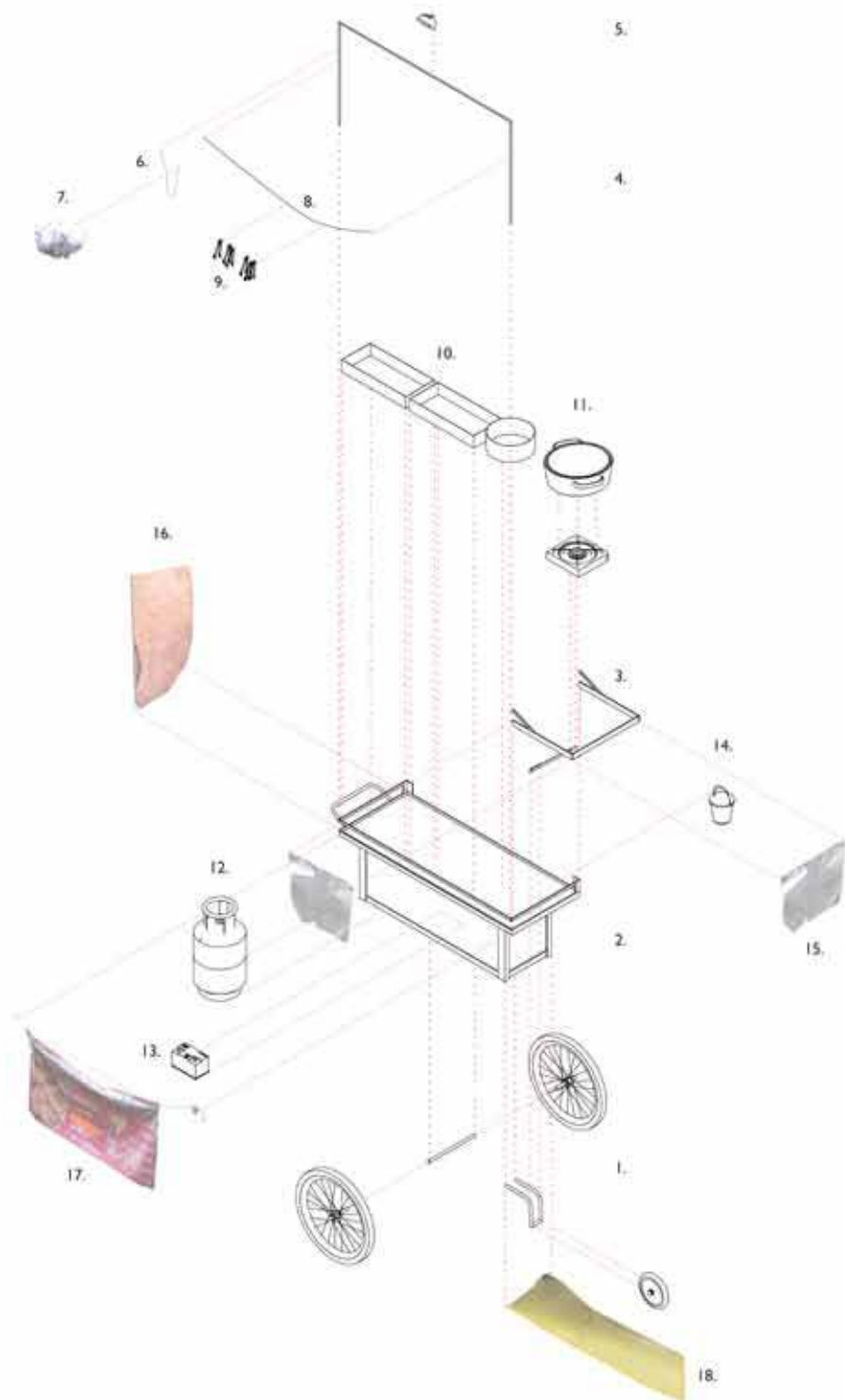
10. chicken display containers
11. cooking section
12. gas cylinder
13. battery for light system
14. water bucket
15. heat protector
16. adjacent distrubance protector
17. signage and price tag
18. plastic sheet protect oil spilling

activated   deactivated

plan and elevation

under bts staircases

programs

set up order

0. unloaded
1. signage
2. plastic sheet
3. wood panel
4. gas cylinder
5. display
6. sticky rice
7. plastic bags; containers
8. prepared chicken
9. cooking chicken

simultaneously order

10. tongs
11. lighting system
12. money
13. water bucket
14. metal sheet
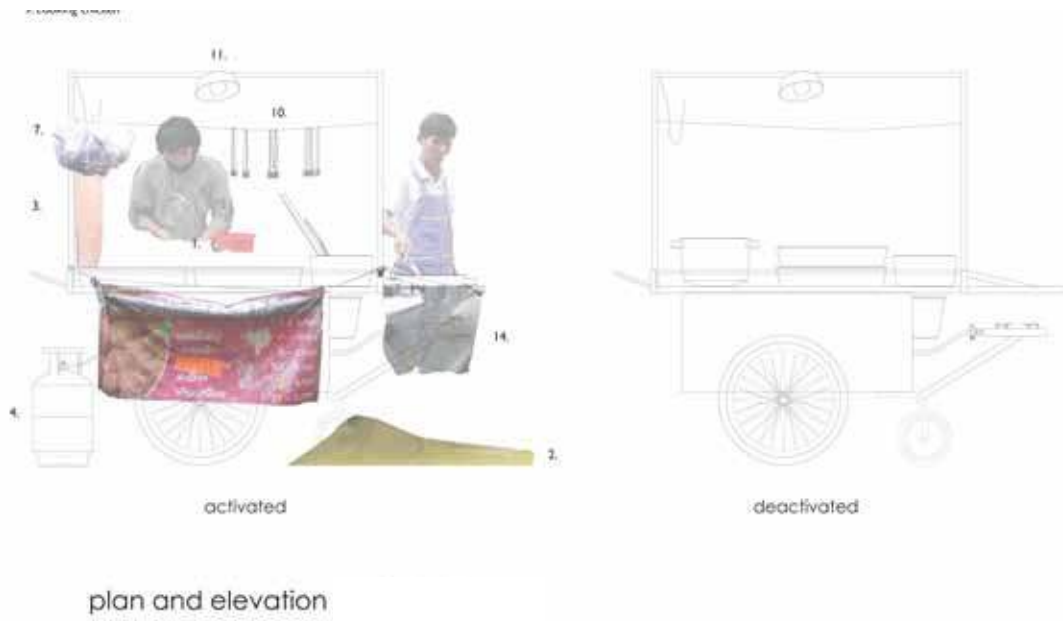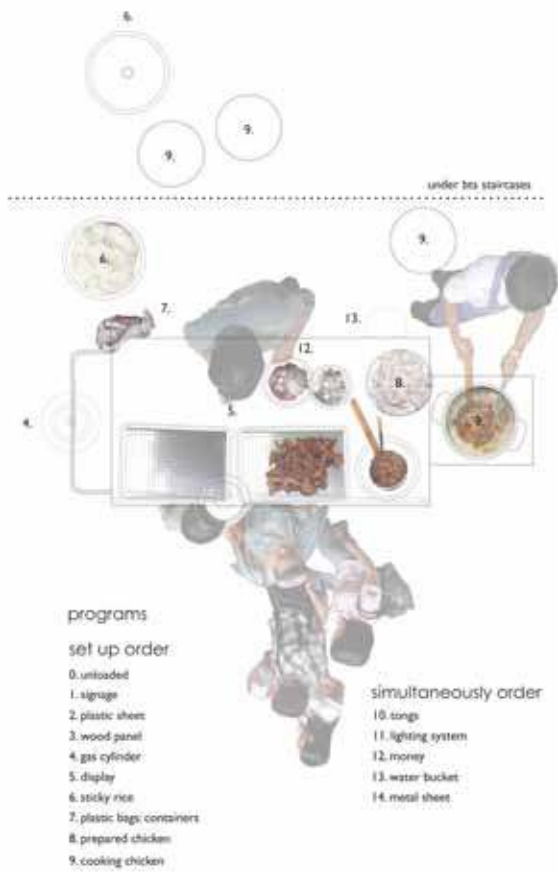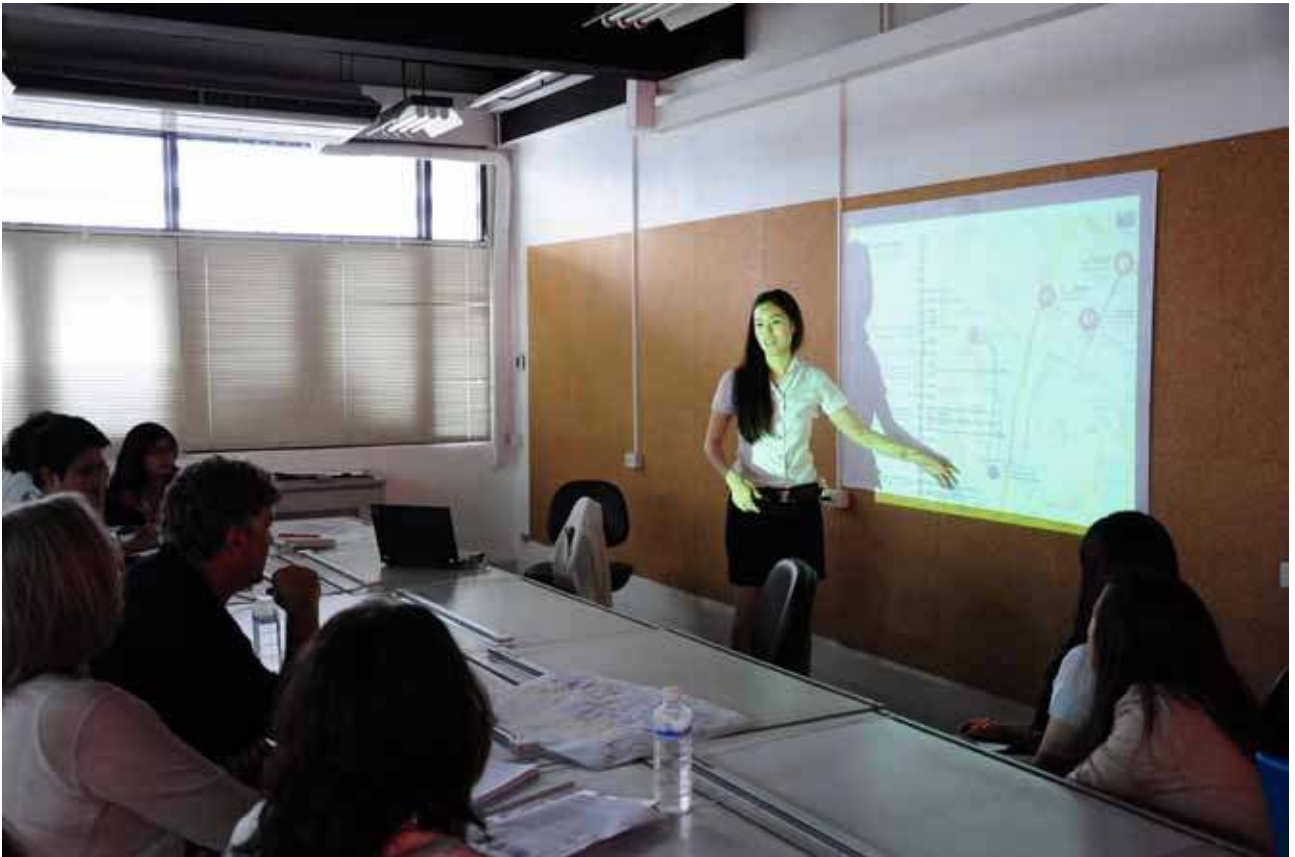
THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO PASS

Moe Ekapob S &
Camille Lacadee

Anticipation is a form of critical paranoia where given or made up logics have to be pushed to their extremes. One by one. In order to be pursued, these logics are necessarily (to a certain degree) blind to each other.

But if anticipating is to have a broadly open mind on what the possible futures could be, (un)anticipating is admitting the role that abstruse fate and human (mis)behaviours also have in the play.

Amongst the iconic structures of Bangkok megalopolis are vestiges of previous disillusions. As our site for researches and speculations on the anterior futures to pass, we chose the Sathorn Unique, an abandoned child of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, the never-completed residential skyscraper located near Saphan Taksin.

Our workshop will explore the forms and organisations of plausible futures. Starting from researches on animals and humans behaviours in emergency situations, we will give shape to at least one scenario. The development of each scenario will include digital tools and fabrication. Our workshop will be hosted on and presented as a blog. This blog is opening now and could be used as a platform for further researches and ideas' development.

References
films: docudramas   Peter Watkins, La Jetee
Chris Marker (story of a post-nuclear war experiment in time travel = "to call past and future to the rescue of the present"), Waterworld   Kevin Reynolds
(science fiction) novels: Distress   Greg Egan
(The political intrigue surrounding a mid-twenty-first century physics conference, at which is to be presented a unified Theory of Everything. The action takes place on an artificial island called "Stateless", which has earned the wrath of the world's large biotech companies for its pilfering of their intellectual property.)
The World Inside   Robert Silverberg (The novel is set on Earth in the year 2381, when the population of the planet has reached 75 billion people. Most of the action occurs in a massive three-kilometer high city-tower called Urban Monad 116. Life is now totally fulfilled and sustained within Urban Monads (Urbmons), mammoth thousand-floor skyscrapers arranged in "constellations", where the shadow of one building does not fall upon another.)
science, thought experiments, and other:
Uncertainty Principle   Werner Heisenberg
Schrödinger's cat   Erwin Schrödinger'
The paranoiac-critical method   Salvador Dali
stories, facts :Noah's ark in the Museum of Jurassic Technology in Los Angeles, Exodus , Rats, spiders and cockroaches behaviors during last flood in Bangkok
gardens, places: Rock gardens in China (fake/anticipated erosion - cf Baltrusaitis Depraved Perspectives), Desert de Retz near Paris

INDA Students:

Thitikant Yumuang	Natchaya Promsuwan
Darawadee Pasomthong	Nithidon Kangsanan
Panpailin Pipattanasakul	Parkpoom Kosalagood
Radhika Vitthayagovit	Samsara Eamegdool

SATHORN UNIQUE TOWER

MORE THAN 40 STORIES HIGH, THE BUILDING IS AMONG THE MAJOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS STARTED WHEN THAILAND'S ECONOMY WAS BOOMING IN THE 1990S. DEVELOPERS ENVISAGED A CITY GLEAMING OFFICE AND RESIDENTIAL SKYSCRAPERS THAT WERE TESTAMENT TO THE NATION'S RAPID DEVELOPMENT.

SATHORN UNIQUE TOWER WAS DESTINED TO BE ONE OF THE CITY'S GLITZIEST ADDRESSES. TODAY, ITS CORINTHIAN COLUMNS AND FOUR-STORY ARCHES ARE NEARLY LOST AMID A TANGLE OF TREES AND VINES.

Human Behaviors
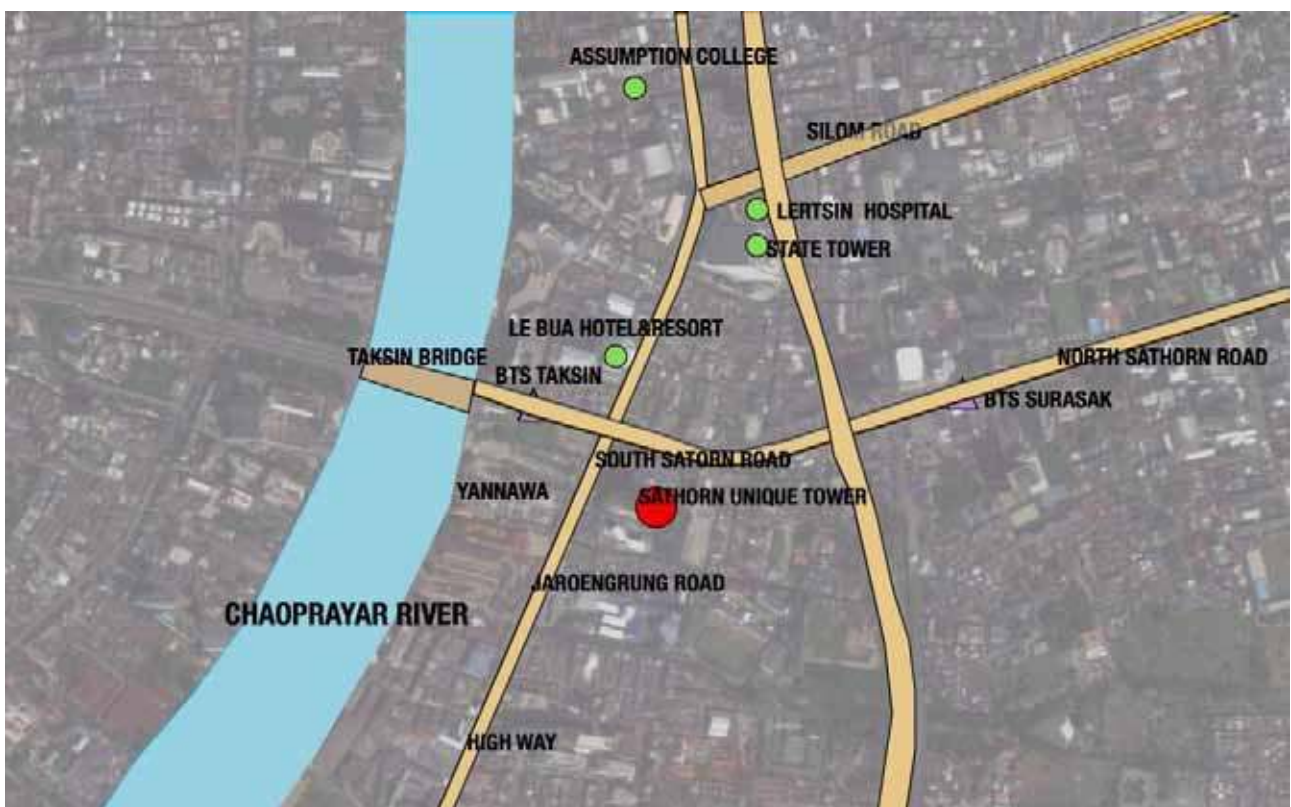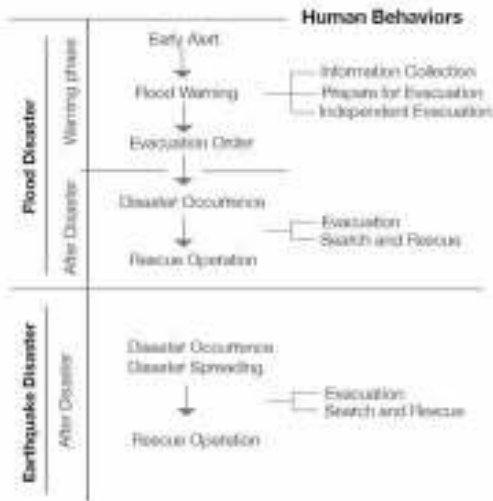
Diagram above: A comparison diagram of human reactions toward flood disaster VS earthquake disaster. During flooding situation, there are warning phase where people collecting information and prepare themselves for floodwater. While, earthquake situation have no warning phase.
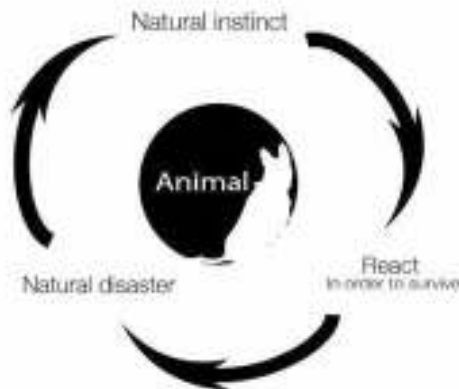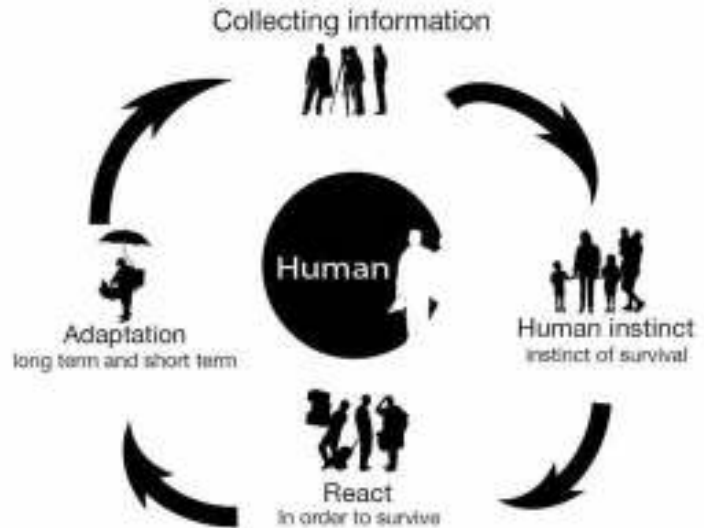
Signs That Animals Show Before a Natural Disaster

Animals may react anywhere from a week to minutes before a natural disaster.

Spiders webs in Pakistan 2010 flood

The higher, the safer

System of ranking and hierachy + Subsystems

RESEARCH

HYPOTHESIS

QUESTION

EXPERIMENT

REPORT - PUBLISH

ANALYZE

EVOLVE
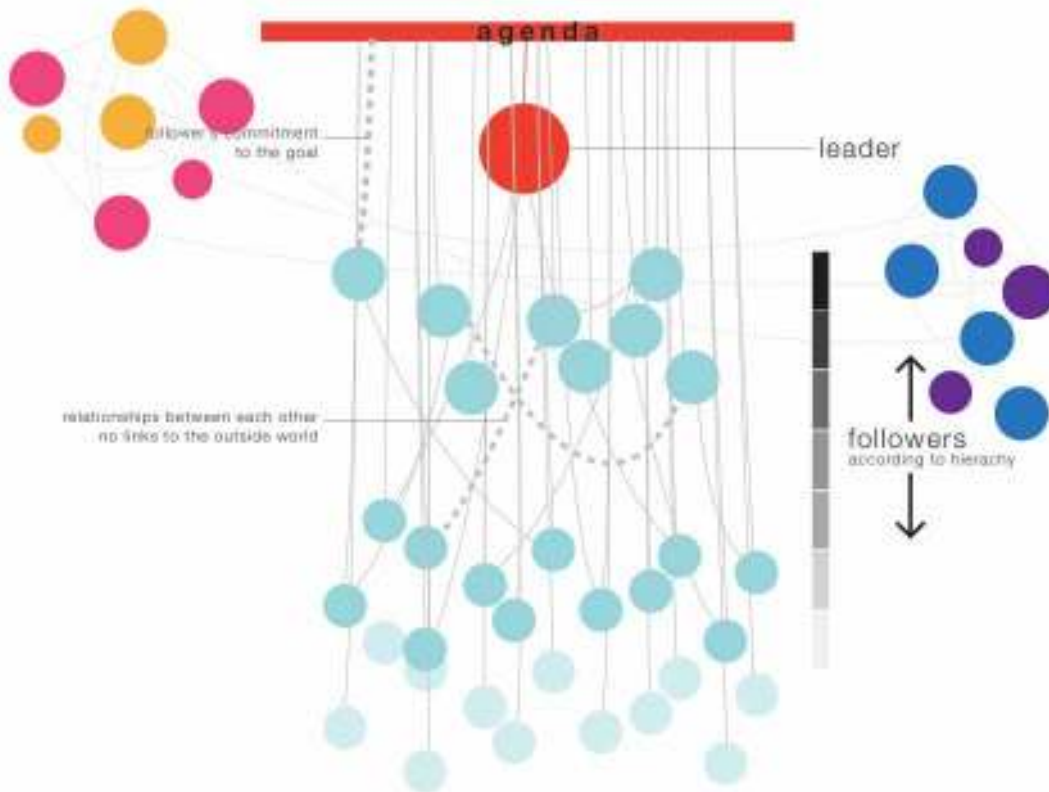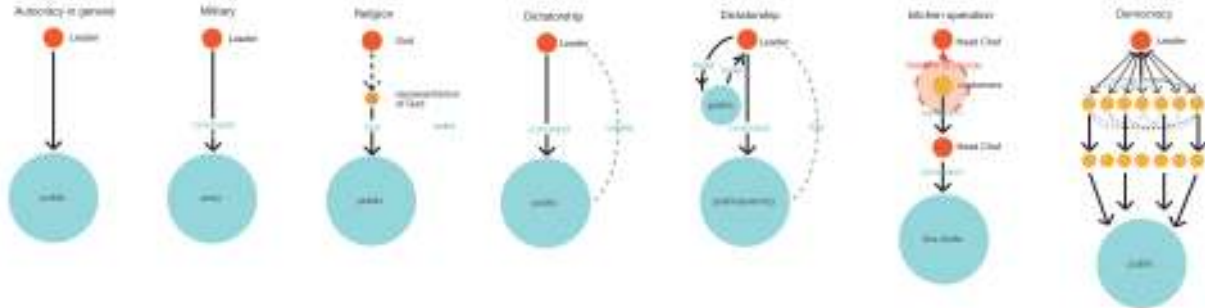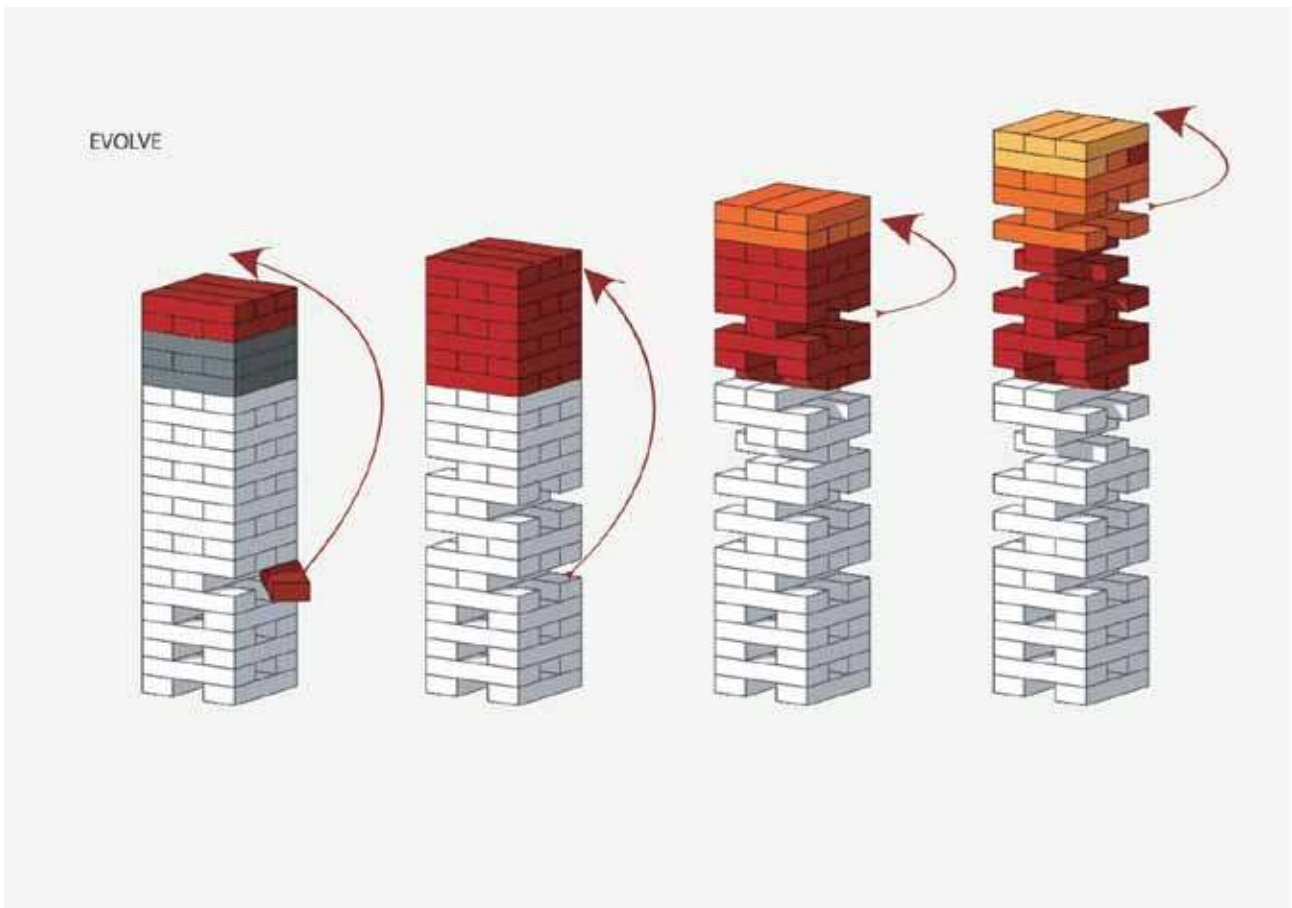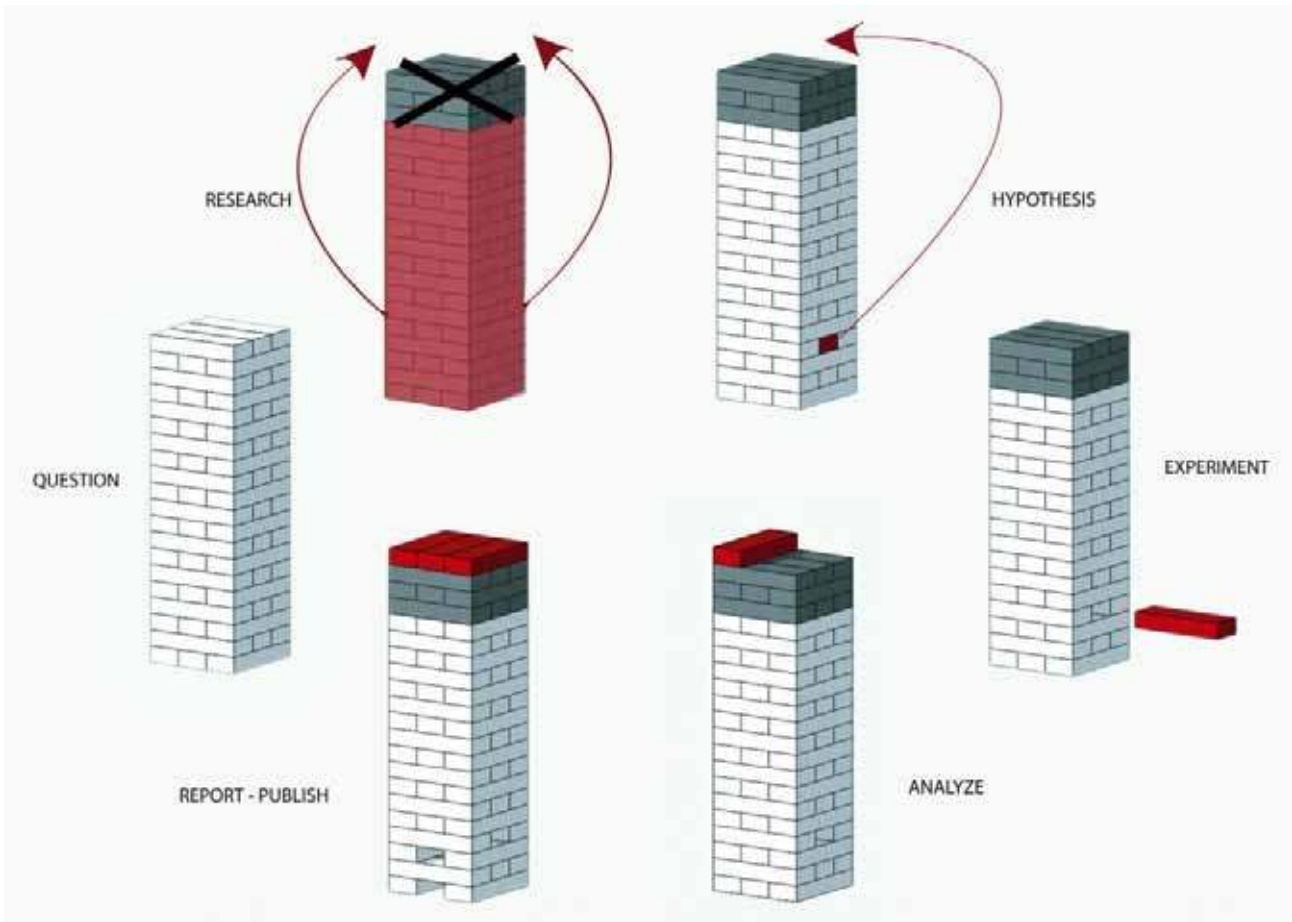
DAYS THREE & FOUR: WORKSHOPS
February 18-19, 2012

SUPERSKYWALK

**Scott Drake &
Preechaya Sittipunt**

In February 2011, the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration announced that it would construct a 'Superskywalk" system, consisting of 50 km of clutter- free, elevated walking space. The project, with an estimated cost at Bt15 Billion, and a construction schedule spanning 4 years, would make Bangkok more pedestrian friendly. Most sections of the project would link to the existing BTS skytrain, extending existing pedestrian skywalks such as that between Chit Lom and Siam stations.

Curiously, a year after the announcement, little more has been said about the project. Clearly Bangkok's pedestrian network needs attention – sidewalks are in bad repair, cluttered with vendors and food carts, and filled with obstacles such as fire hydrants and low level signs. Street crossings are dangerous, with cars and motorcycles seeming reluctant to wait for green lights or give way to pedestrians. But are pedestrians likely to ascend above street level to avoid such obstacles? Yes the streets are cluttered, but this is part of their attraction – cheap food and an endless parade of characters for entertainment. In contrast, the existing raised walkways are mainly circulation spaces – clean and corporate, engineered to be safe yet without provision for pedestrians to linger or enjoy the city.

This workshop will explore possibilities for a Superskywalk – how could it be designed to be inviting and interesting for pedestrians? How could it be filled with vendors and food carts without becoming cluttered and dangerous? How could it link to existing areas where street culture is lively to make a multi-level pedestrian experience? The workshop will reflect on another design for a Super Skywalk, created by Supermachine Studio, comprising a giant 'mega-compound' raised above a city overcome by flood.

INDA Students:
Chih-Hao Chen   Thikumporn Sahussarungsi
Napak Arunanondchai   Nawamin Reangpo
Prapapim Boonnant   Lalida Temthavornkul
Cinrus Chaovanapricha   ApaneeWongsakon
Issaree Trongkamolthum   Marissa Burgess

PLANNING FOR NEXT INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM IN BUENOS AIRES AND JOINT PARTICIPATION IN VI WORLD URBAN FORUM

BIOGRAPHIES- CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY

Kerrie Butts

Instructor and Third Year Coordinator, International Program in Design and Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University
kerriebutts@gmail.com

Kerrie Butts received her Masters of Architecture in Urban Design with distinction from Harvard University Graduate School of Design, Masters of Architecture and B.S. in Arch. Studies from University of Louisiana-Lafayette. At the International Program for Design and Architecture (INDA), she teaches third and fourth year design studios in addition to Architecture, Community and Ecology and Design/ Build for Communities Projects. Prior to joining INDA in 2009, Kerrie's professional experience focuses on community redevelopment, affordable housing and urban design. She has been a LEED Accredited Professional since 2005 and has worked at interdisciplinary design firms in Philadelphia, Boston and the Community Design Workshop in Louisiana.

Scott Drake

Visiting Associate Professor, International Program in Design and Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University
scott.drake.inda@gmail.com

Scott Drake is a Visiting Associate Professor in the International Program in Design and Architecture at Chulalongkorn University, and an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning at the University of Melbourne. He lectures in the area of environmental design in architecture, focusing on aspects of human behaviour in the built environment. Funded research projects include a study of thermal comfort conditions in mixed-mode spaces and user response to personal ventilation systems. His recent book, The Elements of Architecture: Principles of Environmental Performance in Buildings, was published by Earthscan Press.

Camille Lacadée

Instructor, International Program in Design and Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University
clacadee@gmail.com

Born in France in 86, Camille graduated in architecture from ESA (Ecole Speciale d'Architecture, Paris) in 2009 with RIBA Part 1 at AA (Architectural Association, London). During her studies in Paris she did several internship, notably at R&Sie(n) / Francois Roche (terra incognita + singapore biennale) and Philippe Rahm Architects (plage d'hiver + venice project) and organized a workshop in the Ksar of Taghit in Algeria. Leaving Europe for Asia right after graduating, Camille worked with DORON Architect in Tanegashima, Japan, took part in Shin Egashira's Koshirakura Landscape workshop, before moving to India to work with SPA-design /Stephane Paumier in Delhi and as a free-lance architect on the Study Circle cultural center project in Gokarna (Karnataka, South India) with Pandrata Circle association on which she is still working today. She is currently planning a second design-build workshop in India.

Nilay Mistry

Instructor and First Year Coordinator, International Program in Design and Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University
nilaymistry@gmail.com

Nilay earned a Bachelors of Landscape Architecture with Honors from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and a Masters of Urban Design in Landscape Architecture from the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University. In 2003 he was awarded a Ryerson Travelling Fellowship to study adaptation of public space and infrastructure in post-apartheid townships of South Africa. Nilay has practiced as a licensed landscape architect and urban designer in the United States and Middle East. He currently teaches a fourth year design studio and coordinates the first year program at INDA in addition to lecturing in the Architecture, Community, and Ecology course and participating in the Design/Build for Communities projects. His ongoing research of informal settlements and Asian urban landscapes has been the subject of several design studios he has conducted and contributed to various international publications. Nilay loves cities and loves trees.

Narin Paranulaksa

Instructor and Fourth Year Coordinator, International Program in Design and Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University
narinarch@post.harvard.edu | narinarch@yahoo.com

Narin Paranulaksa holds a Bachelor of Architecture from Cornell University and a Masters of Architecture from the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University. Prior to INDA until present, Narin has been involved in unique architectural and interior design projects ranging from residential to hospitality, commercial, educational, and healthcare. Many of his practiced works appeared in publications both locally and internationally. Narin's works have been characterized by his ability to combine Eastern philosophical thinking with Western knowledge. Currently, Narin dedicates most of his time to academic research in Design and Architectural Theory. He is now a full-time faculty member at the International Program in Design and Architecture at Chulalongkorn University.

Pirasri Poyatong

Assistant Professor, Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University
povatong@gmail.com

Pirasri Povatong is an architectural historian specializing in architecture and urbanism of Southeast Asia during the 19th and 20th centuries. Educated at Chulalongkorn University, Columbia University, and the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, he currently teaches at the Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University. Apart from design studios, he has also taught courses on history of Thai architecture, urbanism of Bangkok, and Southeast Asian architecture. In addition to his doctoral dissertation on 19th-century transformation of architecture and architectural practice in Siam, he has also published a number of books and articles, both in English and Thai, on historic buildings and sites in Thailand.

Preechaya Sittipunt

Program Director, International Program in Design and Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University
preechaya.inda.cu@gmail.com

Dr. Preechaya Sittipunt is the Program Director of INDA, the International Program in Design and Architecture as well as a full-time faculty in the Department of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok. She received a Bachelors of Architecture from Chulalongkorn University, Master's degree from Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Ph.D from the University of California, Berkeley. Her research focuses on design and architectural education, design thinking and inquiry.

Moe Ekapob S

Instructor and Digital Design Coordinator, International Program in Design and Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University
moe.ekapob@gmail.com

Moe Ekapob S. graduated from the Architectural Association, AA School of Architecture in London. He taught at the AA, GSAPP Columbia University in New York and recently gave a lecture at the AA Visiting School Paris. His professional experience include working at ARUP in the Advance Geometry Unit (AGU) in London and at SOM in New York office as an architect in the Urban Design and Planning Group and also as a researcher and Digital Design Specialist in the Digital Design Group. Apart from teaching at INDA, he's also leading a practice, AND Development Co.,Ltd. based in Bangkok, Thailand. His current research is in the profusion between new media and emerging technology with Thai artisans and traditional craft.

Danai Thaitakoo

Instructor, Department of Landscape Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University, and Landscape and Urban Ecology Laboratory
Danai.Th@chula.ac.th

Danai Thaitakoo is a lecturer in the Department of Landscape Architecture, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok. He received a Bachelor's degree in Landscape Architecture from Chulalongkorn, a Master's in Landscape Architecture from Harvard and a PhD in Environmental Planning from the University of California, Berkeley. His research interest is in the field of landscape ecology, urban ecology and hydro-ecology. He is currently working on a research project focusing on landscape and urban ecology concerning landscape changes, hydro-ecology and integrated water systems and human ecosystem in terms of resilience and adaptability of landscape and humans. He is also working on a research project in urban ecology with emphasis on urban patterns and urban-rural interactions and changes, the dynamics of urban-agricultural fringe, and sustainability.

Amorn Wanichwiwata

Professor, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University
amorn.wanichwiwatana@gmail.com

Dr. Amorn Wanichwiwatana received his D. Phil from the University of Oxford, UK. His areas of expertise and research interests include institutional corruption, Transnational crime, Personnel management, training and development, welfare benefits management, labour relations and Negotiation techniques. He is a sub-committee member of National Counter Corruption Commission, the Election Commission of Thailand and the House of Representatives regarding social justice. He is also the Co-founder of 'Oxford Initiative': a discussion forum acting as an instrument in providing an opportunity for Thai students in Oxford and all over the United Kingdom to freely exchange ideas, voice their opinions and express their concerns on the current social, economic and political issues as well as government policies and an essay writer for several leading national newspapers, namely, Bangkok Post, The Nation, Krungthepturakij, Matichon, Naewna, and Thai Post.

BIOGRAPHIES- UNIVERSITY OF BUENOS AIRES

Javier Fernández Castro

Professor, Faculty of Architecture, Design and Urbanism, University of Buenos Aires (FADU, UBA), and Researcher at the Institute of Human Spatiality, FADU, UBA.
javier@fernandezcastro.com.ar

Architect, Faculty of Architecture, Design and Urbanism, University of Buenos Aires (FADU, UBA). Professor of Architectural and Urban Design, General Architectural and Urban Morphology, FADU, UBA. Researcher and Director of projects at the Institute of Human Spaciality (IEH), FADU, UBA. At this faculty he has been in charge of Academic and Research Departments. His task is aimed at research and development projects in urban settings and modes of production, coordinating project teams and doing specific consultants, both in public administration and private. His recent works include the redevelopment project of the "Barrio Retiro 31 Carlos Mugica" in Buenos Aires City and the "Park and Mausoleum tribute to Juan and Eva Perón" in San Vicente, Buenos Aires Province. He has received several first prizes in national and Ibero American competitions. He chairs the Housing and Habitat Committee of the Central Society of Architects (SCA); and He is a member of the Society for Morphological Studies of Argentina (SEMA).

Mónica Lacarrieu
Professor, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Buenos Aires and Researcher at the National Committee of Sciences and Technology (CONICET)
monica.lacarrieu@gmail.com

PhD in Social Anthropology, University of Buenos Aires (UBA) and Director of the Culture Anthropology Program, Institute of Anthropological Sciences, School of Philosophy and Letters, UBA. She is Director of CONICET-CNRS International Cooperation Project representing Argentina: "Bringing heritage into play in the configuration of Paris, Buenos Aires, Moscow and Venice neighborhoods". Co-director of the Postgraduate Cultural Heritage Management Course, FADU, UBA, and Professor of the Postgraduate Industrial Design Management Course, FADU, UBA. UNESCO´s consultant in issues about intangible heritage and cultural tourism. Advisor to the Intangible Heritage Program, Office of Heritage and Museums, National Ministry of Culture. She was Academic Director of the Report "Paseo del Bicentenario", in agreement with the Faculty of Social Sciences, the Faculty of Architecture, Design and Urbanism, UBA, and the Bicentenary Unit, Presidency of the Nation, (2010-2012). She is the author of many articles, chapters of books, and author and editor of the book Globalización e Identidad Cultural, La "Indi"Gestión Cultural. Cartografía de los procesos culturales contemporaneous, among others.

Carolina Mera
Professor, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Buenos Aires and Researcher at the National Committee of Sciences and Technology (CONICET)
carolinamera@yahoo.com | cmera@sociales.uba.ar

She received her Bachelor of Sociology from the University of Buenos Aires (UBA), a PhD in Anthropology and Urban Ethnology from de EHESS, Paris, France and a PhD in Social Sciences from UBA. Researcher at the National Committee of Sciences and Technology (CONICET) and at the Gino Germani Research Institute, where she leads since 2001 the East Asian Studies Group. She was Fellow of SPPCF in Korea in 1998-99, after that she conducted several Research Projects on Korean and Asian Studies. Current projects include issues as "Intercultural Dialogues between China, Korea, Japan and Argentina", "International Migrations in Argentinian Cities", and "Asian Diasporas in Latin America". At the Faculty of Social Sciences, UBA, she was in charge of the Department of Posgraduate Studies and Research (2010-2012), she was Director of the Social Science Research Institute (2005-2009), and Director of the Master Degree in Social Sciences' Research (2008-2010). She is author and editor of eight books, including Desafíos de la contemporaneidad: Corea- América Latina (2009), Relaciones Interculturales: experiencias y representación social de los migrantes (2005), La inmigración coreana en Buenos Aires. Multiculturalismo en el espacio urbano (1998).

Ariel Misuraca

Professor, General Secretary, Faculty of Architecture Design and Urbanism, University of Buenos Aires, FADU, UBA
arielmisu@hotmail.com

Architect, of Architecture, Design and Urbanism, University of Buenos Aires (FADU, UBA). Professor, General Secretary (2006-1014) of the Faculty of Architecture Design and Urbanism, University of Buenos Aires, FADU, UBA, and Researcher at the Institute of Human Spatiality, FADU, UBA. Master in The Logic and Technique of the Form, and Doctoral Candidate at FADU, UBA. Director and co Director of UBACyT Projects (2003-2013). Invited Professor at the Universities of Córdoba and Rosario. He co authored several books, most recently Barrio 31, Carlos Mujica (2011), Merodeando la forma, atravesamientos y tangencias (2007) and La Incógnita del Gran Buenos Aires (2000). He co-curated the exhibition and co- authored the books El Indiscreto Encanto de la Forma (2011), and Forma y Geometría, dialéctica de lo curvo y de lo recto (2003 - 2004).

Juan Pablo Scaglia

Associate Professor, Faculty of Architecture, Design and Urbanism, University of Buenos Aires and Coordinator of the Agreement of Technical Support in Design for Entrepreneurs, National Ministry of Social Development
scagliajuan@hotmail.com

Architect, Faculty of Architecture, Design and Urbanism, University of Buenos Aires. He was elected Graduate Senate Councilor, UBA, (2010-2011). Assistant Professor of "Teoría del Habitar", FADU, UBA. Researcher of the Institute of Human Spatiality (IEH), FADU, UBA, and Director of the project "Habitat at risk, challenge of design disciplines". He serves as Coordinator of the Contract of Technical Support in Design for Entrepreneurs of the Program "Argentina works", National Ministry of Social Development, and as Co-Director of the Program of Inclusive Habitat (in development). He is Co-Organizer for the IEH alongside the Gino Germani Research Institute (IGG) of the Faculty of Social Sciences, UBA, of the Discussion Meetings on "the right to land" within the framework of the interdisciplinary program of the UBA for social marginalization (PIUBAMAS). He has a long career in public service, both at the national, provincial and municipal levels, always linked to the production and management of Habitat and social inclusion policies. He has numerous publications, among them is the co-author of the book Diseñando la inclusion, incluyendo el diseño. Aportes al territorio de convergencias entre el diseño y las ciencias sociales (2011).

Ileana Versace

Assistant Professor, Faculty of Architecture, Design and Urbanism,
University of Buenos Aires and Coordinator of OLA Programs at FADU,
UBA
ileanaversace@gmail.com

Architect, Faculty of Architecture, Design and Urbanism, University of Buenos Aires (FADU, UBA). She is Assistant Professor of History of Architecture, FADU, UBA. Director of the Research Project "Going to the Movies. The Movie Theaters in the Downtown and the Neighborhoods of Buenos Aires City, 1930-1960", supported by FADU, UBA; and Researcher of the Project "Latin American Bicentennials in Action: Marks of Commemorations in Cities and Architecture", supported by UBA. She was Coordinator of the Report "Paseo del Bicentenario", in agreement with the Faculty of Social Sciences, the Faculty of Architecture, Design and Urbanism, UBA, and the Bicentenary Unit, Presidency of the Nation, (2010-2012). She was Editing Coordinator of the book Teatro Colón. Puesta en Valor y Actualización Tecnológica, FADU, UBA and Ministry of Urban Development, Buenos Aires City Government (in press). She is currently Coordinator of OLA Programs at FADU, UBA.

BIOGRAPHIES- THE NEW SCHOOL

Bob Buckley

Senior Fellow, Graduate Program in International Affairs, The New School
robertmbuckley@gmail.com

Bob Buckley is a Senior Fellow in the Graduate Program in International Affairs at the New School. Previously he was an Advisor and Managing Director at the Rockefeller Foundation, and Lead Economist at the World Bank. His work at both the Foundation and the Bank focused largely on issues relating to urbanization in developing countries. He is particularly interested in the policy issues related to slum formation and approaches to dealing with them. A good part of his past work has involved helping to prepare projects and grants related to these concerns. He has worked in more than 50 developing countries and has written widely on urbanization, housing, and development issues in the popular press such as The Financial Times, The New York Times and The Washington Post, and in academic journals such as The Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics, Nature, The Journal of Money, Credit and Banking, and Economic Development and Cultural Change. His most recent book, which he co-edited with Michael Spence and Patricia Annez is Urbanization and Economic Growth. He has also taught at a number of other universities -- Syracuse, Johns Hopkins, and the University of Pennsylvania - and served as the Chief Economist of U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Finally, he has also been a Fulbright Scholar, awarded a Regent's Fellowship at the University of California, and been supported by the Marshall Fund, the Gates Foundation, and the National Science Foundation.

Michael Cohen

Professor, Director of the Graduate Program in International Affairs, and Director of The Observatory on Latin America (OLA), The New School
cohenm2@newschool.edu

Michael Cohen (Ph.D., University of Chicago), Professor and Director of the Graduate Program in International Affairs, and Director of The Observatory on Latin America (OLA), The New School. Before coming to the New School in 2001, he was a Visiting Fellow of the International Center for Advanced Studies at New York University. From 1972 to 1999, he had a distinguished career at the World Bank. He was responsible for much of the urban policy development of the Bank over that period and, from 1994-1998, he served as the Senior Advisor to the Bank's Vice-President for Environmentally Sustainable Development. He has worked in over fifty countries and was heavily involved in the Bank's work on infrastructure, environment, and sustainable development. He is a member of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences Panel on Urban Dynamics. He is the author or editor of several books, most recently authored Argentina's Growth and Recovery: The Economy on the time of Default (2012); Preparing the Urban Future: Global Pressures and Local Forces (ed. with A. Garland, B. Ruble, and J. Tulchin) (1996), The Human Face of the Urban Environment (ed. with I. Serageldin) (1994), and Urban Policy and Economic Development: An Agenda for the 1990s (1991). Other recent publications include articles in 25 Years of Urban Development (Amersfoort, The Netherlands, 1998), Cities Fit for People (Kirdar, ed., 1996), The Brookings Review, Journal of the Society for the Study of Traditional Environments, International Social Science Review, Habitat International, and Finance and Development. He has taught at the University of California at Berkeley, The Johns Hopkins University, and the School of Architecture, Design, and Urban Planning of the University of Buenos Aires.

Mandy Goodgoll

Coordinator of the Observatory on Latin America (OLA) at The New School
amanda.goodgoll@gmail.com

Mandy Goodgoll is the Coordinator of the Observatory on Latin America at The New School. She earned her BA in International Development Studies with a Minor in Business from Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada; and her MA in International Affairs, concentrating in Urban Development, from The New School. Mandy has lived and worked in a number of countries including Argentina, where, in conjunction with the New School's Graduate Program in International Affairs International Field Placement, she worked with the national water company to monitor and analyze the ongoing environmental clean-up process in Buenos Aires' highly contaminated Cuenca Matanza Riachuelo. Most recently she worked in Kenya with UN-Habitat where she focused her research on governance and urban issues related to urban water and waste management.

Margarita Gutman

Associate Professor, and Director of Programs of The Observatory on Latin America (OLA), The New School; Profesora Consulta, FADU UBA.
gutmanm@newschool.edu

Margarita Gutman holds a doctorate and is an architect from the University of Buenos Aires. Associate Professor of Urban Studies and International Affairs at The New School, and Professor Consulta at the Faculty of Architecture, Design, and Urbanism, University of Buenos Aires (FADU-UBA). From 2004 to 2009 she has been Full Professor and holder of a Chair (Cátedra) of History of Architecture at FADU-UBA. She was a Scholar at The Getty Research Institute and at the Woodrow Wilson International Center, Fellow at the International Center for Advanced Studies of New York University, and Senior Fellow at the Vera List Center for Art and Politics, The New School. She is author and editor of 14 books, most recently authored Buenos Aires: El Poder de la Anticipación. Imágenes itinerantes del futuro metropolitano en torno al Centenario (Buenos Aires: The Power of Anticipation. Itinerant Images of Metropolitan Futures on the Centennial) (2011). She edited the award-winning Buenos Aires 1910:Memoria del Porvenir (Buenos Aires 1910: Memories of the World to Come) (1999), and Construir Bicentenarios: Argentina (2005). She co-edited with Rita Molinos Construir Bicentenarios Latinoamericanos en la era de la Globalización (2012), and with Horacio Caride Buenos Aires 2050: imágenes del futuro / decisiones del presente. She co-authored with Jorge Enrique Hardoy Buenos Aires Historia Urbana del Área Metropolitana 1536-2006 (Urban History of the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area, 1536-2006),(1st. ed. 1992; 2nd. ed. 2007).

Brian McGrath

Associate Professor/Research Chair in Urban Design at Parsons and founder & principal of Urban-Interface, LLC
mcgrath@newschool.edu

Brian McGrath is Research Chair in Urban Design at the School of Constructed Environments, Parsons The New School for Design and the founder and principal of Urban-Interface, LLC, an urban design consultancy fusing expertise in architecture, ecology and social media. The firm combines new research in urban ecosystems and digital technologies to provide urban design models that engage a broad range of local participants in flexible, innovative approaches to urban densification and revitalization. McGrath is also a principle researcher in the Baltimore Ecosystem Study, a National Science Foundation's Long Term Ecological Research, where he leads the Urban Design Working Group. His books and publications include: Urban Design Ecologies Reader, (2012), Digital Modeling for Urban Design (2008), Transparent Cities (1994), Resilience in Ecology and Urban Design (2012), co-edited with Steward Pickett and Mary Cadenasso, Growing Cities in a Shrinking World: The Challenges in India and China (2010), co-edited with Ashok Gurung and Jiyanying Zha, Sensing the 21st Century City (2007) co-edited by Grahame Shane, and Cinemetrics: Architectural Drawing Today (2007) co-authored with Jean Gardner. McGrath served as a Fulbright Senior Scholar in Thailand in 1998-99 and an India China Institute Fellow in 2006-2008. He received his Bachelor of Architecture from Syracuse University and his Masters of Architecture degree from Princeton University, and interned at the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies in New York.

William Morrish

Professor and Dean of the School of Constructed Environment, Parsons The New School for Design.
morrishw@newschool.edu

Morrish is a nationally recognized urban designer whose practice encompasses inter-disciplinary research on urban housing and infrastructure, collaborative publications on human settlement and community design, educational programs exploring integrated design which are applied to a wide range of innovative community based city projects. He is the author of Civilizing Terrains, and coauthored, Building for the Arts, Planning To Stay, and Growing Urban Habitats.

Vyjayanthi Rao

Assistant Professor of Anthropology, The New School for Social Research
RaoV@newschool.edu

Vyayanthi Rao (Ph.D., University of Chicago) holds a joint appointment with the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science, where she is Assistant Professor of Anthropology and International Affairs. Her research focuses on globalization, development, and cities, in particular issues of technology, infrastructure, memory and modernity in South Asia. She currently has two book projects in development, to be titled , Ruins and Recollections: the Heritage of Modernization in a South Asian Context and Infra-City: Catastrophic Urbanisms in Post-Industrial Mumbai.