

ROLE OF THE STATE IN INTERVENTIONS AROUND AN UNDERWATER TUNNEL: A CASE STUDY OF THE *TÚNEL SUBFLUVIAL* (ARGENTINA)

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ABSTRACT. The area around the *Túnel Subfluvial*, located on the Paraná River (Argentina) hosts two contradictory interventions regarding the construction of the territory. On the one hand, the *Túnel Subfluvial Uranga-Sylvestre Begnis*, built in the 60s is recognized as a milestone in physically connecting two provinces separated so far. On the other, a gated community started in the 90s, under unclear conditions of legality paid by segregating the city. Both cases are the result of specific public policies and a State role that was Interventionist in the past, while it currently acts as an exception, without making clear who is benefited from these actions. Collaborative understanding between multiple actors is needed.

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Keywords: Gated Community, Segregated City, State, Territory, Túnel Subfluvial.

INTRODUCTION

The area encompasses the physical connection called *Túnel Subfluvial Uranga-Sylvestre Begnis* (mostly known as *Hernandarias* and hereafter referred to as TS) is located in the jurisdiction of two provinces in Argentina. This is key to understand the current dynamics of metropolitan areas i.e. Santa Fe-Paraná [1], located in Santa Fe and Entre Ríos provinces, respectively.

For decades, the two provinces were separated by the Paraná river, due to a lack of understanding between the national and provincial governments, and no budget addressed to build a connection. The only way to cross the river was by car ferry and during the flooding stage it was closed so the transit of people and goods were stopped.

The TS was built in the 60s and changed the whole dynamic of the territory, strengthening the metropolitan area and creating new surroundings in the riverside landscape. The TS location and the nearby areas make this place very attractive to real estate entrepreneurs because of the landscape conditions, dominated by nature riverbank sceneries.

The TS construction was designed at the early 60s and finished one decade later. Even today, the TS is considered as a milestone for several reasons (e.g. technics, politics, management). Therefore, it can be regarded as a continuation of *progressive urbanism*, which is the result of an active State (notwithstanding the errors that could have been committed) in building the territory.

During the XXI century, a particular urbanization plan (gated community) was devised on the land of TS jurisdiction on Paraná side. Though such urbanization did not fulfil legal requirements, it was nevertheless carried out. At the same time, on the Santa Fe side, a similar private project was attempted without success.

The hypothesis of this study posits the existence of two ways of intervention in the same location of the territory, a result of different historical moments in which the State is *present* and *absent* at a time. The aim of this paper is to contextualize both interventions over time; list the political actions that enabled their development; and recognize the urban logics or ways of thinking the territory that guided them. We will also make an attempt to describe both the context discipline and the policies applied, which favored the execution of two competing undertakings (while the first creates a link, the second segregates or divides).

This paper addresses to collaborate with the understanding of new ways of urban development in South American cities as well as to comprehends the State leadership in these processes.

METHODOLOGY

An extensive literature review was adopted as methodological development for the first part of the study (3.1). This review was based on international and national scientific publications, official reports and brochures from the early years of the TS. On the other

hand, decision maker interviews, newspaper articles and urban publications were used for the second case study (3.2). Papers about new urban dynamics were particularly considered.

LITERATURE REVIEW

An underwater tunnel

A Milestone from different perspectives

The construction of TS shows unique aspects that make it an important work in the region and in time. This project began to take shape in the early 60s and was finally inaugurated in 1969. From the constructive and aesthetic aspect, the work is a product of its time: the technologies and materials used (concrete, aluminum, brightly colored ceramics or tiles, acrylic, large spans, monumental structures, etc.) manufactured in the country (many of them through foreign investments) were promoted by the developmental ideology that was held at the end of the previous decade. In a promotional newsletter of the work published in 1961 it can be read: "First work of its type in south America and the fourth largest in the world" and the tunnel is compared to others built in Europe and the United States, emphasizing the scale of its section.

The tunnel itself is three kilometers long with the headwalls excluded. The architectural part of the set was designed by Mario Roberto Alvarez and chimneys are the most prominent architectural element. Bullrich [2] refers to this generation of architects (pos Team X) remarking that they want to include the exception and circumstance in their work as conflict and contradiction: ventilation towers are a circumstance to be overcome and the architect does it artfully.

The civil works program includes: buildings for administration and toll stations; plants; ventilation systems in both headwalls; and the interior design of the tunnel. The access ramp to the tunnel is accompanied by a "habituation zone" consisting of a series of beams placed on the roof which become closer as it progresses. In turn, the lateral faces of the entrance on the Paraná side are canted to expand the view. The structure that houses the toll stations was conceived as a monumental area that also covers the administrative offices which open onto a covered patio that articulates general services such as workshop, garage and storage, among others.

In the management of the work participated the Governor of Entre Ríos: Dr. Raul Lucio Uranga, and the Governor of Santa Fe: Dr. Carlos Sylvestre Begnis. They signed an Interprovincial Agreement in 1960 and called an international public tender for the preparation of the design and construction. This agreement also enabled the creation of an Interprovincial Commission (architects and engineers from Santa Fe and Entre Ríos) and a French business adviser to the commission: "Société d'études et d'équipement d'entreprise". In turn, foreign (Hochtief AG, German and Giannini, Italy) and national companies (S.A.I.L.A.V.) were associated in the project.

The combination, particular at the time, of State and Companies, National and International Organizations, administrators and technicians, is briefly expressed by Liernur [3] when he highlights the effects that this phenomenon of mixture had on the Argentine territory. "The development process based on the participation of big companies and foreign capital, especially American ones, introduced changes at the level of cities and territory. Not only the great centers expanded, but new urban centers were created as well, while others disappeared or tended to do so. Besides, technical agencies and offices of urban and regional planning were consolidated".

As for politics, this period shows how remarkably national initiatives arise from municipalities or cities as new capitals of the newly province states (50s) to equip themselves administratively, sometimes through public competition [2]. It is in this climate of self-management and independence of central power that the interprovincial initiative for building the tunnel is located, as a way of communication between Santa Fe and Entre Ríos.

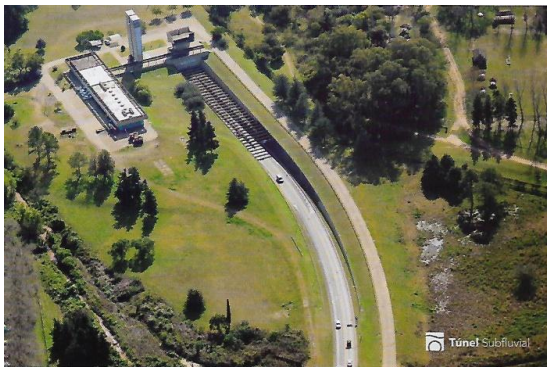
Why is there a decision of building a tunnel instead of a bridge? The official version published in advertising brochures of the work [4] and on the website of the agency, explains the advantages of making a tunnel. Among them they emphasize that: a tunnel is practically insensitive to loads, it does not suffer material fatigue and has unlimited life, it is not obstacle to navigation, the basement of the Paraná River is optimal to found a tunnel not a bridge (no explanation is given), and in economic terms the annual maintenance is cheaper for a tunnel than for a bridge. On the official website of the TS it is added that

“...government taxes are lower than those stipulated for works on the land surface, because it belongs to National Jurisdiction.”

Parallel and unofficial versions circulating among local and social media, reveal that such an undertaking had no support from the national government and being the river surface jurisdiction of that government, it was decided that a tunnel would be built on the riverbed, which is provincial jurisdiction.

To create new poles of activity in different parts of the country in those years, infrastructure works in the field of energy, transport and communications were developed. Along with TS, other works of importance were Hydroelectric Dams and Central El Chocón-Cerros Colorados and Salto Grande; the Atucha I Nuclear Power Plant; the Zárate-Brazo Largo complex and Balcarce Satellite Station.

Both Chocón and Salto Grande produced residential works in their environment (a village and a town, respectively). The topographical conditions of the area occupied by the TS make that this intervention does not count with complementary works: the grounds surrounding the Santa Fe side are actually islands and on Paraná side the land is suitable for recreational activities (because of its riparian conditions). It is believed that nothing can be built permanently in the proximity of this infrastructure (Fig. 1).



Source: Official brochure. 2016

Figure 1: Surroundings and headwall of the tunnel on the Paraná side

Politics and regional planning

The historical period in Argentina that contextualizes the work of the TS was characterized politically by the intermittency of democratic and totalitarian governments, in a sort of *tie* [5]. Socially, there was an increase in population in large cities as a result of migration flows generating increasing social

unrest. And economically, there was a search for a new developmental model that tried to overcome the limits of a populist model but which struggled to found the economy in the new international standards: inflow of foreign capitals and industrial development linked to technological advances. Some authors [6] support the idea that from this stage of the Argentina history derives the very notion of modernity in the country and also the discussion on criteria to organize a modern nation.

Developmentalism, which was adopted in many countries in Latin America (as from guidelines issued from CEPAL), sees in the Soviet Union the model (development of heavy industry, auto energy provider country) and in North America how to run the model in capitalism (introduction of foreign capitals). The model made a priority from technological and scientific progress, and in that context boosted the car industry and therefore territorial connections (mainly roads). The State was understood as having an active role in transformations (until the end of the 70s), although at that time, it was already believed that industrialization as the engine of development was a chimera.

The conditions of modernity presented new demands on architecture and planning [3], of which the most interest for the case study are: the urban impact of the fourth industrial belt in the main cities, the final decline of the railways and the increased presence of cars. Also the greater importance given to the private financial capital and the resizing of public intervention (the disappearance of the Welfare State does not mean the end of the Interventionist State), characterizing the period by the larger scale of programs confronted.

Once its political and economic context was understood, the TS project was included urbanistically in three plans. These are the 1980 Director Plan for Santa Fe (conceived a decade earlier), the Pilot Plan for the city of Paraná, 1959 and the Director Plan of Paraná, 1963.

The first one is a late publication compiled by the Directorate of Municipal Urban Planning by architects Norberto Nardi and Waldemar Giacomino, who by training they followed the lines of US planning and the quotes of the *New Deal*, being the restructuring of the Tennessee Valley basin, perhaps the most significant exponent, which already in 1933 sets principles, methods and models of

organizational structures. It is the first city plan that adds ideas and tools of its own from what was called in the mid-twentieth century *Integral and democratic planning* (widespread ideas in Argentina by José Pastor and Jorge Hardoy), incorporating the concept of *region* [7]. From plan two we get stands that have to do with the logic of contemporary planning to the work of TS: the proposed road communication and the willingness to give the river a key role in shaping the city.

The second one is developed by the Autarchic Institute of Planning and Housing of the Province of Entre Ríos (hereafter referred to as IAPV), in charge of a group of architects: Oscar Bertelloti, Ada Garay and Federico Celecia, supervised by architect Carlos Gomez Gavazzo. The city is "diagnosed" by a file that is divided into the four priority tasks raised by the Athens Charter (live, move, recreate, work), and details are given of all urban components. The Pilot Plan recognizes the broader context of the region, highlighting the possibility of construction of the TS, the Salto Grande dam, connections with the bank of Uruguay River and the role of the province in an international economic region that includes Uruguay and Southern Brazil. This plan did not find the legal instruments that make it feasible [8].

Finally, we consider the Director Plan of Paraná, 1963, developed at the Institute of Regional and Urban Planning of the Universidad Nacional del Litoral (hereafter referred to as IPRUL). The plan was carried out under the direction of Arch. Jorge Hardoy with collaboration of IAPV. "The conception of the Plan and, fundamentally, the analytical procedure, represents a key moment in methodological approach to planning discipline. Economists, sociologists, geographers, statesmen, recognize the city as a specific field of action". [9]

In this plan and in relation to the Pilot Plan, the importance lies in the vision of the city integrated with the territory that surrounds it. Concepts such as *region*, *catchment area* and *metropolitan area* are constantly appearing in the analysis, giving priority to different scales and the economic projection of the territory. The military coup of 1966 discontinued the IPRUL activities and therefore the Plan.

Finally, the public policies in the area are listed. In 1957, Ports and Waterways of the Nation traced the shore line and lands in Entre Ríos side are owned by the Provincial

Government as previous judgment sentence in the trial Entre Ríos-Annichini Hnos. SRL and Casa Franchini SRL. In 1960 the province sanctioned the law that created the Interprovincial Organism giving the jurisdiction of the land; it calls for bids to build a tunnel. The agreement establishes a restriction zone (on both sides), a condition which was confirmed in 2003. By 1965, the major of Paraná, Maximino Aldasoro, inscribes the property already transferred to the TS, to be supported by the Central Bank for the insolvency of the Municipal Bank of Paraná at that time. [10]

A residential urbanization

Contemporary Phenomenon

Contemporary metropolises (particularly in Latin America) are characterized mainly by an extraordinary spread of urbanization, continuous growth and spread to the periphery of urban centers, increased mobility, congestion of dominant centralities, the growing polycentrism, the networking, and increasingly marked processes of economic and social exclusion [11].

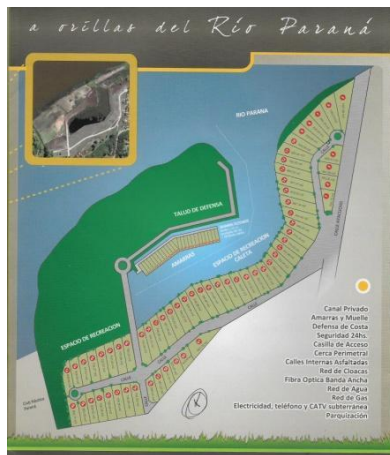
During the implementation of the neoliberal model in Argentina, cities experienced a marked population growth and were characterized by increased poverty and inequality that, in terms of space, could be verified in the precariousness of vast urban territories, in some cases abandonment or obsolescence and other occupation of risky or unsuitable areas for development. This situation was compounded by the marked decline of the State and public policies, disregarding social problems and assuming that the evolution of the market economy would solve them "naturally and automatically".

For the Latin American case, the decline of the State against the most basic social needs (health, housing, education, etc.), which characterized the neoliberal period, left a space occupied significantly by the civil society organizations, but also, and largely for housing conditions, by the private market.

The last one has been largely turned over to the residence (tall buildings and suburban). For the second case, it is interesting to describe what is meant by suburban residence. "It is the expression of the new conditions of residence/work proposed by contemporaneity as a result of the possibilities offered by the technological revolution in communications (Internet, mobile telephony,

etc.) and territorial mobility (state highways, high speed trains, low cost, etc.). It combines in turn, with a high cost of land in central areas and the lifelong desire of urban life linked to nature, giving rise to the impulse to be located on the outskirts of the city, often surpassing its jurisdictional limits" [11]. And within this type, we recognize: country clubs, gated communities, residential subdivisions, among others.

The case study in this work is a gated community called "Amarras del Sol (Paraná)", whose management is totally private. In an interview with the owner of the urbanization (Sergio Lifschitz; May 2015), he revealed to the author that the neighborhood has an area of 81.250m², of which only 1000m² are built today. The plots, which have an average size of 900m², have all the services and since this is a private development, they have controlled entry, living standards and building regulations all along the community. (Fig. 2)



Source: Advertising brochure. 2015
Figure 2: Amarras del Sol neighborhood subdivision blueprint

What is striking about this case is that Amarras del Sol was built on lands that belong to the TS jurisdiction (Fig. 3). These lands were filled by the builders of the tunnel and have absolute restriction¹ because they were aimed for the protection of the headwalls of the underwater link. They are also provincial public domain (Entre Ríos) affected to the TS.

¹ "...set in 2003 by the Interministerial Council of Interprovincial Organism Tunnel Subfluvial -made by the ministers of Finance and Government and Justice of Entre Ríos and Treasury and Finance and Public Works and Services of Santa Fe. This is an area of physical security spaces of up to 100 meters and also an area of administrative security in all fields" (Diario UNO, 03/03/2013).

According to the owner, he purchased this land from the Municipality of Paraná in public auction but in a string of twists and turns the Provincial Government of Entre Ríos validated, rejected and validated this purchase again. Currently, the employer owns the Yacht Club's land (annex to the TS) whose dock was ceded to him as a loan for a hundred years, after having been used to build the tunnel tubes and in turn, the area covered by the protection blanket was appropriated unilaterally, dredging the sand used as a containment.

The entrepreneur is supported in the 2572 Article of the Argentine Civil Code which admits that an individual can incorporate an adjoining land to his property, as his own, when the river "by alluvium" appends to its banks, but ignores that this article is invalid in coastal areas and navigable rivers such as the Paraná.

In the Santa Fe side, it was also attempted to carry out an undertaking of similar characteristics (gated communities with recreational activities). This is the case study of walled community Santa Cándida², located on the eponymous island. Finally, this private enterprise did not materialize because the owner, who was previously devoted to the farming business, was denounced by the TS Office for robbery because he had built pens and other livestock equipment on the security zone of the tunnel.

Both cases highlight a problem that will be developed in the next section. This subject is closely linked to the cycle of capital and that is the generation of inequalities to sell. Both examples show the wish of having portions of territory with unique features (at the cost of jeopardizing a road infrastructure) that will increase the value of the product. We will now emphasize the urban and politics circumstances that led to the materialization of the first case.

² The thesis of Aquino, G. (2008 unpublished) for the Bachelor of Business Administration consisted of a residential and recreational project venture, previously requested by the owner of the Santa Cándida island, with a view to future development in the sector. The author collaborated in developing a blueprint for such an undertaking.



Source: Google Maps 2016. Prepared

Figure 3: Aerial view showing the location of the TS (gray line), the Yacht Club (orange polygon) and *Amarras del Sol* (red polygon).

Politics and urban planning

Urban is a collective construction, in which, within a capitalist context, the State mainly and the market forces are recognized as makers (though not the only), leading to an unstable balance in the building up of the territory.

For the second case of study it is interesting to analyze how the private sector behaves, recognizing their strategies and the nature of their activities. According to Rodríguez et al [11], in the first instance, two types of actions taken by private entrepreneurs are noticed in the field of transformation of the physical environment recommend: direct and indirect actions. The first ones have to do with the implementation of specific actions (civil works, housing estates, etc.) that alter without intermediation the physical dimension of the territory, and the indirect ones as those referred to the ability to influence the actions of the State or other actors and then manage to affect the conformation of the territory. Regarding the nature of the activities, commercial sites, high-end buildings (medium and high density) can be recognized, which are located in the city center and residential developments, usually at the periphery. The case study belongs to the latter group. The intervention on the Entre Ríos side of the TS is framed in the New Urban Code of the city of Paraná in 2006, which divided the city into districts. The neighborhood would be located in the district of *La Costa* whose lands have

residential and recreational purposes. The project is controversial for several reasons explained below and they have to do with: the domain of the land, the raise of a closed residential neighborhood and the social impact generated.

On the first point, the employer claims that these lands went to public judicial auction, in which he participated: "I did not acquire these lands illegally, (...) I bought them in court and a title that comes from an auction has no discussion" [12]. In 1995 the Municipality of Paraná certainly put the property up for auction, omitting that this is a provincial domain and affected the TS. That is purchased by the entrepreneur even though he knew (as president of the Yacht Club) that they were the province lands. In 1999, the entrepreneur made a private deal in which he unilaterally appropriated *Los Arenales*, which is a site above the TS, located between the Yacht Club and what was "bought" to the Municipality, arguing that the river "gave" him the ground produced by flood, which is actually the product of dredging from the time when the builders secured the tunnel work. In 2001 and 2002 two reports of the Office of Administrative Investigations of Entre Ríos established that the property is of provincial public domain. And in 2003, the governor of Entre Ríos started legal proceedings to claim ownership of the property and stop this enterprise. In 2005 the new governor revoked this by decree of legal

actions initiated earlier, saying he did not want any harm to citizens and consolidated the owner's possession [11].

As for the project, the controversy is that where once were a municipal resort, today is the building of a private neighborhood and shopping mall. The status of "closure" closes down the access to the river that was forbidden to public use despite the force of Law of *Camino de Sirga* (traffic space that should be left by riparian owners for public use for navigational purposes, to the edge of a river). This can be described as an easy access that in the past was useful to navigation and is today the main tool to preserve coastal public space. The new Civil and Commercial Code of Argentina, amended in 2015, changed this space that was brand 35mts to 15mts from the hair of water). The bank, which is intended for public use, is not only closed from land access but also closed *virtually* from its river access. The virtual condition is used here to refer to a limit that is not physical but constituted by security staff whom from their own presence threaten visitors and do not permit them to go to the beach.

Finally, as regards social controversy caused by the intervention, these premises have a solid wall, concrete bricks, four to five meters high and three hundred meters long which extend along the shore of the river. In this way, the sector is literally divided into two parts of town: the traditional neighborhood of modest houses and a precarious land ownership situation; and the new neighborhood of large lots and expensive constructions.

The intervention promoted complaints from neighborhood residents, non-governmental organizations and specialists. Meanwhile the owner justifies his behavior, highlighting the "benefits" his development brings to the area: the value of the land, infrastructure, basic services and even jobs in the neighborhood. "We are bringing progress and neighbours know that" [13].

In 2011, the Municipal Government summoned the owner to demolish the wall with no results. Instead he "agreed" with neighbors and the Commune, in a so-called "social license" granted by inhabitants, the opening of a sort of large windows in the wall, which allows at least recovering the view of the Paraná River by *Los Arenales's* neighbors so that the division was not so obscene. To make that his wall would not be demolished, the businessman took over

the paving of streets and other neighborhood improvements.

The Municipality has been willing to break barriers to public space accesses and claim the city as a right to its citizens. Proof of this is the approval of Decree 1169/2013 prohibiting urbanization in gated communities in the city of Paraná. But *Amarras del Sol* was created prior to the signing of the decree, resulting timely benefited as one of the five gated communities of the city.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

During the interwar period, city analysts defined by Choay [13], both *culturalists* (romantic ones) and *progressives* (those looking ahead) agreed on the assumption that the "modern city" had altered the logic of the traditional city and that the scientific basis of the new discipline allows to restore the lost balance, articulating historical and propositional data. [14]

In the second postwar period, where contemporary plans to TS are located, the story loses operating weight caused by the progressive establishment of a centralized technocracy and scientific models of planning resorted to other inputs, such as the factors that drive modernization. The city was conceived as a space that could enable economic growth and social progress and thus was addressed by the State through overall plans.

The concept of *region* that appears in plans that contextualize the work of the TS is introduced, according to Hall [15], firstly by Patrick Geddes and then by Lewis Mumford based on Geddes in the 20s. "A region is a geographic area that has a certain unity of climate, vegetation, industry and culture. The regionalist (...) contemplates the people, the industry and the earth as a single unit". [16]

The regional intervention wishes to modernize is evident in the advertising promotion of the TS: "The entire project of the Paraná-Santa Fe tunnel is a part of an extensive road network that will produce, in a short-term, an imminent evolution in Mesopotamia. The possibility of interconnection between two capital cities involves a fast commercial development for both provinces. (...) the solution adopted falls within the strict framework of modern art based on deep previous studies of the economics and with the purpose to give invaluable opportunities to own resources in the economy

of the provinces. (...) there will be a clear intercom to the border with Brazil expediting the transit to Capital Federal". [4]

Due to its construction characteristics and the riskiness of its proposal the work of the TS could be considered as an epigone of the *progressive* urbanism of which Choay spoke in the first half of the twentieth century and a product of a State, not Benefactor but Interventional. At the same time, it is a tributary of the *culturalist* vision, mainly by the visionary of its role as regional infrastructure, linked to the Paraná River that bathes the banks of two Argentine provinces, separated so far.

The phenomenon of gated communities can be clearly linked to what Indovina [17] calls *urban sprawl*, characterizing it as the search for better living conditions, since the expulsion of the central city is not performed by the inability to afford the ground in that area, but by the possibility of acquiring larger tracts of land at low price. By relating the equation: land availability + landscape quality = added value to the real estate venture.

Urban discontinuity can be physical (because of the self-exclusion posed by the gated community and *its wall*) or spatial (the inability to reach certain sectors, in this case, the river bank). There are also three circumstantial facts that promote the progress of the intervention: on the one hand, the exponential demand for land that generates the PRO.CRE.AR plan (Argentine credit-oriented to housing construction) in recent years and promoted imminent plots in almost rural areas and outside the normalized urban patterns or, as in this case, in restricted areas. On the other hand, the approval of Decree 1169/2013 prohibiting urbanization in gated communities leaves the previously approved developments in a "situation of privilege" or those unfinished projects in an obviously unclear situation. Finally, the generated inconsistency between promoting an inclusive urban pattern (regarding the decree mentioned above) and the modifications to the Law of *Camino de Sirga* made by the New Civil Code that threaten the public nature of the riverside, city area more than coveted by real estate projects.

Due to the constant obstacles put forward by the Municipal and Provincial State in the approval of this project, we can say that it is a case of exceptional urbanization or as Vainer [18] calls it: *Exception State*. With this term, the author refers to the difference between modern

urbanism (which it is heir to the work of the TS), and contemporary urbanism. The former responds to the common interest, while the latter to multiple interests, giving in place to negotiation. To approve and continue the gated community it has to negotiate with several actors (Municipal Government, neighbors, Interprovincial Organism, etc.), and with the lack of clarity in the decisions, the exception became the rule, privileging the specific contract disregarding the law and most of all, obscuring the decision-making processes that lead to results.

Meanwhile Virilio speaks of signs of current confinement, to confront the finitude of the world, land, resources, looking for inner security. And one of those signs is *private cities*, protected by a wall, as medieval towns. There is a pathological regression of town "whereby, the *cosmópolis*, the open city from yesterday, gives in place to the *claustrópolis*, in which the foreclosure³ increases with exclusion of the foreign, of that errant, that *sociasteroid*." [19]. In this sense, the wall of the *Amarras del Sol* does not need metaphoric mediation, it is clearly an exclusion of the others, and its argument lies in the need for safety within the neighborhood.

Finally, the research work already cited by Rodríguez et al [11] hypothesizes that the State, in the last decades of the XX century and the beginnings of the XXI century, has lost some prominence as the main promoter of territorial transformations in the Metropolitan area of Santa Fe-Paraná, giving way to the land market forces and equally civil society organizations which appear as the new protagonists of the changes. The case study is a clear example of this hypothesis: negotiations and *exceptions* made the owner the one who builds the city, because he took care to bring infrastructure and services to the area; however, in the entire intervention, physical and social segregation remains.

CONCLUSIONS

The interventions analyzed pose a complex duality that is not only given by the multiplicity of actors involved, diversity of uses and scales of action, but also by the role the area acquires by jurisdiction deemed, ranging from an urban district (Paraná city) up to transnational regions (Bioceanic Corridor), through a bi-

³ Concept developed by Jacques Lacan to designate the specific mechanism operating in psychosis by which occurs the rejection of a fundamental signifier expelled from the symbolic universe of the subject. Source: Wikipedia 2016

nuclear metropolitan area. In the same portion of land, two opposing and contradictory logics are observed: the former makes an attempt to join the country and the latter, thirty years later, paid for segregating.

The TS was and is a milestone in the territory because it modified its dynamics. It was carried out with foreign investments but it is a public infrastructure made through State management. There are coincidences as well: automobile and promotion of road infrastructure make the city expands and population deconcentrate, which is contrary to the *culturalist* ideas to preserve city limits. In that sense, if new communication technologies are added, gated community intervention is directed towards the same city model that promotes the TS: the dispersed city.

Acting on the TS bordering land came very distant in time from the construction of this work. It is clear that this is because the land was never intended to be anything other than the tunnel's protection. Considering time, it can be said that at certain times of the history of the property there has been connivance of the Municipal and Provincial State and even of the TS Interprovincial Organism, to reach the instance where a person has the ownership over lands that are public.

If a marked advance entrepreneurship exists nowadays, is because real estate interests have changed, simultaneously with the availability of accumulated capital, mainly from agricultural income. But above all there has been a change in State interests that instead of ensuring public infrastructure, chooses to seize the opportunity, without making it clear who the benefit will go to.

This paper reveals the necessity of collaborative understanding between market forces and government sectors in the face of new ways of urban development in South American cities as well as the capital role of the State in this relationship.

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