

BELOW THE DIGITAL RADAR: Indifference, Bias and a Quiet Emergence in Media Coverage of Government Urban Plans in the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Region (2000-2013)

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Below the Digital Radar

*Indifference, Bias and a Quiet Emergence in Media Coverage of
Government Urban Plans in the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Region
(2000-2013)*

By James Foley and Margarita Gutman

1. Introduction

This study is of the coverage of government urban plans in selected media between 2000-2013 in the Buenos Aires metropolitan region. Why is this study about the coverage of urban plans **relevant?** Success depends in part of being present in a public conversation. Dissemination in the media permits the presence of the plans in a public discourse, allowing the creation of knowledge, the expression of opinions and then social participation. This reach to a wider audience can help to support the ideas and actions of the government's plans.

We also review this public conversation to study and understand if and how issues of the public good, civil and social rights, conflict and vulnerability are present in the coverage of the urban plans and municipalities in the selected media.

This type of research which has not been done before in Buenos Aires gives quantifiable analysis which helps one to understand about different issues: the role of selected media in portraying plans, regional planning and sectorial urban issues; representations in these selected media of the different geographical and administrative components of the MRBA, this is to say, what is being portrayed in the media of urban planning happening in the municipalities from the publication's perspective?

This study has the following research questions:

- *Which municipalities and plans are represented in selected media and sources?*
- *Is there a periodization in the coverage based on the number of articles produced and/or political-economic cycles?*
- *Is there a difference in the coverage of the plans in the different media? Depending on geography, size and content of the articles, depending of the level of government of the plans mentioned, source of dissemination of plans, frequency of articles about different plans.*
- *In the coverage of government urban plans, is there any evidence of attention being paid to issues related to vulnerabilities, social and human rights?*
- *Is there a bias in how each of the selected media is covering the different plans? Which media covers what?*
- *Based on the previous research question, which are the most relevant findings about the coverage of the plans in selected media?*

This paper is composed of:

- I. A presentation of the methodology, and selection of media (a justification, methods and sources of study, resumes of each source);
- II. An in-depth quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data findings (Broken down by time periods, types of articles, length of articles, government level, sectorial issues, and key legislation)
- III. Selected interpretations.

2. Methodology and Selection of Media

Preparing a study such as this, we used the guiding research questions to help us decide which data to look for (urban planning themes, events related to urban planning, and specific government urban planning legislation/projects/plans/ideas etc.) across a specific timeframe of 2000-2013 (2013 being the original start of the research), where to look for data (sources), and how to collect, classify, organize meaningfully and store the relevant data (collecting articles, digitalizing into files), and formatting them into a comprehensive, digestible way for which the information could be analyzed (classifying the data in a spreadsheet of criteria).

The most important first step was to decide which media to cover. Our first inclination for possible sources were popular print media, large daily/weekly newspapers that covered the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Region. *Pagina 12*, *La Nacion*, *Clarín*, and *Perfil* all have a large circulation and are generally assumed to be stable, more or less mainstream publications (*La Nacion* and *Clarín*) and others representing other points of view with large circulation (*Pagina 12* and *Perfil*). Besides them, we included important specific advocacy organizations or “instigators” of the idea of the metropolitan urban area: Café de las Ciudades, Fundación Metropolitana, and the Observatorio Urbano Local-Buenos Aires Metropolitana (OUL-BAM). This study does not delve into any debate regarding the form of metropolitan governance, though it often appears within many of the selected sources. Our interest in this study is in the coverage of the practice of governance but focused on the imagination, production, implementation, discussions of urban plans.

This mix of print publications and interest groups, we imagined, would be able to provide a meaningful amount of available data regarding coverage of government urban plans.

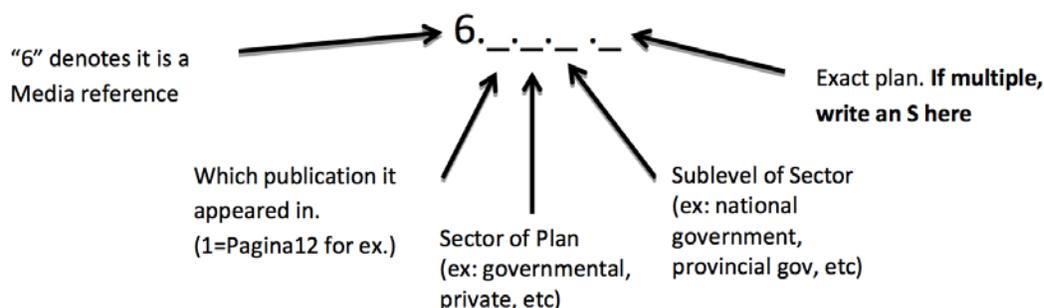
The data collection was through searching the subsequent websites of each source for relevant articles concerning government urban plans from 2000-2013, downloading the articles as PDF documents. “Relevant articles”

included those that have any connection to government urban plans or agendas. Some of the articles, while perhaps relevant to other discussions regarding government power, were not included because of their unfocused or impertinent nature to the plans themselves analyzed from our original data collection in 2013. This was not an easy task, as initially this was something we supposed would be a binary operation (yes or no). The reality was that, not only was the criteria to include this gray area not immediately clear (the tools were not yet available), we needed to create and imagine what the criteria should be to make a meaningful collection and classification of the data possible. Simply put, we had to build a framework for including, organizing, ranking and interpreting the data where none existed before for this purpose of analysis.

So, the framework we devised consists of many steps: coding the article, organizing them into a consistent categorization and classification of qualitative and quantitative means, then comparing different intersecting classifications through data analysis (pivot tables, for example) to quantify the qualifiers which seemed, at first, impossible to categorize.

Each article was coded through a numbering system that gave each article a specific identifier. All media are logged with a consistent coding system that allows reference to all information: media, type of media, level of scope (ex: governmental, private, etc.), sublevel of that scope (ex: if governmental: national, provincial, municipio, etc.), and also which plan it refers to.

STEP 1) Identifying the document by characteristics



STEP 2) After an underscore (_), add the date by YEAR, MONTH, DATE

Example: 6.1.1.1.1_2000.12.31

STEP 3) Add the ID number that corresponds to the entry in the spreadsheet after an underscore.

Example: 6.1.1.1.1_2000.12.31_1

The codes were as follows: 6.1 Pagina 12; 6.2 La Nacion etc. etc.

The articles were read in Spanish and analyzed in English through a master spreadsheet with 50 columns of analysis. The spreadsheet was broken down into different sections:

- General (ID#, date, title, author, source)
- Value (Rating article on a scale of 1, not important, to 5, essential)
- Notes (Description of article, observations, usefulness)
- Form of the article (type, length, reference of a plan, embedded media, images, type of source)
- Plan Level, with specific plans listed (National, Provincial, CABA, Municipalities, SUPRA, Sectorial)
- Agents (Actors referenced, government branch, academic, social organizations)
- Contents (scale, stage of plan's development, themes)
- Motivation (different factors)

Once an entire publication's articles had been found via the website from within the parameters of our search, summary documents of the findings for each publication were prepared. By having individual summaries of each select media, there is a base for comparing media regarding differences in coverage, as well as similar, underlying trends.

By using the spreadsheet and publication summaries, we were able to distinguish relevant threads in the data, and built on other modes of analysis, mainly through the use of pivot tables. We analyzed the different columns of the spreadsheet to find the different trends and then put the most interesting and important trends into graphical representations. We then were able to use the data to create graphs, charts, and maps that could visually represent our findings. The interpretation of these findings through the framework of the research questions came afterward.

The stages of the research occurred in the following timeframes:

- Data search and collection: May 2013-June 2013; January-March 2014
- Reading articles, data classification, publication summaries: June 2013-June 2014
- Analysis of data: July 2014-June 2015
- Interpretation: February 2016-June 2016

The timeframes were indicative of the process in understanding the data and designing the methodology of the study, created in an organic way through trial and error. There was a challenge with finding and selecting appropriate articles, and secondly, an issue with how to organize the articles.

Description of the Media

The six different sources, which comprised the data for the study, are media that can be broken down into two groups: traditional print media (*Pagina 12, La Nacion, Clarin, Perfil*) and urban planning advocacy organizations. The differences and reasoning in picking these media were intentional: with

large, established traditional media, the study would be able to have a guaranteed continuity of data. Print media would be the most helpful because of the ease in which archives are kept; television and radio archives were not as complete. The inclusion of “advocacy” organizations and groups, Fundación Metropolitana, OUL-BAM, and Cafe de las Ciudades, was due to their noted emergence in covering the issues as new, digital platforms emerged during the studied time periods (providing an example of how media changed between 2000-2013). What was not covered, in this initial study, was an exhaustive look at every possible publication or source but rather to focus on those that we deemed most relevant.

Pagina 12: Started during the late 1980's, *Pagina 12* is center-left progressively oriented political, in-depth coverage contrasts with most traditional Argentine media as it is focused on interpretation rather than breaking news. Home of journalists such as Horacio Verbitsky and Osvaldo Soriano, many of its pieces are featured commentary, musings, intellectual discussions, and analysis. Published daily in print, its website features a similar layout, with even longer online discussions and versions of its articles.

La Nacion: Founded in 1870 by former Argentine President Bartolome Mitre, *La Nacion* is the “paper of record” for Buenos Aires if not all of Argentina. A traditional, conservative broadsheet publication, it has a wide variety of news, commentary, in-depth analysis, and editorials, concentrating mainly on the Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires. Published daily, it's weekend editions contain large sections as well as a magazine. As of May 2016, the online version is one of the three most visited websites in Argentina (along with Yahoo and *Clarín*).

Clarín: The most widely read newspaper in Argentina (and within the Spanish-speaking world), this tabloid publication is centrist, often changing political orientation defined by their opinion on government policies. Founded in 1945, its circulation has remained strong throughout its lifetime, despite recent dips in the Kirchner years. In 1996 they became the first Argentine newspaper to digitalize content into a website. *Clarín* offers readers a menagerie of reading choices: news, commentary, editorials, most of which are short pieces. It has a special architectural supplement for its Sunday edition, where occasionally urban planning themes are presented. Published daily, weekend editions contain extra sections. Its online, digital version is one of the three most visited websites in Argentina (along with Yahoo and *La Nacion*).

Perfil: Founded originally in 1998 and then relaunched in 2005, *Perfil's* mission of “periodismo puro” establishes its stated purpose on hard news, analysis, and in-depth coverage. Primarily a business newspaper (with a

strongly conservative bent), its readership is mostly in CABA. A tabloid, it is published weekly (on weekends) with a digital version that is continuously updated. It's longer, seemingly meaty articles compares to a middle ground between *La Nacion* and *Clarín* in terms of political orientation.

Fundación Metropolitana: Since 2000, the stated mission of the organization is advocating through four lines of work: socially, economically, politically, and geographically for the "vision" of the metropolitan region. It's coverage of government urban planning initiatives takes a lens of how it affects the region, and includes many of the discussions of government planning through the organization's efforts. Its articles and coverage sometimes includes commentaries, editorials, and analysis, but usually takes the form of press releases of the organization and its involvement in planning.

Observatorio Urbano Local-Buenos Aires Metropolitana (OUL-BAM): Led by Artemio Pedro Abba, this site specializes in news roundups of media coverage regarding government urban planning issues, analyzing the idea of how the "metropolitan ideal" reflects itself in acts of government/civil society/media coverage through a rating system. The site contains links, analysis, studies, and as an email subscription newsletter. After 2011, posting on the site dropped off substantially. Per its name, it sees itself more as an observatory of ideas for the Buenos Aires metropolitan region. It has the smallest amount of coverage of all sources studied.

Cafe de las Ciudades: Created during the early part of the study, this website, led by a team run by Marcelo Corti, is a hodgepodge of academic studies, musings, artistic renderings, acerbic commentary, news roundups, columns, and links all concerning urban planning. Many internationally-known architects, designers, and urban planners have contributed, and his vision of creating the atmosphere of a lively, discussion-filled internet forum for the exchange of ideas for urban planning has led this internet-magazine-like site (with 153 editions as of 2016) to become a go-to for understanding urban planning issues within an Argentine context.

3. Analysis

PERIODS WITHIN THE STUDY

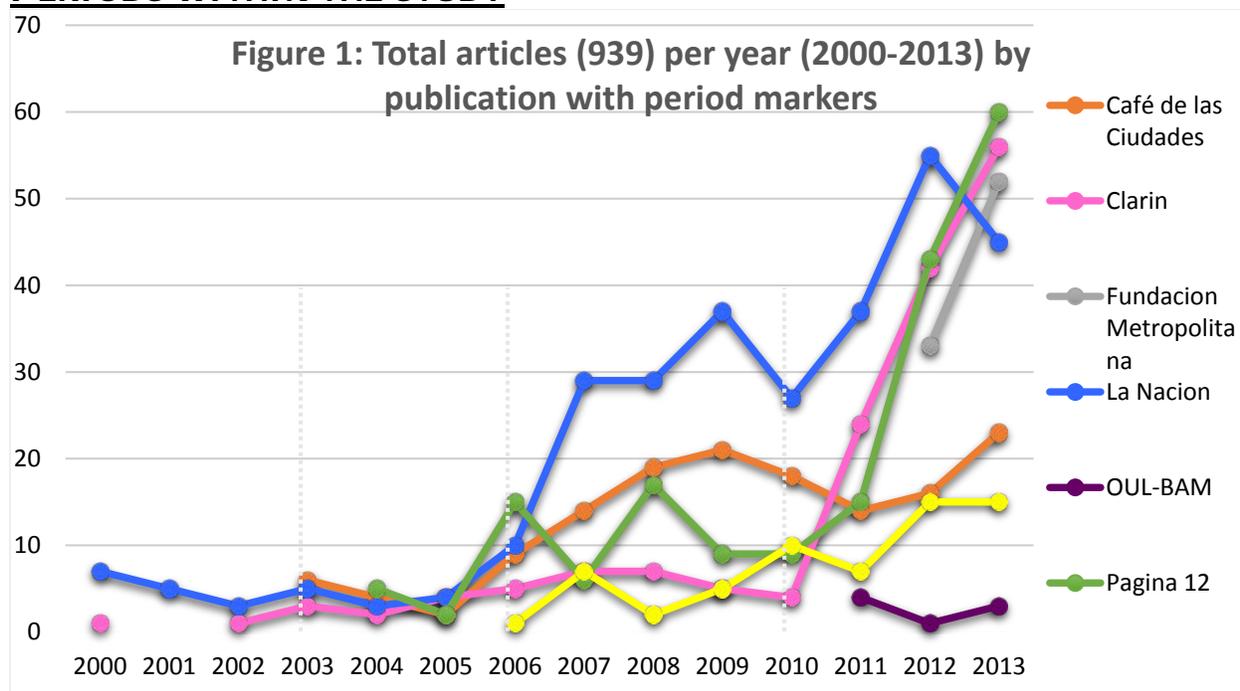


Figure 1: A distinct periodization emerges in the number of articles published during the studied time period from 2000-2013, as our hypothesis claimed, but in four periods instead of three.

- Period One: 2000-2003 (30 articles)
- Period Two: 2004-2006 (66 articles)
- Period Three: 2007-2010 (282 articles)
- Period Four: 2011-2013 (561 articles)

This periodization shows a clear rise in the amount of articles written for every publication. The creation of articles in some publications is because of distinct interest in specific issues, such as a focus on the Plan Urbano Ambiental (PUA) or the Autoridad de la Cuenca Matanza-Riachuelo (ACUMAR).

Period One

Coverage regarding government urban plans is almost nonexistent. The large, traditional daily newspapers of *Clarín* and *La Nación* are the only sources covering these issues, and their articles relate to mostly the PUA and other pieces of past legislation. This period is characterized by large economic and political changes: the 2001-2002 Argentine sovereign debt default and resulting political crisis dominated news coverage.

Period Two

After the election of Nestor Kirchner as President, a slow but steady growth in coverage begins, with a spike at the end of 2006. The rise is not only because of the PUA legislation, but also because of the Causa Mendoza. The first specialized interest sources (Café de las Ciudades) start to cover government urban planning issues in-depth. This period is marked with strong economic growth in Argentina and a stabilization of the government with a strong political regime in the Casa Rosada.

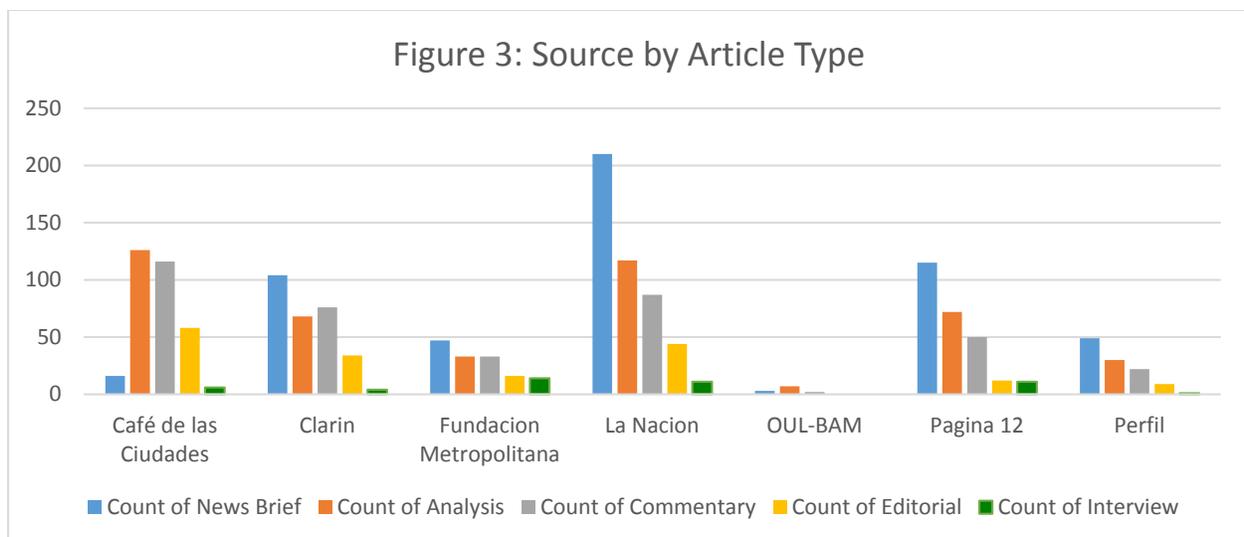
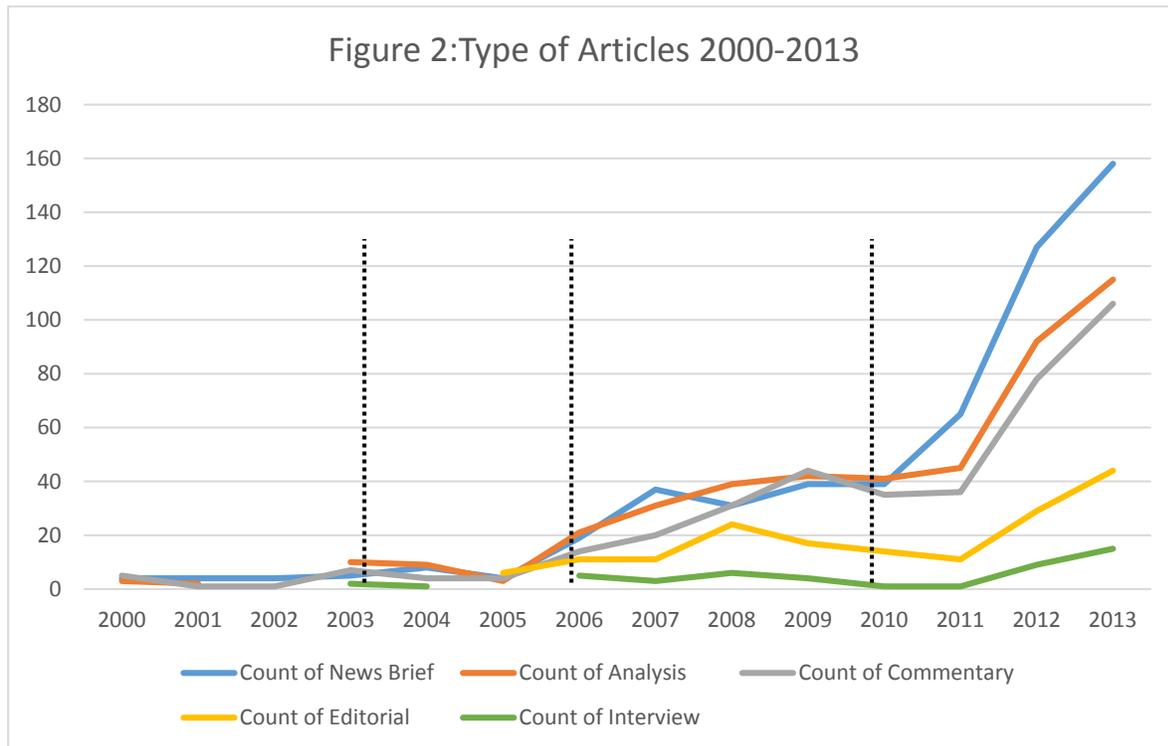
Period Three

Characterized by growth in coverage of articles as well as sources that stagnates towards the end of the period. This period is the first mandate of President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, and is also marked by internal political and social events such as the Campo crisis and the external effects of the 2008 global economic recession. *La Nacion* dominates in coverage during this period, mostly following the development of ACUMAR and the cleanup of the Riachuelo.

Period Four

Coverage almost doubles each year during this period. Strong growth in number of articles, and a range of sources debut such as Fundación Metropolitana and Observatorio Urbano-Local. This large amount of growth follows an aggressive political agenda by the government to present and promote government plans to change its territorial interaction and shape policy. Many of the key plans occur during this time period: Plan Estratégico Territorial, Pro.Cre.Ar. (Federal government-led), Ley de Acceso Justo al Habitat (Province of Buenos Aires-led), and several local initiatives which start to gain increasing amounts of press coverage in the metropolitan region of Buenos Aires.

TYPES OF ARTICLES



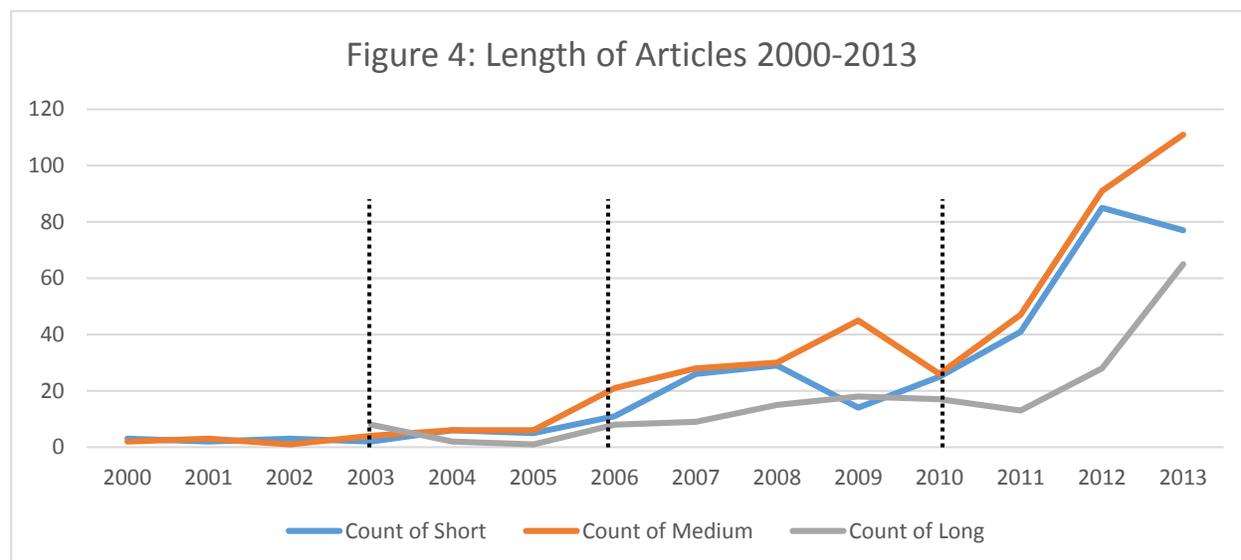
To distinguish the different types of articles published, it was necessary to define them.

- **News briefs:** news stories and factual reports, usually are short
- **Analysis:** pieces of in-depth nature that pick apart an issue with data analysis, interviews, research, etc.
- **Commentary:** a blend of analysis and editorial, it can add opinion to analysis. Could also be a column or musing.

- **Editorial:** a decisive position taken on an issue or issues.
- **Interview:** a conversation with a person or persons.

The types of articles across the covered timeframe do not always fill only one type: many articles offer commentary, news and analysis. In general, though, the types of articles that dominate are short mentions, usually news articles. The trend that emerges from breaking down the article types by source is a reproducible pattern that newspapers (*La Nacion*, *Pagina 12*, *Clarín* and *Perfil*) all have a dominance of news articles, followed by analysis, commentary, then editorial and finally interviews. In comparison, *Café de las Ciudades* focuses on analysis and commentary, mainly because of its stated role as a source of musings and analysis. *Fundación Metropolitana* has a more balanced amount of types, but news pieces still are most important. The healthy growth of analytical and commentary articles correlates to the growth and diversity as the time periods advance. This is replicated in almost all of the different government level breakdowns, meaning that there is consistent coverage amongst each level in the types of stories, as we will see when analyzing the different government levels.

LENGTH OF ARTICLES



The length of articles helps give some clue to the importance, frequency, and depth of the planning legislation studied: articles are often filling valuable print or electronic “real-estate” for the for-profit publications. This is also true of *Café de las Ciudades*, *Fundación Metropolitana*, and *OUL-BAM* as they, as internet-based, need to draw eyes to attractively placed stories that signify importance.

Articles were evaluated in three groups: short, medium, and long.

- Short articles: considered less than a page, or a few paragraphs
- Medium articles: one to two pages in length
- Long articles: several pages in length

A general growth in the length of articles is present through the timeframe, which follows a growth in the number of articles written. Interestingly, when the number of short articles decrease, there is an increase in articles that seem to be medium sized, or more than a page but not long (which can be multiple pages). Between 2009-2010, there is a stagnation in the number of articles published, but while the number of articles remains more or less consistent, there are longer articles (more medium sized versus short articles) published, increasing the word count. While the medium and short articles almost mirrors each other throughout the timeframe, longer articles seem to grow during points in the timeframe when important legislation occurs: during the consideration of the PUA, there is small growth, but it is only in the last period that the amount of long articles starts to grow significantly.

ANALYZING BY GOVERNMENT LEVEL

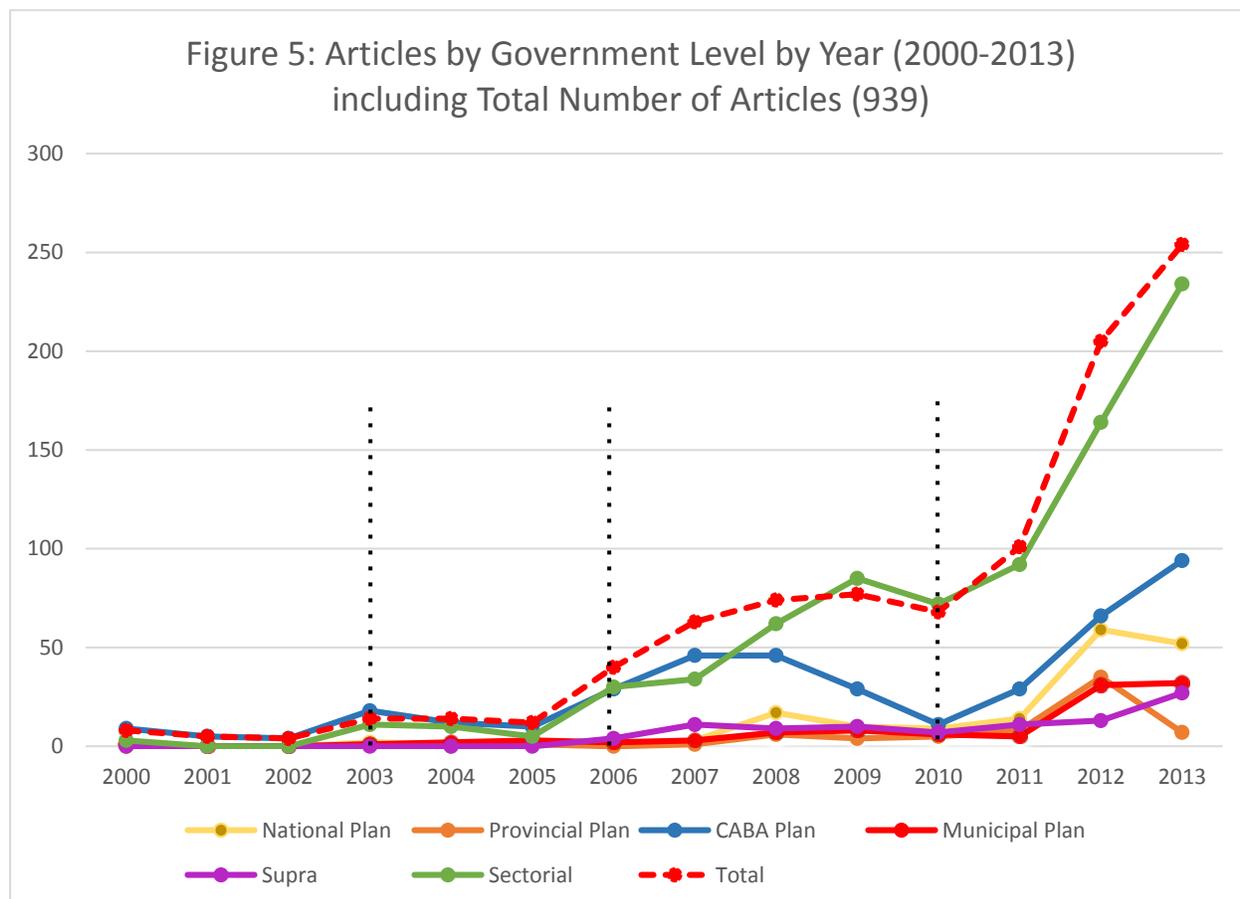


Figure 5 analyzes the total number of plans per government level versus the total number of articles between 2000-2013. At times, the trend lines go above the total article trend line: this is because each article could hold information about multiple plans. The levels considered were national (relating to the federal government), provincial (relating to the Province of Buenos Aires), Ciudad Autonoma de Buenos Aires/Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, municipal (municipal plans from each of the 40 municipalities), Supra (articles which did not fit into one of those levels or connected to themes beyond a government constraint i.e. regional or outside of Argentina), and sectorial (relating to services, environment, infrastructure, and utilities). Below is a list of the plans included by each government level.

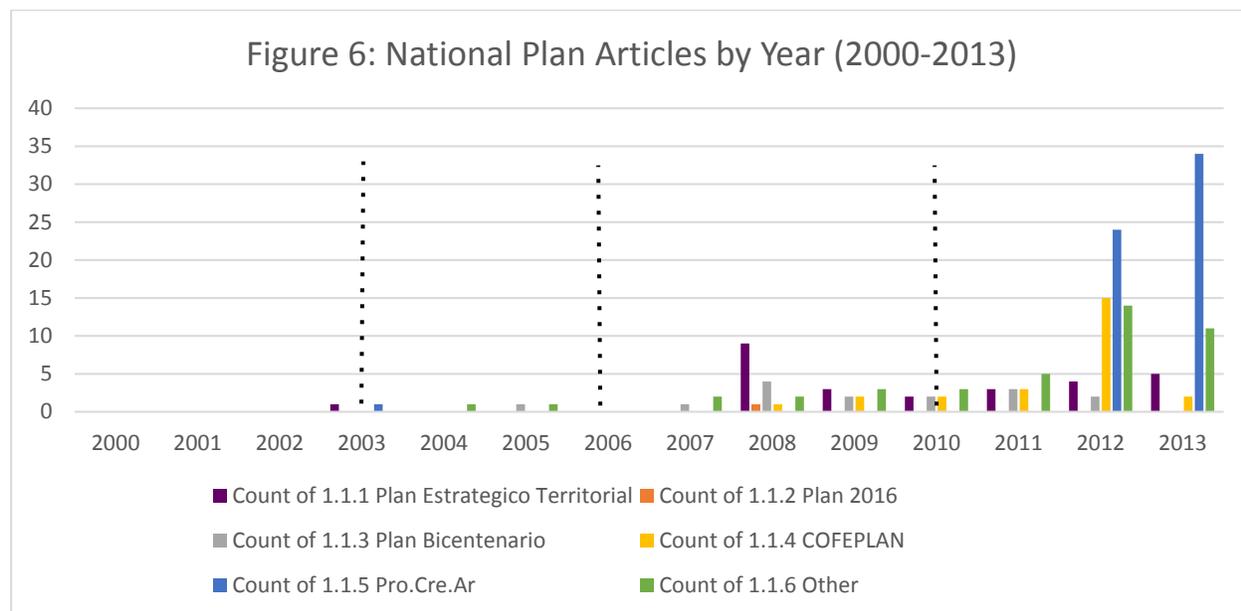
- **National Plans (169 articles)**: Plan Estratégico Territorial (including the Plan 2016, Plan Bicentenario), COFEPLAN, Pro.Cre.Ar and other plans (PROMEBA, while important, was not originally considered as part of the national plans studied).
- **Provincial Plans (68 articles)**: Lineamientos Estratégicos para la RMBA, Ley de Acceso Justo al Habitat, and other plans.
- **Ciudad Autonoma de Buenos Aires (408 articles)**: Particular Plans (including MDU Concurso Nacional de Ideas Parque Lineal Sur, Concurso Ribera del Riachuelo y Cabecera Naturel Tansborda, and Catalina Sur Venta de Terenneos para Torres), Plan Urbano Ambiental/CoPUA, Modelo Territorial 2010-2060, CoPE's Plan Estratégico 2016, and other plans
- **Municipal plans (101 articles)**: Specific plans that are about municipal initiatives
- **SUPRA (92 articles)**: Articles that go beyond a government division in conception and do not fit into one of the other categories exactly.
- **Sectorial (802 articles)**: Involves transport, environment and waste, infrastructure networks (water and sewage, electricity), and networked plans (PISA).

National Governmental Plans

The national government plans covered in this research focused on the Plan Estratégico Territorial (PET). The PET was then broken down into a general category (1.1.1) and three sub-categories: Plan 2016 (1.1.2), Plan Bicentenario (1.1.3), and the COFEPLAN (1.1.4) to distinguish different coverage of the multiple aspects of the plan) and Pro.Cre.Ar (Programa Credito Argentino, 1.1.5). Further plans mentioned as "Other" (1.1.6), 42 articles in total, included pieces about the Plan Federal de Viviendas¹, the

¹ Navarro, "Todas las fichas al plan de viviendas," *Página 12*, 6.1.1.1.6_2010.12.26_28

Polo Audiovisual/Isla de Marchi project²³, and more roundabout national policies for housing⁴, land development⁵⁶ and minor announcements⁷. The Programa Mejoramiento de Barrios (PROMEBA) was not included originally in this study of national plans, and while overlooked, did have a few articles⁸ mentioning its importance⁹.



² Confalonieri y Otero, "Costara unos \$1.000 millones construir el Hollywood K," *Perfil*, 6.4.1.1.6_2012.02.09_577

³ Videla, "Un proyecto para avanzar sobre el rio," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.3.S_2012.08.02_127

⁴ Navarro, "La ciudad tiene que ponerse a trabajar," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.1.6_2011.01.25_37

⁵ Tercco, "Una Mirada arrabalera a Buenos Aires," *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.1.6_2012.06.01_432

⁶ Svampa, "El kirchnerismo ahondo la brecha urbana," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.1.6_2012.09.03_477

⁷ "La secretaria de Obras Publicas nego recortes en infraestructura," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.1.6_2010.12.26_82

⁸ R.M, "Los programas para urbanizar las villas," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.3.8_2011.08.05_113

⁹ Ricot y Martinez A., "El Muro de la Horqueta: Inseguridad urbana y politicas socio-territoriales en la Argentina," *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.4.1_2009.05.01_379

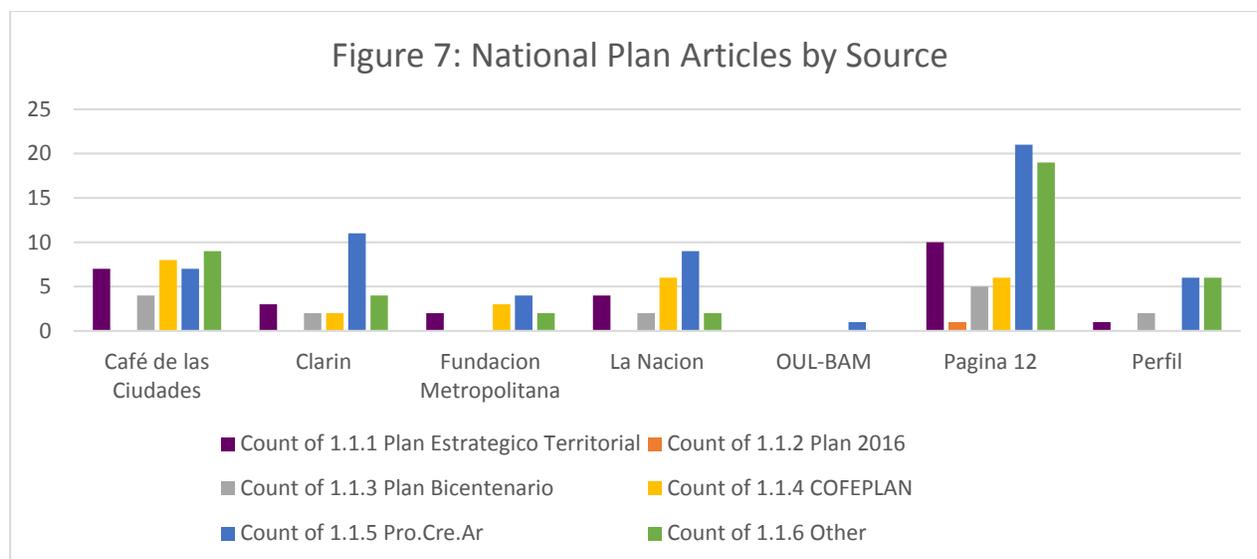


Figure 6 shows the total number of articles per plan per year. Stories which focus on national plans occur entirely in the last half of the timeframe, in Periods 3 and 4. The coverage of the single issue regarding Pro.Cre.Ar is more than any single planning issue regarding the national government (with the exception of the role of ACUMAR) put together. Two other plans have brief significance: COFEPLAN in 2012 (15 articles) and the PET in 2005 (9 articles). Despite an initial impression that the PET would have more importance, and hence needing a breakdown of parts of the plan into separate divisions of classification, the data shows that even the specific aspects (besides COFEPLAN) were not very well covered. The “other” articles made up 14 articles in 2012, with only 11 in 2013.

Figure 7 shows which publications published articles on the different plans. *Página 12* and *Café de las Ciudades* both publish a wider range of articles¹⁰ (including about COFEPLAN¹¹, PET¹², the Playas Ferroviarias¹³ redevelopment projects for *Café de las Ciudades* and housing issues for *Página 12*^{14,15}), followed by *La Nación*. *Clarín* speaks almost entirely of Pro.Cre.Ar when mentioning national plans¹⁶. *Perfil* has a few¹⁷ articles of

¹⁰ Larivera, “Estado ausente o protegónico?” *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.2.1_2009.04.01_376

¹¹ Petrelli, “El nuevo Código Civil y Comercial argentino...,” *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.5.S_2013.05.01_448

¹² Realni, “Derecho Urbanístico e Informalidad,” *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.5.S_2013.11.01_803

¹³ Díaz, “Cronica de un desencuentro,” *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.1.6_2013.08.01_795

¹⁴ Lag, “Yendo de la villa al barrio,” *Página 12*, 6.1.1.4.S_2010.08.01_132

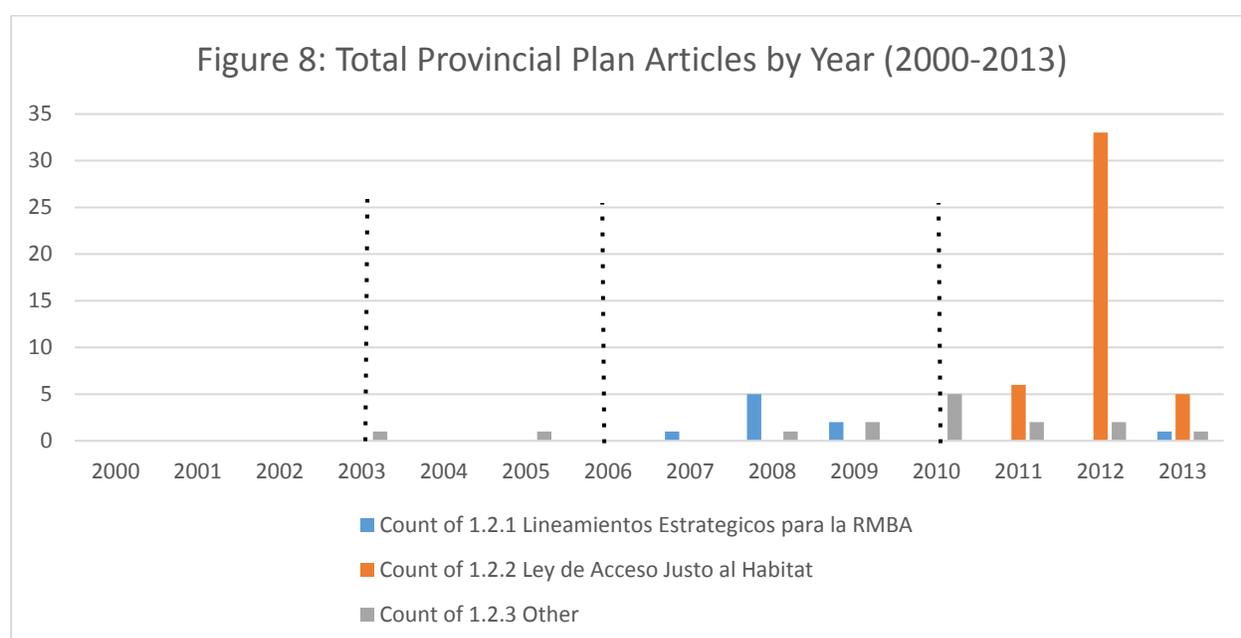
¹⁵ Verbitsky, “Santa Barbaridad,” *Página 12*, 6.1.1.1.5_2012.11.11_70

¹⁶ “Advierten que el plan Procrear es insuficiente y no llega a los más pobres,” *Clarín*, 6.3.1.1.5_2013.06.22_853

¹⁷ Ajzenman y Navarra, “Los terrenos ferroviarios destinados...” *Perfil*, 6.4.1.5.S_2012.11.03_607

high quality, as does Fundación Metropolitana¹⁸¹⁹. OUL-BAM has only one article²⁰. The variety of coverage in *Página 12* and *Café de las Ciudades* not only is of one article type, but of who is writing about these pieces. *Página 12* relies on such analyses and commentaries from Pedro Lipovich²¹, and Eduardo Videla²² and *Café de las Ciudades'* articles rely on a pen-name of publisher Marcelo Corti who gives out sharp-tongued analyses and commentaries²³. In comparison, the minimal coverage from the other traditional print publications are mostly news stories. *Clarín* and *La Nación* both have mostly short²⁴ news briefs²⁵.

Province of Buenos Aires Plans



¹⁸ Robledo, "Pro-Cre-ando Ciudades," Fundación Metropolitana, 6.5.1.1.5_2012.07.13_248

¹⁹ "NOTA: Ley de ordenamiento territorial," Fundación Metropolitana, 6.5.1.1.4_2012.09.02_294

²⁰ Abba, "Informe Institucionalidad Metropolitana Agosto 2013," OUL-BAM, 6.6.1.5.S_2013.08.01_318

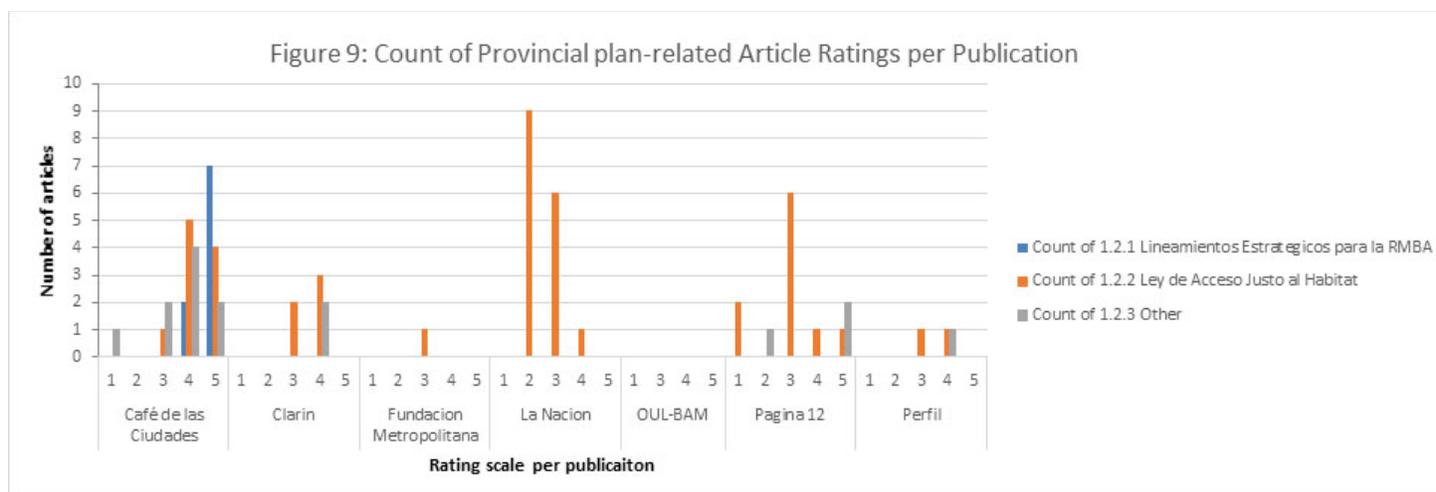
²¹ Lipovitch, "Una lección para generar vivienda popular," *Página 12*, 6.1.1.1.6_2011.04.21_129

²² Videla, "Un proyecto para avanzar sobre el río," *Página 12*, 6.1.1.3.S_2012.08.02_127

²³ Tercco, "Una Mirada arrabalera a Buenos Aires," *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.2.2_2012.12.01_441

²⁴ "Lanzan un plan de Infraestructura para hacer 500 obras antes 2016," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.1.1_2008.03.22_505

²⁵ "De Video respondió que no se evalúa la expropiación de tierras privadas," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.1.4_2012.08.26_159



If national plans were covered unevenly by the selected publications, the specific Province of Buenos Aires' government urban planning initiatives are even more uneven. Based on Figure 8, the vast majority of articles concerned the Ley de Acceso Justo al Habitat (1.2.2; 44 articles), in Period 4.

The seeming dominance of this one piece of legislation should be considered in terms of what type of articles are being written about it. The majority of the articles are written by *La Nación*, *Café de las Ciudades*, and *Página 12*. Between these publications, *La Nación* writes short notes²⁶, many of them news pieces²⁷ of political discussions²⁸ between different sides about the legislation. In comparison, *Café de las Ciudades* writes more than news pieces, and focuses on analysis²⁹, commentary³⁰, and editorials³¹ that disseminate the plan. *Página 12* also fits into the middle of the previous two sources, as it writes many news pieces³² but also analyses³³. *Clarín*, while not having a breadth of coverage on the law, has a handful of good analyses³⁴ and commentaries³⁵ regarding it. Only nine articles considered the Lineamientos Estratégicos para la RMBA (1.2.1, entirely in *Café de las Ciudades*³⁶), while 15 articles considered "Other" (1.2.3)

²⁶ Lucesole, "Avanza el proyecto para quitar tierras a countries," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.2.2_2012.10.19_144

²⁷ Lucesole, "Nuevo cruce entre Scioli y Marlotto por una ley," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.2.2_2012.10.31_202

²⁸ Lucesole, "Ponen reparis a la ley de tierras," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.2.2_2012.10.27_216

²⁹ Corti, "El proyecto de Ley de Promocion del Habitat Popular...", *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.2.2_2011.04.01_416

³⁰ Abba, "Una sociedad exluyente y una ciudad desbordada.." *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.5.S_2011.05.01_419

³¹ Espana, Sain, Sanchez, "Ley de acceso justo al habitat: Fundamentos del proyecto bonaerense," *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.2.2_2012.10.01_437

³² "Una norma para atacar el deficit de viviendas," *Página 12*, 6.1.1.2.2_2012.11.29_89

³³ Zalata, "Habitat popular," *Página 12*, 6.1.1.2.2_2011.03.20_14

³⁴ Tella, "Buenos Aires, ciudad segregada," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.2.2_2012.12.10_461

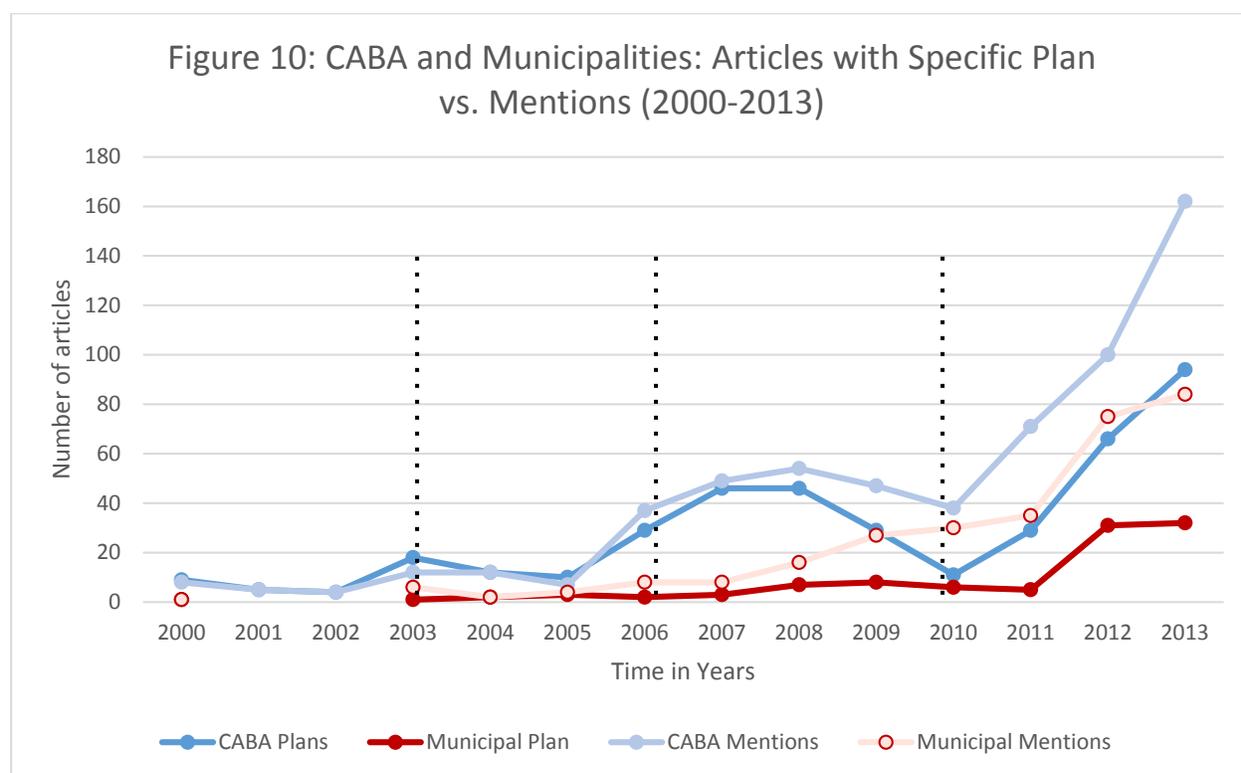
³⁵ Guiraldes, "Quien le tema a la Ley del Habitat?" *Clarín*, 6.3.1.2.2_2012.12.24_452

³⁶ Corti, "Lineamientos Estratégicos para la RMBA," *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.2.1_2007.10.01_352

provincial issues: Ley de Habitat Popular³⁷, the Programa Mas Cerca³⁸, the Ley de Ordenamiento Territorial³⁹ and other smaller mentions of past provincial government plans⁴⁰. The coverage from the remaining publications is marginal: Perfil has three articles, Fundación Metropolitana has one, OUL-BAM none.

Localities in the Metropolitan Region: Ciudad Autonoma de Buenos Aires and Municipalities

The next subdivision from Provincial plans is the level of municipality. In this study, we consider the Ciudad Autonoma de Buenos Aires separate from the surrounding municipalities, not only because of the wide variety of articles, but because of its importance as the urban core, political, economic, cultural, and transport center of Argentina. The differences between CABA and the region's other municipalities are quite apparent: the coverage of the nation's capital is much greater than that of the surrounding region.



³⁷ Buquiere, "Entregar lotes y no casas ayuda a combatir mayor el deficit de vivienda," *Perfil*, 6.4.1.2.3_2011.09.18_591

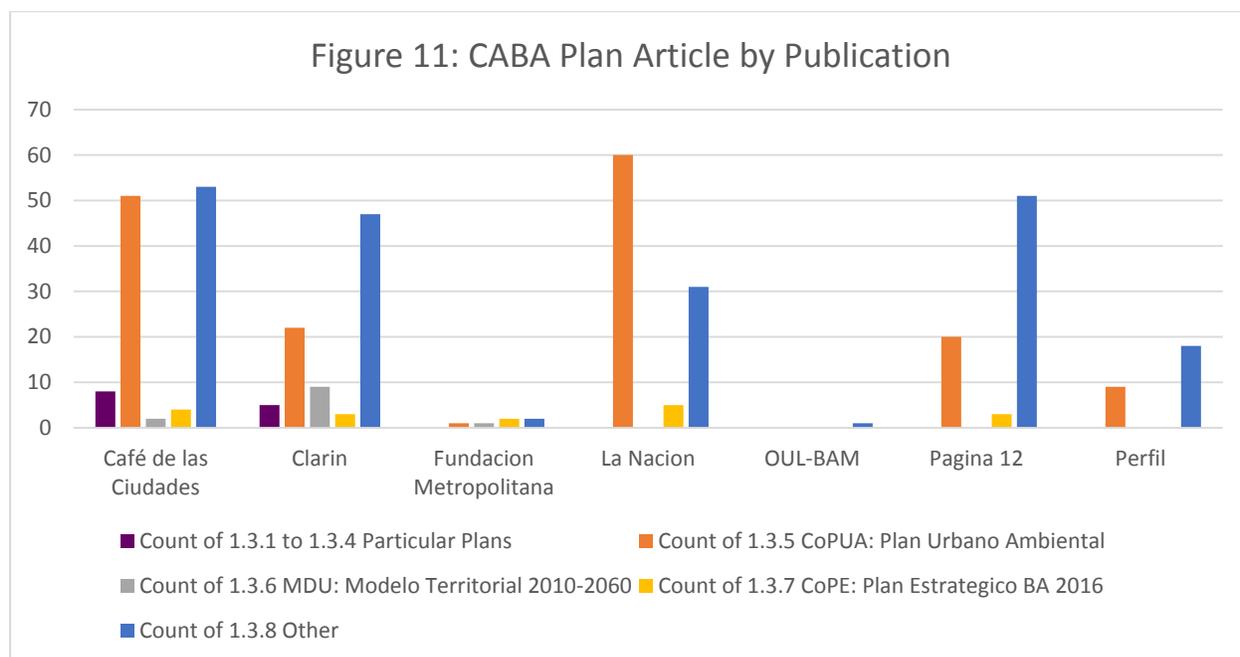
³⁸ Lewkowicz, "La construccion como objective," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.1.5_2012.12.05_16

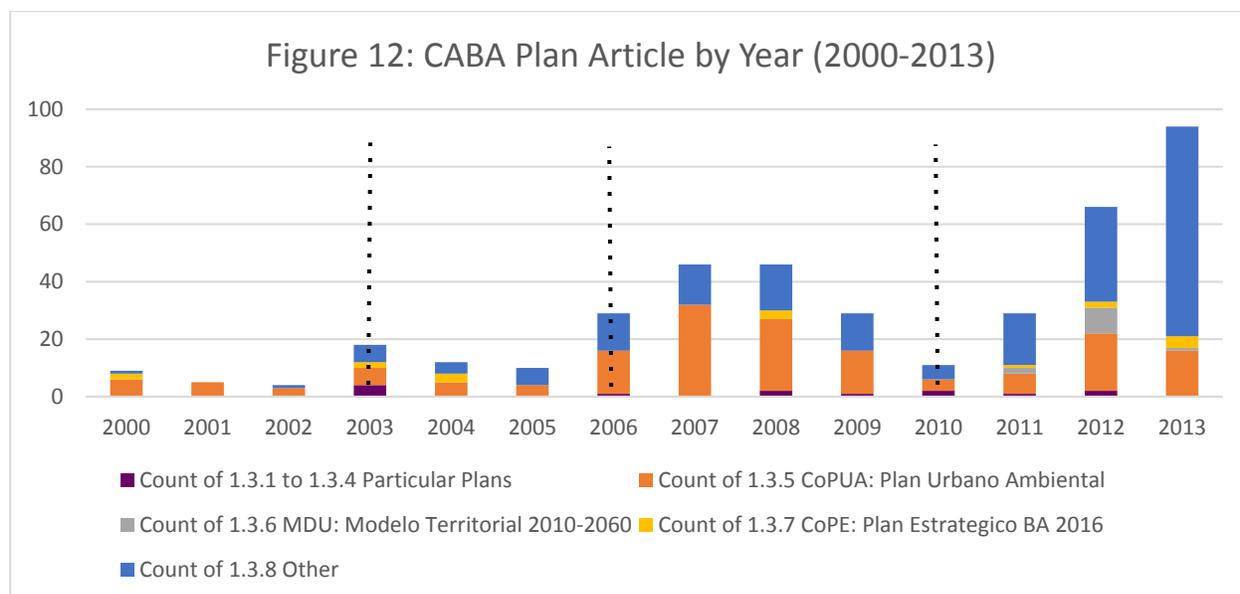
³⁹ Cabot, "Un marco que compromete la propiedad privada," *La Nacion*, 6.2.1.1.4_2012.08.26_237

⁴⁰ Corti, "Saldran las nuevas leyes? Sordos ruidos oir se dejan," *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.5.S_2011.12.01_424

In Figure 10, the total number of CABA plan and municipal plan-specific articles is contrasted to the mentions of such locations. In the first period, there are only a handful of articles per year, almost entirely about CABA. The second period has characterizations of both CABA and municipal plans, as well as a rise in mentions. The large rise in specific CABA mentions is correlated with the discussion surrounding the Plan Urbano Ambiental (from 2006-2008) as well as the Causa Mendoza in 2006 and foundations of ACUMAR. With a drop in specific plans, the coverage of municipal plans is extremely small: it is not only until the last periods that a rise in the quantity of articles takes place. Contrasted against CABA, by 2013 roughly half as many stories are written in comparison to stories written about CABA. Still from 2000-2013, 408 articles mention specific CABA plans (which is the number of times marked per numbered plan: there may be multiple markings for the same article), while there are 606 total CABA mentions in articles, versus the 101 specific municipal plans and 296 municipal plan mentions. While CABA plan-articles are about two-thirds of the number of total CABA mentions, the municipal plan-articles are only about one-third of the total municipal mentions.

Ciudad Autonoma de Buenos Aires





The most focused level of government planning in this study, plans which originate or concern chiefly CABA directly correlate with the periodization trends for the total of articles. From the data above:

1. By and large, the CoPUA (1.3.5) leads in coverage amongst all other plans across all government levels (17 percent of total articles). Besides volume, the distribution of articles is consistent across most publications, including *La Nacion*, *Café de las Ciudades*, but some, like *Clarín*, prefer to cover it in small sentences that are meant to provoke readership⁴¹
2. Many “other” (1.3.8) plans are present, and this accounts for several city plans and initiatives that were not originally considered when categorizing the different plans. This could be for CABA-led projects, such as Metrobus⁴², or for smaller articles that concern projects that we did not consider due to their small size (Parque Central Norte⁴³, Diagonal Sur⁴⁴, Puerto Madero II⁴⁵, etc.).
3. There is a spike in articles about CABA plans in 2003, 2006, 2007-8 due to the discussions related to the PUA. Instead of focusing on specific plans, in the last period “other” plans start to dominate, such as Metrobus. At the same time, longer pieces start to outpace shorter announcements, as the topics vary (as discussed earlier).

⁴¹ Fernandez Castro, “La inexplicable pobreza portena,” *Clarín*, 6.3.1.3.8_2009.01.27_497

⁴² Ortiz y Spirtu, “El Metrobus en la Avenida 9 de Julio,” *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.6.1_2013.09.01_799

⁴³ “Plantea dudas el parquet que planea Macri en Recoleta,” *La Nacion*, 6.2.1.3.8_2009.07.22_210

⁴⁴ Rocha, “Polemica por un plan para prolongar la Diagonal Sur y construir garajes,” *La Nacion*, 6.2.1.3.5_2011.10.19_213

⁴⁵ Alsenon, “El Puerto y un future poco claro,” *La Nacion*, 6.2.1.3.8_2005.10.19_173

4. Coverage of particular plans (labeled as 1.3.1-1.3.4) includes: MDU Concurso Nacional de Ideas Parque Lineal Sur⁴⁶ (1.3.2), Concurso Ribera del Riachuelo y Cabecera Norte del Tansborda⁴⁷ (1.3.3), and Catalina Sur Venta de Terenneos para Torres (1.3.4, no articles). Before starting the study, smaller pieces of legislation such as these were hypothesized to be individual planning issues within CABA that held some coverage. In reality, these articles were barely covered (13 articles in total) and were almost insignificant.
5. Both the MDU: Modelo Territorial 2010-2060 (1.3.6) and the CoPE: Plan Estratégico BA 2016 (1.3.7) had small amounts of coverage, but they were covered in articles for only a small portion of time (for only a year or so after their announcement). Furthermore, the coverage of these sweeping plans for CABA was mostly relegated to Café de las Ciudades^{48,49} and shorter pieces in *La Nacion*⁵⁰ and more moderate coverage in *Clarín*^{51,52,53}.
6. Perfil has a mix of news stories⁵⁴, analyses⁵⁵ and commentaries⁵⁶, 23 articles in total. Fundación Metropolitana has three articles, of which one is an opinion piece that covers the various CABA projects in a critical manner⁵⁷, an interview with Oscar Edmundo Diaz regarding bus rapid transit⁵⁸, and a critical piece of the COPE⁵⁹. OUL-BAM has one article related to CABA⁶⁰.

Municipalities

This level is more complex in some ways compared to the others. Not only does this cover specific municipal plans and initiatives, but the mentions of

⁴⁶ Jurado, "Ideas para un Nuevo corredor verde," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.3.1_2008.08.26_490

⁴⁷ Sanchez, "Deben desocupar terrenos en las orillas del Riachuelo," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.6.2_2010.12.30_468

⁴⁸ Jajamovich, "Apuntes para una critica al Modelo Territorial..." Café de las Ciudades, 6.7.1.3.6_2012.08.01_434

⁴⁹ Corti, "Buenos Aires: Las propuestas de los candidatos," Café de las Ciudades, 6.7.1.3.8_2003.08.01_324

⁵⁰ Castro, "Tardaran 10 anos en reordenar el transito," *La Nacion*, 6.2.1.3.5_2000.10.10_233

⁵¹ Novillo, "Proponen nuevos rellenos en la costa del Rio de la Plata," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.3.8_2012.10.21_538

⁵² Montaner, "Buenos Aires deseada," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.3.6_2011.12.08_458

⁵³ Sanchez, "Buenos Aires ya tiene su model de ciudad para 2010," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.3.7_2004.11.29_466

⁵⁴ Ajzenman y Navarra, "Los terrenos ferroviarios destinados a viviendas cuestan US\$100 millones," Perfil, 6.4.1.5.S_2012.11.03_607

⁵⁵ Massuh y Baldiviezo, "La especulacion inmobiliaria y el futuro," Perfil, 6.4.1.3.5_2012.09.09_604

⁵⁶ "Gobierno quiere hacer viviendas sociales en la cancha de Ferro," Perfil, 6.4.1.1.5_2012.09.24_598

⁵⁷ Cullen de Arauz, "OPINION: Proyecto relleno costero—Costanera Sur—Isla Demarchi," Fundación Metropolitana, 6.5.1.1.6_2012.09.01_298

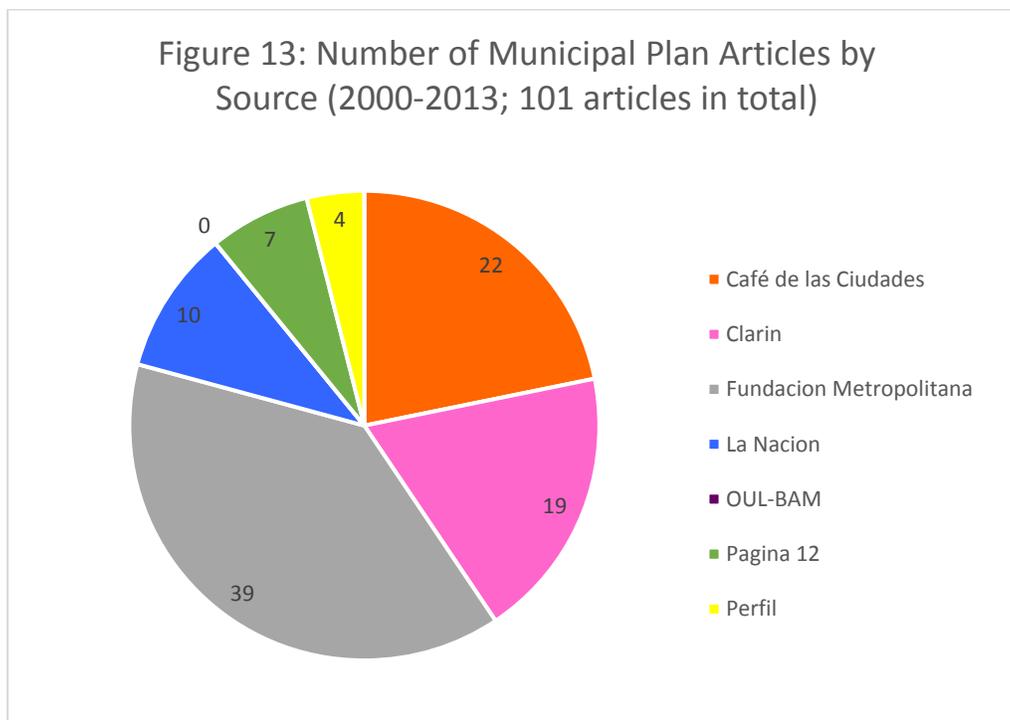
⁵⁸ Del Pierro, "Oscar Edmundo Diaz: 'Es posible y factible pensar en un BRT para el AMBA,'" Fundación Metropolitana, 6.5.1.6.1_2013.11.01_790

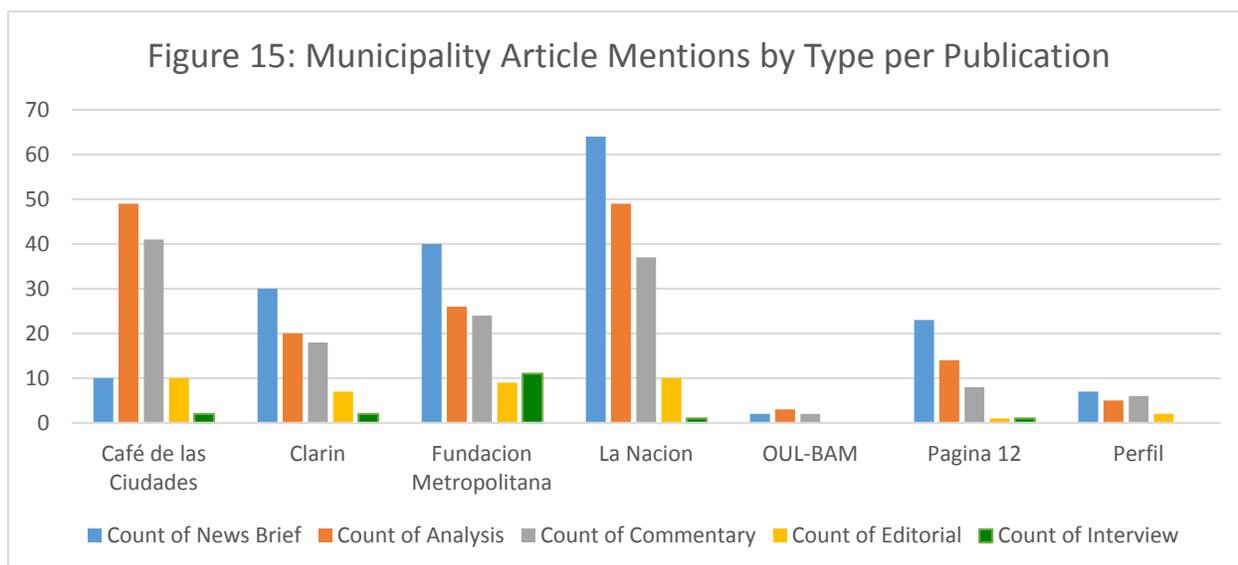
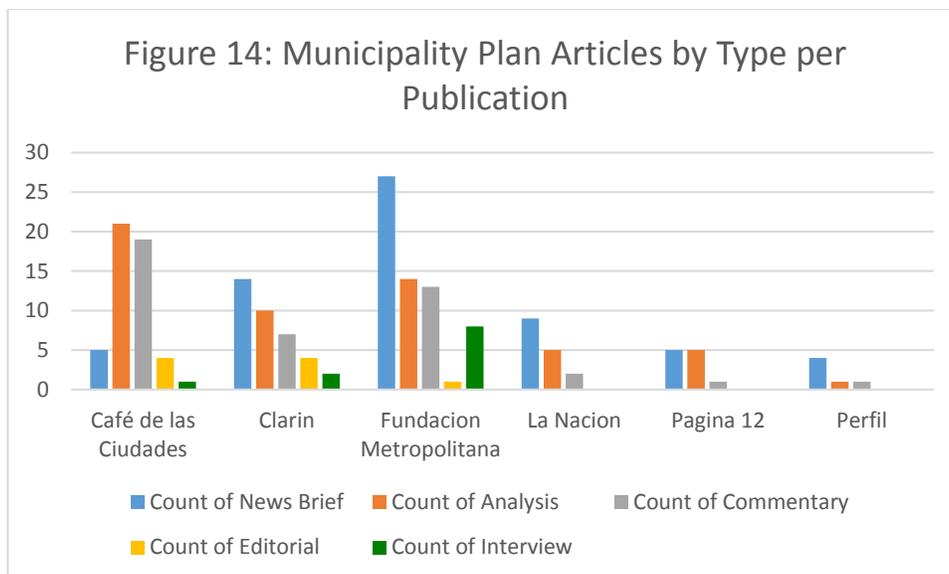
⁵⁹ Del Pierro, "Silvana Giudici: 'El COPE es un organism...,'" Fundación Metropolitana, 6.5.1.3.8_2013.04.03_306

⁶⁰ Abba, "Buenos Aires una ciudad central que se periferiza y fragmenta..." OUL-BAM, 6.6.1.5.S_2011.04.01_314

municipalities that might have overlaps in planning. The histories and distribution of 40 municipalities needs many different frames of analysis and understandings when considering the data.

Specific plan articles are ones in which a specific municipal plan is mentioned and everything the municipality is proposing and taking agency of doing. “Mentioned” articles are about plans or mentions of a municipality, but through other institutional levels and agencies (supra, municipalities) and other municipalities. This is a range from almost being related to the municipality specifically to articles that throws the name of the municipality in without a clear understanding of the relationship. Of the 939 total articles, 299 are about municipalities in some way (about one-third of total articles). 99 articles (about one-tenth of total articles) are specific municipal plan mentions, and 196 (about one-fifth of total) articles are mentions. What is important to note is that the specific plan articles are also mentioned, as they mention the municipality in a scope of coverage. Still, two-thirds of the municipal mention articles (102 articles) do not relate to a specific plan but instead mention the municipal level as a government level of understanding and analysis. Breaking this down, we consider these two separate ways of mentioning municipalities as well as who is covering municipalities and how.





- 1) Specific plan-related articles are led in article count by Fundación Metropolitana, with many of the municipal and “metropolitan” related articles that are actually their own plans⁶¹, competitions, and sectorial issues that go across municipal boundaries⁶². There is a high quality and continuity in covering local issues. Fundación Metropolitana also leads in the amount of interview articles, as they do not follow the article type pattern of the print publications.

⁶¹ “Estamos trabajando con Tigre en la segunda...” Fundación Metropolitana, 6.5.1.4.1_2012.07.13_276

⁶² del Pierro, “Antolin Magallanes: ‘En la Cuenca Matanza-Riachuelo...” Fundación Metropolitana, 6.5.1.6.2_2013.05.06_255

- 2) In terms of diversity, Café de las Ciudades has an array of articles (22 in total), from many different metropolitan areas (a mix of all coronas and corridors), as well as types of articles. They cover diverse aspects such as new central plans for Malvinas Argentinas⁶³, a Parque Social in San Miguel Oeste⁶⁴, Punta Lara's hydrology⁶⁵, for example. Their articles are not only of a diverse group of authors, but the length for all articles is far and beyond any other publication.
- 3) *Clarín*, while having a touted metropolitan section in its print edition, spends most of its ink (19 articles) on certain issues related to more generalized regional plans (citations) that have more in relation to sectorial plans. There are several high-quality municipal plan articles, especially concerning Clorindo Testa's plan for San Fernando⁶⁶, Vicente Lopez⁶⁷, La Plata⁶⁸, etc.
- 4) More municipal-related matters are mentioned in large publications, but actual discussion of specific municipal plans and activities are done by the specialized urban-interest sources of Café de las Ciudades and Fundación Metropolitana (especially with La Plata⁶⁹).
- 5) The spatial distribution of articles throughout the region corresponds to the subjects of the articles. Many of the articles, such as those by FM, were about projects in Zona Norte⁷⁰, or about efforts in real estate (in Quilmes for instance⁷¹), or the environmental cleanup in the Cuenca Matanza-Riachuelo⁷².
- 6) *Perfil* follows the same article coverage as *La Nación* and *Clarín*, with specific plan articles about the Plan de Manejo del Delta de Tigre⁷³, for example (4 articles in total). *Página 12* has slightly more articles (7 in total) and focuses more on poverty in the municipalities (La Matanza and Moron⁷⁴) and intertwining them with other levels (such as talking about Massa and the Ley de Acceso Justo al Habitat⁷⁵). OUL-BAM has no specific plan articles.

⁶³ Iglesias, "El impacto metropolitano de los grandes..." Café de las Ciudades, 6.7.1.5.S_2004.12.01_327

⁶⁴ Tella et al., "El Parque Social como instrumento..." Café de las Ciudades, 6.7.1.4.1_2005.07.01_328

⁶⁵ Jauregui, "Punta Lara: la cuestion ambiental..." Café de las Ciudades, 6.7.1.4.1_2012.06.01_431

⁶⁶ Urfeig, "Disfrutar el rio, un beneficio para todos," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.4.1_2008.04.15_472

⁶⁷ Commisso, "Inauguran un nuevo espacio verde..." *Clarín*, 6.3.1.4.1_2000.02.16_491

⁶⁸ Pesci, "N o gay destino sin proyecto," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.4.1_2013.04.15_520

⁶⁹ "La Plata—Sette: 'El Código de Ordenamiento Urbano debe ser modificado,'" Fundación Metropolitana, 6.5.1.4.1_2013.05.23_285

⁷⁰ del Pierro, "ENTREVISTA—Gustavo Posse: 'Hoy en San Isidro..,'" Fundación Metropolitana, 6.5.1.4.1_2012.09.02_273

⁷¹ "Nuevo Quilmes, otra tragedia?" Fundación Metropolitana, 6.5.1.4.1_2013.04.24_296

⁷² "Avellaneda—avanza el proyecto de crear una planta..." Fundación Metropolitana, 6.5.1.6.3_2012.10.08_259

⁷³ Gueler, "Los reclamos por el Delta, un capitulo..." *Perfil*, 6.4.1.4.1_2013.08.02_903

⁷⁴ Lag, "Yendo de la villa al barrio," *Página 12*, 6.1.1.4.S_2010.08.01_132

⁷⁵ Verbitsky, "Los pibes tristes," *Página 12*, 6.1.1.2.2_2013.10.20_812

Table 1: Specific Plan Articles per Municipality, including Corona and Corridor

Municipality	Corona	Corridor	Articles
<i>Almirante Brown</i>	2	Sur	0
<i>Avellaneda</i>	1	Sur	6
<i>Berazategui</i>	2	Sur	0
<i>Berisso</i>	3	Sur	1
<i>Brandsen</i>	3	Sur	2
<i>Campana</i>	3	Norte	1
<i>Canuelas</i>	3	Suroeste	0
<i>Ensenada</i>	3	Sur	1
<i>Escobar</i>	3	Norte	2
<i>Esteban Echeverria</i>	2	Sur	1
<i>Exaltacion de la Cruz</i>	3	Norte	0
<i>Ezeiza</i>	2	Suroeste	0
<i>Florencio Varela</i>	2	Sur	1
<i>General Las Heras</i>	3	Suroeste	0
<i>General Rodriguez</i>	3	Noroeste	0
<i>Hurlingham</i>	1	Noroeste	0
<i>Ituzaingo</i>	1	Noroeste	0
<i>Jose C. Paz</i>	2	Noroeste	1
<i>La Matanza</i>	1	Suroeste	3
<i>La Plata</i>	3	Sur	15
<i>Lanus</i>	1	Sur	2
<i>Lomas de Zamora</i>	1	Sur	11
<i>Lujan</i>	3	Noroeste	0
<i>Malvinas Argentinas</i>	2	Noroeste	3
<i>Marcos Paz</i>	3	Suroeste	0
<i>Merlo</i>	2	Noroeste	0
<i>Moreno</i>	2	Noroeste	0
<i>Moron</i>	1	Noroeste	4
<i>Pilar</i>	3	Norte	1
<i>Presidente Peron</i>	3	Sur	0
<i>Quilmes</i>	2	Sur	9
<i>San Fernando</i>	1	Norte	6
<i>San Isidro</i>	1	Norte	5
<i>San Martin</i>	1	Noroeste	4
<i>San Miguel</i>	2	Noroeste	2
<i>San Vicente</i>	3	Sur	0
<i>Tigre</i>	2	Norte	14
<i>Tres de Febrero</i>	1	Noroeste	1
<i>Vicente Lopez</i>	1	Norte	7
<i>Zarate</i>	3	Norte	1
<i>Region Norte*</i>		<i>multiple</i>	9

Corona	Articles
1	49
2	17
3	24

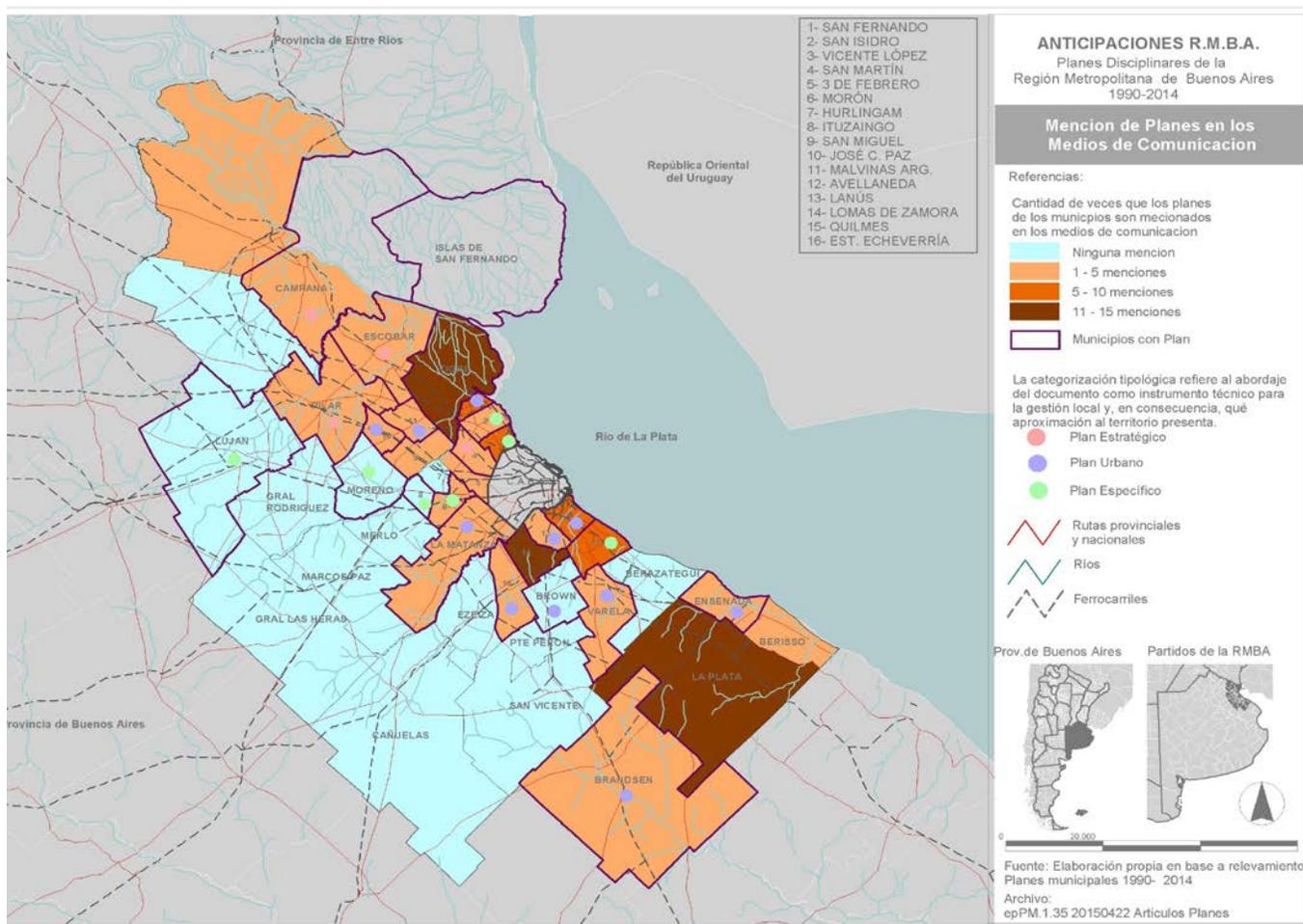
Corridor	Articles
Norte	44
Noroeste	15
Suroeste	5
Sur	49

Tables 2 and 3: Total Amount of Specific Municipal Plan Articles by Corona and Corridor

In the above tables, the number of specific municipal plans is broken down into specific municipality, corona (the ring away from the CABA urban core, from one (closest) to three (furthest away)), and corridor (directional sector

from the CABA urban core: North, Northwest, Southwest, and South). The data in Table 1 only mentions some of the municipalities in each corona and corridor, thus while all coronas and corridors are represented, some (such as Southwest) are very underrepresented compared to others (the first corona and the Southern corridor). Furthermore, 15 of the 40 municipalities have no specific plan articles, the majority in the second and third coronas.

Map 1:



The municipalities with the most articles were La Plata (15), Tigre (14) and Lomas de Zamora (11). For La Plata, most of these articles were regarding flood control initiatives⁷⁶, pedestrianizing streets⁷⁷, the port⁷⁸, and land use⁷⁹. Tigre's articles focused on Sergio Massa's plans for the Tigre Delta⁸⁰ as well as articles criticizing the housing developments ("countrys") in the

⁷⁶ Lopez, "Incertidumbre y planificación," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.4.1_2013.04.29_492

⁷⁷ Saravi, "Una trama peatonal para La Plata..." *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.4.1_2011.07.01_420

⁷⁸ Del Pierro, "Marlo Secco: 'No somos mas..." *Fundación Metropolitana*, 6.5.1.6.3_2013.12.01_789

⁷⁹ Pesci, "No hay destino sin proyecto," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.4.1_2013.04.15_520

⁸⁰ "Sergio Massa present el Plan de Manejo del Delta..." *Fundación Metropolitana*, 6.5.1.4.1_2013.03.26_305

municipality⁸¹. Lomas de Zamora's articles focused almost entirely on plans that involved the municipality and ACUMAR, such as moving the La Salada market⁸². There were no articles about any municipal urban plan for Lomas, because there isn't one. The centralization of media coverage in the first corona and the north and south corridors is very apparent:

1. For the southern corridor, the concentration of articles relating to local planning initiatives instigated by the Causa Mendoza and continued attention of ACUMAR's work⁸³
2. La Plata, the capital of Buenos Aires Province, while a metropolitan area in its own right, is included and accounts for much of the southern corridor's coverage. This includes topics such as industrial development⁸⁴ and trash⁸⁵.
3. The northwest and southwest corridors both were very underrepresented in number of specific plan articles.

The differences between the specific plan articles and the mention-only articles are few, but worthy to note. The mention articles represent about two-thirds of the total municipal-related articles, but the geographic focus is more varied. For example:

1. Of the 196 municipal mention articles, 102 articles have no specific mention of which municipality they are speaking about, just that the municipality is mentioned. Specifically, 78 counts of exact municipalities are mentioned.
2. The heaviest focus is on the Southern corridor. Lomas de Zamora and Avellaneda both have the largest amount of articles, 17 and 13 respectively.
3. ACUMAR and CMR-related articles make up 106 of the 196 articles, meaning that the articles are primarily focused on covering this issue.
4. The first corona is highly represented, with 51 articles, while the second and third coronas number 13 and 14 articles respectively. While the southern corridor has the majority of the articles, the north and northwest are barely represented.
5. Other municipalities which do not have many specific plan articles have many more mentions, including La Matanza, several Northwestern-corridor municipalities, and third corona municipalities. These still are outweighed by the geographical distribution towards one area in particular, the southern corridor and first corona

⁸¹ "Tigre: detecan 60.000 m2 de obras sin declarar en barrios cerrados," Fundacion Metropolitana,

⁸² Iocco, Mugre acumulada y una obra que quedo a mitad de camino..." *Clarín*, 6.3.1.4.1_2012.01.09_518

⁸³ Melicci, "Vivir sin agua potable," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.6.2_2009.03.21_770

⁸⁴ "La Plata—Mas empresas se suman al Parque Industrial local," Fundacion Metropolitana, 6.5.1.4.1_2013.01.23_284

⁸⁵ Ya se reciclan 90 toneladas diarias de residuos," Fundacion Metropolitana, 6.5.1.6.2_2013.02.06_310

Table 4: Municipal Plan Mention Articles by Municipality, including Corona and Corridor

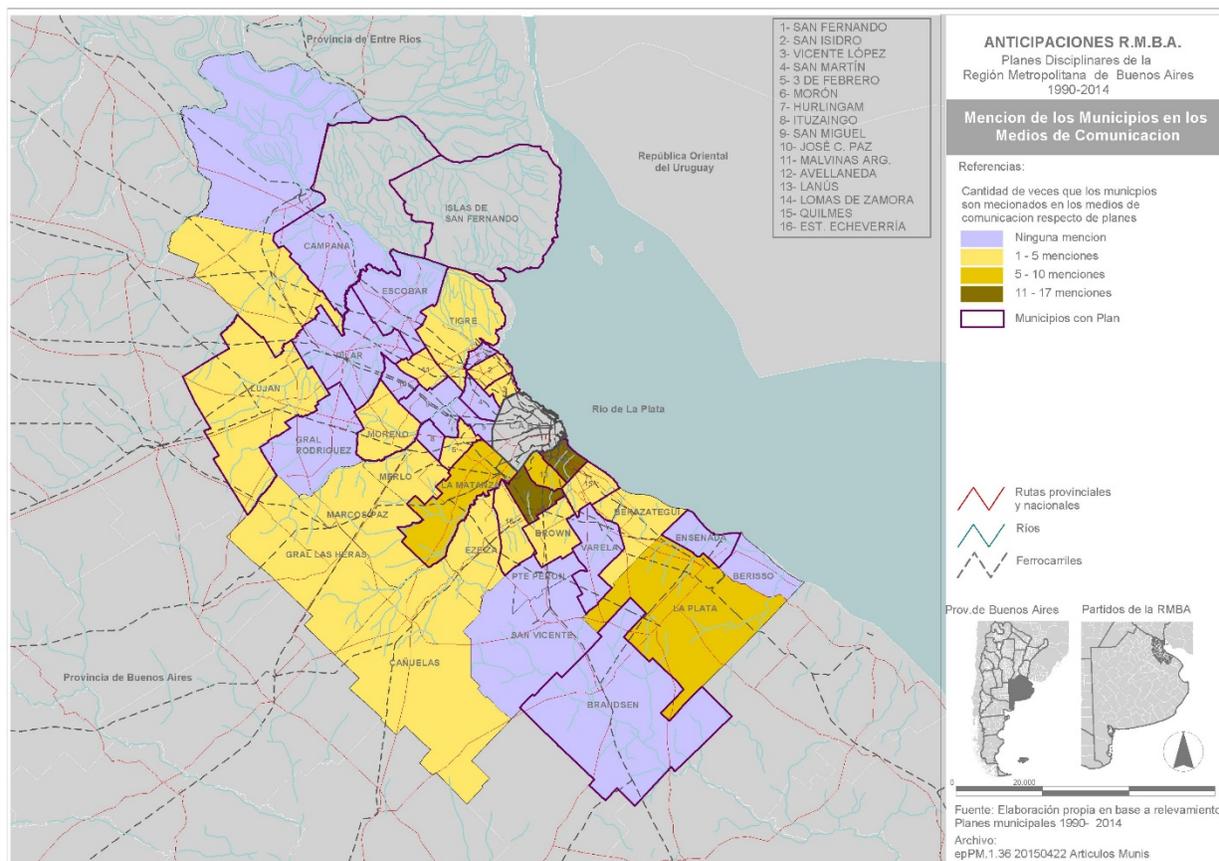
Municipality	Corona	Corridor	Articles
<i>Almirante Brown</i>	2	Sur	1
<i>Avellaneda</i>	1	Sur	13
<i>Berazategui</i>	2	Sur	1
<i>Berisso</i>	3	Sur	0
<i>Brandsen</i>	3	Sur	0
<i>Campana</i>	3	Norte	0
<i>Canuelas</i>	3	Suroeste	1
<i>Ensenada</i>	3	Sur	0
<i>Escobar</i>	3	Norte	0
<i>Esteban Echeverria</i>	2	Sur	1
<i>Exaltacion de la Cruz</i>	3	Norte	1
<i>Ezeiza</i>	2	Suroeste	1
<i>Florencio Varela</i>	2	Sur	0
<i>General Las Heras</i>	3	Suroeste	2
<i>General Rodriguez</i>	3	Noroeste	0
<i>Hurlingham</i>	1	Noroeste	0
<i>Ituzaingo</i>	1	Noroeste	0
<i>Jose C. Paz</i>	2	Noroeste	0
<i>La Matanza</i>	1	Suroeste	8
<i>La Plata</i>	3	Sur	8
<i>Lanus</i>	1	Sur	8
<i>Lomas de Zamora</i>	1	Sur	17
<i>Lujan</i>	3	Noroeste	1
<i>Malvinas Argentinas</i>	2	Noroeste	1
<i>Marcos Paz</i>	3	Suroeste	1
<i>Merlo</i>	2	Noroeste	1
<i>Moreno</i>	2	Noroeste	2
<i>Moron</i>	1	Noroeste	1
<i>Pilar</i>	3	Norte	0
<i>Presidente Peron</i>	3	Sur	0
<i>Quilmes</i>	2	Sur	1
<i>San Fernando</i>	1	Norte	0
<i>San Isidro</i>	1	Norte	3
<i>San Martin</i>	1	Noroeste	0
<i>San Miguel</i>	2	Noroeste	0
<i>San Vicente</i>	3	Sur	0
<i>Tigre</i>	2	Norte	4
<i>Tres de Febrero</i>	1	Noroeste	0
<i>Vicente Lopez</i>	1	Norte	1
<i>Zarate</i>	3	Norte	0

Table 5: Total Amount of Municipal Plan Mentions by Corona

Corona	Articles
1	51
2	13
3	14

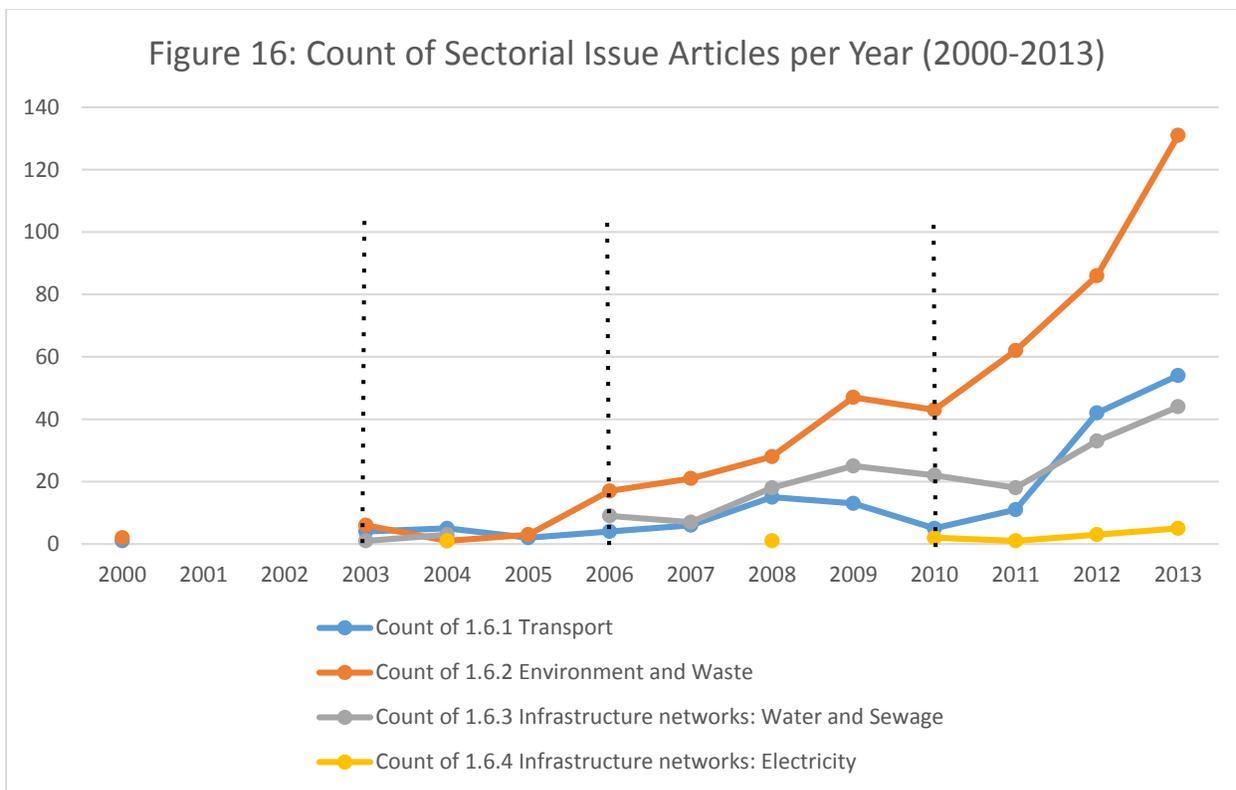
Table 6: Total Amount of Municipal Plan Mentions by Corridor

Corridor	Articles
Norte	9
Noroeste	6
Suroeste	12
Sur	37

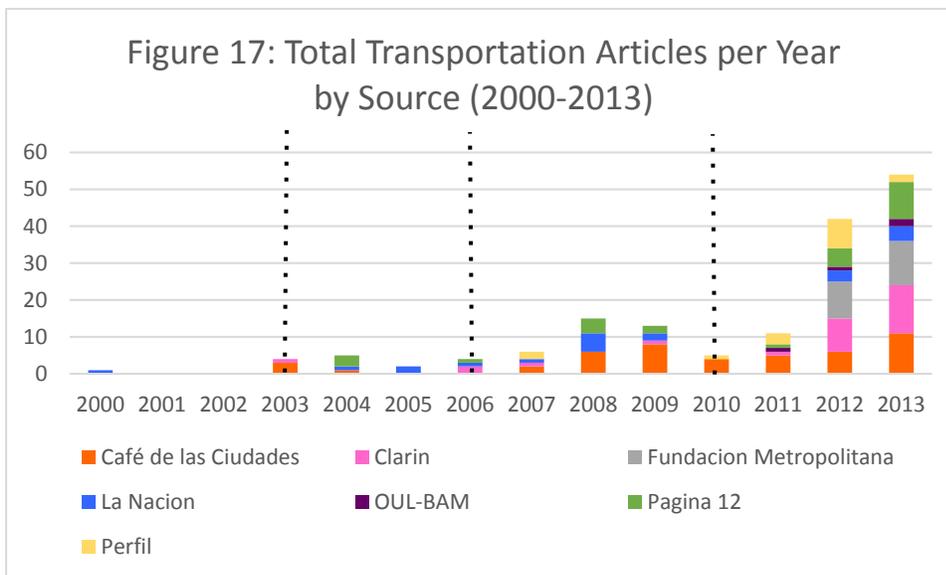


SECTORIAL ISSUES

For planning issues that are considered to be “sectorial” and can span across boundaries and hierarchies, we considered government plans of transport, environment and waste, sewage and water, and electricity. Through the first period, sectorial issues are not significantly mentioned. This changes in the second period that these issues start to gain coverage. Towards the latter periods, the sectorial issues become an enormous focus of articles and dominate discussion in regards to government urban planning. One of the key focuses in this period is the evolution of the Causa Mendoza and its effects: the creation of ACUMAR and a large amount of articles written about the Riachuelo cleanup. Almost half of the total articles are in relation to the environment and waste.



Transportation



Plans regarding transportation became much more prominent in the last period of study. Much of the earlier periods covered transportation in regards to the Autopista Ribereña⁸⁶, trains, and the condition of infrastructure. In

⁸⁶ Videla, "Ciudad de autopistas subterráneas," *Página 12*, 6.1.1.3.S_2006.06.16_94

the later periods, articles such as new transport infrastructure⁸⁷, the transport crisis following the Once train disaster⁸⁸, the efforts of Mauricio Macri's government to start a bus rapid transit system (Metrobus) in CABA⁸⁹ and the cooperative efforts to create solutions to territorial transport issues⁹⁰. Across publications, *Clarín* and *Página 12* mostly cover Metrobus-related articles, from two different opinions. *Clarín* (28 articles) portrays an image of modernity and of urban necessity⁹¹, while *Página 12* (26 articles) has many long-penned commentaries about the destruction of trees along Avenida 9 de Julio⁹² and editorials about the short-sighted efforts of the city's political administration⁹³. *Café de las Ciudades* (46 articles) is the most consistent in presenting transportation related issues, and throughout their coverage they take a more analytical approach, relying on planners⁹⁴ and academics⁹⁵. The wide array of articles allows historical pieces⁹⁶ that imagine a future transport network as well as well as high-quality⁹⁷, long investigative⁹⁸ pieces. *La Nación* (20 articles) focuses primarily on CABA with their articles, such as the autopistas⁹⁹, Macri's political projects¹⁰⁰, and Metrobus¹⁰¹. *Perfil* (16 articles) has some pieces regarding metrobus¹⁰² as well as the playas ferroviarios,¹⁰³ often with an acerbic quality of political analysis¹⁰⁴.

Fundación Metropolitana's articles (22 in total) are unique in that they lead a discussion¹⁰⁵ and contests regarding insititutionality and regionality in

⁸⁷ Borthagaray, "El Parque Central y los tuneles..." *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.3.8_2009.08.01_384

⁸⁸ Guinazu, "El Gobierno ha aniquilado los organismos de control," *Perfil*, 6.4.1.5.S_2012.10.07_572

⁸⁹ Navarra, "Proyectan una 'invasion' de metrobuses en 15 avenidas," *Perfil*, 6.4.1.3.8_2013.02.23_614

⁹⁰ Videla, "Premio al diseño participativo," *Página 12*, 6.1.1.3.8_2013.05.31_121

⁹¹ Kullock, "Algo está mal en el Área Metropolitana," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.6.1_2012.03.12_455

⁹² Videla, "El metrobus arrasa con los espacios verdes," *Página 12*, 6.1.1.3.8_2013.02.09_59

⁹³ Rodríguez, "Prioridades del macrismo, en numerosos," *Página 12*, 6.1.1.3.8_2013.02.26_122

⁹⁴ Caporossi y Tereeno, "Civilizar, recuperar y conectar: Hacia un sistema integrado..." *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.6.1_2012.12.01_440

⁹⁵ Oniszczyk et al., "Políticas de hábitat y movilidad en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires..." *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.5.S_2012.03.01_427

⁹⁶ Corti, "20 ideas, 20 años: La prehistoria de una Buenos Aires fragmentada," *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.3.8_2007.08.07_349

⁹⁷ Borthagaray, "Fachada y calles, dos caras de una misma moneda..." *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.6.1_2013.09.01_855

⁹⁸ Anapolsky, "Los flujos de movilidad territorial," *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.6.1_2013.11.01_802

⁹⁹ Rocha, "La autopista ribereña, una incógnita," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.3.7_2008.11.30_185

¹⁰⁰ Rocha, "Como será la ciudad que quiere Macri," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.3.8_2007.12.03_629

¹⁰¹ Caminos, "Un candidato porteño critica el Metrobus y propone la vuelta del tranvía a la ciudad," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.5.S_2013.10.17_936

¹⁰² "El Metrobus, excusa para una nueva disputa entre Nación y Ciudad," *Perfil*, 6.4.1.6.1_2011.04.14_589

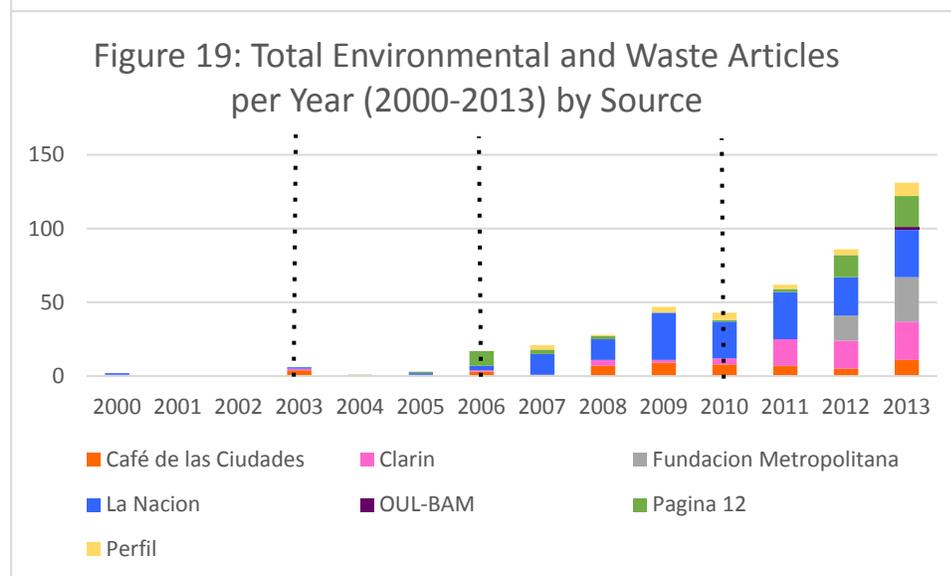
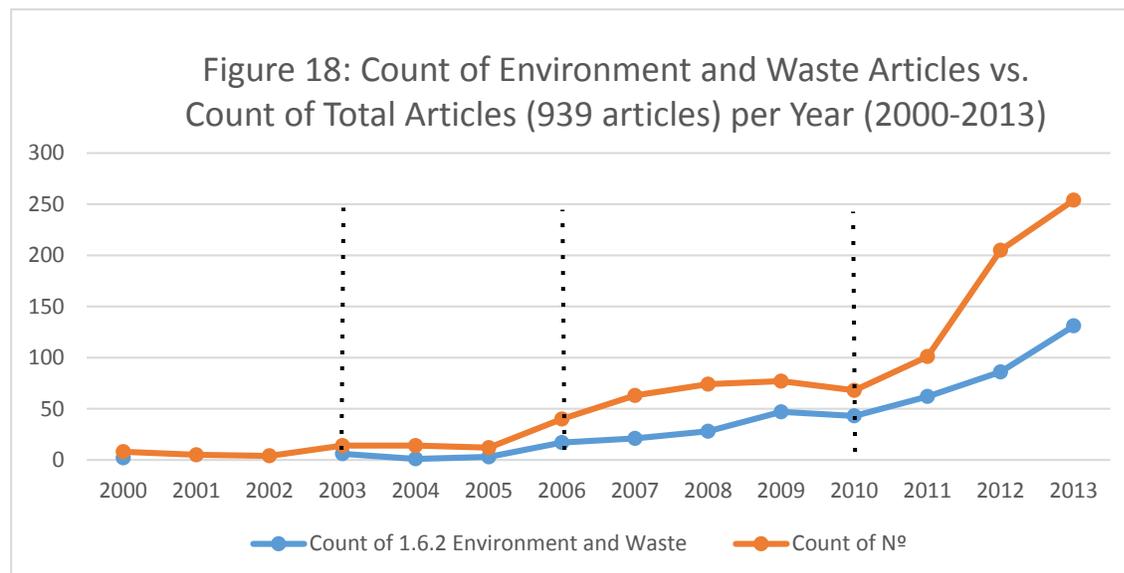
¹⁰³ Ajzenman y Navarra, "Los terrenos ferroviarios destinados a viviendas cuestan US\$100 millones," *Perfil*, 6.4.1.5.S_2012.11.03_607

¹⁰⁴ Navarra, "Paseo Colón y San Martín, dos nuevos 'metrobus electrolaés' para 2015," *Perfil*, 6.4.1.6.1_2013.11.24_905

¹⁰⁵ "En el transporte, la única manera de integrar..." Fundación Metropolitana, 6.5.1.6.1_2013.10.01_779

planning transport infrastructure, with its Concurso de Transporte de Zona Norte amongst the most well-known initiatives¹⁰⁶. This unique approach is mirrored in a smaller way by OUL-BAM (4 articles), which provides an institutional report¹⁰⁷ each month as well as a couple analytical pieces¹⁰⁸.

Environment and Waste (ACUMAR and CEAMSE included)



Not only is this the most covered sectorial category (447 articles), planning issues regarding the environment and waste often made up the majority of

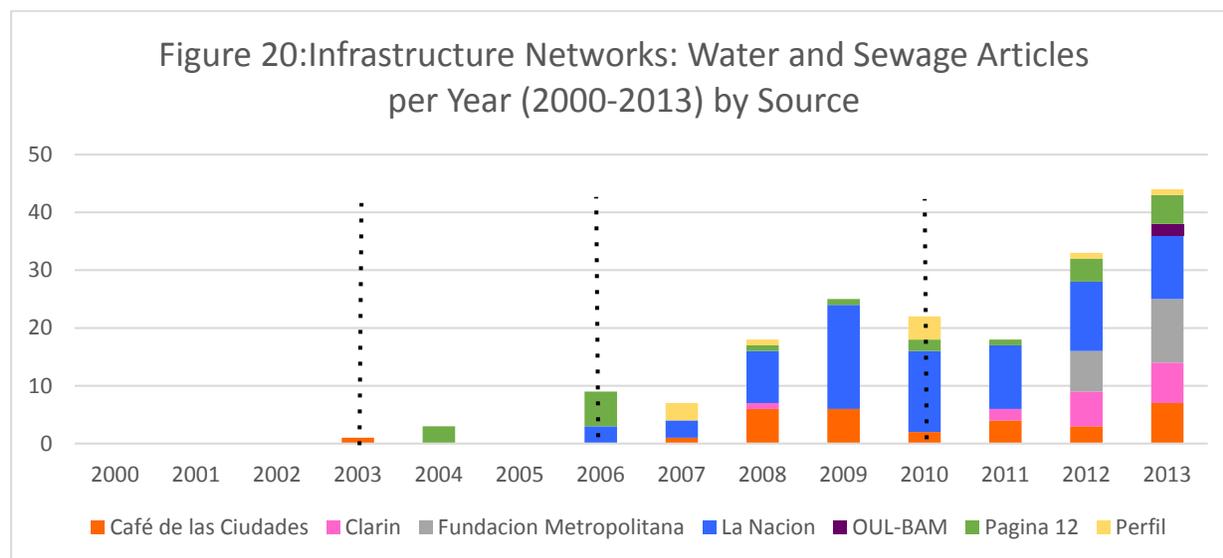
¹⁰⁶ Pozzo, "Un enfoque integral: la clave de los proyectos ganadores del concurso de transporte de la RMN," Fundación Metropolitana, 6.5.1.6.1_2013.01.09_307

¹⁰⁷ Abba, "Informe Institucionalidad Metropolitana Agosto 2013," OUL-BAM, 6.6.1.5.S_2013.08.01_318

¹⁰⁸ Abba, "Uso de Suelo y Transporte en La Buenos Aires Metropolitana," OUL-BAM, 6.6.1.6.1_2011.10.01_315

the coverage for each year studied. This is due to two factors: the landmark Supreme Court decision regarding the Causa Mendoza and its eventual creation of ACUMAR, and the Coordinación Ecologica Area Metropolitana Sociedad del Estado (CEAMSE). These two entities of administration are some of the first regional, coordinated efforts at addressing planning issues that go beyond one distinct municipality: their premise to address regional issues was a structure new to the metropolitan area, as well as the administration and functioning of them. The CEAMSE is a large issue of study for the press¹⁰⁹, but institutional coverage of it is uneven¹¹⁰. While the CEAMSE's creation dates from the 1970's, the organization and coverage of ACUMAR emerged as a favorite for *La Nacion* especially¹¹¹. While this will be explained more in-depth during a later section, *La Nacion's* coverage (181 articles) is unique because they have a single reporter who writes on environmental issues, Laura Rocha. Sensational and analytical coverage during the time frame of flooding¹¹², projects to change the environmental conditions (especially in the southern municipalities¹¹³) and political scandals regarding the mismanagement of the environmental cleanup (such as with Judge Armella^{114,115}).

Water and Sewage (AySA, some ACUMAR articles)



¹⁰⁹ Contrera, "Poco interes en el reciclado," *Página 12*, 6.1.1.4.S_2007.06.21_120

¹¹⁰ "La CEAMSE murio, es un cadaver que echa mas olor que la basura," Fundación Metropolitana, 6.5.1.5.S_2013.01.10_247

¹¹¹ Rocha, "Por falta de presupuesto, cancelan la auditoria de la limpieza del Riachuelo," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.6.2_2013.01.24_621

¹¹² Lopez, "Incertidumbre y planificacion," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.4.1_2013.04.29_492

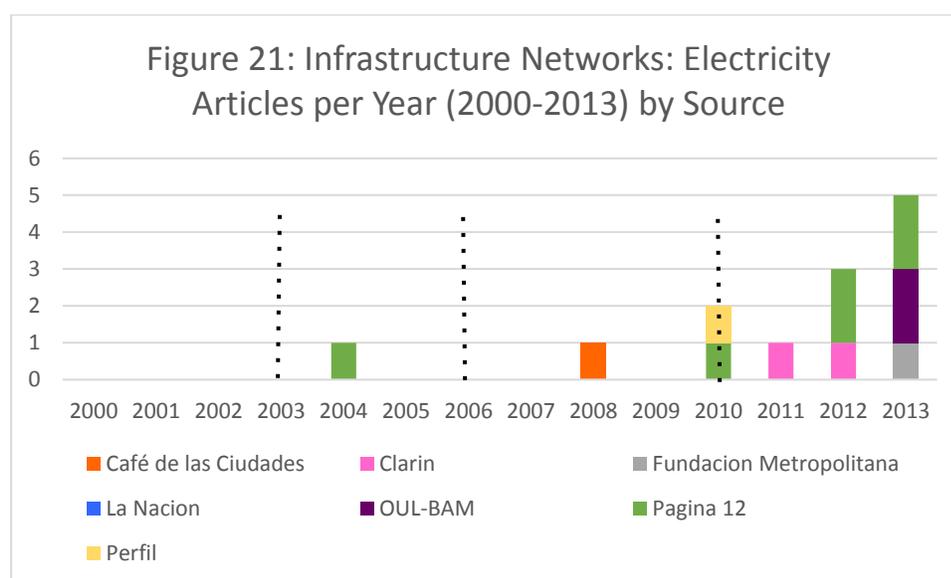
¹¹³ Abba, "100 dias de (no) institucionalidad metropolitana en Buenos Aires..." Café de las Ciudades, 6.7.1.5.S_2008.05.01_360

¹¹⁴ Verbitsky, "Nieblas del Riachuelo," *Página 12*, 6.1.1.6.2_2012.08.26_67

¹¹⁵ "El Riachuelo, sin solucion," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.6.2_2012.10.21_651

Articles in this category sometimes also related to the cleanup of the Riachuelo, but were more linked to AySA and other municipal efforts. Hence, there is some overlap between this category and Environment and Waste. *La Nacion* dominated coverage in the third period of the timeframe (81 articles), writing extensively about water quality¹¹⁶ and AySA¹¹⁷. In the last period there is a great diversification of articles, with Fundación Metropolitana¹¹⁸ and Café de las Ciudades contributing more articles. The diversification is key in that the coverage starts to drift from one set of regional water and sewage issues into more detailed coverage of local water and sewage issues¹¹⁹ while talking about more regional, governmental solutions¹²⁰. The coverage of water and sewage in the first time period is nonexistent, and in the second only starts to occur with the Causa Mendoza in 2006¹²¹.

Electricity



A category with an extremely limited amount of coverage (13 articles), articles about electrical infrastructure networks were covered only by a few sources, mostly critical in nature¹²². Their content was mainly about the privatized ownership of infrastructure¹²³ and government plans to potentially

¹¹⁶ Rocha, "El riesgo de vivir junto a la contaminación," *La Nacion*, 6.2.1.6.2_2010.02.08_653

¹¹⁷ Rocha, "Pirden que se investigue si AySA contamina el Riachuelo," *La Nacion*, 6.2.1.6.2_2009.02.25_711

¹¹⁸ del Pierro, "Mario Secco: 'No somos mas...'" Fundación Metropolitana, 6.5.1.6.3_2013.12.01_789

¹¹⁹ Lopez, "Incertidumbre y planificación," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.4.1_2013.04.29_492

¹²⁰ Gimenez, "Que hay que hacer para atenuar las inundaciones," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.6.2_2013.06.15_884

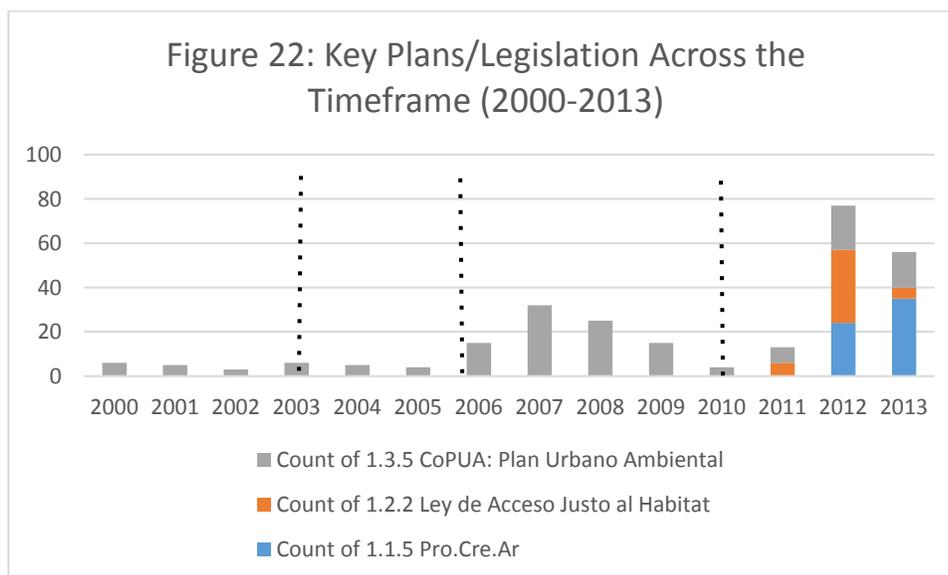
¹²¹ "Presentan el proyecto oficial par sanear el Riachuelo," *La Nacion*, 6.2.1.6.2_2006.08.28_713

¹²² Rossi, "Quita de subsidios admiten que la luz saldra hasta 300% mas cara," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.6.4_2011.12.09_542

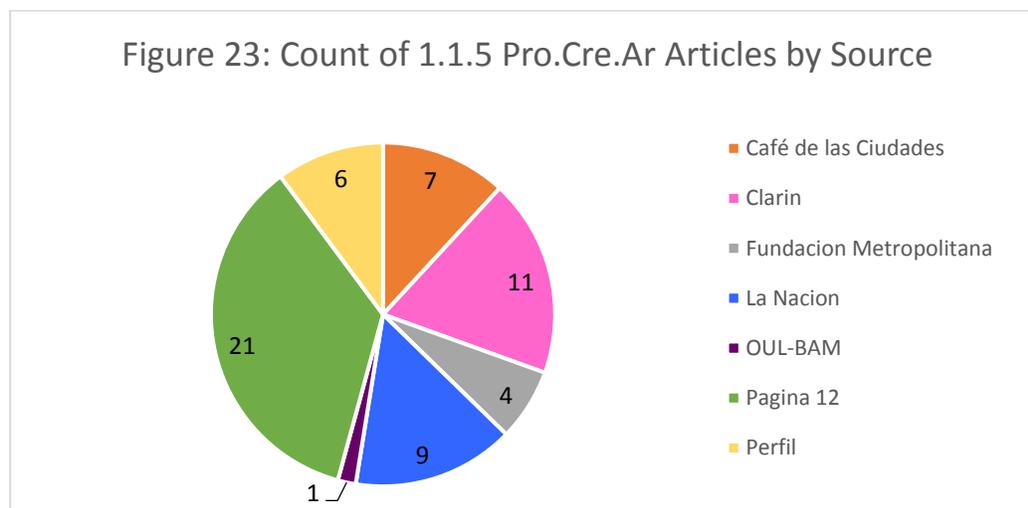
¹²³ "Problemas con la luz," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.6.4_2012.09.03_25

nationalize the networks to improve reliability. With a few exceptions, almost all articles were written within the last time period.

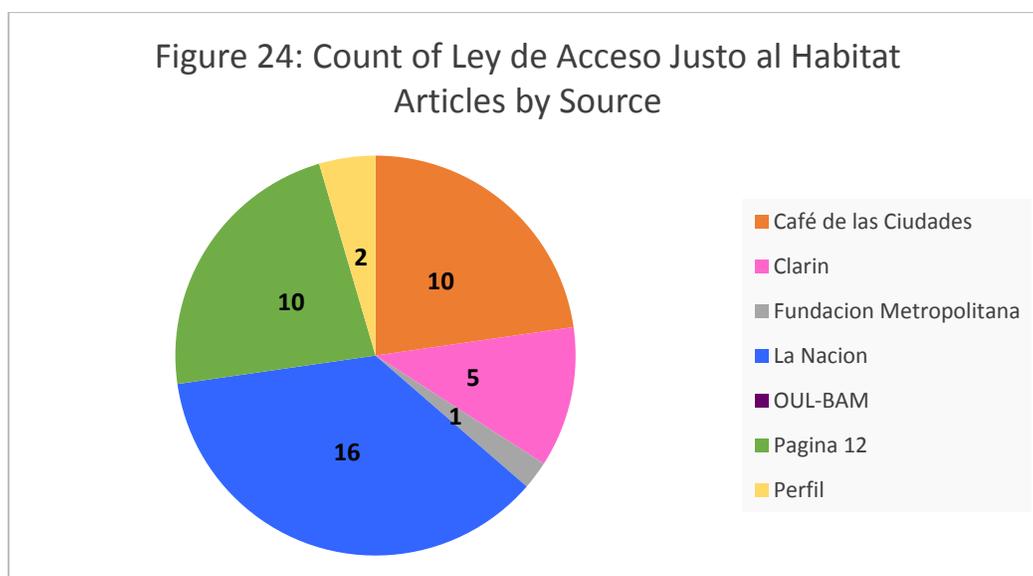
KEY LEGISLATION: PRO.CRE.AR., LEY DE ACCESO JUSTO AL HABITAT, AND THE PUA



To get a better idea of the coverage of government urban planning initiatives across the timeframe of 2000-2013, it is important to recognize the most important pieces of legislation from the different levels, federal/national, provincial, and municipal/CABA. For each of these levels there were pieces of legislation with greater coverage than any other issue: Pro.Cre.Ar. (national), Ley de Acceso Justo al Habitat (Province of Buenos Aires), and the Plan Urbano Ambiental (PUA) of Ciudad Autonoma de Buenos Aires (local).



Pro.Cre.Ar., short for the Programa de Credito Argentino, was announced in 2012. With 59 articles, it was the most covered plan from the national government in the media studied. While it is exclusively in the last time period, the coverage is diverse but with a few trends: 1) *Pagina 12* (21 articles) has almost twice the coverage of *Clarín* (11 articles), the next publication covering Pro.Cre.Ar. The differences in coverage are distinct: *Clarín's* stories that touch on it are either short news briefs¹²⁴ or think pieces that have to do with a linked issue, like the ex-playas ferroviarias¹²⁵ or the state of housing in the country¹²⁶. *Pagina 12* has some news briefs¹²⁷ but many of their pieces are directly about the legislation¹²⁸, including analyses¹²⁹ and commentaries¹³⁰¹³¹. *Pagina 12's* tone is far more welcoming/supportive in the articles it presents in comparison to *Clarín*, whose articles dismiss or are very critical of this plan. *La Nación* (9 articles) has a fair amount of news coverage¹³² and *Café de las Ciudades* (7 articles) has the highest quality articles, consisting of long think pieces written mostly by Corti¹³³, but also with others¹³⁴.



¹²⁴ "Advierten que el plan Procrear es insuficiente y no llega a los mas pobres," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.1.5_2013.06.22_853

¹²⁵ "Caballito: vecinos resisten las viviendas en terrenos del tren," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.3.8_2012.09.27_463

¹²⁶ "Muchos anuncios, pocas obras," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.1.5_2013.06.22_877

¹²⁷ Lewcowicz, "Mas cerca del sueño de la casa propia," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.1.5_2013.07.26_806

¹²⁸ Lewcowicz, "La construcción como objective," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.1.5_2012.12.05_16

¹²⁹ Lewcowicz et al, "Como mejorar el acceso a la vivienda," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.5.S_2013.08.12_805

¹³⁰ Videla, "La construcción del consenso en Capital," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.1.5_2012.11.02_107

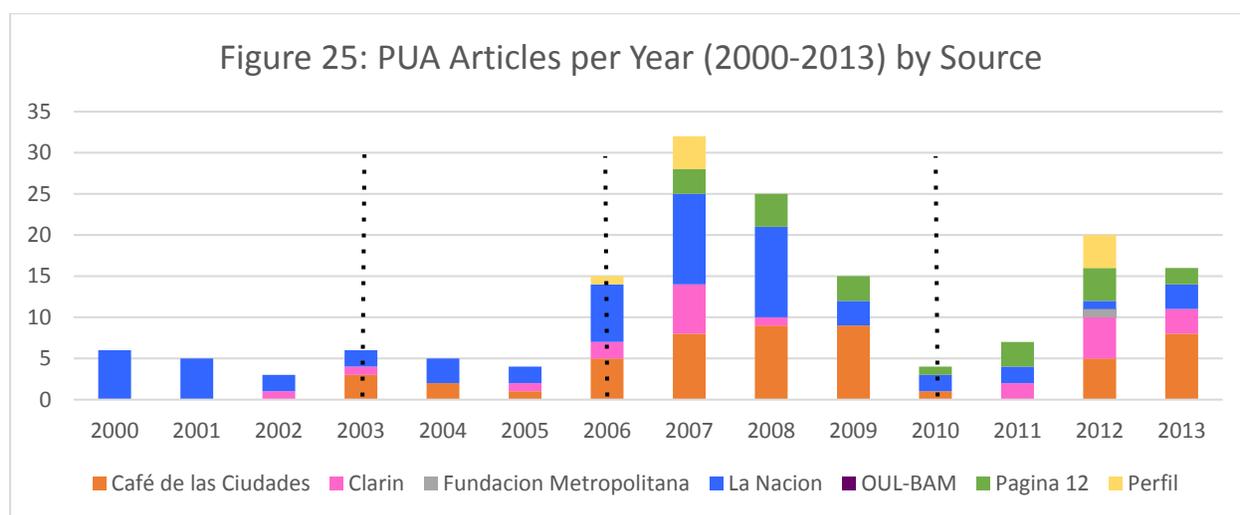
¹³¹ Verbitsky, "Santa Barbaridad," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.1.5_2012.11.11_70

¹³² Obarrio, "El Gobierno sorteara planes de vivienda..." *La Nación*, 6.2.1.1.5_2013.09.26_932

¹³³ Corti, "Esperanzas e interrogantes del Pro.Cre.Ar..." *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.1.5_2012.07.01_433

¹³⁴ Duarte, "El Programa de Credito Argentino del Bicentenario," *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.1.5_2013.11.01_801

The Ley de Acceso Justo al Habitat, a piece of legislation based on federal guidelines, is not only the most prominent piece of legislation in the provincial-level government plans, but more or less the only one of note. The coverage of this law by the publications, while more or less in the same time frame as Pro.Cre.Ar., varies significantly. While there is still strong coverage from Café de las Ciudades and *Página 12*, *La Nacion* has the most articles in coverage. *La Nacion's* coverage (16 articles) is almost entirely news articles¹³⁵, though there are a few commentaries/analyses too¹³⁶. The quality of articles in Café de las Ciudades (10 articles) stands out for their strengths of analysis¹³⁷, and those of *Clarín* (5 articles) are well-done pieces from professionals¹³⁸¹³⁹. Perfil has only two articles of the topic, one of which is an investigation into land use in barrios cerrados¹⁴⁰. Though clearly a metropolitan issue in regards to land development and use, Fundación Metropolitana only has one article related to this law, written by the municipality of Florencio Varela¹⁴¹. OUL-BAM had no relating articles.



The Plan Urbano Ambiental is a perennially discussed piece of legislation for CABA that has a much longer history than any of the other plans considered. The political debate surrounding the plan is consistent throughout the timeframe (there are articles in every year across all periods). Following previous trends, the earlier time frames are more or less exclusive with

¹³⁵ "Polemica: los municipios bonaerenses podran expropiar terrenos baldios," *La Nacion*, 6.2.1.2.2_2012.10.24_214

¹³⁶ Massa, "Los countries, en el centro del debate," *La Nacion*, 6.2.1.2.2_2012.08.25_195

¹³⁷ Corti, "El proyecto de Ley de Promocion del Habitat Popular..." *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.2.2_2011.04.01_416

¹³⁸ Guiraldes, "Quien le teme a la Ley del Habitat?" *Clarín*, 6.3.1.2.2_2012.12.24_452

¹³⁹ Jurado, "Nuevos countries, tierra prometida," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.2.2_2012.11.15_522

¹⁴⁰ Kunik, "Expropiacion, barrios cerrados y uso del suelo," *Perfil*, 6.4.1.5.S_2012.08.31_593

¹⁴¹ "Florencio Varela--Difusion de la ley de acceso justo al habitat en los municipios," *Fundacion Metropolitana*, 6.5.1.2.2_2012.12.06._277

traditional print publications covering the plan, but then diversifies as the timeframe moves on. In 2007 at the height of the discussion surrounding the PUA and its implementation, a diverse range of sources cover the progress, helping frame the PUA in news pieces, analyses, and commentaries. *Café de las Ciudades* (51 articles), around this time, becomes more of a dominant intellectual player compared to *La Nación* (60 articles), who handled more of the coverage in the earlier periods¹⁴². *Café de las Ciudades* focuses on long analyses¹⁴³ and aspects of the PUA not shown in the other publications¹⁴⁴, giving more digital ink to its intricacies¹⁴⁵. *La Nación* and *Clarín* (22 articles) focus on the back and forth political developments¹⁴⁶ of the plan and the planning body behind it during the first few periods¹⁴⁷ with some notable longer pieces¹⁴⁸. As the plan moves on, along with changes¹⁴⁹ in CABA political administration, the news coverage changes¹⁵⁰¹⁵¹ to include more think-pieces¹⁵²¹⁵³.

ACUMAR, PISA, AND THE CUENCA MATANZA-RIACHUELO

The importance of sectorial issues readily became apparent after commencing the research; as mentioned previously, a majority of articles in some years deal with issues regarding environment and waste, as well as water and sanitation. The coverage of the Cuenca Matanza-Riachuelo, from the Causa Mendoza, to various administrators of the cleanup process, to the Plan Integral de Saneamiento Ambiental (PISA).

¹⁴² Palacios, "Discuten hoy el plan urbano ambiental," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.3.5_2000.09.25_164

¹⁴³ Corti, "Normativa urbanística: la articulacion entre planeamiento..." *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.3.5_2007.12.01_353

¹⁴⁴ Tercco, "Una mirada arrabalera de Buenos Aires: Terquedad morfológica," *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.3.5_2009.01.01_374

¹⁴⁵ Szajnberg y Cordara, "Las políticas urbanísticas en su laberinto: El Código de Planeamiento Urbano de Buenos Aires..." *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.3.5_2007.03.01_340

¹⁴⁶ "Aprueban el Plan Urbano Ambiental," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.3.5_2007.12.20_141

¹⁴⁷ Echevarría, "El fiasco del plan urbano ambiental," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.3.5_2002.06.03_474

¹⁴⁸ Palacios, "Una mirada femenina permite replantear el futuro de la ciudad," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.3.5_2001.10.17_242

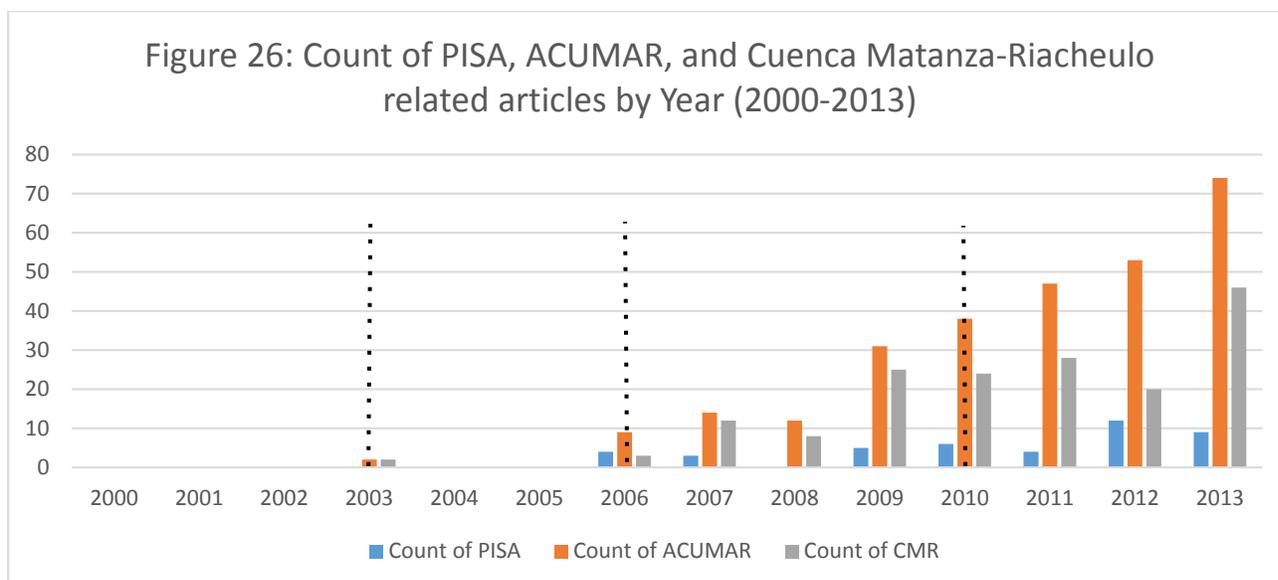
¹⁴⁹ Haimovichi, "La Ciudad del futuro," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.3.5_2003.11.23_495

¹⁵⁰ Borthagaray, "Pensar lo global y lo local," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.3.5_2007.03.06_529

¹⁵¹ Castro, "La "modorra" legislativa," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.3.5_2007.10.09_184

¹⁵² Dodero et al, "Polemica por el Plan Urbano," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.3.5_2006.05.09_533

¹⁵³ Espil, "El desarrollo urbano solo se consigue cuando existe un plan," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.3.5_2008.03.12_167



In this first figure, the articles in relation to the Cuenca, ACUMAR, and PISA (which are often overlapping with more than one of the themes present) are shown per year (there are 324 articles in total). While there is one article¹⁵⁴ in 2003, the only real coverage starts in 2006¹⁵⁵ with the coverage of the Causa Mendoza trial. Coverage in the third period, in the years immediately following the trial¹⁵⁶, stays rather similar. It is only in 2009 and then every remaining year into the fourth period that coverage starts to pick up. The majority of the coverage is about ACUMAR though, and while there are articles about the institutional processes¹⁵⁷, many of the articles focus on controversies¹⁵⁸: industrial pollution control regulation¹⁵⁹, managing the cleanup effort through political scandals (of Judge Armella¹⁶⁰ notably), and constant coverage of the challenges¹⁶¹¹⁶² that ACUMAR and the cleanup process is confronted¹⁶³ with¹⁶⁴. Articles relating specifically to covering the

¹⁵⁴ Corti, "La Cuenca del Riachuelo," *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.6.2_2003.01.01_319

¹⁵⁵ Corti, "Políticas territoriales para la reinclusión social..." *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.4.1_2006.03.01_330

¹⁵⁶ Nielsen, "Otra oportunidad para el Riachuelo," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.6.2_2006.09.27_700

¹⁵⁷ del Pierro, "ENTREVISTA—Andres Napoli: 'Al plan del Riachuelo...,'" *Fundacion Metropolitana*, 6.5.1.6.2_2012.09.07_272

¹⁵⁸ Ventura, "Riachuelo: sospechan del uso de los fondos," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.6.2_2011.03.17_751

¹⁵⁹ Lipovich, "La limpieza que suma mas contaminacion," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.6.2_2012.11.02_108

¹⁶⁰ Verbitsky, "Nieblas del Riachuelo," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.6.2_2012.08.26_67

¹⁶¹ "El Riachuelo, sin solucion," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.6.2_2012.10.21_651

¹⁶² "Promesas vanas por el Riachuelo," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.6.2_2012.07.27_715

¹⁶³ "El informe de la polemica," *Pagina 12*, El informe de la polemica

¹⁶⁴ Zajac, "Riachuelo: enfermo de gravedad, pero no muerto," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.6.2_2013.02.13_730

PISA are few¹⁶⁵, but mentions¹⁶⁶ of it and a few relating¹⁶⁷ to the progress¹⁶⁸ of it build in the last period¹⁶⁹. General mentions of the Cuenca and of conditions within the Cuenca seem to be prominent in the third period and then steadily lower until 2013 with a large spike. They range from analyses¹⁷⁰ about the state of the Riachuelo to commentaries/editorials about the terrible state of management of the region¹⁷¹, sometimes in areas no readily seen¹⁷².

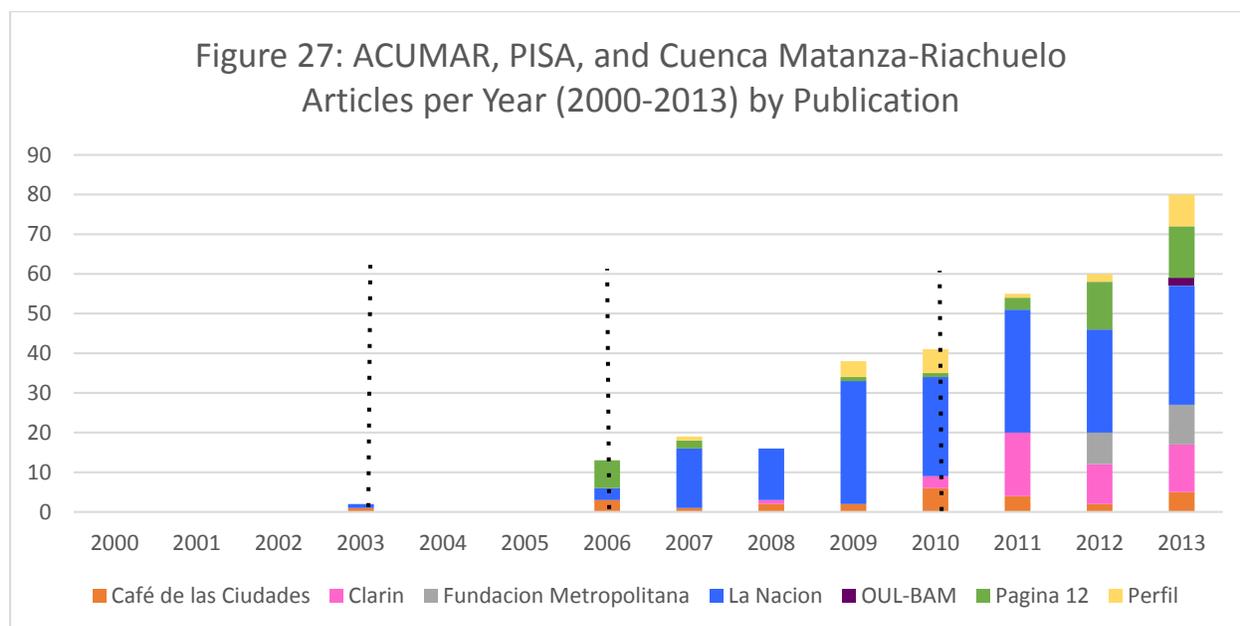


Figure 27 shows who is writing about the Cuenca, ACUMAR, and PISA during the timeframe. By and large, *La Nación* has the most coverage (175 articles), followed by *Clarín* (42 articles). It is only at the Causa Mendoza in 2006 that more than a few articles start to appear, and while the selection is at first more diverse among the traditional print sources, a disparity soon arises in the third period. During this period, *La Nación's* coverage not only

¹⁶⁵ Garcia Ortiz, "La actualización del Plan Integral de Saneamiento..." *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.6.2_2010.02.01_394

¹⁶⁶ Sanchez, "La limpieza del Riachuelo: hay avances pero todavía no frenan la contaminación," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.6.2_2012.07.08_499

¹⁶⁷ Moreno, "Una ciudad en armonía con la naturaleza," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.6.2_2011.07.04_767

¹⁶⁸ Tercco, "Una mirada arrabalera a Buenos Aires: Terquedad de ACUMAR..." *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.6.2_2013.02.01_444

¹⁶⁹ Magallanes y Suarez, "De cara al Riachuelo," *Página 12*, 6.1.1.6.2_2013.10.30_837

¹⁷⁰ Scherer, "S.O.S. agua," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.6.2_2013.04.14_755

¹⁷¹ Rocha, "Una ciudad colapsada," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.5.S_2008.11.15_241

¹⁷² Melicci, "Vivir sin agua potable," *La Nación*, 6.2.1.6.2_2009.03.21_770

includes news briefs¹⁷³, but commentaries¹⁷⁴ and analyses¹⁷⁵. *La Nacion* is unique because one of their reporters, Laura Rocha, covers environmental issues (Riachuelo cleanup, ACUMAR, PISA, CEAMSE) almost exclusively. Her articles (51 in total) form some of the most consistent coverage of a single theme of any of the authors (with the exception perhaps of Marcelo Corti of *Café de las Ciudades*) throughout 2000-2013.

The third into the fourth period shows the beginnings of coverage from the non-traditional media start to emerge: *Café de las Ciudades* (26 articles) in particular¹⁷⁶. Their previously stated reliance on academics and thinkers sets them apart, allowing them to publish exploratory pieces about the region's river basins¹⁷⁷, interviews with academics¹⁷⁸, and regular updates/analyses on the institutional progress of ACUMAR and the cleanup¹⁷⁹. In the fourth period, not only is there a greater volume of articles, similarly to other issues covered, there is a diversification of media coverage as shown in Figure 27. By 2013, all media are covering the issue. *Pagina 12's* coverage is special because of the investigative journalism of Horacio Verbitsky¹⁸⁰ and the pointed pieces of Pedro Lipovich¹⁸¹. Its 39 articles mostly are commentaries¹⁸² and investigative news pieces such as about Villa Inflamable¹⁸³ and roundtable discussions¹⁸⁴. *Clarín's* coverage (42 articles) is notable for its news coverage¹⁸⁵ and occasional commentaries, usually in a negative manner towards the Riachuelo¹⁸⁶ and ACUMAR¹⁸⁷. Fundación Metropolitana (18 articles) *Perfil* has 22 articles, and mostly covers news¹⁸⁸

¹⁷³ "Los analisis sobre la salud estan ausentes," *La Nacion*, 6.2.1.6.2_2007.11.28_682

¹⁷⁴ Rocha, "Riachuelo: investigan si un fiscal le pidio coimas a una empresa," *La Nacion*, 6.2.1.6.2_2009.05.08_734

¹⁷⁵ Rocha, "Riachuelo: reaparecio el 70% de los basurales erradicados," *La Nacion*, 6.2.1.6.2_2013.10.30_907

¹⁷⁶ Abba, "Aguafuertes metropolitanas: Dos anos de observacion interjurisdiccional en Buenos Aires," *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.5.S_2010.03.01_397

¹⁷⁷ Corti, "De los rios no me rio: Ana Carolina Herrero y Leonardo Fernandez Investigan..." *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.6.2_2008.12.01_371

¹⁷⁸ Corti, "Políticas territoriales para la reinclusion social: Rolo MMacera y la propuesta de una intervencion en el sur del conurbano de Buenos Aires," *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.4.1_2006.03.01_330

¹⁷⁹ Tercco, "Una mirada arrabalera a Buenos Aires: Terquedad (optimista) del Riachuelo," *Café de las Ciudades*, 6.7.1.6.2_2010.03.01_398

¹⁸⁰ Verbitsky, "Nieblas del Riachuelo," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.6.2_2012.08.26_67

¹⁸¹ Lipovich, "La limpieza que suma mas contaminacion," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.6.2_2012.11.02_108

¹⁸² Videla, "Un rio que busca su color," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.6.2_2013.07.07_847

¹⁸³ Amendola, "En Villa Inflamable estan que arden," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.6.2_2012.11.05_105

¹⁸⁴ Videla, "Un proyecto para avanzar sobre el rio," *Pagina 12*, 6.1.1.3.S_2012.08.02_127

¹⁸⁵ Sanchez, "Lomas: la Justicia freno la obra de Covelia en una laguna," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.6.2_2011.07.07_509

¹⁸⁶ Quinti, "Cinco anos par aver resultados," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.6.2_2011.06.02_465

¹⁸⁷ "Ahora Cabandie asegura que nunca dijo que vio peces en el Riachuelo," *Clarín*, 6.3.1.6.2_2013.07.12_854

¹⁸⁸ "La Corte apuro la limpieza del Riachuelo y pidio..." *Perfil*, 6.4.1.6.2_2010.08.10_602

(including some interviews¹⁸⁹) and a good investigative piece by Daniel Muchnik¹⁹⁰. OUL-BAM has two¹⁹¹ articles¹⁹², from the monthly newsletters that Artemio Pedro Abba puts out, in reality minor mentions.

4. Selected Interpretations, Examples and Cases

The objectives for this study originally were to find out what is happening regarding media coverage of government urban plans in the Buenos Aires metropolitan area. To do that we demonstrate that there is a biased geographical coverage (most of the coverage would be in CABA), that content of articles would depend and vary by media, that a distinct periodization based on the amount of articles published on urban plans coincides with several historical issues. Based on these assumptions, which were the most important issues motivating the discussion of government urban plans?

During this study of the reactions in media to government urban plans from 2000-2013, we can see noticeable changes in the visibility of issues (the change in amount of articles, change in types and length of articles), the scale of issues covered (geographically, institutionally) and the intentions expressed in the modality of how the media treats the issues. Simply put, we know that more articles were written as the years progressed, they tend to be generally longer articles now, and the types of articles have diversified.

Our analysis of these issues and plans covered is held within a context of the greater public good, of civil and social rights. While studying these issues, the larger context of these themes begins to emerge, as in, what government urban plans are in the public conversation? Who is motivating and by how much?

This visibility of the coverage and of the plans relates to the attention that is paid to them. We measured this quantifiably through the number of articles present within the timeframe, the length and type of articles, which all give a clue as to what importance is placed on certain issues. While there was a large change in the amount of articles written, and with a change in greater

¹⁸⁹ Ruiz Guinazu, "El Gobierno ha aniquilado los organismos de control," *Perfil*, 6.4.1.5.S_2012.10.07_572

¹⁹⁰ Muchnik, "La peor contaminación, a tres kilómetros del Centro porteno," *Perfil*, 6.4.1.6.2_2010.02.13_606

¹⁹¹ Abba, "Informe Institucionalidad Metropolitana Abril 2013," OUL-BAM, 6.6.1.5.S_2013.04.01_313

¹⁹² Abba, "Informe Institucionalidad Metropolitana Agosto 2013," OUL-BAM, 6.6.1.5.S_2013.08.01_318

length in articles, was there really anything different about what is being presented in this public conversation?

This naturally leads into a discussion regarding interpreting the scale, in this study this means the “where” and the “what level” of the institutional level which are present. The changes in scale correlate to the territorial issues of which municipalities, levels of government, or issues that transcend a specific level of government (or create their own). The geographical component, though not always clearly stated, has a bias in coverage of the Ciudad Autonoma de Buenos Aires and certain municipalities, especially in the Cuenca Matanza-Riachuelo and specific northern suburbs (Vicente Lopez, Tigre, etc.). Some levels of government barely have any article representation, including at the national government and provincial levels, besides interactions regarding the first real regional government authority created during the timeframe, ACUMAR.

Visibility also is about how the plans are covered, and in general, the plans itself are not thoroughly covered by a wide range of articles in the media, because of the differences in how they are presented (in levels of seriousness and depth). While the plans themselves are not presented in-depth, we argue that the debate surrounding plans is what is more often than not presented.

Intentionality relates to the aims of providing hard news coverage, analysis, discussion, or simply informing about events. The mission of many of the publications vary, as well as the subject matters which they highlight: there is obvious bias in choosing which issues to present.

TWO SELECTED DISCOURSES OF INTERPRETATION

This institutional and geographical bias, mentioned and demonstrated in the previous sections, did not suddenly appear by any means by accident. It is the result of a combination of the visibility and scale due to the modalities and intentions that creates, intentionally or not, an image that affects the public consciousness through what is presented to readers. There are two competing discourses, I argue:

- The **first discourse** is expanded coverage in the media which has led to greater awareness of sectorial issues and has created a public discourse through sheer volume of articles published. The example of this is the cleanup process regarding the Riachuelo, a plan and government authority (ACUMAR) created through court order that changes reflect the trials and lessons that government plans have in effecting change for the public good. This starts as nothing but mere skimming off the top of the issue, with articles rarely covering it in-depth. This changes as the timeline progresses. This discourse is also

regarding quantity, as the sheer amount forces a discussion that leads into a snowball effect with coverage. The bias within this discourse is not clear.

- The **second discourse** reflects an almost opposite phenomenon, where the articles published do not fully portray an issue or plan and instead focus on one part or discourse that denies or subverts the will of public good and rights for another agenda, of private interests. The coverage of the multiple plans regarding housing actions, including the Ley de Acceso Justo al Habitat, focuses on only one part of the plan, the appropriation of a portion of lands for the public good, instead of speaking about the entire plan. The quantity might be small with this, but the bias is often obvious to one side or the other of the political spectrum.

Recipe:

- +The level of intentionality in disseminating issues (**i**)
- +visibility (**v**)
- +scale (**s**)
- +themes/issues (**t**)

(i+v-s+t) = an article (**a**), with a variable amount of the above quantities determining potential quality. While this is not an exhaustive list of input factors (there are several others that could be classified external or internal), the potential resulting articles are products. The effects after this equation are more of a snowball effect, as we see with our first discourse.

An important point to keep in mind through this entire process is the periodizations within the studied years, 2000-2013. Periods directly correspond to the recipe in making an article, as well as what previewed article might emerge.

DISCOURSE ONE: Surface area over depth, ACUMAR, PISA, and the Cuenca Matanza-Riachuelo

The most emblematic government urban planning issue in terms of volume of coverage is that of the Causa Mendoza, which eventually led to the creation of ACUMAR and the PISA. These important intersections of the judicial authority, municipalities, and social/civil activism created a monitored institution that was responsible for an uncharted amount of issues. It constitutes the first real cross-jurisdictional metropolitan government authority, being responsible for not only environmental cleanup but also social development. It formulated a set of guiding procedures, and a set of important standards that would test limits of the Argentine legal, political, social, and commercial interests, but also the reach of existing institutions and policies. Across the articles, the Causa Mendoza expressed something that was common knowledge, as the pollution of the river, the dysfunctional nature of institutions and prior and current policies, and the lack of a vision in creating a possible path for resolving environment urban and social issues to achieve the greater good through government

plans. Since the early stages of the coverage (2006-) the obvious sentiment, written about and alluded to through the tone in which some articles were written, was that because past attempts at cleaning up the river and the basin has failed so spectacularly, this attempt would be no different.

The slow start of article coverage reflects this, with passing mentions of some of ACUMAR's actions (2006-2008). There is no sustained, consistent approach in the coverage of the formation of ACUMAR in the first few years: it covers mostly the needed closing of a polluting oil refinery, and speaks about the cleanup in general. The press, hence, does not cover it diligently until the advent of the PISA, when coverage dramatically expands (2008-). That the organization even existed for a few years without completely disappearing added testament and credibility within articles. The articles started to shift their focus away from speaking about whoever was director and the failed previous attempts at cleaning up the Cuenca, to writing more specifically about ACUMAR actions. The articles covered the application of fines, checking industries for illegal dumping, the various villa relocation programs, and others started to show that ACUMAR was doing work. But, it is important to highlight that this coverage was limited to certain geographical locations: those which were near and by the river. The remaining areas of the cuenca, those far from the river, where almost not mentioned.

Analyzing the modes of the coverage of PISA, ACUMAR and the Cuenca in the major media, is important to observe how they present the interactions between the municipalities, other levels of government, and actors involved in the reporting, because they express the media's interpretations/intentions. This is oriented by the simple need of having readers in some cases, and in others to demonstrate political positions. Often this is through articles about dramatic events such as the conflicts in La Salada, or the removal of the Quilmes Judge Armella because of corruption.

The actors the articles concentrate on are the executors and receivers of projects. With the same approach, almost every article has a political inspiration or source. ACUMAR has a greater amount of coverage (than the PISA), but ACUMAR policies embodied in the PISA are not covered in such a manner, nor are they related to the separate, municipal-led plans for urban development initiatives. Coverage of municipal issues in the Cuenca is limited almost exclusively to areas in the Cuenca Baja: Lomas de Zamora (La Salada, Santa Catalina wetlands, housing and one health initiative), Avellaneda (with planned developments along the Riachuelo), CABA (the still in planning some stages of the Camino de Sirga), and occasional articles

about recycling or different small-scale projects in Villa Jardín (Lanus) and recycling (Aldo Bonzi, La Matanza).

There is no linking in these articles between these small-scale or municipal-led initiatives and ACUMAR in the same breath. Going up further in the levels of government co-participation in projects or even mentions of possible overlapping interests is not seen. The coverage of the developments in the Isla Demarchi (both by CABA and the federal government) do not mention ACUMAR or the PISA, and while it is occasionally raised in commentary, is absent from the discussions within the traditional media like *Clarín* and *La Nación*. In this same way, many of the local municipal initiatives involving communities who are not near the actual Riachuelo, are not covered. This suggests a focus on covering the immediate issues of the river and those who live closest to it, because those dramatic landscapes and clearly visible problems are visual and narrative photographs fit for creating strong reactions from the readers. In these cases, the media has a specific intentionality both politically and profit driven.

Where is the coverage about other municipalities within the Cuenca where ACUMAR is working? Part of the answer to this question perhaps is in understanding the relationships of the coverage to the spaces. The distance between CABA focused publications and the those about the Conurbano of Buenos Aires is palpable not just in the different orientation towards different readerships and subjects presented but in the images portrayed by each publication. Shocking images of trash floating in the river, of poverty and asentamientos dominate some of the illustration friendly publications, while other prefer maps, photos of officials, or a reliance on words. Besides intentionally generating a specific image graphically, analyzing *who* is reporting is also key in understanding this type of dissemination. Only *La Nación* among the newspapers had a dedicated reporter covering the Cuenca/ACUMAR/PISA and the environment, besides the special websites of Fundación Metropolitana, OUL BAM, and Café de las Ciudades.

This continuity of reporting (or lack thereof) may lead to gaps in knowledge not only of what the PISA/ACUMAR are, but also of issues that affect residents beyond the immediate river. There is a reliance in some publications on certain neighborhood groups and NGO's for their "local voices," with highly organized groups that make up the Cuerpo Colegiado mentioned though some more than others. For instance, Fundación por la Boca is often not mentioned in the same article that Asociación Vecinos por la Boca is mentioned. Where in those publications are the mentions to neighborhood groups in other areas? The most visibly civil society actors that those publications mention are those which are located closed to the river in the Cuenca Baja and have the strongest voice.

In terms of our formula to interpret the evidence about ACUMAR and PISA, the intentions for covering them and the Cuenca, range from covering their facts and actions, to repeating some of the same tired stereotypes about the poverty, uselessness, and resignation regarding the region. The visibility of articles becomes greater and greater through the timeframe. The scale of the coverage is not only regional, but also very specific focused on places within the region that are most physically visible.

Concerning the objectives of this study, how does this fall within creating greater awareness of government planning issues for the public good? Well, the basic coverage of ACUMAR shows the possibility of agencies to work together, and more so, the promise of sustained and organized institutional capacity to create environmental, urban and social changes towards an obviously wary public. What is lacking in this coverage, and what I refer to as the shallow water in this very large basin, is the correspondence with greater municipal contributions, especially from CABA. Those who are studying and presenting these articles, despite the passage of time, are still bound to exploit events regarding these actors that are bound to increase readership rather than inform, analyze or expand public knowledge.

One previously mentioned example is the one of the legislator Juan Cabandie who exclaimed that he had seen “fish” in the Riachuelo. Rather than confirming that this was possible, many of the media outlets automatically jumped on his assertion with a level of ferocity that was not matched in coverage of more important issues, such as sanitation, water cleanliness, or dire public health issues regarding the contamination. The passiveness in covering these issues forms part of the picture of government urban planning coverage: that only controversial and politically embarrassing/explosive/divisive content will be covered more in-depth. This is slowly changing, but this continued bias in the media negates greater attention from the outset, which might prevent scandals from erupting.

To expand upon this notion, I lead into the second discourse, regarding how instead of a broad coverage, a thin coverage of an issue affects its discourse, the focus on only one part of a government urban plan.

DISCOURSE TWO: targeting one thread in a tapestry

The opposite in the media articles regarding government urban planning is also occurring: instead of articles that broadly cover an issue without specific, non-superficial depth, the focus within some articles is just about one part or point of something larger. This occurs, more often than not, in particular government plans that are supposed to be larger in scale, mostly on the federal and provincial levels of government.

Many of the plans in this discourse are meant to provide sweeping changes in the region. The Ley de Acceso Justo al Habitat's aim is revolutionary: to solidify the right to housing and urbanization for all, guaranteeing the social functioning of property, the democratic participation of citizens within society, and equitable benefits. The very existence of a law to promote this type of agenda is a reflection of the government's desire to "mend" the pattern of development that is seen as exclusionary. When put into action, this plan could change the built environment across the metropolitan areas, radically changing the built environment into something with a better economic and socially inclusive aim.

However, most of the media coverage regarding it was instead focused on only one part of one mechanism meant to provide for funding and land. This included large private housing developments, cemeteries, industrial parks, and commercial operations either set aside a portion of the land for adequate social housing development or pay a sum of money for the equivalent portion of land. The overwhelming coverage of the Ley inflamed sentiments about the government's role in "taking" land and money that ignored all of the other parts of the plan. The articles did not study the plan, nor did they provide counterbalancing voices of those who might benefit but instead implicitly stated that this encroachment of the landowner's rights was against the law and against their political aims.

Despite plenty of evidence that the plan was effective at providing a territorial solution for a societal and built problem, the coverage of picking apart one part of the plan for an obvious agenda would get the most print. This is replicated across the other levels of the Federal and Provincial governments when launching urban plans: the COFEPLAN (including the Ley de Ordenamiento Territorial), the Plan Estratégico Territorial, Pro.Cre.Ar. among others. Of the direct plans from the federal government, articles regarding Pro.Cre.Ar. were the most numerous, with 27 articles in total. These vast, territorial-defining pieces of planning and legislation were meant to define the government's efforts at redefining society, but for the wealthy this would mean concessions in some way or another to finance the ability of those with no access to the same means of achieving legality in the urban fabric. For this, many of the publications simply did not cover these issues and when they did it was only strands that would raise eyebrows and inflame the tempers of this population. Café de las Ciudades and Fundación Metropolitana take a more nuanced approach to these efforts, dissecting the plans, and promoting their conclusions in various ways.

On the other side of the political spectrum, the coverage regarding Mauricio Macri's plan for the 9 de Julio Metrobus from several publications seemed to focus on the removal of several trees along the avenue. This discussion point seemed prevalent in several pieces in *Página 12*. The need for new

transportation methods in CABA was ignored, nor was a larger discussion of the city's transit needs or the lack of adequate green spaces in several Porteno barrios discussed.

Why not cover these type of plans more, with greater depth on several of their perceived goals and not just one part? Is it because the publications find them unrealizable, or unpalatable? Whatever the reasoning, the absence of any large-scale coverage of these plans besides for small parts with obvious motives for their perceived audiences is a snapshot at the social divisions regarding the expectations of the publications, of the government, to create a future based on their ideology.

Some highlights/key ideas of the interpretations

- During this study of the reactions in media to government urban plans from 2000-2013, we can see noticeable changes in the visibility of issues (the change in amount of articles, change in types and length of articles), the scale of issues covered (geographically, institutionally) and the intentions expressed in the modality of how the media treats the issues.
- The debate surrounding plans (for example potential manufactured controversies) are more prominent than articles concerning the plans themselves.
- Institutional/geographical bias did not suddenly appear by any means by accident. It is the result of a combination of the visibility and scale due to the modalities and intentions that creates, intentionally or not, an image that affects the public consciousness through what is presented to readers
 - The **first discourse** is expanded coverage in the media which has led to greater awareness of sectorial issues and has created a public discourse through sheer volume of articles published. *Example: ACUMAR*
 - The **second discourse** reflects an almost opposite phenomenon, where the articles published do not fully portray an issue or plan and instead focus on one part or discourse that denies or subverts the will of public good and rights for another agenda, of private interests. *Example: Ley de Acceso Justo al Habitat*

5. Final Comments

Through the many steps, articles, and years of working through this material, the relationship between media, plans, policy, and its production seems to have just peeled away, perhaps, a few layers of an onion. The

enormous amount of questions a type of study like this begins to bring up not only could take years' worth more of study, but exist with rabbit holes of nuance that could fill volumes. How is it possible to find the strands of gold in a field full of hay? How can you find the most important bits of information from such an enormous amount of data? By the nature of such an endeavor, we were working with clues about what might be important through and through an inductive approach to a systematization of analysis.

What we do know, is that the changes we see through the articles created during the span of 2000-2013 show a general change in the media covering urban planning issues. It is also a change in what the media portrays of the government's actions and reactions in recognizing and addressing such issues: government urban planning is a way to promote a political agenda to affect the rights and lives of its citizens. It also portrays the changing roles and responsibilities of government in creating, maintaining, and continuing this discourse as shown in the media (a series of articles about one issue/problem/plan/theme).

To interpret and illustrate them we presented two different discourses. To relate these two discourses with the government's actions and agendas related to urban policies we can construct a dialogue. We have defined the two actors, now we relate this to the complete set of products (the articles) that set the stage for this piece of theatre. As the readers watch, the actors read the script and try to figure out what the play is, who the roles are, and what they imagine the story turns into (though everyone, the actors and readers, have their own assumptions at each step). While we cannot measure the exact nature of the readership (for another study at another time), our purpose to examine the production of these articles is a study in this back and forth of understanding what the urban future could be.

We can assume that this can be interpreted as a dialogue. This dialogue is interpreted and disseminated by the media: at times extremely messy, incoherent, poorly articulated (Plan Urbano Ambiental), sensational (many), politically and ideologically directed (many), and factually false (Ley de Acceso Justo al Habitat). At other times, these dialogues have the ability to shine light on the emerging process through which all sides (the planners, the writers, the readers) are still learning about how to more effectively convey information about the plans, leading to greater glimmers of cooperation, understanding, consistency, and the realization of "urban futures."

The incomplete nature of this dialogue is why the information in the media, as well as from the government, seems so incomplete and incoherent: all sides are not sure what the aims, intentions, information, or even actions

are: there is an inherent level of suspicion that exists, which affects the seriousness in understanding the plans.

This incomplete nature is through where certain media place the boundaries of government power and imagination of the future: there is a separation in how media envision and advocate for the urban future, through a schism in the effectiveness of government urban plans in effecting positive outcomes for the rights and lives of citizens.

The future, from at least reading, comprehending, analyzing a period of government urban planning initiatives, seems to be at most something temporary. We lack a crystal ball to effectively predict our actions, but we can analyze the future based on the understanding of past actions, motivations. The temporary future is always a construction of a present time, and constructed on needs and desires. This research set out to find the reactions in media to government urban planning initiatives, but at the end, a person living in the year 2000 could not have expected many of the developments which occurred: the rapid implementation of new and unexpected means of communication (social media), the socio-political situation within Argentina, and the increasing globalization which not only affected Argentina's place in the world but the exchange of ideas.

While in many ways this common sense seems obvious in hindsight, it cannot be understated the transformative effects of time. The periodizations in this study were made after the time period was finished, and loosely correlate to important events that helped determine the direction of the country: the post-economic collapse (2000-2003), the Nestor Kirchner government (2004-2006), the first Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner government/post Causa Mendoza decision (2007-2010) and the second CFK government (2011-2013). Historically, changes between governments in Argentina have brought about large changes, and one of the highlights of the period of 2000-2013 is, besides the obvious crisis of 2001-2002, a long, uninterrupted period of prosperity and political continuity at the national, provincial, and also municipal levels (to varying degrees)

We know that these changes were not sudden, and while at times unspoken of/or assumed to be general knowledge for the reader (economic swings for example). The media were and still are some of the instigators for creating these changes in perception/what is covered in the articles. To know about plans, what information is disseminated, and through what is written and continues to be written, they became part of the public discussion. This is a slow transformation into news. The way in which this news is covered, the voice of the author, the length and frequency of discussion of a plan, the complete package of what is presented, is a reflection of or indication/clue of/sign of the specific medium's position/ideas about what role the

government should play and what is important to be passed along to those reading.

The increased coverage shows the public knowledge/discussion, whether for “good or bad” about any given issue, implies a growing legitimization of institutions from the media. A perceived public image (reflected in sometimes outright skepticism in articles) of the limited powers of the state, due potentially to economic or credibility limitations, starts to chip away with the implementation of broad, imaginative legislation/plans that starts to become realized in concrete actions.

This mode of thought starts to imply that the government is not only present but a vital player in imagining, developing, and delivering plans as a means to be present in changing the built and unbuilt environment. This progressive (incremental) coverage is of course differentiated into both small and large scale. Small scale transformation of the news is through presenting some plans and events with minimal or no coverage (Ex: Plan Estratégico Territorial; the PISA), trivializing the plans and the intended effects/aim of the government in its sometimes large reach. Larger means of transforming news invites the opposite: picking up one part of a plan or a process in the institutional management of urban plans and exasperatingly blowing the issue out of proportion to follow an ideological agenda.

The point is, because this is presented as news, inserted into the public conversation, the “urban futures” written in increasing digital ink are elaborated by institutions and a formalized framework as expected preconditions, processes, and outcomes. Technology allows a longer, more articulated discussion of government urban plans, but we cannot say this is guaranteed across all publications. Some, such as *Clarín*, segment this discussion into news/opinion and then through their ARQ supplement include such discussions as an extension of the fetishized world of good design (though mostly private or global plans are presented, barely a notion of the Argentine governmental plans). Other sources were completely electronic, including Café de las Ciudades, which had long, in-depth discussion that treated plans more substantially and seriously. Technology, though, does not decide what is published: it is the will of the publication to present issues (as they formulate articles according to the process previously discussed).

Are some media looking for problems and issues to sell newspapers or collect page views? Most certainly, but to further analyze their every motivation would fill even more chapters. However, internal motivations, often political, are clear in the ways in which media perceive the role the government can and should act (as elaborated in our second discourse). The continuity of these politically oriented decisions trends is completely possible despite, in 2016, a different government and the unsure implementation of

the previous government's efforts. The clear expectations that grew between 2000-2013 of the government to be responsible for the plans they present, I predict, will continue because of the obvious success of some of the plans and of the general interest from the public in such discourses. How will coverage in the media of a less active state potentially differ?

6. Epilogue

This study is in many ways a snapshot of the particular state of the relations of the governmental urban policies and agendas with the media while forming a public discussion during the years of progressive government.

We do not know what will happen after December 2015 with the change in national, provincial and many municipalities government administration. Whatever happens the ideas, experiences and knowledge of the proceeding political administration, with its ideas, proposals, projects, and plans will not disappear; we cannot predict the concrete facts about the future because we do not have yet the necessary historical perspective.

To achieve a necessary historical perspective, perhaps, this study provides a foundation (or groundwork) for forthcoming inquiries, such as the political "right turn" which Argentina/the region is undergoing as of 2016 and its impact on urban issues in Latin America. Potential areas to expand and expound in this foundation include digital/electronic media sources which emerged during the 2000-2013 study period. The evidence of these forms of media becoming essential towards understanding the relationship between coverage in the media of governmental urban plans is the evolution of how articles are presented (links to other electronic sources), the presence of new social media (and ways to share the articles), and making multi-media packages (with embedded video and pictures) a standard format of reporting.