THE INVENTION OF THE “THIRD-WORLD CITY”: URBAN PLANNING IN LATIN AMERICA IN THE 1960S AND EARLY 1970S

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DOSSIÊ
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ABSTRACT

While the first half of the 20th century was mainly characterized by the importation of urban planning models from Europe and the USA to Latin America, the 1960s represent a turning point: In the context of different development theories, local planners first started to emphasize the supposed structural similarities of Latin American cities and then their parallels with other cities of the Global South. Social theorists, economists and urbanists of the time conceptualized cities not only as litmus tests of the developmental stage of the individual country, but also as motors to enable economic progress. Analyzing different Latin American architectural and urban planning publications, the article traces references to other Latin American and "Third-World" countries that grew in size in the course of the 1960s. In some cases, this even led to South-South contacts in the field of urban planning to the research of which this article is a start.

KEYWORDS

Urban planning. Latin America. Third World.

Urban planning in independent Latin America was born as a discipline towards the end of the 19th century, with institutions, conferences and publications mainly following hygienist and Hausmannian models in an effort to mark a difference to the colonial grid (JAJAMOVICH et al., 2016). In an attempt to adapt the Parisian boulevards and star-shaped squares to Latin American capitals, municipalities and national governments relied on foreign, mainly French, experts, who, like Joseph-Antoine Bouvard in Buenos Aires, widened streets and planned diagonals to break up the old checkerboard pattern (GUTIÉRREZ, 2002).

This practice of inviting European urban planners continued during the interwar period. Le Corbusier, Donat-Alfred Agache, Werner Hegemann and others developed so-called masterplans for different Latin American cities that also attempted to anticipate their future growth, in part adhering to principles of the CIAM (*Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne*), such as the Athens Charter of 1933 (LIERNUR, 2004). After World War II, US-American urbanists started to dominate the Latin American planning scene. An entry point constituted the myriad of international organizations that were founded after the war, as well as Interamerican organs with their respective planning departments, such as the *Congreso Panamericano de Arquitectos*. Not only with respect to actors, but also to urban models, one can notice a certain US-Americanization of urbanism in Latin America after 1945: post-WWII Europe faced its own very different challenges, and solutions of urban reform found there could no longer be applied to the Latin American context (LIERNUR, 2004; ARANGO CARDINAL, 2006). At the same time, the more prosperous Latin American states, in an extension of welfare policies, assumed the responsibility for building social housing (VAINER, 2014). The Peronist experience in Argentina (1946-1955) and the government of Marcos Pérez Jiménez in Venezuela (1952-1958) are telling examples that were preceded only by the activities of some populist regimes between the wars, such as the Cardenist regime in Mexico. However, in terms of numbers, the results of these early public construction schemes might not always have been satisfactory (FRASER, 2000).

As I will argue, the 1960s constituted a turning point in Latin American urbanism. Based on architectural and urban planning magazines as well as other publications from various Latin American countries, I will show that the developmental theories of the decade, *desarrollismo* and dependence theory, fostered an identification of ‘the’ Latin American city. As a second step, towards the second half of the decade the concomitant “Third-World”-discourse favored reflections on the part of local urban planners on possible parallels with cities in other countries of the Global South. These mutual observations led to exchanges and sometimes even South-South-cooperation in urban planning - a field this article encourages to conduct more research on.

Lastly, with its focus on the 1960s and early 1970s, the article also traces the rise and fall of the state as a main actor in urban planning, which was at first motivated by the modernization theory and a sheer planning euphoria, and subsequently withdrew from it due to mostly unsatisfactory results as well as a shift towards neoliberal policies.

THE "PRODUCTION OF THE LATIN AMERICAN CITY" AND PLANNING EUPHORIA

> As far as architectonic creation is concerned, it is evident that there is a manifest tendency towards the reconsideration of local values and the overcoming of international solutions that have so importantly marked the architectonic work of the last years. This does not mean self-sufficient isolationism, but the interpretation of universal values in the light of the proper circumstances of each place (NEIRA ALVA, 1962, p. 25, our translation).[1]

As this quote from the Peruvian architectural magazine *El arquitecto peruano* from 1962 illustrates, in contrast to the orientation towards external models, Latin American urban planners grew more self-referential over the course of the 1960s. However, they not only cited respective national examples, but also increasingly referred to other Latin American cities instead of almost exclusively to Europe or North America, which had previously been common.

Spurred in part by the massive urban growth during this decade,[2] the rising social sciences took up the topic 'city' and became increasingly visible in planning processes (GORELIK, 2009). Classically trained architects who were more oriented towards the fine arts and had dominated the scene until then were rendered less relevant (ARANGO CARDINAL, 2006). Scholars on urbanism have talked about an evolution from "artists" to "experts" after World War II or identified a "technical generation" that lasted from 1960 to 1975 (LIERNUR, 2004; ARANGO CARDINAL, 2006). This process was partly set in motion by international organizations, such as the CEPAL (*Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe*), the UN economic commission for Latin America, that considered Latin American cities to be key elements for the modernization of the individual countries (GORELIK, 2009). Furthermore, national institutions focused on development and the role of cities therein also started to form in the early 1960s, such as the *Centro de Estudios del Desarrollo* (CENDES) in Venezuela, the *Centro de Estudios Urbanos y Regionales* (CEUR) in Argentina, and the *Centro de Investigaciones en Desarrollo* (CIDU) in Chile (GORELIK, 2009). It was in these institutional environments that the Latin American city as an intellectual category of social sciences was first "produced", as urban historian Adrián Gorelik hypothesizes (2009). He argues that until then the respective national framework had been more relevant than a continental identity. In physical terms, a powerful statement of the "production" of the Latin American city was of course the new Brazilian capital, which was planned and built in a relatively short period of time between 1955 and 1960, and that radiated far beyond the Latin American context as an example of a Brazilian or "tropical" modernism.

[1] Spanish original: "En cuanto a la creación arquitectónica, es evidente que existe una tendencia manifiesta a la reconsideración de los valores locales y a la superación de las soluciones internacionales que han marcado de modo tan importante la obra arquitectónica de los últimos años. Lo cual no quiere decir aislacionismo autosuficiente, sino la interpretación de los valores universales a la luz de las circunstancias propias de cada lugar"; the quote "the production of the Latin American city" refers to Gorelik (2009).

[2] For example, the population of Caracas grew from 690,000 in 1951 to 2.2 million in 1971 (GORELIK, 2009).

Contemporary architectural and urban planning magazines from a whole range of Latin American countries not only showcased Brasília in its different stages of the planning and building process, but in general increasingly featured other Latin American cities. The São Paulo-based journal *Habitat*, for instance, presented residential architecture in *El Pedregal* in Mexico (REYES NAVARRO, 1961). Or *Arquitectura México*, directed by Mexican architect Mario Pani, published an article on an industrial complex in the province of São Paulo that had been designed by Rino Levi (INSTALACIÓN…, 1961). Sometimes Latin American cities were also subsumed into the category of “New World Cities”, as they were on the occasion of the 11th Pan American Conference of Architects that was held in Washington DC in June 1965 and advertised, for example, in *Habitat* (CIDADES…, 1965, p. 34) as well as in the Venezuelan magazine *Punto*, from the Department of Architecture and Urbanism of the Universidad Central de Venezuela (VERA, 1965, p. 21).

In the framework of *desarrollismo*, a developmental theory designed, among others, by the Argentine economist Raúl Prebisch,[3] which emphasized state-led industrialization as a means to tackle “underdevelopment”, different Latin American governments pursued enormous infrastructure projects (ARANGO CARDINAL, 2006). These dams, bridges and highways were deemed “ultimate symbols of modernity” (LORENZINI, 2019, p. 6). Yet cities also played a central role in *desarrollismo* theorizing: Not only did the supposed underdevelopment of the continent manifest itself in them, but they were also thought to hold the key to overcoming this condition (JAJAMOVICH et al., 2016; GORELIK, 2009). In publications of the time, titles abound that link urban settlements to economic development: *Punto* published an article entitled “El desarrollo y la condición presente de las ciudades de las Américas” (“Development and the present condition of cities in the Americas”), written by the famous Venezuelan architect Carlos Raúl Villanueva (1965, p. 13-15). In *Arquitetura*, the magazine of the Institute of Brazilian Architects (edited by Affonso Eduardo Reidy, among others), a note appeared about “Arquitetura e desenvolvimento” (“Architecture and development”), that clarified that the latter was a function or a “product” of the first (VINHAS DE QUEIROZ, 1963, p. 25-32). *El arquitecto peruano*, a magazine founded by the architect and later Peruvian president Fernando Belaúnde Terry (1963-1968, 1980-1985) published an article titled “El desarrollo regional y su vinculación con la arquitectura” (“Regional development and its ties to architecture”) (NEIRA ALVA, 1962, p. 21-25). According to many of these articles, uncontrolled urban growth resulting from migration to the cities had to be curbed. Regional planning should create incentives for the rural population to remain in their places of origin. Through the installation of so-called growth poles, a theory by the French economist Francois Perroux, rural regions were to be enhanced in order to obtain more economically homogenous national territories. This rationale had already been central in the planning of Brasília: not only had the geographic center of the country been chosen for its location but also the barely industrialized state of Goiás (GORELIK, 2009; ANGOTTI, 1987).

Another example for the construction of such a growth hub was the Venezuelan city of Guayana, built at the beginning of the 1960s around a steel complex with the assistance of a group of North American planners from MIT and Harvard (SCHULZE, 2019). With Ciudad Bolívar, the Venezuelan government erected another growth pole

[3] He also served as executive director of the CEPAL from 1950 to 1963.

in the East of the country (POTTER, 1985). In February 1962, the Colombian magazine *PROA*, directed by the architect Carlos Martínez, argued in the same spirit by stating: „El desarrollo de Colombia requiere nuevas ciudades" ("The development of Columbia requires new cities"). Favoring "a reasonable distribution of the urban population", over the course of the 1960s the primacy of Bogotá was to be moderated through "new growth poles [...] as stimuli [...] in order to increase the first industrial establishments in them" (EL DESARROLLO…, 1962, p. 1, our translation).[4]

Beyond the construction of new growth poles, in order to solve problems in already existing, ever-growing cities, social housing became an important task for planners in the developmentalist climate of the late 1950s and early 1960s (ARANGO CARDINAL, 2006). Latin American architectural magazines, such as the Uruguayan *Arquitectura*, the platform of the national society of architects, reflect this near obsession with *vivienda* or *habitação* and ponder on future "national housing plans" (PARA…, 1963, p. 8) or in retrospect present the activities in the field in the preceding 25 years, as in the case of *El arquitecto peruano* (SMIRNOFF, 1963). The increasing self-referentiality of Latin America planners is especially true for *vivienda* and journals sometimes include sections like "Examples in America", where for instance the Venezuelan "superblocks" (*superbloques*), built under Marcos Pérez Jiménez in the 1950s, are featured (LORENTE, 1964, p. 13).

Social housing was also a realm where architects experimented with new technologies, such as cost-efficient modular and prefabricated building and armored and prestressed concrete, as they were used in the famous housing project PREVI (*Proyecto experimental de vivienda*) launched in 1966 in Lima (BALLENT, 2004). In other cases, recently founded government departments, in collaboration with architecture faculties, elaborated studies on typologies of accommodations for different needs (BRAVO HEITMANN, 1965). Overall, in the field of public social housing, among Latin American governments the Chilean was particularly prolific in the 1960s. Preceded by the activities of a state corporation, *Corporación de la Vivienda* (CORVI), which was founded in 1953 and was responsible for an early example of massive social housing (*Unidad Vecinal Portales* in Santiago), Christian Democrat president Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964-70) established a Ministry of Housing and Urbanism (*Ministerio de la Vivienda y Urbanismo*, MINVU) in 1965, that appropriated and centralized its institutional precursors (ELIASH; MORENO GUERRERO, 1989). Declaring housing as a "basic necessity" ("bien de primera necesidad"), the government in the framework of a broader social policy agenda strived to give the lower income strata access not only to health care and education, but also to *vivienda* (HIDALGO DATTWYLER, 2005, p. 272). Although the ambitious aim of building 360,000 units by 1970 was not reached, the 230,000 completed accommodations and another 240,000 that were started by the end of the legislative period, speak of the great efforts the Chilean government undertook to solve the problem of housing shortage (TAPIA, 2005). Archival materials of the MINVU and CORVI that contain petitions by the dwellers of these new quarters for loans or infrastructural measures (sewage disposal, resurfacing work), however, offer a differentiated view on the Chilean government's housing activities and even a bottom-

[4] Spanish original: "un razonable reparto regional de la población urbana", "nuevos polos de desarrollo, [...] como unidades motoras [...] para incrementar en ellos los primeros establecimientos industriales".

up-perspective that has not been sufficiently included in research.[5] Considering the numerous complaints about “excessive costs”, “irregularities in the administration” or delays in the assignment of properties would help nuance the largely positive literature that celebrates the creation of the MINVU as a “rationalization of public administration” (HIDALGO DATTWYLER, 2005, p. 267).

LATIN AMERICA AS PART OF THE “THIRD WORLD” AND ORIENTATION TOWARDS THE SOUTH

Apart from these few ostensibly successful examples, the effects of interventions by urban and regional planners were rather limited. Therefore, in the second half of the 1960s in the context of dependence theory, the state of Latin American cities with their growing slums came to be interpreted as a product of their peripheral position in world economy and their dependence on the industrialized centers. While *desarrollismo* of the early 1960s had still adhered to the basic assumptions of modernization theory – according to which Latin America could reach the same stage of development as Europe and North America through state-induced industrialization – representatives of dependence theory now read the perceived underdevelopment of Latin American cities as inherent to the capitalist system with its international division of labor (JAJAMOVICH et al., 2016). For this assessment, Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano, who in the second half of the 1960s also worked at the CEPAL, coined the term “dependent urbanization” (1977). With this concept, the author not only described the historically different process of urbanization in agro-exporting economies, but also referred to contemporary imbalances in the world economy that were reflected in urban conglomerations. In fact, he argued that it was in their respective urban profile that the dependence of peripheral countries became most visible (QUIJANO, 1977). In the context of this discourse, Latin America’s belonging to the “Third World” gained momentum. Originally invented by the French demographer Alfred Sauvy in 1952 as a term for countries with a colonial past that neither belonged to the capitalist nor to the socialist bloc and that were – in analogy to the Third Estate of the French Revolution – economically underprivileged, the concept of “Third World” was later appropriated by the regions in question for identity-forming purposes (DINKEL, 2014; TOMLINSON, 2003).

In urban planning, the category of “Latin American city”, which was prominent in the first half of the decade, became increasingly replaced by that of “Third-World city”. Contemporary architectural and urban planning publications pointed out that “Third-World cities” not only had similar climatic conditions, but also structural commonalities as a result of their colonial past as well as their current dependence. As such, a similarity between the concentration of the population in one major capital or port city was identified, from where raw materials had been exported in colonial times, while the rest of the country remained predominantly agrarian and thus underdeveloped (SMITH, 1996). This primacy (or *macrocefalia* in Spanish) of large urban centers stood in stark contrast to the net of small and medium-sized cities in Europe, distributed more or less evenly throughout the respective national territory

[5] Archivo Nacional de la Administración, Chile, fondo MINVU, fondo CORVI.

(GORELIK, 2009). Furthermore, it was argued that urban growth in the "Third World" had occurred largely "without industrialization" (ANGOTTI, 1987), which had long been deemed a prerequisite or cause of urbanization. Rather, as Quijano put it, the urban structure in the global periphery reflected their dependence on the industrialized North (QUIJANO, 1977).

Besides indicating the purported similarities of urban patterns in the so-called "Third World", Latin American architectural magazines increasingly refer to other cities of the Global South while European and US-American models did not disappear altogether. The Columbian periodical *PROA*, for example, presented architecture from Thailand, Cambodia, India and Egypt (SAMPER GNECCO, 1961). *Arquitectura México* – albeit still drawing inspiration from the USA and France – had a section called "recortes mundiales" ("highlights from around the world"), where it presented buildings from South Africa, Abyssinia and India, among other countries (RECORTES, 1962…, p. 101-116, 188-202). *Summa+*, one of Argentina's main architectural magazines since 1963, advised "design for underdevelopment" (DISEÑO..., 1967, p. 75-76) or "an alternative design for developing countries", criticizing "cultural imperialism": "Instead of creating local cultural patterns, […] the submission to products from other cultures prevails. This way one produces a branch of the metropolis, that is a satellite culture". In a note on terminology at the end of the article, the author specified that the term "Third World" meant the solidarity of all ex-colonized countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa (BONSIEPE, 1970, p. 54-57).

The shift in attention to countries of the Global South was also palpable in the Brazilian magazine *Arquitetura e construção*, which came out starting in 1966. In one of its first editions, it published a review of a Spanish translation of a German book on modern architecture in Africa, it evaluated as "an important documentary about African experiences in the field of architecture" (PUBLIÇÕES, 1966, p. 33, our translation).[6] In architectural publications in Brazil a special focus on Portuguese-speaking African countries can be observed. After the independence of Mozambique in 1975, an article in *Módulo*, a magazine edited by Oscar Niemeyer, welcomes the "young nation" among independent states (ROSSARD, 1977, p. 21). With regard to the country's population structure, the article names the rural exodus to the cities as a problem that also afflicted Brazil. It is not in big cities but in "aldeias comunais auto-suficientes" ("self-sufficient rural communities") that the author sees the future of the country (ROSSARD, 1977, p. 29). In the subsequent interview with the Mozambican Public Works Minister, the "role of the architect in the Third World" is defined: "[He] must not only be a technician, but equally a militant. […] He has to know how to materialize the people's aspirations" (ROSSARD, 1977, p. 30, our translation).[7]

As can be seen from this example, the references to African or Asian countries were often combined with claims of an urban planning for the "Third World" that was not to be based on experiences in Europe or North America. As the urbanization processes and current economic structures in the so-called "First" and "Third World" greatly differed, urban planners inspired by dependence theory and the "Third-World" discourse argued that planning – rather than importing solutions from the Global North

[6] Portuguese original: "Importante documentário sobre as experiências africanas no campo da Arquitetura".
[7] Portuguese original: "O arquiteto não deve ser apenas um técnico, mas igualmente um militante. [...] Ele deve saber materializar as idéias e as aspirações do povo".

– should emanate from local conditions (SMITH 1996; JAJAMOVICH et al. 2016). As *El arquitecto peruano* put it, thus “incoherencies we find with frequency in solutions that correspond to a technology that was transplanted from cultures with great economic development to the reality of less developed regions” could be avoided. “This would allow to adjust the advantages of techniques to local materials and methods and could provide structures compatible with the social and cultural reality of peoples [*pueblos*] in the process of transformation” (NEIRA ALVA 1962, p. 25, our translation).[8] Yet, beyond these general demands, recommendations as to what a Third-World planning should look like remained vague in most cases.

While there is very little research on Latin American urbanists’ growing consciousness of belonging to a “Third World” as well as the specificities of urban planning resulting from it, the same is true for concrete South-South cooperation. Arguably the most famous among them, the commissions of Oscar Niemeyer by the Algerian government to design a civic center, a mosque and a university campus in Algiers in 1968, are usually only treated *en passant* as one of the many works he realized during his exile. The details of these commissions, however, are yet to be analyzed. In a retrospective 1976 article in *Módulo* on the construction of the campus, the architect underlines the belonging of Brazil and Algeria to the “Third World” as well as the “African origins” of most Brazilians. Furthermore, he approves the path to socialism Houari Boumedienne (1965-78), the second Algerian president after the country’s independence in 1962, had chosen (NIEMEYER, 1976, p. 18, 20).

Niemeyer, despite his exile starting in 1965, as is widely known, continued to accept commissions by the military government in Brazil (MAAK, 2013) – a government that fostered diplomatic and economic relations with the so-called “Third World” notwithstanding its close ties with the United States. Innovative studies on Brazil’s foreign policy after 1964 stress a series of trade agreements with newly independent countries in Africa and the country’s protagonist role in the UNCTAD or the G77 (KHALIL; ALVES, 2014). Nonetheless, how this ongoing *terceiromundismo* – a concept that had significantly been coined by Brazilian social sciences in the late 1950s and after 1964 also resulted in numerous thematic research institutions and publications (ALBURQUERQUE, 2011) – influenced urban planning, still needs to be clarified. Another example of a South-South collaboration, on which little literature exists to date, is Lúcio Costa’s participation in the competition for the master plan of the new Nigerian capital of Abuja in the 1970s, in which eventually Japanese architect Kenzo Tange prevailed.

Apart from the Brazilian architects that had gained international renown after building Brasília, more examples of contacts and intellectual exchange between Latin American urbanists and their counterparts in other countries of the Global South can be named. One example is the Columbian architect Álvaro Ortega, who travelled to several African countries in search of alternative and cost-efficient construction materials. The results of these trips (*canaletas*, panels made of asbestos-cement)

[8] Spanish original: “[...] incoherencia que con tanta frequencia encontramos en soluciones que corresponden a una tecnología transplantada de las culturas de gran desarrollo económico a la realidad de las regiones menos desarrolladas. Ello permitiría adecuar las ventajas de las técnicas a los materiales y métodos locales y podrá proporcionar estructuras compatibles con la realidad social y cultural de los pueblos en proceso de transformación”.

were later deployed in the modular construction of social housing in Guatemala (*Colonia Bethania*) (ARANGO CARDINAL, 2006). Nevertheless, more systematic research is needed to paint a fuller picture of urban planning in Latin America in the 1960s and early 1970s, which in addition to the previous orientation towards Europe and North America was increasingly characterized by its views to and contacts with Africa and Asia.

CODA: DISILLUSION AND WITHDRAWAL OF THE STATE

While more moderate sectors among dependence theorists had demanded a stronger commitment of the state to urban planning, especially with regard to social housing, more radical representatives doubted the reformability of Latin American cities in the capitalist system altogether. In fact, Quijano rejected the seemingly outdated developmentalist conviction that urbanization would automatically entail economic progress. For this to happen, he argued, first the dependence of Latin American societies had to be drastically reduced (QUIJANO, 1977). According to Marxist detractors, political change had to precede urban reform, proof of which they saw in the activities of the Cuban government and the Allende administration in this field (GORELIK, 2009). With the overthrow of the *Unidad Popular* in Chile in September 1973, however, even this example of – in their eyes – successful public urban planning under a socialist banner was thwarted. Given the continuing expansion of shanty towns and extreme urban poverty in Latin America,[9] from the beginning of the 1970s disillusionment among urban planners started to grow as the state was apparently incapable of effectively meeting the shortage of decent housing. Also, the topic 'city' – so prominent about a decade earlier – slowly disappeared from the social sciences agenda.

Instead of promoting public social housing, urban planners and governments in Latin America from a whole range of political orientations increasingly propagated so-called self-help housing.[10] According to this conviction, people in need should take care of constructing shelters themselves, sometimes on squatted land. The task of the state was limited to subsequently legalizing these land seizures and providing minimum infrastructure (GILBERT, 1998). Experiments with self-help housing had already been underway in the 1960s, for example by the British architect John F. C. Turner in Lima's *barriadas* (ARANGO CARDINAL, 2006; ANGOTTI, 1987). Likewise, the Chilean government under Christian Democrat Frei Montalva between 1964 and 1970 had relied on a combined strategy that not only consisted of the construction of public social housing, but also partly of so-called *operaciones sitio*, that handed out land and left it to the new proprietors to build their own homes (HIDALGO DATTWYLER, 1999). Exhibitions like the famous "Architecture without Architects" by the Austrian-American architect and social historian Bernard Rudofsky in the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1964 had contributed to further romanticizing the notion that urban dwellers from the lower social strata knew best what their necessities in terms of housing were (GORELIK, 2009; GILBERT, 199; RUDOFSKY, 1964).

[9] According to estimations, in the mid-1960s an average of one-third of all Latin American cities consisted of informal housing (ARANGO CARDINAL, 2006).
[10] For Peru see e.g. GYGER, 2019.

Contemporary Latin American architectural magazines from the second half of the 1960s mirror this trend. While there are continuing references to other countries of the Global South, the articles move on to reporting about informal housing. The Uruguayan magazine *Arquitectura*, for example, published a note about “Una experiencia de auto construcción en Dakar” (“An experience of self-help housing in Dakar”) in December 1965. The author discusses if the presented “sistema Castor” can be extended beyond the Senegalese case (DREYFUS, 1965, p. 80). *Arquitectura México* reviewed a book by the Egyptian author Hassan Fathy, that was titled “Arquitectura para los pobres“ (“Architecture for the poor”), that also recommends “autoconstrucción” and “the active participation of the users” in the building process because “the problem will never be solved with a centralized bureaucratic apparatus which wastes resources, neither with competitions with guilds [*gremios*] of professionals, and even less with the participation of […] businessmen and providers of materials and sophisticated services” (NOTAS…, 1976, p. 61, our translation).[11]

In the course of the 1970s, the harsh criticism of self-help housing, uttered especially by the Latin American left, according to which the state neglected one of its main duties – providing the population with housing – and instead reproduced social inequalities, was not heard any more (GILBERT, 1998). The neo-liberal military governments of the time, as in Argentina and Chile, withdrew from public urban planning (ARANGO CARDINAL, 2006). Their interventions were limited to the removal of slums from sight in central locations, as occurred with the slum *villa 31* in Buenos Aires at the end of the 1970s (NAUE, 2017). In the case of Chile, the main institutions responsible for urban reforms, such as the MINVU, were maintained after the coup in September 1973, although they we re-organized. It was only towards the end of the decade that the dictatorship proceeded to resettle slum dwellers to the periphery, leaving the responsibility of building housing for this target group completely to the private sector (HIDALGO DATTWYLER, 1999; TAPIA, 2005).

Mexico constituted an exception in this respect. Still a democracy, albeit with pronounced authoritarian tendencies, the country received many exiled urbanists along with exiled intellectuals from the rest of the continent who fled from dictatorships elsewhere. There, during the 1970s and 1980s, urban planning continued to form part of the agenda of the PRI governments (GORELIK, 2009). During Luis Echeverría’s administration (1970-1976), the *Instituto del Fondo Nacional de la Vivienda para los Trabajadores* (INFONAVIT), a federal institute for workers’ housing, was founded, and a project of regional and urban development (*Proyecto de Desarrollo Regional y Urbano*) was initiated in collaboration with the UN, aiming to systematize urban and regional planning. Echeverría’s successor, José López Portillo (1976-1982), followed up these initiatives with the *Ley General de Asentamientos Humanos* as a direct consequence of the first UN Conference on Human Settlements and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat I) in Vancouver, Canada in 1976, along with the creation of the *Secretaría de Asentamientos Humanos y Obras Públicas* (SAHOP). The 1970s in Mexico also witnessed increased research activity as well as the foundation of new academic institutions dedicated to urban and regional planning (GARZA, 1996). How

[11] Spanish original: “El problema jamás se resolverá con un aparato burocrático centralizado que malgasta recursos, ni tampoco con el concurso de gremios de profesionales [...], ni menos aún con la participación de [...] empresarios y proveedores de materiales y servicios sofisticados”.

exiled planners from other Latin American countries influenced these developments in their host country remains a question for the transnational intellectual history of urban planning in Latin America.

FINAL REMARKS

In conclusion, at the beginning of the 1960s one can observe a certain distancing from external models in urban planning in Latin America and an increased consciousness of assumed singularities of 'the' Latin American city, that only came into being as a central figure of social theory during that period. International organizations active on the continent, such as CEPAL, but also national institutions along with social sciences spread a virtual planning euphoria that granted cities the role of motors for development.

In a second instance, the Latin American city as part of the "Third World" occupied the foreground. In architectural and urban planning publications, references to other countries of the Global South become more frequent. Nevertheless, the dependence theory already contained a certain pessimism as to the possibility of overcoming the supposed underdevelopment of Latin American or "Third-World cities" in the existing political and capitalist system. The question regarding what characterized Latin American cities, that had already been relevant since the 19th century, was answered then with a dose of cynicism: slums, *favelas* and *villas miseria* (GORELIK, 2009). Beyond this leftist critique, the adoption of a laissez-faire principle by the neoliberal regimes of the 1970s that also affected other realms of social policy finally led to the withdrawal of the state from urban planning in Latin America.

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