Chapter 14.

Circulations of planning ideas and urban policy mobilities in Latin America

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Abstract

The circulation of ideas and practices is intrinsic to the development of urban policies and cities. The mobilization of knowledge from elsewhere has been an important tool for the resolution of technical issues as well as to build political legitimacy. In this sense, Latin American cities provide a privileged viewpoint to observe these processes. Many of those cities were historically shaped by the adoption and adaptation of Euro-centric modernity ideals. However, this relationship cannot be understood as passive subordination but historically negotiated by local elites and policy actors. From the last decades of the twentieth century, Latin American cities also became important centres of political innovation. A relational comprehension of the long-standing power relations, actors, processes and networks involved in urban policy circulation is necessary to understand Latin American cities.

Key words (6 max): policy circulation and mobilities, urban planning and policy, housing, large urban projects, international organisations, Latin American cities.

Introduction

For the occasion of the Third United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development world attention was on Latin America. Habitat III, as it is commonly known, was held in Quito, Ecuador, in October 2016. According to Cities Alliance, hosting the conference in Latin America was a strategic choice, since ‘the region has nursed important innovations in terms of urbanisation and urban policy’ⁱ.

The multi-donor coalition Cities Alliance since its creation in 1999, by the initiative of the World Bank and the United Nations, has been promoting Latin American innovations experiences: ranging from participatory budgets and city master plans to transport systems and informal settlements upgradings. As acknowledged by the organisation: ‘Latin America is a rich source of knowledge resources, and Cities Alliance provides a flexible platform for knowledge sharing and working together’ⁱⁱ. This vignette relates Latin American cities, city networks, international organisations and varied urban policy circulations. It also opens a series of questions on urban policy circulation: what is being circulated? Who is circulating it? How is being circulated? Is this a new phenomenon? Which is the role of Latin American cities in the geopolitics of urban policy circulations?

Latin American cities have been historically influenced and shaped by foreigner ideas since the sixteenth century and the beginning of the Spanish and Portuguese colonisations. However, from the late 1980s and 1990s, the region has been attracting international attention. In many countriesⁱⁱⁱ, the centralised dictatorships of the 1960s and 1970s gave place to democratic governments in the 1980s. Since then several municipal experiences have been arising to creatively tackle historic inequality in Latin American cities whereas others, paradoxically, seem to reproduce it.

This chapter focuses on the circulation of ideas, transfer and mobilities regarding urban policy in Latin America. By urban policy we are considering here only state/government actions that affect and potentially transform urban space (Marques, 2017) and its materiality, i.e., infrastructure networks, road openings, construction and regulation of living spaces, circulation, transport and leisure. These policies are very often associated with local governments, although they can sometimes involve actions

by state and national governments, all immersed in and influenced by global circuits of policy making.

The chapter aims to explore the entanglements between Latin American cities' development and international circuits of urban ideas and policy making from the mid-nineteenth century to present times. To do so we draw on the theoretical and methodological contributions of planning and transnational history and policy mobility.

For planning historians, urban transformations have been always influenced by models, whether utopian schemes (Choay, 2005) or actually existing cities (Ward, 2013). They have been dedicated to examine the modes and reasons by which planning ideas and practices from somewhere else have been so fundamental to urban development in certain cities (Sutcliffe, 1981; Hall, 1996). Amidst these analyses, a particular focus has been given to the role of colonialism in determining international flows of planning ideas and practices (King, 1989). Seeking to systematise the international diffusion of planning, Ward (2000) points to three dimensions to be observed. First, the mechanisms of diffusion, i.e., through individual engagements; professional meetings; or intergovernmental actions (for a further discussion about mechanisms of policy diffusion, see Kuhlmann in this volume). Second, the transformation of these ideas and practices in the diffusion process. Third, the causes of diffusion, that is, the extent to which diffusion could be considered a reflection of broader economic, political and cultural contexts associated with international relations. As examined in the next section, planning history literature also informed approaches on Latin American urban planning and its connections with European urban planning.^{iv}

Another approach to examine these 'exports and imports' of knowledge was brought by transnational historiography (Hietala, 1987; Saunier, 2002). Instead of focusing on the policies that circulate, this literature examines the role of interconnections between local governments for the circulation of urban policies throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. According to Saunier (2008) it is possible to identify three different regimes in the transnational history of municipal connections. The first one shaped around peer-to-peer exchanges, often between mayors and municipal technicians, around urban solutions - technologies, regulations, and projects - adequate to the modern metropolis of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The second regime was characterized by the performance of more structured transnational institutions - city associations^v and, after the Second World War,

multilateral agencies - intermediating municipal exchanges and serving as knowledge reference centers. The third regime from the 1980s on is marked by the competition among cities and the proliferation of city networks around a variety of topics.

Urban Policy mobilities literature is a more recent urban studies framework for the study of how policies, policy knowledge and best practices travel between different locales (see Jennifer Robinson in this volume for its potential as comparative method). It analyzes the actors, practices, power relations and infrastructures that affect the (re)production, adoption and travel of policies and the process of mutation that these policies undergo while they are "in motion" (Temenos and McCann, 2016). This framework is concerned with the production of urban space as a relational process that spans across time and different scales. Thus, it understood urban policymaking as both relational and territorial that is, as both in motion and simultaneously fixed or embedded in place (Peck and Theodore, 2010; Cochrane and Ward 2012). This relational-territorial lens entails studying the practices of actors –which can be state agents as well and non-state actors such as experts and consultants and activists– and the spaces and technologies through which policy knowledge circulate, such as conferences, protests, consultancy work, tours and traditional and electronic media. The most salient difference between policy mobilities and other approaches, and what constitutes one of its most important contributions, is a spatial-relational conceptualization of how policy and urban space are produced (for a deep account on the different streams of research about how policies travels, see Osmany Porto de Oliveira in this volume).

Although recognizing the multidirectional flows of urban policies, literature produced by many of these approaches is still strongly focused on North-North circuits or, at most, on North-South relations. Seeking to avoid that bias, this chapter analyzes urban policy circulation in Latin American cities and stresses the need to analyze contemporary juxtapositions between North-South, but also South-South and South-North directions of urban policy circulation. We argue that Latin American cities provide a privileged viewpoint to observe these processes and to expand the still limited experiences that inform recent conceptualizations on urban policy circulation.

Inspired by aforementioned dialogue between planning history, policy mobility and transnational history, and taking into account the Latin American historical position in the geopolitics of urban policy circulations the review that follows is divided in three periods: 1. 'Post-colonial urban societies and the circulation of planning ideas

(1850-1950)'; 2. 'Circuits of foreign aid and developmentalism (1950-1980)'; 3. 'Neoliberal adjustments and the multiple circuits of policy circulation (1980-2020)'. The third period will be more deeply analyzed by addressing three different episodes of urban policy circulation in Latin American cities. First, focusing on the Barcelona Model of urban policies and its circulation in Latin American cities through North - South circuits of policy transfers. Second, analyzing the Puerto Madero redevelopment project as an episode of urban policy circulation that juxtapose North - South and South-South urban policy circuits. Third, presenting slum upgrading policies in Latin American cities showing the various and changing transfer agents and circuits involved. Finally, a series of conclusions and new research frontiers in urban policy circulation would be presented.

Latin American cities' development and international circuits of urban ideas and policy making

Post-colonial bourgeois cities and metropolitan growth (1850-1950)

The consolidation of urban societies in Latin America's capital cities started to take place in the second half of the nineteenth century with the rapid growth of population and the economic boom provided by the export of agricultural and mineral commodities. Local elites embarked on similar projects of urban modernization and nation-building aiming at one hand, to improve the infrastructure of export-oriented industries (e.g. railroads, ports, sanitation) while on the other hand overcome the image of colonial towns and foster a sense of forward-looking cosmopolitan cities. If England was the paradigm of a liberal economy - with many ventures investing in the region - France served as the cultural reference for 'fine arts and civilization, refinement and urbanity' with local elites adopting the 'so-called 'French style' in different aspects of domestic and public life in the cities' (Almandoz, 2002:17). Second-Empire Paris epitomized urban modernity and provided the inspiration for the transformation of (spaces in) post-colonial towns into 'bourgeois cities'.

The circulation of planning ideas has, according to King (1980), a longer history than often acknowledged. However, it is with the advent of town planning as a distinct

field of knowledge in the early 20th century that active and fertile networks of knowledge exchange were constituted (Sutcliffe, 1981; Ward, 2005). Not only did planning models circulated within the informational infrastructure of publications and congresses but Latin American professionals were trained in Europe while foreign experts were invited to give talks and often commissioned with plans for public works (Hardoy, 1988; Leme, 1999; Novick, 2003). Foreign professionals were present in the private groups prospecting work in the region and also participated in competitions for planning proposals. The planners linked with the Paris-based *Musée Social* were particularly active in Latin America. The institution, set up in 1894, was an early version of a think-tank dedicated to the study of social welfare and brought together professionals who studied the effects of industrialisation and urban growth (Horne, 2002). Many of these experts were commissioned with works in the region, 'a constellation of French urban planners and landscape architects' (Cody, 2003: 93) active between 1910 and 1950 in places like Buenos Aires, Caracas, Havana, Montevideo, Quito, and Rio de Janeiro (Pechman, 1996). Despite the dominant presence of foreign ideas, it would be a mistake to portray power relationships as 'passive' or 'dependent'. Almandoz (2002) highlights the 'correspondence' of interests between local elites and foreign groups, while Novick (2009: 5) summarized the multiple ways in which urban scholarship have examined these engagements through concepts as 'transfer', 'borrowing', 'export-import', 'translation', 'circulation' or 'dissemination'. She adds the important dimension of 'retro-transference' in which foreign experts' experience in Latin America would have 'on their doctrines as well as on their later careers' (Novick, 2003: 266).

The emerging bourgeois capital cities of Latin America had in the remodelling of Paris after the Great Works carried out by Baron Haussmann between 1850 and 1870s its main source for planning ideas. Such a model was characterized by the concern with traffic circulation, hygiene and monumentality. In the period that Almandoz (2002) called the *Belle Époque* reforms of the 1890s-1910s, the 'Haussmann model' was applied in a piecemeal fashion in capital cities, particularly in the widening of roads dotted with monuments, boulevards and the creation of squares and green spaces, as in Mexico City, Montevideo and Santiago de Chile (Hardoy, 1988). More extensive renewal programs were carried out in Buenos Aires under mayor Torcuato de Alvear (1883-1886) and in Rio de Janeiro with mayor Pereira Passos (1903-1906) with both praised locally as versions of Haussmann (Benchimol,

1992; Hardoy, 1988; Gorelik, 1998). Pereira Passos is an illustrative example of how planning knowledge circulated in the period. He was an active member of the local engineering association that followed scientific exchanges in Europe, was trained in Paris during the Great Works period and promoted extensive remodelling plans for the city (Needell, 1987). When appointed as mayor, a combination of favourable economic circumstances and unprecedented powers allowed him to carry out these plans that entailed the demolition of significant parts of the city together with a federal program of modernization of the port. Rio de Janeiro was transformed materially with new roads, underground infrastructure and parks, and culturally with spaces such as boulevards, cafés and an opera house that replicated the urban life of European cities. The bourgeois city of Rio of the 1910s was one where popular economic and cultural practices were outlawed and that expelled a significant part of the urban poor through the demolishing of tenement houses (Needell, 1987). Having few options but to reside in precarious settlements, some of the displaced groups consolidated the initial occupation of the hills encircling the city leading to the emergence of the first *favelas* (Abreu, 1987). Housing precarity was also a widespread condition in other cities in the region with crowded tenement houses being the option of choice for the poor migrants from the countryside - many being only recently freed slaves - and immigrants from Europe and beyond (Hardoy, 1988). Apart from limited initiatives by philanthropic institutions and industrialists, this situation would aggravate as the population continued to grow.

Concerns with the 'embellishment' and extension of Latin American city centre's gradually gave way to more comprehensive plans to structure the urban space in the 1920s and 1930s. In the first decades of the twentieth century the population in many cities doubled or tripled – as in Bogotá, Lima and Santiago – or surpassed the mark of one million inhabitants – as in Mexico City, Sao Paulo and Rio, with Buenos Aires doubling that figure. This entailed a shift from *urbanism* to *urban planning* (Almandoz, 2002). Detailed analyses provided by foreign experts - such as Donat Agache's plan for Rio de Janeiro in 1926 or Maurice Rotival for Caracas in 1939 - were illustrative of the change of times; while still rooted in Haussmann examples it tried to respond to the challenges of rapid growth (Almandoz, 1999, Pereira, 2002). But in the transformation of Latin American cities into de facto metropolises, the Paris of the 1850s was no longer the appropriate model. The modernist ideas of Swiss-French architect Le Corbusier – a 'peripatetic propagandist' (Home, 1990) who

travelled to South America on several occasions and worked with local professionals (Liernur and Pschepiurca, 2008) – and North American planning captured the imagination of a new generation of architects and planners. The civilizing agenda of the bourgeois city was replaced by concerns to make urban plans rational and functional: fast flowing central thoroughfares, high-density skyscrapers and large green spaces. This transition started in the inter-war period and would become established after the Second World War with the promise of a ‘technical modernity’ represented by ‘master plans, zoning, ordinances and planning-related instruments and institutions copied from the USA’ (Almandoz, 2006: 99) becoming predominant in the region.

The development aid field and the housing question (1950-1980)

The immediate post-war period was marked by many changes in the *modus operandi* of urban policy exchanges with the creation of international organisations such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Bank (for a further discussion on international agencies, see Stren in this volume). In the Cold War context, the captivation exerted by communist ideas and the ‘Cuban example’ was seen by these organisations as a threat in potential to the ongoing reconfiguration of world capitalist power (Ramsamy, 2006). Thus, the long-standing exchanges of ideas and municipal connections around the urban became progressively controlled by international organisations through ‘development aid’ (Ewen and Saunier, 2008; Cochrane, 2011). In the emerging ‘development aid’ field, the UN, the World Bank and the US government ‘Four Point Program’ championed by President Truman played a prominent role.

Another relevant organization in the region was the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), created in 1948 in Santiago, Chile to promote formulations that could leverage the advantages of underdevelopment and make the final leap toward progress (Almandoz, 2008). Among them was the advocacy for the import substitution industrialization (ISI) as a way for economic growth and modernization. In this framework, cities were understood to play a very important, though contradictory, role. On the one hand, they were seen as fundamental to modernization, in opposition to rural areas associated with backwardness. On the other hand, they embodied central failures of the ISI project

that were seen as impeding the process of surmounting the most persistent features of traditional (non-modern) societies: urbanization without industrialization, reduced mortality rates paired with high birth rates, and increased migration from the countryside to the city with a corresponding inability of the latter to process the demographic pressure (Jajamovich and Cortés, 2019).

In this context, the housing question gained prominence. As discussed in the previous section, the destination for many newly arriving migrants was self-built homes in squatter settlements and irregular subdivisions with inadequate or entirely absent infrastructure. By the 1980s a high proportion of many large cities, ranging from 25 to over 50 percent, corresponded to informally built-up areas (Portes and Walton, 1981). Besides the influence of planning and zoning ideas from the North over the region, a substantial flow of funding, ideas, and policy recommendations were aimed at tackling the housing problem^{vi}.

Confirming its hegemonic geopolitical power over Latin America, the United States government launched in 1961, an all-embracing aid programme to Latin America, conceived with many inputs from national governments of the region (Darnton, 2012). The 'Alliance for Progress' programme included the construction of massive housing for the poor, among other actions over income distribution, exports diversification, agrarian reform, adult illiteracy, inflation reduction and price stability. The programme faced many difficulties to be implemented, particularly when major economic and land reforms were needed (Edwards, 2009). In contrast, it served to catalyse transformations already in course. In Rio de Janeiro, for instance, Alliance for Progress funds supported housing policies implemented by governor Carlos Lacerda, known for his conservative and anti-communist stance. This incurred in the removals of well-located *favelas* and the resettlement of its population in housing units built by the state in distant areas of the city. Thousands of housing units were built with funds from the Alliance for Progress in other Latin American cities, changing their landscape and reinforcing the social (and moral) debate around homeownership (Benmergui, 2009).

Despite this, popular organisation was growing as well as resistance to forced removals and claims for upgrading informal settlements' conditions. This context favoured the development of ideas on 'self-help' and 'slum upgrading' in the 'development aid'. Such ideas circulated internationally at least since the 1950s (Harris, forthcoming). Two key individuals for their dissemination were German

architect Otto Koenigsberger and the British architect John F. C. Turner. Koenigsberger, after working in housing projects in India, where he first developed his ideas in favour of self-help (Liscombe, 2006), became a consultant for the UN. Turner moved to Peru in the late 1950s where he advised self-help and upgrading initiatives by locals and national government when invited by the UN and the World Bank (Chavez et al, 2000)^{vii}. In this regard, it is noteworthy how international organisations served as platforms for transnational planners' work (Ward, 2010). Nevertheless, their individual careers also demonstrate how academic centres from renowned European and North American universities kept being fundamental for the dissemination of urban planning ideas for poorer countries. As much in the offer of support to projects developed within these countries' boundaries as in the reception of recently graduated professionals from them. Koenigsberger initiated in the 1950s a tropical architecture program at the Architectural Association in London, which by the 1970s moved to the University College London giving rise to the Development Planning Unit (DPU). John FC Turner began teaching in 1965 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), later also becoming a DPU associate. Koenigsberger and Turner provide good examples of 'retro-transference' (Novick, 2009) as mentioned in the previous section.

The appropriation of Turner's ideas by the World Bank is illustrative of how international organisations come to select, translate, adapt and disseminate policy models. Turner's advocacy for self-help was a response to local conditions loaded with a sense of popular empowerment, of putting the squatter settlements' dwellers on the control of their living environments (Harris, 2003; Cohen, 2015). In contrast, for the World Bank the problem was that the lack of essential urban services and congestion in cities could lead to increasing costs in housing and employment, thus decreasing their productivity (Cohen et al. 1983). Hence the principles that would guide the Bank's activities were centred in finding low-cost solutions to housing the poor without public subsidy, stimulating local private investments and assuring cost recovery and replicability (Jones and Ward, 1994). Nevertheless, the popular appeal of Turner's ideas was of great help for bringing legitimacy and local adhesion to World Bank projects (Jones, 2012; Harris, 2003).

However, the period was also marked by the creation of relevant educational, research and policy networks articulating South–South flows of knowledge (Jajamovich and Cortés, 2019). This included the Committee on Regional Urban Development of the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (although created by

initiative of the Unesco and supported by Ford Foundation foundings, among others), the aforementioned ECLAC and the Interdisciplinary Centre for Urban and Regional Development of the Catholic University of Chile; the Inter-American Centre for Housing and Planning in Colombia; the Centre for Development Studies in Venezuela; the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies in Argentina; the Centre for Economic and Demographic Studies in Mexico; and the Brazilian Centre for Analysis and Planning in Brazil, among others.

Within some of these networks, North-South urban policy and theory transfers were also criticised as cultural subordination (Novick, 2003; Jajamovich, 2017; Gorelik, 2017). Policies and research theories on Latin American cities developed in the region itself posited that the accelerated process of urbanisation in Latin America had different characteristics than urbanisation in other regions.

Neoliberal adjustments and the multiple circuits of policy circulation (1980-2020).

The 1980s marked a period of international debt crisis for Latin American and other 'developing countries'. As a condition to access loans, the IMF and the World Bank required governments to implement Structural Adjustment Programs - known as the Washington Consensus - implicating in institutional and policy reforms. In consequence, the funding of infrastructure projects (slum-upgrading and sites and services), which prevailed in the World Bank's first decade of activity in the urban sector (1972-1982), shifted to 'institutional development'. The objective was to promote reforms aimed at reconfiguring the role of the state (on a national, regional and local scale) and expanding the private sector participation in the provision of public services, thus subordinating government policies to the demands of the housing market and adopting business models of urban planning. Hence emphasis was given to land regularisation (inspired by the neoliberal ideas of Peruvian economist Hernando De Soto), instruments for flexibilizing land use restrictions and the creation of financial housing systems. This was reflected in cities through a combination of deteriorating social indicators, the strengthening of social movements and demonstrations.

Parallel, in accordance with this international context and an 'expansive' or 'developmental' regional cycle - departing from multiple processes such as industrial

relocation, the end of demographic growth by migration, the proliferation of insular spaces - profound transformations at the urban level mark this period in Latin America. Such transformations consist of morphological and economic changes, modifications in urban policies, and mutations in the ways of conceptualizing the city and the roles that are granted to it (Menazzi, 2013).

Urban policy and practices in this period were marked by the transition from comprehensive planning to strategic urban planning arguing for better integration with global restructuring processes to which Large Urban projects (LUP) are a significant feature (Burgess and Carmona, 2009). LUPs were promoted as strategic policies facilitating spatial restructuring, attracting foreign direct investment and assisting to reposition cities globally. They generally included office complexes, high-end real estate, five-star hotels, shopping malls as well as cultural and leisure facilities (Cuenya, Novais and Vainer, 2012; Jajamovich and Kozak, 2019). Several of these projects were created on unused or abandoned industrial infrastructure sites, such as ports and railway areas. The most well known and paradigmatic examples of LUP are Baltimore's Inner Harbor, Boston's Quincy market and its waterfront, Barcelona's port area and London Canary Wharf. Waterfront renewal programs such as Puerto Madero (examined in the next section) in Buenos Aires and Porto Maravilha in Rio de Janeiro contained direct references to the experience of Barcelona and paradigmatic urban interventions such as Malecón 2000 in Guayaquil, and the creation of new CBDs in Mexico City's Santa Fe and São Paulo's Água Espraiada, illustrate how the large urban projects became a reference in urban policy circulations in Latin American cities.

In this period, urban policy transfers in Latin American cities have multiplied and diversified increasingly juxtaposing North - South, South - South and even South - North circuits. These processes involved, besides 'traditional' transfer organisations, renovated city networks. Neoliberalization processes in Latin American cities were accompanied by decentralization initiatives and by a revamp of inter-municipal networks and policy learning noticeable in the pre-war period before the consolidation of central government institutions. Inter-municipal cooperation in Latin America has also been growing in this period through bilateral and multilateral relations as well as networks of cities -such as Mercociudades - and policy networks joined by municipal governments in urban policy issues.

Many Latin American urban governments developed Inter-municipal cooperation with Spanish cities such as Barcelona, Madrid and the Junta de

Andalucía. Development cooperation included urban policy circulations which were strengthened by the creation of new Ibero-American networks of cities, such as the Ibero-American Capital Cities Union (UCCI) - founded in 1982 - and the Ibero-American Centre of Strategic Urban Development (CIDEU)- founded in 1993 (Duque Franco, 2013). As can be seen in the next section Barcelonean experts, politicians and public-private companies would be specially involved in urban policy transfers with Latin American cities including objectives and techniques such as strategic urban planning strategies and waterfront development projects, among others.

From the 1990s, Latin American urban policies and innovations have become global 'best practices', challenging the prior prevalence of the diffusion of urban policies from North to South. Noteworthy, the II United Nations Conference on Human Settlements - Habitat II was an important milestone in the production and circulation of Latin American best practices. Since then, among these, the most well-known urban policies in transfer are Porto Alegre's participatory budgeting (Peck and Theodore, 2015; Porto de Oliveira, 2017), Curitiba's urban transport and sustainability policies (Sánchez, 2002; Sánchez and Moura, 2005), and Medellín's interventions in urban transport and public space design (Duque Franco and Ortiz, 2020).

Actually, South-South urban policy diffusion and learning became an increasingly important field of intervention for international development banks, global philanthropy and global think tanks (Montero, 2019; Sosa and Montero, 2018). Despite optimistic viewpoints on the crescent strength of South - South circuits of urban policy transfers, critical scholarship has been pointing that the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and other international institutions remain as passage points or intermediaries. In fact, the ambition to expand the World Bank's 'technical assistance' capacity and to make it a 'knowledge bank' has been enhanced since the mid-1990s. By disseminating knowledge built around 'best practices', that is, occupying the place of a 'knowledge mediator', the World Bank has increasingly invested in knowledge networks, communities of practice and information technology for better knowledge sharing both internally and externally (Kessides, 2000; Stone, 2013). The promotion of certain practices and policies gradually are no longer done exclusively through conditionalities, but more and more through persuasion, put into practice through research networks, conferences and consultancies (Stone, 2013).

The 2000 World Bank's agenda for cities, in this sense, embedded on a renovated emphasis on 'poverty reduction' highlights the importance of

complementing the Bank's direct assistance, i.e. through the Bank's own operations, through a 'wholesale approach'. This approach should take place for instance through networks dedicated to the exchange of knowledge and expertise between municipalities, research and training centers and cooperation agreements between cities. The establishment in 2004 of the United Cities and Local Government (from a fusion of former city networks) can be seen as a partial consequence of the World Bank's inputs.

The cases below empirically illustrate the transformations in urban policy circulation here described in this historical review of Latin American cities' development and international circuits of urban ideas and policy making, mainly regarding this third period.

Case 1. The Barcelona model in Latin American cities

Since the democratisation of Spain in the late 1970s, the urban development of the city of Barcelona has attracted as much interest from practitioners and policy makers as it has been promoted by its local actors, to the extent of the city becoming a signifier of a particular set of policies and practices. It invariably makes reference to formal dimensions of urban planning as well as public administration strategies: the renewal of public spaces with attention to urban design; large-scale urban development projects; the use of a catalyst event such as the Olympic Games to leverage intergovernmental support and funding; and the elaboration of strategic plans as a way to achieve consensus among public and private actors on policy priorities.

Although the denomination of a 'Barcelona model' seems to have been first formulated in the academia (Montaner, 1990), it was later officially assumed by Barcelona city hall in an attempt to brand and transfer its expertise in public policies. Following the global visibility provided by the hosting of the 1992 Olympic Games, numerous initiatives were taken to forge networks with other cities, to host events and strategically engage with international organisations. The resulting book, *Barcelona, a model of urban transformation 1980–1995* (Borja, 1996), became a reference in the urban management training programme run by the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme for Latin America and the Caribbean. These initiatives of 'talking up' the policies and practices carried out in Barcelona can be understood as forms of 'policy boosterism' with the intention of generating reputational capital and

situating the city as a key reference (McCann, 2013). Latin America was, as one policy document stated, the 'region where Barcelona city hall has had the greatest visibility and where the majority of exchanges and relationships has been established' (Barcelona, 2004: 41). In fact, in the 1990s Barcelona became an 'obligatory passage point' in different areas of urban policies and planning expertise in Latin America (Novais, 2010; Duque Franco, forthcoming; Jajamovich, 2016; Silvestre, forthcoming).

The urban development experience of Barcelona became an object of interest to different audiences (Garcia-Ramon and Albet, 2004). The merits of the achievements were promoted through two main circuits: in the epistemic communities of academia, architecture and planning practice; and in the political channels articulated with other governments and international institutions. That is not to say that the two groups were mutually exclusive or that their interests did not coincide. Politicians were as much impressed by the physical transformation of the city as scholars and practitioners were interested in instruments such as strategic plans, features that would come together in the proposal for the redevelopment of Puerto Madero, the port area of Buenos Aires. However, this differentiation is helpful to locate the discourses and actors promoting Barcelona and their spaces of engagement.

Case 2. Puerto Madero: large urban projects and changing urban policy circuits.

Since 1989, during Carlos Saúl Menem's tenure as president of Argentina, economic and political reforms, notably the privatization of national industries and services, were enacted to push for greater integration with international markets. Accordingly, the City of Buenos Aires, whose mayor was appointed by the president of the country, was also implementing a privatization program. It was in this context that the Historic Puerto Madero Corporation (CAPMSA) was created as a semi-public entity, tasked with developing a financial, regulatory, and physical plan that would secure the development of the port. CAPMSA incorporated local and national government agents, forming the role of national and urban state in this urban policy transfer process. Moreover, it presented a public-private model of urban management (Jajamovich, 2016).

After the creation of CAPMSA, local authorities from Buenos Aires commissioned a master plan for Puerto Madero to a Barcelonian firm. Reflecting the growing relevance of urban policy tourism (Gonzalez, 2011) in urban policy transfer

processes, Mayor Carlos Grosso made several trips to Barcelona, which at that time was completing its own port redevelopment and becoming a flagship of 'best practices'.

In a typical case of municipal cooperation, local authorities in Buenos Aires set up cooperation agreements with Barcelonian experts, reactivating a previous agreement signed in 1985 between the city government of Barcelona and the Municipality of Buenos Aires. This accord was referred to the 'European Associate Consultants' (CEA) - a private company formed by Joan Alemany and Joan Busquets. Jordi Borja collaborated on the proposal as head of Technologies Urbanes Barcelona SA (TUBSA), a holding of public and private companies specialized in offering consulting services to local governments in areas such as traffic engineering, sanitation, geoprocessing and public management. In July 1990, they proposed their plan, the 'Strategic Plan for Historic Puerto Madero' (SPHPM), positioning it as the first phase of broader cooperation, which was intended to reinforce links between Buenos Aires and Barcelona and their respective enterprises and experts.

Urban policy transfer processes can become mired in conflict. The Barcelonian proposal generated public resistance and led to changes within the local context, thereby establishing a series of discussions on the links between plans and projects, public and private actors, and foreign and local actors, among other issues. The 'Central Society of Architects' (SCA) contested the legitimacy of the roles of foreign experts, criticized the lack of involvement of local architects and the absence of a citywide comprehensive plan that included the Puerto Madero project, proclaiming that the PEAPM was dominated by real estate interests.

Such conflicts of interest and visions develop themselves in the fulfillment of some projects, the alteration of some plans, and the blockage of some proposals. Due to all the criticisms and the conflicts generated because of the Project, the Barcelonian master plan was abandoned. Because of this, local architects were subsequently involved, and in July 1991 the SCA organized a competition of ideas through the City Council of Buenos Aires. While the coverage of land use was reduced (from 3.000.000 to 1.500.000 square meters in floor area), the SCA no longer supported the need for a broader plan. The combination of sale systems and land grants - proposed in the Catalan project - was also left behind in favor of simply prioritizing sale systems.

Although the Catalan proposal was finally rejected, strategic urban planning and project-led planning perspectives remained and reinforced the participation of

private capital in the city. This perspective was legitimized by involving local architects and by retaining the main provision of the Spanish consultancy: a management system with public initiative and private funding. Political contingency was part of this process of urban policy transfer. Far away from passivity and stability of interests, the local emerging political actors used - and eventually partially abandoned - circulating templates to build coalitions in open-ended processes.

Puerto Madero in motion and south-south urban policy circulation circuits

Twenty years after the local rejection of the Barcelonian proposal the Historic Puerto Madero Corporation (CAPMSA) edited an auto celebratory book pointing to two issues. First, the book shows that the Puerto Madero project has almost ended and completed the urbanization of the area. Second, CAPMSA introduces itself as an 'exporter' of its 'successful' urban formula in Latin American Cities.

In 1999, CAPMSA modified its functions beyond Puerto Madero project development expanding its scopes including international consultancy. Local experts and CAPMSA that previously took part in urban policy transfer processes with Catalan experts became consultants in other Latin American cities such as Mendoza, Posadas, Corrientes, Resistencia, Santiago de Chile, Encarnación, Rio de Janeiro, Asunción, Santo Domingo and Barranquilla. Those exchanges took many forms: planning consulting, feasibilities studies, technical assistance, formulation and conceptual development of urbanization alternatives, etc.

If professionals or politicians from many Latin American cities set up cooperation agreements with CAPMSA or visit Puerto Madero to learn from its experience it is because they have previously heard about through the press, specialist literature, policy documents, policy networks and exhibitions. In other words, through complex informational infrastructures involved in urban policy circulation processes. Puerto Madero project and CAPMSA also received international awards in different countries and cities, took part in diverse exhibitions as well as in different networks of cities (such as the 'Asociación Internacional de Villas y Puertos' – Worldwide Network of Port Cities). CAPMSA also promoted the project - and itself - through publications, websites, facebook and twitter, took part in international competitions, started to be studied as a 'best practice example' in many planning programs, and was included as an example in many books and handbooks such as

that one written by Jordi Borja with Manuel Castells (Borja and Castells, 1997), which was supported by the United Nations for Human Settlements and translated into different languages.

The case of Puerto Madero helps us to discuss how global policy practices such as Large urban projects are channeled through specific networks, are adapted, resisted, implemented and re-circulated. Historicizing urban policy circulations between politicians, experts and institutions from Barcelona and Buenos Aires allows us to discuss strict division or dichotomies between 'import' and 'export' as well as between north-south and south-south circuits.

Case 3. Slum Upgrading: positioning Latin America in global circuits

Slum upgrading experimental practices and ideas have been circulating in Latin America since the 1960s, initially within a slum clearance prevalent order. Over the decades, it is possible to observe two different cycles of slum upgrading circulation. In the first one, it was marked by the circulation of punctual key experiences, such as Turner's work together with the people from the Peruvian *barriadas*, Operación Sitio in Chile, and the first upgradings in Rio de Janeiro. This circulation of slum upgrading ideas amidst practitioner's circuits (conferences, official visits and meetings) was somehow enriched in different Latin American countries by the widespread of catholic pastoral work among poor communities especially regarding land rights (Brum, 2005; Santillán and Woods, 2005).

The second cycle started to take shape from the mid-1990s. It is marked by the increased importance of multilateral agencies in financing slum upgrading projects, somehow a consequence of the renovated prominence that slum upgrading had in Latin America from the mid-1980s. In the context of social struggles against the dictatorial regimes and democratic transition, popular participation was the watchword. Slum upgrading experiences then were more than an alternative to counteract slum clearance, it was a democratic exercise of guaranteeing the right to the city for all. These slum upgrading experiences, developed on the basis of strong popular participation, led multilateral agencies to revise their performance, expanding the funding for this type of program in the region. For the World Bank, the community input in planning and implementation and the municipal implementation of poverty programs and services were promising innovations (Campbell, Peterson, Brakarz, 1991;

Campbell, 1997). Along this acknowledgement, there was the recognition that the public sector was unable to solve all urban housing problems (Brakarz, Greene, Rojas, 2002). Housing experiences drawing on strong residents' participation in Brazil, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Mexico gained prominence at the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) held in Istanbul in 1996. However, the argument for integrated upgrading policies was accompanied by the advocacy of enabling the functioning of the housing markets (Beall, 1996). Thus, including the increase of the private sector in slum upgrading programs, which became more complex, combining infrastructure provision, social equipment, and land tenure.

Brazilian experience is exemplary of this second cycle. Besides it reveals how the dissemination of increasingly technocratic and less participatory slum upgrading programs were capitalised by both local political actors and international organizations.

The construction and dissemination of the Brazilian experience

The return of electoral politics in the early-1980s allowed the rise of left wing governments in several cities, which put in practice a set of legal instruments for recognition of squatter settlements and land tenure. Citywide slum upgrading projects were also implemented, very often relying on communities' labor and, most importantly, with their involvement in decision-making processes (Ruster and Imparato, 2003; Denaldi, 2003).

From the mid-1990s, drawing on a decade of accumulating expertise and increasingly financed by multilateral agencies, slum upgrading became more complex, encompassing whole settlements and combining physical intervention and land tenure to 'integrate' the favelas into the city's fabric. However, in this process, the role of residents was reduced and devoid of their sense of 'democratic participation' (Maricato, 1996).

The most representative of these programs is perhaps the Favela-Bairro Program, initiated in 1994. The program drew on the experience of a decade of Mutirão Project in which there was an 'educational aspect', despite the political co-option of some leaders (Petersen, 2003). The absence of formal procedures for project approval (Freire; Freire-Medeiros and Cavalcanti, 2009), however, was an impediment for multilateral agencies' financing (Petersen, 2003).

Favela-Bairro needed to develop a 'much more sophisticated and professionalized' practice (Petersen, 2003). In this much more emphasis was given to the aspect of urban design, inaugurating the participation of renowned architecture offices in slum upgrading. Negotiations with the Inter-American Development Bank began in late 1994 and the loan was approved the following year. This emptying of emancipatory and political content from Favela-Bairro upgradings occurred while Catalan consultants were being hired to prepare the Strategic Plan for the City of Rio de Janeiro, aiming at making Rio de Janeiro a more competitive city. According to the Inter-American Development Bank's staff, Favela-Bairro was a key initiative that influenced many transformations on the NUPs financed by the Bank in other Latin American countries (Brakarz, Greene, Rojas, 2002; Coli, 2006).

Another example of considerable international visibility and circulation, was the Guarapiranga Program, developed by the municipality of São Paulo and financed by the World Bank. The large-scale Guarapiranga Program encompassed slum upgrading as one of its strategies towards the environmental recovery of this water supply reservoir, which showed high levels of pollution, much of it attributed to sewage and garbage from the slums on the reservoir banks. Slum upgrading actions within the program explicitly drew on Favela-Bairro methodology and the prevalence of urban design over popular participation. It then became part of the World Bank's list of best practices, being disseminated worldwide, especially among African countries.

In sum, Brazilian experience in this second cycle reveals a win-win game among multilateral agencies and local political actors takes shape. For multilateral agencies it has been a way to extend their power of influence while for local political actors it has been an opportunity to boost their career both in international and domestic domains. This 'successful partnership' would gain another chapter with the creation of the Cities Alliance. This multi donor coalition was established by initiative of the World Bank and UN-Habitat in 1999 to disseminate slum upgrading and city development strategies (another denomination for strategic planning). On the one hand, Alliance, which between 2001 and 2019 had its office for Latin America and the Caribbean based in São Paulo, offered technical assistance for the improvement and scale of municipal programs and for the development of a national one. On the other hand, Cities Alliance have been relying on the fruitful Brazilian experience to world spread slum upgrading.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have emphasised the relational character of urban and policy change in Latin America. The formation of cities during colonialism and their exponential growth since the second half of the nineteenth century was shaped by flows: of goods, investment, people and ideas. Shaped by a sense of becoming – ‘civilized’, ‘modern’, ‘developed’ – it provided an important terrain for the import of models and practices from elsewhere; as a testing ground for new ideas but also of homegrown solutions that travelled far to other places in the South and North.

The presented large historic review shows the fundamental role played by local elites in ‘importing’ and adapting circulating models, whether promoting direct links with European and North American planners, negotiating the terms of loans and technical assistance with multilateral organizations, or broadcasting local initiatives from the last decades of the twentieth century.

One perennial feature of the ‘Northern gaze’ has been the ability of the region to point to these alternative futures. The wave of progressive urban policies since the 1990s and the arrival to power of left-wing parties in many presidential governments in the 2000s (Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Venezuela) seemed to herald an era of alternatives to neoliberalism. In fact, academics examining the revanchism that marked urban change in the cities of the Global North were keen to temper sobering analyses with optimistic (and one may say celebratory) views of Latin American examples that ‘challenged’ neoliberalism or that even marked a passage to a ‘postneoliberal’ period (Novy and Meyer, 2009; Peck et al, 2010).

However Latin American ‘innovations’ while developed in a moment of democratic transition and strong popular participation in politics was also framed by the development of neoliberal reforms (Dagnino, 2004; Caldeira and Holston, 2015). In consequence, much of their original sense ends up being depoliticized meanwhile being increasingly mobilised by political actors from a large spectrum of positions.

For long this ‘best practices’ production and dissemination have been subject to fierce criticism by Latin American scholarship - pointing how and by whom the determination of them is produced, circulated and materialized (Vainer, 2000; Sánchez, 2002; Delgadillo, 2014). Best practice’s narratives - in texts and manuals -

selectively reconstruct local processes as well as obscure contestations and critiques. This kind of operation also reveals a win-win game. For multilateral agencies it has been a way to extend their power of influence while for local political actors it has been an opportunity to boost their career both in international and domestic domains (Bertelli, 2018; Saraiva, 2019). Nevertheless, despite technocratic arguments and narratives on best practices, urban policy circulation processes are also traversed by conflicts and incongruities.

New frontiers of knowledge emerge from current scholarship on urban policy circulation in Latin American cities. Although exhibiting new forms and flows in the present period, the flow of planning ideas and techniques across national boundaries is not a new phenomenon as seen in previous sections. In that vein, more dialogue is needed between urban policy mobility and planning history in order to show continuities and changes in urban policy circulation processes (Harris and Moore, 2013) and to avoid presentisms and novelty fetichisms.

Relationality - territoriality nexus is also a relevant issue that deserves further inquiry. Research on policy mobility has tended to focus on what moves and who moves them with less attention paid to the politics of grounding dominant ideas in local policy making. The 'demand side' at the end of the mobilization process (e.g. local authorities and policy actors) is usually depicted as passive or as having stable interests. This assumption is problematic as it can reinforce taken for granted power asymmetries in the flow of urban policy ideas, particularly in cases where cities in the Global North are presented as 'exporting sites' for a Global South audience of 'importing sites' (Silvestre and Jajamovich, forthcoming).

Power asymmetries must be further considered in urban policy circulation processes regarding what is in motion and what rest immobile. In dialogue with urban postcolonial scholarship and recent discussion on the coloniality of urban models (Vainer, 2014), it is also necessary to expand the still limited experiences and circuits that inform recent conceptualizations on urban policy circulation. In that vein, further research is needed to scrutinize what new South - South circuits means in the long history of asymmetrical urban policy circulation processes.

Further research should also anchor the agents under analysis in urban policy circulation. It is necessary to scrutinize private companies' involvement in these processes - including real estate operators, financial markets agents, think tanks (Lederman, 2020; Silva Ardila, 2020), tech companies (Freitas, 2018), and extractivist

industries (Lukas, forthcoming), among others -. Also, there is a need to consider urban social movements' involvement (Coli, 2017): as agents of urban policy circulation - with its own urban agendas and transnational networks - but also contesting and resisting urban policy circulation initiatives promoted by public and/or private agents. In that sense, there is a need to analyze policy transfer resistances and the circulation of alternative or progressive urban policies and practices. In that vein, researchers should not forget that urban policy circulation processes are also part of broader disputes over the city and the right to inhabit it.

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ⁱ <https://www.citiesalliance.org/newsroom/news/spotlight/latin-america-mobilises-for-habitat-iii-cities-alliance-offers-platform-for>

ⁱⁱ Idem.

ⁱⁱⁱ Dictatorial regimes were installed in Brazil (1964-1985), Argentina (1966-1973/1976-1983), Bolívia (1964-1982), Chile (1973-1990), Paraguai (1954-1989), Peru (1968-1980), and Uruguay (1973-1985).

^{iv} Scholars such as Jorge Enrique Hardoy, Arturo Almandoz, Alicia Novick, Adrián Gorelik, Ana María Rigotti, Maria Cristina Leme, Vera Rezende, Robert Pechman, among others, have been stressing transnational connections in the development of urban planning and urban policies in Latin American cities.

^v Such as the Union Internationale des Villes, established in 1913 and absorbed, from 1928, by the International Union of Local Authorities - IULA.

^{vi} Regardless of the housing burgeoning debate, United States' cooperation initiatives in urban and regional affairs were also intensified. Funding, visits, and research were sponsored by institutions such as the International Agency for Development of the United States government (USAID), the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, among others. Also, influential US scholars and consultants - such as the planner John Friedmann and the Latin Americanist Richard Morse - spent months and years in different Latin American cities.

^{vii} A special issue edited by Turner for the *Architectural Design* magazine in 1963, on 'what the majority of city builders in urbanizing countries were doing in a positive light', called the attention of the director of the United Nations Centre for Housing, Building and Planning – UN Habitat precursor.