

## TRANSFORMING THE REGION, TRANSFORMING THE CITY: THREE BRAZILIAN STUDIES OF THE 1950's<sup>i</sup>

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### ABSTRACT

*The 1950s can be considered the moment of greatest belief in regional planning and in public control of urban environment in Brazil. It is a time of optimism and modernization, expressed, for example, in the construction of Brasília.*

*This paper focuses on three studies conducted by Brazilian and foreign planners - "Guidelines for a regional plan for Recife" (1951), "Basic elements for the regional planning in São Paulo" (1954) and "Needs and possibilities of the State of São Paulo" (1954), which deal with different territorial scales and reveal the nineteen fifties as a defining moment in Brazilian planning history.*

*The association of planning to development strategies and the redemption of the social perspective of planning in Brazil are designed in these studies, as a product of an amalgam of ideas present in the RPAA - Regional Planning American Association group, mainly those mobilized in the Tennessee Valley Authority project, in the English Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 and in the French Economie et Humanisme movement*

*Besides the Brazilian political-institutional context and the importance that regional planning takes in the post-war period, the interest in Latin America is pointed as the main factor that promotes the link between Economie et Humanisme's social Catholicism based on scientific principles and United States' policy to strengthen economic relations with underdeveloped countries.*

### INTRODUCTION: 1950, THE DECADE OF BELIEF IN REGIONAL PLANNING IN BRAZIL

The nineteen fifties may be considered the decade of greatest belief in regional planning and belief in the possibilities of urban planning as a privileged task of the State, in Brazil. It is the time for a modernizing optimism that is inserted in the context of a national development process and is also expressed in the moving to the new capital, Brasília. What we call "belief in regional planning" is the certainty that public control is possible, the belief that large cities may be renewed, reorganized, redistributed, and that making territorial organization efficient is a path to overcoming regional inequalities. (Sutcliffe, 1984) That perspective is not restricted to Brazil, and precedes the inversion to the radical criticism to planning that is disseminated throughout the western world. In Latin America, such criticism takes particularities, and the belief precedes the time Gorelik (2005) calls "cultural construction of the Latin American city," when the Latin American city starts being discussed based on its impossibilities.

The most striking feature of Brazilian industrial urbanization process in XXth - the conurbation shaping metropolitan areas - is already a fact in the nineteen fifties. Urban population grew by 60% and one-third of such growth occurs in metropolitan areas. In the Southeast region, where the two only "millionaire cities" are located<sup>ii</sup> - São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro - the urbanization rate is already close to 60%. São Paulo is in the heart of the qualitative and quantitative change process and exceeds, in that decade, the Rio de Janeiro population. In the large urban centers of the country, peripheries are already consolidated with the precariousness that is peculiar to the different regions.

Side by side with the planning institutionalization process on the municipal sphere, the regional scale is addressed. This new approach emerges in the so-called

democratic period that corresponds to less than two decades between the end of the “Estado Novo” and the military ruling that was established in 1964. The new political-institutional context favors the organization of planning institutions outside the public administration.

At that time, autonomous institutions were created such as the SAGMACS - *Sociedade de Análise Gráfica e Mecanográfica Aplicada aos Complexos Sociais* (Association for Graphic and Mechanographic Analysis Applied to Social Complexes) (1947) and the IBAM - Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal (Brazilian Institute of Municipal Administration) (1952); institutions connected to universities, such as the CPEU - Centro de Pesquisas e Estudos Urbanísticos (Urban Planning Research and Studies Center) at FAUUSP - Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade de São Paulo (Architecture and Urban Planning School of the University of São Paulo) (1955), the CEPUR - Centro de Estudos de Planejamento Urbano e Regional (Urban and Regional Planning Study Center), at the Federal University of Pernambuco (1962), as well as supra-government institutions such as CIBPU - Comissão Interestadual da Bacia Paraná-Uruguai (Paraná-Uruguay Basin Inter-State Commission) (1952), that gathers seven state governments. In addition, in the nineteen fifties, knowledge on the urban-industrial reality is already institutionalized in different disciplinary fields: in architecture, engineering sociology and geography schools, providing adequate conditions for the multidisciplinary dimension of urban.

The emergence of regional planning does not occur as a territorial extension only, but as the introduction of new references and new issues. Territorial organization becomes conditioned to the productivity of the industry as well as to natural resources, and the focus is directed to the questioning of the concentrated metropolis. This does not mean necessarily the denial of the metropolis, but interfering in the process of demographic and industrial concentration.

Three studies that address different scales of regional planning reveal the nineteen fifties as a defining moment in Brazilian planning history. These is the focus of this paper. Three analytical axes elucidate the role of these studies in the construction of regional planning conceptions.

The first axe detects, through the interpretation of the main themes of the studies, the shift from a strictly municipal vision to the recognition of regional disparities as a problem to be overcome in close relation with the urban scale as their common principle. In that perspective, the city's transformation is conditioned to the region's transformation. The State plays a dominant role in the conduction of this process through the creation of administrative structures that surpass the municipality sphere. Planning becomes inseparable from development strategies.

The second axe analyses the social perspective designed in the studies as a product of an amalgam of ideas present in American, English and French regional conceptions. After an increasing technical approach in Brazil, since the thirties, the three studies restore planning's social reform perspective through a new plot of references. The various strands of ideas that make up this plot are revealed.

Finally, the international and local factors that create the conditions for the reconstruction of planning ideas and practices are highlighted. Besides the Brazilian political-institutional context and the importance that regional planning takes in the post-war period, the interest in Latin America is pointed as the main factor that promotes the link between the French *Economie et Humanisme's* social Catholicism based on scientific principles and United State's policy to strengthen economic relations with underdeveloped countries.

## **PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT: BALTAR, ANHAIA MELLO AND CIBPU/SAGMACS STUDIES**

Three studies of the early nineteen fifties, that address different scales of regional planning, provide an overview of the debate concerning the regional dimension, in general, and the metropolis, in particular. Two studies are prepared by university-related urban planners: “Diretrizes de um Plano Regional para o Recife” (Guidelines for a Regional Plan for Recife), a thesis presented by Antonio Bezerra Baltar in 1951 in the competitive examination for the chair of “Urbanismo e

Arquitetura Paisagística” (Urbanism and Landscape Architecture) at the University of Recife, and “Elementos Básicos para o Planejamento Regional de São Paulo” (Basic Elements for São Paulo’s Regional Planning), presented by Luiz Inácio de Anhaia Mello to the Comissão Orientadora do Plano Diretor do Município de São Paulo (Planning Commission of the Municipality of São Paulo), as representative of the University of São Paulo in 1954. The third study “Necessidades e Possibilidades do Estado de São Paulo” ( “Needs and Possibilities of the State of São Paulo”) is developed by CIBPU- Paraná-Uruguai Basin Interstate Commission/SAGMACS- Society of Graphic and Mecanographic Analysis Aplicated to Social Complexes, for the State of São Paulo.

The three studies are very different in their purposes. The Baltar study is an academic paper, where conceptual issues as well as theoretical affiliations are recurrently expressed by the author. In the Anhaia Mello study (1954), the numerous quotations and references are used to legitimate a position taken by the author in relation to a debate with Mayor and urban planner Francisco Prestes Maia.<sup>iii</sup> The CIBPU/SAGMACS study is a technical work, engaged and developed by a team of brazilian and foreign experts.

Those differences in regard to places of origin express, first of all, the importance taken by the regional dimension at this time among urban planners. Secondly, they enable us to situate the importance of urban planning institutions outside public administrations - mainly those focusing on technical assistance. Finally, they express the importance of ongoing urban planning teaching in engineering and architecture schools.

Although they address different regional scales and present differences in some conceptions, the unifying element of the three studies is the combination of planning and development. Their assumptions are the overcoming of regional inequalities, the State’s dominant role in the conduction of this process, and the creation of administrative structures that surpass the municipality sphere.

#### **Baltar ´s Guidelines for a Regional Plan for Recife**

Baltar’s study is based on the perspective of economic change in the State of Pernambuco with the construction of the Paulo Afonso hydroelectric complex, that enabled the renewal of the industrial center, and the

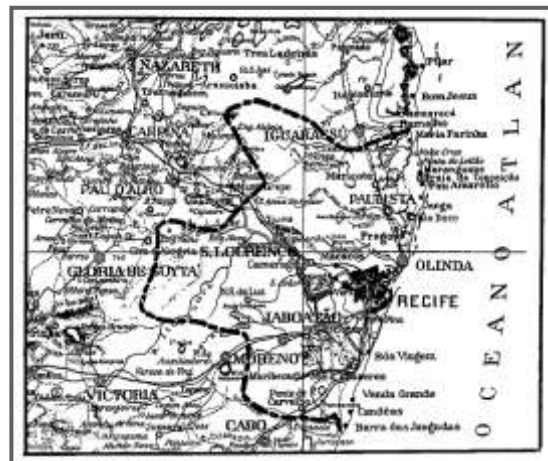


Figure 1:  
The Metropolitan Region of Recife (BALTAR, 1951:145)

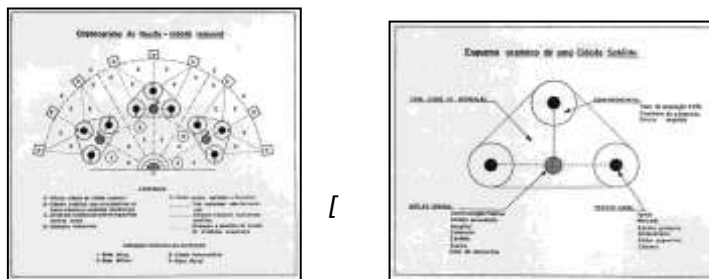
implementation of a broad roadway-connection program that reinforced, according to the author, the metropolitan nature of the capital city of Recife. Baltar addresses what he calls the metropolitan region of Recife, defined as the “*area where permanent-exchange relations are established between the city itself and the territory, and at a rate that is more or less constant and parallel to the different rates of the needs of its inhabitants*”

*After delimiting the most characteristic part of that territory, urban planning must be extended to its whole or at least to the continuous surface that is determined.”* (Baltar, op. cit.:125)

Baltar aggregates four neighboring municipalities to Recife - Olinda, Paulista, São Lourenço, and Jaboatão - that, together, represent 1,020 square kilometers and over 700,000 inhabitants. (Figure 1).He proposes the “regional city” as opposed to the concentrated metropolis. For its implementation, he points out the need for “*the city’s organic restructuring*” or the “*complete reorganization of the urban space and regional extension, also seeking decentralization and organic combination...*” (Baltar, op.cit.:126-7)

The regional city is organized through satellite cities, with limited area and population, and each one composed of a federation of neighborhood units. Manufacturing plants should be installed in the periphery of the satellite cities, and agricultural activities should occupy the empty spaces. Organic decentralization is supported on a network of fast transit lines connecting the central nucleus to the peripheral units “*that, although distant, behave as if they were near.*” (Figures 2 and 3)

Three aspects of Baltar’s arguments may be pointed out. The first is that Baltar does not see such organization as denial of the large city, but as “*...an expansion formula that is totally different from that where large cities of*



Figures 2 e 3:  
Regional City and Satellite cities(Baltar,1951:169,175)

*the world grew... There are no large cities in the world without the comfort/misery contrast - “slums”, “taudis”, “favelas” or “mocambos” are equivalent terms in the international urban planning vocabulary.”* Recife remains as an “undisputable center.” (Baltar, op. cit.:129)

Secondly, Baltar does not identify neighborhood units as suburbs:

*“For their objective and for the corresponding structure, in no event should those units be taken for the suburbs (outskirts) of the current city. What distinguishes them entirely is their complete autonomy in relation to the central nucleus in regard to all those utilities and services whose use is tied to a pace connected to biological and psychological constants of the population.”* (Baltar, op. cit.:128)

Thirdly, the demographic concentration limit is justified to ensure the efficiency of the basic infrastructure and to avoid risks of “exceeding the capacity of public services and utilities.” That is, the limit is the guarantee of an efficient action on the part of public authorities. (Baltar, op.cit. 127)

The implementation of his guidelines are conditioned to the formation of what he calls an “evolved right” - a right that enables public authorities to control private interests in cases where they adversely affect common interests. The metropolitan region administration must be performed by a supra-municipal agency or by a combination of municipalities. The municipality, as a government entity, is not enough.

## Anhaia Mello's Basic Elements for São Paulo's Regional Planning

The starting point for this study is a hierarchy of urban planning scales and institutions - on the national, state, supra-municipal and municipal levels - necessary to overcome regional inequality in the country. According to Anhaia Mello (op. cit.:6), the region is *"the dynamic social reality, the basic configuration for human life; the functional geographic association... Political conventions have no meaning; geographic constants are fundamental."*



Figure 4: The industrial Region of São Paulo (Anhaia Mello, 1954)

The region in his study is a circle of 100 km of radius starting from the capital, where a significant portion of the State of São Paulo's industrial plants is installed. In those thirty thousand kilometers that cover forty municipalities

between Sorocaba and São José dos Campos, a population of approximately four million inhabitants is concentrated. (Figure 4) The plan is understood as part of a planning process that involves the implementation of *"large regional plans"* and *"very small neighborhood plans."* Those two scales are mutually integrated and complemented to make up a harmonic whole - an equilibrium between wild nature, forest, sky, sun, sea, river, rural, as well as urban and metropolitan aspects.

Anhaia Mello's argument is strongly based on the decentralization of manufacturing plants and on the growth regulation and limitation, of the *"São Paulo conurb"* or *"the greater São Paulo"*, as well as of all the cities and villages of the regional area. The organization of the territory should, according to Anhaia Mello, break with the inertia of the single-nucleus city, the prototype of the steam power era that required concentration. Electricity, automobiles, express ways, the telephone, radio and television make dispersion possible. Poly-nucleation, a federation of small cities limited by green walls is the alternative proposed by him to undefined growth along the roads.

Although Mello uses the same hierarchical elements of the territory organization that Baltar does - neighborhood units, satellite-cities, and greenbelts - the purpose of regional organization is to dilute the centrality of the capital city and that of the metropolis. Such a radically decentralizing perspective is clearly expressed in the set of measures that, according to the author, do not work separately. A *"Committee for the Industrial Region of São Paulo's Plan,"* must be responsible for the Inter-Municipal Plan that will prohibit manufacturing plants in the capital, encourage their installation in other municipalities, create new centers as garden-cities and *"trading-estates."* (Anhaia Mello, op. cit.:19)

## CIBPU /SAGMACS "Needs and Possibilities of the State of São Paulo"



Figure 5: Sub-regions of the State of São Paulo (CIBPU/SAGMACS, 1954)

The CIBPU/SAGMACS study implements in a more complete manner the association between planning and development in focus during the nineteen fifties. The Commission is created in 1951 through a cooperation agreement between the States of São Paulo, Goiás, Mato Grosso, Minas Gerais, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul, with the purpose of conducting studies and surveys to promote a broad economic

development of the Uruguay-Paraná Basin. <sup>iv</sup> CIBUP is established as a technical interstate agency to control and execute the plan, it should have been later transferred to the federal sphere - but this does not happen. <sup>v</sup> SAGMACS is a planning institution created by Luis Joseph Lebret in São Paulo city, in his first visit to Brazil (1947).

The study was coordinated and headed by Lebret, and implemented jointly by Economy and Humanism (Brazil), through the SAGMACS, and “Économie et Humanisme” (France).

The region is the hydrographic basin that gathers territories of different states of the country and surpasses the national territory. According to the legal instruments for the constitution of the interstate cooperation agreement, the plan is conceived to be developed in a system of democratic cooperation with the federal government, with entities representing industrial production and technical-professional entities, with a view to establishing mutual aid for the solution of problems of common interest. <sup>vi</sup> In this sense, planning the development of a state is not enough; it is necessary to intensify activities of the whole region of the basin and approximate bordering countries to integrate the South American market.

The first stage of the work performed by SAGMACS and by French and American experts connected to Économie et Humanisme - “Needs and Possibilities of the State of São Paulo” delivered in 1954, discusses the quality-of-life levels and the needs of the populations, as well as possibilities for improvement, development, and progress. The State of São Paulo is divided into eleven sub-regions: ( Figure 5)

*“The State of São Paulo became so important (more important in population than Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden) that a sub-division, at least on the administrative level, into regions is imposed as badly urgent”. The direct government of 400 municipalities distributed in such a vast territory is actually impossible.”(CIBPU/SAGMACS, op. cit.:446)*

A set of measures and actions contemplate the possibility of a homogeneous development for the eleven regions. To the economic and administrative objective, the CIBPU/SAGMACS study overlaps social objectives, backed on citizen’s rights and state’s obligations - this is the assumption for the association between planning and development.

In regard to the capital city, as was the case in the Baltar and Anhaia Mello studies, this study proposed the decentralization of manufacturing plants, discontinuation of their growth and an organic and hierarchical structure. For this reason, *“the fight against speculation on lands, lots for construction and real-property, and against luxury expenses,”* is placed among the most urgent measures to be adopted. (CIBPU/SAGMACS, idem,ibidem)

Although metropolis dilution is not made explicit, as it is in the Anhaia Mello study, the perspective of a homogenizing regionalization present in the CIBPU study suggests a change in the role of the metropolis.

## A NEW PLOT OF REFERENCES

The articulation of the economic, social, spatial and administrative order, in the three studies prepared in the nineteen fifties, make it evident that the regional planning ideals are not restricted to a territorial scale extension. At that time, the complexity of planning practices is expanded and, from that perspective, there is a displacement of references prevailing in the two preceding decades. Here we use the word reference in its literal meaning “of what is referred” .

In relation to European planning, particularly English planning, there is no longer the exclusive reference to the garden-city of Ebenezer Howard. References to the Greater London Plan (1944) coordinated by Patrick Abercrombie and to the urban instruments created in England to sustain the plan- especially the Town and

Country Planning Act of 1947, approved in the Labor Party administration- are incorporated. In relation to US planning the Regional Plan of New York and its Environs (RPNYE) loses the hegemonic reference position that it had held throughout the nineteen thirties and forties among Brazilian urban planners. In the studies of the nineteen fifties, the focus is directed to projects developed by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), created in 1933, and for a whole repertory mobilized in the United States during the Roosevelt Era's New Deal (1933-1937) and in the Harry Truman administration period (1945-1953), both of the Democratic Party. In the two continents, this refers to urban planning conceptions of the first decades of the twentieth century that are reinterpreted in the optimistic post-war period and provided with a strong social content.

Both the Greater London Plan and the TVA studies are the result of exchanges that occur starting from the nineteen twenties, mainly between the English, connected to the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association (GCTPA), and the Americans, connected to the Regional Planning Association of America - RPAA.

In the Town Planning Institute that was designed as the "laboratory of thinking" in the phase of review of Howardian ideas, Thomas Adams and Raymond Unwin, connected to the GCTPA, work with Patrick Abercrombie. Thomas Adams coordinates the RPNYE (1923-1929) and Unwin participated both in the RPNY and in the Greater London Plan. In the year of its constitution, the RPAA<sup>vii</sup> becomes a member of the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Federation, and its purpose in the first work plan is "to develop relations with exponents of the English urban planning thinking, especially, and to start studying urban planning based on projects made by Patrick Geddes in Edinburg." (Dal Co, 1975:257-8)

Those individuals and institutions are protagonists of an intense debate about the metropolis in the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the United States, the debate leads to a regionalist view. That vision is opposed to the "metropolitan tradition" of American planning that had as its perspective the persistence of the urban base of the nineteenth century, with the creation of monumental centers provided with significant urban civilization. That was the vision contained in the RPNYE, funded by the Russell Sage Foundation in the nineteen twenties, when the New York population exceeded five million inhabitants. In the regionalist view, dense cities were a temporary phenomenon to be replaced by the dispersion of settlements favored by electricity and articulated by a regional roadway network. (Fishman, 2000: 14) Actually, dispersion is considered the subject matter of regional planning, whereas the perpetuation of concentrated growth is understood as metropolitan planning.<sup>viii</sup>

The "Report of the New York State Commission of Housing and Regional Planning" (1924) coordinated by Clarence Stein in the administration of democrat Alfred S. Smith was the first study that expressed this comprehensive perspective of regional planning. Planning is understood as the result of physical, economic, and social forces and, to be implemented, it requires "systematic urban re-colonization," massive public intervention in the private market and a permanent planning agency of the State. (Mumford, 1938: 274; Sussman, 1976:144-267) The principles of this study are recovered with the creation of the TVA in 1933 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, for the planning of the Tennessee River Valley region.

In England, that debate results in a displacement of the experimental regionalist vision of Ebenezer Howard to a more technical vision that assumes state intervention as support to advanced legislative instruments. (Gravagnuolo, 1991:158)

According to the Greater London Plan, London population, with almost nine million inhabitants in 1940, should be redistributed between the metropolis and 13 new towns, surrounded by greenbelts, connected to London by an efficient and fast transportation system. In that design of the large city as an element of the city-region, London becomes, according to Hall (1988:196) the "cellular London." The regional city preserves the design of an organic and hierarchical structure present in the Howardian scheme, and incorporates later revisions that reinforce the centrality of London."

The 1947 Town and Country Planning Act is implemented as an instrument to promote a deep reform in the land value system. Through the control and direction

of urbanization in the national territory, control mechanisms for the price of land and profit of landowners, as well as offsetting mechanisms via permission for urbanization are established.

In Baltar and Anhaia Mello studies, the criticism to the concentrated metropolis and to the expansion of suburbs appears via references to Mumford, especially to the book “Culture of Cities”, published in 1938. Here the text “Regional planning: a new task” is actually a true manifest of the thesis connected to the RPAA. References to the TVA, the Town and Country Planning Act, and the Greater London Plan, as well as to several projects on English planning of the post-war period are also recurrent. The whole argument about Baltar’s “evolved right” is backed on instruments of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. In the CIBPU/SAGMACS study, the reference to TVA is made explicit as a reference experience.<sup>ix</sup>

This set of ideas, in Brazil of the nineteen fifties, is articulated to the ideals of the *Économie et Humanisme* movement. *Économie et Humanisme* is born from the feeling that it is possible to direct technical and economic development in a sense favorable to men, since the complex reality has been studied and dominated (Lebret, 1960) The “Guide du militant”, published by Lebret in 1946, one year before his first visit to Brazil, already contained the formulation that planning must be thought in terms of the region to achieve better equilibrium of production and better population distribution.

In 1952, the *Charte de l’Amenagement*, formulated in La Tourette, France, consolidates the *Économie et Humanisme* perspective in relation to planning through supra-municipal regional levels for the full use of natural resources. The rational organization of space should provide proper conditions to human development, and land valuation should not aim at profit only but should mainly raise the quality-of-life of populations.

Those regional planning views have in common the French geography and sociology lines of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. On the one hand, the ideas of geographers Elisée Reclus and Paul Vidal de La Blanche, and sociologist Frédéric Le Play, that support the ideas developed by Patrick Geddes, such as conurbation, full use of natural resources, deep knowledge of reality, its ties with botany and geography. (Hall, 1988; Welter, 2002).

On the other hand, the ideas of the religious sociology of Jacques Maritain, and the approximations with sociologist-urban planner Paul-Henry Chombart de Lauwe and also with sociologist Frédéric Le Play, that make up the double sociological and religious matrix of Lebret’s thinking. (Ángelo, 2005)

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS: INTERNATIONAL AND LOCAL FACTORS

The construction of the plot of references along the 1950’s can be explained by a combination of local and international factors. First of all, the Brazilian political-institutional context favors the organization of urban planning institutions outside the public administration and the emergence of a perspective that exceeded the technical dimension that is established in the Vargas Era in the several spheres of government.

On the international front, in addition to the importance that regional planning takes in the post-war period, the interest in Latin America. Such interest in the “Latin American city”, functioned, according to Gorelik (op. cit.:115), as a true suction bomb for a number of individuals, disciplines and institutions that were establishing the new intellectual, academic and political map of the Latin American social thinking”. Latin America appeared “under the eyes of the western world as the place where true modernization could be carried forward, therefore avoiding the costs that developed countries were discovering since the post-war period.”

In Brazil, that interest was expressed, on the one hand, by the arrival of Lebret in 1947. Funded by the FIESP - *Federação das Indústrias do Estado de São Paulo* (Federation of Industries of the State of São Paulo), his visit is explained, by the interest of the industrial elites in search of a new socio-economic model and in the innovative approach of a social Catholicism based on scientific principles, as well as by the persuasion of the utility of planning. (Valladares, 2005:82). In his first



visit, in addition to Lebret's teaching a course, he also created the SAGMACS, gathering professionals and politicians connected to the Catholic militancy.

On the other hand, such interest is expressed with the dissemination of the TVA

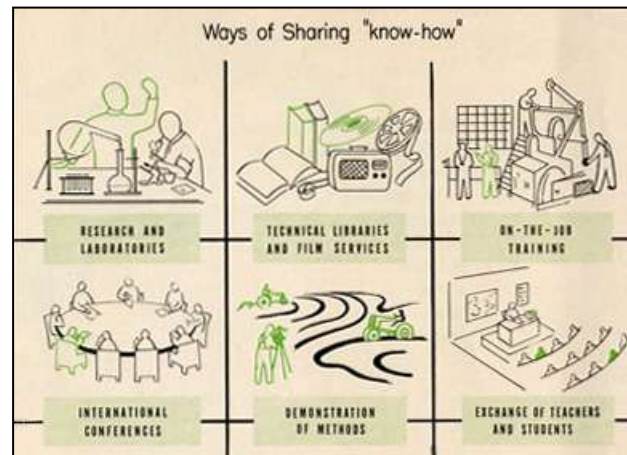


Figure 6: Technical Assistance to underdeveloped countries - pamphlet  
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to underdeveloped countries implemented in the sphere of Harry Truman's policy to strengthen economic relations with underdeveloped countries. In 1949, the US President creates a technical assistance program for underdeveloped countries funded by several agencies, the Point Four Program. (Gray and Johnson, 2005:7)

In the nineteen fifties, a National Technical Assistance Commission is created in Brazil by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to discuss problems relating to the participation of Brazil in United Nations technical assistance programs, in Organization of American States (OAS) programs, to survey Brazilian needs in terms of such technical assistance and prepare plans and programs to obtain technical aid from such organizations.<sup>x</sup> In 1951, at the end of president Eurico Gaspar Dutra administration, the bases for a cooperation agreement with the OAS were established for technical and scientific knowledge transfer to implement the electric-power, agriculture and transportation system that is signed in 1952 in New York.<sup>xi</sup> The CIBPU studies are part of such cooperation agreement.

The group that is organized around Lebret and the institutional space created by SAGMACS perform, throughout the nineteen fifties, a fundamental role as catalysts of the urban planning ideals designed along the nineteen fifties with consistent principles oriented to the organization of the territory from an economic and social development perspective.

Several studies focusing on SAGMACS in Brazil have been highlighting its role in the politicization of urbanization and in the introduction of new urban reality survey methodologies (Lamparelli, 1994; Leme and Lamparelli, 2001; Cestaro, 2009); in the introduction of new approaches - qualified by Pontual (2000, 2001 and 2001a) as humanists, and mainly in the formation of a generation of urban planners (Ângelo, 2007).

The three studies addressed in this paper show that the social perspective emerging in the nineteen fifties is the result of a combination of principles and proposals that were being developed in more comprehensive spheres than that of the Economy and Humanism doctrine and that have strong connections with them. The Baltar study is revealing in that sense. The urban planner has contact with Lebret, in his first visit to Brazil, and becomes a major planner in the works developed by the SAGMACS. His thesis, however, precedes the works that he develops with the group and, although it already reflects the contact with the Economy and Humanism doctrine, he articulates other references<sup>xii</sup>.

In the three studies discussed herein, the foundations of urban planning - those concerning the social reform perspective - are restored. The social perspective designed in the nineteen fifties in Brazil is the product of an amalgam of the conceptions present in the RPAA group, in the Town and Country Planning Act, in TVA project, in the Economy and Humanism movement and the Brazilian and international political and institutional conditions.

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## NOTES

<sup>i</sup> This paper is a partial result of the research project “ Urban Planning Institutions in Brazil ( 1930-1979)”, funded by CNPq-Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico

<sup>ii</sup> “Millionaire cities” is the term used by geographers since the nineteen forties referring to cities with over one million inhabitants.

<sup>iii</sup> Francisco Prestes Maia was São Paulo’s mayor from 1938 to 1945 and from 1961 to 1964.

<sup>iv</sup> Cooperation agreement between governors signed in the First Conference of Governors - September 6-8, 1951

<sup>v</sup> The CIBPU keeps active till 1972 and is extinguished by Law 10, of September 18, 1972.

<sup>vi</sup> São Paulo - Law 2017, of December 23, 1952. Minutes drawn on September 8, 1951, attached to law .Law 2018, of December 23, 1952 establishes the committee. Minutes of meetings of ay 15 and 16, 1952 attached to the Official Gazette (DO. P.)

<sup>vii</sup> The RPAA , an informal group of architects, urban planners, exponents of the Conservation Movement, sociologists, etc. was established in 1923, and had Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein, Henry Wright, Benton MacKaye, and others, among its members.

<sup>viii</sup> Such distinction is made explicit in Mumford (1938)

<sup>ix</sup> “Justification Reasons for CIBPU’s Regional Plan.” Document sent to the Director of the Studies and Planning Division, August 16, 1954

<sup>x</sup> Decree 28.799, October 27, 1950

<sup>xi</sup> <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,814149,00.html>. and Decree 41.650, 04 /06/ 1957.

<sup>xii</sup> Pontual (2000 and 2001a) points the use of the Town and Country Planning Act by Baltar.