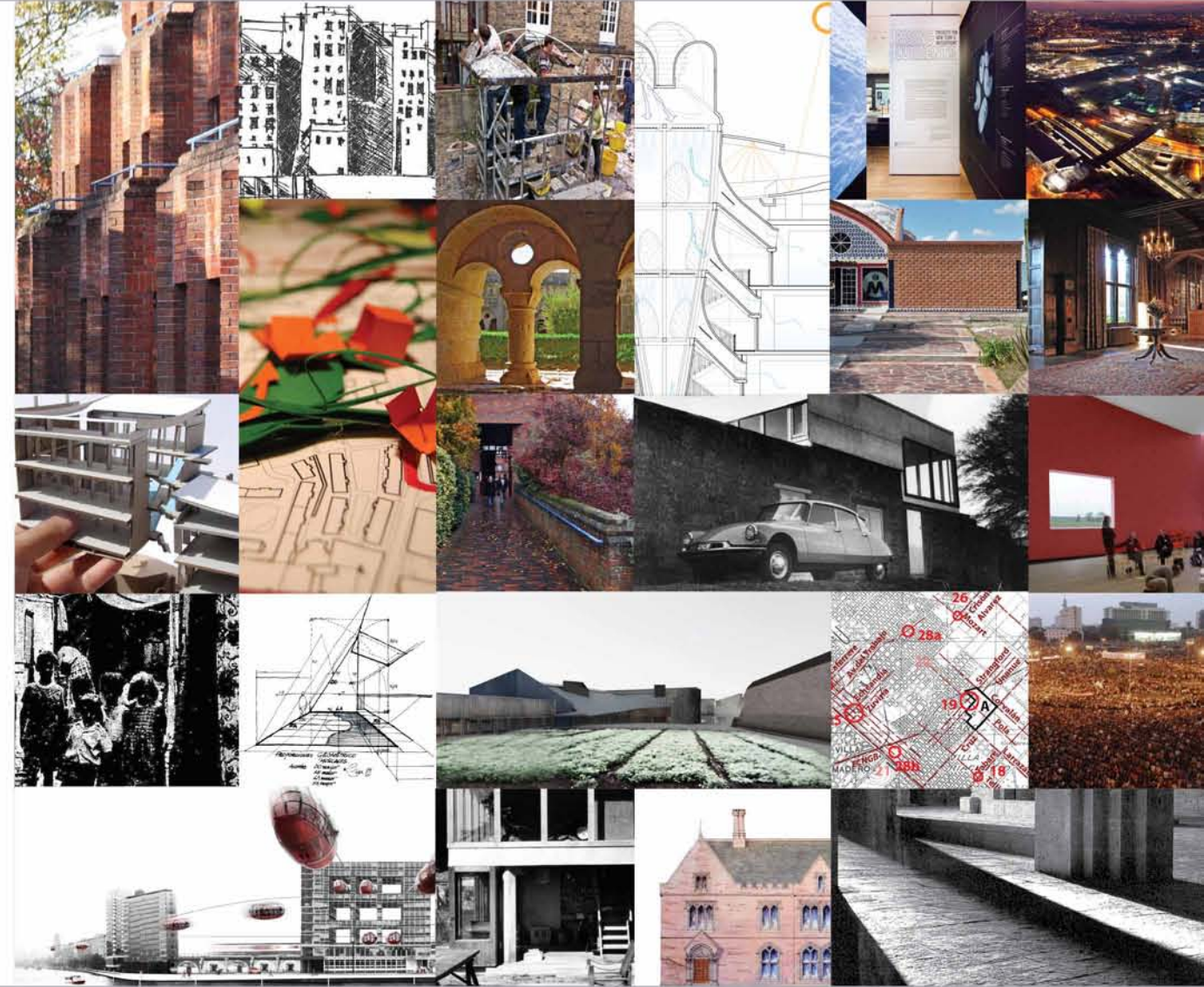




*Scroope Journal is an annual architectural journal produced by post-graduate and doctoral students at the Department of Architecture at the University of Cambridge. Since its inception in 1989, Scroope has offered a platform for debate about students' interests, current thinking on architectural practice, the profession and wider cultural concerns.*

CAMBRIDGE ARCHITECTURE JOURNAL



## Scroope Journal

Department of Architecture  
University of Cambridge  
1-5 Scroope Terrace  
Cambridge CB2 1PX  
United Kingdom

Scroope 21

We are grateful for all of the support we received in making this issue of Scroope. The printing of this publication would not have been possible without the financial assistance of the following:

**Bennetts Associates Architects**

**Garnett+Partners LLP**

**Hawkins\Brown**

**Cambridge University Architecture Society (ArcSoc)**

Feilden Clegg Bradley Studios

#### **Editorial Committee**

Aya Alphs

Patrick Fleming

Phillip Gibb

Daniel Godoy-Shimizu

Ranald Lawrence

Adriana Laura Massidda

Pawda Tjoa

© Scroope Journal 2012

No part of this publication may be reproduced without prior permission from Scroope Journal. Copyright is retained by the respective authors unless otherwise indicated.

Scroope Journal  
Department of Architecture  
1-5 Scroope Terrace  
Cambridge CB2 1PX  
United Kingdom

[www.scroopejournal.com](http://www.scroopejournal.com)  
[scroope@aha.cam.ac.uk](mailto:scroope@aha.cam.ac.uk)

+44 (0) 1223 332989

Graphic Design and Layout by Pawda Tjoa

Printed by Micropress Printers Ltd, Fountain Way,  
Reydon Business Park, Reydon, Suffolk IP18 6DH.

*To recently retired faculty and staff, Nick Bullock, Marion Houston, and Robin Spence,  
for their dedication and contributions to the Department of Architecture.*

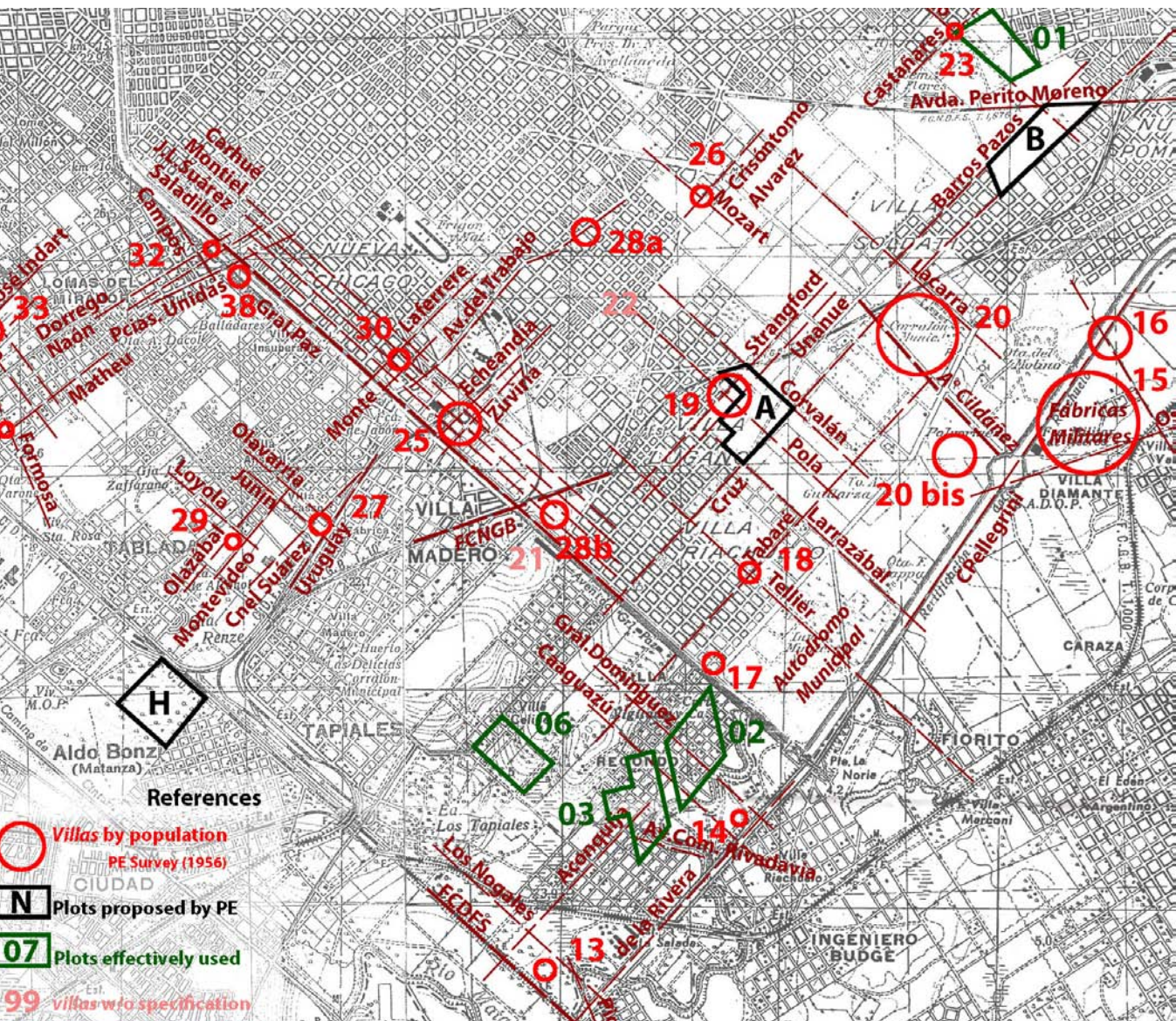
## Contents

- 06 **A Note from the Editors**
- 08 **The Architecture of Truth: Le Thoronet Abbey and Modernist Medievalisms**  
Maximilian Sternberg
- 18 **Smythson and the Smithsons:  
Architecture and the English Climate in the Sixteenth and Twentieth Centuries**  
Dean Hawkes
- 30 **Adapting the Collegiate Model to a Tropical Environment, University Design:  
Ahmedabad, India**  
Joseph Luke Augustin
- 42 **The Plan de Emergencia (1956):  
The Argentine Debate about Housing Shortage Then and Now**  
Adriana Laura Massidda
- 52 **Ladrillo Recargado: Exploring the Work of Alfonso Ramírez Ponce**  
Michael Ramage
- 60 **Pilot Study for a Low Energy Diversified Farm: Burrough Green, Cambridgeshire**  
Tom Powell
- 70 **Why Habermas?**  
Tom Spector
- 82 **Alternative Futures for the Southbank**  
Spencer de Grey
- 88 **Reflections on the Design Process**  
Mads Dines Petersen and Mary-Ann Knudstrup
- 96 **Secular & Domestic:  
George Gilbert Scott and the Master's Lodge of St. John's College, Cambridge**  
Richard Butler
- 108 **Courts and Tenements: An Interview with Isi Metztein**  
Yun Wu
- 118 **In the Wake of Rising Currents: The Activist Exhibition**  
Barry Bergdoll
- 128 **Postcards from 2050**
- 132 **Design Review 2011**
- 140 **Forum** Edited by Aya Alphas

# The Plan de Emergencia (1956)

The Argentine Debate about Housing Shortage Then and Now

Adriana Laura Massidda



This article examines the first urban plan in Argentina to address informal settlements. It will be argued that this plan served as a template for later proposals and encouraged a particular approach towards the informal city that is still present in contemporary debates. The plan is composed of two complementary documents, the *Plan de Emergencia* (PE) and the *Plan Integral* (PI), which translate quite literally as ‘Emergency Plan’ and ‘Integral Plan’, respectively. The plans embody the process in which existing ideas were recast and new proposals were tested. The PE was in charge of proposing short-term actions, and led to the construction of the social housing neighbourhoods analysed in this paper, while the PI dealt with urban planning and housing in the long-term. Neither of these plans have been discussed at length because they were conceived between 1955 and 1958—an interval that is typically considered transitional and studied only as part of longer spans of time.<sup>1</sup> However, it is precisely the transitional quality of the 1955–1958 juncture that makes it such a rich and exciting moment in the urban history of Buenos Aires. Interestingly, the limited scholarship that does exist only addresses the PE while the PI remains overlooked. This

paper will concentrate on the way these plans have influenced and continue to influence approaches to informal settlements in Buenos Aires.

## Urban Transformations in Mid-Twentieth Century Buenos Aires

The PE was issued in Argentina in 1956 under the newly formed military government known as the ‘Revolución Libertadora’ (RL).<sup>2</sup> This administration came to power as the result of a coup d’état that ousted the elected president, Juan Domingo Perón. Although the RL presented itself as a transitional administration, it had ambitious aims to transform the political scene of the Peronist era. A wide spectrum of political actors ranging from socialists to conservatives and liberals supported the RL. One of the few points they agreed upon was clearing what they viewed as problems left by Perón. Amongst these problems were the informal settlements or *villas*. In order to understand the historical significance of the policies that aimed to eradicate informal settlements, one must first understand why and how these settlements emerged.

◀ Figure 1. Author’s visualisation of the *Plan de Emergencia*. Survey report and plots proposed for the neighbourhoods are marked over portions of maps from 1906 and 1956. Underlay: Instituto Geográfico Nacional.



▲ Figure 2 . Aerial photo of a shantytown near Bajo Belgrano, published as part of the *Plan de Emergencia*.

◀ Figure 3 . Photo of children and house entrance in a villa at Bajo Belgrano, from the same series. These photographs represent the only moment during the survey that the authors approached the residents.

Figs. 2-3 . Image: Ministerio de Trabajo y Previsión.



The idea of Buenos Aires as urban stage for social and political transformation was central to Perón's rise to power and subsequent double term in office. Under the previous conservative governments, the city centre had been implicitly reserved for the upper and middle classes. Perón's encouragement of unionisation and mass street demonstration, however, led to the arrival of the working classes to political life.<sup>3</sup> The pro-Perón demonstration of 17 October 1945, overflowing the Plaza de Mayo, embodied this idea: literally through their physical presence in the city centre and symbolically through their claim for a leader whose policies benefited them.<sup>4</sup> Many scholars have commented on this new political characterisation of urban space.<sup>5</sup> By the end of Perón's governance in 1955, the city had become a potent symbol of social and political order.

The emergence of the informal settlements in Buenos Aires gave a new dimension to what the middle and upper classes already perceived as an invasion of the city. Although several shanties existed in the city before the government of Perón, it was during the 1940s that one might consider them as having acquired social and urban relevance. 'Informal settlements' in this context were neighbourhoods composed of houses built by their own dwellers, often with re-used materials, on undeveloped land they did not own.

During the 1940s, Perón fostered the development of light industry, which ultimately led to extensive rural-urban migrations. Many migrants who could not afford central accommodation chose to temporarily settle in the large plots of flood-prone land along the river Riachuelo, close to the city centre and several factories. Thus, the emergence of the villas in this context does not necessarily imply an impoverished population. Most migrants actually considered their new homes to be an improvement of their standard

of living. They were, however, expecting to find other accommodation quickly since employment was abundant and since Perón had initiated social housing programmes.<sup>6</sup> With the RL and over time, however, welfare programmes were suspended and real wages fell. As a consequence, the settlements became permanent and grew ever larger.<sup>7</sup>

### The Conceptions of the Plan

The PE did not explicitly state the reasons why the settlements were undesired portions of the city, but rather assumed the readers would share this sentiment. Both the PE and PI show that eradicating the settlements and moving their residents to purpose-built social housing were seen as natural responses. The text repeatedly uses the term 'moral' to explain why the villas should be removed from the city, but the scope of this term is never made clear. In principle, the residents are called 'immoral' for living in the villas, and the very existence of the settlements is addressed as a 'moral' problem. But did 'immoral' refer to political unrest as in the discussions about slums in the first decades of the century? Did it mean lack of working habits, as was asserted throughout the PE? Or was it related to sexual promiscuity and subversion of Catholic or traditional values? Although it is not well defined, it is possible to see the term 'morality' as a reference to general working and spending habits and to the lack of intimacy brought by overcrowding. The following quote taken from the PE helps to illustrate this idea:

*Coming from poor areas, without resources and without working habits, [the residents] have been attracted to the big city in search of economic betterments and the indulgences of urban life. But the social environment of the Villas Miseria, in which they have gathered by force of circumstance and for the lack of both incentives of their own and social help, contributes to worsening their natural tendencies and transforming these slums into*

permanent foci of epidemics and moral degradation: in their majority, their inhabitants require an urgent action of social readaptation.<sup>8</sup>

While it was clear that families in the villas lived in overcrowded and tiny spaces, this was arguably as a matter of necessity rather than choice. The few surveys of the villas taken at this time all concur on this point. On the other hand, the conception of the settlers as indolent, lazy people who lived in these conditions because they were not interested in improving their environment is by no means supported by empirical data. Even the survey undertaken and published by the PE reported that there was a 99% employment rate in these areas. The residents of many of these villas had even formed informal neighbourhood improvement committees. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the reasons the authors of the plan rejected the informal settlements extended beyond those exposed by the document itself. The terms in which the PE addresses the problem are reminiscent of many discussions held earlier in the century, in which some of the authors of the PE participated actively. This might explain why eradication as a State response

was implicitly understood as the standard approach.<sup>9</sup> Additionally, given the attitudes of the upper and middle classes towards the increasing presence of migrants and workers within the city as described earlier, the word 'moral' might have also implied concerns about class. Such an argument can be supported by its use in relation to the claim that residents of the settlements would lack a good work ethic because they were uneducated.

Interestingly, these aspects were only included in the PE, and not in the PI. Even though it was published only a year after the PE, the PI seems to have challenged the whole idea of relocating the residents of the settlements. Additionally, it briefly suggested alternative proposals such as cooperating with the residents, providing services to their communities and promoting self-help for the improvement of their built environment. This shift shows the rapid upgrade that the writing commission made between the publications of the PE and the PI in order to be up-to-date with the international debates that addressed these concerns. However, because the PE was the document that directly dealt with the villas, its ideology

was the one that prevailed for the construction of the neighbourhoods.

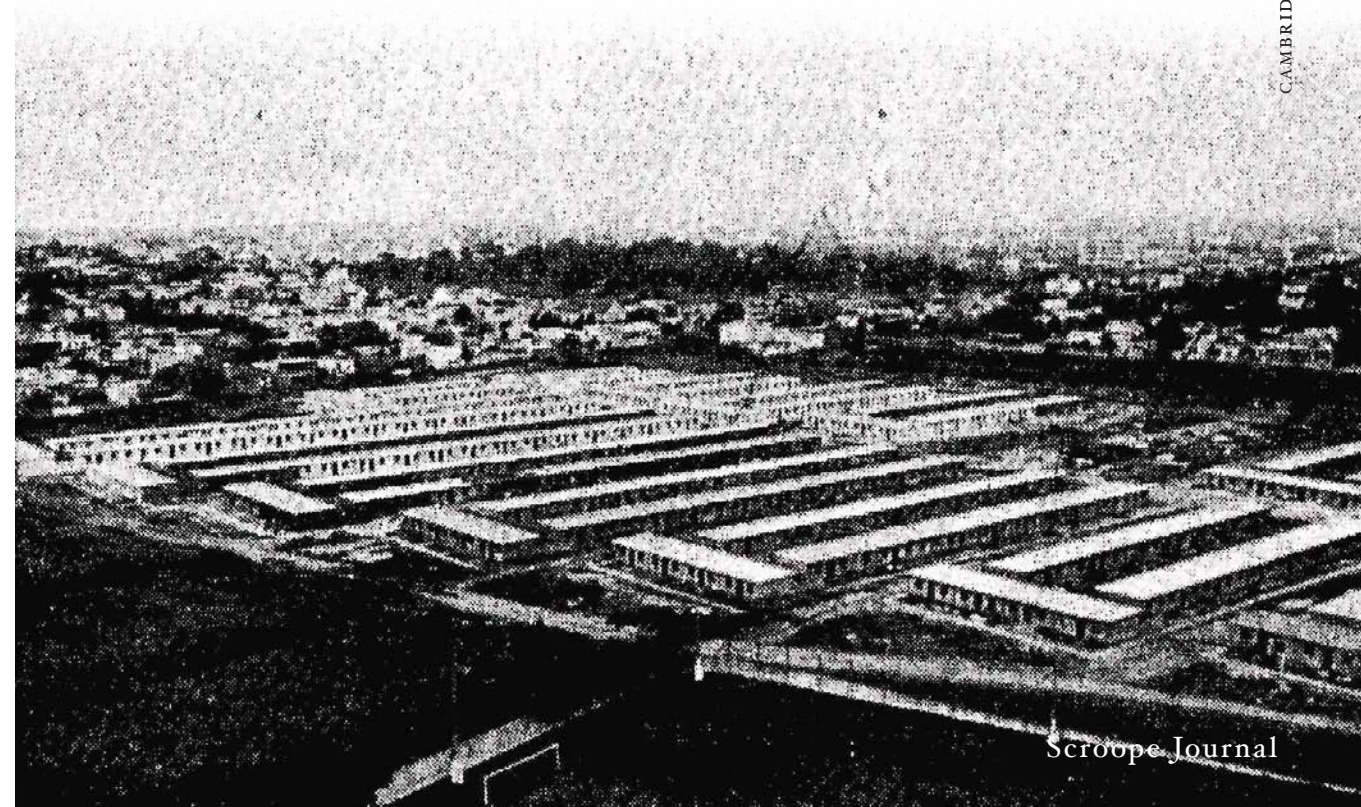
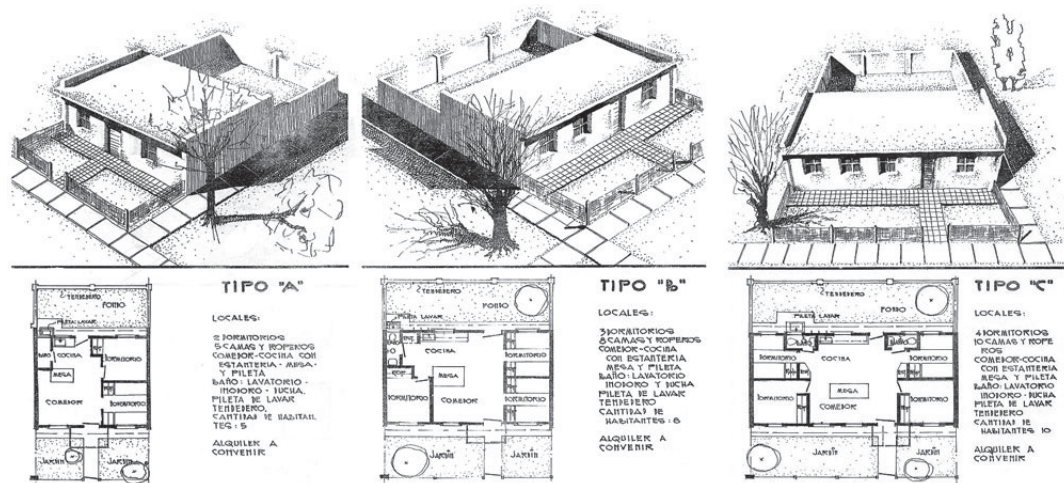
The plan of eradication proposed by the PE was in line with its assessment of the residents of the villas. Following the idea that the residents were responsible for their defective dwelling conditions, the plan concluded that they had to be 're-educated', and proposed to design the new neighbourhoods as a means of reaching this aim. In a similar manner, the plan would only offer accommodation to nuclear families, despite the fact that the survey found a wide variety of household sizes and types: 'The problem is thus reduced to two situations: couples with children of both genders and couples with children of only one gender'.<sup>10</sup> By making relocation compulsory and offering houses that were designed with the idea of a nuclear family in mind, the PE discouraged residents from living with their extended families. This was tactic used to limit further growth in the population of the communities.

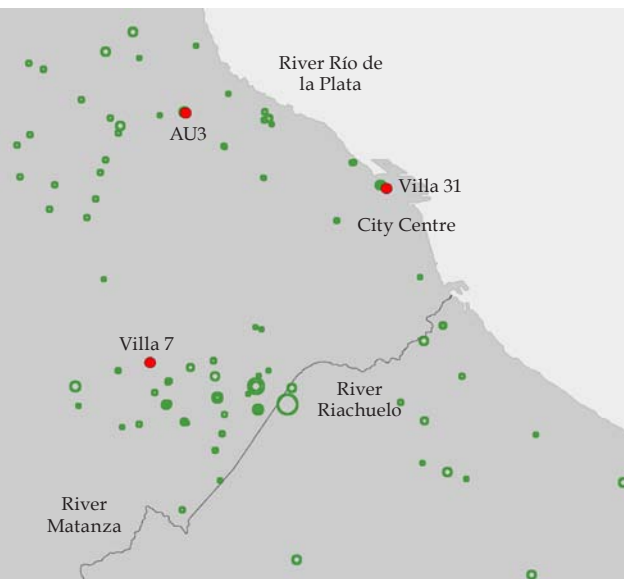
The complexes were conceived as educational apparatuses, complete with communal centres and 'adaptation dwellings'. The three different

housing typologies that existed for these dwellings were repeated to form the layout for the neighbourhoods, and embodied what the PE considered to be its civilising mission. The houses, for example, were designed to have fixed furniture built with concrete and metal framing—facilities for extensions were not provided. This reinforced the idea that the house was not meant to be inhabited by more people than it was designed for. The family was therefore expected to get used to a specific way of living within the rigidity of the fixed furniture and design. The houses were also to be left unfinished so that the residents could learn a new trade and become aware of the real value of property. However, quite confusingly, the plan made no provision for building training in the new neighbourhoods. These measures seem to contradict the results of their survey, which suggested that twenty percent of the residents worked in formal construction and that almost all settlers had already built their houses by themselves. They had thus already acquired some knowledge that spontaneous construction could provide.<sup>11</sup>

- ▼ Figure 4. The three housing typologies proposed by the *Plan de Emergencia*.
- Figure 5. Barrio Mitre under construction (one of the neighbourhoods built through the *Plan de Emergencia*).

Figs. 4-5. Image: Banco Hipotecario Nacional.





▲ Figure 6 . Scheme of the location of some villas mentioned  
 ▼ Figure 7 . Barrio Mitre today



### Perspectives throughout the Twentieth Century

Though the idea of eradicating the informal settlements persisted through the twentieth century, other perspectives were tried and tested. There were attempts to shift the focus towards integration and participation with an emphasis on understanding the rights and the needs of the inhabitants of the villas. Although an analysis of later plans is well beyond the scope of this article, it is important to note that later governments during the 1960s and 1970s implemented plans of eradication larger in scale than those of the PE. The *Plan de Erradicación de Villas Miseria* (1968), put into practice under the de facto government of Juan Carlos Onganía, for example, proposed extensive removals of villas and high-density blocks to rehouse the ‘eradicated’ inhabitants. The ambitious programme of eradication

Following the idea that the residents were responsible for their defective dwelling conditions, the plan concluded that they had to be ‘re-educated’, and proposed to design the new neighbourhoods as a means of reaching this aim.

implemented by the de facto government of Jorge Rafael Videla later proceeded to demolish settlements without offering alternative accommodation to the people who lived in them. The increasing violence used to put these initiatives into practice was in the socio-political context of alarming State terrorism. Residents who refused to leave the settlements, for example, were subject of repression, kidnap and torture.<sup>12</sup>

Amongst the alternative perspectives to eradication during this period we must highlight the idea of *radicación*, i.e., providing services to the informal settlements so their inhabitants can stay and live in better conditions, often in collaboration with the residents. Presidents such as Arturo Frondizi Ercoli (1958-1962) and Arturo Umberto Illia (1963-1966), for example, opened the dialogue with the residents, though the ideas of *radicación* still overlapped with notions of eradication. The programme of relocation of the inhabitants of the Villa 7, under the government of Juan Domingo Perón (1973-1974), is a well-known example of effective collaboration between residents, architects and the local agency in charge. During the government of Raúl Alfonsín (1983-1989), the national government reconstituted social housing damaged by the last dictatorship as part of a larger programme of social housing. As noted earlier, the ideas of provision of services and collaboration had been advanced by the PI in the late 1950s, and continued to be embedded in a larger debate about self-construction and informal urbanisation sustained throughout the Americas during those decades.

Housing shortage and informal housing are still central issues in the national and local politics of Argentina today. Between July and August of last year, at least sixty-three articles related to this topic were published in the Argentine newspapers *Página 12* and *Clarín*. Many articles about the civil invasion of land report protests over the lack of accommodation alternatives and the unfulfilled housing programmes promised by various administrations. Most articles dealing with informal settlements report improvements such as the provision of services or regularisation of tenure. Occasionally, however, programmes that intended to relocate the villas were attempted. The current mayor of Buenos Aires, for example, claims to be ‘urbanising’ the settlement AU3, when in actual terms his plan involves the removal of the shanties, the eviction of the inhabitants and the reuse of these plots for middle-class housing.<sup>14</sup> The profits made through middle-class housing are expected to fund the accommodation that would then be offered to the evicted inhabitants of the villas. Although this programme is presented as something that benefits the residents, many things remain unexplained. For example, there is no mention of how the residents are expected to deal with their accommodation in case the programme experienced delays or problems, which often happens. In the meantime, the same mayor has additionally been proposing to eradicate the Villa 31 since he first assumed government of the city in December 2007.<sup>15</sup> More recently, this initiative has become controversial and the city government is now attempting to explore participatory methods amongst many other initiatives throughout Buenos Aires.

This mayor was re-elected to his position in July 2011. Thus, although eradication in the old terms has indeed become politically incorrect, urban proposals that imply eradication are still present in the discussion: the idea of the villa as an intrusion into an otherwise modern and safe city, the image it provokes as a place that incubates violence, and a general unrest about the settlements as they are seen as 'the other' city. I do not wish to suggest that the villas are exempt of violence, nor that the everyday life of their inhabitants is free from environmental problems. On the contrary, I think that its inhabitants are in fact the first to suffer from these issues. Nonetheless, I wish to place the focus on the imageries that non-residents groups maintain about the villas.

Proposals that imply ignoring or eradicating villas are also present in architectural training and professional practice in Buenos Aires. Indeed a wide range of approaches to the informal city can be found at the university level, and they usually depend on the different *cátedras*, or teaching units, in charge of the design courses.<sup>16</sup> Some *cátedras* are concerned with issues such as housing shortage or urban inclusion, and develop exercises that address popular housing in innovative ways. Exercises like these emphasise the importance of public places, integration, and the role of urban spaces for collective work and trade. Other exercises develop proposals to improve an existing place both materially and spatially, and in some of these cases the students collaborate with the residents for their construction. Various groups of students and teachers also exchange ideas about informal housing in charrettes and workshops. User participation and engagement throughout the design process are key interests to many students, as are environmental issues, the reutilisation of materials, and the attention to vernacular modes of energy saving in buildings. However, many important teaching units continue to ignore these issues, which arguably shows the aversion of specific parts of society to the problems of these settlements.

It is not unusual, for example, to find *cátedras* that propose design exercises in plots that are actually occupied by villas, while the discussion about the informal city is discouraged. Even though the interest in engaging with informal housing through the practice of architecture is growing, the coexistence of both perspectives at the university level arguably reflects the persistence of these contending ideas about the informal city in the professional practice and in the Argentine society at large. ■

### Endnotes

- Oscar Yunovsky, for example, provides a short but illuminating analysis of the PE in *Claves políticas del problema habitacional argentino, 1955-1981* (Buenos Aires: Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1984). Renée Dunowicz includes two neighbourhoods built through the PE in her catalogue of social housing for the period 1907-1997 *90 años de vivienda social en Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de arte Gaglianone, 2000). Ramón Gutiérrez, in turn, comments on it as a corollary of the analysis of Peronist initiatives in 1945-1955: see *La habitación popular bonaerense 1943-1955: aprendiendo en la historia* (Buenos Aires: CEDODAL, 2011). The lack of attention paid to the specificity of the period 1955-1958 has also been noted by Laura Podalsky when reviewing the literature of the period. See *Specular City: Transforming Culture, Consumption, and Space in Buenos Aires, 1955-1973* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), p. x.
- Information about this period can be found in Liliana de Riz and Juan Carlos Torre, 'Argentina Since 1946', in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. by Leslie Bethell, 11 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) VIII, pp. 73-101 or David Rock, *Argentina, 1516-1987: From Spanish Colonization to the Falklands War and Alfonsín* (London: Tauris, 1987).
- The inclusion of the working classes in the mechanism of decision-making was indeed a complex process which falls beyond the scope of this article. See Daniel James, *Resistance and Integration: Peronism and the Argentine Working Class, 1946-1976* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) and de Riz and Torre 'Argentina Since 1946'.
- It is difficult to estimate how many people demonstrated that day to support Perón. However, attempts have been made to set the number of attendants in Plaza de Mayo between 120,000 and 500,000: see [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Loyalty\\_Day\\_\(Argentina\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Loyalty_Day_(Argentina)) and [http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/D%C3%ADa\\_de\\_la\\_Lealtad](http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/D%C3%ADa_de_la_Lealtad) (both accessed: 1 April 2012). For an in-depth account of the complexity of the events see Daniel James, 'October 17th and 18th, 1945: Mass Protest, Peronism and the Argentine Working Class', *Journal of Social History*, 21 (Spring 1988), pp. 441-61.
- See for example Podalsky *Specular City* pp. 28-47, James *Resistance and Integration* pp. 32-33 or Anahí Ballent, *Las*

*huellas de la política: vivienda, ciudad, peronismo en Buenos Aires 1943-1955* (Bernal: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes/Prometeo 3010, 2005), pp. 36-39.

- Gino Germani, 'El proceso de urbanización en la Argentina', *Trabajos e investigaciones del Instituto de sociología*, publicación interna n°4 (Buenos Aires: Servicio de documentación de sociología, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires, [n.d.]) and Gino Germani, 'Investigación sobre los efectos sociales de la urbanización en un área obrera del Gran Buenos Aires', in *La urbanización en América latina*, ed. by Philip Hauser (Buenos Aires: Solar/Hachette, 1962), pp. 231-62.
- The work of María Cristina Cravino helps illustrate the expansion of the settlements in Argentina over time. See for example 'Magnitud y crecimiento de las villas y asentamientos en el Área Metropolitana de Buenos Aires en los últimos 25 años', <[www.fadu.uba.ar/mail/difusion\\_extension/090206\\_pon.pdf](http://www.fadu.uba.ar/mail/difusion_extension/090206_pon.pdf)> (accessed: 22 November 2010).
- Comisión Nacional de la Vivienda, *Plan de emergencia: informe elevado al Poder ejecutivo nacional* (Buenos Aires: Departamento de publicaciones y biblioteca, Ministerio de Trabajo y Previsión, República Argentina, 1956) p. 39 and pp. 37-94 generally. Author's translation from Spanish.
- Adriana Massidda, 'Antecedents of the Plan', in 'Urban Planning and Undertakings upon Informal Settlements in Buenos Aires: A 1955-1959 Review' (unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Cambridge, 2011).
- Comisión Nacional de la Vivienda, *Plan de emergencia*, p. 56.
- The consequences of this design in the longer term have been studied in Adriana Massidda 'Barrio Rivadavia (Buenos Aires): Between Informality and Hybridity', in *Urban Centres and Informal Settlements*, ed. by Lea Allen, Felipe Hernández and Peter Kellett (Birkhäuser, forthcoming).
- Eduardo Blaustein, *Prohibido vivir aquí: una historia de los planes de erradicación de villas de la última dictadura* (Buenos Aires: Comisión Municipal de la Vivienda, GCBA, 2001), pp. 60-63.
- For a revision of the notion of *radicación* see Liernur, Jorge Francisco, 'De la erradicación a la radicación: pequeña historia de un cambio de paradigma', *Revista Todavía*, 20, December 2008 <<http://www.revistatodavia.com.ar/todavia25/20.ciudadestxt.html>> (accessed: 09 July 2011). For the programme of relocation of Villa 7 see 'Plan piloto de realojamiento Barrio de Emergencia N°7', *Summa*, 72 (1974), pp. 57-60. For the programme of reconstruction see 'Ocho proyectos de la Comisión Municipal de la vivienda de la ciudad de Buenos Aires', *Summa*, pp. 208-209, January-February 1985, pp. 102-118. For a study of the

**Adriana Laura Massidda** finished her MPhil in Architecture at Cambridge in September 2011. She obtained her architectural training from the University of Buenos Aires where she graduated in 2006. Her research focuses on the history of urban informality in Buenos Aires and the interaction between the shantytowns and the State. Adriana is currently a practicing architect and will begin her PhD in October 2012.

debate about informal settlements in the 1960s see Adrián Gorelik, 'La aldea en la ciudad. Ecos urbanos de un debate antropológico', *Revista del Museo de Antropología* (2008), pp. 73-96. For a general overview of the policies during the whole period refer to Anahí Ballent, 'Vivienda de interés social', in *Diccionario de arquitectura en la Argentina: estilos, obras, biografías, instituciones, ciudades*, ed. by Fernando Aliata and Jorge Francisco Liernur (Buenos Aires: Clarín Arquitectura/AGEA, 2004) 6 vols., vol. S-Z pp. 185-87.

14. 'Levantando el primer edificio para urbanizar la ex AU 3' and 'Avanza el proceso de reubicación', *Clarín*, 20th August 2011.

15. 'Macri decidió intervenir en la Villa 31', *La Nación*, 27 September 2008, 'Macri convoca al diálogo para erradicar la villa 31', *Clarín*, 04 July 2007 or 'Los más pobres en tierras muy caras', *Página 12*, 30 July 2007 amongst others.

16. The system of *cátedras* at the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Buenos Aires consists in each course being taught by different groups of teachers, each with a leader professor, called *cátedras*. The students choose which *cátedra* they want to take the course with. For the course of Design, each *cátedra* implies a different approach to architecture.

### Image Credits

Figure 1. Underlay: composition of maps *Aeropuerto Ezeiza, Ciudad de Buenos Aires y Lanús* (Buenos Aires: Instituto Geográfico Nacional, Argentina). The data for the maps was collected and updated between 1906 and 1956, and published originally in 1956 by the former Instituto Geográfico Militar. Information taken from Comisión Nacional de la Vivienda, *Plan de emergencia: informe elevado al Poder ejecutivo nacional* (Buenos Aires: Departamento de publicaciones y biblioteca, Ministerio de Trabajo y Previsión, República Argentina, 1956) pp. 74-79. Tracing of information by author.

Figure 2. CNV, *Plan de emergencia*, p. 238. (art. 31, Ley 11.723)

Figure 3. CNV, *Plan de emergencia*, p. 240. (art. 31, Ley 11.723)

Figure 4. Banco Hipotecario Nacional de la República Argentina, *Plan de emergencia: eliminación de las villas miseria de la Capital Federal* (Buenos Aires, 1958) pp. 19-21. (art. 31, Ley 11.723)

Figure 5. BHN, *Plan de emergencia*, p. 12. (art. 31, Ley 11.723)

I would like to acknowledge the Instituto Geográfico Nacional and the Ministerio de Trabajo y Previsión, and in particular Liliana Weisert and Marcela Scondras respectively, as well as to those who helped me in putting together this article.