# JP Foundation journal: development and planning dilemmas in the 1970's in Minas Gerais

Revista Fundação JP: dilemas do desenvolvimento e do planejamento na década de 1970 em Minas Gerais

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#### **Abstract**

This study is situated in the literature which has revisited the experiences and institutional structures of urban-regional planning that took place during the civil-military dictatorship in Brazil. It analyses the JP Foundation Journal, edited by João Pinheiro Foundation (FJP). This Foundation was created in 1969 to produce studies and statistics to support the development of the state of Minas Gerais during the 1970s when questions related to that development were established and consolidated within the state apparatus. The study of the publications about planning and development of the JP Foundation Journal is representative, as it reveals the changing approaches in Minas Gerais and in Brazil, the diversity of theoretical and methodological approaches, and the debates about political decisions. This study contributes to understand the processes of institutional consolidation of issues related to planning and state actions in the field of urban and regional policies.

**Keywords:** Urban-Regional Planning; Minas Gerais; JP Foundation Journal; Development; Institutions

#### Resumo

O presente texto se insere na literatura que tem retomado as experiências e institucionalidades acerca do planejamento urbano-regional durante a ditadura civil-militar brasileira. Aqui é estudada a Revista Fundação JP, editada pela Fundação João Pinheiro (FJP) – instituição criada em 1969 para produção de estudos e estatísticas que auxiliassem o desenvolvimento mineiro – durante a década de 1970, quando a temática se organizou e consolidou no aparelho estatal mineiro. O estudo das publicações acerca da temática do planejamento e do desenvolvimento na Revista Fundação JP é ilustrativo, pois demonstra as mudanças de enfoques dado o contexto mineiro e nacional, a pluralidade de

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referenciais teórico-metodológicos e os debates acerca dos caminhos tomados. Assim, seu estudo auxilia na compreensão dos processos de consolidação institucional das questões do planejamento e da ação estatal no âmbito das políticas urbanas e regionais.

**Palavras-chave:** Planejamento Urbano-Regional; Minas Gerais; Revista Fundação JP; Desenvolvimento; Instituições.

## Introdução

This study is situated in the literature that reevaluates the cycle of institutionalization and the effects of urban-regional policies during the Brazilian civil-military dictatorship (1964 -1985). Those studies revisited both federal initiatives - such as the Federal Service of Habitation and Urbanism¹(Serviço Federal de Habitação e Urbanismo, Serfhau), the National Commission for Metropolitan Regions and Urban Policy² (Comissão Nacional de Regiões Metropolitanas e Política Urbana, CNPU), and the National Council of Urban Development³ (Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Urbano, CNDU) (Feldman, 2019) – as well as state (Vizioli, 1998; Verri, 2014) and regional (Freitag; Faria, 2021) experiences that influenced the plans developed in the aforementioned period. The studies also highlight the long-term effects of the incremental implementation of local plans (Ferreira, 1998), pioneer studies regarding theoretical-methodological approaches (Ramalho, 2021), and the implications of spatial structuring of regional plans at regional and state levels (Tavares, 2021).

The *JP Foundation Journal*<sup>4</sup>, first published in 1971, is an important source for discussing methodologies and initiatives in urban, regional, and metropolitan planning during the 1970s, not only in Minas Gerais but also nationally. Its importance becomes evident when the role played by João Pinheiro Foundation (FJP) is considered and, consequently, by its Journal within

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>BRAZIL. Law No. 4,380, of August 21, 1964, Established inflation adjustment in real estate contracts having social interest, the financial system for home acquisition, creates the National Housing Bank (Banco Nacional da Habitação, BNH), and Real Estate Credit Societies, Real Estate Letters, the Federal Housing and Urbanism Service, and provides other measures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>BRAZIL. Decree No. 74,156, of June 6, 1974, Creates the National Commission of Metropolitan Regions and Urban Policy - CNPU and provides other measures.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  BRAZIL. Decree No. 83,355, of April 20, 1979, Creates the National Council of Urban Development and provides other measures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>All editions of JP Foundation Journal are digitized and available on: http://www.bibliotecadigital.mg.gov. br/. The complete sequence of issues and their corresponding digital volumes can also be accessed on the website of the Professora Maria Helena de Andrade Library of the João Pinheiro Foundation: https://biblioteca.fjp.mg.gov.br/.

the broader context of state's institutionalization towards industrialization and modernization of the state of Minas Gerais (DINIZ, 1981) given its relative delay compared to the state of Rio de Janeiro and, particularly, São Paulo. This delay was especially evident in the intense emigration over the first six decades of the 20th century (Brito; Souza, 1995; Godoy, 2009; Paula, 2017).

More specifically, the long process of industrialization in Minas Gerais entailed the consolidation and transition from a non-durable consumer goods industry (such as food, beverages, textiles) to intermediate goods industry (including electricity and steel production), but above all to capital goods (machinery, equipment and electrical components) and durable consumer goods, whose apex was the installation of the FIAT car factory, in 1976, in the city of Betim. In other words, Minas Gerais underwent a process of internalization and development of a metal-mechanical-automotive industry, what transformed the state to more than a mere exporter of basic commodities (such as food and iron ore) and intermediate goods (energy and steel products) (Andrade; Cintra, 1978; Diniz, 1981; Lacerda, 2019).

This institutionalization cycle was motivated by the relative delay of Minas Gerais, referred to at the time as the "loss of substance" of the economy. Such delay resulted in the emigration of a massive population to other states (Brito; Souza, 1995) as well as the stagnation and decline of industrial and agricultural activities<sup>5</sup> in Minas Gerais (Dulci, 1999). The primary modern milestone was the change of the state capital from the city of Ouro Preto to Belo Horizonte<sup>6</sup>, which had a geoeconomics rationale to articulate the various productive activities spread across different regions of the state (Singer, 1977; Monte-Mór; Paula, 2001).

The authenticity of the construction of this state apparatus and some of its singularities - for example, the "pioneering nature" of developmentalism

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>The "Diagnóstico da Economia Mineira" (Minas Gerais Economics Diagnosis), published in 1968, effectively illustrates this stagnation and decline (BDMG, 1968). For a more comprehensive understanding of the context and importance of this document, refer to: Godoy; Barbosa; Barbosa, 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Other significant initiatives included the I Congresso Agrícola, Industrial e Comercial (I Agricultural, Industrial, and Commercial Congress) of 1903; the creation of the Department of Agriculture, Industry, Commerce, and Labor (Secretaria de Agricultura, Indústria, Comércio e Trabalho) in the 1930s; the establishment of the industrial city of Contagem in 1942; the implementation of the Economic Recovery Plan in 1947; the development of the Energy and Transportation Binomial, involving the establishment of the Department of Roads and Highways of the State of Minas Gerais (Departamento de Estradas e Rodagens, DER/MG) and the Minas Gerais Power Company (Companhia Elétrica de Minas Gerais, CEMIG) in 1952 (Diniz, 1981); the establishment of the Development Bank of Minas Gerais (Banco de Desenvolvimento de Minas Gerais) in 1962 (Paula, 2017); and, lastly, the formalization of the State Planning System (Sistema Estadual de Planejamento) in 1972 (Sigueira, 2001).

in Minas Gerais under João Pinheiro<sup>7</sup> - have been widely discussed (Diniz, 1981; Siqueira, 2001; Paula; 2004; Paula, 2017). However, few studies have investigated sectoral policies and actions, such as urban-regional policies based on the content published by the *JP Foundation Journal*. This subject is the focus of this article. In the 1970s, such policies addressed the structural inequality of the geoeconomics space of Minas Gerais. This was one of the main reasons for the early intervention of the state and for the development of industrial policies and planned infrastructure.

Nevertheless, before the development of urban-regional policies, several "indirect" actions had significant spatial effects, for both internal disarticulation and the state's internal articulation; regarding the first, notably, during the "railroad era" (Batista; Barbosa; Godoy, 2012); and regarding the second, in particular, the "road era" under the Department of Roads and Highways of the State of Minas Gerais (Departamento de Estradas e Rodagem, DER/MG) (Lopes; Godoy, 2019), as well as the hydroelectric plant construction policy by Cemig (CEMIG, 1971).

The *internal disarticulation* between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century (Singer, 1977; Batista; Barbosa; Godoy, 2012) was associated both to the predominance of the installation of a railway infrastructure oriented towards outside the state - especially for the export of coffee in the south of Minas Gerais and Zona da Mata, as well as food products in the Triângulo Mineiro - and to the construction of large hydroelectric plants in the 1950s and 1960s, which met the energy demand of the neighboring states (Diniz, 1981).

Later, but still in this period, i.e. when Juscelino Kubitschek was the governor of Minas Gerais (1951-1955), based on the Energy and Transportation Binomial<sup>8</sup>, the structuring of DER-MG and Cemig led to a movement of *internal articulation*. This was associated to the paving and construction of highways connecting different regional subspaces, especially towards the capital

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Based on a positivist perspective, João Pinheiro advocated for the central role of the state in national development. He emphasized the importance of industrialization through the protection of domestic industries, the need for diversification and integration of the production structure, an ambitious mineral policy, and the training and education of the workforce as essential components of the development strategy. Moreover, he used historical cases (Mexico, the United States of America, Germany) as models for envisioning the trajectory of Minas Gerais as it transitioned from the 19th to the 20th century. For more details, see Paula, 2004 and Pereira, 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Together with his prior experience as the Mayor of Belo Horizonte (1940-1946), it served as a sort of "rehearsal" for Brasília, characterized by the aesthetic dimension in the city of Belo Horizonte, particularly in the Pampulha Complex, and the establishment of a "parallel" and autonomous state apparatus for public works execution, during his tenure as governor, in the Energy and Transportation Binomial (Lacerda, 2019).

of Minas Gerais (Belo Horizonte) (CED; BDMG; ILPES, 1971), as well as the program of deconcentration of transmission networks and energy distribution (CEMIG, 1971).

However, it was only in the second half of the 1960s that direct mechanisms for urban-regional intervention were consolidated. This happened with the creation of the Jequitinhonha Valley Development Commission (Comissão de Desenvolvimento do Vale do Jequitinhonha, CODEVALE) in 1965<sup>9</sup>, the structuring of the State Development Council (Conselho Estadual do Desenvolvimento, CED) in 1966<sup>10</sup>, the establishment of the Superintendency for the Development of the Minas Gerais Area in the Drought Polygon (Superintendência de Desenvolvimento da Área Mineira do Polígono das Secas, SUDEMINAS)<sup>11</sup>, and the creation of the Company of Industrial Districts (Companhia de Distritos Industriais, CDI), in 1971<sup>12</sup>.

This group of institutions (Diniz, 1981) was supported at state level through transfers and financing from BDMG<sup>13</sup>, with the studies of feasibility, promotion and industrial attraction conducted by the Industrial Development Institute (Instituto de Desenvolvimento Industrial, INDI)<sup>14</sup>. It also benefited from the abundant supply of energy by Cemig and the System of Tax Incentives<sup>15</sup>, besides contributions of the FJP itself. It was consolidated in 1971 with the establishment of the State Planning System (Sistema Estadual de Planejamento)<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> MINAS GERAIS, Law No. 3764, of December 15, 1965, Organizes the Jequitinhonha Valley Development Commission (CODEVALE) and provides other measures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>MINAS GERAIS, Law No. 4133, of April 20, 1966, Abolishes the State Secretariat of Economic Development, creates the State Development Council, and provides other measures; and MINAS GERAIS, Decree No. 10064, of October 10, 1966, Establishes the state planning system and contains the Regulations of the State Development Council.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> MINAS GERAIS, Decree No. 10023, of August 30, 1966, Establishes a Working Group, which will be called the Superintendency for the Development of the Minas Gerais Area in the Drought Polygon – SUDEMINAS. Later, the Superintendence for the Development of the North of Minas Gerais (Superintendência de Desenvolvimento do Norte de Minas, SUDENOR) (MINAS GERAIS, Decree No. 18064, of August 24, 1976).

 $<sup>^{12}</sup>$ MINAS GERAIS, Law No. 5721, of June 25, 1971, Authorizes the State Government to establish and organize a company under state stock control aimed at designing, implementing, and managing industrial areas, and provides other measures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>In the first period, channeling resources from BNDE and the Special Industrial Financing Agency (Agência Especial de Financiamento Industrial). Subsequently, by coordinating the distribution of various state-sectoral funds and utilizing its own resources (FJP, 1997).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Established through a social contract between CEMIG and BDMG on May 30, 1968, it was the first investment promotion agency in Brazil, serving as a model for the creation of similar institutions in Brazil. For its history and activities in the period, see: Brito, 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> MINAS GERAIS, Law No. 5261, of September 19, 1969, Provides for fiscal incentives.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> MINAS GERAIS, Law No. 5792, of October 8, 1971, Provides for the State Planning System, creates the

At national level, Minas Gerais benefited from the growing deconcentration and spillover of industrial investment from São Paulo (Diniz, 1981; Cano, 2007); it also benefited from the emergence of national industrial deconcentration policies (Cano, 2007) as well as from the development of urban-regional policies by the Brazilian federal government (Mont-Mór, 2008), and from the investments of state-owned companies in the interior of the country (Bacelar, 2000).

This state level institutional apparatus, aligned with the national process, culminated in the 1970s in a window of opportunities for diversified industrial investments in Minas Gerais, which became known as "the new industrialization of Minas Gerais". According to the perspective of the time, among the necessary conditions for its sustainability one of the central aspects was the structuring of a state urban network (BDMG; CED; ILPES, 1971), which was outlined in the I Minas Gerais Economic and Social Development Plan (I Plano Mineiro de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social, PMDES). This plan emphasized the necessity for the "spatial deconcentration of Minas Gerais' development" (BDMG; CED; ILPES, 1971, p. 12), with the following goal:

The spatial and urban deconcentration of Minas Gerais' development is intended to rectify the deformations that would emerge in the spatial structure of Minas if the pattern of development extremely concentrated in Belo Horizonte were to persist [...]. Spatial deconcentration is therefore justified as a means of achieving social objectives. However, it is even more solidly grounded on an economic level, as it enables a more effective use of the potential of the regions of Minas Gerais. In addition, it lays the foundations that enable the economic integration of the state's territory, thus tending to reverse the model of its economy, which until now had been driven by the coastal region (BDMG; CED; ILPES, 1971, p.12-13).

Superintendence of Industry, Commerce, and Tourism, and provides other measures. But previously outlined in: MINAS GERAIS, Decree No. 10064, of October 10, 1966, Provides for the state planning system and contains the Regulations of the State Development Council.

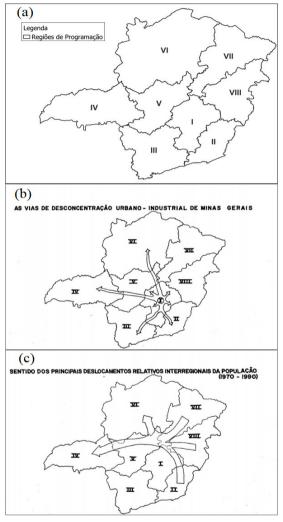
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The "new industrialization of Minas Gerais" was the result of a collaboration between the state government, predominantly through the BDMG-CDI-INDI trio, and foreign investors. Their collaborative efforts aimed at attracting industries specialized in capital goods production, expanding the scale of the intermediate goods industry, and, as a culmination, the durable consumer goods industry. This included the establishment of the automobile manufacturer FIAT in Betim in 1976. The State of Minas Gerais, through the mentioned institutions, as well as the state banks, Credireal and Bemge (Jayme Jr; Cerqueira, 1996), provided basic infrastructure, granted fiscal incentives, and even had a shareholding (for example, in FIAT and USIMINAS) in a range of industrial ventures during that period (Diniz, 1981; Eakin, 2002).

The I PMDES guidelines aimed to promote "urban-industrial decentralization" through six main routes. For the short term, it encompassed the following Regions for Planning Purposes<sup>18</sup>: Region I, through the consolidation of a system of urban-industrial centers complementary to Belo Horizonte metropolitan area. Region II (Zona da Mata Region) and Region III (South Region) benefiting from the intermediate position in relation to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo axes, respectively. Region IV (Triângulo Mineiro Region) supported by the dynamic and recent urban centers and mediating the relationship between São Paulo and the Midwest. Region VI (North and Northwest Regions) for its privileged position as an intermediary between the Northeast and South-Central, utilizing tax incentives to attract agroindustrial and industrial projects.

For the long-term, it encompassed the Region VIII (East and Rio Doce Valley Regions) due to their connection with the Northeast, Rio de Janeiro, and Vitória, driven by the presence of the large steel complex; and Region V (Central Region) due to its intermediate position among the different regions of Minas Gerais. Figure 1 presents and summarizes the Regions for Planning Purposes (a); the suggested routes for urban-industrial deconcentration (b), and the intended directions of the inter-regional population movements (c), as proposed in the I PMDES.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Since the late 1960s, regionalization efforts, which extended beyond IBGE's physiographic zones, were undertaken in collaboration between CED, BDMG, and ILPES. One of the results, which was preliminary, known as "Regions for Planning Purposes" became canonical when it was integrated into the I PMDES of 1971, to guide actions in the state of Minas Gerais. This framework was only replaced as a spatial guideline for public policies in Minas Gerais in 1992, when the FJP defined the Planning Regions. For further information on the different regionalizations in Minas Gerais, see: Diniz; Batella, 2005.

**Figure 1** - Regions for Planning Purposes of the State of Minas Gerais (a), urban-industrial deconcentration routes (b), and inter-regional population movements (c)



Source: (a) the author, (b) MINAS GERAIS (1971, p.258), and (c) MINAS GERAIS (1971, p. 259)

In sum, the technical elites assumed that a well-structured and balanced urban network would be the key to the consolidation of industrialization in Minas Gerais. This network would foster the dissemination of employment

opportunities, consequently restricting the migrant population and improving the quality of life of the population of Minas Gerais (BDMG; CED; ILPES, 1971).

It is in this field, the *explicit incorporation of spatial issues and urban-regional planning*, that the FJP acts through plans and studies. More specifically, the *JP Foundation Journal* is both a platform for disseminating initiatives within the scope of authoritarian state planning as well as for debating this planning theoretically, methodologically, and even critically. In other words, the analysis of the *Journal* reinforces the comprehension of the dilemmas and complexities of the period, mainly, in terms of planning (Faria, 2019). It allows us, as Feldman (2021, p.14) points out, to "distance ourselves from binary reasoning, which opposes effectiveness/non-effectiveness (or ideas/accomplishments), technical/political and democratic/authoritarian".

## Urban-regional issues at João Pinheiro Foundation in the 1970s

For a proper understanding of the content produced by the *JP Foundation Journal*, it is necessary to present its institutional development and organization as well as the state and national political-economic situation. Firstly, it should be emphasized that the FJP was created in 1969<sup>19</sup> by Governor Israel Pinheiro (1966-1971), son of João Pinheiro, as an "offshoot" of the Department of Studies and Planning (Departamento de Estudos e Planejamento, DEP) within BDMG, which was the responsible for the 1968 *Diagnosis of the Minas Gerais Economy* (Diagnóstico da Economia Mineira)<sup>20</sup>. The launch of FJP resulted in a gradual weakening of the DEP due to a dispute between the "financistas" and the "planejadores" within BDMG (DINIZ, 1981). The "financistas" aimed to restrict BDMG's activities to those strictly related to a traditional bank, while the group of "planejadores" carried out studies and diagnoses proposing guidelines for state action and private sector initiatives (Andrade; Cintra, 1978; Diniz, 1981). The "financistas" prevailed. Thus, several employees moved to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> MINAS GERAIS, Law No. 5399, of December 12, 1969, Authorizes the establishment of a Foundation dedicated to applied research in the fields of economics, administration, and basic and social technology.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> This document was responsible for disseminating and demonstrating, from a historical and structural perspective, how Minas Gerais had been subject to "exploitation" by the federal government and more dynamic states. It specifically highlighted Minas Gerais' position as essentially a supplier of raw materials, of products with limited value addition, and as a source of labor for other states. In other words, the document demonstrated Minas Gerais' position in the inter-regional division of labor and, additionally, presented alternatives for leveraging the state's economic advantages to foster the growth of its industrial sector. Furthermore, given its technical expertise and wide-ranging content, the document played a crucial role in discussions with the federal government during the early stages of industrial decentralization projects in the 1970s (Lacerda, 2019).

a new institution, whose first president was Hindemburgo Chateaubriand Pereira Diniz, who had previously served as president of BDMG.

To accommodate the former employees and activities of the DEP, the FJP was created. Its purpose was to "promote the economic and social development of the state [of Minas Gerais]", as announced in the first edition of the Journal (FJP, 1971, p.1). The FJP had five objectives: 1) to plan state development using studies, research, economic and social planning, including studies of investment opportunities; 2) to conduct studies, research, dissemination, and application of methods and techniques for the rational organization of work and data processing using mechanical, electromechanical and electronic systems; 3) to carry out geography and statistics services; 4) to carry out research projects and provide services in the field of basic and social technology; and 5) to develop teaching activities through courses related to the activities mentioned in the previous items.

Within the FJP, studies on urban-regional issues began with the establishment of the Institute for Economic and Social Research (Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica e Social, IPES), which operated between the end of 1970 and the beginning of 1971. Its aim was to promote the economic and social planning and development of Minas Gerais, notably through agreements with BDMG, the State Development Council (CED) and the Minas Gerais State Treasury Office (Secretaria Estadual da Fazenda). The structuring of the State Planning System in October 1971, which included the FJP as an affiliated entity, resulted in the division of IPES in 1972 into the Center for Development Projects (Centro de Projetos de Desenvolvimento, CPD) and the Center for Economic and Urban Studies (Centro de Estudos Econômicos e Urbanos, CEEU) (Gomes, 2022).

CEEU was responsible for carrying out studies, research, and projects in the economic and urban planning fields. It lasted until the end of 1972 and in 1973, due to the workload, it was reorganized. The Center for Applied Economics (Centro de Economia Aplicada, CEA) was in charge for the economic area and the Center for Urban Development (Centro de Desenvolvimento Urbano, CDU) was specialized in urban planning (GOMES, 2022). It is important to point out that the internal structuring of the state of Minas Gerais followed, pari passu, the institutionalization of the national urban policy. , In the context of the civil-military dictatorship, it involved firstly the Serfhau, in 1964, and later the Concentrated Action Program (Programa de Ação Concentrada, PAC), in 1969, up to the National Council for Urban Development (Conselho Nacional

de Desenvolvimento Urbano, CNPU) in 1974<sup>21</sup>(Feldman, 2019). In other words, initially, the institutionalization separated planning into *territorial* planning and *economic* planning. Subsequently, there was an *expansion* and *coordination* of planning scales, that is, from local to micro-regional and regional, until, finally, the *internalization* and *development* of spatial planning methodologies.

Regarding the activities carried out as CEEU until 1973, the Institute for Urban Research and Projects (Instituto de Pesquisas e Projetos Urbanos, IPPU), the division in charge of urban studies, initially engaged in urban and regional development projects outside the state, particularly in the states of Roraima and Amapá. Later, when it became CDU, it conducted specific studies for the historic cities of Ouro Preto and Mariana, between 1973 and 1974. In cooperation with BDMG, it organized the Urban Development Program (Programa de Desenvolvimento Urbano, PDU) for Minas Gerais in 1973, which aimed specifically at medium-sized cities in various regions of Minas Gerais (Gomes, 2022).

It is important to note that the PDU participated in the I Minas Gerais Economic and Social Development Plan (PMDES), which was in effect between 1972 and 1976 and emphasized the importance of an urbanization policy, especially in the core cities of each Region for Planning. The I PMDES stated that this would be promoted by implementing a policy designed to attract industrial investments connected to the administrative decentralization of public services and the improvement of urban infrastructure (Minas Gerais, 1971, p.14).

At the same time, there were initiatives directed to the metropolitan region of Belo Horizonte developed by the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Plan (Plano Metropolitano de Belo Horizonte, Plambel). This group was established within FJP in 1971 and was transformed into an autonomous agency in  $1974^{22}$ , in accordance with federal regulation regarding metropolitan regions<sup>23</sup>.

Later, between 1974 and 1975, it was created the Planning Division (Diretoria de Planejamento, DP) to which the CDU was affiliated. This happened in the midst of the new organizational restructuring of the FJP, in the context of the transformation of CED into the State Secretariat for

 $<sup>^{21}</sup>$  Later, the National Council for Urban Development (Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Urbano, CNDU), from 1979.

 $<sup>^{22}</sup>$ Established as an autarky by MINAS GERAIS, Law No. 6303, of April 30, 1974, Establishes the metropolitan region of Belo Horizonte and provides for other measures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> BRAZIL, Complementary Law No. 14, of June 8, 1973, Establishes the metropolitan regions of São Paulo, Belo Horizonte, Porto Alegre, Recife, Salvador, Curitiba, Belém, and Fortaleza.

Planning and General Coordination<sup>24</sup> (Secretaria de Estado do Planejamento e Coordenação Geral) during the transition from the government of Rondon Pacheco (1971-1975) to Aureliano Chaves (1975) -1978). The period was also characterized by the formulation of the II PMDES and the removal of the metropolitan issue from FJP, due to the transformation of Plambel<sup>25</sup> into an autarchy.

Given the "intellectual division of labor" – during the Aureliano Chaves administration, with Antônio Octávio Cintra assuming the presidency of FJP from 1977 onwards – the Planning Divisions centered its activities on regional planning, while CDU's activities were centered on the micro-regional and urban planning. Furthermore, it is important to note that in the social and institutional aspects of these plans, both divisions were supported by the Public Programs Division (Diretoria de Programas Públicos, DPP), established at FJP in 1975. Also, since in 1977 the CDU reestablished its own division, it was no longer subordinated to the Planning Division (Gomes, 2022).

This second period was characterized by the remarkable return to regional planning, one of the milestones of the II National Development Plan (Plano Nacional de Desenvolvimento, II PND, 1975-1979) and the II PMDES (1976-1979), especially under the methodology of integrated regional development plans. The purpose of the II PMDES<sup>26</sup> was to align to the guidelines of the II PND. In terms of space, priority was given to regions considered to be "problematic" and those with untapped "great potential". This encompassed the Southern region of Minas Gerais<sup>27</sup>, the Minas Gerais State Area of Sudene<sup>28</sup>

 $<sup>^{24}</sup>$  MINAS GERAIS, Decree No. 17112, of April 22, 1975, Provides for the basic structure of the State Public Administration and other measures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> On Plambel, refer to: Tonucci Filho (2012)...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The axes of the II PND (Second National Development Plan) were: to expand and disseminate basic infrastructure, including transportation networks, telecommunications, agricultural production and commercialization; to conclude the establishment of the capital goods production segment, particularly through state-owned enterprises, in sectors such as heavy chemicals, non-metallic minerals, non-ferrous metals, and the steel industry; to increase energy sources, including petroleum and its derivatives, hydroelectric power, and other sources such as ethanol and nuclear energy. The II PMDES refers several times to the II PND, highlighting how Minas Gerais could reinforce its role as an intermediary location to capitalize on the opportunities arising from industrial decentralization and infrastructure expansion initiated by the federal government. This approach aimed to strategically "fill" the gaps and solidify the state's industrialization (Minas Gerais, 1975, p.10-11).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> However, the South of Minas Gerais was already seen as a potential area to receive deconcentrated investment from São Paulo and had already been the object of state attention since the late 1960s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> The Superintendency for the Development of the Northeast (Superintendência de Desenvolvimento do Nordeste, Sudene), based in Recife-PE, was created in 1959 by Celso Furtado during the Juscelino Kubitschek administration. At the time, it was a governmental agency that aimed to promote and coordinate the development of the Northeast, encouraging its integration into the country's Center-South.

(Área Mineira da Sudene, AMS)<sup>29</sup>, the Jequitinhonha Valley<sup>30</sup>, and the Rio Doce Valley, particularly the region called the "Area of influence of Companhia Vale do Rio Doce" (Gomes, 2022).

The growing prestige of urban-regional issues in state policy can be highlighted by the CDU regaining its *status* of division in 1977. The CDU expanded its importance by participating in four key programs: the State Urban Development Policy, the Urban Development Program, the Historic Cities Program, and Special Programs. Additionally, it conducted a series of studies on the urban reality in Minas Gerais and to identify pivotal cities (Gomes, 2022).

In 1979, the last year covered in our analysis, Francelino Pereira (1979-1983) became state governor, and the FJP maintained its activities within the domain of urban-regional planning. The main change that happened was the merger of the CDU with the DPP, resulting in the creation of the Division of Social and Urban Planning (Diretoria de Planejamento Social e Urbano, DPSU). The purpose of this merger was to make better use of the FJP technical staff and foster greater integration of urban, micro-regional and regional issues. Later, this initiative resulted in the development of the State Program for Intermediate Cities of Minas Gerais (Programa Estadual de Cidades Intermediárias de Minas Gerais, PROECI) (Mendonça, 1990). It is important to note that this program is beyond the time frame and scope of this study, as it emerged during the period of the easing of the civil-military dictatorship and the exhaustion of the development model, characterized by the deceleration of growth rates and the crises of public finances, particularly at the state level<sup>31</sup>.

Once an ambitious project before the civil-military coup (Furtado, 1989), it became, starting from 1964, a mere intermediary in the management of tax incentives, contributing to the spatial integration and modernization of Brazilian and northeastern capitalism (Oliveira, 1977).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The AMS region held the potential to attract investments due to tax incentives as it was part of the Sudene area. However, it faced significant social challenges and had been the focus of state attention since the 1960s through Sudeminas. Its establishment arose from the recognition of the region's neglect in terms of the overall investments in both physical and social infrastructure compared to the northeastern states.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> The Jequitinhonha Valley, a region characterized by the lowest economic and social development indicators in the state, had the Codevale and the development of various regional studies and plans since the late 1960s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Several institutional changes (including changes in technical personnel at the João Pinheiro Foundation), along with political and economic shifts, marked the beginning of a long transition period in the theoretical and practical frameworks of planning, social participation, the role of the state, and economic and productive organization, among others. These changes make the analysis between the periods challenging. Check, among others; Oliveira, 1995; Shikida, 2022.

### The JP Foundation Journal in the 1970s

The *JP Foundation Journal* was edited by the Information Sector of the Communication Division. The purpose of the *Journal* was to promote the projects undertaken by the FJP, along with those of other state government agencies (Soares, 2022). According to its first issue, its role was to "disseminate studies or research and to encourage initiatives to support the public sector and the private sector in solving problems of interest to Minas Gerais and the country" (FJP, 1971, p.3).

From its first issue until the end of 1972, the *Journal* had the subtitle "economia, administração e tecnologia" ("economics, administration and technology"). Until April 1974, the subtitle changed to "economia, administração, tecnologia e urbanismo" ("economy, administration, technology, and *urbanism*"), highlighting the significance of the urban issues.

From April 1974, the Journal incorporated the "Boletim Conjuntura" ("Conjuncture Bulletin"), previously published by the CEA of FJP, which provided information on the economic conjuncture to expand its reach and circulation. The title changed to "Revista Fundação JP – Análise e Conjuntura" ("JP Foundation Journal – Analysis and Conjuncture") and the publication frequency shifted from quarterly to monthly (Gomes, 2022). The *Journal* had a print run of six thousand copies and was distributed in various national locations and across 21 countries (Soares, 2022). In 1986, it was relaunched, expanding its scope of topics, and was renamed as "Revista Análise & Conjuntura" (Analysis & Conjuncture Journal). Under this name, it was published until January 1993.

From the insights provided about FJP institutional trajectory and the articles themselves, we argue that there are two possible approaches to comprehend the articles published in the Journal. The first approach points to the institutional trajectory (or cycle of institutionalization) of urban and regional policies executed by FJP. This trajectory/cycle can be divided into two distinctive periods. The first period, from 1971 to 1974, was characterized by the establishment of a specific segment within the FJP addressing urban and regional planning issues, with a significant emphasis on the metropolitan scale. The second period, between 1975 and 1979, was marked by the consolidation and growing prestige of the FJP's involvement in the planning sector, with several cross-sector interactions. This period also entailed a clear division of tasks according to the scale and thematic of planning, as well as the expansion of thematics and interfaces within the planning framework.

A second approach to comprehend the articles is through their content. On one hand, there are articles that serve for the dissemination and propaganda of governmental initiatives. On the other hand, there are articles with analytical, theoretical, and methodological content, including criticism of the (centralized) planning model and the (industrialization-driven) development model.

By defining these two approaches to comprehend the articles, the objective is to simultaneously reveal "the plurality of temporalities and contexts for unveiling the adequacy, accommodation and transformation of ideas and practices, and the tensions that permeate planning" (Feldman, 2021, p.14). However, this does not mean there were no articles addressing metropolitan issues post-1974, nor that there are no articles disseminating and making propaganda of state actions with innovative theoretical and methodological approaches.

Our analysis included 72 issues of the *Journal* published between 1971 and 1979. Among these, two issues published in 1971 and 1975 are exclusively dedicated to summarizing the two PMDES issued during that period. Apart from these two editions, a total of *87 articles addressed planning issues*. Methodologically, we examined articles encompassing both general approaches to state planning and those that were specific, namely, those addressing planning at various scales (urban, metropolitan, regional). Additionally, we considered sector-specific topics – particularly transportation, industries, environment, and housing – with a focus on state-planned actions aimed at promoting or connecting with spatial development.

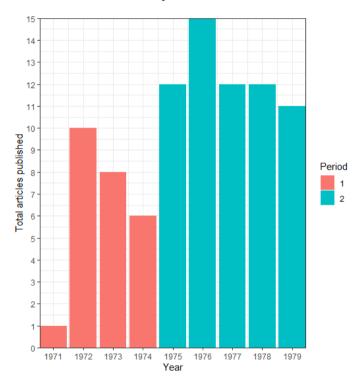
# The JP Foundation Journal: the cycle of institutionalization and between propaganda and criticism

The annual distribution of the 87 articles identified with the thematic of planning is presented in Figure 2, along with the division between two periods that encompasses development of urban-regional studies: the initial period until 1974 and the subsequent period from that date to 1979. As mentioned, the organization of divisions with a focus on urban-regional planning studies, as well as the establishment of the FJP and its *Journal*, took place during the first period.

In the first period, 25 articles were published, which are presented in Table 1. The majority of productions focused on the metropolitan issue. To support our argument, it is worth noting that seven out of the nine articles that focused on this topic were published in the first period. This can be explained by both

the context in which Plambel operated within FJP and the consolidation of federal-level regulations regarding metropolitan regions.

Figure 2 - Published Articles related to the theme of planning in JP Foundation Journal



Source: the author

Another set of five articles published in this first period dealt with issues related to urban planning. These articles discussed the importance of city planning in the context of Latin American urbanization (Lamounier, 1972); the history of urbanization in Belo Horizonte (Coelho, 1972); the evaluation carried out by Serfhau technicians on the planning efforts undertaken until then (Fortuna; Azevedo, 1973); the need for training technical staff to execute the urban planning required by the state at its various levels, including in the state of Minas Gerais, along with the proposal for the creation of a course specialized in urban and regional planning (Lamounier, 1973); a theoretical analysis concerning the inefficacy of Brazilian planning, and the presentation

of an alternative proposal, accompanied by the discussion of urbanization costs (Dantas, 1974).

Regarding *regional planning*, five articles were published with a focus on the *dissemination and propaganda of government action*. Among these, the only article on regional planning that did not follow the propagandistic tone was "Planejamento regional – um enfoque" ("Regional Planning – An Approach") (Curi, 1972). This article aimed to develop a methodology that incorporated regional planning into general plans, specifying a framework to operationalize planning based on the available data in underdeveloped areas.

Finally, in the remaining articles, there was a predominant bias towards the *dissemination and propaganda of government action*, especially in the fields of urban planning, industrialization, and general planning. However, it is worth noting that the three articles on general planning were authored by three well-known personalities/scholars who connect the history of the Faculty of Economic Sciences (Faculdade de Ciências Econômicas, FACE) at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) with the upper echelons of the state apparatus in Minas Gerais (PAULA, 2017): Fernando Roquette Reis, Paulo Camillo de Oliveira Penna e Jayme Peconick. In a broader sense, it points to the central role and preference for economists as the technical leaders of planning in the 1970s (Haddad, 1977; Diniz, 1981; Godoy; Barbosa; Barbosa, 2015).

For instance, the article by Roquette Reis<sup>32</sup>, who served as Secretary of Finance at the time, presents a heterodox perspective, critiquing the "Theory of Comparative Advantage" and the "single path of development through industrialization". In an apologetic stance it highlights how the significant socioeconomic transformations in Minas Gerais were positive, irreversible, and contributed to an increasing level of social welfare. However, the author presents an unconventional understanding of *development*:

It is important to mention that development does not mean just building more factories, modernizing trade, stimulating rural producers, or increasing revenue, but rather an ontological concept that encompasses social and political institutions, requires reforms and induces tensions and friction, and also demands revolutionary measures, since, at its core, development is the Revolution (Reis, 1972, p.20).

<sup>32</sup> He had already been director of the aforementioned Studies and Planning Department (DEP) at BDMG.

Similarly, Paulo Camillo Penna, who was Secretary of Planning and General Coordination (1975-76) and had previously held other relevant positions, highlighted the *institutions* in his article:

The close connection between the pace of development and the capacity of institutions designed to give direction and speed to administrative programs, opening up prospects for achievements and indicating paths to channel investment [...] It is not possible to develop an efficient incentive mechanism and to act on the extension and improvement of technical training without making a particular effort of transformation and creation in the institutional field, as well as without adapting activities and behaviors to meet the standards required by progress. Adapting institutions to new situations will always be onerous. It necessarily implies the rejection of consolidated traditions, resulting in risks and discontentment [...] This underscores the importance of government action to improving the institutional apparatus, which involves adjustments conditioned to the imperatives of the times, the opportunities available, the qualification of individuals and the motivations that inspire them (Penna, 1972, p.29-30).

Both authors, who belonged to the technical elites, connect *institutions* and *development*. They emphasize the inherent conflict in the development process and the formation of institutions and the subsequent impact on social, political, and economic structures. They underline the specificity of these processes, which involve multiple pathways and are historically situated.

Finally, two other articles provide original interpretations on the processes of metropolization and urbanization in the Vale do Aço region (Monte-Mór; Drummont, 1974) in Minas Gerais, and urbanization in the Amazon (Silva; Pompermayer, 1974), respectively.

From 1975 onwards, the *second period*, there was an increase in articles related to urban-regional planning, as presented in Figure 2. This happened due to the higher frequency of publication of the Journal, which became monthly; to the central role of regional planning in the II PMDES at the state level, as well as in the II PND at the federal level; and to the consolidation of the institutional structure dedicated to research and to the implementation of plans within FJP. The June 1975 issue of the *Journal*, for example, focuses on outlining the fundamental guidelines of the II PMDES.

**Table 1 -** Themes, Articles, Authors, Affiliation, Year, and Nature of Publications in the JP Foundation Journal, during its First Period (1971-1974)

Theme	Title	Author	Affiliation	Year	Dissemination/Propaganda
	O plano metropolitano de Belo Horizonte	Gilson Dayrell	Plambel-FJP	1971	Yes
	A metrópole e o pleno desenvolvimento do homem	Alain David	Plambel-FJP	1972	No
	Área Metropolitana, desafío à técnica e à comunidade	Antônio Cintra	Plambel-FJP	1972	No
Metropolitan Issues	Belo Horizonte e o equilíbrio inter-regional	Afrânio Andrade	Plambel-FJP	1972	No
	PLAMBEL, a criação de duas cidades novas	Gilson Dayrell	Plambel-FJP	1973	Yes
	A localização industrial na Grande BH	Ney Werneck	Plambel-FJP	1973	No
	A Região Metropolitana e sua lei	Hélio Fonseca	Consultant	1974	No
	O planejamento de cidades em face da urbanização acelerada	Teodoro Lamounier	FJP	FJP 1971 FJP 1972 FJP 1972 FJP 1973 FJP 1973 At 1974 1972 FJP 1972 FJP 1972 1973 1973 1973 1973 1973 1973 1973 1973	No
	Processo de Urbanização e Visão Histórica de BH	Paulo Coelho	Plambel-FJP	1972	No
Urban Planning	Síntese do programa para preservação de Ouro Preto e Mariana	FJP	FJP	1972	Yes
Orban Framming	Avalição preliminar no planejamento urbano	Affonso Fortuna; Antônio C. Azeved	Serfhau	1973	No
	O planejamento urbano em vista das necessiades de Minas	Teodoro Lamounier	FJP	1973	No
	Estrutura intra-urbana do ponto de vista físico-territorial	Jorge Dantas	SUPAM	1974	No
	Jequitinhonha deixa de ser um bolsão de pobreza	Fidelcino Filho	CODEVALE	1971 1972 1972 1972 1973 1973 1973 1974 1972 1972 1973 1973 1974 1972 1972 1973 1973 1974 1972 1972 1972 1972 1972 1972 1974 1975	Yes
	Planejamento regional – um enfoque	Walter Curi	GPC-Cedeplar	1972	No
Regional Planning	Bases para a ação programada no Triângulo Mineiro e Alto Paranaíba	BDMG	BDMG	1973	Yes
	É preciso explorar os cerrados	Dalmar Ivo	BDMG	1973	Yes
	Uma estratégia para o Vale do Jequitinhonha	BDMG	BDMG	1974	Yes
Industrialization	Potencialidades da Área Mineira da SUDENE	Edição especial	FJP	1972	Yes
industrialization	INDI, politica ativa de promoção e assistência no setor industrial	INDI	INDI	1972	Yes
Dli C1	Experiência mineira 71/72	Fernando Roquette Reis	State Secretary	1972	Yes
Planning in a General	Fatores de desenvolvimento e economia da inteligência	Paulo Camillo Penna	State Secretary	1972	Yes
Sense	Planejamento para o Desenvolvimento Econômico	Jayme Peconick	HIDROMINAS	1974	Yes
Urban Dagianal	Uma área metropolitana sem metrópole	Roberto Monte-Mór; Júlio Drummor	FJP	1974	No
Urban-Regional	Vila Rondônia, exemplo de urbanização de fronteira	Eduardo Silva; Maria Pompermayer	FJP	1974	No

**Source:** the author

Governor Aureliano Chaves determined that in the II Minas Gerais State Plan special emphasis should be placed on the elaboration of regional development plans, since in Minas Gerais the disintegration of its spatial structure stands out, which has implications and explains the characteristics of our urban system, also defined as fragmented; that is, it lacks relevant intermediary centers, leading to marginalization of most of our geographical space. Consequently, cities are unable to provide the necessary urban support for the process of productive expansion (Minas Gerais, 1975, p. 3).

The excerpt above underscores the importance of the urban system and its development as a basis for development. In the section of the article which discusses the problem of spatial concentration versus deconcentration, the author presents a reinterpretation on the developmental approaches adopted by previous administrations:

The dilemma can be faced with two different strategies: one was presented in the Economic Recovery Plan [1947], which diagnosed the absence of a unifying nucleus capable of compensating the polarization exerted by external centers and proposed strengthening the central hub [Belo Horizonte]; the other was materialized in the I PMDES, which, based on the perspective of the state being polarized by Belo Horizonte and having an imbalanced city network, advocated for a policy of deconcentration (Minas Gerais, 1975, p. 7-8).

The II PMDES proposed the adoption of "different styles of development" to meet "the peculiarities of each region", but always maintaining a reference to the state-wide plan. Likewise, planning should incorporate a "theory of the critical path of development in which steps and stages are outlined according to the unfolding of the process and not according to 'a priori' predictions" (Minas Gerais, 1975, p.9). This meant exploiting the inductive force of imbalances<sup>33</sup>, in other words, a "policy of unbalanced development" in which:

the central function of the planning organization is to align the state machinery with the demands of development, either inducing it by creating imbalances, or by correcting its distortions and maladjustments [...] sometimes emphasizing the position of the state as an investor in directly productive activities, sometimes highlighting its role in fostering social

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> The influence of Albert Hirschman (1958) is notable.

capital and internalizing the diseconomies generated by development itself (Minas Gerais, 1975, p.9).

This dual role of the state – as an inducer of imbalances and corrector of distortions – would lead to the "abandonment of comprehensive planning and the balanced development model associated with it" (Minas Gerais, 1975, p.9). Thus, a new conception of planning should be based on (a) a planning action that adapts to the development process, offering options and decisions with degrees of flexibility; and on (b) sectoral strategic programs, especially with well-defined spatial boundaries, even across different scales (regional, microregional and urban).

Based on these guidelines, until the end of 1979, another 62 articles on planning were published in the Journal. The themes were widely diversified, reflecting the increasing complexity of the planning field. We can categorize these articles into four groups.

The first group addresses state planning in a general sense, aiming to develop the framework outlined in the special edition on the II PMDES according to an understanding of planning that goes beyond the comprehensive perspective and balanced development approaches, both sectoral and spatially. These articles are presented in Table 2.

Five articles address this theme, with two of them in the same edition in 1975. The articles engage in a debate among themselves and establish references for a *new style of planning* – an *incremental* perspective (Cintra, 1975) and a *pragmatic* one (Haddad, 1975). Both articles were later revisited by another one published by the *Journal* in 1979. This, in turn, proposed a *problem-centered planning* approach – that is, a process-oriented and *historically* situated one, dependent on the level of economic development and political-institutional factors (Ferreira, 1979). It is worth emphasizing the connection of these three authors – Antônio Otávio Cintra, Paulo Haddad, and Carlos Maurício Ferreira – with FACE-UFMG, both as students and professors, as well as their involvement with the state apparatus in Minas Gerais. The first (1977-1980) and the third (1980-1983) served as presidents of FJP, while Paulo Haddad, in addition to being the director of DP at FJP (1975-1979), also held positions as Secretary of Planning (1979-1982) and Secretary of Finance (1982-1983) in that state.

Regarding the other two articles on planning in a general sense, one delves into the importance of the social dimension of planning for marginalized groups and spaces (Posada, 1976), and the other discusses the

importance of sociological contributions in the formulation of development plans, highlighting the centrality of political dispute and concrete actors (Albuquerque, 1976).

**Table 2 -** Articles on state planning in a general sense in the JP Foundation Journal, during its second period (1975-1979)

Theme	Title	Author	Affiliation	Year	Dissemination/Propaganda
Planning in a general sense	Planejamento Compreensivo: nota crítica e esboço de contra-proposta	Antônio Cintra	FJP	1975	No
	Pragmatismo e Planejamento Simbólico	Paulo Haddad	FJP-Cedeplar	1975	No
	Planejamento e estrutura social	Jorge Posada	State Department technician	1976	No
	O papel dos sociolólogos no planejamento e a sociologia do planejamento no papel	José Albuquerque	FJP-USP	1976	No
	O planejamento revisto	Carlos Ferreira	FJP-Cedeplar	1979	No

Source: the author

A second group, comprising 17 articles, includes summaries of *urban*, *micro-regional* and *regional* development plans produced by state agencies. These articles pointed to the *Journal's* role as a privileged platform for the dissemination and propaganda of state action and for presenting investment opportunities. Some articles are included in special editions that feature not only regional diagnostics but also studies on socioeconomic formation and sectoral analyses. The plans are summarized in Table 3.

**Table 3 -** Summarized plans, and their nature, in the JP Foundation Journal, during its second period (1975-1979)

Title	Nature of the plan	Year	
Itabira - Planejamento Urbano	Urban	1976	
Vale do Itapecirica	Micro-regional	1975	
Campos das Vertentes	Micro-regional	1977	
Aglomerado do Vale do Aço	Micro-regional	1979	
Projeto Açominas	Micro-regional	1976; 1979	
Área Mineira da SUDENE	Regional	1975	
Vale do Rio Doce	Regional	1975	
Noroeste	Regional	1976; 1978; 1979	
Sul de Minas	Regional	1976; 1979	
Área de Influência da Companhia Vale do Rio Doc	Regional	1977; 1978	

Source: the author.

Reinforcing this role played by the *Journal* as a means of dissemination and propaganda of state action, Figure 3 shows a call to companies, and in Figure 4, it is shown how advertisements of state-owned companies, state agencies and departments, private companies in priority sectors or areas of investment, and courses offered by FJP were often included, frequently in color printing.

These advertisements served to publicize investment opportunities to the *Journal's* audience, which was predominantly the public and business sectors, the achievements of the state government. They also presented the institutions supporting the process of industrialization and state development. However, we noticed that over the course of the decade, especially from 1978 onwards, there was a significant reduction in the number of advertisements, especially from state-owned and private companies.



Figure 3 - Call for advertising<sup>34</sup>

**Source:** JP Foundation Journal (1975)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Translation: This space is yours. Try showcasing your company here, and you'll see that every advertisement in this Journal has a specific target: public sector organizations and the national business community.

Figure 4 - Advertisements in the JP Foundation Journal



(a) Banco de Crédito Real, state-owned bank (1971); (b) Cortnorte, a private company from the Minas Gerais State Area of Sudene (1972); (c) CEMIG, a mixed capital electric power company (1973); (d) Specialization courses in Administration offered by FJP (1975); (e) State Planning System and its related agencies post-1975 (1976); (f) Banco do Brasil, federal state-owned bank (1978). Source: JP Foundation Journal, various editions.

The third group of articles, comprising 20 texts, delves into sectoral aspects, such as transport, natural resources, industrialization, etc, and their connection as means/support for urban and regional development. These articles are presented in Table 4.

Industrialization, for example, is discussed from different perspectives. However, the predominant perspective emphasized the role of *industrial decentralization as a driving force behind the spatial diffusion of development and the unequal spatial effects of the new industrialization in Minas Gerais,* particularly its concentration in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Region (Região Metropolitana de Belo Horizonte, RMBH) and in few other cities. *The theme of administrative modernization and the municipal finances* are discussed. These articles provide additional insights into the state's formulation of an administrative modernization policy, given the recognition of the ineffectiveness of urban plans and policies (Gomes, 2022). During this period, at the state level, the administrative and financial organization of municipalities was considered a precondition for the effective execution of local and regional plans.

Other articles focus on the *role of transportation, especially export corridors*, in light of the national context of increasing balance of payments constraints. Discussions also focused on natural resources and the environment. In fact, there are articles taking opposing stances, one advocating for "reforestation" (Arantes, 1979) and another endorsing eco-development based in the perspective of Ignacy Sachs<sup>35</sup> (Andrés, 1977). Also, there are articles associating the *problem of urbanization with internal migration* (Strauss, 1975; Moreira, 1976). And one articles discussing the *importance of obtaining public funds to finance regional development* (Silva, 1977).

A fourth group of articles encompasses specific studies on the *urban-regional issue*, totaling 20, as presented in Table 5. There is one empirical study, based on the gravity model of Palomaki<sup>36</sup>, that ranks several urban services to determine regional and municipal characteristics of Minas Gerais to choose priority areas for public investments, (Silva; Arruda, 1977). Also, there is one article on the origins of regional development in France (Vochel, 1977); one highlighting the contributions of Hardoy, a Latin American intellectual with original insights on the urban issues (Neves, 1978); and another one focusing on the history of land use theories (Ferreira, 1978).

As presented in Table 5, FJP researchers took a stand in the *national* context of formulating the national urban development policy during the transition from CNPU to CNDU (Dutra Junior, 1978; Azevedo, 1978). They also evaluated regional development in the Açominas and Vale do Aço area.

There are articles on the *metropolitan issue* and the *housing issue*, as shown in Table 5. The articles on urban planning in Ouro Preto and Mariana reveal an *originality*, both *methodologically* – by addressing the interplay between *colonial forms and capitalist functions* (Machado, 1975) – and in terms of *scale* – by emphasizing the importance of contemplating the distribution of urban functions at the micro-regional level (CDU, 1975). Furthermore, there are articles discussing urban leisure and Urban Social Centers, with a propaganda focus on federal-level policies, as well as addressing the unique aspects of urban planning in the Amazon region and border urbanization (Strauss Filho, 1975).

Finally, there is one article discussing urban structure as a totality for the practice of planning, encompassing simultaneously urban, geographic,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> He is a Polish economist who became a French citizen and graduated in Brazil. Known as an ecossocioeconomist, he conceptualized development as a combination of economic growth, equitable increase in social well-being, and environmental preservation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> For a detailed discussion, refer to Costa (1992).

physical, social, and economic dimensions (Andrés, 1975). This one explicitly criticizes the current planning style and advocates for alternative planning approaches and subjects:

Often, the popular solutions adopted in peripheral urban developments and rural land division effectively identify and leverage potentials, thus suggesting that a more extensive and thorough examination of the anthropology of space will yield novel and significant insights for the planner, frequently obscured by the imposition of arbitrary visions and patterns. The sociocultural context and interplay of forces in various directions produce a rich and diverse urban mosaic that a centralized and globalizing perspective rarely replicates, a fact that remains a strong argument in favor of decentralizing urban planning authority, to prevent it, as it often does, from enforcing repressive regulations and standards on the legitimate actors/ users of language and urban space (Andrés, 1975, p.20).

Regarding the *theoretical framework*, for the purpose of summarizing the information, we generated a word cloud using surnames that have been cited at least twice<sup>37</sup> (Figure 5). The larger the size of the surname in the image, the greater the number of citations. One of the main references used was the book "Regional Planning - Systems Approach" by Dutch author Jos G.M. Hilhorst. Also noteworthy is Josef Barat from IPEA, who delves into the topic of transportation and its correlation with development.

From the other authors' surnames in the word cloud, it becomes evident the plurality of references and perspectives. There are Latin Americans, such as Sergio Boisier; Polish authors, like Boleslaw Malisz, whose books and articles published in French are cited; Italians, such as Alberto Rossi; North American scholars including Walter Isard, John Fridmann, Douglas North; Brazilian authors, such as Paul Singer and Jorge Wilheim. Also documents and institutional entities are cited, especially at state level, such as CED and BDMG, and at federal level, such as Serfhau.

Some authors cited became canonical within the field of critical urban and regional studies: David Harvey, Henri Lefebvre, Jane Jacobs, and Manuel Castells. Another relevant aspect of the articles is the growth in references cited over time, which indicates that publications became more structured and rigorous. Likewise, some articles cite other texts published in the *Journal* (e.g. Quirino, Haddad, Ferreira and FJP), indicating its significant role as a source of debate and academic production.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>The article authored by Neves (1978) was not considered as it exclusively delved into the ideas of Hardoy.

**Table 4 -** Articles on the sectoral theme, including specification, author, affiliation, year and content

Theme	Specification	Title	Author	Affiliation	Year	Dissemination/Propaganda
		A desconcentração do espaço econômico através de				
		complexos industriais regionais	Paulo Camillo Penna	State Secretary	1975	Yes
		Descentralização industrial	Hamilton Tolosa	IPEA	1977	No
	Industrialization	Os distritos industriais e o planejamento regional	CDI;FJP;INDI	CDI;FJP;INDI	1977	No
		A nova industrialização mineira: primeiros resultados	Tarcizio Quirino; Laura Michelis; José Medeiros	FJP	1977	No
		A nova industrialização mineira: absorção de mao-de-obra	Tarcizio Quirino; Maria Chagas; José Medeiros	FJP	1978	No
		A desconcentração e a descentralização industriais e os desequilíbrios regionais	José Cardoso	CDI-PUC-MG	1979	No
		Rumos da política de industrialização do Estado	Carlos Ferreira	FJP-Cedeplar	1979	Yes
Sectoral		A industrialização Mineira e os Incentivos Fiscais	Francisco Duarte Filho; Marilena Chaves; Rosamaria Silva	FJP	1979	No
		Modernização Administrativa para o Planejamento Urbano	Josadac Matos	FJP	1976	No
		Sistema Administrativo Municipal: um modelo tentativo	Zitta Lima	FJP	1978	No
		Finanças municipais	Flávio Riani	FJP	1978	No
		Financiamento e endividamento de prefeituras	José Dias; Tadeu Souza	FJP	1978	No
	Transportation	Papel dos transportes no desenvolvimento econômico - corredores de exportação	Paulo Alves	FJP	1976	No
		Corredores de exportação - novas considerações	Paulo Alves	FJP	1978	No
	Natural Resources and Nature	Planejamento dos recusos naturais e desenvolvimento regional	José Silva; Athualpa Padilha	FJP	1976	No
		Notas sobre meio ambiente, tecnologia e planos territoriais	Maurício Andrés	CETEC	1977	No
		O papel do reflorestamento no desenvolvimento de regiões deprimidas	Claudete Arantes	FJP	1979	Yes
	Migration	O processo de urbanização e as migrações internas	Estevam Strauss	ILPES	1975	No
		Êxodo rural - considerações teóricas	Ana Moreira	FJP	1976	No
	Regional Development Financing	Aspectos Financeiros do Desenvolvimento Regional	Fernando Silva	IPEA	1977	No

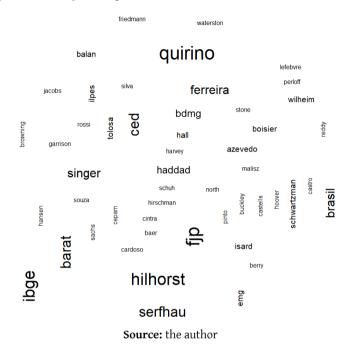
Source: the author

**Table 5 -** Articles on the urban-regional theme, including specification, author, affiliation, year and content

Theme	Specification	Title	Author	Affiliation	Year Dissemination/Propaganda
Urban-regional	Empirical	Estrutura espacial do Estado de Minas Gerais	Jane Silva; Maria Arruda	FJP	1977 No
		A organização regional - das origens à atualidade	Lucien Vochel	France	1977 No
	Theoretical	A contribuição de Hardoy às políticas urbanas na América Latina	Luiz Neves	FJP	1978 No
		Uso do solo - eficiencia e equidade	Carlos Ferreira	FJP-Cedeplar	1978 No
	National Urban Development Policy	Proposições à política nacional de desenvolvimento urbano	Adhemar Dutra Junior	FJP	1978 No
		Política urbana: desafios e perspectivas	Sergio de Azevedo	FJP	1978 No
	Micro-regional	Ouro Preto e Mariana - uma análise da linguagem formal	Reinaldo Machado	FJP	1975 Yes
		Conservação de Ouro Preto e Mariana	CDU	FJP	1975 Yes
		Aglomerado do Vale do Aço: Integração, desintegração e reintegração regional	Ricardo Penna	FJP	1979 No
		Siderurgia e desenvolvimento agrícola regional - o projeto açominas	Andirana Resende	State Department technician	1979 No
	Metropolitan	Eficácia dos esquemas municipais de incentivos: avaliacao para RMBH	Afrânio Andrade; Anna Penna	Plambel	1975 No
		Edição especial sore a RMBH	Plambel	Plambel	1976 Yes
	Housing	Considerações sobre a análise habitacional Sul de Minas	Eduardo Silva	FJP	1977 Yes
		Habitação para população de baixa renda	César Medeiros	FJP	1979 No
		O programa de financiamento de lotes urbanizado - uma alternativa habitacional para as classes de baixa renda	Sergio de Azevedo; Ricardo Penna	FJP	1979 Yes
	Leisure and Urban Social Centers	Centros Sociais Urbanos	Heraldo Dutra; Celso Gilberti	Plambel	1976 Yes
		Como se diverte o belo-horizontino	Heraldo Dutra; Celso Gilberti	Plambel	1976 No
		Centros Sociais Urbanos - uma experiência de planejamento democrático	Heraldo Dutra; Celso Gilberti	Plambel	1978 Yes
	Urban Planning	Porto Grande, a orgainzação do espaço urbano	Estevam Strauss Filho	FJP	1975 Yes
		Notas sobre o corpo urbano de Belo Horizonte	Maurício Andrés	FJP	1975 No

Source: the author

**Figure 5 -** Word cloud with surnames of authors with at least two citations in the articles published on planning in JP Foundation Journal between 1971 and 1979



Regarding the *institutional affiliation* of the authors, FJP technicians predominated, followed by employees of other state agencies such as CDI, INDI, BDMG, Plambel and State Secretariats. There are also contributions from researchers associated with the Institute of Applied Economic Research<sup>38</sup> (IPEA), the Latin American Institute of Economic and Social Planning<sup>39</sup> (Instituto Latino-americano de Planificação Econômica e Social, ILPES), and foreign universities. Concerning the authors' *professional backgrounds*, in alignment with the multidisciplinary nature of the planning field during

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> BRAZIL, Decree-Law No. 200, of February 25, 1967, Provides for the organization of the Federal Administration, establishes guidelines for Administrative Reform, and provides other measures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> The ILPES is an organization affiliated with ECLAC (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean). It is focused on research, technical cooperation, and personnel training in the fields of planning, economics, and public sector management. It is important to highlight that the ILPES's entry into the Brazilian market, offering the aforementioned services, occurred through a study commissioned by the State of Minas Gerais. This study was conducted under a partnership between the State Development Council (Conselho Estadual de Desenvolvimento, CED), BDMG, and ILPES. This collaboration resulted in the creation of two important documents: "Foundations for a Development Strategy' in 1969 and 'Regions for Planning Purposes' in 1970. Both documents served as the basis for the formulation of the I PMDES.

that period, as highlighted by Costa (2008), there is a wide range of expertise, encompassing engineers, sociologists, law scholars, architects, philosophers, economists, and mathematicians.

#### Conclusion

This study is part of the literature that revisited the planning experiences and the trajectories of institutionalization of urban-regional policies during the period of the civil-military dictatorship. As mentioned, although Minas Gerais is frequently mentioned in relation to the early development of state initiatives, there are still few thorough studies that explore its specific manifestations, such as urban and regional policies. The analysis was centered on the *JP Foundation Journal*, edited by the João Pinheiro Foundation. This institution was responsible for carrying out studies and producing statistics on the socioeconomic reality of Minas Gerais. The *Journal* aimed to support economic development during the 1970s, reflecting a significant period in the establishment of state-level planning.

Within FJP, specific sectors were established to conduct integrated plans for local and regional development, especially the Urban Development Center (CDU) and the Planning Division (DP), respectively. One aspect of the activities of these organizations, which reflected their structure, was the publication of articles by their technicians in the JP Foundation Journal. Thus, the analysis of the Journal offers insights into the theoretical and methodological affiliations as well as the technical projects and plans undertaken by technicians and researchers during this period. This is reflected in the prevalence of authors associated with FJP and other state institutions in the Journal's publications.

However, subtle nuances can be observed especially regarding more critical and innovative articles, which were authored by technicians associated with CDU and Plambel. In contrast, articles with a pragmatic or even supportive stance towards the regime and the Minas Gerais development "model" were written by State Secretaries and collaborators from other institutions, notably BDMG.

Furthermore, from the analysis of the published articles, we identified two periods that reflect the activities and establishment of the urban-regional issue at the state level. The first period, from 1971 to 1974, was characterized by the incorporation of this thematic within FJP, with a particular emphasis on metropolitan concerns. This time frame also happened to align with Plambel's affiliation with FJP. The second period, spanning from 1975 to 1979,

was marked by the consolidation and prestige of the production of local and regional development plans. This was influenced by the national context, characterized by the II PND, and it found resonance at the state level with the II PMDES.

Furthermore, a more general concern about planning and its effectiveness persisted throughout the entire decade. Discussions also revolved around enhancing its feasibility, alongside an emphasis on the importance of social participation and the involvement of target populations in the planning process.

Regarding the theoretical framework, we noted that the literature employed was contemporary and there was a wide range of references incorporated by the articles. The influences were not limited to the canonical theories of regional and urban economics and planning. Instead, they encompassed significant contributions from Latin American and European sources, especially from Franc, as well as the ideas of critical authors like David Harvey and Henri Lefebvre. Thus, it can be concluded that the authors recognized the importance of comprehending local and regional peculiarities, which they aimed to integrate into their technical studies. This was particularly evident in their extensive use of references from studies conducted in different national and regional contexts.

In summary, a series of aspects demonstrate how the JP Foundation Journal served a purpose beyond that of a mere propaganda vehicle for the initiatives of the Minas Gerais State government: the diversity of themes addressed and the varied professional backgrounds of the authors; as well as the *Journal* commitment to fostering debates, and its engagement with the social and civic participation dimensions of planning, particularly in the urban-regional context. In other words, it acted as a vehicle for theoretical dissemination and institutionalization of planning and urban-regional policy issues, particularly in Minas Gerais.

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