Spaces for Planning Evolution

Path, Inter and Goal Dependencies
in the Revival of Spatial Planning in Argentina

Rodrigo H. Alves Rolo

Propositions

1. Continuities are part and parcel of policy change.
(This thesis)

2. Governance never escapes nostalgia.
(This thesis)

3. Stakeholder collaborations prolong hegemonic technocratic discourses.

4. Linear perspectives on scientific-technological progress make self-reflexivity impossible.

5. Failure is only accepted in the name of learning, never for its intrinsic value.

6. Uncontroversial propositions are still worthwhile to be debated.

Propositions belonging to the PhD thesis, entitled

Spaces for Planning Evolution. Path, Inter and Goal Dependencies in the Revival of Spatial Planning in Argentina

Rodrigo H. Alves Rolo

Wageningen, 10 October 2022

Spaces for Planning Evolution

Path, Inter and Goal Dependencies in the Revival of Spatial Planning in Argentina

Rodrigo H. Alves Rolo

Thesis committee

Promotor

Prof. Dr E.H. Huijbens

Personal Chair, Cultural Geography Group

Wageningen University & Research

Co-promotors

Dr M. Duineveld

Associate Professor, Cultural Geography Group

Wageningen University & Research

Prof. Dr KAM van Assche

Professor of Planning, Governance & Development

University of Alberta, Canada

Other members

Prof. Dr A.K. Hornidge, Deutschen Instituts für Entwicklungspolitik, Germany

Dr M.C. Chiappini, KU Leuven, Belgium

Dr J.F. Warner, Wageningen University & Research

Dr. J.R. de Vries, Wageningen University & Research

Spaces for Planning Evolution

Path, Inter and Goal Dependencies in the Revival of Spatial Planning in Argentina

Rodrigo H. Alves Rolo

Thesis

submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctor

at Wageningen University

by the authority of the Rector Magnificus,

Prof. Dr A.P.J. Mol,

in the presence of the

Thesis Committee appointed by the Academic Board

to be defended in public

on Monday 10 October 2022

at 1:30 p.m. in the Omnia Auditorium.

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This thesis illustrates how different national planning policies evolved throughout Argentinian history, associated with the rise of State-initiated or market-driven development models, and closely tied to changing understandings of i.a. planning, planners, economy, democracy and the State. While each chapter contributes to a particular theoretical debate, the research questions of the thesis are intended to contribute to a more general discussion about the dynamics of continuity and change in policy formation and what an evolutionary governance perspective can offer to help us better understand them. This introductory chapter briefly presents the historical background in which Argentinian planning policies unfold and produce effects. Later on, the thesis will delve into this background, providing greater detail in relation to the specific features of the evolution of Argentinian planning policy formation under scrutiny in each chapter. This section also displays the overall structure of the research, including a broad literature review; aims and objectives; theoretical framework and methodological design. Finally, an outline of the content and purpose of each chapter is presented to facilitate reading.

1.1.1. A Flying Entrance into the Historical Underpinnings of Argentinian Planning Policies

Planning in Argentina has undergone many transformations since the beginning of the 20th Century to the present. Although historical planning literature based in the country has dated systematic urban-scale planning interventions as far back as the late 19th Century (Crot, 2006), at the national scale, it often focused particularly on the post-Second World War period, emphasising the close links between the rise of the 'Welfare State' and the meticulous elaboration of centralised planning strategies (Elena, 2005; Gómez, 2009; Müller & Gómez, 2013). The institutionalisation of State-led planning in the mid-1950s led to debates on the spatial concentration of economic activity, territorial imbalances and what would be the best policies to mitigate them. This 'planning boom' was guided by a set of basic doctrinal guidelines underpinned by development approaches disseminated in most Latin-American countries by international organisations such as the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC) of the United Nations (UN) (Canelo, 2012). The proposals for the so-called 'late industrialisation' countries consisted mainly on the elaboration of plans and projects based on State investments on transportation networks and energy infrastructure. Such focus, in the case of Argentina, would supposedly facilitate the passage to a 'second stage' in the import substitution industrialisation strategy: The local provision of critical inputs (steel, aluminium and petrochemicals) (Müller, 2011). Thus, the ideas of 'efficiency', 'economic modernisation' and 'social steering' began to resonate strongly within the Argentinian planning system, exposing the dilemmas of an economy based on private accumulation, but in need of a growing presence of the State to sustain the general conditions of its operations (Oszlak & O'Donnell, 1995). The assumption of business activities by the State and the increase in State investments were, in turn, accompanied by the generalisation of interests internal to the State itself to the whole of society as well as the emergence of new technocratic nuclei. Planning agencies and national development plans were created, understanding planning as the most effective public policy solution to the problem of territorial imbalances

between central regions and peripheral areas, perceived in terms of a disparate distribution of production, population and economic growth (Manzanal et al., 2006).

However, the proliferation of planning projects and plans during the 1960s did not match the high hopes they had generated, and the tangible positive results were perceived as insufficient both by political leaders of different parties and by experts in the field (Müller, 2011, 2013). Thus, the accumulation of unfulfilled expectations related to 'achieving development' led to a loss of faith in the modernist ideals of the 'Welfare State' since the mid-1970s.

The negative effects of an uncoordinated urbanisation process marked by massive migrations from the countryside to the larger cities had become evident. The Plan to Eradicate Slums (PEVE, its Spanish acronym), deployed between 1964 and 1973, is an example of the deepening of territorial imbalances within the main cities. In addition, the belief in unlimited development based on the exploitation of natural resources had begun a global decline after the Stockholm Declaration on the environment (1972) and the International Oil Crisis (1973). The combination of these internal and external factors created a scenario in which failures and problems gained more attention than successes, and in which alternative models —often focusing on a smaller State and market deregulation— were increasingly promoted (Marengo, 2008). Hence, decisions regarding spatial organisation became rather market-oriented for more than two decades (1976-2003), while State-led planning was first reduced to sporadic *ad hoc* projects and, later, focused on the local scale, encouraging competition between cities or municipalities (Crot, 2006). This resulted in a profound reform of the political and institutional structure of the country in which historically national competences were decentralised. Many of these twists and turns are in line with the flow of political changes affecting the transformation of governance world-wide. However, the pattern of continuities and discontinuities that shaped the evolution of national planning policies in Argentina is, as will be shown in the following chapters, unique.

Although national planning policies had been routinely classified as failures by political executives and policy analysts, State-led planning had a surprising return through the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'*, launched after the economic, social and political crisis of 2001/2002, under the administration of Néstor Kirchner (2003-2007). The revival of planning in those years would take shape following the footsteps of the Peronist modernisation period (1946-1955) but also trying to incorporate the consensual codes and rituals of the liberal democracies by which it was also inspired. In this scenario, ideas and policy proposals that had been developing in academia and mobilised into the Argentinian context by think tanks and other transfer agents found the 'window of opportunity' needed for realisation. Despite the interest expressed by the recently created Ministry of Planning in expanding the base of policy actors with participation in decision-making, traditional government actors continued to dominate the policy formation process from a top-down structure. In 2015, a new political turn, this time towards the centre-right, would mark the end of this period of renaissance of State-led planning at the national level.

Despite such a long tradition in planning, there is still an insufficient grasp of the different mechanisms that shape the evolution of spatial governance in Argentina. Moreover, in many planning studies based on this country, policies are usually considered as discrete units that can be scrutinised regardless of the context in which they are adopted and produce consequences, while policy formation is often perceived as a sequential process composed

of clearly defined stages (see for example, Under-secretariat of Territorial Planning of Public Investment, 2016). In a similar vein, although it has been acknowledged that State-led planning simultaneously operates as a field of knowledge and as a field of power (Ligier, 2011), the effects of this power/knowledge configuration on the evolution of governance have not yet received sufficient attention in the studies addressing the formation of planning policies in Argentina. Ignoring these interactions is problematic because it leads to underestimating rigidities in evolving policy discourses and overlooking obstacles to institutional reform and policy innovation. Consequently, this research project was started up with the aim to help fill these gaps of knowledge and to ultimately suggest theoretical and practical benefits derived from an evolutionary conceptualisation of the processes through which collectively binding decisions on spatial organisation are made. Exploring how different dependencies (path, inter and goal dependencies) influence the process of co-evolution between the discourses, actors and institutions that shape planning policy formations in Argentina from a post-structuralist perspective can contribute to such endeavour, as well as to a better understanding of the interconnectedness of policy formation and, thus, help overcome the predominantly static perspectives on planning.

1.2. Aim and Research Questions

The focus of this thesis is on the historical conditions that enabled and constrained the revival of State-led spatial planning on a national scale in Argentina at the beginning of the 21st Century. Building upon and furthering Evolutionary Governance Theory (Beunen et al., 2015; Van Assche et al., 2014a), a theory that contributes to clarify the nature and functioning of dependencies that shape governance evolutions and thus delineate spaces for policy innovation, the research aims to demonstrate how path, inter, and goal dependencies have contributed to shape the formation of the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'* (2004-2015). In order to do so, special emphasis is put on:

(1) the critical junctures at which new policy options emerged and the rigidities that constrained the capacity of actors/institutions to uncouple from previous choices; (see chapter 2)

(2) the discursive migrations that helped to sustain a functional interdependence among policy actors/institutions by fostering reinterpretations and re-appropriations of past/external planning strategies; (see chapter 3)

(3) the construction of policy arenas organised as (seemingly) horizontal platforms for policy dialogue where actors interact and struggle to build the need for planning policy reforms, shape what counts as legitimate knowledge and steer potential policy solutions; (see chapter 4).

This thesis acknowledges the existence of multiple other foci from which the unexpected renaissance of State-led spatial planning on a national scale in Argentina at the beginning of the 21st Century could possibly be addressed. However, it estimates that a thorough exploration of the historical conditions that shaped this revival, through the three cleavages proposed and from a post-structuralist perspective, will contribute to gain a better grasp of the effects of past legacies, present interactions and future expectations in the evolution of

governance. Clarifying the path of Argentinian planning governance in this way will, in turn, help the reader to understand the State's insistence on promoting planning at the national level, even despite having accumulated mostly (perceived) disappointments.

1.2.1. Research Questions

After this introductory journey, it is necessary to define more specifically the questions that have oriented and delimited the focus of inquiry. The main question that this research aims to answer is: How do Argentinian planning policies (understood as a product of governance) shape and, in turn, are shaped by the social, institutional, political and economic context in which they develop? However, this question cannot be answered directly, but its many aspects must be drawn into several other questions for it to be operationalised. Namely:

1. What roles have institutional path dependencies historically played in determining the scope, content and procedure of planning interventions in Argentina?
      1.i) How have major economic and political shocks affected the evolution of these arrangements and their relation with key policy actors?
      1.ii) What legacies of previous policy attempts have endured in the revival of Argentinian planning in the 21st Century?

2. How and with what effects have interdependencies between discursive migrations and discursive configurations influenced the (re)delineation of the decision-making strategies mobilised into the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'*?
      2.i) Who were the key actors in defining the problem situation and the corresponding policy solutions?
      2.ii) Which strategies did they deploy so that their world-views become accepted by others?
      2.iii) How did both actors and their strategies evolve?

 3.   How did goal dependencies influence policy ideas and principles in the reappearance of State-led planning in the early 21st Century?
      3.i) Which were the discursive and material effects of these seemingly shared visions for the future organisation of the country?
      3.ii) Which were the steering goals of the State and how the evolution of governance and existing paths influenced their transformation?

The unforeseen revival of State-led planning on a national scale in Argentina raises thus theoretical and practical questions regarding the sense-making process around the formation of planning policies and how patterns of continuity and discontinuity in governance are grasped. In this sense, the next section introduces the main theoretical approaches that have sought to elucidate the dynamics of continuity and change in policy formation processes. The perspective adopted in this thesis, which will be presented later, recognises the value of this classical literature, but, will start from a different set of sources, ultimately arriving at a different understanding of these dynamics.

1.3. Explaining the Dynamics of Policy Change from the Perspective of Mainstream Literature

The first academic publications on public policy (e.g., Lasswell, 1951, 1956; Simon, 1955) already established that the key problem in this field is to explain how and why policies emerge and the ways in which policy actors seek to influence public decision-making in a context of bounded rationality. Until a few decades ago, research on policy topics aiming to address public policy formation were largely sustained on conflict-based theories. Under these lenses, social forces and conflicts trigger the (re)action of an otherwise fundamentally passive State (Nordlinger, 1981). Knowledge-oriented approaches, on the other hand, suggested that not only power but also uncertainty can become a source for policy change and, thus, provided new insight into the role of the State and of ideas in the policy process (Hall, 1988). These approaches generally hold that the State can learn and modify its actions in present time based on a re-interpretation of how policies performed in the past (Etheredge, 1981; Heclo, 1974) and policy-makers can draw lessons from the experiences of other 'epistemic communities' (Rose, 1988, 1991). Thus, scholars interested in public policy have for long been dealing with policy stability and change from very diverse theoretical frameworks (incrementalism, multiple streams, punctuated equilibrium, advocacy coalitions, institutional analysis, policy networks, social constructionism, policy diffusion, among others). All these frameworks offer explanatory versions (sometimes complementing, sometimes juxtaposing, sometimes directly competing) for long-term policy development (Meijerink, 2005).

1.3.1. Incrementalism

In response to the dominant conception of policy-making as a process of rational analysis culminating in a decision that maximises value, in the 1950s, Charles Lindblom introduced the concept of incrementalism. In this perspective, policies result from a process of interaction and mutual adaptation among a multiplicity of actors advocating different values, representing opposing interests, and possessing information that will inevitably turn out inadequate or insufficient (Lindblom, 1959; Braybrooke & Lindblom, 1963). In addition, time constrains tend to lead to an under examination of policy problems. Under these conditions, the options for decision-making are limited to those that are considered politically feasible and policy-makers will need to bargain and, presumably, build on past policies, focusing on gradual reforms rather than wholesale changes. Major transformations in policy can take shape through catastrophic events —such as wars or revolutions— but, more likely, through the accumulation of marginal changes in different policy cycles and the learning process of policy-makers. The seminal work of Lindblom influenced later literature focused on communities (e.g., Richardson & Jordan, 1979) as well as research on policy networks (e.g., Heclo & King, 1978) and organisational processes of limited rational decision-making (e.g., Allison, 1971).

1.3.2. The Garbage Can Theory and the Multiple Streams Approach

In the garbage can theory as devised by Cohen, March, and Olsen (1972), problems, solutions, participants, and choice opportunities enter and exit a 'garbage can' in a dynamic in which decisions-makers move towards those opportunities that are closer to decision (March, 1994) and the association between problems and solutions is largely a product of chance. The metaphor for decision-making as a 'garbage can' informed Kingdon's multiple streams framework (Béland & Howlett, 2016). According to Kingdon (1984: 21): *"The separate streams of problems, policies, and politics come together at certain critical times. Solutions become joined to problems, and both of them are joined to favourable political forces"*. The fortuitous circumstances under which these otherwise independent flows interplay may include both external and internal events or the presence/absence of key actors (mainly, policy entrepreneurs). Only at these particular moments when the three streams come together a 'policy window' for decision-making is opened. Kingdon's (1984) book was a major step forward in understanding public policy formation and inspired many authors to further develop its findings into other usages (see for example, Zahariadis, 2003).

1.3.3. Punctuated Equilibrium Theory

In the 1990s public policy scholars became more aware of the salience of ideas and arguments pertaining to the many factor affecting policy change (see Majone, 1989; Stone, 1989). Punctuated equilibrium theory as articulated by Baumgartner and Jones in *Agendas and Instability in American Politics* (1993) but also in Jones and Baumgartner (2005); True, Jones and Baumgartner (2007); Workman, Jones and Jochim (2009), among others, aims to describe long periods of stability and topic development marked (punctuated) by episodes of rapid change or instability. Baumgartner and Jones agree with Kingdon in arguing that, in a first instance, there are many competing ideas and, at a certain crucial moment, something makes one prevail over the others and expand rapidly. They investigated the interplay between the same factors as Kingdon (actors, ideas, institutions and external processes). However, whereas Kingdon is more interested in frequent alterations initiated by particularly significant external events, Baumgartner and Jones pay more attention to the promptness of changes among comparatively long phases of partial equilibrium and stress new policy instruments expressing changes that may disturb the political system from within. Later work by Baumgartner, Jones and colleagues has tested the framework in varying historical and spatial contexts and produced more nuanced depictions of its scope and limits (Baumgartner et al., 2006; Epp & Baumgartner, 2017; Jones & Baumgartner, 2012; Mortensen, 2005; Robinson, 2007).

1.3.4. The Advocacy Coalition Framework

The advocacy coalition framework (ACF) developed by Sabatier (1987, 1988) and Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) is another crucial innovation in theorising policy decision-making. This approach is based on the idea that the coordinated action of the participants within a 'coalition' —actors joined around certain interests and beliefs— may transform these beliefs into policies (Schmid, Sewerin and Schmidt, 2020). Knowledge plays a crucial role in

defining the interests of advocacy coalitions, through 'policy-oriented learning' (Fischer, 2014; Sabatier, 1988). Coalitions collide and compete against other coalitions in order to impose their views and influence policy decisions. Policy change comes from the ability of these ideas to adapt in response to changes in economy, cultural values or political events that may affect the policy positions of political parties or public opinion. ACF applications have captured the complexity associated with the mapping of coalitions (Weible et al., 2009) and showed some evolving features of policy processes by integrating with other frameworks (see Sotirov & Winkel, 2016).

1.3.5. The Institutional Analysis and Development Framework

The institutional and development framework (IAD) developed by Elinor Ostrom and colleagues (e.g., Blomquist, 1992; Crawford & Ostrom, 1995; Kiser & Ostrom, 1982; Koontz, 1997; Ostrom et al., 1993, 1994; Ostrom, 1986, 1990; Sproule-Jones, 1993) contributes "*to map and explore the institutional, social and normative complexity of collective action situations and polycentric systems of human governance (as a mean to) build a social philosophy of institutional order and change*" (Dragos Aligica & Boettke, 2009: 2-3). The IAD framework conceptualises the outcomes of policy reforms as the result of how actors interact in an 'action arena' and organise the institutional arrangements to respond to the opportunities and constraints imposed by context. Over and beyond overt policies it focuses on rules —understood as formal and informal prescriptions that forbid, permit, or require some type of action and ultimately attempt to achieve order and predictability— adopted to address a perceived problem (Crawford & Ostrom, 1995; Ostrom, 1986). In order to develop and be effective rules must be in accordance with the contextual conditions (e.g., biophysical, socio-cultural, etc.) in which actors bring about the institutional arrangements that shape their collective decisions (Andersson, 2006; Ostrom et al., 1994). In this way, IAD draws attention to the nature of the problem, the role of culture and the structure of pre-existing institutional settings for an explanation of how rules that characterise an 'action situation' are formulated and changed over time (Ostrom, 1990). IAD also acknowledges that rules are interdependent and often nested within broader sets of rules, thus, it offers a multi-level structure for understanding collective action at the same time as it is able to capture inter-organisational relationships in the implementation process.

Ostrom's ideas are extremely sophisticated and concepts are carefully articulated, making IAD one of the most celebrated and reliable frameworks in the field of policy sciences (Carlsson, 2000; Gibson et al., 2005; Imperial, 1999; Rudd, 2004). The body of literature produced within the framework has advanced the understanding for identifying strengths and weaknesses in different institutional arrangements associated with implementing complex policy programmes. Moreover, some of the elements involved in the framework are closely linked to key concepts in related theories, such as the 'new institutional economics' tradition represented in the work of North (1990, 2005), Williamson (2000), and others, which will serve as inspiration for the theoretical framework of this thesis.

1.3.6. Evolutionary Thinking (Blended into Synthetic Approaches of Decision-making) for Comparative Analysis

To explain the role of ideas in shaping actors' beliefs and preferences, John (2003, 2012) relies on a form of 'evolutionary theory' in which actors' strategies change as they learn to cooperate and/or compete with each other and adapt to their environments. This evolution is defined as "structured" since it is influenced by institutional, network and socioeconomic limitations (John, 2012: 186). There are various ways of applying evolutionary ideas in the social sciences (see John, 2003), but work on complexity and chaos theory, which is interested in the prevalence of non-linear relationships and feedback mechanisms, is particularly relevant to studying public policies. Without fully developing an evolutionary model, both Kingdon and Baumgartner and Jones make use of some of these ideas to underline the dynamic and contingent aspects of their accounts of policy change and decision-making (John, 2003). The punctuated equilibrium model has been also linked to evolutionary studies in the fields of biology and palaeontology (Jones, 1994, 2001) providing for a critique of incrementalism and gradual change perspectives.

1.3.7. What is Taken from the Literature: Similarities and Differences with this Research

The approaches introduced above offer different accounts of the complex interactions between ideas, institutions and interests but are all aimed at explaining policy change just as much as policy stability. These influential theories may be informative for understanding mechanisms of agenda-setting in Argentinian public policy and, more specifically, for a depiction of how the policy problem of territorial imbalances got to the political agenda of the country at the beginning of the 21st Century. However, for the purpose of this study, they have limitations. First, the main focus of these elaborations is on the formation of policy agendas (see also Fitzgerald & Jones, 1981), while they tend to ignore everything that (supposedly) comes after (e.g., implementation) (John, 2012). The separation derives from a perception of the policy process as a set of distinct phases, where policy is first formulated, then rationally decided upon and finally implemented and evaluated (Eyestone, 1978). This stage model is historically embedded in policy studies, which have been dominated by an aspiration to make policy more 'rational' and aligned with scientific findings, and less dependent on politics (Stone, 1997). Such a rationalistic project still maintains a strong position within the academia. Policy formation is generally studied as taking place in phases but, while there are indeed different processes, neat stages do not inevitably precede one another through time in an unvarying arrangement. The phases model is thus not well-equipped for a detailed account of the historical conditions for the formation of one particular policy, as is the case in this thesis. Second, while these approaches tend to take well established and clearly defined policy subsystems as their unit of analysis, the formation of planning policies is usually at the crossroads of different policy subsystems (public works, policing, urban policy) and institutional levels (national, municipal, transnational).

In this thesis shocks are understood as disruptive events capable of altering the socio-ecological system in which they take place in such a way that simultaneously impede

envisioning an immediate internal response and interfere with the elucidation of coordination alternatives (Van Assche et al., 2022). New windows of opportunity for policy formation are often opened in the aftermath of a shock. The term 'policy window' is used in a sense similar to Kingdon's and his perception of the policy realm as characterised by complexity and unpredictability and as being in a state of constant (potential) change is shared. In this sense, Kindgon is also recognised as providing valuable insight on the development of policy ideas and path-departing policy change. However, this thesis differs from his perspective in two key respects. In the first place, the emphasis of the inquiry is not on agenda-setting as Kingdon's multiple streams framework, but on the governing of a policy problem and the continuous dynamics of policy formation within that process. Second, as in the study performed by Kingdon, policy entrepreneurs figure prominently in this research, but they are weighted within a complex set of participating actors who redefine themselves over time and do not necessarily become the main actors. This divergence is explained because the possibilities and limits to the action of policy entrepreneurs in Argentina differ significantly from those that can be found in the unique political institutions of the US, where Kindon's analysis is based.

This research shares with Baumgartner and Jones an interest in both change and stability. Like them, it also assigns a central role to institutional frameworks —which lock actors within the policy-making process— and to ideas —basic components in the construction of policy agendas. However, the transformation of coalitions over time has never been a cornerstone of the framework and this sets a limitation for its utilisation in this research, which is concerned with a historical evolution of planning policy formations and the conditions that made its re-emergence possible. The thesis distances itself from them in the following chapters insofar as it will argue and show that the way in which planning policy problems are shaped in Argentina is not defined solely through the cognitions of policy-makers and the constraints imposed by the institutional framework.

This research shares with the IAD framework that the decisions of the actors depend on the way they perceive the world, which, in turn, recognises that there is no single, indisputable truth. However, insofar as it is mainly concerned with the institutional dimension of policies, the focus of IAD seems to be too restrictive to be used as the main theoretical framework here. From the point of view of this thesis, IAD tends to overemphasise the role of formal rules in decision-making and, portraying policies simply as a succession of separate choices, falls short when aiming to grasp the complex and multidimensional nature of policy formations. Despite being little considered in IAD applications, the underlying historical, economic and political context plays a crucial role in institutional performance and actors operations cannot be detached from it. Second, even though Ostrom's concept of 'polycentricity' fits easily into the growing preoccupation with governance in recent policy studies, an explicit depiction of the linkages and interactions between governmental and non-governmental actors as well as among institutional arrangements is still lacking in the IAD framework as a whole (Blomquist & deLeon, 2011). Third, as Clement (2010: 135) points out *"a major limitation to its application across governance and government levels is an inadequate consideration of the role of power and interests in the crafting of institutions"*. Institutions not only arise from rational individual decisions, but are also shaped in and through power relations at the level of collective choice and at the constitutional level which, in turn, affect lower levels of governance. A final critique also raised by Clement (2010: 148-

149) is that modifying the 'rules in use' is not enough to alter actors' behaviour, the prevailing discourses that legitimise those rules must also be changed. For this reason, although discourse analysis is not central in the IAD framework, relating discursive shifts to policy change would allow for a better grasp of how problems take shape in public policy-making and to understand why policy formation is often perceived as a rational solution for them.

Like Peter John (2003, 2012), this research is also interested in applying and expanding evolutionary ideas on planning thinking. It also has a positive view of complexity theory (e.g., Byrne, 1998; Thrift, 1999) and underlines non-linear dynamics of interaction between the interdependent elements that make up a national planning system. Unveiling the varying truth-claims present in the power plays that shape the evolution of a planning system, the naturalised contingency of its relations with the State, society and science, as well as its self-descriptions, is a major step in this direction. While encouraging, John's ideas must be complemented and contrasted with a social constructivist frame of investigation that restates the 'situatedness' of knowledge creation and the relational character of power can contribute to such an endeavour (Duineveld et al., 2005). In this sense, the focus on the conditions for policy formation developed here allows to (dis)entangle problems and policy solutions in an analytical path that also accounts for the articulation between knowledge and power through discourse. The processes through which public policies take shape as well as the relations among its components are remarkably complex and fluid. The post-structuralist line of research that this thesis intends to develop acknowledges such features and offers an innovative interpretative key for an understanding of rigidities and flexibilities in governance evolution.

1.3.8. Insights from Post-structuralist Theory

Although the 'stages model' of policy processes continues to organise the theoretical and methodological orientations of many policy studies, in recent years post-structuralism has proven to be a valuable analytical direction for exploring comparatively less travelled paths in the field. Post-structuralism offers precise epistemological points of departure to develop an evolutionary governance perspective to the study of policy processes. Post-structuralist policy analysis *"assume(s) that social, political or natural phenomena and, inseparably from them, their meaning, are constantly moving, changing and shifting in various directions"* (Gottweis. 2003: 249). Authors like Howlett, Peters and Pierre, among others, are particularly relevant here since they contributed to a literature that began to raise awareness of the contingencies and complexities surrounding policy formation and thus enabled researchers who followed —among which the EGT developers should be considered— to better understand the dynamics of politics and policy-making. Howlett (1994) argued that to better understand the limits and composition of policy change we need to take a closer look at the relationships between internal and external sources of change in policy subsystems. He also proposed to include the interplay of actors and interests, knowledge and power into analyses of policy learning and (resistance to) policy change (Howlett, 1999). From this perspective, delineating a 'policy problem' as such entails past and ongoing processes of (re)interpretation contingently constructed in/through continuous contestations over history, traditions, ideas and beliefs codified in discourses. Policy transformations are thus conceptualised as dependent on a path of norms, political assumptions, social values, historical roles of

expertise and internal administrative culture, to name a few. In a similar vein, Peters and Savoie (1995) state that unless political systems are altered in some way, well-established political regimes will generally tend to persist. (Non)governmental actors and organisations are conceived, in turn, as mutually dependent. Typically ingrained in networks, their interactions rely on the resources of each other. Both the complexity of the interactions between actors and organisations and the set of constant adaptations around changes in the environment mean that one is almost certainly doomed to failure whenever (s)he tries to predict the future of governing. Thus, without pretending to conjecture, post-structuralist perspectives provide some clues to render the messy process of policy-making more comprehensible and better grasp dynamic policy change. As Peters and Pierre have posited *"Understanding governance -its direction, practices, and outcomes- is largely a matter of observing and interpreting the process through which it evolves and what is the relative clout of the actors involved therein"* (Peters & Pierre, 1998: 232).

Evolutionary Governance Theory (EGT), the theory on which this thesis is framed, draws on and combines a wide variety of sources (social systems theory, institutional and development economics, discourse theory, actor-network theory, among others) to build its own conceptual architecture. Post-structuralism, in particular, plays a prominent role in this novel theory. EGT incorporates insights from the early post-structuralists from the 60s and 70s (Foucault; Lacan, Derrida, and Barthes) but also from post-structuralist reflections that flourished in the field of planning since the 1990s (e.g., Flyvbjerg, 1998; Gunder & Hillier, 2009; Healey, 1997; Hillier, 2002) in its analysis of power relations in governance. Among the post-structuralists, Foucault is arguably the most influential in EGT. Foucauldian concepts and insights are of particular importance for the construction of the conceptual framework of EGT (e.g., the understanding of discourse as as structured set of concepts simultaneously enabling and veiling access to reality). The work of Foucault also assisted EGT proponents to highlight the inherently political character of planning practice and to contest the assumption of a value-neutral scientific access to truth. Moreover, Foucault's ideas on power and knowledge as inextricably entwined in discourse and continuously evolving in an ongoing interplay with other power/knowledge configurations underpin EGT's proposal to analyse and explain the embedding of planning practices within a particular governance context and thus gauge the potential and limits of planning in that specific context. EGT took the intertwining between power and knowledge further by distinguishing between power in, on and of planning and speaking of power/knowledge configurations operating at every step of a policy-making process and affecting the continuous evolution of a planning system as well as its dynamic relations with the environment (Van Assche, K., Duineveld, M., & Beunen, R., 2014).

Post-structuralist strands of thought also informed the EGT understanding of contingency as affecting elements, structures, relations and operations in the daily functioning of planning systems. Contingency, according to EGT, is a concept that holds the potential to become a pillar in the refinement of power-analyses in planning as it *'can give a sharper delineation of the positionality of planning in society and of the possibilities and limitations to influence that society from a certain position'* (Van Assche, Duineveld & Beunen, 2014: 2389). Using and developing the concept of contingency, EGT provides insights to better understand how planning attempts build upon existing configurations of actor/institutions and

power/knowledge and how the productive clashes between opposing views shape their co-evolution and their environment.

1.4. Theoretical Approach

To study the ways in which Argentinian planning policies and the social, institutional, political and economic context where they develop transform each other, this analytical framework elaborates, first, on the distinctive features of Evolutionary Governance Theory (EGT) and, concomitantly, on the specific understanding of policy, policy problems, policy formation and planning. The approach developed in this thesis, in particular, gives central place to the concept of dependence, distinguishing between three forms: path dependence, interdependence and goal dependence. The three dependencies are discussed as the base of an analysis of co-evolving configurations: actor/institutions and power/knowledge, which help to elucidate socio-political dynamics of planning policy formations. The purpose of this conceptual section is not to allow for a rigorous testing of the usefulness of the EGT framework, an ongoing effort being developed by many other authors (see for example, Birchall, 2020; Djanivekov et al., 2018; Schlüter et al., 2020), but to elucidate and to discuss what an EGT lens can bring to our understanding of planning policy formations. In this research the concept 'policy formation' underlines the idea of a sense-making process which is inextricably intertwined with the specific social, economic and political context in which it develops. Understanding policy formation in these terms implies, in turn, the need to capture the process of attributing meaning to a phenomenon within a policy discourse —in this thesis, territorial imbalances in planning — and thus analyse policy problems as social constructs subject to (re)interpretations of reality that can always be challenged, negotiated and governed. Grasping the policy problem includes drawing on available research, learning, negotiation, (re)interpretation of proposed policy solutions and more.

1.4.1. Evolutionary Governance Theory

The changing nature of spatial governance requires an understanding of how actors/institutions and power/knowledge configurations co-evolve. It also involves an understanding of how some of its elements (e.g., concepts, objects, human and non-human actors) contingently emerge out of particular modes of viewing and how these have been made (in)visible through policy, science, the strategies of other actors and/or institutional arrangements. A theory that can help with building this understanding is Evolutionary Governance Theory (EGT), which is premised on the idea that change does not occur randomly within a governance system, but rather as the result of the co-evolution of the different elements that are part of the system (Van Assche, Beunen & Duineveld, 2017). EGT focuses on the co-evolution of actors, knowledge and institutions within an always changing contextual environment (Beunen et al., 2015). It analyses 'governance paths' through a thorough understanding of the dependencies that constrain and enable the present functioning of the governance system and its options for future transformation (Van Assche et al., 2014a). Each governance path is unique by definition, as each takes shape through its own web of dependencies and a singular co-evolution of actors, institutions, of power and knowledge, and with their environment. Actor/institutions configurations as well as the discourses they

create and relate to emerge out of and co-evolve over time through repeated interactions and this results in processes of continuous change. On the other hand, these changes are unpredictable and complex, with no clear stages in processes, and with elements changing at different pace. On this basis, an EGT lens can be used to study how specific approaches to planning function in practice within a particular governance context (Beunen et al., 2013; Van Assche et al., 2012; Hornidge et al., 2018). Under such theoretical lens, it is possible to better understand the ways in which context has contributed to shaped Argentinian planning policies in the past and how it is key in any attempt to predict future possibilities for spatial governance transformation.

EGT distinguishes between path dependencies, interdependencies, goal dependencies and material dependencies. Those dependencies affect how actors and institutions are formed, how they interact and how the governance configuration transforms itself over time. The interplay between these dependencies can create both rigidities and flexibility in governance evolution as they allow for a (relative) stabilisation in governance configurations but also for path creation (Van Assche, Duineveld, Gruezmacher & Beunen, 2021).

Path Dependencies

The concept of path dependence, which refers to the fact that each step in the evolution of a governance system is limited by the previous state of the same system (Van Assche, Beunen, Jacobs & Teampău, 2011), plays a central role in shaping the evolutionary approach sustained in EGT. New forms or strategies of collective decision-making are seldom completely detached from those that preceded them. More often, the ways in which things were done before enable and constrain the emergence of such forms or strategies (Luhmann, 1995). Thus, in order to understand the evolution of a governance system, previous features and conditions that shaped it in the past need to be referred to (Van Assche et al., 2014a). As such, the legacies (e.g., previous policies, ingrained governance habits, legitimised expertise, incumbent actors, etc.) of past governance contribute to explain the path taken, understand governance evolution along a multiplicity of possible paths —all producing different outcomes— and to inquire about future policy options. The ways in which these legacies from the past influence a governance system in the present can be captured through path dependence thinking, yet, as path dependencies can be manifold, they have to be empirically examined and weighed (Van Assche, Beunen, Jacobs & Teampău, 2011; North, 2005; cf. Callon, 1991). According to EGT,

> *'path dependency can reside in the presence of certain actors (and their conservative views or strategies), in a specific dialectics between actors and institutions and between formal and informal institutions in the guise of traditions, or traditional ways to deal with formal institutions), in the persistence of certain forms of knowledge, narratives and expertise in current governance and their entwining with power, and in some societies, dead institutions'* (Van Assche et al., 2014a: 30).

Any element from previous forms of governance, its organisation and interconnections can potentially trigger path dependence (Beunen et al., 2015). The rigidity of the chosen path may be due to the high costs (economic, political or otherwise) of changing the course, because the power that dominant discourses hold is difficult to change, due to the resistance of actors to resign positions of power, or because each particular governance regime is part

of a specific network of rules (formal and/or informal) and interdependent relationships. This immediately resonates with the second form of dependence that needs to be discussed here: Interdependencies.

Interdependencies

The evolution of governance is not only shaped by previous conditions but is also affected by another set of limitations that emerge from the interactions between its elements and with the external environment. In this case, EGT speaks of interdependencies of governance systems. There is interdependence between actors, between institutions, and between actors and institutions. Governance comprises countless actors in shifting relationships, hence, in a governance system, interdependence is first and foremost interdependence between actors (Van Assche et al., 2014a). For the purposes of this thesis, all those who participate, either formally or informally, from the State or from the private sector, in a governance process are to be considered as actors. Actors participating in governance depend on other actors, thus, they tend to build networks or coalitions of interest and, through them, learn to rely on each other (as well as to contest or oppose others). Under these conditions it is not surprising that they are often unwilling to change and inclined to uphold their core tenets. Actors also produce and reproduce institutions and their interdependencies can increase the 'stickiness' of rules —which are also interconnected— even further. Institutions are defined here as dynamic systems of formal and informal rules shaping collective values and behaviours, so, it goes without saying that the only possible way to change a rule is that many other rules change at the same time and thus rules become more persistent. Actors and institutions acquire their form and function in a history of interactions among themselves and with the other, and they cannot be understood without referring to it. Thus, in a way, interdependence arises from path dependencies, since both actors and institutions, as well as the set of their current interactions, are only possible as a result of relationships that took place in the past (Greif, 2006; Seabright, 2010). The interrelationships between discourses and physical realities; with the external environment; between other components of the governance system; the ways in which they are constantly (re) negotiated; or, the articulations with other (sub)systems which also evolve over time can all be conceptualised and understood as interdependencies (Beunen & Van Assche, 2013). Moreover, as stated by EGT proponents, interdependencies can also reside in *"the way in which different governance paths are linked, to other paths at the same level, to other scales or levels, to physical and social environments always imperfectly grasped and controlled by governance"* (Beunen et al., 2015: 29).

Goal Dependencies

Governance evolution depends and relies on path and interdependencies, but it also takes shape from discourses developing around widely shared visions for the future that enable and constrain transformation options (Van Assche et al., 2014a). In EGT, the influences these envisioned futures exert over the current reproduction of governance are referred to as goal dependencies (Beunen et al., 2015; Birchall, 2020; Leta et al., 2020). Not only concrete plans and projects, but also more abstract dreams, hopes, desires and fears can gain presence in institutions and thus produce effects on reality, either consciously or unconsciously. Images of a desired future may live only in the minds of certain actors but they can also take the form of narratives or ideologies that become deeply embedded in the community at large and create reality effects or shape reality in certain regards. Abstract conceptualisations of how things ought to be (done) can thus become world-making since they not only describe but actively

construct and transform the reality they are studying and theorising upon (MacKenzie, 2006). In this way, the presence of these visions in the setting of shared goals do alter the future. Policies, plans and projects often create reality effects, yet only on rare occasions do they bring the envisioned reality into being exactly as it had been imagined (Beunen et al., 2015). The effects of goals within governance may differ broadly due to the mixture of interactions in the configurations of actor/institutions, formal/informal institutions and power/knowledge. All these interactions taking place within the governance network broaden opacity and uncertainty and thus lead effects to not always align with the initial intentions (Flyvbjerg, 1998). However, in those cases where they do, it can be said that implementation has worked (Barrett, 2004; MacKenzie et al., 2007).

In the absence of a certain image of the future that is (at least apparently) shared, steering ambitions –which always entail a strong belief in the possibility to anticipate, coordinate, guide or force societal change in an intended direction– can hardly survive. Emerging policy images can become performative when a powerful coalition of actors endorse them or if they are perceived as legitimate and get deeply embedded within the community at large. These images can also enable further changes in the governing alignment if combined with reinterpretations of previous policies or their environment; discursive shifts that alter public opinion; the creation of new rules for coordination that inspire innovative venues for decision-making; the construction of new narratives through which to identify with (or confront against) existing institutions; novel linkages between formal and informal institutions; the entrance of new actors that bring their own perspectives and ambitions to the table, and more. They can help guide policy orientations and (re)define the set of actors validated to engage in the policy formation process. Hence, shared visions not only act by hardening actor/institutions configurations, but the transformation of these visions sometimes contributes to explain the evolution of such nexus.

1.4.2. Policies, the Construction of Policy Problems and Policy Formation

Policies

In line with the conceptualisation of EGT, policies are conceived here as a particular type of discourse that emerges, develops and changes according to their own internal logics, but also through interaction with their environment and with other discourses. By exploring policies as discourses, the ways in which they are given meaning through a myriad of interactions at different scales becomes more transparent. Policies contribute to create a shared connotation of some phenomenon in reality, aiming at temporarily stabilising the constant transmutation in the configurations of actor/institutions and power/knowledge (Van Assche et al., 2014a). Moreover, they assist in shaping identities and normalising behaviours through the conceptualisations, representations and categorisations that they contribute to enforce. Policies are path-dependent. They cannot deviate entirely from the history of their emergence and are, to some extent, subject to the performance of previous policies on which they build or from which they can be differentiated. Policies are also interdependent. They not only draw upon the past but also upon how (apparently) similar policies perform in other settings. Even in cases where the policy formation process is initiated autonomously by the State, subsequent actions linked to it –both in terms of implementation of the original policy proposal and possible implicit or explicit changes in its content– cannot be understood or

explained regardless of the perceptions, positioning, and decisions of other actors. Policies are always performed and subject to ceaseless processes of (re)interpretation. They unfold in an ever-changing environment of power/knowledge through which forgetfulness, oppositions, rearrangements, and other electives are always at stake (Beunen & Duineveld, 2010).

Policy Problems

No social phenomenon is, in essence, a problem. Problems are not objective facts waiting to be first discovered and, later, eventually amended. On the contrary, from a constructivist perspective, it can be argued that problems are socially constructed representations based on the assessment of a situation as undesirable (Bacchi, 2009; Stone, 1997). Thus, only after a social phenomenon has been defined as problematic it can get political attention and become established on the policy agenda (Weick, 1995). Policies become institutionalised and codified in formal rules, programmes, plans and projects once problems and issues upon which government can operate have been constructed and categorised as such (Beunen et al., 2015; Verschraegen, 2015). The mode and scope of public action, for its part, is defined from a dominant perception of the problematic situation that illuminates certain deficiencies while excluding or hiding others, thus reflecting specific ideological ways of seeing and framing reality (cf. Schön & Rein, 1994). A problem is constituted, negotiated and governed as such, then, always as a consequence of an interpretive act (Persson, 2014).

No society has the capacity or the resources to fully meet the list of needs and demands of all its members. Thus, only some of these demands are 'problematised', in the sense that certain organisations, groups or even individuals strategically located believe that 'something' can and should be done about them and are in a position to promote their incorporation into the agenda of socially relevant problems. Cases in which all the actors, including the State, agree on the perception and assessment of the social problem can hardly be found. What are the 'true' terms of the problem, how it connects with other problems and issues, what is a 'satisfactory' resolution of it, or even if it is a problem or not, are fundamental questions that contribute to shape the positioning of the State and other actors, the formation of coalitions and the emergence of conflicts. Possibly the most important thing, at least as a first approximation to how to study the issue that concerns us here, is the need to consider State policies within the framework of issues. These issues have a history, which begins in a period in which they were not perceived as such, continues in the processes that lead to their emergence, and eventually concludes with their resolution. This history is that of a complex social process woven by interactions between private actors and the different sectors of the State that can –and usually do– change over time both in their composition and in their perceptions. Throughout the process of eventual resolution of an issue, some actors will get involved earlier than others, others at some point will decide to withdraw and others will be excluded. It is against this backdrop –and understanding the changing nature of actors/institutions as well as the way in which the terms of an issue are redefined– that policies make sense and can be explained.

Policy Formation

In this thesis the concept of policy formation is used, paraphrasing discursive formation, instead of the much more widespread concept of policy formulation (Sidney, 2007), to make explicit some thoughts and ideas that will be central to the argument. First, as stated above,

the formation of a policy is a constructive process of attributing meaning to a social phenomenon as a problem that requires to be dealt with via policies. The process often begins with a discursive struggle over the conceptual framing of the problem which not only depicts what changes need to be made but also constructs its boundaries. The policy formation process takes shape through the articulation of a diverse set of ideas, concepts, and categories –in a state of permanent evolution–, which configure a discourse and provide a system of meaning that allows (re)constructing meaning around certain social and/or physical phenomena and events (Persson, 2014). This entails that the particular ways in which a problem is interpreted and negotiated contributes to structure action and shape the policy discourse. Second, the construction of meaning around a policy problem (which includes the possible solutions to it) is much more than a specification for the efficient implementation of the policy, it is a performative act that shapes categories and identities of subjects and objects, transmits beliefs and values, and can participate in the structuring of a particular field (academic, political or otherwise) (Fischer & Gottweis, 2012; Hajer, 1995; cf. Howarth, 2007). Third, and as a consequence of the above, the concept of policy formation allows for an understanding of the constant reconstruction of the meaning of a policy problem as a mechanism of power. In policy formation, a selection process operates whereby some opposing interpretations of the problem and alternative ways of approaching it will inevitably be excluded, but these inclusions/exclusions can be modified as the set of actors can change, they can articulate a new meaning based on other policy discourses, conceptual frameworks can be reinterpreted in innovative ways and used differently in diverse settings and at different times, etc.

Planning

Planning relates to (in)formal attempts and desires to affect the spatial organisation into certain directions as well as the strategies deployed by the State and other actors to do so (Van Assche et al., 2014b). Planning is at the crossroad of different subsystem. The configuration of actors –collective or individual– and institutions –in the form of plans, policies, designs, or laws– which make up a planning system is always embedded within a broader governance system (Nadin & Stead, 2008). Its intersection with the subsystem of politics comprises the possibilities for the creation of common grounds between different understandings of the world, opposed ideologies, and conflicting interests that underlie contrasting visions of desirable futures brought to the table by a set of actors that exceed the State (Van Assche et al., 2013). Thus, insofar as they entail coordinating collectively binding decisions, planning policies are to be understood as a tool for and product of governance. The coordination of a set of knowledge and techniques aimed at promoting certain spatial practices is part of the historical process of production of the territory –that is, the constant coding-decoding-recoding of the space– as 'technology of power/government' to guide the treatment of 'multiplicities in space' (Foucault, 1978), as a function of locally specific and time-varying social, cultural and political conditions (Baletti, 2012; Hollingsworth & Boyer, 1997; Van Assche & Teampău, 2015). Discourses on what planning is and what it can (or cannot) do evolve in relation to the system's previous responses to those same questions, where they find things (e.g., concepts, approaches, expertise, etc.) to build on and others to distinguish themselves from (Van Assche, Duineveld, Beunen & Teampău, 2011). In this scenario, the recognition of particular objects and subjects as pertaining to planning (or not) is hastened or hindered in relation to the dynamics of presence/absence of certain actors and the competing discourses from which they draw on.

1.5. Methodological Design

1.5.1. Methodological Approach

The methodological approach of this thesis was based on case study research. Case study research has been defined by Stake (1995: 27) as *"an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon, or social unit"* in its natural real-life context. Creswell (1998: 61) broadened this understanding by defining case study research as *"an exploration of a bounded system or a case (or multiple cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context"*. Indeed, an investigation based on case studies involves a *"complete and intense examination of a facet, a topic or perhaps the events that develop in a geographic environment over time"* (Denny, 1978: 370). Thus, the case study approach facilitates the collection of large amounts of information and therefore provides more comprehensive data for analysis and a greater understanding of a phenomenon compared to other methodologies (Kumar & Antonenko, 2014). Moreover, case study research tends to produce 'thick descriptions' which often become integrated into existing knowledge about the topic and might even contribute to expanding/challenging a theory by uncovering new concepts and ideas that need to be discussed against this backdrop.

A case study approach is an appropriate strategy of inquiry when the researcher aims to gain concrete, contextual, in-depth knowledge about a particular setting, individual(s), or a single phenomenon (e.g., a programme, event, activity, or process) with a view to advancing its understanding (Cousin, 2005; Creswell, 2009; Merriam, 1998). 'What', 'how', or 'why' questions are ideally addressed through this strategy (Yin, 2003). The strategy of the single case study, which was applied in this thesis, is well-established in academic research (Crowe et al., 2011; Yin, 2018). Its selection here is justified by the unique and revealing nature – given the peculiarity of context, subject (s) and/or object (s)– of the issue under study (Tasci et al., 2020; Yin, 2018). This choice allowed to describe and explain the key features, meanings, and implications of a complex phenomenon that might not have been accessible to the scientific community otherwise (Yin, 1993, 2009).

The case study approach has at times been criticised for not providing a basis for transferring research results to other settings (Yin, 2009). However, the focal point of most case study research does not lie with generalisability, but with understanding the often unnoticed nuances of a particular matter (Creswell, 2009). Moreover, since the case is typically selected not because it is representative of other cases, but because of its uniqueness (Stake, 1995), research findings can help establish, strengthen or weaken historical appreciations of an issue, event or phenomenon under study and open up new directions for future research. Thus, as *"theory is done in the form of case studies"* (Law, 2008: 630), investigations based on unusual, neglected, or outlying case studies may shed new light on existing assumptions, help build abstractions, and provide new insights to challenge dominant perspectives, among other implications both for theory development and theory testing (George & Bennett, 2005; Yin, 2018). In this sense, the revival of planning policies in Argentina as a case study is particularly relevant for evolutionary governance research insofar as it allows studying how lingering memories of ancient centralised planning systems can influence novel more self-

governing steering schemes and how the perceived failures and pitfalls of the latter may lead, in turn, to a partial reactivation of the former.

In line with the above-mentioned, this thesis does not intend to find general laws, nor to generalise the research findings, but to render insights and situated knowledge based on a single case study and to thoroughly explore mechanisms and dynamics that might inspire new understandings and trigger further research concerning governance evolutions. Although the findings of this research are considered valid for the Argentinian context only, some of its characteristics (e.g., the shifting relationship between local and central governments; the lack of political power to enforce legal-administrative frameworks; a changing political attitude towards central steering; the ideological hybridisation of policy goals, strategies and instruments) might be encountered in other countries.

1.5.2. Methods of Data Collection

In order to develop a thorough understanding of the case, the case study approach usually involves the collection of multiple sources of data —using a range of quantitative (e.g., questionnaires, statistics) and more commonly qualitative techniques (e.g., interviews, participant observations) —, in opposition to relying on a single source of data (Creswell, 2009; Patton, 1990). A qualitative inquiry protocol has the ability to help build a deeper and more intimate understanding of the phenomenon under study, while also allowing reflective scrutiny of ongoing decisions within the research process (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Qualitative research techniques often aim to preserve the voice and perspective of participants while remaining open for adaptation as new ideas or questions emerge.

Existing Data

Analysing existing data provides *"substitutes for records of activity the researcher could not observe directly"* (Stake, 1995: 68). Official documents, in particular, are important materials when analysing policy formation since they represent an authoritative formal standpoint. Thus, in the initial stage of the project secondary sources were used to obtain a general approximation to the debate on the development of planning policies in Argentina. Such sources include government documents, previous national plans for economic development, consultancy reports on infrastructure investments projected within the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'*, related strategic plans, specialised books and peer-reviewed articles on planning theory, institutional transformation, the mobility of policy knowledge (with a special focus on developing countries) and capacity building for civic engagement in decision-making. Complementing these documents with related governmental reports, meeting minutes and publications by prominent public officials such as the former National Director of Strategic Territorial Planning (Arch. Marta Aguilar) or the Technical Coordinator of the Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina' (Prof. Marcelo Sili), the ideas, institutions and spatial identities that are constantly being (re)produced in and by the national planning system were progressively teased out. The compilation and analysis of these documents was challenging since some are many years old and not all of them were digitised. The in-depth critical analysis of these archives was the primary source of data for this thesis.

Interviews

The choice for in-depth semi-structured interviews is consistent with the qualitative nature of this research since *"interviewing in qualitative investigations is more open-ended and less structured"* (Merriam, 1998: 74). Informants were selected using a combination of purposive and snowball sampling (Palinkas et al., 2015). In purposive sampling, the identification and selection of individuals who are especially knowledgeable or experienced with a phenomenon of our interest provides information-rich interviews for more effective use of limited resources (Cresswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Patton, 2002). In snowball sampling, a small group of initial informants nominate, through their social networks, other participants who meet the eligibility criteria. This non-probability sampling technique is particularly useful when members of the target population are difficult to locate and closely related. Since well-informed respondents are often not easily accessible, once interviewed most needs to be made of the chance aiming at essential information and very specific interpretations about the case study these can provide, and which could not be obtained in any other way.

In order to minimise community bias, the set of initial informants selected in purposive sampling was defined by taking into account not only their direct knowledge of policy formation processes, but also membership in organisations operating at different levels of government (municipal, provincial, national), with different political ideologies and representing divergent interest. This initial group of informants was contacted at topic-related events (e.g., workshops, conferences, public hearings) arranged by various organisations in different locations, where the conditions for advancing in the formation of planning policies in the country were discussed. They were asked about other experts who could become potential interviewees. Twenty-three interviews were conducted with high-ranking national officials, internationally renowned experts, planning scholars, political representatives, and policy professionals at the local and provincial levels, among others (see appendix 1 for more details). The first set of questions concerned the respondents' assignments and background and were conceived with the intent to elicit a conversation, a jointly constructed, fluid dialogue between the interviewer and interviewee. The rest of the interview protocol was designed to spur discussion around the policy formation process, its expected effects on the spatial organisation of the country, the influence of power and politics on scientific expertise, the crafting of new institutional arrangements, and struggles over ideas on policy efficiency, decision-making efficacy and successful implementation (see appendix 2 for more details). The respondents were introduced to each theme and, as they answered the broader questions, follow-up questions were asked, enabling the interviewees to elaborate on a variety of topics. The responses they offered were an important source of evidence for uncovering the defining claims around the conceptualisation of territorial imbalances as a policy problem in Argentina and the articulation of meaning around planning policies as the best way to address them. For data analysis, all interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim (in Spanish). Transcript excerpts from the interviews were inductively coded and systematically categorised in order to find, organise and structure emerging themes and patterns for analysis and thus gain insights representative of the data and the stories of the people behind them. In vivo coding, a first cycle coding method, helped derive initial codes from the data itself and attain an in-depth understanding of the ideas and meanings expressed by research participants. The initial codes were reorganised and condensed into a smaller set of themes through various rounds of coding and personal interpretation. The intention with the interviews was to capture the 'world-views' of the respondents and the organisations they

represented (cf. Esaiasson et al., 2007: 286) in relation to planning policies in general and the conditions that enabled and constrained the formation of the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'* in particular.

Participant Observation

The sources of evidence previously described were supplemented by participant observations. Participant observation refers to a qualitative method for engaging with the (un)familiar life-worlds of a group of people and, thus, *"learning both the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and culture"* (Musante, 2015: 251) in the natural setting in which they unfold (Laurier, 2010). In doing participant observations the researcher takes part in (un)common activities of the people being studied as a means to gathering data and "*gaining greater understanding of phenomena from the point of view of participants"* (Musante & DeWalt, 2010: ix). This method was used in several meetings (see table 1), both face-to-face and online, organised by different types of actors and with very varied objectives, over a long period of time. Thus, it was possible to analyse the strategies used by academics, policy practitioners, and other policy actors to shape a general understanding of the problem of territorial imbalances and thereby attempt to orient the process of formation of a national planning policy.

The first time that participant observation was used was in 2012 and the last time in 2021. The first was a meeting between the team of the Under-secretariat for Territorial Planning of Public Investment and the members of the Natural Resources, Environmental Management and Ecoregions Program of the National Institute of Agricultural Technology, to which the author of this thesis contributed at that time. Participating in that meeting was important for the objectives of this thesis since it exposed the clash between opposing views within State organisations with responsibility for territorial development and management as a phenomenon that must be dealt with in any attempt at policy formation. While the former held a predominantly urban planning perspective and prioritised investment in transport and energy networks, the latter proposed to support an approach to zoning and land use planning in rural areas, with focus on environmentally sustainable economic growth. Furthering the reflections on these interactions contributed to the incipient ideas about organisational solidification that would later be identified as one of the vitally important mechanisms for the evolution of planning expressed in chapter 2.

The workshops organised by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO-UN) in different municipalities of the Province of Mendoza –the most advanced in terms of planning policies and one of the few that has legislation in this respect in the country– were a second instance of participant observation. During these workshops, national and international experts and politicians shared their visions of what was to be considered planning, the criteria for assessment, and the preferred future organisation of the participating municipalities. Participating in these workshops also made it possible to analyse first-hand the strategies of the different types of actors to ensure that their world-views were accepted by others. Observing these interactions and the related emerging insights was useful to identify potential interviewees and adjust the focus of future inquiries. The contradictions observed in these early visions were further explored during the interviews.

The participant observation method was used again in the context of the informative conferences of the Colorado River Inter-Jurisdictional Committee (COIRCO) where different

projects and proposals for joint water management were debated by representatives of municipalities and provincial and national organisations. By participating in these meetings, it was possible to obtain a first approximation of how disputes over the construction of meaning around a policy problem are played out during the actual practice of policy formation and how these constructions are transformed in/through power-infused negotiations between policy actors. Although COIRCO was not directly involved in the formation of the Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina', in 2013 it signed an agreement with the Under-secretariat for Territorial Planning of Public Investment to carry out a Spatial Plan for the entire Colorado River Basin. In this context, the actions of the five province(s) that comprise COIRCO and the expected results were supposed to be aligned with the principles of the new planning policy and embedded in its desired territorial model (see chapter 4). Observing how this unprecedented attempt for policy integration unfolded facilitated the understanding of how planning policies form dynamic and disruptive processes through which the socio-political environment, including the actors involved, is routinely reconfigured. Some knowledgeable professionals who participated in these meetings were selected for the initial set of interviews.

Finally, with the COVID-19 pandemic already as a context, participant observation during the online meetings organised by the Argentinian Society for Territorial Planning (SAPLAT, its acronym in Spanish) helped understand the way in which a new narrative around the need to legislate on the spatial organisation of the country was being re-built with a view to reducing territorial imbalances. SAPLAT brings together a broad set of experts '*who share urban-territorial planning and management practices"* with the aim of '*putting people and learning in contact, integrating disciplines and concurrent knowledge (and) influencing the public agenda'* (https://saplat.website/). Through participation in some of its virtual meetings, it was possible to obtain a general approximation to the perceptions of these actors regarding the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'* and the conditions that shaped the revival of planning in the country. These expert insights are important because they come after a period of retraction of State-led planning towards the regional scale (2015-2019). In this way, it was possible to identify some signs of (self)reflection and (self)criticism about their expert role in the previous period, the reasons that facilitated the retraction and how they conceived their (inter)action options in the future, all of which would help in the construction of chapter 3 of this thesis.

Table 1. Events in which participant observation was put into practice.

Event type	Main organiser	Location	Date
Meeting	Under-secretariat for Territorial Planning of Public Investment	City of Buenos Aires	June 2012
Workshop	Food and Agriculture Organization	San Carlos, Province of Mendoza	September 2012
Workshop	Food and Agriculture Organization	Tunuyán, Province of Mendoza	July and August 2013

Informative Conference	Colorado River Inter-jurisdictional Committee	Villa Casa de Piedra, Province of La Pampa	October 2014
Informative Conference	Colorado River Inter-jurisdictional Committee	Villa Casa de Piedra, Province of La Pampa	August 2013
Regional meeting	Argentinian Society for Territorial Planning	Online	August 2020
Regional meeting	Argentinian Society for Territorial Planning	Online	July 2021

Triangulation

All these data were triangulated with feedback gained from sharing preliminary findings in workshops, national and international conferences, expert meetings and informal discussions with fellow researchers and co-workers. Data triangulation refers to the process of using multiple theories, data sources, perceptions or methods to develop a comprehensive understanding of phenomena (Carter et al., 2014). This strategy was applied in this thesis as a way of increasing the internal validity of the study and cross-checking emerging findings (see, for example, Mathison, 1988; Murray, 1999). It was assumed that approaching the phenomenon under study from different angles, through data collected from variegated sources, and discussed with colleagues in various settings, could help develop a comprehensive depiction of it, while allowing readers to sharply understand the context and rethink their own circumstances —that may (mis)match the research situation—, and lead other researchers (e.g., planning historians, policy analysts) to similar discussions (Creswell, 2009; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Stake, 1995)

The methods described above were combined with path mapping and process tracing (Sheldrick et al., 2017; Van Assche et al., 2019; Van Wezemael, 2017; Veweij & Trell, 2019; Wood, 2016) to further enhance reliability. Thus, it was possible to investigate the ways in which co-evolving elements and processes involved in the Argentinian governance environment respond to both external pressures and internal logics and thus better understand the historical conditions that enabled and constrained the revival of planning at the beginning of the 21st Century. When asking about the ways in which the memories of the past, the needs of the present, and the conflicting desires for the future contribute to shape planning policies, uncertainty and unpredictability need to be acknowledged as inherently embedded in the process of policy formation. Therefrom, it transpires that a thorough understanding of the dynamic governance context in which planning policies are expected to achieve effects is an unavoidable first step for analysis. State-led policies should not be studied by ignoring the problem(s) they are trying to solve, nor by forgetting the broader context in which the issue is embedded, or the related policies advocated by 'private' actors. Understanding the positions adopted by the State and the mobilisation/demobilisation of other social actors is, thus, an indispensable level of context for the study of national-level spatial planning as it took shape in the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'*, the State policy of interests

in this thesis. Without knowing this context adequately, it would not be possible to explain the emergence of the problem, its (re)definitions, and shifting modes of (sometimes partial, sometimes failed) resolutions in different historical periods. On this basis, the ups and downs of national programmes, plans and projects emerging in the Argentinian policy agenda were traced during five moments in time (1930-1944; 1945-1955; 1956-1975; 1976-2002; 2003-2015). It is assumed that, rather than a sequence of completely divergent discourses, in the complex process of production of these programmes, plans and projects, there are dominant features that, employing previous discourses and theoretical elaborations from other contexts, evolve over time (cf. Foucault, 2009: 8).

1.6. Outline of the Thesis

In order to appreciate the structure of this dissertation, a short description of purpose and content of each chapter is given underneath.

In order to render the specific period under study (2004-2015) more understandable, Chapters 2, 3 and 4 include a synopsis of the broader history of national planning policies as they got embedded in evolving development schemes through the 20th Century. Chapter 2, in particular, sheds light on three inertia-building mechanisms that shaped institutional path dependencies in a regularly changing planning environment which evolved in relation to broader structural transformations of society and creating new policy actors, institutions, knowledge and expertise that responded to State attempts to govern these transformations. Such exploration draws an implicit dialogue with Hillier (2015: 167), who pointed out the paradox that a system *"whose main purpose is to plan for change is underpinned by structures which impinge on capacity for change"*. In this line, the chapter sketches the historical development of planning policies in Argentina, exploring its institutional legacies in order to account for the effects of institutional change on policy discourse. The analysis points to how 'images of history', this is, historical narratives or discourses that shape what actors consider the status quo (Van Assche et al., 2014a), can shift and harden the boundaries around planning in the country. In this sense, the study of the Argentinian case highlights the power of urban, industrial, developmentalist and populist actors in shaping these 'images of history' that moulded the reactivation of the Argentinian state planning apparatus.

As territorial imbalances got established as a policy problem they became embedded in policy interventions and institutional settings. Chapter 3 studies the interaction between globally circulating discourses and the sense-making process of local policy actors. By focusing on different dimensions of discursive migrations, it develops a more nuanced understanding of how the re-emergence of spatial planning as a State-led project in Argentina made use of an Anglo-American academic discourse on communicative/collaborative planning to champion the cause of federal and participative planning at a time in which it was being undermined in academic circles. The chapter argues that although the understanding of collaboration in Argentinian planning policy was indeed strongly influenced by a transnational policy trend with provenance in the United States and the United Kingdom, cross-national policy transfer should not be seen as a unilateral movement of ideas but as interdependent and continuously influenced by local policy practices. As the transnational flow of academic and policy knowledge descends through the national level it needs to be made sense of in relation to that

particular governance context. Moreover, transnational flows of ideas are effective in shaping the political perception of planning problems and their plausible solutions precisely when (if) local actors manage to reassemble and reinterpret them as their own upon 'landing'. The understanding of territorial imbalances as a policy problem in Argentina is thereby continuously being re-represented and re-articulated by researchers, policy-makers and politicians as well as the general public. In this process, available policy ideas and solutions are all entwined, though not equally enduring or evenly influential due to the evolving governance context in which they develop.

Chapter 4 intends to deepen and refine the understanding of the role played by goal dependencies in the formation and transformation of an actor/institutions nexus which aims for governing planning policy problems. In doing so it critically assesses how the storylines that upheld territorial imbalances as a policy problem constrained the way the problem is understood, determining the legitimate institutional setting for dealing with it and affecting, in turn, which actors are included in the policy formation process. The chapter focuses on the politics of emergence of the Federal Council for Planning and Territorial Ordering (COFEPLAN), the most relevant organisation operating on the regulation of the political relationships which enabled infrastructure networks to appear and be known as a primary object of Argentinian spatial planning revival. Thus, by linking dependencies it shows how the historically accumulated collective experience in terms of steering and political coordination facilitated the enactment of the Council's role at the beginning of the 21st Century.

The thesis closes in chapter 5, where a critical interpretation and analysis of the results of this research is undertaken in the light of the specialised literature previously reviewed and the contrast between the scientific evidence produced here with that obtained in other investigations. At this point, the chapter focuses on the most relevant aspects of the study, analysing the implications of the research findings for the development of a broader understanding of governance evolution. The limitations of the research are also acknowledged, unforeseen findings are exposed, and ways in which the contributions of this thesis could be further developed in future research proposals are reflected upon.

CHAPTER 2

PATH

DEPENDENCIES

The Persistent Reinvention of State-led Planning Policies in Argentina: Exploring Path Dependencies and Policy Ruptures[1]

Abstract

This chapter was originally published in the journal Planning Perspectives and investigates the interplay between institutional continuities and transformations in the making of national planning policies in Argentina since the beginning of the 20th Century until 2015. Building upon evolutionary approaches to path dependence theory, in-depth interviews with planning experts and a re-mining of the historical planning literature in the country, the chapter argues that the disruptive and transformative role assigned to exogenous macro-scale events in official accounts of Argentinian planning history has been significant, yet regularly overestimated. The study first provides a concise review of these official narratives and, then, introduces an alternative interpretative key for the historical articulation of national planning policies. A shift of focus towards the underlying continuities in the power/knowledge nexus that shape institutional paths of policy evolutions reveals three inertia-building mechanisms: discursive assimilation, organizational solidification and expert adaptation. The inclusion of these mechanisms in historical policy analysis illustrates the potential of more nuanced depictions regarding how common standards to understand planning and govern policy-making unfold in/through complex contexts of institutional evolution. In this way, attentiveness to these elusive continuities in power/knowledge configurations may trigger or inform new and more acute narratives of the historical articulation of planning policy formations.

Keywords: path dependence; policy ruptures; institutional legacies; Argentina.

2.1. Introduction

The responses to the global financial crisis of 2008, the refugee crisis in Europe, 'Brexit', the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff in Brazil and the movement for independence in Catalonia are just some recent examples that show how quickly the guidelines and procedures organising social behaviour can change (Van Assche et al., 2014a; Bedock, 2017). Moreover, the collection of such examples refines the comprehension of institutions, defined here as dynamic systems of formal and informal rules that shape collective conduct, moral values and symbolic systems. The latter may also embody past and present political struggles and activate supportive or obstructive actions around them (Alexander, 2005). Quests to understand the reasons why and the ways in which new sets of institutions emerge, endure and change over time followed these events (Bleich, 2006). Contemporary planning politics

---

became particularly telling in this field, as *"an institutionalised construct which has assembled over time under various ideological influences"* (Sheperd, 2018: 2). Concurrently, burgeoning debates on how evolutionary processes of institutional transformation contribute to shaping new planning ideologies, their reification in policy documents, and the ensuing stories of their making and unmaking (Cleaver, 2012; Beuenen et al., 2015; De Roo & Hillier, 2016). This chapter seeks to engage in this ongoing discussion by bringing new insights into the links between the dynamics of institutional continuity and change and the messy processes of policy-making in Argentinian planning. The wide range of policy shifts and the repeated implementation failures experienced by Argentina since the 20th Century provide fertile ground for the analysis.

Historical planning literature has often been inclined to describe policy ruptures as discontinuities affecting the macro-level of institutional design, usually followed by periods of intense activity through which the policy-making cycle is set back in motion (Castells, 1983; Flyvbjerg, 1998; Hodgson, 2006; Jakola, 2016; Njoh, 2006). Research under this theme has accounted for reforms and adjustments in planning institutions in several European countries, such as the Netherlands (Zonneveld, 2005; Nadin & Stead, 2008), the United Kingdom (Cullingworth & Nadin, 2006; Tewdwr-Jones, 2012), France and Germany (Waterhout et al., 2013). In Argentina, these works feature in the period after the Second World War (1939–1945), stressing the close links between the rise of the 'Welfare State' and the extensive creation of central planning mythologies (Elena, 2005; Jáuregui, 2005; Gómez, 2009; Müller, 2013). However, this focus tends to overlook, obscure and blur the historical-political processes by which the national planning system self-transforms itself from within. Moreover, this viewpoint glosses over the mechanisms that slow down institutional evolution and contributes to perpetuate selected forms of knowledge, ideas and practices in policy discourse (Thelen, 2009; Mahoney & Thelen, 2010; Patterson et al., 2017; Van Assche et al., 2014a). This chapter therefore aims to enrich the development of an evolutionary perspective on path dependence (Boschma, 2010; Martin & Sunley, 2006, 2010; Scott, 2006; Van Assche et al., 2014a) by analysing the continuities and institutional changes that have shaped the making of planning policies in Argentina.

This assessment of the historical development of planning in Argentina first reconstructs the succession of national planning policies during five periods usually recognised in official reports: 1930–1945; 1945–1955; 1960–1975; 1976–2002 and 2004–2015. It then briefly characterises the dominant planning ideologies in each of these periods before analysing their co-evolution with the spatial outcomes of earlier implementation processes. At the same time, the chapter reflects on how the shifting depiction of socio-spatial problems to which these policies should respond resonates with the constant adaptation to new international trends in planning. Finally, based on these empirical observations, the chapter presents three inertia-building mechanisms: discursive assimilations, organisational solidification and expert adaptation. These mechanisms are relevant since their coordinated functioning contributes to delineating the ways in which planning policy problems are constructed and perceived, as well as the range of social, technical and politically feasible responses. In this way, by making the complex link between institutional continuity and change that shapes the set of planning policy choices more transparent, these mechanisms can become a valuable analytical tool to further develop path dependence thinking.

2.2. Conceptualising Path Dependencies and Critical Junctures

The notion of path dependence has spread and progressively gained momentum in the social sciences, and particularly in political science (North, 1990, 2005; Pierson, 2000; Greener, 2005; Peters et al., 2005), economic geography (Boschma & Lambooy, 1999; Hassink, 2005) and institutional economics (David, 1994, 2001; Dopfer, 1991; Strambach, 2010; Sydow et al., 2009), since the 1990s. Due to this broad diffusion, there is a wide range of conceptualisations and applications of path dependence regarded as legitimate in contemporary academic literature. Key discussions have revolved around whether path dependence is a pervasive property or rather a rare phenomenon (Vergne & Durand, 2010); if a new path starts as a result of structural processes or due to contingent events (David, 1985; De Rond & Thiétart, 2007; Goldstone, 1998; Pierson, 2000; Sydow et al., 2009); and, if the perceived irreversibility associated with historically accumulated experiences is an inherent or auxiliary condition to delimit path-dependent processes (Schreyögg et al., 2011; Vergne & Durand, 2011). Consequently, some scholars see path dependencies as self-reproducing sequences in which initial moves in one particular direction enhance the likelihood of further movement in that same direction either by increasing the legitimacy (Orren, 1991), the functionality (Wallerstein, 1974) or the supporting power structure (Roy, 1999) of the results sought. On the other hand, other researchers believe that a system can be considered path-dependent when the pattern through which the results take shape is determined both by predictable actions and random intermediate events, regardless of any initial condition (Goldstone, 1998). In sum, path dependencies can be manifold and different definitions can be found in literature, most of which recognise that 'history matters' and refer to restrictions regarding the set of options available in decision-making (North, 2005).

In this chapter, path dependence is defined as the legacies from the past that influence the current reproduction of the structures of governance and shape the range and course of future options for the self-transformation of ideologies, actors and expertise (Callon, 1991; North, 2005; Van Assche, Duineveld, Beunen & Teampău, 2011; Van Assche et al., 2014a). These legacies can be limiting, but they can also be productive and help to explain the lack of change as well as the space and scope for new policy directions. Paths can be altered even against the force of conservative counter-pressures in place, but they cannot be entirely undone or fully repeated insofar as every new choice contributes transformations to the route along the way. Moreover, path dependencies can take shape through the presence/absence of certain actors/institutions and evolve in their dialectic interaction. The boundaries of such dynamics of inclusion/exclusion are recurrently redrawn in close relation to the shifting recombination of new, old and hybrid discursive components of policy decisions. Consequently, the evolving configuration of power/knowledge can also function as a legacy that ingrains the set of legitimate actors and prompts the following manoeuvres in institutional development. Thus, path dependence has to be understood against the background of the shifts in actor/institution and power/knowledge configurations which, in turn, allow conflicting views on reality to exist and develop. From this viewpoint, the process of policy formation can be perceived, then, as a continuous adaptation of shifting power/knowledge configurations to new discursive environments (Beunen & Duineveld, 2010).

Following Foucault, power and knowledge are understood here as a dialectical nexus inextricably articulated: the construction of a field of knowledge always requires the exercise

of power in the same way as power necessitates knowledge to legitimise itself (Foucalut, 1979, 1994). This nexus is (re)produced through contested views of reality in which the past and the future are unavoidably valued in the light of the present (Flyvbjerg, 1998). It is through the conflict between these different world-views that ideological shifts can appear and these configurations can be transformed. Thus, the forces at work in power/knowledge need to be explored together with the analysis of the dynamics of actor/networks, as their co-evolution is a key driver in the formation of governance paths. Such co-evolution of power/knowledge and actor/institutions can be reoriented or reinforced at critical junctures that mark the path of discursive worlds and structure their dynamic (Van Assche & Hornidge, 2015).

Critical junctures are relatively brief phases of heightened contingency during which the structural supports sustaining the institutional *status quo* are significantly relaxed and more feverish policy activity becomes possible (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007). The incertitude that characterises these events can provoke the collapse of the policy cycle, but also creates the possibility for previously improbable policy orientations to emerge, and for new outcomes to endure over time (Roos & Zaun, 2016). Thus, critical junctures operate as windows of opportunity for action, thrown open by shifts in the prevailing power/knowledge structures (Ebbinghaus, 2005; Kindgon, 1984). These disruptive events can be seen as landmarks in the organisation of Argentinian planning history insofar as they result in major changes to the material and symbolic dimensions of the national planning system. However, since the embedding in a path does not mean being completely restricted by it, the factors constraining institutional evolution also allow for a certain degree of adaptability (Garud & Karnøe, 2001; Schienstock, 2007; Van Assche et al., 2014a). In this view, the continuity of planning institutions is highly dependent on the particularities of the context and, thus, may or may not be altered by sudden changes in social expectations (e.g., a political crisis or an economic recession) often associated with the notion of critical junctures.

These theoretical approaches, applied critically, provide clues with which to question the organising role assigned to major discontinuities in the self-perception of the Argentinian planning system. Moreover, these lenses support inquiries into both particular excluded historical events or actors, and the mechanisms that make these exclusions possible. Following this rationale, the formation of actor coalitions to renegotiate and rectify or to endorse and perpetuate principles, roles, goals or purposes of a given set of institutions gains relevance as a main driver of institutional evolution (Thelen, 2003).

2.3. Methodology

The method of process tracing fits this chapter's focus on the history of planning policies and their institutional pathways of development in Argentina (Bennett & Checkel, 2014). In this case, the analysis starts in the early 20th Century. The section below analyses how a particular scientific-juridical complex emerged, evolved, was partially reformed, dismantled and, finally, revived to restore planning as a strong State programme at the beginning of the 21st Century. The section draws from the five-volume compendium of the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'*, produced between 2004 and 2015, in which the historical

background of Argentinian planning policies, plans and projects was officially compiled. The section characterises the various phases of the policy formation route under analysis and ascribe them to the historical-political processes with which they correspond (Selbmann, 2015). Complementing the latter are academic articles, specialised books and official reports, in an attempt to capture the various meanings assigned to planning at the times these policies were implemented.

The politics of emergence, stabilisation and subsequent reform of State-led planning policies are examined for each period. Additionally, the section considers the expert profile of the leading actors; their power (or lack thereof) to define the problems at stake and bring about institutional change; and their capacity for further action in relation to the economic, social, and political resources under their command (Greenwood & Hinnings, 1996; Sako & Kotosaka, 2012). Reference is made to a set of 23 in-depth interviews with local, national and international experts working for organisations linked to different scales of Argentinian planning projects. The diverging perspectives in these interviews provide more details with which to detect the associations and deviations between the prevailing planning ideologies of each period and the emerging trends expressed in the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'* (2004–2015). All interviews were confidential, and the names of interviewees are withheld by mutual agreement. Although all the data from the interviews were considered in the analysis, the chapter only explicitly refers to some of them, selected for their clarity to illustrate specific arguments.

2.4. The Rise and Fall of State-led Planning Policies in Argentina

This section traces the trajectories of national planning policies in Argentina, according to the self-descriptions of official planning agencies and supporting academic literature. It highlights, and is simultaneously structured by, the crucial moments of policy rupture and institutional adaptation from which new fashionable styles of planning were adopted. This has shaped a grand narrative of development in the country.

2.4.1. The Beginnings: From Urban Renewal to Economic Regulatory Projects (1890–1945)

The Argentinian State began to promote planning as an effective instrument to mitigate the effects of economic fluctuations and coordinate medium and long-term public policies after the First World War (1914–1918) (Gómez & Lesta, 2008). Since then, the State's capacity to govern the country progressively strengthened, under the inspiration of the Western responses to the global financial crisis of 1929 and the novelty of an emerging centralised socialist economy in the USSR (Cabrales Barajas, 2002). These major political and economic changes would transform both the institutional conditions and economic incentives to attempt a centralised reorganisation of the productive structure of the country, based on the export of agricultural products (Vaca Ávila, 2010). In this context, the first governmental effort to develop a national planning policy was the 'Plan of Economic Action' (Settimi & Audino, 2008).

The 'Plan of Economic Action' (1933)

The 1933 'Plan of Economic Action' was the first expression of 'defensive interventionism' (Oría, 1944), adopted by the Argentinian government in response to the global financial crisis of 1929. This plan, was made by the government with the awareness of its grave responsibility and on the understanding that a long and intense crisis like this one, which could affect the whole structure of the nation, could not be defeated by the traditional norms of administrative action (Cordone, 2010).

Raúl Prebisch (1901–1986), author of the plan, described it as *"a Keynesian plan for the expansion of the economy, controlling foreign trade with a very selective exchange policy"* (González & Pollock, 1991). Thus, faced with the post-crisis scenario, the national government sought to broaden its influence on the economic performance of the country through the control of the production, distribution, import and export of agricultural goods; price control; and, the regulation of the labour market. In addition, the plan aimed to absorb the growing urban unemployment through public works programmes that, by reactivating dynamic economic sectors, would contribute, in turn, to promoting national production and boosting domestic demand (Gómez, 2009; Gómez & Tchordonkian, 2013). Accordingly, the growing intervention of the State also demanded the creation of a wide range of public agencies, including the National Meat Board; the National Grain Board; the Central Bank; the Exchange Control Commission; and, the Raw Materials Office (Cordone, 2010).

The 'Plan Pinedo' (1940)

In spite of the limited success of its predecessor, a new plan developed under the influence of Prebisch was presented in 1940. The 'Plan Pinedo' —named after its main promoter, the Finance Minister Federico Pinedo (1895–1971)— sought to complement primary production by promoting industrialisation. The industrial strategy was based on the exploitation of raw materials to replace supplies that were not available in war time; the diversification of the production of goods with export potential; and, the stimulation of domestic demand. This strategy sought to neutralise the undesired effects of previous models, notably by increasing exports so as to generate foreign currency. In turn, the authors of the plan encouraged the opening of the economy as a strategy to favour the emergence of 'natural industries' associated with raw materials (Llach, 2004). Thus, referring to the shift from stimulating agricultural exports towards an active role of the State in the development of the industry (Caravaca, 2011; Rocchi, 1998), in 1940 the economist Alejandro Bunge (1880–1943) affirmed:

> *Argentina is a country to be built (...). Livestock, agriculture and railroads reached their culmination and little can be expected from them in terms of further development. (...) Now begins the period of industrialisation, on the one hand, and of construction, on the other* (Cordone, 2010).

Although the rejection of the Plan by the National Congress and the consequent resignation of Pinedo marked the end of this period, the perception that the State had a central role to play in planning would last. New representations about the public-private relations began to manifest themselves, legitimising the institutional transformations that would slowly take shape regardless of the political rejection, theoretical vagueness and inadequate

implementation of the plans (Berrotarán, 2003). The military governments of the time, imbued with the emerging political agenda of the 'Cold War', would give planning a strong bias towards national security. The industrialisation process promoted through these plans – deeply rooted in a nationalist discourse– prioritised the defence sector and the State monopoly on the development of 'heavy industries' (e.g., iron, steel, coal and petrochemicals) (Katz & Kosacoff, 1998). Urban growth was explained by migrations from rural areas and small cities to large urban agglomerations, essentially to the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires (AMBA) (Rapoport, 2007).

2.4.2. The 'Golden Age' of Argentinian Planning (1945–1975)

The 'Golden Age' of planning in Argentina was demarcated by a self-defined period of 'modernisation' that coincided with the reconstruction of Western Europe after the Second World War (De Mattos, 2004; Gómez, 2009; Vistalli, 1948). During this period planning was mainly focused on two five-years plans implemented from 1947 until the coup *d'état* of 1955. These plans were aimed at the coordination of public works, oriented to increase economic productivity and mitigate the negative effects of previous economic policies (Müller, 2011). Centralisation was then seen as an innovative strategy; consistent with the need for policy integration while public works were distributed throughout the country; in line with international trends; and, compatible with the ideal for comprehensive national governance (Gómez & Lesta, 2008).

Although the architecture of the plans was considered rational, issues that could not be solved solely by technical action began to gain momentum (Bernazza, 2004). The plans, which were multi-temporal in their scope, were perceived in a range of ways; planning was also supposed to express a set of deep-seated beliefs about identity, desires, fears and well-being. Thus, the projects, emotions, feelings and convictions of an imagined target community would be included in the foundations of any planning policy proposed by the government (Zusman & Minvielle, 1995). Within this scenario, the cartographic representations approved by the Military Geographical Institute (IGM), the organisation in charge of regulating the official cartography of the country, became a powerful device which produced an ideological, political and pedagogical narrative associated with territorial nationalism (Jaramillo, 2012). By influencing the ways of visualising and understanding the national territory, IGM became an institutional body which defended territorial claims at an international level whilst also legitimising the political project in power.

The Modernisation Period: First and Second Five-Year Plan (1947–1955).

The *First Five-Year Plan* (1947–1951) was presented as a guide for public management, and a step forward for national planning in terms of duration, degree of implementation and comprehensiveness in comparison to pre-war projects (Under-secretariat of Territorial Planning of Public Investment, 2015). The plan aimed to promote economic independence, social peace and better living conditions for the working class including public health, education and foreign trade, among other topics (Perón, 1946). The nationalisation of railway, gas and communications companies was one of the most important measures of the period due to their strategic role and the need to increase their productivity. Railway lines belonging to British and French companies were nationalised between 1946 and 1948, new

lines were built and the railway network was extended (Ortiz, 1955). The development and consolidation of the industrial sector by means of credit, tax benefits or export subsidies would also receive special emphasis. In addition, the number of beneficiaries of sewage services was increased, the supply of running water was expanded and electric, hydroelectric and thermal power plants were built. An urban planning professor who was consulted about planning projects in the country during this period stated that:

> [Some of] *the planning experiences in Argentina in the 1940s and 1950s,* [were] *related to the installation of hydroelectric dams and largely operated with a logic analogous to the watershed planning approach applied in the Tennessee Valley in 1933, with the world economic crisis as its context.*

The *Second Five-Year Plan* (1952–1955), in turn, was regarded as *"the social and economic policy roadmap for* [President Juan Domingo Perón (1895–1974)] *second presidential term"* (Elena, 2005). This plan took comprehensiveness further, broadening its goals to social and economic action, trade and finance, infrastructure and the internal organisation of the State. Emphasising the opportunities created by a protected domestic market, the plan encouraged capital investments in the industrial and energy sectors. In those years, the tendency to associate industrialisation with socio-economic development had intensified as the import substitution industrialisation (ISI) strategy expanded. Thus, these plans prioritised the creation of conditions for self-sufficiency in the production of raw materials (aluminium, steel, petrochemicals), the development of major energy generation projects and the expansion of infrastructure networks. The industrial growth promoted, in turn, the technification in the agricultural sector through technical training, the provision of fertilisers and pesticides and the availability of new machinery (Rapoport, 2007). The agricultural sector therefore received greater stimulus, compared to the *First Five-Year Plan*, by attempting to increase its productivity and thereby to improve the balance of external trade by increasing exportable foodstuffs. In addition, from the political point of view, between 1951 and 1955, nine areas that still remained under the tutelage of the national State obtained the legal status of provinces. Thus, not surprisingly, the *Second Five-Year Plan* was considered *"a comprehensive plan whose aims also transcend the social-economic, reaching cultural, military and political objectives"* (Cos Cardoso, 1954: 7).

During this period of fierce dispute both within the government and between economic sectors, the gap between the technical necessities and possible political achievements became evident, exposing the relevance of politics in the formation of planning policies (Berrotarán, 2003). In this context, repeated implementation failures, the consolidation of government-protected monopolies and persistent political and macro-economic crises ended up undermining the image of State omnipresence (Gómez & Lesta, 2008). The exclusion of key organisations from decision-making, the limited flexibility and the restricted articulation with interested parties (e.g., urban developers, landowners, construction companies) formed the central criticisms of this planning model (Under-secretariat of Territorial Planning of Public Investment, 2015). Furthermore, critics also stressed the use of concepts and ideas that were borrowed from developed countries, but disconnected from the political, social, economic and cultural specificities of a developing country such as Argentina (Jáuregui, 2005; Sunkel, 1970). Thus, the *Second Five-Year Plan* would be abruptly interrupted in 1955, when the

political authorities that assumed power through a new military coup *d'état* dissolved the planning agencies as part of the dismantlement of the Peronist state apparatus. The Peronist 'hypertrophic' state apparatus had become part of the problem rather than the solution (Evans, 1996; Grugel & Riggirozzi, 2009).

2.4.3. The Transitional Period: The State as a Negotiator (1960–1975)

In the brief period prior to the government of Arturo Frondizi (1958–1962), the involvement of the State in planning was rolled back, the privatisation of State-owned companies was encouraged and the relationship with the Paris Club, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Development and Reconstruction as financing sources was strengthened (Tereschuk, 2007). However, at the beginning of the 1960s, in view of the strong economic fluctuations, the tendency to consider that long-term development had to be planned would be reactivated. External assistance was also stimulated insofar as it would provide technical expertise. Thus, new institutions and economic measures would extend the range of State intervention to face technical-productive problems, under the academic sponsorship and political prestige of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) (Jáuregui, 2005). From the perspective of the Commission, government policy and actions were exclusively technical matters and, thus, democratic negotiation as a fundamental political dimension of planning remained absent (Bernazza, 2004). The National Development Commission (CONADE) was created in this period to promote the training of economists and other professionals in the ECLAC's theoretical approach on the strategic relevance of innovation and technology transfer (Taroncher, 2009). The techno-bureaucratic power configuration that characterised this period was partially sustained on the approval of an agreement with Harvard University to receive advice and human resources trained in short and long term planning (Jáuregui, 2005). This agreement created the Advisory Service on Development as an internal department of CONADE, and the majority of its employees were highly qualified personnel. In addition, and as a result of the expansion of the exact, economic and social sciences, a large group of professionals integrated the council in various positions and roles (Neiburg & Plotkin, 2004).

This new reinvention of planning in Argentina was also sponsored by the 'Alliance for Progress', a plan for US aid to Latin America supported by Kennedy's administration in 1961 meant to prevent a 'contagion effect' after Cuban revolution's success (Morgenfeld, 2012). Promoting planning as a legitimate instrument of national governments, the plan provided funding to stimulate economic, political and social measures oriented to redistribute economic wealth and improve the living standards for the working class (Thorp, 2000). In those years, the negative spatial effects of an accelerated and disorganised urbanisation process —driven by the massive migration of rural dwellers and the concentration of economic growth in the largest cities— became noticeable to local planners. Against this background, decision-makers began to favour the strategy of encouraging industrial relocation through the creation of 'development poles' (Kuper et al., 2010).

The National Development and Security Plan of 1971 established a series of development poles with the aim of diminishing regional imbalances and boosting national production (Cordone, 2010). The strategy of the development poles was based on the creation of industries subsidised by the State to be located in peripheral regions. These efforts were to

---

be concentrated on energising activities, which, allegedly, would generate productive linkages and ensure the full formation of an integrated national market. This policy was particularly important in Patagonia, the southernmost region of the country, due to the supposed need to protect the area from neighbouring countries or external powers through population settlement. Although it was expected that these poles would trigger concentric waves of growth, in fact, they were unable to generate articulations with their surroundings and ended up functioning as poles of attraction (Pérez Alvarez, 2016). Exemplifying the relevance of the theory of development poles in Argentina during the 1960s and early 1970s, one of the experts interviewed stated:

> *A very classic Argentinian case of a development pole is ALUAR, an aluminium factory that was located in Puerto Madryn and which received substantial State investment during the military dictatorship of* [Juan Carlos] *Onganía (1966–1970).* [This experience represented] *a tremendous work, including the Futaleufú dam and* [the laying of lines for] *electric transmission of 600 kilometres, from Futaleufú to Puerto Madryn.* […] *All this to promote economic development, not forgetting the goal of stimulating settlements in the north of Patagonia.*

The technocratic and top-down mode of operation constituted the main criticism of the Argentinian planning system in this period (Fernández, 2015). In addition, the absence of general regulatory frameworks that prevented planning projects from being deployed outside the set of policies specifically meant to encourage industrialisation was widely questioned (Clichevsky & Rofman, 1989). Moreover, the lack of an integral perspective to guide spatial transformation processes and the administrative inability to respond to rapidly changing socio-economic conditions were also identified as impediments (Marengo, 2008). In this scenario, the implementation of planning policies through highly complex centralised organisations would be suspended after the 1973 International Oil Crisis. Again, as had already happened during previous setbacks, highly qualified personnel emigrated and government-funded infrastructure mega-projects were significantly reduced (Reese, 2006; Reese & Catenazzi, 2011).

2.4.4. The Triennial Plan for Reconstruction and National Liberation (1974–1977)

In December 1973, at the beginning of his third presidency, Perón presented the 'Triennial Plan for Reconstruction and National Liberation'. The document expressed the economic strategy of Perón's political project, based on strengthening the presence of the government in order to change the production and distribution structures of the country after the Oil Crisis. First, the plan proposed State intervention to enhance the prospects of national capital companies and stimulate autonomous economic growth. Inflation containment objectives, economic growth and improving the quality of life through a better distribution of income were amongst the key objectives (Leiva Lavalle, 2010). Additionally, the plan aimed to create new markets, particularly through the reinforcement of trade links with the communist countries of Eastern Europe. The political authorities tried to legitimise these projects through agreements signed with governors and the support of the General Confederation of Labour (CGT), an organisation that brought together representatives of the most important national

trade unions, thereby re-enacting the 'politics of concertation' that characterised the five-year plans of the second post-war period.

This plan was an integral planning project since it sought to interpret the Argentinian society of the time and, from there, to propose several intervention routes in the social, political and economic spheres. Elements of normative planning coexisted with aspects of strategic planning, the former through centralised decision-making and prioritising expert opinion and the latter expressed in the search for consensus among the key sectors of the economy (Bernazza, 2004). This triennial plan, which was abandoned after President Perón's death in 1974, represented the 'last attempt at indicative planning' in the country (Leiva Lavalle, 2010). Although the National Institute of Economic Planning continued in force during the Military government, it was only responsible for the evaluation of short-term projects (Goldberg, 2004).

2.5. The Withdrawal of the State from National Planning Projects (1976–2003)

In 1977, shortly after Argentina suffered its sixth coup *d'état*, the military government approved a national planning project prepared by the recently created Ministry of Planning. However, the project did not thrive and, from that moment on, the role of the government would be limited to short-term interventions focused on evaluating the budgetary feasibility of public investment projects (Goldberg, 2004). The economic programme applied by the military dictatorship produced a complete revocation of the planning policies implemented during the previous period. The most relevant decisions included the elimination of the import substitution industrialisation strategy, the opening of the economy, the deregulation of markets and the privatisation of public companies (Fraschina, 2008). Thus, the cycle of apparent prosperity of State-led planning, initiated during the post-war period, would be followed by a phase of retraction, framed in a neo-liberal model that proposed a greater role for the market (Müller, 2011)

2.5.1. Planning during the 'Democratic Spring' of the 1980s and the Reinvigorated Influence of International Organisations

The return of democracy in Argentina with the election of Raúl Alfonsín (1927–2009) as president (1983–1989) took place in an unfavourable socio-economic context. In 1982 Latin America had to face a debt crisis following Mexico's inability to meet its payment due-dates and the subsequent refusal of international creditors to refinance loans (García Bernal, 1991). As a result, commercial banks reduced the number of new loans and demanded the intervention of the IMF. For its part, the IMF —together with the World Bank (WB)— aimed to transform Latin America into a full capitalist free-trade economy and advocated for austerity programmes that lowered total spending. In this context, the Minister of Economy, Juan Vital Sourrouille (b.1940), proposed the '*Guidelines for a growth strategy 1985–1989*'. This programme fomented economic growth based on exports and investments to move towards consensual development, rather than merely imposing administrative measures

(Goldberg, 2004). The document also expressed the need to control inflation in order to make the economic variables predictable and controllable. The '*National Development Plan 1987–1991*', launched soon after, defined itself as a proposal for the medium term and attributed the role of regulator of economic activity to the State. By this means the government aimed to solve the economic emergency while consolidating democracy and creating the basis for a prolonged period of political stability and social justice. The democratic approach of this plan retrieved the idea that a set of agreed objectives would provide greater coherence, certainty and effectiveness to the technical and programmatic instruments. Thus, planning re-emerged as an indispensable instrument to channel economic development (Cordone, 2010).

In light of the failure of its predecessors, in August 1988 the Alfonsín administration announced the so-called '*Plan Primavera*' in an attempt to reach a deal with the business sector to stabilise prices, control inflation and improve real wages (Calcagno, 1988). The plan helped raise foreign currency reserves and temporarily control inflation by offering high interest rates to international investors. However, the inability to sustain these interest rates; the unstable 'freezing' of prices; and, the strong delay in public tariffs would end up triggering a new inflationary escalation (Gambina, 2001). Moreover, the attempts to apply medium and long-term measures would collapse against a scenario of economic imbalances, strong distributive struggle and political uncertainty before the presidential campaign of 1989.

Although the planning efforts of the 1980s failed, they were relevant as new perspectives that had not been considered up till then began to gain technical and political momentum. The need for political bargaining and negotiation with private stakeholders and the idea that the State has a duty to regulate the economy through a fair and equitable distribution of goods, both regained its vigour during this period (Cordone, 2010). However, since the end of the decade, the regulatory role played by the State began to be associated with the deficit in national public accounts and institutional corruption, in part due to the frequent implementation failures and the meagre economic results obtained (Llairó, 2008). In this way, the end of the government of Alfonsín in 1989 would also imply the end of the National Institute of Economic Planning.

The role of empowered international financial organisations was further consolidated in the 1990s, through the implementation of three key tenets of the Washington Consensus [2] : liberalisation of international trade and capital markets; deregulation of internal labour markets and privatisation of public companies. In this scenario, government bodies centred on planning were formally eliminated in the face of pro-market reforms. Multilateral agencies also persuaded local experts to include policy elites through international training programmes and sponsored conferences. Thus, these organisations, along with influential international experts and think tanks, formed a powerful coalition that contributed to

---

2The concept was coined by the British economist John Williamson in an article published in 1989, stating a series of economic stabilisation policies and adjustment measures agreed upon by a set of Washington-based institutions – IMF and WB – as well as the US government and the Federal Reserve.

completing the developmental path initiated in the mid-1970s, modifying the State's position in relation to social welfare and the regulation of the economy. Consulted about the powerful influence of international financial organisations in this period, one of our interviewees responded:

> *Every report of the World Bank marks a technical-programmatic line on a specific topic; […] each one is a series of analyses on a theme, with recommendations to the national States. These recommendations concretely set a point, a certain moment of coercion on the delivery of loans. That is, the loan is granted only if the States follow the policies that the World Bank technically analysed as correct.*

2.5.2. The Nineties: Re-scaling Planning Projects into Local Development Plans

Despite the scenario described above, planning had some salient manifestations in the 'Local Development Plans' (LDPs) that flourished during the 1990s. Sponsored by international organisations (UNDP, OECD, WB), LDPs were presented as a strategy to maximise the potential returns of the transfer of power and resources to subnational tiers of government (Rodriguez Pose & Gill, 2003). The enthusiastic promotion of LDPs was based on the belief that decentralised planning policies would encourage more efficient and innovative interventions as they avoid central bureaucracies and are tailored to the needs and preferences of the citizens (Costamagna, 2007; 2015). This boost to local development was also accompanied by an ideological perspective on globalisation as a competitive opening, with a plethora of opportunities for actors, productive systems and cities, but in which the tensions and asymmetries of the local-global relationship were not considered. In addition, the limited autonomy of local governments meant that, despite the technical and financial support received from transnational organisations, national and provincial policies to stimulate local development were scarce, disjointed and with sustainability problems (Madoery, 2008). Thus, the new patterns of location of capital produced new interactions that accentuated regional imbalances between cities and recentralised decision-making power (García Delgado & Casalis, 2006). Moreover, decentralisation ended up strengthening the discretionary distribution of public resources *"linked to the political-electoral harmony between the national government and the particular subnational governments"* (Costamagna, 2007: 57). The social conflict generated by economic transformations and adjustment policies were transferred to the local scale and only a few cases (e.g., Rafaela, Bahia Blanca and Trelew) resulted in profound and long-lasting transformations at the level of cities or micro-regions (Díaz de Landa, 2002; García Delgado, 1997).

The government installed in December 1999 created the Ministry of Infrastructure and Housing (MIV), based on the detachment of the areas related to public works and services from the Ministry of Economy. This ministry included an Under-secretary responsible for the technical aspects of a Federal Infrastructure Plan (PFI). The plan was developed in close contact with the highest political authorities of the provincial governments in terms of public works and transport, reunited in the 'Inter-Provincial Council of Ministers of Public Works' (CIMOP). This innovative governance structure channelled state investments to each of the provinces, which were incorporated into an initial survey of national-scale projects. The novelty of the call to provincial governments brought media and political attention but, in fact, the plan was limited to listing projects, without prioritisation or technical debate on the

variety of demands. Despite these drawbacks, the experience was relevant as an attempt to build national political consensus on State investments and would also be an inspiration for the decision-making structure delineated for the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'* (2004–2015).

2.6. The Re-emergence of State-led Planning (2004–2015)

The complex interaction between the demands of an expanding civil society and established transnational corporate actors made the political environment seem fragmented, with more actors involved in decision-making. In this scenario, both PFI and CIMOP made a partial comeback together with the re-emergence of State-led national planning at the beginning of the 21st Century. The Federal Council for Planning and Territorial Ordering (COFEPLAN) positioned itself as the key organisation to build consensus between national and provincial governments at a time when 'federalism' was being emphasised in the political agenda (Müller, 2013). The reintroduction of the National Councils as a collective decision-making arena was based on the strong dependence on the political support of the provinces for planning projects at the national level. This need for provincial support was explained by their relative stability, compared to a national political situation marked by the succession of five presidents in less than two weeks (20/12/2001–1/1/2002) (Gatto & Cetrángolo, 2003; Wylde, 2011).

In 2004, with the consequences of the social, political, economic and financial collapse of 2001–2002 still being felt, the coalition in government initiated a *"post-crisis phase of development"* (Epstein & Pion-Berlin, 2006: 23). The robust economic recovery that followed the crisis ushered in a new era of State–market relations, rooted in a mix of statist development principles and a revival of post-war populism (Grugel & Riggirozzi, 2009; Wylde, 2011). Thus, while during the 1990s, the government's steering role in the macro-economy had seemed definitively extinct, the magnitude of the crisis of 2001/02[3] led to a public rejection of the policies that had prompted those neo-liberal ideals (Wylde, 2011). State investments in major infrastructure projects (routes, highways, railways, hydroelectric dams, pipelines) were again seen as a pillar of a national development policy, under the umbrella of the overarching concept of planning (Novick et al., 2007).

In 2008, after four years of work, the national planning agency, the Under-secretariat of Territorial Planning of the Public Investment (SSPTIP), presented the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'*. This agency considered planning as *"a set of ordered and coordinated plans, programmes, projects and decentralised local actions"* (Under-secretariat of Territorial Planning of Public Investment, 2010: 26) to be implemented by the national, provincial and municipal governments. Indeed, regarded as *"a process of federal consensus building, led by the National Government but supported by the participatory work of the Provincial Governments and their respective technical teams"*, (Under-secretariat of

---

3 E.g., a contraction of 10.9% of the domestic economy in 2002, a peak of 21.5% of unemployment and similar levels of underemployment.

Territorial Planning of Public Investment, 2010) the plan pinpointed territorial imbalances as the main problem to be tackled. Correspondingly, the plan assumed three main objectives: (1) to improve and sustain a balanced growth of productive activities, through investments in infrastructure and equipment; (2) to guarantee access to basic goods and services, promoting equitable regional development and enabling people to stay in their own regions, and; (3) to enhance natural and cultural heritage through integrated and responsible management (Under-secretariat of Territorial Planning of Public Investment, 2011). In practice, however, the plan resulted in an enumeration and prioritisation of indicative lists of national, provincial and local scale investment projects, with scarcely justified technical foundations and no strategic framework to articulate and unify decisions (Müller, 2011). In addition, aside from some particular cases (e.g., Mendoza, Balcarce), this neo-developmental period was characterised by a rather rhetorical reference to the notion of federal and participatory planning (Borras et al., 2016; Guardamagna, 2016). Although the guidelines for the spatial distribution of productive activities were aimed at socially inclusive projects, the plan maintained a strong re-industrialising and urban focus that obviated the potential of agriculture and rural life to boost national development. Thus, this new stage of State-led national planning also failed to break the historical pattern of territorial imbalances. On the one hand, the idea of competitive territories continued to be linked to strategic cities located in the Bi-Oceanic Corridor (Buenos Aires, Rosario, Mendoza). On the other, the 'development lag' of peripheral areas of the main urban centres, rural areas and urban regions of the north was reinforced compared to the rest of the country. Finally, in December 2015, the new political party in power decided to dismantle a large part of the planning administration– including the Ministry of Planning – after more than a decade of strong State support.

2.7. Blurred Argentinian Planning History: Veiled Continuities and Inertia Building Mechanisms

The previous sections described the relevance officially assigned to moments of rupture, exhibited in critical junctures associated with macro-economic and political crises. In spite of the foundational tone used in most of these policy documents (Navarro Floria, 2011), powerful, but largely ignored, continuities around the ideological bases that support the formation of planning policies occurred. Thus, with the cohesive role of these continuities as a background, this section focuses on introducing three inertia-building mechanisms. Examining these mechanisms can illuminate the need for more nuanced depictions of how the collective construction of common standards to shape and govern planning unfolds in/through complex contexts of institutional evolution. The section below characterises the three mechanisms, introduces their empirical underpinnings and analyses how they contributed to the creation of path dependencies in the Argentinian planning system.

2.7.1. The Strategic Adjustment of Discourses

The first inertia-building mechanism recognised when analysing the historical evolution of planning policies in Argentina is *discursive assimilation*. Discursive assimilation denotes the

effect of mobilising and fine-tuning meaning in order to reproduce ideological structures dominant elsewhere; legitimise emerging formal and informal organisational structures or empower scholarly informed values (Hogan & Tell, 2006). Discursive assimilations can reshape the theoretical margins of a topic, inspire new rules of coordination, and stimulate or discourage changes in stakeholder configurations. As such, narratives that were once detached from/coupled to the institutional context observed can be selectively re-categorised into culturally hybrid discourses, allowing core concepts, values and ideals to endure.

Seen through the lens of discursive assimilation, the evolution of the repertoire of political-administrative instruments to guide national planning illuminates the diverse ways and directions in which the conceptual limits of what is meant by 'planning' have been (re)delineated over time. A progressive re-codification of the political rhetoric that sustained State-led planning in order to include the possibility of intervening on diverse geographic scales, incorporate competing actors in decision-making and synthesise multiple socio-spatial demands can be observed from this perspective (Navarro Floria, 2011; Vaca Ávila, 2010). In addition, the persevering emphasis on urban districts as favoured spaces for planning actions, on the working classes as the target population, and on industrialisation as a prioritised development strategy can also be detected. By the same token, the institutional configuration that shaped the revival of planning at the beginning of the 21st Century can be better explained as a provisional manifestation of new and old components (proposals, ideas, actors, goals) in accordance with shifting re-combinations of acknowledged scientific voices. In this light, the legitimation of the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'* contained three key elements: a participatory narrative inspired on a collaborative discourse, fashionable in Anglo-American contexts; an organisational network loosely inspired on those of the five-year plans under post-war Peronism; and, the strategic engagement of provincial political representatives, re-enacting the decision-making platform from the 1990s.

2.7.2. Reformulating the Roles of Planning Experts

A second inertia-building mechanism identified during this study of the Argentinian case is *expert adaptation*. This term refers to the process(es) through which knowledgeable professionals adapt their role(s) within planning organisations in relative synchrony with the evolving cultural construction of institutional preferences and regardless of their specific qualifications. By efficiently re-tailoring their role(s) and positions in situations of uncertainty —such as critical junctures— these actors may maintain or restore their capacity to influence the preferences of decision-makers, even if they change over time (Blyth, 2002; Capoccia, 2015). The planning narratives endorsed by these key actors may become *"a managerially approved version of history"* (Martin, 2002: 251). On the other hand, experts can also use their knowledge to redraw the boundaries of the planners' ethos and undermine the power of competing actors. New actors can therefore emerge whilst existing ones can change in relation to the results of previous expert performances or in response to the actions of others (Van Assche et al., 2014a). The ability to (re)assemble diverging theoretical perspectives and deliver 'appropriate' techniques and procedures is, therefore, a central skill of experts. This viewpoint enables a better grasp of how experts contribute to redefine what it means to be a planner, shaping new ways of thinking, assessing policy directions and

delimiting which elements will be treated as part of its external environment (Duineveld et al, 2013).

Building on this insight, it is possible to analyse the 'limited' and 'sporadic' character of Argentinian planning policies up to the mid-1940s (Crot, 2006; Müller, 2011) in relation to the lack of qualified personnel and administrative authorities responsible for organising dialogue with and between interested parties (Gómez & Lesta, 2008; Matus, 1982). Hence, not surprisingly, the so-called 'Golden Age' of planning initiated after the second post-war period coincided with the creation of central planning offices and the inclusion of professionals trained in disciplines such as economics, engineering and social sciences. This professionalisation, in turn, would reinforce a 'truth effect' around the perception of planning as a rational and objective practice, aiming for comprehensiveness and generalisation. Consequently, the plans, programmes and projects of the time gained political support due to their scientific value as objective and technical instruments, capable of contributing to decision-making and anticipating macro-economic trends (Terán Troyano, 1996). These dynamics were further reproduced during the 1960s, when a new corpus of expert knowledge and professional profile gained relevance under the ideological sponsorship of international organisations such as ECLAC or ILPES and the financial requirements of the 'Alliance for Progress' as well as multilateral credit agencies (WB, IMF, IDB). Later, during the 1990s, an emerging technical and bureaucratic rationality influenced by the Washington Consensus served as scientific legitimation and ideological justification for the prioritisation of the local scale as the optimum level for planning projects. Finally, during the 21st Century revival of national planning, experts helped restore the old industrialist and urbanising focus while rhetorically engaging with participatory strategies in order to *"empower citizens and strengthen the demand for good governance"* (Monteferrario, 2015: 160). Summarising, by following expert knowledge evolution it is possible to better understand how the changes and continuities in professional profiles create a legacy of decisions officially admissible. Moreover, by enabling and restricting the range of future options, experts have also contributed to shape the path of institutional adaptation.

2.7.3. The Unifying Machinery of Organisations

The third mechanism, *organisational solidification*, accounts for the routine appeal to a relatively stable and predictable set of collective actors with the ability to influence the ideological bases, methods and procedures that govern daily operations and shape decisions in planning. Through this mechanism, already dominant agencies can further strengthen their power insofar as their knowledge, values and world-views become the accepted ways of reasoning and acting (Hillier, 2015). Organisations can manage to preserve and promote compliance with the 'rules of the game' that facilitate their own subsistence within a given institutional matrix (North, 1990; Pierson, 2000; Vergne & Durand, 2011). Solidification may thus work as a source of conservative endurance and prolong the culture of the organisation, even if it is considered inefficient. Conversely, the productive power of this unifying machinery reduces the internal ambiguity among participating organisations. Therefore, this set of collective actors can operate either as a hierarchical guidance for compliance, through canons and authoritative directions, or activate a joint endeavour for coordination in policy formation (Stone, 2012). Organisations can be therefore recognised

not only as potential 'carriers' of change but also as powerful 'guardians' of institutional continuities (Townley, 2002).

Among the wide variety of organisations active in the making of Argentinian planning policies, those born in the heat of the second post-war period[4] made a major contribution to the institutionalisation of planning as a legitimate State practice that was intended to become permanent (Falivene & Dalbosco, 2007). This strengthening presence was attuned to the new challenges and tensions assumed by the government and reflected a technical and bureaucratic rationality materialised through the emergence of central planning agencies (Navarro Floria, 2011; Prol, 2007). On the other hand, the influence of international organisations (IMF, WB) was reinforced from the 1960s onwards as the financial viability of the projects increasingly depended on their expenditures. By selectively (re)combining and mobilising influential discursive repertoires and enduring historical cues, these organisations managed to enhance the likelihood of conformity to the (re)creation of planning institutions in the ways they deemed appropriate. Likewise, the perception of successive failures as well as the changes in power alignments led to temporary rejections of these organisations but without necessarily bringing new legal mechanisms and/or normative frameworks to the fore.

2.8. Discussion and Conclusion

The organisation of the official history of Argentinian planning seems to have been inspired by those early path dependence approaches, to which *"the only realistic potential for change (...) is through an exogenous shock"* (Boas, 2007: 38). Macro-economic and political crises, in particular, appeared as radical disruptions to highlight the need for new State practices and the demand of increasingly specialised knowledge for the design of innovative institutional architectures. However, even if these shocks may play a significant role reflecting institutional change; slow and deliberate adaptive adjustments in the guiding principles that shape world-views, conducts or beliefs are equally relevant (Sako & Kotosaka, 2012; Thelen, 2003, 2004, 2009). Furthermore, if considered as being in a constant state of flux, all periods of apparent steadiness effectively mask the sources of institutional change (Sako & Kotosaka, 2012). Thus, where narratives of change raise barriers between historical periods characterised by distinguishable institutional logics, narratives of continuity are inclined to blur those barriers, demonstrating that institutional evolution always remains active.

Planning policies define their character based on the geo-historical path of the societies in which they are involved and the concrete political possibilities that determine the power games between stakeholders (Casparrino, 2008). In this light, the renaissance of planning in Argentina at the turn of the century can be re-addressed as a path-dependent process, blended and moulded (Panizza, 2005) in close relation to inherited cultural, aesthetic, political, ideological and economic standards. In this revival, the reactivation of the idea of urban social equality, oriented to the working classes as a collective (Wylde, 2011), replaced the State

---

4Planning historians often mention the National Post-war Council (CNP) (1944- 1946), the Technical Secretary of the Presidency (STeP) (1946-1949), the Ministry of Technical Affairs (MAT) (1949-1954) and the Secretary of Technical Affairs (SAT) (1954-1955).

emphasis on local and individual entrepreneurial initiatives that had been fashionable in neo-liberal periods. In doing so, the supposedly successful, scientific and participative image of post-war planning was strategically mobilised and re-assembled to sustain the construction of consensus around the central role of the State. In a similar vein, the reinvention of national planning agencies revitalised former decision-making structures in order to shape and manage governance practices that could enable political negotiation between different tiers of government. A formal planning education, in turn, remains limited to post-graduate training. By reproducing past privileges, architects, engineers and urban designers bring ideas, procedures and expectations from their own fields to define the criteria of 'truth' in the formation of planning policies. These experts ensure their long-term institutional survival by efficiently adjusting to an evolving narrative of development in which the political legitimacy of planning actions continues to be embedded.

This chapter originated from the idea that the literature on the historical development of planning policies can offer insights into how, why and with what effects particular configurations of power/knowledge emerge and strengthen to prevail over others, using path dependence as a theoretical lens. Evolutionary approaches to path dependence, in particular, have much to offer to scholars facing the challenges of studying this dynamic nexus. With this theoretical prism, the relationship between institutional continuity and change is not considered a sequential interaction or as being opposed to each other, but as two sides of the same coin (Selbmann, 2015). In this light, the chapter explored how layers of policy discourses and legitimised actors shaped the space for creativity and negotiation around the ways of thinking and governing planning. In so doing, it distinguished three inertia-building mechanisms that contributed to steering the formation of national planning policies but which also slowed the pace of institutional transformation, facilitated the narrowing of the range of legitimate actors and limited the scope of their actions. These mechanisms gain relevance once it is recognised that *"although a new dominant logic may arise as part of a change process, the previously dominant logic will continue to be an important factor in the field"* (Reay & Hinings, 2005: 377).

The mechanisms identified as being of vital importance to planning evolution are a function of the social and political history of planning in Argentina, as such, they therefore may not be equally relevant for planning in other contexts. By emphasising the role of official narratives and the key actors who (re)produce them, this study only exposes one side of the story. Further investigation will better understand how the historical evolution of spatial planning policies connects with the shifting understanding of the crucial problems and meanings assigned to the State and to its practices of governance. The coupling of the formation of State-led planning policies with the rhetoric of development appears to be key for grasping the genealogy of such aspirations in emerging countries like Argentina. Scholars interested in this topic could benefit from a deeper examination of the mingling of institutional dynamics and the evolving actor/network nexus that shape the paths of policy formation and institutional adaptation. In this sense, attention should be paid to the relation between the scope for collaborative decision-making, the conservative power of hegemonic interests and the openness to often-excluded groups. This broader perspective would go beyond the organising power of policy ruptures and could help trace recurring dynamics of (re)invention, imitation and repetition. This Argentinian case study's focus may clarify new

ways of addressing the frictions between an expanding liberal capitalism and the enduring legacies of the 'Welfare State'.

CHAPTER 3

INTER-

DEPENDENCIES
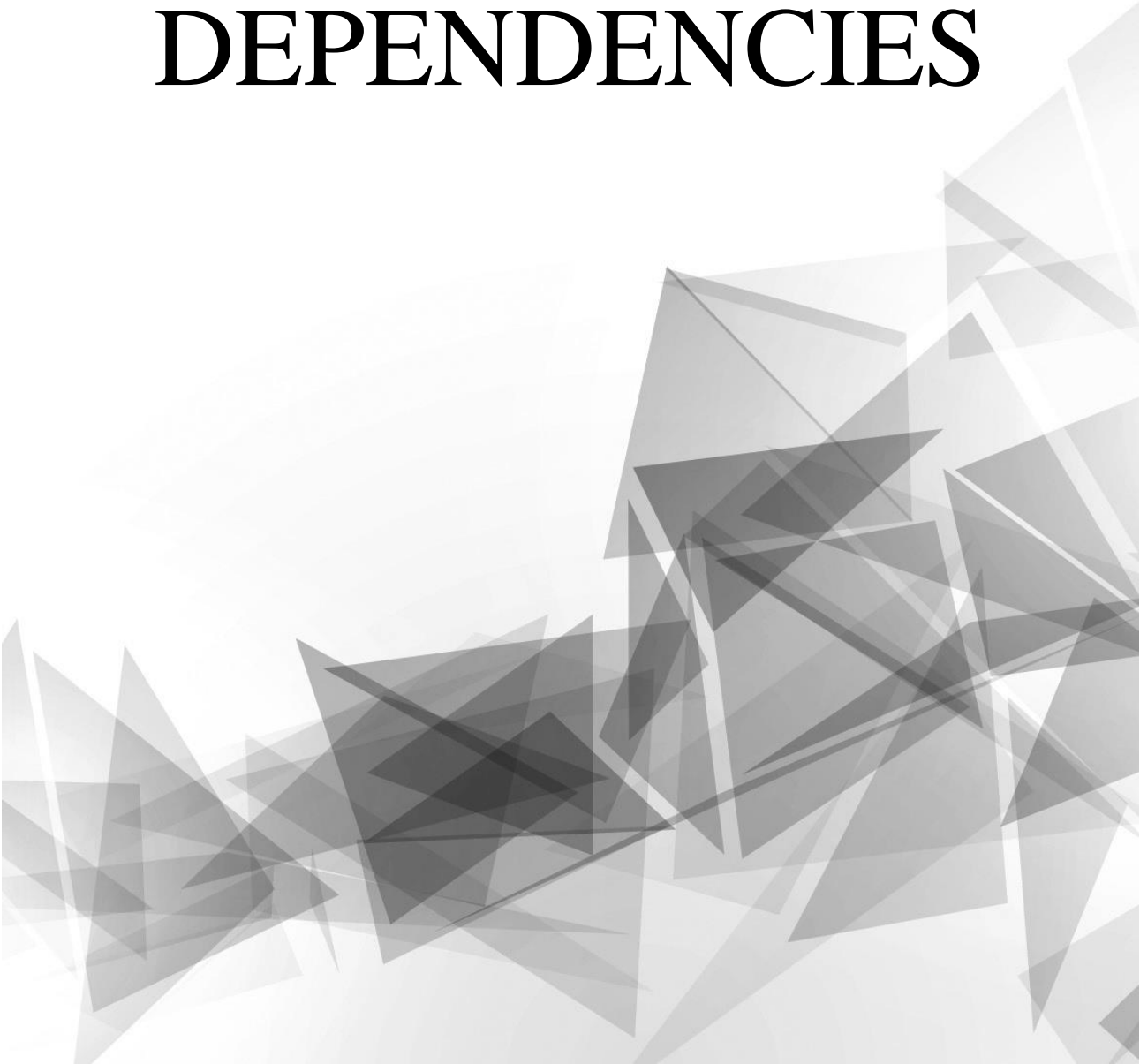
Transnational Circuits of Policy Knowledge and Discursive Migration.

The Formation and Transformation of Planning Policies in Argentina[5]

Abstract

In this chapter, originally published in the journal Environment and Planning C, the migration of academic and policy discourses that contributed to (de)legitimise the formation of planning policies in Argentina since the 1950s is analysed. The focus is on the communicative/collaborative rationality discourses emanating from Anglo-American academic circles that played a role in the revival of the Argentinian planning system between 2004 and 2015. An evolutionary approach to policy travel and policy learning is adopted, deploying the concepts of discursive migration and discursive configuration to better understand how ideas, people and goods/resources reinvent themselves when transnationally circulating policy knowledge takes root locally. The migration process in Argentina led to the reinforcement of prevalent coordination mechanisms, redirecting concerns and conflicts into governance structures already existing, involving players already present and forms of expertise already dominant. The migrating collaborative discourse (self) transformed in relation to the receiving governance environment, becoming an effective compliance-gaining technique, while national actors found ways to engage and discipline provinces they depended on more than before.

Keywords: Argentina, discursive migration, discursive configuration, planning policies, travelling ideas.

3.1. Introduction

Argentina, and planning in Argentina, was shaped by ideas, people and goods coming from abroad (Müller & Gómez, 2013). Local researchers were not too interested. The few studies available observe the transfer of building forms —large urban projects— as models of 'best practices' (Paz Jajamovich, 2012, 2013, 2016) and trace the international flows of experts, practices and ideas (Novick, 1992, 2003, 2009), focussing mainly on the periods 1850–1930 (Hardoy, 1987) and 1930– 1970 (Gorelik, 2017). This chapter enriches the universe of case studies based in Argentina by analysing the migration of academic and policy discourses that affected the formation and transformation of national planning policies since the 1950s onwards. Argentina, and its ongoing absorption and modification of policy and planning ideas, is instructive however in a broader sense. Its ongoing processes of policy learning,

---

---

with international input, in a context of repeated shocks yet strong path dependencies, can deepen the insight in policy learning, policy transfer and mobilities more generally.

Much of the foundational research on the migration of policies has been devoted to studying *"the diffusion of policy innovations within and between particular federal States and cities"* (Benson & Jordan, 2011: 366). However, in recent years, the literature increasingly recognises different streams of thought (for a synthesis, see: Porto de Oliveira & Pimenta de Faria, 2017). This expansion echoed technological advances that took place since the 1990s, facilitating the circulation of information and creating opportunities for communication between experts and decision-makers on a global scale (Harris & Moore, 2013). A significant part of the field is now concerned with the abstract dimension of travelling policies, incorporating the dynamics and effects of the exchange of ideas, concepts, metaphors, principles, world-views and other discursive aspects of transfers (Béland, 2009; Campbell, 2004; Goldstein & Keohane, 1993; Hall, 1993, 2020; Howlett & Rayner, 1995; James & Lodge, 2003; Kingdon, 2003; Surel, 2000). Thus, policy analysts, political scientists and geographers, among others, added new layers to the study of policy transfer, which can now be understood as: *"(...) a complex process that reworks places and policies in heterogeneous ways"* (Frisch, 2019: 14). The field has become more attentive to the relational connections of the evolving socio-institutional environment in/through which ongoing reinterpretations of policies take shape (Peck, 2011; Stein et al., 2017), ranging from a complete mimetic emulation to a loose inspiration and involving a wide set of actors.

In the research on policy transfer, the circulation of knowledge, the processes of policy formation and the practices of policy implementation are no longer considered a monopoly of nation States, but an interest shared by a much greater variety of 'transfer agents' (Stone, 2004). In line with this, an emerging body of work focuses on policy migrations from and within the South (see Stone et al., 2020). This literature has allowed us to overcome the consideration of the Global North as the only reference from which policy solutions emanate (Porto de Oliveira et al., 2019). Latin American researchers have been particularly prolific in this regard, like Osorio Gonnet (2015) in Chile; Milhorance (2014, 2016, 2018, 2020) in Brasil; Montero (2017a, b, c) and Silva Ardila (2020) in Colombia and, from Mexico, Pacheco Vega (2012). However, in spite of this profusion, the North continues to be looked at when it comes to valuing intellectual authority and professional expertise, legitimating normative standards, identifying key notions and selecting transferable policy models (Dezalay & Garth, 2002; Friedmann, 2011).

Against this background, in this chapter the migration of academic and policy discourses that contributed to (de)legitimise the formation of planning policies in Argentina since the 1950s is analysed. The aim is to grasp how inter-dependent dynamics of 'discursive migrations' and 'discursive configurations' contribute to giving new shapes, orientations and meanings to travelling knowledge. The chapter is structured as follows. In the next sections, an evolutionary perspective on policy travel is presented and the analytical tools and methodological strategy used in the chapter are introduced. Then, key discursive migrations that enabled and constrained different attempts for State-led planning in the country are traced. The chapter then explores how, at the turn of the century, a particular understanding of collaborative planning took shape around the formation of the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'* (hereafter PET, its Spanish acronym) and within the Argentinian governance context, in order to facilitate compliance with the reinvention of planning policies

as a central governmental programme. Finally, it explains how an approach to policy travel through the lenses of discursive migrations and discursive configurations can help us to rethink the productive role of the wider governance environment in/through which the generation and sharing of policy knowledge develop.

3.2. Discursive Migrations and Discursive Configurations

The term discursive migrations refers to *"the dissemination of concepts, images, narratives and narrative fragments to new contexts"* (Beunen et al., 2015: 338). This does not suggest a linear spreading of 'best' available options, streaming from one institutional and political setting to another in an oversimplified replication process, which rarely occurs (Peck & Theodore, 2010b; Porto de Oliveira & Pal, 2018). On the contrary, a focus on discursive migrations entails observing the selective reinforcement of certain assemblages of concepts, objects and policy actors as they co-evolve together with the policy landscapes through which they move (McCann, 2011; McCann & Ward, 2012; Peck, 2011).

Discursive migrations are entangled with the mobility of people and goods/resources and their inter-dependent relations need to be acknowledged to better understand the broader movements of circulation policy knowledge is placed in (Ward, 2002). People moving between organisations or holding meetings and goods/resources (from money to building forms) circulating from one place to another may create channels for introducing new elements that will affect the discursive configurations: collections of connected concepts and ideas hanging together through supporting semantic structures and forming networked structures that tend to (self)reproduce over time (Allan, 2018). Changes in discursive configurations and configurations of governance are not only triggered by discursive migrations but also by interactions, internal discussions, comparison with others, couplings and frictions with context.

These conceptual bases help to notice that knowledge circuits do not take shape in a socio-historical vacuum but in a context of cultural values, social norms, formal rules and established routines (Afforlderbach & Schulz, 2016; Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013; Park et al., 2016). The local background, its perceived social problems, dominant political culture and institutional settings constrain and enable the adaptation of these transnational circuits and thus need to be adequately weighted and scrutinised (McCann & Ward, 2013; Peck & Theodore, 2015). Policy travel and transformation takes place in a context of always shifting combinations of actors and (in)formal institutions, which then modifies what can be received and how it can be learned (Kooij et al., 2014; Van Assche, Duineveld & Beunen, 2014).

Addressing this evolving context of governance configurations implies, in turn, recognising that new actors, institutions, power relations, arenas and discourse can affect the mutation of existing discourse and its effects (as governance amplifies the effects of discourse through collective decisions). In this way, inspired by critical policy studies (Peck & Theodore, 2010b, 2015; McCann, 2011; McCann & Ward, 2011; McFarlane, 2010, 2011; Temenos & McCann, 2013), the chapter assumes a position sensitive to the politics of knowledge flows (Carolini et al., 2018; Stone et al., 2020). Thus, by illuminating the shift from 'hard' to 'soft' powers —and stressing the latter— in the sense-making process around the formation of Argentinian planning policies, the perspective introduced here better elucidates how policy

meaning is constantly being (re)negotiated. The chapter reveals how it happens in selective, contingent, socially constructed and politically embedded relations. Building on these basic insights, a new understanding of the patterns of continuity and discontinuity in governance is provided, where the Argentinian combination of disruptive shocks and strong path dependencies proves most revealing about transformation mechanisms in governance, and how they relate to openness for learning.

The scope for discursive migrations needs to be evaluated against the backdrop of the institutional structures in/through which the trajectories of mobilising agents develop, including the collection of interests at stake in the sense-making process (Stein et al., 2017).

3.2.1. Four Dimensions of Discursive Migration for Understanding the Effects of Policy Travel

The basis for understanding the effects of policy travel is the transformation of discourse and the additional changes it can trigger at the level of discursive configurations. These discursive configurations are partly influenced by discursive migrations and partly a result of the configurations changing themselves. Four dimensions of discursive migration of special interest in planning are distinguished: ideas, problems, methods and solutions.

1. *Ideas* refer to general planning discourses, often linked to broad political changes, which become noticeable when spotting the reference to similar notions, labels or conceptual frameworks for steering interventions. Written reports, published papers, academic programmes and conferences can be regarded as the most common examples in which this migration takes shape.

2. The dimension of *problems* addresses situations regarded as unwelcome in the domain of academic and policy discourses and that, therefore, need to be dealt with, which have been observed to travel across the world although they are context-specific (e.g., 'sprawl').

3. *Methods* are the systematic procedures constructed for accomplishing specific objectives. Among the specific ways of doing things that are deemed important in planning, the recent hegemony of social participation stands out, since this procedure has become widespread and is generally wield to try to manage what are basically political problems.

4. *Solutions* are the discourses that bring up means of overcoming a situation perceived as problematic. This can imply either a change at the level of broad planning ideas or in the methods dimension (e.g., bottom-up decision-making). At this level, perceived successful results in other contexts become the images and hopes that structure the discursive worlds of transfer agents.

These four dimensions of discursive migration will be used for analysing national-level planning policies deployed in Argentina.

3.3. Methods

To trace the trajectory of ideas and representations about planning and monitor the changing planning discourse in Argentina, discourse analysis and historical analysis are first used. The collection of empirical evidence was initially based on a re-mining of the historical planning literature produced in the country. The plans, programmes and projects promoted by the national State since the second post-war period were reviewed, identifying prevailing planning ideologies, dominant expert profiles and main spatial outcomes of policy implementation. Then, the compendium of seven volumes produced between 2004 and 2015 was delved into, where the Under-secretariat of Territorial Planning of Public Investment (hereafter SSPTIP, its Spanish acronym) organised the progress reports of PET: First advance report (2008); Bicentennial Edition (2010); Second advance report, books 1, 2, 3 and 4 (2011); Third advance report (2015). Related official reports, scholarly articles and other documents pertaining to the Argentinian case produced by various planning professionals nationally recognised were also scrutinised.

Following the logic of process tracing (Bennett & Checkel, 2015), in these sources the research sought to identify key agents operating at different scales, their evolving agendas at the local level and accompanying socio-political circumstances affecting the formation of plans, programmes and projects. These sources were complemented with participant observation in workshops and technical meetings where new policy orientations were debated and by turning to a series of 23 semi-structured interviews with key informants (technical consultants, external advisers, planning scholars and local planners). In this sense, the approach dialogues with the 'political ethnography of international diffusion' proposed by Porto de Oliveira (2017). It should be added here that many of the coordination problems facing policy-makers in the past, problems for which the revival of national level planning is one of the perceived solutions, result from a history of repeated socio-economic shocks. The focus is not the shocks themselves, but the unique combination of continuity and discontinuity in Argentinian policy and planning that creates the governance landscape in which policy learning takes place and where migrating discourses are transformed.

3.4. Discursive Migrations and Discursive Configurations in the History of Argentinian Planning

Although the main interest of this chapter is in the discursive migrations and discursive configurations that shaped the formation of national planning policies in the new millennium, the complexity of these processes cannot be understood without considering the history in which they develop. Therefore, before delving into the specifics of PET, the network of concepts and key narrative fragments that contributed to (dis)empower different State-led planning attempts in the country since the 1950s will be traced.

3.4.1. From Importing the Prestige of Paris as a 'Model City' to Emulating Theories of North American Economic Development

Discursive migrations have a long-standing dynamic in the field of planning policies in Argentina. Many foreign urban planners and landscape designers, mainly French, settled in Argentina (Thays) or visited it frequently (Bouvard) since the late 19th Century. In other cases, they were invited by local colleagues to give lectures or by municipal governments to participate in the elaboration of urban plans. Forestier (1924), Poete and Jaussely (1926), Lambert and LeCorbusier (1929), Agache (1930), Hegemann (1931) and Bardet (1949) are just a few examples. The most remembered of these exchanges is that of LeCorbusier and his Plan for Buenos Aires outlined in 1929, that two of his disciples (Ferrari Hardoy and Bonet) would try to implement, although without success, some years later. The Urbanisation Plan for Rosario —a port city located 300 km north of Buenos Aires— was also influenced by notions and procedures forged in France and the United States. The idea of expanding beyond the administrative limits of the city was inspired by the suppression of fortifications in the plan for the extension of Paris by Henri Prost and Eugène Hénard (Rigotti, 2014). The proposal for a central train station as a great gateway to the city resembled New York's Grand Central Station. Hegeman's project for the San Francisco Bay also influenced the design of the highway system, watershed sanitation, the delimitation of industrial districts and building regulations in Rosario (Crasemann Collins, 1995). At the broadest metaphorical level, the city was understood as a complex organism subjected to permanent and changing demands. The Urbanisation Plan for Rosario was understood as the scientific operation that would allow a continuous monitoring of the evolution of that organism.

At the national level, planning policies would initiate a phase of technocratic consolidation —as an important governmental ideology to guide the spatial organisation— in parallel with local expressions of the Keynesian-Fordist economic paradigm and under the procedural influence of the rational school of decision-making (Telechea & Zeolla, 2014). In order for this paradigm to function, a set of customs, internalised rules, technological resources, productive practices and socially accepted procedures were articulated with a strong belief in the steering capacity of the State. Industrial promotion and urbanisation went 'hand in hand' as both demanded the modernisation of economic, social, cultural and political structures and such complex transformation could only come from governmental initiatives. On the one hand, the industry was considered the only economic sector capable of improving living conditions by providing a salary to a growing mass of urban work seekers (Muzzini et al., 2016). Cities, on the other hand, were metaphorically compared to machines which could be regulated to perform more efficiently through planning.

Thus, moved by the successful reconstruction of post-war Europe, the formation of policies during the 'golden years' of planning in Argentina (1945–1975) was focused on 'efficient' and technologically 'rational' urban projects, aimed to organise the rapid urbanisation process (Friedmann, 1969). The creation of an internal market and the income redistribution strategy, both necessary for the consolidation of the industrial activity, legitimised the Keynesian State as an institution par excellence for the regulation of the development model (Gatto, 1989). In that model, the metropolitan region of Buenos Aires would prevail as a primary space for the concentration of industrial production, financial services, commerce

and therefore people. This scheme was reproduced in the provinces, configuring a national urban hierarchy based on one —or two at most— main urban nodes and a constellation of satellite towns, functionally dependent on the former (Linares et al., 2016). The expert role of José Figuerola, a former member of the dictatorial government of Primo de Rivera in Spain, would gain relevance in the shaping of a new discursive configuration around planning in this period (Rein, 2008). He is considered the main author of the first Five-Year Plan (1947–1952), formulated as a development and modernisation strategy to increase productivity.

In those years, international scholarship programmes provided a strong stimulus for scientific exchange, encouraging the mobility of Argentinian technicians who would then officiate as mediators and translators to make the initiatives and doctrines developed in the United States viable at the local level (Rigotti, 2014). As early as in 1932, the engineer and architect Angel Guido was granted a scholarship from the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation to conduct research on art and architecture in the United States. He contributed to the incorporation of principles and standards of North American normative planning into Argentinian urbanism. Another prominent expert is Jorge Enrique Hardoy, who studied at Harvard and used the Chicago education and research programme, and the experiences of the Puerto Rico Planning Board as a reference to introduce new ways of seeing the territory in Argentinian universities (Rigotti, 2014).

The conferences of the Pan American Union and the Pan American Congresses of Municipalities were key in the signing of agreements for the creation of planning boards in all the countries of the continent, which would take the strongly centralised policies and institutions of the 'New Deal' as a model (Ardao, 1986). The Inter-American Planning Society (SIAP), created in 1956, also played a fundamental role in expanding the assumptions and norms of the 'democratic conception' of North American planning in the rest of the continent. This society established its own Centre to promote the exchange of planners and students within the Americas with the intention of facilitating the social acceptance of planning and the recognition of the planning profession. In this context, in Rosario, the Institute of Architecture and Planning —IAyP— (1957–1961) was founded and later replaced by the Institute of Regional and Urban Planning of the Litoral —IPRUL— (1962–1965). The former was directed by Jorge Ferrari Hardoy, the latter was headed by Jorge Hardoy.

3.4.2. The Rise of Neoliberalism and the Neoconservative Disdain for Planning

The period between mid-1970s and until the social, political and economic breakdown of 2001/2002, was marked by the 1973 International Oil Crisis, the military coup of 1976 and the fall of the Keynesian-Fordist economic paradigm. The incipient rise of neoliberalism that followed was ideologically leveraged by the de-legitimisation of the role of the State, seen as a bureaucratic, inefficient structure, distant from the everyday life of the citizens and with slight capacity to boost economic growth and social development (Cristobo, 2009).

In this period, the discursive configuration that had for long portrayed planning as the perfect solution for the socio-spatial problems associated to industrialisation dynamics and urbanisation trends began to lose political support and explanatory power. Thus, while claims

for a smaller State expanded from both extremes of the political spectrum, a strong *'neoconservative disdain for planning'* (Albretchs, 2006: 1149), dominant in the Europe of the 1980s (Van Assche, Duineveld & Beunen, 2014), also spread to Argentina. In view of the foregoing, planning policies, understood as a lawfully-begotten government instrument to intervene in the organisation of the national territory, would be virtually absent until the end of the 20th Century.

The withdrawal of the State from its role as the main organiser of the spatial organisation of the country led to define the allocation of public investments in accordance with the demands from market-oriented actors (e.g., investors and urban developers). Complementing the expansion of the set of actors involved in planning, international financial organisations (e.g., World Bank and IMF) also strengthened their position as key transfer agents during this 30-year period. One of the scholars consulted describes their influence on agenda setting in this way:

> *'In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the IMF and the World Bank, together with the US Department of Treasury and the Wall Street financial complex, among others, set out an "adjustment for development" programme. The basic guidelines included a reform of the tax pressure (...) de-industrialisation, reduction of the State personnel, disinvestment in substitutive activities (...) the opening to foreign goods, foreign direct investment, and financial capitals (...) access to agricultural land to local and foreign capitals, generating a concentration of land on large farms'.*

By the turn of the century, the new paradigm of economic geography supported the idea of a globally consolidating knowledge-based economy (Hidalgo, 2004; Chen & Dahlman, 2005; OECD, 1996; World Bank, 1998, 2004) whose spatial dynamics would be better understood in relational terms. The migration of concepts and narrative fragments resonating with this discursive configuration into the Argentinian governance context led local planning experts to embrace a conception of the world as a fragmented competitive space.

Urban districts had always been considered favoured compared to rural spaces, but now they were also forced to compete and excel over others in order to attract international capital investments. In this light, increasing the 'competitiveness' and 'innovation capacity' of the national network of towns and cities became key drivers for the new territorial development strategy of Argentina. The consolidation of a supranational economic space (MERCOSUR) generated a new system of relations both within the country and with the rest of South America and, therefore, significant transformations in the logic of territorial organisation. In this new scheme, the gradual modification of the role of the regions and the mutations in the morphology and hierarchy of the national urban system stand out. The decentralisation of activities from Buenos Aires strengthened regional (Rosario, Bariloche, Comodoro Rivadavia) and provincial (Cordoba, Mendoza) capitals and enabled intermediate cities —between 20,000 and 200,000 inhabitants— to perform new functions as distribution and supply centres at the regional level. The revival of national planning policies at the beginning of the 21st Century was partially nourished from this discursive configuration and, expanding and adapting some of its key concepts, soon resulted in the publication of PET (García, 2018).

3.4.3. The Revitalisation of National Planning Policies in Argentina at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century

The reinvention of State-led planning in a context of higher complexity, knowledge demand, competition, uncertainty and fast institutional change required *"for the territories to become increasingly open and decentralised"* (Under-secretariat of Territorial Planning of Public Investment, 2008: 34). It was in this scenario that 'mobility', 'accessibility' and 'urban connectivity' grew into central concepts for re-organising a discursive configuration around Argentinian planning policies and development strategies. Consulted about the role of transnational financial organisations in endorsing the migration of these conceptual structures, a planning professor from the University of Buenos Aires responded:

> *'(...) the 2009 World Bank report called "A New Economic Geography" recommended that poor States should be encouraged or allowed to move towards higher population and business density. (...) what it is proposing is to let the migrations flow from the countryside to the cities, as the best suggestion for development.* [In addition,] *the opening of economic frontiers, greater international economic integration, (...) connective structures destined to transport, energy, pipelines, etc.* [were also promoted]'.

In line with this economic and productive narrative, a significant emphasis was put on the creation of new networks to attract globally circulating capital. Hence, the configuration of *"a polycentric urban system that guarantees access to goods and services to all citizens, as well as the conditions for economic development in all regions of the country"* (Under-secretariat of Territorial Planning of Public Investment, 2008: 27) became a main goal of PET. Following the European tendency towards competitive city-regionalism (see Brenner, 2004), the desired model for the future organisation of the country represented the Argentinian territory as a set of urban nodes of different hierarchy and the corresponding networks and corridors that articulate them. This constellation of urban nodes was considered a key driver of the re-shaping of sub-national State geographies, promoting the reconfiguration of national development through connections that would integrate Argentina into the 'global', *"on the basis of the guiding ideas of national and international integration, productive strengthening and reconversion, connectivity and polycentrism"* (Under-secretariat of Territorial Planning of Public Investment, 2015: 25). However, the making of a planning policy for an integrated urban system required the political proclivities to be channelled into a constitutively politicised decision-making mechanism that was not there.

3.5. Timely Migration of Ideas, Problems, Methods and Solutions Based on Collaborative Planning

Using the four dimensions of discursive migrations previously introduced, this section will first describe the discursive embedding of a collaborative perspective in the formation of the national planning policy at the beginning of the 21st Century. Then, it will be explored how

the migrating collaborative discourse (self)transformed in relation to the receiving governance environment, looking at how it actually kept some power positions in place by re-shaping some roles and not others**.**

3.5.1. The Discursive Embedding of a Collaborative Perspective in the Formation of PET

During the 20th Century the criteria for assessing performances of success and failure in the Argentinian planning system were perceived as pertaining only to the technical facet, thus hampering the recognition of planning as an arena of political deliberation and knowledge creation (Garay, 2004; Szajnberg et al., 2010). However, in line with the growing criticism raised against technocratic rationality in both the academic literatures and the self-definitions of different planning systems around the globe, the separation between the technical side of plan-making and the political aspects of decision-making began to lose consistency at the beginning of the 21st Century (Ligier, 2011). Animated by this change of ideas at the level of broader planning discourse, the Ministry of Planning —through the SSPTIP led by architect Graciela Oporto— initiated a change in hosting discursive configurations to ensure that the citizenship could take part on an equal footing to the most qualified experts.

The first book of PET, published in 2008, made these changes explicit as it questioned the 'limited effectiveness' of traditional planning, defined as "*deterministic "cascade" planning, which moves hierarchically from general to particular issues and presupposes the possibility of conducting territorial processes based on the information provided by technical State cabinets*" (Under-secretariat of Territorial Planning of Public Investment, 2008: 23). Thus, in line with the global flow of political changes affecting the transformation of current governance discourse, an Habermasian communicative rationality in which power is supposed to lie in *"the force of the better argument"* (Habermas, 1984: 24) gained adherence among the members of the technical team of the SSPTIP. In this move, travelling ideas that served as a foundation to oppose classical rationalist approaches would also facilitate the modification of a discursive configuration hitherto sustained in the supposed superiority of expert knowledge and in the clear-cut distinction of technical and political roles and functions. Hereafter, planning would be conceived as the product of a collective elaboration *"for which the national government assumes leadership, accepting its political responsibility, and (...) the formation of cross-wise consensus"* (Under-secretariat of Territorial Planning of Public Investment, 2008: 24).

The migration of these ideas and the changes in Argentinian planning configurations illuminated the supposed lack of democratic legitimacy of the centralist and top-down logic in decision-making as an explanatory problem for the historically perceived failures in policy implementation. The identification of this problem, in turn, allowed Oporto and her team in the Under-secretariat to encourage discursive changes at the level of methods. This change was based on social participation, expressed in the proposal to include *"various social sectors – public entities, private sector and civil society– in every stage of development of the plan"* (Under-secretariat of Territorial Planning of Public Investment, 2008: 23). The recognition and valorisation of different forms of knowledge and reasoning also had an impact on the solutions dimension. Hence, in order to go beyond the conventional technocratic perspective

focused on expert knowledge, SSPTIP proposed the strengthening of cooperation between the different levels of government and consultation with local actors as the most suitable solution.

The perceived effectiveness of the collaborative planning approach in more developed countries made building localised rational consensus around a common understanding of the spatial problems a key goal pursued by the SSPTIP. However, the migration of the communicative discourse positioned consensus-building as an outcome in itself and implied unprecedented deliberative efforts to articulate opposing views around spatial problems and agree upon available policy options (see Erbiti et al., 2005). Furthermore, the negotiation of collective meaning-making processes required policy-makers and planners to play a new role, in addition to the creation of new governance structures. These actors were now expected to perform as 'knowledge mediators', willing to postpone any attempt to realise their own interests and desires in order to build a politically agreed agenda, facilitate deliberative interactions in participatory sessions and strive for the 'common good' (see Cravacuore, 2006; Tauber et al., 2006). By the same token, and consistently with communicative planning reasoning, they were assumed to be naturally inclined to understand and respect the viewpoints and interests of others and advocate for consensus-building based on a symmetrical dialogue. Behind such expectations lies an assumption of Argentinian policy-makers and planners as intrinsically imbued with democratic ideals.

3.5.2. Effects of the New Discursive Configuration on Existing Power Positions

The 2001/2002 crisis revealed a political, economic and social scenario in which cooperative practices among political actors had for long been discouraged, leading to a decision-making paralysis and, ultimately, to a crisis of governance (Llanos & Margheritis, 2006). The undermined credibility of Unión Cívica Radical (UCR) and Partido Justicialista (PJ), the two largest political parties in the country, in parallel to the deep social disappointment with the government of President Fernando De la Rúa (1999–2001) led to the empowerment of provincial governments. Since the implementation of decentralisation policies in the 1990s, these governments had already been performing more functions and, in light of the convoluted national political scene, they were perceived as more stable. Thus, provincial representatives —mainly ministers of public works— would gain prominence as key actors to steer the new planning process under the administrations of Nestor Kirchner (2003–2007) and Cristina Fernández (2007–2015). However, the involvement of provincial representatives in federal planning decision-making was not a straightforward process; it followed a fluctuating course with complex political effects.

Embedded in the discursive configuration that sustained the potential for collaborative work between decision-makers, the Ministry of Planning channelled negotiations with the provinces through a new steering organisation, the Federal Council for Planning and Territorial Ordering (COFEPLAN). The field-specific knowledge and technical skills of the provincial representatives to the Council was (and still is) quite varied. Engineers, architects and public accountants were among them, representing offices as diverse as Public Works and Services, Urban Planning and Housing, Environmental Planning or Development, Science, Technology and Public Management. The selection of these representatives is then explained not only based on their professional expertise, but based on their political ability

as coordinating mediators. This is so because, beyond any thematic affinity, they had to perform a new role as political nexus in order to accomplish inter-jurisdictional policy implementation. In a similar vein, despite the announced openness to local knowledge and civic engagement, the Ministry of Planning entrusted the task of generating new data and managing the linkages for implementation to the Information, Linking and Technical Assistance System (SIVAT), under its own organisational structure (see Figure 1). Thus, consulted about the actual crafting of decision-making arenas for the renovated Argentinian planning system, one of the planning scholars interviewed alleged:

> *'It has been a network of* [State] *organisations that did not get anywhere. They* [the Ministry of Planning] *began to build it but there was no decision, there were no signed agreements, much was said but little materialised. (...) If that decision does not exist, whether in the handling of the information or in the implementation process, the plans are going to sleep on a bookshelf, nothing else'.*

Thus, the travelling discourse that promoted participatory decision-making as a prime method and solution to overcome perceived failures in policy implementation was transformed in and by the receiving governance configuration into sectoral negotiations with a reduced set of stakeholders (Berros, 2015; Guardamagna & Reyes, 2019). In the same vein, the construction of a 'shared interest' capable of summarising the 'wishes and feelings' of the community (Under-secretariat of Territorial Planning of Public Investment, 2015) was restricted to members of the political state apparatus. Although this strategy facilitated the creation and consolidation of links within government organisations, it did not contribute in the pursuit of social legitimacy and public acceptance of State-led planning policies. This explains the comments of one of the planning scholars consulted, for whom the bottom-up path of decision-making seems to have seldom been explored:

> *'I do not see social participation, (...) I see a lot of movement in all these issues, but focused on the point of view of institutions at the governmental level, not at the level of citizen participation'.*

In the same vein, the elaboration of a 'Desired Territorial Model' synthesising widely held expectations remained limited to a *"collaborative process between different levels of government"* (SSPTIP, 2011: 55). The rationalising power of the bureaucratic agencies of the State, the political capacities of provincial representatives and the knowledge of the Ministry of Planning and other State cabinets imposed themselves against grass-root strategies for civic engagement. Not surprisingly, when a qualified informant was consulted about her experience in the process of elaboration of PET, she said:

> *'I was invited to one or two workshops, where there was no citizen participation, only some technicians were called. I made my contribution in the sense that this vision had to be changed, but (...) if they have previously reached an agreement that this plan has to have a very strong emphasis on infrastructure, it will come out like that, regardless of the imbalances generated by that infrastructure in the territory'.*

Thus, the migrating collaborative discourse self-transformed in relation to the possibilities and limits of the receiving governance environment, leading collective decision-making to become an effective compliance-gaining technique which served to strategically confront contrasting views. Even when the migration proved itself useful in helping to revive a 'developmental socio-spatial imaginary' (Sheppard & Leitner, 2010), consensus building remained a highly technocratic, top-down practice, undermining the legitimacy and trust in the State to lead large-scale infrastructure projects. Consequently, the policy options envisioned in PET were not socially embraced and partially disappeared when a centre-right coalition (Cambiemos) assumed power in December 2015 and brought its own policy ambitions to the table. The discursive configuration that underpinned the migration process shifted in such a way that the Ministry of Planning as well as its embedded organisations were erased from the structure of national administration. The administration of Mauricio Macri (2015–2019) partially reassigned planning powers to the Ministry of Interior and encouraged regional projects (e.g., Plan Belgrano, exclusively oriented to the north of the country) and localised infrastructure investments, through public-private partnerships.

Figure 1. Network of State organisations in national planning policies (2004-2015)
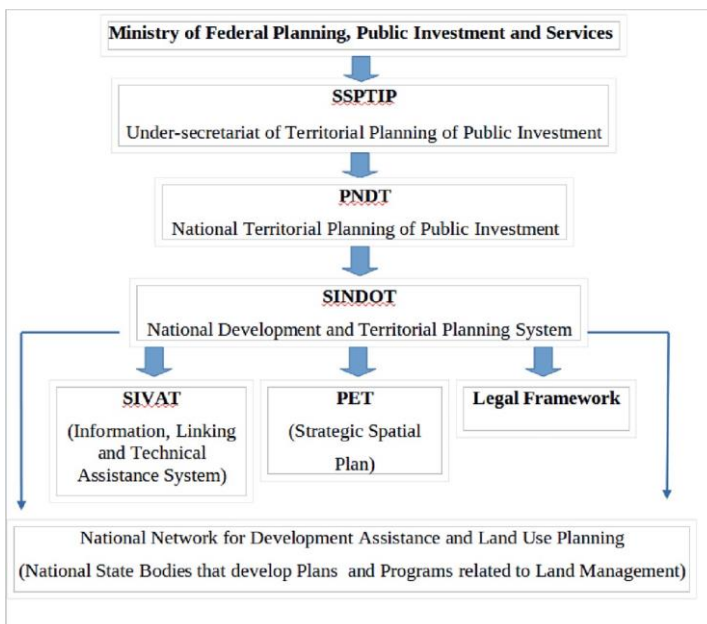
3.6. Conclusion and Discussion

The historical analysis of transnational circuits of policy and academic knowledge (de)legitimating the formation of State-led planning policies in Argentina presented in this chapter has delivered a sound explanation of the narrative supports that constrained and enabled recent policy decisions in the country. The chapter focused on discursive migrations and discursive configurations and this has helped to stress on the dynamic articulation of institutional inheritances and mobile ideologies, problems, methods and solutions that shape the emergence of new roles for policy actors and new rules for coordination. This made it possible to grasp the influence of collaborative ideas travelling from Anglo-American academic circuits on the creation of a 'new common sense' around planning policy-making in Argentina and its effects on the broader governance context.

In the first place, it was observed that, to impose itself, the migrating collaborative discourse did not require coercive actors to enact a 'hard' transfer of policy instruments, institutions and programmes through financial incentives and constraints, as it was common until the 1990s. On the contrary, building on the 'soft side' of policy transfer (Stone, 2017), SSPTIP strategically adjusted and re-projected this discourse as a 'normative power' to legitimise a new attempt at State-led planning on a national scale. Furthermore, the adapted version of the collaborative planning discourse provided by SSPTIP shaped the new planning policy arena. For this, the Under-secretariat relied on inherited policy concepts (e.g., federal partnership), refurbished decision-making strategies (the involvement of civil society in policy formation, common in Peronism, see Elena, 2005), institutional goals congruent with deep-seated beliefs (bottom-up decision-making) and the political needs of the time (inter-provincial coordination). Thus, the migrating collaborative discourse became co-constitutive of a new planning ideology without being explicitly mentioned in any policy document officially published.

A second finding derived from the previous is that migrating collaborative ideals self-transformed as the planning process unfolded, creating a more diluted participative scenario in which decision-making was regulated through the re-signification of former governance systems. Although COFEPLAN was intended to be a novel solution to the perceived failure of centralised steering, its design was constrained by an institutional structure already regulating and organising itself through the formation of politically-based councils to legitimise decision-making. Thus, the discursive shift from a rationalistic search for 'effectiveness' and 'efficiency' towards the construction of negotiated solutions for the 'common good' implied an ambiguous change in the governance context. On the one hand, the new discursive configuration facilitated the empowerment of provincial representatives (mainly, Ministers of Public Works) as potential transfer agents at the expense of transnational financial organisations, highly influential in previous periods. On the other hand, it aimed at a new role for traditional expertise (namely, architects, engineers and urbanists) without diversifying its base. So it is not surprising that both the Minister (Julio De Vido) and the Undersecretary (Oporto), as well as the core of the SSPTIP team, were architects. The alleged engagement between local communities and national decision-makers and new allegiance to consensual policy thinking, did not adequately describe old and new. The Argentinian planning system went through a constant process of negotiation and

reconstruction of its identity. Old power structures were recreated, affecting the functioning and scope of arenas for consensus-building.

The evolutionary perspective applied to planning policy formations in Argentina has proved well suited to appreciate how the generation and sharing of knowledge across planning systems is constrained and enabled by the wider governance environment in which planning is embedded (Nadin & Stead, 2008; Van Assche, Beunen & Verweij, 2020). Mapping the evolutionary path of these broader governance contexts, in turn, illuminates new facets and directions for a political history of the circulation of planning knowledge. In this sense, an increased reflexivity on the dependencies in self-transformation that shape the unique capacities for learning and adaptation of each governance path contributes to further grasp logics of appropriateness and processes of policy indigenisation (Stone, 2017; Van Assche, Duineveld & Beunen, 2014). Performing such endeavour entails, in turn, to reaffirm discursive policy migrations as acutely political (Peck & Theodore, 2010a). They reconstruct the social space through which they travel (McCann, 2011; McCann & Ward, 2012) and constantly reconfigure themselves in response to the discursive configurations, institutional path dependencies and the changing multiplicity of interests at stake in the local environment (Peck, 2011; Stein et al., 2017; Van Assche, Beunen, Duineveld & Gruezmacher, 2017).

The focus on the co-evolution of discursive migrations and discursive configurations sheds new light on the ever-mutating character of academic knowledge and policy discourses in motion as well as on the mutually influential relationship they stablish with the governance environment in/through which they develop, qualities that remained insufficiently explored (Peck, 2011). The evolutionary perspective helped to elucidate the possibilities and limits for discourses travelling across scales to trigger new expectations, inspire policy options and influence new rules for coordination (Van Assche, Duineveld & Beunen, 2014). On this basis, the chapter linked up with recent literature on travelling ideas that, moving away from the boundaries of 'methodological nationalism' (Stone, 2004; cf. Bourdieu, 2002), offers a more nuanced perspective on institutional mechanisms for local modification of policy. From this analytical vantage point, the understanding of the mutations of migrating discourse during the circulation process was expanded, while the relevant role of the receiving governance environment was enhanced.

The customisation of migrating discourse and its effects on the receiving discursive configurations were scrutinised on four interrelated dimensions: ideas, methods, problems and solutions. In the dimension of ideas, a continuity of influence from the North has been shown but, at the same time, a slide towards subtler forms of relationship. If, in the past, policy-making was shaped largely through flows of funds and experts, this partially gave way to the mobility of open concepts, policy principles and supposedly successful narratives. The related dimensions of problems, methods and solutions were reconfigured along with this shift. Thus, the hitherto unnoticed lack of social control over public policies was turned into a problem that required State action, in the belief that, with more actors involved, the obstacles to effective implementation could be overcome. Correspondingly, bottom-up policy-making became the preferred method through which the State would address the problem, although, as has been shown, in practice this was limited to the inclusion of political representatives already involved in planning policies in their own provinces. Finally, COFEPLAN, which would initially represent the solution to the aforementioned problems, set itself the goal of building consensus among those provincial representatives and linking

up with other similar State bodies, but it did not broaden the base of decision-makers to include more experts or the civil sector. The reconfiguration of governance was de facto a reshuffle and the multiplication of perspectives in more inclusive and deliberative governance did not take place.

The shifting connections between ideas, methods, problems and solutions, affecting their stability and propensity to travel, or to be replaced by a travelling alternative, render the pattern of travelling elements, and the pattern of transformation of policy discourse and governance context more complex, and multiply the possible forms of and explanations for travel and its impacts. Those flexible connections can at the same time be understood, as Argentina demonstrated, as adaptation options and mechanisms in the receiving context. Argentina also showed that a history of shocks does not preclude path dependencies in governance, nor the maintenance of learning modes, and that transnational policy discourses entailing long-term and large-scale coordination in such context can become both more desirable and harder to implement.

CHAPTER 4

GOAL

DEPENDENCIES

Strategy and Steering in Governance: The Changing Fates of the Argentinian Planning Council[6]

Abstract

This chapter, originally published in the journal Politics and Governance, is based on a detailed study of the return of national-level planning in Argentina as embodied by COFEPLAN, the national planning council, and develops a conceptual framework to analyse the possibilities and limits of steering in governance. It leans on the theoretical apparatus of evolutionary governance theory and uses the concepts of goal dependence, inter- dependence, path dependence and material dependence (effects in governance) to analyse the reality effects of strategy (effects of governance). Methodologically, the study relies on archival work and semi-structured interviews with planning scholars and public officials from different levels of government. The chapter shows that, although material and discursive reality effects were abundant in the evolution of Argentinian planning policies, dependencies and discontinuities undermined both the central steering ambitions of the government and the innovative potential of the new planning schemes. The dramatic history of the Argentinian planning system allows to grasp the nature of dependencies in a new way. Shocks in general undermine long-term perspectives and higher-level planning, but they can also create windows of opportunity. The internal complexity and the persistence of Peronist ideology in Argentina can account for the revivals of national-level planning in very different ideological contexts, but the recurring shocks, the stubborn difference between rhetoric and reality, the reliance on informality, created a landscape of fragmented governance and often weak institutional capacity. In that landscape, steering through national-level planning becomes a tall order.

Keywords: Argentina; COFEPLAN; goal dependence; governance; performativity; policy implementation; reality effects; strategic planning.

4.1. Introduction

Planning in Argentina has undergone many transformations in its roughly 75 years of existence. Changing powers, shifting ideologies and fluctuating stakeholder configurations redefined what planning is and what it could do (Müller & Gómez, 2013; Settimi & Audino, 2008). As such, Argentina is a good place to study the potential and limits of planning as steering, especially since national-level planning was attempted several times and it came

back in recent years. In the more recent manifestations of national·level planning, the Federal Council for Planning and Territorial Ordering (COFEPLAN) is one of the most significant organisations. This chapter studies how this organisation evolved, as it sheds a light on the changing fates of national·level planning, and, with that, central steering ambitions in Argentina. It can then be understood as a nested case study, with COFEPLAN enabling to grasp the difficulties of (re)introducing national planning, and national planning shedding a light on planning·as·steering.

Theoretically, this work is framed by evolutionary governance theory (Beunen et al., 2015; Van Assche et al., 2014a). EGT offers a unique perspective on the non·linearity of transformation in governance by giving central place to processes of co·evolution and the dependencies which develop. It offers a distinct picture of continuity and discontinuity in governance and, at the same time, an explanation of limits and possibilities for steering. The EGT·derived concepts are combined with a version of strategy thinking which owes to the strategy·as·practice perspective (Jarzabkowski, 2005; Whittington, 1996) and critical management studies (Adler et al., 2007; Alvesson & Willmott, 2011). As steering in governance can be understood as strategic in nature, strategy thinking enters the picture quite naturally.

Methodologically, this study relies on archival records regarding the evolution of COFEPLAN and, more broadly, the history of national·level planning in Argentina. Consultancy reports, minutes of Council meetings, national plans for economic development, and other documents complemented these sources. In addition, 23 semi-structured interviews were also conducted with national and international planning scholars and public officials from different levels of government.

The next section introduces key concepts from EGT which will feature in the case analysis, as well as the strategy concept and its sources. The chapter then presents a brief historical account of national·level planning policies in Argentina. Following this, COFEPLAN is positioned in the Argentinian system of planning and governance. A retrospective gaze at the making of COFEPLAN becomes a vantage point from which to rethink recurrent steering ambitions within a shifting governance environment. The functioning of COFEPLAN is analysed in a governance environment scarred by a series of economic and political shocks, yet also by remarkable continuities. Finally, implications for the broader topic of (central) steering in governance are considered.

4.2. Theoretical Framing

4.2.1. Evolutionary Governance Theory

EGT understands governance as radically evolutionary. That is, all constituent elements of governance configurations transform each other over time in a process of co·evolution. This means that a governance path is never entirely predictable, while each step in its evolution is constrained by the previous state of the system. Path dependence is thus a central concept, one that is not new. It has been analysed in institutional economics (David, 1994; Dopfer, 1991; North, 1990, 2005), political science (Greener, 2005; Pierson, 2000), economic

geography (Boschma & Martin, 2007; Martin & Sunley, 2006), public policy (Liebowitz & Margolis, 1995; Torfing, 2009) and other disciplines. What gives EGT its distinct theoretical flavour is that present and future similarly affect the reproduction and thus evolution of a governance system.

For the present, this is understood through the idea of inter-dependencies, between actors, between institutions (policies, plans, laws), between actors and institutions. And it is understood as an effect of power/knowledge configurations. Understandings of reality embedded in the governance configuration, either through identification (in the case of actors), or through codification (ideas coded into the rule system of institutions) shape and constrain the continuing game of interactions within governance. This idea of interdependence affecting the evolution of governance stems from systems theory (Luhmann, 1995; Teubner, 1993, 2011) and institutional economics (Greif, 2006; Seabright, 2010).

To grasp the influence of the future, EGT coined the concept of goal dependencies. Goal dependencies are the effects of images, narratives or visions of the future on the reproduction of governance in the present (cf. Beckert, 2016). The images of the future produced in the system affect the current functioning of the system. This can be towards 'implementation,' but also in very different and indirect manners. Such insight is compatible with both systems theory (e.g., Luhmann, 1990, 2008) and post-structuralism, especially in the Foucauldian tradition. Both utopia and heterotopia, and every dream in between, can affect the thought and action of actors, the use and interpretation of institutions and the production of new ones (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986).

A fourth dependence which has been recognised more recently (Birchall, 2020; Schlüter et al., 2020), partly under influence of recent developments in geography, is that of material dependencies. The most recent version of transition studies (e.g., Fuenfschilling & Truffer, 2016; Hoffman, 2013) similarly came to recognise the importance of materiality for the shaping of transition pathways. Material dependencies are the effect of material objects and environments on the functioning of governance. These effects can be recognised and acted upon in governance, but not necessarily so —as routinely recognised in the environmental policy and climate change literatures (Beunen & Lata, 2021).

Of particular importance, to grasp the unicity and explanatory power of EGT, is the idea that governance evolution never stops, whatever key decisions are taken or whatever momentous event takes place. Because of its radically co-evolutionary character, EGT sees —here in parallel with actor-network theory (Latour, 2005)— potential transformations (and conservatisms) coming from many directions. So, an idea can shape an actor who clashes with other actors over the creation of a new institution but comes to understand that a reinterpretation of an existing institution, a new narrative publicly framing this reinterpretation can create a discourse coalition (cf. Hajer, 1993). And she comes to understand that this coalition can further the initial goal by transforming it into a more public goal. The configuration of co-evolving actors and institutions, of power and knowledge, keeps itself in motion through this diversity in pathways and connections. EGT, which was developed not in opposition to classic public policy literature on continuity and change in governance (e.g., Streeck & Thelen, 2005) but emerged from a distinct set of sources (institutional economics, post-structuralism, social systems theory), thus comes to a distinct understanding of continuity and change.

Certainly, future work can explore a partial integration, especially as some of the sources of EGT have also found an audience within public policy (especially institutionalism, and, to a lesser degree, post-structuralism) and as some of the key authors in mainstream public policy come to similar insights on certain points—especially on path dependencies (Schreyögg & Sydow, 2009) and, to a lesser extent, on power (Flyvbjerg, 1998; Richardson, 1996; Seabrooke & Wigan, 2016). Such aspirations are wholeheartedly embraced, but for present purposes, it suffices to point out that EGT offers a distinct and cohesive perspective on change in governance, and on deliberate and strategic attempts at transforming governance. EGT speaks of rigidity and flexibility in governance evolution, with dependencies helping to explain rigidity, and flexibility coming from deliberate path creation but also from the interplay between the dependencies. In keeping with systems theory and complexity theory (Byrne, 1998; Thrift, 1999), the pattern of feedback loops which can emerge from such interplay creates its own unanticipated effects, and these can be exploited by actors to shift the path of governance.

4.2.2. Strategy, Goal Dependencies and Reality Effects

Goal dependencies become especially relevant when shared visions for the future are articulated discursively and become explicitly or implicitly encoded in policies, plans, project or laws. Such encoding more likely affects the power/knowledge nexus and the actor/institutions configuration (Djanibekov et al., 2018; Van Assche et al., 2014a). Furthering goals cannot fully avert nor abruptly suspend the 'stickiness' created by path dependencies and the interdependent web of actors and institutions in the governance regime.

Goal dependencies become central to the understanding of a particular governance path when strategies emerged in that path, aiming for societal steering. This insight requires us to introduce two more concepts into our conceptual frame: strategy itself, and secondly, reality effects. Strategy has been studied primarily within the confines of private organisations, within management studies. There is a tradition of strategic (long-term) spatial planning (e.g., Albrechts, 2004), and an emerging tradition of strategic management in public organisations (e.g., George, 2020). Both provide valuable insights in governance for the long term and in the necessity for public actors to think strategically. Yet, few have considered the possibilities and limits of strategy at community level, strategy in and through governance, and thereby taken on board recent insights in both strategy and governance.

This chapter argues that the ideas on strategy espoused in the so-called strategy-as-practice literature (Jarzabkowski et al., 2007; Johnson et al., 2007), and the strategy literature inspired by social systems theory can be utterly useful here. For the strategy-as-practice thinkers, and for Mintzberg (1978, 1987), one of their key sources of inspiration, strategies emerge as a result of ongoing bricolage of intention and unanticipated effects. For the systems-inspired thinkers (some of them also versed in strategy-as-practice theory, as e.g., Seidl, 2007) strategies are constantly reinterpreted, as organisations evolve, as situations can be reinterpreted as success or failure, and results can be reinterpreted as resulting from strategy or not. Furthermore, and this also resonates with the critical management literature (Grey & Willmott, 2005), strategy concepts are also evolving, with new strategy concepts continuously emerging and affecting the functioning of organisations and administrations (Fairhurst & Putnam, 2004).

Strategy at community level has to pass through governance. If the EGT understanding of governance is adopted, it transpires quickly that a functioning strategy has to be both an institution linking other institutions and a narrative on the future (cf. Wittmayer et al., 2019). The production and effects of strategy are shaped by the pattern of flexibility and rigidity as diagnosed by EGT. Rather than speaking of implementation vs. non implementation, one can speak then of goal dependencies triggered by strategies (see before). While the goal dependencies concept focuses on the system of governance itself (effects of futures on current governance), the concept of 'reality effects,' draws attention to the effect outside the sphere of governance, e.g., in the environment, the community for which the strategy is destined. Reality effects are those effects of the strategy which alter discursive realities or materiality, insofar as noticed. Here, 'noticed' means taken up in discourse. Material effects, on the one hand, refer to changes in the physical environment that *"matter in governance as reality effects only after they are observed and interpreted, and hence only if their meaning is constructed in social systems"* (Van Assche, Beunen, Gruezmacher & Duineveld, 2020: 700). Discursive effects, on the other hand, refer to *"hanging ways of understanding stemming from the strategy"* (Van Assche, Beunen, Gruezmacher & Duineveld, 2020: 700). Policies, plans and projects can create reality effects and trigger goal dependencies, yet only on rare occasions they bring the envisioned reality into being exactly as it had been imagined.

In the next sections, this conceptual frame is deployed to analyse the evolution of COFEPLAN in the context of an Argentinian governance system marked by both shocks and strong continuities (see Alves Rolo, 2021). The existence of COFEPLAN itself is taken as a sign of re-emerging steering ambitions.

4.3. Planning in the Governance of Argentina

4.3.1. A Brief Review of Argentinian Planning

In order to understand the role of planning in the governance system of Argentina, the history of dramatic shocks in the 20th Century must first be mentioned. Economic crises, military coups and changes in ideologies made the development of a stable national planning system virtually impossible. The maintenance of long-term perspectives as such was hard at times. Nevertheless, Argentina did embrace rather ambitious planning schemes, and something of a national planning tradition developed. Refer to Figure 2 for an overview of these discontinuities in governance, with implications for discontinuities in planning.

National-level planning in Argentina can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th Century (Elena, 2005). Larger cities were the primary target of planning interventions, as they were expected to drive economic development. The choice can be explained by the rapid urbanisation of Argentina, as well as the sheer size of the country (Cerrutti & Bertoncello, 2006). Guided urban redevelopment and expansion were strategies for addressing social problems, by providing housing for the poor (Crot, 2006), and giving them a fresh start in a new environment. Most of the funding, however, went to infrastructure. Infrastructure investment aimed at spurring economic development in the main urban nodes and was intended to visibly legitimise the narrative of national development (Ciccolella, 2006). Despite the initial rhetoric of more comprehensive planning, over time planning became seen

as infrastructure development, and planners and non-state actors (e.g., architects, urbanists, engineers) learned that plans were more likely to have an impact if presented as 'public works' (Rigotti, 2014).

After the Second World War, the central government became more ambitious. National-level planning was still seen as promoting economic development through infrastructure projects, but those projects were now spread throughout the country. Meanwhile, resource extraction and urban development in more remote areas were encouraged (Gómez & Lesta, 2008). The National Planning Council, created in 1951 as part of the Peronist state apparatus, was responsible for the elaboration of the Second Five-Year Plan (1952–1955) that would define the orientation of Perón's second term (Official Bulletin of the Argentine Republic, 1951). However, the Council was dissolved after the coup of 1955 (Under-secretariat of Territorial Planning of Public Investment, 2015). Emerging State-backed monopolies (builders, developers) and networks (landowners, industrialists) were not backing the planning council, while the political opposition and key stakeholders were absent and recurring economic crises reduced the scope of State planning.

By the 1960s, the negative effects of rapid urbanisation were becoming clear and the push towards development across the regions was intensified. In this context, a renewed emphasis on planning was endorsed by the Alliance for Progress, a development aid organisation promoted by the Kennedy administration in 1961. The agreement provided funding to encourage spatial planning and proposed a set of economic, political and social measures. Redistribution of wealth and improving the living standards of the working classes were the main goals. This impulse resulted in the creation of the National Development Council (CONADE) and the National Planning System in 1961.

CONADE was theoretically informed by ECLAC, a regional commission of the UN that accompanied the reforms proposed by the Alliance for Progress and focused on development of peripheral regions. CONADE intervened in a multiplicity of policy domains: Agriculture, industry, transport, housing, health, energy, etc. One of the main CONADE initiatives was the National Development Plan (1965–1969), during the administration of President Arturo Illia (1963–1966). Its implementation, however, was interrupted by the military coup led by General Juan Carlos Onganía (1966), who did not dissolve CONADE but reoriented its work towards security policies.

In 1970 the toppling of Onganía by General Roberto Levingston (1970–1971) spurred the implementation of a National Development Plan in an attempt to improve the dynamism of the internal market. Against the background of a messy urbanisation process driven by massive rural-urban migration, the plan proposed the creation of development poles. The State would support relocation of industries to peripheral regions. Although the plan as a whole did not succeed, development poles did appear, particularly in Patagonia (Álvarez, 2016).

Perón's return as President in 1973 gave a new impulse to planning through the Triennial Plan for Reconstruction and National Liberation (1974–1977). This plan sought to mobilise economic policy towards social justice, 'rebuilding' the State, economic independence and Latin American integration. It came with a political strategy for implementation that included agreements with various political parties, unions, governors, and others. Public forums hosted

by unions, were organised in factories and at universities to discuss the plan. However, the economic situation after the International Oil Crisis (1973) and clashes between the right and left wings of the Peronist movement after Perón's death in 1974, among other factors, made this agreement untenable. In this convoluted political and economic situation, on March 24, 1976 Argentina suffered its sixth coup *d'état.*

Figure 2. Continuities and changes affecting the evolution of governance in Argentina
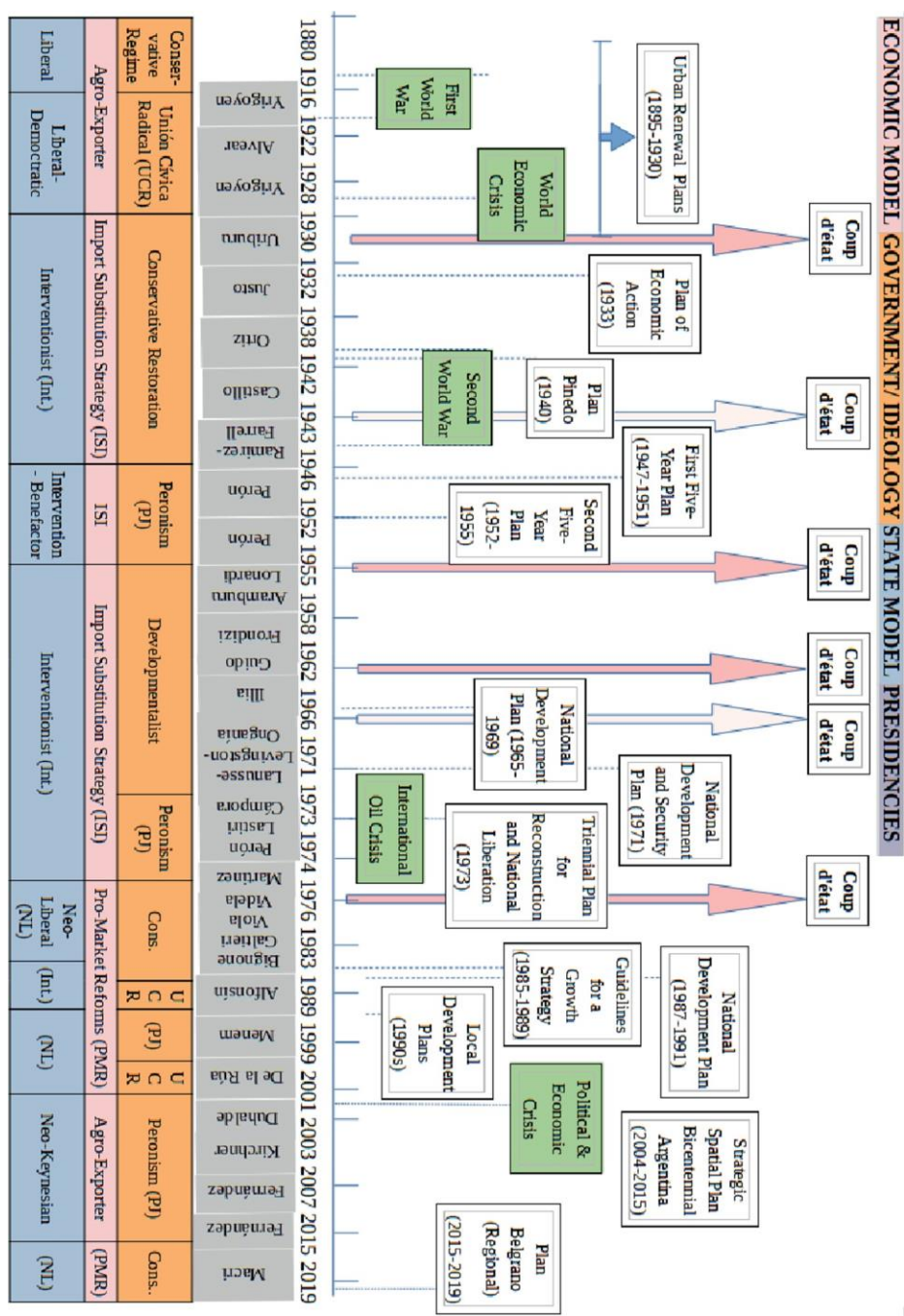
The crisis of the 'Welfare State' and the incipient rise of neo-liberalism as a new order in the mid-1970s were accompanied by a process of de-legitimisation of the steering State. The concept of a small, efficient, and enabling State gained traction (Marengo, 2008). This resulted in a profound reform of the political and institutional structure of the country. Historically national competences were decentralised. The new development paradigm reduced the role of the national government in promoting a balanced and inclusive development. The main cities, such as Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Rosario and Mendoza, were presented as vigorous, agile and largely self-sufficient productive entities, capable of innovation and strong enough to boost economic growth nationally. Whilst competition grew among municipalities to attract foreign investment, the local scale became the main focus of planning (Catenazzi et al., 2019). International organisations (UNDP, OECD, World Bank, among others) sponsored 'Local Development Plans' in the belief that decentralised planning policies would encourage more efficient and innovative interventions. Thus, since the mid–1970s and especially during the 1990s, planning in neo-liberal Argentina was basically concentrated in *ad hoc* projects without a coherent national spatial strategy.

The 1990s were characterised by economic stability, with inflation kept in check. In the early years, privatisation of State companies and public utilities made it possible to reduce debt. However, 1998–2002 were years of recession, with long-term effects on both politics and spatial organisation. In December 2001, President Fernando de la Rúa had to resign and was succeeded by five presidents in two weeks. The legacies of that recession are still visible: Infrastructure deteriorated, the shrinking economy relied more on informal jobs, undermining the potential for recovery. Inequality between classes and between regions grew. The government of Néstor Kirchner (2003–2007) decided that the nation needed a long-term perspective again. Strategic guidelines for national development were articulated. Infrastructure investment, under the Ministry of Federal Planning, Public Investment and Services, was pivotal. The Under-secretariat for Spatial Planning of Public Investment was created to recover planning as a governance tool at the service of all levels of government. Its key achievement was the implementation of the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina.'* The plan devised a model of multi-level governance which was to guide the public investment process. Provinces participated through political representatives —mainly ministers of development, infrastructure and public works— in the elaboration of a national planning agenda.

4.3.2. COFEPLAN and Its Preceding Steering Organisations

The federal organisation of the country implies that spatial planning is a responsibility shared by the national, provincial and local political authorities (Erbiti, 2011). However, the national government lacks a legal framework to guide planning. With exceptions such as Buenos Aires and Mendoza, the provincial regulatory frameworks have great difficulty overseeing municipal land use planning. At the same time, provincial administrations create planning difficulties for municipalities.

Provinces over time delegated limited responsibilities to municipalities and where they did, sometimes resources did not follow responsibilities, in other cases, land use planning authority was not combined with local authority over other policy domains. This prevented municipalities from integrating land use planning with transportation systems and from

developing long-term strategies for public works (Muzzini et al., 2017). Municipalities were granted greater planning autonomy through the 1994 constitutional reform, but they still lacked technical capacity and financial incentives to update land use regulations —another reason why provincial planning offices remain significant (Goytia et al., 2010). As a result, new planning initiatives involve coordination between different tiers of government. COFEPLAN was created in December 2008 to address this coordination problem.

COFEPLAN is a national agency under the Ministry of Planning which brings together the City of Buenos Aires and the 23 provinces at least twice a year to discuss the development and harmonisation of planning policies. Composed of three working committees, this Council *"was given a mandate to issue guidelines that would address planning bottlenecks in the specific legal framework of each province"* (Muzzini et al., 2017: 180). Those frameworks, in other words, were supposed to remain intact and remain guiding. COFEPLAN was not initially expected to produce policies, plans or projects, nor a national planning law. It was intended to promote knowledge dissemination, legislative work and consensus-building among decision-makers. Nevertheless, it did participate in the drafting of several versions of the National Planning Law, versions presented to the National Congress in 2009, 2011, 2013 and 2018. However, some provinces put up strong resistance and the law has not yet been enacted (Muzzini et al., 2017).

Praised as innovative (Corti, 2008), COFEPLAN was not entirely a first. Different steering organisations promoting national policies for land management and territorial development predated the organisation. In order to understand the functioning of COFEPLAN, its possibilities and limits of steering, it is necessary to understand the evolution of national steering organisations leading to COFEPLAN. Figure 3 summarises the development.

The National Post-war Council (CNP) was created by the military regime after the coup *d'état* of 1943 with the aim of conducting *"studies on the social and economic ordering of the country (...) its coordination, planning and implementation"* (Official Bulletin of the Argentine Republic, 1944). This Council was part of a network of planning and economic management organisations —some already installed since the 1930s— promoting State interventionism and centralised decision-making (Gómez & Tchordonkian, 2010). Domestic industry had expanded during the War and the government was worried about normalisation of international trade. The CNP produced a Plan for Social and Economic Ordering which was supposed to help the country facing stiffer competition after the war. It created agencies to analyse the socio-economic conditions of each province. Public and private sector actors competed for influence over the definition of priorities for public investment (Belini, 2009).

Coordination of sectorial interests through a network of public agencies was the main form of national-level planning, while institutional capacity developed through absorption of academic experts, private sector specialists and already existing technical units. The CNP was remarkably ambitious. It intended to coordinate the activities of several ministries towards national development goals (Gómez & Tchordonkian, 2010). Studies conducted by the CNP gave shape to the first *Five-Year Plan*, a development strategy combining economic and spatial planning (as in socialist countries).

In September 1948 an Inter-Ministerial Coordinating Council was established in order to overcome the administrative problems encountered during plan implementation. This

Council was responsible for *"comprehensive planning, coordination and verification of the evolution of the plan within all State agencies"* (Falivene & Dalbosco, 2007: 13). Additionally, the Federal Coordinating Council was launched to manage problems arising between the national government and the provinces. Later, in 1950, the National Planning Direction was organised under the Ministry of Technical Affairs with the task of studying and proposing a *"scientific organisation of government and administration"* (Official Bulletin of the Argentine Republic, 1949). In 1951, the Inter-Ministerial Coordinating Council became the National Planning Council (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. The main planning councils that preceded COFEPLAN
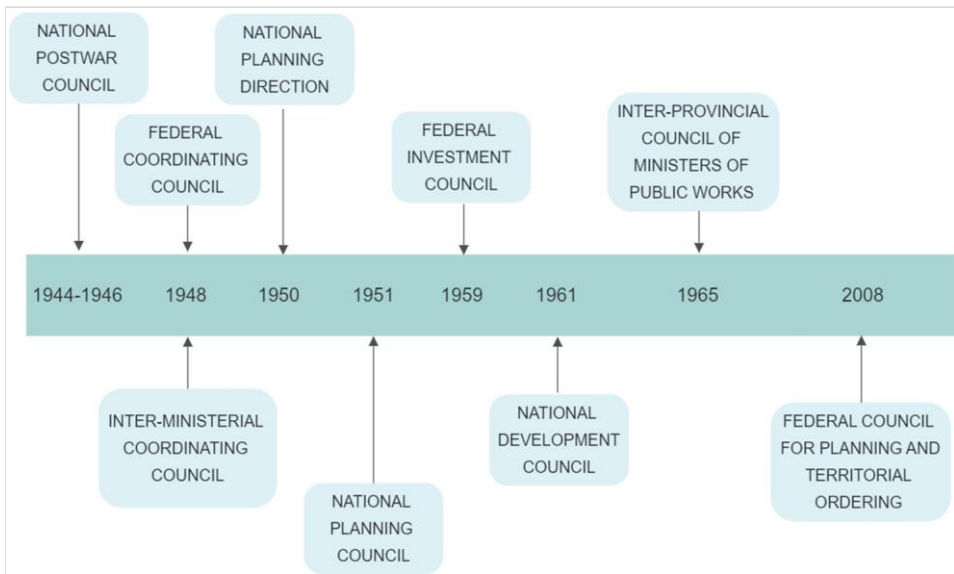
The Federal Investment Council —created in 1959— is also an early reference for what COFEPLAN would later be, dating back to the so called 'golden era' of planning in Argentina (Canelo, 2012). The mission assigned to the Federal Investment Council was very similar to that of COFEPLAN: To promote the harmonious and comprehensive development of the country based on solidarity and decentralisation. At the same time, the influence of Buenos Aires never really abated, and the collaboration between ministries, and between ministries and provinces, was never easy (Keeling, 1994; Loew, 1977). The Federal Investment Council was behind the establishment of CONADE, in 1960, which then led to the adoption of the 'National Development Plan' of 1965. That plan in turn was supported by a new organisation, the Inter-Provincial Council of Ministers of Public Works (CIMOP). The organisation still exists and brings together top officials of Public Works and Services of the provinces. The Inter-Provincial Council of Ministers of Public Works opened up intra-governmental processes of participation and became a precedent-setting organisation that has been instrumental in positioning COFEPLAN as a main steering organisation.

4.3.3. COFEPLAN and Its Results

Despite the difficulties inherent to a fragmented and fragile institutional framework, COFEPLAN achieved progress in several areas. It increased the political clout and technical capacities of local planning offices. This enabled them to develop a more integral territorial approach to administration. In addition, COFEPLAN created administrative mechanisms to promote inter·sectorial and inter·jurisdictional collaboration between government agencies. This often benefited the coordinated expansion of infrastructure networks. COFEPLAN further assumed responsibilities in the regulatory scaffolding of planning, even when law·making in planning is reserved for the provinces under the terms of article 121 of the National Constitution (Maldonado, 2010). Moreover, as shown in Table 2, the Council has contributed on several occasions to different Drafts of the Framework Law and, at present, is working on a draft Law of Territorial Planning and Habitat.

Table 2. Main results achieved by COFEPLAN.

YEAR	RESULTS
2009	Survey of the situation of the provinces Comparative analysis of planning and development laws in different countries Draft Framework Law on Territorial Planning (first sketch)
2010	Training agreement with national universities National and international forum on spatial planning and land use planning Training of provincial technical teams Diagnosis of progress in the development of geographic information systems and spatial data infrastructure in each province Diagnosis of the relationship between provincial planning teams and the provincial cadastres Draft Framework Law on Territorial Planning Reports on the state of affairs of provincial legislation regarding land use planning National Meeting ‹Territorial Planning as State Policy›
2011	'Declaration of Iguazú' on the need to strengthen COFEPLAN, promote the draft law, support provincial and local legislative initiatives, spur institutional strengthening and contribute to making territorial problems visible Discussion forum on the Draft Framework Law on Territorial Planning
2012	Foresight workshops ‹The territories of the future› Modification of the Draft Framework Law on Territorial Planning
2013	Formation of a federal planning network Modification of the Draft Framework Law on Territorial Planning Creation of a system of territorial indicators
2014	Creation of the Identification and Weighting System for Strategic Projects Bases for the elaboration of provincial laws Border Territorial Integration program Planning and Territorial Ordering Guidelines document Contribution to the Spatial Data Infrastructure of the Argentine Republic (IDERA) Characterisation of territories based on the law of environmental protection of native forests Regional Commission of the Colorado River Basin
2015	Act of agreement on the Preliminary draft of the Framework Law on Territorial Planning
2016	Agreement for institutional strengthening between the Secretary of Strategic Planning, Land Management and Habitat, the Under−secretariat of Planning and Infrastructure and the Under−secretariat of Territorial Planning of Public Investment

2017	Act of adhesion to the Program of Institutional Strengthening for Territorial Planning whereby the national government would provide financing for equipment and training Creation of the Federal Urban Observatory Seminars on urban issues and Disaster Risk Reduction
2018	Draft Framework Law on Territorial Planning
2019	Implementation of the Prosperous Cities Index (UN methodology) Reconstruction Process in Comprehensive Risk Management (book) Study of the expansion of the urban area

4.4. Analysis

Argentina has a unique history of governance. Economic recessions, currency collapse, military coups and ideological shifts were major shocks to society and to the governance system (Duit & Galaz, 2008). In this situation, it is not evident that long-term perspectives and strategies can develop, be maintained, and adapted. Resources could evaporate after a crash, hierarchies reshuffled after a coup, and lower-level governments and regions abandoned.

Nevertheless, dependencies in the evolution of governance and planning can be distinguished. In terms of spatial planning the most dramatic system shock was the period 1975–2002, a generation where the national ideology seemed decidedly anti-planning (Müller, 2011). In that period, provinces had not given up on economic and spatial planning, and even de-centralising policies aiming to empower local governments, often ended up empowering provinces (Ardanaz et al., 2014). In addition, the instabilities at national level caused a slow accumulation of power at the provincial level. The national crises did not only make planning more difficult, but they also caused a recurring demand and hope for planning. When Argentina finally emerged out of the crisis of 1998–2002, that response, the call for planning, was not an isolated event, but depended on the institutional memory in governance, and in academia. That a 'golden age' of planning is recognised in the 1950s–1970s indicates the nostalgia for and identification with national level planning projects. The provinces had to be acknowledged in any revival of such project (Calvo & Escolar, 2005). While the fragmentation of local power had to be addressed, if any national strategy wanted to have the territory-wide effects envisioned. The Inter-Provincial Council of Ministers of Public Works survived as the kernel of a coordination mechanism.

In the case of Argentinian planning, an enabling factor, or a positive path dependence, is clearly the Peronist legacy. In Peronist ideology territorial integrity, integration, and development were primary aims. A strong state apparatus was considered the locus for national strategies towards those aims (Berrotarán, 2003). Several regimes identified as Peronists and a simple left-right ideological label cannot be applied to the movement and the discourse. Within the same regime, there could be signals and state actors which can be interpreted as far left and others as far right, while many actors would simply consider themselves 'Peronists.' The 'golden age' of planning was a period where economic and spatial planning (in socialist tradition) was integrated in national strategies. Different from socialist States, such as the USSR, Peronist Argentina did not develop the stability and the

detailed hierarchical organisation which would allow for the local implementation of a national planning strategy.

The reality effects of previous national strategies were overall weak therefore, with few exceptions in peripheral regions, where the national planning agencies could engage in relatively unchecked development projects. When national planning re-emerged, and COFEPLAN emerged, acceptance of a national planning strategy therefore was strong. Yet, strong provinces and fragmented local institutions —legacies of the history of instability— could not be ignored (Benton, 2009). The legacies make it hard to coordinate between levels, between places, and between sectors and policy domains, while such coordination is all the more necessary because problems became more complex over time. The prevalence of informal institutions, settlements, and jobs —also responses to continued instability and State absence— aggravates this institutional weakness, makes it harder to recover economically and to steer from the centre.

Even in times of decentralisation and in periods focusing on peripheral development, the general assumption in national politics was that what is good for Buenos Aires is good for Argentina. As the population of the capital also boomed, and as economic capital and elites concentrated in the capital, the city became harder and harder to ignore. It could not be treated as just a city. The constitutional reform of 1994 granted the city an autonomous regime. Hence its presence in COFEPLAN, together with the provinces. The pattern of inter-dependencies which developed is thus rather complex, with national agencies depending on provinces less willing to accept national strategies, on Buenos Aires, which sees itself as the country. Provinces are dependent on municipalities but also unable to push through comprehensive strategies because of institutional fragmentation and weakness at the local level (Tommasi, 2002). Growing municipalities might not have had the means to organise this growth, while places with plans did not see much growth, and whatever happened tended to be disconnected from those plans.

At the national level, the planning agencies competed with other actors, often with other ministries. Those ministries had their own projects, sometimes strategies, their own relations with provinces and local governments. The rhetoric of policy integration thus never fully resonated with reality, even when national planning strategies had broad support and were enacted. Elite competition, which included segments of political, economic, military and sometimes academic elites, transpired in the competition between ministries and their projects (Van Gunten, 2015). It undermined the reality effects of any overarching strategy for spatial development. One seeming constant was the emphasis on infrastructure works, often not under the auspices of a national planning authority, but at least associated with national administration. When COFEPLAN was formed, this looked then as a natural terrain, an initial core, for a national spatial policy. On the other hand, other national actors were not interested in handing control to COFEPLAN, and, without far-reaching policy coordination with local and regional governments, infrastructure could not function properly as a driver of economic development.

Social housing, also close to the COFEPLAN mandate, proved even more difficult (Catenazzi et al., 2019). Social housing is arguably even more important for inclusive economic development, but notoriously expensive and hard to coordinate. The meagre achievements of COFEPLAN on this terrain are not surprising, therefore. That the even

harder task of coordinating housing, infrastructure and land use, where most added value for any national planning strategy ought to be found, could not be fulfilled, is not surprising either. The path creation that became possible after the prolonged shock of 1998–2002 could not create an entirely new path.

The effects of earlier strategies on governance are thus far from a history of 'implementation'. Goal dependencies slowly crystallised, modified by external shocks which diverted them from producing strong reality effects. The fragmented institutional landscape that now hinders a national planning strategy cannot be attributed merely to those external shocks. It should also be considered a result of older goal dependencies in the landscape of multi-level governance, a history of diverse responses to national steering attempts. An oscillation between belief in central planning ambitions, and, on the other hand, a cynical distrust of any planning initiative, further hampers the formation of reality effects in the direction intended by the national strategy (Müller & Gómez, 2013).

4.5. Conclusions

The creation of COFEPLAN signalled a renewed central steering ambition in Argentinian planning. It was enabled by path dependencies which included the existence of a coordinating organisation linking to provincial public works ministries. There was the memory of a golden age of national planning, a lingering Modernist-Peronist idea of territorial development and integration. The steering ambitions were hindered by other path dependencies, including weak and fragmented local governance, and provinces which emerged as more powerful from the history of ups and downs in Argentina (Ardanaz et al., 2014). That same fragmented landscape can be interpreted partly as a result of old goal dependencies. Infrastructure projects across the country, interpreted as a sign that the centre could steer, can be seen as a material dependence, yet not in the direction intended by the new strategy. Dependencies undermined both the central steering ambitions of the government and the innovative potential of the new planning schemes.

Ideologies of national planning, as discourses underpinning steering attempts, can lose and regain explanatory power in relation to an environment that adapts to new narratives. Society in Argentina responded to shocks, to a sometimes devastating oscillation between great expectations and dashed hopes. National planning is an unlikely survivor of such structural instability. National-level planning in Argentina re-emerged out of a set of (in)formal rules that have been re-assembled multiple times under different ideological influences and in relation to a shifting governance environment (Müller & Gómez, 2013). A core of shared Peronism fits a core planning goal of addressing 'territorial imbalances,' which could be embraced under different regimes, and formed an argument for planning as such. While the difference between ideology and reality in Peronism created an eternal return of implementation problems for any national planning strategy. Elite competition, left–right cracks within the ideology, reduction of planning to infrastructure projects, the dominance of Buenos Aires, were all part of reality from the beginning, while flying in the face of an ideology of inclusive, integrative development under national auspices.

A more general lesson transpires here. Steering through managing the reality effects of strategy is dependent on both the legacies and the memories of previous steering attempts.

This was already known from the history of the high modernist State, as studied by Scott (1998), but also by Luhmann (1997), who observed that steering is made easier first of all by a history of steering. It can be added that, in a revival of steering, several features of that history are relevant in understanding the fate of future attempts. First there is the balance between continuity and discontinuity in governance, with discontinuity generally undermining enabling legacies for steering, but sometimes creating windows of opportunity, by creating a new appreciation of stability and of long-term futures (cf. Van Assche, Verschraegen & Gruezmacher, 2021). Second, there is the relation between formal and informal institutions in the governance system, with a reliance on informality generally indicating fragmentation, weak governance, and low reality effects of strategy. Third, there is the internal cohesion of the steering ideology. When cohesion is weak the difference between rhetoric and reality will be significant, and this contributes to the divergence between intention and actual effects. Certainly, these internal cracks might be forgotten and old problematic decisions can be repeated. In terms of goal dependencies, this can be translated not as a typology of dependencies, but as a typology of contexts which will shape those dependencies.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

AND GENERAL

DISCUSSION

5.1 Conclusions and General Discussion

In recent years, a growing body of literature has focused on co-evolutionary approaches to governance from a wide variety of theoretical sources (e.g., social systems theory, development economics, biological evolutionary theory, post-structuralism) and applied to a rich palette of research fields (e.g., urban planning, environmental policy, rural development), thus increasing the overall knowledge on the key features of co-evolution. Evolutionary Governance Theory (EGT) is particularly relevant here, insofar as it provides a very useful lens to grasp the ways in which the different elements that shape governance co-evolve. In EGT, actors, organisations, formal and informal institutions, discourses, and other elements in governance mutually connect and transform through continuous, selective and contingent interactions with each other and with the environment they operate in (Beunen et al., 2015; Van Assche et al., 2014a; Van Assche, Beunen, Duineveld & Gruezmacher, 2017). Building on the Luhmannian perspective on social systems as evolving through (re)interpretations of environments that take shape in relation to previous notions, operations, differentiations, among other allusions to past (Luhmann, 1995, 2004; Van Assche et al., 2014a), and a neo-institutional economics view on the mutual shaping between institutions and organisations (Grief, 2006; North, 2005, 2009; Seabright, 2010), EGT further speaks of dependencies as enabling and restrictive factors that nourish on previous decisions, parallel communications and envisioned futures (see section 1.4.1). Understanding how the different elements that compose governance co-evolve, adapt to each other, and ultimately contribute to re-shape it, is substantial for public administration and planning studies to better cope with complexity, ambiguity and unpredictability, always present in processes of policy formation.

This chapter offers a brief overview of the concepts and ideas that frame an EGT-based view on the dependencies that shaped the specific course of evolution of Argentinian planning polices and discusses their constraining and enabling capacity as well as implications for understanding processes of policy formation. In this way, the chapter as a whole help to respond the central question of this thesis: How do Argentinian planning policies (understood as a product of governance) shape and, in turn, are shaped by the social, institutional, political and economic context in which they develop?

5.1.1. Grasping Path Dependencies in Argentinian Planning

The unforeseen re-emergence of national planning policies in Argentina in the 21st Century was approached, first, from a historical perspective that accounted for the ever-changing articulation of old and new narratives with each other, with the (also changing) authoritative voices of expertise and with the limits imposed by the trajectory of reproduction and adaptation of the available institutional options. Planning, as has been shown in chapter 2, is a particularly prolific field to expand our knowledge regarding paths of institutional transformation as embedded in broader patterns of economic development (Amin, 1999; Sorensen, 2017). The exploration of path dependencies in the formation of policies illuminates the effects of past choices over the re-articulation and representation of a social phenomenon —here, territorial imbalances— as a situation that needs to be dealt with, thus affecting the construction of policy problems and thereby the policy solutions considered most suitable by policy-makers. Analysing mechanisms that strengthen the effects of legacies

from past choices on the governance configuration, as in section 2.7, builds on and contributes to further developing the idea that the existence of a history of planning in a particular context facilitates and restrains the emergence of new representations of planning in the same context. Novel policies do not arise out of the blue but, to some extent, always hinge on community perceptions of previous performances of similar policies, resonate with inherited strategies of decision-making, and respond to the presence/absence of certain configurations of actors/institutions (Beunen et al., 2015). In light of these conditions, the context-specific development of a local planning culture takes shape and, in turn, shapes the uniqueness of the governance path.

Each governance system handles memories and forgetting in its own way. In the Argentinian case, everything that has been seen here was framed in a context of persistent shocks. Major political and/or economic shocks external to the national planning system functioned as milestones in the construction of an official narrative of State policy attempts that preceded its reappearance on a national scale at the beginning of the 21st Century (see Figure 2 in chapter 4). In this narrative, planning was perceived as starting from scratch in each new undertaking, thus obscuring the many elements (e.g., ideas, actors, rules, knowledge) that remained unchanged. However, the ceaseless (re)interpretation of previous ideas, continuities in the effects of past decisions, subtle alterations in the roles of expertise and institutional transformations associated to new representations of public/private relations are also important in organising the Argentinian planning system.

Seeing the historical conditions that enabled and constrained the revival of State-led spatial planning on a national scale in Argentina at the beginning of the 21st Century from an evolutionary lens involved being cognisance of these powerful but largely ignored continuities and tracing the conflictive process through which the scientific-legal complex that contains them and gives them meaning was taking shape. Thus, deviating from the self-descriptions of the State agencies in charge of planning in the country as well as the academic literature that reinforces them, section 2.7 of this thesis identified and described three inertia-building mechanisms: discursive assimilations, organisational solidification and expert adaptation. Such an emphasis on identifying inertia-building mechanisms was firstly intended to be a step forward in positioning continuities and self-transformation on an equal footing with the more widely explored external shocks moving policy rupture. However, on second inspection, understanding and exploring continuities as a constitutive element of policy formations was found to be more productive. Exercising reflexivity can help increase awareness of how things actually worked in the past and how this affects the present functioning of a governance system and its options for transformation. This endeavour is far from being entirely completed. New investigations attentive to the possibilities offered by this perspective will be required if the actual space for policy creativity and political negotiation around the ways of thinking and governing planning is to be made more transparent.

5.1.2. Exploring further Connections in Interdependence Thinking

Chapter 3 dealt with interdependencies. There are multiple ways to address them, both considering the necessary selectivity within the theoretical approach and from the Argentinian case study. Section 3.2 hones in on the interdependent relation between

'discursive migrations' and 'discursive configurations' for two main reasons. In the first place, because the most evident interdependencies in this case, those that take shape in the evolving relationship between influential actors as well as between actors and building forms, have already been widely analysed by other authors (Novick, 1992, 2003, 2009; Paz Jajamovich, 2012, 2013, 2016; Rigotti, 2014). Second, because, in addition to being highly relevant to the understanding of the Argentinian case study, the choice provides promising hints for an exploration of possible articulations between EGT and recent works on policy transfer (Béland, 2009; Frisch, 2019; Peck, 2011; Stein et al., 2017) and, in particular, with the literature emerging from Latin America (Milhorance, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020; Montero, 2017a, b, c; Osorio Gonnet, 2015; Porto de Oliveira et al., 2019; Silva Ardila, 2020).

Policies do not travel as complete and closed packages. That is a feature already well known in the literature on policy transfer (see for example McCann & Word, 2012; Peck & Theodore, 2010a; Temenos & McCann, 2013). The literature on policy migrations from and within the Global South, and specially from Latin-America, has, in turn, largely contributed to demystifying the perception of a unilateral flow of (fragments of) policy ideas with provenance from the Global North. Latin-American researchers have analysed i.a. how South-South cooperation affects policy agendas and prescriptions in international organisations (Milhorance & Soule-Kohndou, 2017), and explored how narrative simplifications and mutations aligned with changing and far-reaching agendas facilitate transnational policy learning (Montero, 2017a; Pacheco Vega, 2012). However, comparatively less is known about what happens with the receiving governance environment; about the ways in which it reinterprets travelling policy ideas, how they operate locally, and how they ultimately end up affecting governance. Sections 3.4 and 3.5 make a contribution in this regard by helping to better capture the complexity of the local policy-making scenarios in which these exchanges are constantly (re)embedded and ultimately produce effects.

Thinking about the co-evolution of discursive migrations and discursive configurations is useful for highlighting that planning policy formations are not only subject to operations that depend on prior decisions (as seen in chapter 2), but parallel communications also play a relevant role. In this line, well-appreciated results of similar policies taking place elsewhere could —and in the Argentinian case did— inform policy decisions, even without being explicitly referred to. Building on this idea, chapter 3 revealed that the revival of State-led planning on a national scale in Argentina at the beginning of the 21st Century was not only shaped by means of reference to earlier policies, plans and projects, but also by contemporary theoretical and methodological tendencies stemming from foreign authoritative sources. Thus, coinciding with an expansion of interpretative approaches to planning in developed countries (see Van Assche, 2007), new management strategies based on collective decision-making were mobilised into the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'*.

In the revival of Argentinian central planning, a powerful travelling idea that epitomises the interdependent link between discursive migrations and discursive configurations has been that of collaborative decision-making, stemming from Anglo-American contexts (see section 3.5.2). Collaboration is commonly considered as inherently good and value-free but lacking in clear definitions. This combination grants actors operating under the collaborative banner a broad space to manoeuvre. Collaborative steering attempts suggest a commitment with consensus-building that promises progress of some kind and thus to argue against it might bring unintended consequences. Thus, in the Argentinian case, these collaborative ideals

could have seem appealing for stakeholders if contrasted with the perceived more coercive power of international financial organisations (WB; IMF), that had pervasive influence on policy formation during the 1990s. However, collaboration is also an attractive idea to strategising actors who attempt to maintain or strengthen their positions of power. Consequently, as the case study presented in this thesis illustrates, such an idea can be translated to a supportive discourse around the benefits of articulating multiple planning actors and provide the social impetus for stakeholders' collaboration while reinforcing the roles and functions of the planning state apparatus in current form.

In this way, contradicting the most simplistic versions of policy convergence and diffusion of 'best practices' (e.g., Clark, 1983; Capelli & McElrath, 1992; Walker, 1969), chapter 3 of this thesis has argued and shown that travelling academic and policy knowledge can only achieve effects if they make sense for the community and the historical and cultural context in which they are to be embedded (Hajer, 1995; Howlett & Rayner, 1995; Stein et al., 2017). Circuits of policy knowledge, as well as their evolution, take shape in fields of political dispute (Peck & Theodore, 2010a; Ward, 2006), on the basis of *"relational assemblages of elements and resources -fixed and mobile pieces of expertise, regulation, institutional capacities, etc. - from close by and far away"* (McCann & Ward, 2013: 8). Both local and international transfer agents play a crucial role in the 'translation' process (Stone, 2004) needed to discern what could fit into the receiving context. However, recognising only that role would be an understatement since they not only help to move broad ideas, standard designs or procedures but also mobilise expectations and political resources to *"determine how an issue should be perceived, what should be considered as a problem, and therefore also the range of alternative solutions"* (Van Duinen, 2015: 550). Hence, interpretations regarding the alleged 'success' or 'failure' of a transferred policy will inevitably be laden with the assumptions that the intermediaries make of both the internal and external context in which they become ingrained, as well as their own interests (Dunlop, 2017; McFarlane, 2010; Sultana, 2011).

In light of the above, when analysing the influence of travelling ideas over the (re)delineation of decision-making strategies, Argentina also showed that a history of shocks does not prevent path dependencies in governance, nor the preservation of learning modes, and that global circuits of knowledge and policy discourses entailing long-term and large-scale coordination in such context can become both more desirable and harder to implement. Regarding the particular travels and translations of collaborative planning discourses, the analysis made clear that the whole package of assumptions and practices does not need to travel together; that every rhetoric can be used and abused, creating its own blind spots, exclusions and oppressions; and, that a study of both discursive migrations and discursive configurations can help to explain the pattern of those unwanted effects.

The dialogue between recent writings on policy mobilities attentive to agency in the receiving governance environment (e.g., Clarke et al., 2015; McCann & Ward, 2012, 2103; Peck, 2011; Stein et al., 2017) and an EGT-based understanding of the mutations of migrating discourse during the circulation process should be further explored in policy, planning and public administration literature. Thus, for example, a fine-grained exploration of the liaisons between the politics of policy travel and comparative learning in/across planning systems would allow other researchers to shed new light on how evolving governance constrains and enables particular modes of learning, which may, in turn, affect actors, organisations and the

dynamics of self-transformation within planning systems (see Van Assche, Beunen & Verweij, 2020). This clarity, in turn, can bring policy-makers closer to a realistic assessment of pros and cons of importing ideologies, concepts, metaphors, images and principles in particular institutional settings.

5.1.3. Rethinking Goal Dependencies in Light of Recent Steering Ambitions in Argentinian Planning

Setting goals can create dependencies and produce various effects in the governance system. In those cases, in which the results obtained are in line with the goals, it becomes easier for policy analysts to talk about 'efficient implementation' (Barrett, 2004; MacKenzie et al., 2007). However, the interdependent relation between different elements of governance can also trigger effects that are not necessarily in line with those initially envisioned. Apparently shared visions of the future contribute to creating a unifying narrative about a community and how distant it is believed to be from a perceived preferred situation. At the same time, these visions may enable new ways of seeing and understanding things that will be inherently associated to processes of learning which take shape in a context of ongoing power/knowledge dynamics (see Van Assche, Verschraegen, & Gruezmacher, 2021). New forms of steering, in turn, will affect knowledge entering the system and the highly complex interplay between actors in governance. In this sense, chapter 4 has shown how the image of a more federal distribution of Argentinian spatial development enabled the creation of COFEPLAN as the best strategy to steer such ambition and yet, the configuration of this organisation ended up feeding the expert gaze. Moreover, through the creation of COFEPLAN, the Argentinian planning systems embarked on a self-transformation process that would induce a change in the positionality of political representatives (now becoming knowledge mediators) and facilitate dialectical learning (although minimising diversity of perspectives in the name of consensus) so that the desired future for each province would fit within the broader national picture.

The Ministry of Planning made a deliberate attempt to steer the decision-making process in the direction of a more flexible, strategic, federal and participative model, in the belief that this would facilitate both knowledge and policy integration. The conception of the forthcoming spatial organisation of the country emerging from this new model would also enable, in theory, better State intervention, more precise policy definitions and successful implementation processes (Under-secretariat of Territorial Planning of Public Investment, 2008). In this sense, a key component of the *Strategic Spatial Plan "Bicentennial Argentina"* elaborated by the Ministry was the formulation of 'target images' that would operate as a synthesis of an envisioned future (Leiva Lavalle, 2012). The collective construction of these images was expected to facilitate the adherence of key actors operating at sub-national levels to a shared vision of the future spatial organisation of the country where their core values and historical ways of intervening in the field of planning would be maintained and made fit in with others. Underlying this persuasive narrative lies an interpretation of territorial imbalances as the absence of the State (or of an 'adequate' planning policy), understood as an entity capable of guaranteeing a spatial reorganisation according to the general interests of society at any given moment, based on the concurrence of expert knowledge and an efficient technical-administrative organisation.

5.1.4. Shocks and the reshuffling of dependencies

Shocks produce different effects (both positive and negative, both innovative and conservative) on governance, influencing governance paths, their relationship with the environment, and the conditions for their (self) transformation (North et al., 2009). These effects can potentially alter the conditions of rigidity and flexibility in governance and cannot be anticipated since they end up taking shape in the particular interplay between dependencies that is, by definition, unique (Van Assche, Beunen & Verweij, 2020). Shocks can induce path dependencies, affect interdependencies, and undermine/disrupt goal dependencies.

A look from path dependencies allows us to highlight how a shock can trigger responses tending to strengthen the internal cohesion of the system by strengthening positions of power and revalidating old stories that seemed outdated (Van Assche, Djanibekov, et al., 2014; Van Assche, Deacon, et al., 2017). The aftermath of shocks that took place and produced effects in the past can, as this thesis has shown, cause objects, discourses, roles, identities and subjects of the past to be forgotten, remembered differently by actors with conflicting ideas, concerns and interests, simplified, and/or reinterpreted from different perspectives in later re-readings/reviews (Hahn et al., 2008). The learning capacity inherent in governance systems enables the possibility that responses that were once assessed as successful/failure may later be re-read differently. Thus, by re-signifying memories of the past from the present, it becomes possible to sustain/restore positions of power of actors/institutions of past times, even though the discursive configurations on which they were based are no longer the same (Esposito, 2008).

Governance evolution is likely to become more rigid against the backdrop of simplified oppositions that may emerge as a result of a history of shocks in which power positions become more difficult to change (Alvesson et al, 2009; Van Assche, Beunen, Duineveld & Gruezmacher, 2017). In this light, the formation of national planning policies in Argentina constitutes a unique case to explore how big policy ambitions can be sustained and revived despite a context of persistent shocks. In line with recent findings in EGT literature (see Van Assche, Gruezmacher & Beunen, 2022) the Argentinian case is also a good example to explore how past memories can lose and regain explanatory power after a shock.

In the case of interdependencies, shocks can cause changes at the level of actors, institutions and the actor/institutions nexus. At the level of actors, while some may be favoured by the ongoing transformations and strengthen their position or join new networks, at the opposite extreme there are others who may be forced to assume new roles and those most affected may even be excluded from the system (Adams Prassl et al., 2020; Brown & Susskind, 2020; Hobbs, 2020; Marais et al., 2021). They also produce effects at the level of institutions, since they can gain, lose and, sometimes, recover explanatory power as an effect of changing community perceptions about (memories) of the past (the Argentinian case is a good example of this). Finally, shocks impact at the level of the actor/institutions nexus. On the one hand, the transformation of the base of participating actors can enable the appearance of new rules and the abandonment of others. On the other hand, when the institutions lose attractiveness as tools for a coordinated response, their acceptance can become difficult to sustain and the

actors that perform this task can find themselves displaced or threatened in their positions of power.

Finally, at the level of goal dependencies, shocks are often expected to produce negative effects, as things become more unpredictable, control usually weakens, and coordination becomes more complex, all of which leads to a greater predilection for short-termism. in governance (MacKenzie, 2021; Marais et al., 2021). However, shocks can also help reposition images of the future that seemed forgotten, draw attention to long-term visions that entail a new type of relationship between society and its governance, enable the rise of new forms of coordination apparently aligned with the interests of new empowered actors and with emerging discourses (as is the case of COFEPLAN introduced in chapter 4), among other effects.

This research has made a contribution to better understand the effects of shocks and of travelling ideas over the evolution of the Argentinian planning system, in light of path, inter-, and goal dependencies that may enhance or downplay policy continuities and change. A promising avenue for future research along similar lines could be focused on shocks coming from the material environment (e.g., extreme weather events, over-exploitation of natural resources, obsolescence of connectivity networks and service infrastructure) and how they might attract attention to places, infrastructures, phenomena, and resources that remained unobserved by actors in governance. This line of research could, in turn, contribute to further deepen our understanding of material dependencies, a more recent development within EGT and only alluded to laterally in this thesis.

5.1.5. Readdressing Dependencies from their Interplay

Understanding dependencies is important since they affect how actors and institutions are formed, how they interact and how the governance configurations transform over time (Beunen et al., 2015; Van Assche et al., 2014a). From the case analysed in this thesis, it becomes clear that the evolution of spatial governance in Argentina has always been subject to path, inter, and goal dependencies. Exploring path dependencies helped explain the foundational role of discourse, organisations and expertise as they enabled the formation of three inertia-building mechanisms that facilitated continuities in national planning policies (see chapter 2). The discussion of interdependencies made it possible to show discursive and material couplings between the local formation of planning ideologies and the broader academic and policy environment in which they are embedded. Four dimensions of discursive migration (ideas, problems, methods and solutions) were introduced in section 3.2.1, providing valuable insight to better grasp how travelling collaborative discourses transformed in the receiving Argentinian context. Identifying goal dependencies, in turn, added another layer to understand this complexity, as the formation of steering organisations and strategies within the national planning system has always been strongly coupled with images of the future that later became engrained in policies (see section 4.3.2). As such, each form of dependence enables a different way of analytically cutting the same general theme, each one helps to explain particular fragments or specific features of the evolution of Argentinian spatial governance, without forgetting that these dependencies also produce effects through their interrelations.

Path, inter and goal dependencies interact, and it is in this interplay, in the specific combination of dependencies, that a governance path gains its unique character. An image of the future is more likely to be socially accepted, become engrained in policies and produce effects on reality if it is consistent with previous positively perceived choices, and if it is constructed in accordance with the views of the set of actors and institutions currently involved. On the other hand, new discourses, new actors and new orientations in governance can emerge as a response to previous steering ambitions perceived as failures, in an attempt to differentiate themselves from the past. At the same time, whereas the legacies of the past can help to consolidate this interdependent network of actors and institutions, plans for the future can motivate its modification which might, in turn, unlock some aspects of path dependence. The interdependent relationships between these elements can also take new shapes or new directions, reinterpreting the effects of past choices, as a way to bring the desired vision of the future closer (see sections 4.4 and 4.5). The interactions between the three dependencies can thus be used to explain both flexibility and rigidity in actor/institution configurations as well as the emergence of spaces for path creation and their limits.

5.1.6. Mapping the Interplay between Dependencies in Argentinian Governance Evolution

The analysis of the historical conditions that enabled and constrained the revival of State-led spatial planning on a national scale in Argentina at the beginning of the 21st Century developed throughout the different chapters that make up this thesis has revealed how the official narrative of the national State was structured around key political-economic episodes unfolding over a period of almost a century. The undeniable relevance of these events, most of which are indirectly related to planning itself, lies in its disruptive impact on configurations of power/knowledge, actors/institutions and formal/informal institutions. Some of these shocking events opened windows of opportunity that have made it possible to enable new discourses, introduce new actors, modify the rules of the game, (de)legitimise certain expertise, among other effects with not always foreseen consequences. Thus, the interplay between the different dependencies became particularly disputed during these critical moments.

The need to respond to the international financial crisis of 1929, for example, facilitated the emergence of the first national-scale plans and positioned a group of actors (mainly economists) at the centre of decision-making (see section 2.4.1). But these early national plans, which were purely economic in nature, were developed independently of those that, for several decades before, had been seeking to intervene more directly on urban spatial organisation and, for this, had managed to mobilise other actors (architects and engineers) and create their own expertise (urban planners). The problems that each type of plan was aimed to attack were perceived as disconnected from each other. The next period, beginning just after the end of World War II, represents a key policy window for path creation. The comprehensiveness of the Five-Year Plans developed under Perón's administration between 1947 and 1955 intrinsically incorporated the spatial dimension, although the economic problems remained at the centre of their concerns. If, in the previous period, urban beautification plans and projects had found their muses in French architects and landscapers (see section 3.4.1), after World War II, the centralised economic planning of the Soviet Union

would position itself as a main source of inspiration, although with great differences (e.g., regarding property rights, since Argentina was —and continues to be— a capitalist country). These two moments, with their actors, institutions and expertise, were foundational for a way of seeing and acting in the field of Argentinian planning. The policy attempts that followed were structured, in part, in relation to these key moments, either to differentiate themselves or to give continuity to some of their components. Whereas the planning discourse during the Peronist government entailed the idea of an objective need for State-led planning, its transformation in relation to the policy environment of the 1960s implied that a new bureaucracy was needed. This led to the expansion of the base of intervening actors through the incorporation of highly qualified personnel, participation in specialised international organisations and the creation of university institutes (see section 2.4.3), which, in turn, brought closer the ideologies of State-led planning and associated social engineering from Northern models (e.g., Lyndon B. Johnson's 'Great Society Agenda' in the US, see Woods, 2016).

The revival of Argentinian planning at the beginning of the 21st Century relied on not yet existing interdependencies and complementarities for success, while existing interdependencies, strengthened by the historical persistence of the urban/industrialising development narrative and the base of expertise organised around it in the past, made it difficult to break the power/knowledge configuration and to transform the actor/institutions nexus. The association of industrialisation to urban growth, thus, represents a material and cognitive path dependence, also strengthened by the interdependencies formed around it, where several actors defined their task in relation to the socio-ecological urban system in current form. Changing this institutional design to meet the requirements of other settings (e.g., the rural spaces) requires organisational innovation and the incorporation of new expertise to broaden the set of choices for decision-makers and develop an alternative planning power that nowadays remains scattered across different States and non-State organisations.

5.2. Conclusions

This thesis builds on and contributes to further developing the conceptual architecture of Evolutionary Governance Theory (EGT) through a historical analysis focused on the conditions that enabled and constrained the revival of State-led spatial planning at the national level in Argentina at the beginning of the 21st Century. Exploring the effects of a strong set of dependencies (path, inter, and goal dependencies) on the transformation of power, knowledge, actors, and institutions, it provides a new interpretative key for understanding the dynamics of continuity and change in processes of policy formation. The core of this dissertation revolved around a set of 3 questions and 7 sub-questions for which a synthetic answer can now be presented, trusting that the reader will find more details in the corresponding chapters.

This thesis has shown that strong institutional path dependencies constrained the scope, content, and procedures of planning interventions in Argentina by creating rigidities that limited the transformation of actor/institutions and power/knowledge configurations. Thus, the revival of State-led spatial planning at the national level in Argentina at the beginning of

the 21st Century partially built on legacies from previous policy attempts, although not all of those attempts were equally influential. Beautification plans for the central districts deployed in Buenos Aires —and, to a lesser extent, in the main cities of the country— since the late 19th Century, for example, constitute a highly relevant legacy, given that they contributed to creating a predominantly urban image of planning that would be maintained when planning policies expanded to the national scale as a legitimate instrument of the State to mitigate the territorial imbalances produced by a rapid and uncoordinated urbanisation process. In the same vein, the memory of a supposedly successful, scientific and participative image of post-war planning was strategically mobilised and re-assembled to renew decision-making structures and manage political negotiation between different tiers of government. The institutional framework of national-level planning that began to take shape since the 1940s defined the limits for the actions of a set of actors entitled to participate in policy formation. From then on, a particular expertise (limited to very specific professional profiles) would progressively consolidate their positions of power, ensuring that their world-views and ways of dealing with rules maintained a persistent presence in the national planning policies that followed.

Major economic and political shocks, recurrent in the Argentinian history of the 20th Century, opened windows of opportunity that enabled reinterpretations of what planning is and what it can do, of how national planning policies performed in the past, of the broader ideologies and grand narratives in which they were embedded, as well as the governance context in which they produced effects. With this, these disruptive events, and the related discursive turns, allowed a partial reshuffling of the actor/institutions and power/knowledge configurations, new self-descriptions of the national planning system and the emergence of new policy options, among other effects with consequences not always foreseen. However, despite the transformative power of these recurrent shocks, the configurations of actor/institutions and power/knowledge stemming from the urbanising/industrialising discourse in progress since the beginning of the 20th Century have proven very hard to transform. The persistence of this legacy from previous policy attempts explains the central place occupied by infrastructure networks for urban connectivity and industrial development as narrative components in the formation of the Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina' and also exposes the endurance of the associated expertise that gives it substance.

This thesis has also demonstrated how inter-dependent dynamics of 'discursive migrations' and 'discursive configurations' contribute to giving new shapes, orientations and meanings to travelling knowledge. On this basis, it revealed how collaborative ideals stemming from Anglo-American contexts influenced the re-delineation of decision-making strategies upon landing in the specific governance context of 21st Century Argentina. On the one hand, the travelling collaborative discourse enabled the transformation of the self-definitions of the national planning system, hitherto sustained in conventional technocratic perspectives that assumed a superiority of expert knowledge and thus justified a centralist and top-down logic in decision-making. On the other, the demand for a consensus-building strategy that included a wide set of actors was transformed in and by the receiving governance configuration into a supportive discourse around the benefits of articulating a selected group of planning actors located within the political state apparatus. In this way, the travelling academic and policy discourse of collaborative planning was adjusted to the political needs of the time, thus enabling the Ministry of Planning to channel sectoral negotiations with a reduced set of

stakeholders from the provinces, through a new steering organisation: The Federal Council for Planning and Territorial Ordering (COFEPLAN). Thus, although the collective decision-making strategy created stronger liaisons between provincial representatives, it also fed the expert gaze and restrained the incorporation of a broader set of actors in decision-making. This evinces that actors never stop strategising (Van Assche et al., 2020) and that a rhetoric of collaboration is particularly attractive to strategising actors who attempt to strengthen their positions of power while maintaining the planning state apparatus in current form.

Inter-dependent dynamics of 'discursive migrations' and 'discursive configurations' have received little attention in Argentina but their effects are not new in the formation of national planning policies and this has been exposed in this thesis (chapter 3), where the mobilisation of ideas, concepts, metaphors, people and resources was traced back to the beginning of the 20th Century and analysed in its reconfiguration in/of hosting discursive configurations. Such historical review exposed the evolution of key transfer agents and the slide towards subtler strategies of relationship to get their world-views accepted by others. Thus, if in the first decades of the 20th Century the link was mainly through irregular, punctual and sporadic academic exchanges, the presence of Argentinian technicians in international scholarship programmes would be consolidated with the institutionalisation of planning at the national level, during the 'Golden Era' (1945-1975). The principles and standards of North American normative planning also expanded to the Argentinian context, especially during the 1960s, as a result of the creation of research institutes led by prominent experts educated in United States universities and the growing presence of planning organisations and planning boards across the continent. International financial organizations (e.g., World Bank and IMF) would gain prominence as transfer agents since the late 1970s by conditioning loans on the application of their programmes. After the economic, political and social collapse of 2001/2002 and the consequent loss of credibility of international organisations and traditional political parties, local agents managed to reassemble and reinterpret the political perception of territorial imbalances as a policy problem that exposed the lack of inter-provincial coordination. In this move, local planning experts and decision-makers would regain prominence but were now expected to perform a new role as 'knowledge mediators', facilitating the negotiation of collective meaning-making through 'soft power' in order to carry out inter- jurisdictional policy integration.

The thesis has finally exposed how goal dependencies influenced ideas and policy principles in the reappearance of State-led planning at the beginning of the 21st Century. Thus, the apparently shared image of the future of Argentinian planning as sustained in a more integrated and federal territorial distribution of public investment enabled the idea of coordinated decision-making and broadened democratic principles in order to address the hitherto unnoticed problem of participation in spatial policy integration. The institutionalisation of this world-view, in turn, allowed new organisational arrangements to emerge and produce effects on steering strategies but, at the same time, such arrangements constrained the way the problem was understood. The analysis of the emergence of COFEPLAN and its results made it clear that images, narratives or visions of the future can become world-making and affect the functioning of the system from which they emerge in manners that often tend to exceed straightforward implementation and, therefore, can rarely be predicted.

Images that were supposedly shared by the community contributed to creating a unifying narrative about the desired model for the future organisation of the country that represented the Argentinian territory as a polycentric urban system, articulated through infrastructure networks. These images became ingrained in the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'* through the 'Desired Territorial Model', a map of the national territory synthesising widely held expectations in each of the provinces. Furthermore, when combined with reinterpretations of previous policies and with existing institutions, these images also allowed the creation of new links between actors and new rules to coordinate policy orientations. However, the mixture of interactions in actor/institutions, formal/informal institutions and power/knowledge configurations taking place within COFEPLAN and the broader governance network led to the effects of goals being decoupled from initial intention.

The State's steering goal was to synchronise large infrastructure projects and public works investments across the country and to monitor and review the research and practical implementation outputs, based on broad processes of collective decision-making. The strong dependence of the national State on the political support of the provinces for planning projects at the national level in the aftermath of the crisis of 2001/2002 and the local 'translation' of the collaborative discourse (as devised in chapter 3) enabled and constrained COFEPLAN as a steering organisation capable of such endeavour. On the one hand, COFEPLAN managed to articulate strategic guidelines to usher the public investment process devised in the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'* at different levels of government and, by linking up with similar State bodies, it also facilitated interactions between the main political actors and a broader set of relevant organisations. On the other, its design was constrained by an institutional structure already regulating and organising itself through the formation of politically-oriented councils to legitimise decision-making (e.g., CIMOP). Thus, COFEPLAN ended up channelling negotiations through political representatives already involved in planning policies in their own provinces. This shows that furthering goals cannot completely avoid or abruptly break the legacies of strong path dependencies and the interdependent nexus of actors and institutions. Argentina and its fragmented governance regime also illustrate how path-dependencies, lingering memories of previous goals, and a history of varying reinterpretations of national steering attempts can make steering through national·level planning both more desirable and a tall order.

The three dependencies from which national planning policy formations in Argentina were scrutinised constitute a sound vantage point to contest and overcome traditional static perspectives on policy analysis. This approach, in turn, offers new insights to guide the expansion of Argentinian planning studies (e.g., Berrotarán, 2003; Gómez, 2009; Reese, 2006) which have remained largely focused on describing the complexity of the articulations between (failed) policy formulation and the socio-political forces that propel them into existence. The refined understanding of path, inter and goal-dependencies and their interplay developed in this thesis illuminates rigidities in the evolution of planning discourse as well as space for path creation. In this way, research findings can help planners, planning scholars, policy analysts and policy practitioners to get a better grasp on why particular policies or ideas produce particular effects (both material and discursive) and assists in looking forward and discerning more or less realistic reform options.

The case of Argentinian planning policies also provides a guide for other researchers to make fruitful contributions to current academic debates concerned with the role of discourse in

policy formation and institutional change, where the core literature to a large extent builds on environmental policy. In the course of exploring the conditions that enabled and constrained the revival of Argentinian planning in the 21st Century, the research process revealed its interrelationship with the discourses of other fields and times, between spreading policy solutions and enduring institutional settings and, between historically imposed restrictions on governance arrangements and contemporary managerial trends. Better understandings of these co-evolutions can offer policymakers critical insights about the performative effects of persistent policy 'failures' and, therefrom, maybe, enhance the capacity of policy actors to better design policy processes and institutions.

5

References

Adams-Prassl, A., Boneva, T., Golin, M., & Rauh, C. (2020). Inequality in the Impact of the Coronavirus Shock: Evidence from Real Time Surveys. *Journal of Public Economics*, *189*, 104245.

Adler, P. S., Forbes, L. C., & Willmott, H. (2007). Critical management studies. *Academy of Management Annals*, *1*(1), 119–179.

Afforlderbach, J., & Schulz, C. (2016). Mobile transitions: exploring synergies for urban sustainability research. *Urban Studies*, *3*(9), 1942–1957.

Albrechts, L. (2004). Strategic (spatial) planning re-examined. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, *31*(5), 743–758.

Albrechts, L. (2006). Shifts in strategic spatial planning? Some evidence from Europe and Australia. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *38*(6), 1149–1170.

Alexander, E. (2005). Institutional Transformation and Planning: From Institutionalization Theory to Institutional Design. *Planning Theory*, *4*(3), 209–223.

Allan, B. (2018). *Scientific Cosmology and International Orders.* United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Allison, T. (1971). *Essence of decision: Explaining the Cuban missile crisis*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company.

Álvarez, G. P. (2016). Polos de desarrollo, acumulación originaria y expansión capitalista: Un estudio comparativo del estado argentino, brasileño y español [Development poles, original accumulation and capitalist expansion: A comparative study of the Argentine, Brazilian and Spanish State]. *Theomai*, 34, 88–103.

Alves Rolo, R. H. (2021). The persistent reinvention of state-led planning policies in Argentina: Exploring path dependencies and policy ruptures. *Planning Perspectives*, *36*(1), 49–74.

Alvesson, M., Bridgman, T., & Willmott, H. (2009). *The Oxford Handbook of Critical Management Studies*. Medford, MA: Oxford Handbooks.

Alvesson, M., & Willmott, H. (2011). *Critical management studies*. London: Sage.

Amin, A. (1999). An institutionalist perspective on regional economic development. *International journal of urban and regional research*, *23*(2), 365-378.

Andersson, K. (2006). Understanding decentralized forest governance: an application of the institutional analysis and development framework. *Sustainability: Science, Practice and Policy*, *2*(1), 25-35.

Ardanaz, M., Leiras, M., & Tommasi, M. (2014). The politics of federalism in Argentina and its implications for governance and accountability. *World Development*, 53, 26–45.

Ardao, A. (1986). Panamericanismo y latinoamericanismo [Panamericanism and latinamericanism]. In: Zea, L. (Ed.) *América Latina en sus ideas*, pp. 157–171. México: Siglo XXI.

Bacchi, C. (2009). *Analysing policy. What´s the problem represented to be?* Australia: Pearson.

Baletti, B. (2012). Ordenamento Territorial: Neo-developmentalism and the struggle for territory in the lower Brazilian Amazon. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *39*(2), 573-598.

Barrett, S. M. (2004). Implementation studies: time for a revival? Personal reflections on 20 years of implementation studies. *Public administration*, *82*(2), 249-262.

Baumgartner, F., & Jones, B. (1993) [2010]. *Agendas and instability in American politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Baumgartner, F., Green-Pedersen, C., & Jones, B. D. (2006). Comparative studies of policy agendas. *Journal of European public policy*, *13*(7), 959-974.

Beckert, J. (2016). *Imagined futures: Fictional expectations and capitalist dynamics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bedock, C. (2017). *Reforming Democracy: Institutional Engineering in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Béland, D. (2009). Ideas, institutions, and policy change. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *16*(5), 701–718.

Béland, D., & Howlett, M. (2016). The role and impact of the multiple-streams approach in comparative policy analysis. *Journal of comparative policy analysis: research and practice*, *18*(3), 221-227.

Belini, C. (2009). La industria peronista, 1946–1955: Políticas públicas y cambio estructural [The Peronist industry, 1946–1955: Public policies and structural change]. Buenos Aires: EDHASA.

Bennett, A., & Checkel, J. (2014) [2015]. *Process Tracing: From Metaphor to Analytic Tool*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Benson, D., & Jordan, A. (2011). What have we learned from policy transfer research? Dolowitz and Marsh revisited. *Political Studies Review*, *9*(3), 366–378.

Benton, A. (2009). What makes strong federalism seem weak? Fiscal resources and presidential–provincial relations in Argentina. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, *39*(4), 651–676.

Bernazza, C. (2004). El Paradigma de Desarrollo Local: Virtudes y Contradicciones del Modelo Municipal de los Noventa [The Local Development Paradigm: Virtues and Contradictions of the Municipal Model of the Nineties] Accessed January 15, 2017. Available at http://www.claudiabernazza.com.ar.

Berros, M. V. (2015). Ordenamiento ambiental del territorio y participación ciudadana en Argentina: aportes posibles desde el derecho [Environmental planning of the territory and citizen participation in Argentina: possible contributions from the law]. *Revista Brasileira de Políticas Públicas*, *5*(1), 2–16.

Berrotarán, P. (2003). *Del Plan a la Planificación: El Estado durante la Época Peronista* [From Plan to Planning: The State during the Peronist Era]. Buenos Aires: Imago Mundi.

Beunen, R., & Duineveld, M. (2010). Divergence and convergence in policy meanings of European environmental policies: the case of the birds and habitats directives. *International Planning Studies*, *15*(4), 321-333.

Beunen, R., & Lata, I. B. (2021). What makes long-term perspectives endure? Lessons from Dutch nature conservation. *Futures*, 126, Article 102679.

Beunen, R., & Van Assche, K. (2013). Contested delineations: planning, law, and the governance of protected areas, *Environment and Planning A*, *45*(6), 1285-1301.

Beunen, R., Van Assche, K., & Duineveld, M. (2013). Performing failure in conservation policy: The implementation of European Union directives in the Netherlands. *Land use policy*, 31, 280-288.

Beunen, R., Van Assche, K., & Duineveld, M. (2015). *Evolutionary Governance Theory: Theory and applications*. Switzerland: Springer.

Birchall, S. J. (2020). Coastal climate adaptation planning and evolutionary governance: Insights from Homer, Alaska. *Marine Policy*, 112, Article 103410.

Bleich, E. (2006). Institutional Continuity and Change. *Policy Studies*, *27*(3), 219–234.

Blomquist, W. A. (1992). *Dividing the waters: Governing groundwater in Southern California*. San Francisco, CA: ICS Press.

Blomquist, W., & deLeon, P. (2011). The design and promise of the institutional analysis and development framework. *Policy Studies Journal*, *39*(1), 1-7.

Blyth, M. (2002). *Great Transformations: Economic Ideas and Institutional Change in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boas, T. (2007). Conceptualizing Continuity and Change. The Composite-Standard Model of Path Dependence. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, *19*(1), 33–54.

Borras, G., Herrera, L., Auer, A., & Videla, C. (2016). Construcción de Observatorios Ambientales: Experiencia Participativa en la Cuenca Alta del Arroyo Malacara [Construction of Environmental Observatories: Participatory Experience in the Upper Basin of the Malacara Stream]. *Revista Estudios Ambientales*, *4*(1), 19–41.

Boschma, R. (2010). Competitiveness of Regions from an Evolutionary Perspective. *Regional Studies*, *38*(9), 1001–1014.

Boschma, R., & Lambooy, J. (1999). Evolutionary Economics and Economic Geography. *Journal of Evolutionary Economics*, *9*(4), 411–429.

Boschma, R., & Martin, R. (2007). Constructing an evolutionary economic geography. *Journal of Economic Geography*, *7*, 537–548.

Bourdieu, P. (2002). Les conditions sociales de la circulation internationale des idées [The social conditions of the international circulation of ideas]. *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, *5*(145), 3–8.

Braybrooke, D., & Lindblom, C. E. (1963). *Strategy of decision.* New York: Free Press.

Brenner, N. (2004). *New State Spaces. Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Brown, G., & Susskind, D. (2020). International cooperation during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, *36*(Supplement_1), S64-S76.

Byrne, D. (1998). *Complexity theory and the social sciences: An introduction*. London: Routledge.

Cabrales Barajas, L. (2002). *Latinoamérica: Países Abiertos, Ciudades Cerradas* [Latin America: Open Countries, Closed Cities]. Guadalajara, México: Universidad de Guadalajara and UNESCO.

Calcagno, A. (1988). *La Perversa Deuda Argentina* [The Perverse Argentinian Debt]. Legasa: Buenos Aires.

Callon, M. (1991). Techno-economic networks and irreversibility. In Law, J. (Ed.) *A sociology of monsters: essays on power, technology and domination*. London: Routledge.

Calvo, E., & Escolar, M. (2005). *La nueva política de partidos en la Argentina: Crisis política, realineamientos partidarios y reforma electoral* [The new party policy in Argentina: Political crisis, party realignments and electoral reform]. Buenos Aires: Prometeo.

Campbell, J. L. (2004). *Institutional Change and Globalization*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Canelo, P. (2012). Los efectos del poder tripartito: La balcanización del gabinete nacional durante la última dictadura militar argentina [The effects of tripartite power: The Balkanization of the national cabinet during the last Argentinian military dictatorship]. *Prohistoria: Historia, Políticas de la Historia*, *17*, 129–150.

Capelli, P., & McElrath, R. (1992). *The transfer of Employment Practices through Multinationals*, paper presented to Third Bargaining Group Conference, University of California, Berkeley.

Capoccia, G. (2015). Critical Junctures and Institutional Change. In Mahoney J. & Thelen, K. (Eds.) *Advances in Comparative-Historical Analysis*, pp. 147–179. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Capoccia, G., & Kelemen, R. (2007). The Study of Critical Junctures: Theory, Narrative, and Counterfactuals in Historical Institutionalism. *World Politics*, *59*(3), 341–369.

Caravaca, J. (2011). *Liberalismo o Intervencionismo? Debates sobre el Rol del Estado en la Economía Argentina. 1870–1935* [Liberalism or Interventionism? Debates on the Role of the State in the Argentinian Economy. 1870–1935]. Buenos Aires: Sudamericana.

Carlsson, L. (2000). Policy networks as collective action. *Policy studies journal*, *28*(3), 502-520.

Carolini, G., Gallagher, D., & Cruxˆen, I. (2018). The promise of proximity: the politics of knowledge and learning in South-South cooperation between water operators. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, *36*(7), 1157–1175.

Carter, N., Bryant-Lukosius, D., Di Censo, A., Blythe, J., & Neville, A. J. (2014). The use of triangulation in qualitative research. *Oncology Nursing Forum*, *41*(5), 545-547.

Casparrino, C. (2008). Nuevos Dilemas del Desarrollo Periférico: Notas sobre la Heterodoxia Conservadora, Democracia y Cambio Social [New Dilemmas of Peripheral Development: Notes on Conservative Heterodoxy, Democracy and Social Change.]. *La revista del CCC*, *4*. Accessed January 26, 2017. Available at https://www.centrocultural.coop/revista/articulo/87/.

Castells, M. (1983). Crisis, Planning, and the Quality of Life: Managing the New Historical Relationships between Space and Society. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *1*(1), 3–21.

Catenazzi, A., Reese, E., & Mango, A. (2019). 20 years of Habitat II: The pending subjects. In Cohen, M., Carrizosa, M., & M. Gutman (Eds.) *Urban policy in Latin America: Towards the Sustainable Development Goals?,* pp. 203–260. London: Routledge.

Cerrutti, M., & Bertoncello, R. (2006). Urbanization and internal migration patterns in Latin America. In M. Tienda, S. Findley, S. Tollman, & E. Preston-Whyte (Eds.), *African migration and urbanization in comparative perspective*, pp. 141–156. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Chen, D., & Dahlman, C. (2005). The Knowledge Economy, the Kam Methodology and World Bank Operations. World Bank Institute Working Paper.

Ciccolella, P. (2006). Metrópolis latinoamericanas: ¿Territorios subregulados, espacios del capital? [Latin American metropolises: Under-regulated territories, spaces of capital?]. In A. Aguilar (Ed.), *Las grandes aglomeraciones y su periferia regional: Experiencias en Latinoamérica y España* [Large agglomerations and their regional periphery: Experiences in Latin America and Spain], pp. 305-324. México: Porrúa Editor.

Clark, K. (1983). *The future of industrial societies: Convergence or continuing diversity?*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Clarke, J., Bainton, D., Lendvai, N., & Stubbs, P. (2015). *Making policy move: Towards a politics of translation and assemblage*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Cleaver, F. (2012). *Development through Bricolage: Rethinking Institutions for Natural Resource Management*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Clement, F. (2010). Analysing decentralised natural resource governance: proposition for a "politicised" institutional analysis and development framework. *Policy Sciences*, *43*(2), 129-156.

Clichevsky, N., & Rofman, A. (1989). Planificación Regional y Urbana en la Argentina. Una Revisión Crítica [Regional and Urban Planning in Argentina. A Critical Review]. *Ciudad y Territorio*, 1, 61–71.

Cohen, M. D., March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (1972). A garbage can model of organizational choice. *Administrative science quarterly*, 1-25.

Cordone, H. (2010). *Reseña Histórica sobre la Planificación Económica en Argentina* [Historical Review on Economic Planning in Argentina]. Buenos Aires: CEIL/CONICET.

Corti, M. (2008). La ausencia de una legislación territorial en la Argentina [The absence of territorial legislation in Argentina]. Cafe de las Ciudades. https://cafedelasciudades.com.ar/planes_72_2.htm

Cos Cardoso, L. (1954). El Segundo Plan Quinquenal Argentino. Lineamientos Generales [The Second Argentinian Five-Year Plan. General guidelines]. *Revista Económica*, *1*(1), 3–14.

Costamagna, P. (2007). *Políticas e Instituciones para el Desarrollo Económico Territorial. El Caso de Argentina* [Policies and institutions for regional economic development. The Case of Argentina]. Santiago, Chile: ILPES. Área de Gestión del Desarrollo Local y Regional, CEPAL.

Costamagna, P. (2015). *Política y Formación en el Desarrollo Territorial. Aportes al Enfoque Pedagógico y a la Investigación Acción con Casos de Estudio en Argentina, Perú y País Vasco* [Policy and Training in Territorial Development. Contributions to the Pedagogical Approach and Action Research with Case Studies in Argentina, Peru and the Basque Country]. España: Deusto.

Cousin, G. (2005). Case study research. *Journal of geography in higher education*, *29*(3), 421-427.

Crasemann Collins, C. (1995). Urban interchange in the Southern cone: Le Corbusier (1929) and Werner Hegemann (1931) in Argentina. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, *54*(2), 208–227.

Cravacuore, D. (2006). La articulación de actores para el desarrollo local [The articulation of actors for local development]. In: Rofman, A., & Villar, A. *Desarrollo Local. Una revisión crítica del debate*, pp. 183–198. Buenos Aires: Espacio Editorial.

Crawford, S. E., & Ostrom, E. (1995). A grammar of institutions. *American political science review*, *89*(3), 582-600.

Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W. (2009). Mapping the field of mixed methods research. *Journal of mixed methods research*, *3*(2), 95-108.

Cresswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed method research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Cristobo, M. (2009). El neoliberalismo en Argentina y la profundización de la exclusión y la pobreza [Neoliberalism in Argentina and the deepening of exclusion and poverty]. *Margen*, 55, 9–20.

Crot, L. (2006). ""Scenographic" and "Cosmetic" Planning: Globalization and Territorial Restructuring in Buenos Aires." *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *28*(3), 227–251.

Crowe, S., Cresswell, K., Robertson, A., Huby, G., Avery, A., & Sheikh, A. (2011). The case study approach. *BMC medical research methodology*, 11(1): 1-9.

Cullingworth, B., & Nadin, V. (2006). *Town and Country Planning in the UK*. Abingdon: Routledge.

David, P. (1985). Clio and the Economics of QWERTY. *American Economic Review*, *75*(2), 332–337.

David, P. (1994). Why are Institutions the 'Carriers of History'?: Path Dependence and the Evolution of Conventions, Organizations and Institutions. *Structural Change and Economic Dynamics*, *5*(2), 205–220.

David, P. (2001). Path Dependence, its Critics and the Quest for 'Historical Economics'. In Garrouste, P., & Ioannides, S. (Eds.) *Evolution and Path Dependence in Economic Ideas*, pp. 15–40. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

De Mattos, C. (2004). De la Planificación a la Governance: Implicancias para la Gestión Territorial y Urbana [From Planning to Governance: Implications for Territorial and Urban Management]. *Revista Paranaense de Desenvolvimiento*, *107*, 9–23.

Denny, T. (1978). Storytelling and educational understanding. In Guba. E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1981) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.) (2011). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

De Rond, M., & Thiétart, R. (2007). Choice, Chance and Inevitability in Strategy. *Strategic Management Journal*, *28*, 535–551.

De Roo, G., & Hillier, J. (2016). *Complexity and Planning: Systems, Assemblages and Simulations*. London: Routledge.

Dezalay, Y., & Garth, B. G. (2002). *La mondialisation des guerres de palais: La restructuration du pouvoir d'Etat en Amérique Latine, entre notables du droit et "Chicago boys"* [The globalization of palace wars: The restructuring of state power in Latin America, between legal notables and "Chicago boys"]. Paris: Le Seuil.

Díaz de Landa, M. (2002). Liderazgo Político e Innovación en la Gestión Local [Political Leadership and Innovation in Local Management]. In Cravacoure, D. (Comp.) *Innovación en la Gestión Municipal* [Innovation in Municipal Management], pp. 103–130. Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes-Federación Argentina de Municipios.

Djanibekov, U., Van Assche, K., Boezeman, D., Villamor, G., & Djanibekov, N. (2018). A coevolutionary perspective on the adoption of sustainable land use practices: The case of afforestation on degraded croplands in Uzbekistan. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *59*, 1–9.

Dopfer, K. (1991). Toward a Theory of Economic Institutions: Synergy and Path Dependency. *Journal of Economic Issues*, *25*(2), 535–550.

Dragos Aligica, P., & Boettke, P. J. (2009). *Challenging institutional analysis and development: The Bloomington school*. London: Routledge.

Duineveld, M., Van Assche, K., & Beunen, R. (2013). Making Things Irreversible. Object Stabilization in Urban Planning and Design. *Geoforum; Journal of Physical, Human, and Regional Geosciences*, *46*,16–24.

Duineveld, M., Van Assche, K., & Van Ark, R. (2005). Obstacles for change in Dutch planning. A planners' paradise lost in modernist thought?. In 19th AESOP congress, pp. 157-158. Vienna University of Technology/Osterreich. Kunst-und Kulturverlag.

Duit, A., & Galaz, V. (2008). Governance and complexity: Emerging issues for governance theory. *Governance*, *21*(3), 311–335.

Dunlop, C. A. (2017). Policy learning and policy failure: Definitions, dimensions and intersections. *Policy & Politics*, *45*(1), 3-18.

Ebbinghaus, B. (2005). Can Path Dependence Explain Institutional Change? Two Approaches Applied to Welfare State Reform. MPIfG Discussion Paper 05/2, Köln: Max-Planck-Institut für Gesellschaftsforschung, n/d.

Elena, E. (2005). What the People Want: State Planning and Political Participation in Peronist Argentina, 1946-1955. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *37*(1), 81–108.

Epp, D. A., & Baumgartner, F. R. (2017). Complexity, capacity, and budget punctuations. *Policy Studies Journal*, *45*(2), 247-264.

Epstein, E., & Pion-Berlin, D. (2006). The Crisis of 2001 and Argentine Democracy." In Epstein, E. & Pion-Berlin, D. *Broken Promises? The Argentine Crisis and Argentine Democracy*, pp. 3–28. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Erbiti, C. (2011). Políticas de ordenamiento ambiental del territorio en la Argentina contemporánea [Policies of environmental planning of the territory in contemporary Argentina]. *Revista Geográfica de América Central*, *47*(2), 1–17.

Erbiti, C., Guerrero, E., & Dillon, A. (2005). El proceso de participación en el plan de ordenamiento territorial del municipio de Tandil (Argentina) [The process of participation in the land use plan of the municipality of Tandil (Argentina)]. *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, *9*,194–197.

Esaiasson, P., Gilljam, M., Oscarsson, H., & Wängnerud, L. (2007). *Metodpraktikan: Konstenatt studera samhälle, individ och marknad*. Stockholm, Sweden: Norstedts.

Esposito, E. (2008). Social Forgetting: A Systems-Theory Approach. In Erll, A., & Nüring, A. (Eds.) *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, pp. 181-190. Walter de Gruyter: Berlin, Germany.

Etheredge, L. S. (1981). Government learning. In Long, S. (Ed.) *The handbook of political behavior,* pp. 73-161. Boston, MA: Springer.

Evans, P. (1996). El Estado como Problema y como Solución. *Desarrollo Económico*, *35*(140), 529–562.

Eyestone, R. (1978). *From social issues to public policy*. New York, NY: John Wiley and Sons.

Fairhurst, G. T., & Putnam, L. (2004). Organizations as discursive constructions. *Communication Theory*, *14*(1), 5–26.

Falivene, G., & Dalbosco, H. (2007). *El Impacto del Primer Plan Quinquenal (1947–1951) en la Configuración del Estado* [The Impact of the First Five-Year Plan (1947–1951) on the Configuration of the State]. Buenos Aires: Asociación Argentina de Estudios en Administración Pública.

Faludi, A. (2018). A Historical Institutionalist Account of European Spatial Planning. *Planning Perspectives*, *3*(4), 507–522.

Fernández, V. (2015). Desarrollo Regional más allá del Neoliberalismo: Claves y Desafíos para un Regionalismo Nacionalmente Articulado en América Latina. In ECLAC. *Memoria del Primer Encuentro de Expertos Gubernamentales en Políticas de Desarrollo Territorial en América Latina y el Caribe*, pp. 21–33. Santiago, Chile: United Nations.

Fischer, F., & Gottweis, H. (Eds.) (2012). *The argumentative turn revisited: public policy as communicative practice*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Fischer, M. (2014). Coalition structures and policy change in a consensus democracy. *Policy Studies Journal*, *42*(3), 344-366.

Fitzgerald, S. K., & Jones, C. O. (1981). Policy formation. *Review of Policy Research*, *1*(2), 379-388.

Flyvbjerg, B. (1998). *Rationality and Power: Democracy in Practice*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, M. (1978). Espacios otros: utopías y heterotopías [Other spaces: utopias and heterotopias]. *Carrer de la Ciutat*, *1, n/d.*

Foucault, M. (1979) [1998]. *The History of Sexuality, vol. 1. An Introduction*. London: Allen Lane/ Penguin Books.

Foucault, M. (1994). *Power. Essential Works of Foucault 1954- 1984. Volume 3*. New York: The New Press.

Foucault, M., & Miskowiec, J. (1986). Of other spaces. *Diacritics*, *16*(1), 22–27.

Fraschina, J. (2008). Las Políticas de Desindustrialización. Desde el Proceso Militar al Menemismo [Deindustrialization Policies. From the Military Process to the Menemism]. In Llairó, M. & Díaz, M. (Comp.) *De Alfonsín a Menem. Estado Nacional y Endeudamiento Externo: Transformaciones Económica, Políticas y Sociales*

Entre 1983 y 1993 [From Alfonsín to Menem. National State and External Indebtedness: Economic, Political and Social Transformations Between 1983 and 1993], pp. 47–76. Buenos Aires: CEILADI.

Friedmann, J. (1969). The future of urbanization in Latin America. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, *5*(9), 179–197.

Friedmann, J. (2011). *Insurgencies: Essays in Planning Theory*. London: Routledge.

Frisch, C. (2019). Climate services in Germany. In: *Stakeholders, Challenges, Factors of Success*. Germany: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ).

Fuenfschilling, L., & Truffer, B. (2016). The interplay of institutions, actors and technologies in socio- technical systems: An analysis of transformations in the Australian urban water sector. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, *103*, 298–312.

Garay, A. (2004). Revisión crítica de los planes estratégicos desarrollados en Argentina durante la década de los noventa [Critical review of the strategic plans developed in Argentina during the nineties]. In: Ziccardi, A. (Ed.) *Participación ciudadana y políticas sociales del ámbito local* [Citizen participation and social policies at the local level], pp. 297–316. México: IISUNAM / COMECSO / INDESOL.

García Delgado, D. (1997). *Hacia un Nuevo Modelo de Gestión Local. Municipio y Sociedad Civil en Argentina* [Towards a New Local Management Model. Municipality and Civil Society in Argentina]. Buenos Aires: FLACSO-CBC-UCC.

Gambina, J. C. (2001). Estabilización y Reforma Estructural en la Argentina (1989/1999) [Stablisation and Structural Reform in Argentina (1989/1999)]. In Sader, E. (Comp.) *El Ajuste Estructural en América Latina. Costos Sociales y Alternativas* [Structural Adjustment in Latin America. Social Costs and Alternatives], pp. 187–229. Buenos Aires: Clacso.

García, A. (2018). Auge y caída de la planificación regional en Argentina: entre la búsqueda de una autonomía enraizada y el escenario económico del capitalismo periférico (1965-2015) [The rise and fall of regional planning in Argentina: between the search for deep-rooted autonomy and the economic scenario of peripheral capitalism (1965-2015)]. *Cuadernos de Geografía*, *27*(1), 180–194.

García Bernal, M. C. (1991). Iberoamérica: Evolución de una Economía Dependiente [Ibero-America: Evolution of a Dependent Economy]. In Navarro García, L. *Historia de las Américas* [History of the Americas], pp. 565-620. Madrid/Sevilla: Alhambra.

García Delgado, D. (1997). *Hacia un Nuevo Modelo de Gestión Local. Municipio y Sociedad Civil en Argentina* [Towards a New Model of Local Management: Municipality and Civil Society in Argentina]. Buenos Aires: FLACSO-CBC-UCC.

García Delgado, D., & Casalis, A. (2006). Desarrollo Local Protagónico y Proyecto Nacional [Leading Local Development and National Project] In Ministry of Social Development. *El Desarrollo Local en el Eje de la Política Social, Ministerio de Desarrollo Social de la Nación* [Local Development in the Axis of Social Policy, Ministry of Social Development of the Nation], pp. 1–17. Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Desarrollo Social de la Nación.

Garud, R., & Karnøe. P. (2001). Path Creation as a Process of Mindful Deviation. In Garud, R., & Karnøe, P. *Path Dependence and Creation*, pp. 1–38. London: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates.

Gatto, F. (1989). Cambio tecnológico neofordista y reorganización productiva. primeras reflexiones sobre sus implicancias territoriales [Neo-Fordist technological change and productive reorganization. first reflections on its territorial implications]. *EURE*, *47*(16), 9–10.

Gatto, F., & Cetrángolo, O. (2003). *Las Provincias en la Crisis Argentina: Algunos Elementos Para Discutir las Prioridades de la Cooperación Internacional* [The Provinces in the Argentinian Crisis: Some Elements to Discuss the Priorities of International Cooperation]. Buenos Aires: ECLAC.

George, B. (2020). Successful strategic plan implementation in public organizations: Connecting people, process, and plan (3Ps). *Public Administration Review*. https://doi.org/10.1111/puar.13187

George, A. L., & Bennett, A. (2005). *Case studies and theory development in the social sciences*. Cambridge; MIT Press.

Gibson, C. C., Andersson, K., & Shivakumar, S. (2005). *The Samaritan's dilemma: the political economy of development aid*. UK: Oxford University Press.

Goldberg, S. (2004). *Propuesta Metodológica de Planificación. Informe Final, Programa Multisectorial de Preinversión II* [Planning Methodological Proposal. Final Report, Multisectoral Preinvestment Program II]. Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Economía.

Goldstein, J., & Keohane, R. (Eds.) (1993). *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Goldstone, J. (1998). Initial Conditions, General Laws, Path Dependence, and Explanation in Historical Sociology. *American Journal of Sociology*, *104*(3), 829–845.

Gómez, T., & Lesta, M. (2008). La Planificación en Argentina en la Primera Mitad del Siglo XX [Planning in Argentina in the First Half of the 20th Century]. Paper presented to XXI Jornadas de Historia Económica. Buenos Aires, Argentina, September 23–26.

Gómez, T. (2009). "Polémica de los Años Cuarenta: Nuevos Modelos de Crecimiento y Estrategias Industriales en Argentina." [Controversy of the Forties: New Growth Models and Industrial Strategies in Argentina] Paper presented to Segundas Jornadas de la Industria y los Servicios. Buenos Aires, Argentina, September 23–25.

Gómez, T., & Tchordonkian, S. (2010). El Consejo Nacional de Posguerra (1944-46), diagnósticos y tensiones en el diseño de políticas públicas [The National Postwar Council (1944-46), diagnoses and tensions in the design of public policies]. Paper presented to Segundo Congreso Latinoamericano de Historia Económica, Mexico City, Mexico.

Gómez, T., & Tchordonkian, S. (2013). Un Laboratorio de Políticas Públicas: El Consejo Nacional de Posguerra [A Public Policy Laboratory: The National Postwar Council]. In Müller, A. & Gómez, T. (Eds.) *La Planificación en Argentina en Perspectiva (1930–2012)* [Planning in Argentina in Perspective (1930–2012)], pp. 105–128. Buenos Aires: CESPA. Edición online.

González, N., & Pollock, D. (1991). Del Ortodoxo al Conservador Ilustrado. Raúl Prebisch en la Argentina [From the Orthodox to the Enlightened Conservative. Raul Prebisch in Argentina]. *Desarrollo Económico*, *30*(120), 1923–1943.

Gottweis, H. (2003). Theoretical strategies of poststructuralist policy analysis: towards an analytics. In Hajer, M. & Wagenaar, H. *Deliberative policy analysis: Understanding governance in the network society*, pp. 247-265. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gorelik, A. (2017). Pan-American routes: a continental planning journey between reformism and the cultural Cold War. *Planning Perspectives*, *32*(1), 47–66.

Goytia, C., Mendoza, C., & Pasquini, R. (2010). Land regulation in the urban agglomerations of Argentina and its relationship with households' residential tenure condition. (Working Paper No. 10CC1). Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Greener, I. (2005). The Potential of Path Dependence in Political Studies. *Politics, 25*(1), 62–72.

Greenwood, R., & Hinings, C. (1996). Understanding Radical Organizational Change: Bringing Together the Old and the New Institutionalism. *The Academy of Management Review*, *21*(4),1022–1054.

Greif, A. (2006). *Institutions and the path to the modern economy: Lessons from medieval trade*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grey, C., & Willmott, H. (2005). *Critical management studies: A reader.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Grugel, J., & Riggirozzi, P. (2009). *Governance After Neoliberalism in Latin America*. Basingstoke: Palmgrave Macmillan.

Guardamagna, M. (2016). El Ordenamiento del Territorio en Mendoza, Argentina: La Implementación ¿Participativa? De una Política [Territorial Planning in Mendoza, Argentina: Participatory? Implementation of a Policy]. *GOT, Revista de Geografía e Ordenamento do Território*, *10*,159–187.

Guardamagna, M., & Reyes, M. (2019). El desafío de la implementación de políticas públicas participativas para el desarrollo del territorio [The challenge of implementing participatory public policies for the development of the territory]. *Economía, Sociedad y Territorio*, *18*(59), 1003–1033.

Gunder, M., & Hillier, J. (2009). *Planning in ten words or less. A Lacanian Entanglement with Spatial Planning*. Surrey (UK): Ashgate Publishing.

Habermas, J. (1984). *Teoría de la acción comunicativa. Complementos y estudios previos*. Cátedra: España.

Hahn, T., Schultz, L., Folke, C., Olsson, P., Norberg, J., & Cumming, G. (2008). Social networks as sources of resilience in social-ecological systems. *Management*, *3*(2), 4.

Hajer, M. A. (1993). Discourse coalitions and the institutionalization of practice: The case of acid rain in Great Britain. In F. Fischer & J. Forester (Eds.) The argumentative turn in policy analysis and planning, pp. 43–76. Durham: Duke University Press.

Hajer, M. A. (1995). *The politics of environmental discourse: Ecological modernization and the policy process*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hall, P. A. (1988). *Policy paradigms, social learning and the state,* paper presented to the International Political Science Association. Washington, DC.

Hall, P. A. (1993). Policy paradigms, social learning, and the state: the case of economic policymaking in Britain. *Comparative Politics*, *25,* 275–296.

Hall, P. A. (2020). *The Political Power of Economic Ideas: Keynesianism across Nations*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Hardoy, J. E. (1987). Teorías y prácticas urbanísticas en Europa entre 1850 y 1930. Su traslado a América Latina [Urban planning theories and practices in Europe between 1850 and 1930. Their transfer to Latin America]. *Revista de Indias, 47*, 179.

Harris, A., & Moore, S. (2013). Planning histories and practices of circulating urban knowledge. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *37*(5), 1499–1509.

Hassink, R. (2005). How to Unlock Regional Economies from Path Dependency? From Learning Region to Learning Cluster. *European Planning Studies*, *13*(4), 521–535.

Healey, P. (1997). *Collaborative planning: shaping places in fragmented societies*. London: Macmillan.

Heclo, H. (1974). The welfare state: The costs of American self-sufficiency. In Rose, R. (Ed.) *Lessons from America: An exploration*, pp. 258-281. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Heclo, H., & King, A. (1978). *Issue networks and the executive establishment.* Washington, DC.

Herzer, H. (Comp.) (1997). *Postales Urbanas del Final del Milenio: Una Construcción de Muchos* [Urban Postcards of the End of the Millennium: A Construction of Many]. Buenos Aires: Oficina de Publicaciones del CBC.

Hidalgo, A. (2004). *Innovation Management and the Knowledge-Driven Economy*. Luxemburg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

Hillier, J. (2002). *Shadows of power: an allegory of prudence in land-use planning*. New York: Routledge.

Hillier, J. (2015). Performances and performativities of resilience. In Beunen, R., Van Assche, K., & Duineveld, M. *Evolutionary Governance Theory: Theory and applications,* pp. 167–183. Switzerland: Springer.

Hobbs, J. E. (2020). Food supply chains during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics/Revue canadienne d'agroeconomie*, *68*(2), 171-176.

Hodgson, G. (2006). What are Institutions?, *Journal of Economic Issues*, *40*(1), 1–25.

Hoffman, J. (2013). Theorizing power in transition studies: The role of creativity and novel practices in structural change. *Policy Sciences*, *46*(3), 257–275.

Hogan, J. M., & Tell, D. (2006). Demagoguery and Democratic Deliberation: The Search for Rules of Discursive Engagement. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, *9*(3), 479–487.

Hollingsworth, J. R., & Boyer, R. (1997). *Contemporary capitalism: The embeddedness of institutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hornidge, A. K., Van Assche, K., & Shtaltovna, A. (2018). Uzbekistan–A Region of World Society? Variants of Differentiation in Agricultural Resources Governance. *Soziale Systeme*, *23*(1-2), 112-134.

Howarth, D. (2007). Causal mechanisms. In Glynos, J. and Howarth, D. *Logics of Critical Explanation in Social and Political Theory,* pp. 97-116. London: Routledge.

Howlett, M. (1994). Policy paradigms and policy change: Lessons from the old and new Canadian policies towards Aboriginal peoples. *Policy Studies Journal*, *22*(4), 631-649.

Howlett, M. (1999). *Complex network management and the governance of the environment: prospects for policy change and policy stability over the long term*. Canada: University of British Columbia.

Howlett, M., & Rayner, J. (1995). Do ideas matter? Policy network configurations and resistance to policy change in the Canadian forest sector. *Canadian Public Administration/Administration publique du Canada*, *38*(3), 382–410.

Imperial, M. T. (1999). Institutional analysis and ecosystem-based management: the institutional analysis and development framework. *Environmental management*, *24*(4), 449-465.

Jakola, F. (2016). Borders, Planning and Policy Transfer: Historical Transformation of Development Discourses in the Finnish Torne Valley. *European Planning Studies*, *24*(10), 1806–1824.

James, O., & Lodge, M. (2003). The limitations of 'policy transfer' and 'lesson drawing' for public policy research. *Political Studies Review*, *1*(2), 179–193.

Jaramillo, J. (2012). Nacionalismo Territorialista en Textos Escolares: Representaciones de la Patagonia en la Dictadura Militar Argentina (1966–1983) [Territorialist Nationalism in School Texts: Representations of Patagonia in the Argentinian Military Dictatorship (1966–1983)]. *Educação e Pesquisa*, *38*(1),165–180.

Jáuregui, A. (2005). La Planificación Económica en el Peronismo (1945–55) [Economic Planning in Peronism (1945–55)]. *Prohistoria, 9*(9),15–40.

Jarzabkowski, P. (2005). Strategy as practice: An activity based approach. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publishing.

Jarzabkowski, P., Balogun, J., & Seidl, D. (2007). Strategizing: The challenges of a practice perspective. *Human Relations*, *60*(1), 5–27.

John, P. (2003). Is there life after policy streams, advocacy coalitions, and punctuations: Using evolutionary theory to explain policy change?. *Policy studies journal*, *31*(4), 481-498.

John, P. (2012). *Analyzing Public Policy*. London: Routledge.

Johnson, G., Langley, A., Melin, L., & Whittington, R. (2007). *Strategy as practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jones, B. (1994). *Reconceiving decision-making in democratic politics: Attention, choice, and public policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jones, B. (2001). *Politics and the architecture of choice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jones, B., & Baumgartner, F. (2005). *The Politics of Attention: How Government Prioritizes Problems*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Jones, B., & Baumgartner, F. (2012). From there to here: Punctuated equilibrium to the general punctuation thesis to a theory of government information processing. *Policy Studies Journal*, *40*(1), 1-20.

Katz, J., & Kosacoff, B. (1998). Aprendizaje Tecnológico, Desarrollo Institucional y la Microeconomía de la Sustitución de Importaciones [Technological Learning, Institutional Development and the Microeconomics of Import Substitution] *Desarrollo Económico*, *37*(148), 483–502.

Keeling, D. J. (1994). Regional development and trans· port policies in Argentina: An appraisal. *The Journal of Developing Areas*, *28*(4), 487–502.

Kingdon, J. W. (1984) [1995] [2003]. *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company.

Kiser, L., & Ostrom, E. (1982). The Three Worlds of Action: A Metatheoretical Synthesis of Institutional Approaches. In Ostrom, E. (Ed.) *Strategies of Political Inquiry*, pp. 179– 222. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Kooij H-J., Van Assche, K., & Lagendijk, A. (2014). Open concepts as crystallization points and enablers of discursive configurations: the case of the innovation campus in the Netherlands. *European Planning Studies*, *22*(1), 84–100.

Koontz, T. M. (1997). *Federalism and natural resource policy: Comparing state and national management of public forests*. PhD Diss. Indiana University.

Kumar, S., & Antonenko, P. (2014). Connecting practice, theory and method: Supporting professional doctoral students in developing conceptual frameworks. *TechTrends*, *58*(4), 54-61.

Kuper, D., Ramírez, L., & Troncoso, C. (2010). Política Turística y Planificación: ¿De las Estrategias Centralizadas a las Estrategias Participativas? [Tourism Policy and Planning: From Centralized Strategies to Participatory Strategies?]. *Scripta Nova, Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, *14*(41), n/d.

Lasswell, H. D. (1951). The policy orientation. In Lerner, D., & Lasswell, H. (Eds.) *The policy sciences: Recent development in scope and method*, pp. 1-17. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Laswell, H. D. (1956). *The Decision Process*. Bureau of Governmental Research, Maryland: University of Maryland, College Park.

Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social: An introduction to actor·network·theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Laurier, E. (2010). Participant observation. In Clifford, N., French, S., & Valentine, G. (Eds.) *Key methods in geography*, pp.1116-1130. London: Sage Publications.

Law, J. (2008). On sociology and STS. *The Sociological Review*, *56*(4), 623–649.

Leiva Lavalle, J. (2010). *Instituciones e Instrumentos para el Planeamiento Gubernamental en América Latina* [Institutions and Instruments for Governmental Planning in Latin America]. Brasília: CEPAL-ILPES.

Leiva Lavalle, J. (2012). Pensamiento y práctica de la planificación en América Latina. [Thinking and practice of planning in Latin America] *ECLAC. Serie Gestión Pública*, No.75.

Leta, G., Kelboro, G., Van Assche, K., Stellmacher, T., & Hornidge, A. K. (2020). Rhetorics and realities of participation: The Ethiopian agricultural extension system and its participatory turns. *Critical Policy Studies*, *14*(4), 388-407.

Liebowitz, S., & Margolis, S. E. (1995). Policy and path dependence: From QWERTY to Windows 95. *Regulation*, *18*, Article 33.

Ligier, D. (2011). *Participación Técnica y Política en el Ordenamiento Territorial* [Technical and Political Participation in Territorial Planning]. Buenos Aires: Ediciones INTA.

Linares, S. Di Nucci, J., & Velázquez, G. (2016). Cambios en el sistema urbano [Changes in the Urban System]. In: Velázques, G. (Coord.) Geografía y Calidad de Vida en Argentina. Un Análisis Regional y Departamental [Geography and Quality of Life in Argentina. A regional and departmental analysis], pp. 67–81. Tandil. CIG-IGEHCS-UNCPBA.

Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Lindblom, C. E. (1959). The science of 'muddling through', *Public Administration Review*, 19: 79-88.

Llach, J. J. (2004). Alejandro Bunge, la Revista de Economía Argentina y los Orígenes del Estancamiento Económico Argentino [Alejandro Bunge, the Journal of Argentinian Economy and the Origins of the Argentinian Economic Stagnation]. *Cultura Económica*, *59,* 51–65.

Llairó, M. (2008). La Argentina Neoliberal. De Alfonsín a Menem [Neoliberal Argentina. From Alfonsín to Menem]. In Llairó, M., & Díaz, M. (Comp.) De Alfonsín a Menem. Estado Nacional y Endeudamiento Externo: Transformaciones Económicas, Políticas y Sociales entre 1983 y 1993[From Alfonsín to Menem. National State and External Indebtedness: Economic, Political and Social Transformations between 1983 and 1993], pp. 7-26. Buenos Aires: CEILADI.

Llanos, M., & Margheritis, A. (2006). Why do presidents fail? Political leadership and the argentine crisis (1999-2001). *Studies in Comparative International Development*, *40*(4), 77–103.

Loew, E. S. (1977). Argentina: Realities of planning. Built Environment Quarterly, *3*(1), 20–23.

Luhmann, N. (1990). *Political theory in the welfare state.* Berlin: De Gruyter.

Luhmann, N. (1995). *Social systems*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Luhmann, N. (1997). Limits of steering. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *14*(1), 41–57.

Luhmann, N. (2008). The autopoiesis of social systems. *Journal of Sociocybernetics*, *6*(2), 84–95.

MacKenzie, D. (2006). *An engine, not a camera: how financial models shape markets.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

MacKenzie, M. K. (2021). There Is No Such Thing as a Short-Term Issue. *Futures*, *125*, 102652.

MacKenzie, D., Muniesa, F., & Siu, L. (Eds.) (2007). *Do economists make markets? On the performativity of economics.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Madoery, O. (2008). Cinco Interrogantes Fundamentales del Desarrollo Endógeno [Five Fundamental Questions of Endogenous Development]. *Prisma*, *22,* 59–82.

Mahoney, J., & Thelen, K. (2010). *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Majone, G. (1989). *Evidence, Argument and the Persuasion in the Policy process*. London: Yale University Press.

Maldonado, M. L. (2010). *Reflexión sobre la reforma urbana* [Reflection on the urban reform] [Unpublished specialization dissertation]. Universidad Nacional de Rosario.

Manzanal, M., Neiman, G., & Lattuada, M. (2006). *Desarrollo rural: organizaciones, instituciones y territorios* [Rural development: organisations, institutions and territories]. Buenos Aires: Fundación Centro Integral Comunicación, Cultura y Sociedad.

Marais, L., & de Lange, A. (2021). Anticipating and planning for mine closure in South Africa. *Futures*, *125*, 102669.

March, J. G. (1994). *Primer on decision making: How decisions happen*. New York: The Free Press.

Marengo, C. (2008). *Urban Sprawl and Spatial Planning: Facing the Challenges of Growing Social Inequity. Case Study: Córdoba –Argentina*. PhD Diss. Delft University.

Martin, J. (2002). *Organizational Culture: Mapping the Terrain*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Martin, R., & Sunley, P. (2006). Path Dependence and Regional Economic Evolution. *Journal of Economic Geography*, *6*(4), 395–437.

Martin, R., & Sunley, P. (2010). The Place of Path Dependence in an Evolutionary Perspective on the Economic Landscape. In Boschma, R., & Martin, R. (Eds.) *The Handbook of Evolutionary Economic Geography*, pp. 62–92. Chichester: Edward Arnold.

Mathison, S. (1988). Why Triangulate? *Educational Researcher*, *17*, 13-17.

Matus, C. (1982). *Política y Plan*. Caracas: Publicaciones Iveplan, 1982.

McCann, E. (2011). Urban policy mobilities and global circuits of knowledge: toward a research agenda. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *101*(1), 107–130.

McCann, E., & Ward, K. (2011). Urban assemblages: territories, relations, practices and power. In: McCann, E. & Ward, K. (Eds.) Mobile Urbanism. Cities and Policy Making in the Global Age. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press. xiii–xxxv.

McCann, E., & Ward, K. (2012) Policy assemblages, mobilities and mutations: toward a multidisciplinary conversation. *Political Studies Review*, *10*(3), 325–332.

McCann, E., & Ward, K. (2013). A multi-disciplinary approach to policy transfer research: geographies, assemblages, mobilities and mutations. *Policy Studies*, *34*(1), 2–18.

McFarlane, C. (2010). The comparative city: knowledge, learning, urbanism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *34*(4), 725–742.

McFarlane, C. (2011). Assemblage and critical urbanism. *City*, *15*(2), 204–224.

Meijerink, S. (2005). Understanding policy stability and change. The interplay of advocacy coalitions and epistemic communities, windows of opportunity, and Dutch coastal flooding policy 1945–2003. *Journal of European public policy*, *12*(6), 1060-1077.

Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education. Revised and Expanded from" Case Study Research in Education*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Milhorance, C. (2014). Brazil's cooperation with Sub-Saharan Africa in the rural sector. *Latin American Perspectives*, *41*(5), 75–93.

Milhorance, C. (2016). Growing South-South agribusiness connections: Brazil's policy coalitions reach Southern Africa. *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal*, *1*(5), 691–708.

Milhorance, C. & Soule-Kohndou, F. (2017). South-South cooperation and change in international organizations. *Global Governance: A review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, *23*(3), 461-481.

Milhorance, C. (2018). *New Geographies of Global Policy-Making: South-South Networks and Rural Development Strategies*. London: Routledge.

Milhorance, C. (2020). Diffusion of Brazil's food policies in international organisations: assessing the processes of knowledge framing. *Policy and Society*, *39*(1), 36–52.

Mintzberg, H. (1978). Patterns in strategy formation. *Management Science*, *24*(9), 934–948.

Mintzberg, H. (1987). *Crafting strategy*. Brighton (MA): Harvard Business School Press.

Monteferrario, S. (2015). Herramientas de Participación Ciudadana en la Planificación y el Presupuesto: La Metodología del Presupuesto Participativo [Tools for Citizen Participation in Planning and the Budget: The Participatory Budget Methodology]. *DAAPGE*,*15*(24),159–163.

Montero, S. (2017a). Persuasive practitioners and the art of simplification: mobilizing the "bogot´a model" through storytelling. *Novos Estudos CEBRAP*, *36*(1), 59–75.

Montero, S. (2017b). Study tours and inter-city policy learning: mobilizing Bogotá's transportation policies in Guadalajara. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *49*(2), 332–350.

Montero, S. (2017c). Worlding bogotá's ciclovía. *Latin American Perspectives*, *44*(2), 111–131.

Morgenfeld, L. (2012). Desarrollismo, Alianza para el Progreso y Revolución Cubana: Frondizi, Kennedy y el Che en Punta del Este (1961–1962) [Developmentalism, Alliance for Progress and the Cuban Revolution: Frondizi, Kennedy and Che in Punta del Este (1961–1962)]. *Ciclos en la historia, la economía y la sociedad*, *20*(40), n/d.

Mortensen, P. B. (2005). Policy punctuations in Danish local budgeting. *Public Administration*, *83*(4), 931-950.

Müller, A. (2011). La (no) planificación en la Argentina de los '90 y los 2000: Apuntes para una historia y posibles lecciones para el futuro [The (non) planning in the '90s and 2000s Argentina: Notes for a history and possible lessons for the future]. *Realidad Económica*, *260*, 24–53.

Müller, A. (2013). Ausencias y Presencias de la Planificación en los '90 y los 2000 [Absences and Presences of Planning in the '90s and 2000s]. In Müller, A., & Gómez, T. (Eds.) *La planificación en Argentina en perspectiva (1930–2012)* [Planning in Argentina in perspective (1930–2012)], pp. 219–256. Buenos Aires: CESPA.

Müller, A., & Gómez, T. (2013). La planificación en Argentina en perspectiva (1930–2012) [Planning in Argentina in perspective (1930–2012)]. Buenos Aires: CESPA.

Murray, J. S. (1999). Methodological triangulation in a study of social support for siblings of children with cancer. *Journal of Pediatric Oncology Nursing*, *16*(4), 194-200.

Musante, K., & DeWalt, B. R. (2010). *Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers*. London: Altamira Press.

Musante, K. (2015). Participant observation. In Russel Bernard, H & Gravlee, C. (Eds.) *Handbook of methods in cultural anthropology*, pp. 251-292. London: Rowman & Littlefield.

Muzzini, E., Eraso Puig, B., & Anapolsky, S. (2016). *Leveraging the Potential of Argentine Cities: A Framework for Policy Action.* Washington, DC: World Bank.

Nadin, V., & Stead, D. (2008). European spatial planning systems, social models and learning. *The Planning Review*, *44*(172), 35–47.

Navarro Floria, P. (2011). Planificación Fallida y Colonialismo Interno en los Proyectos Estatales del Primer Peronismo (1943–1955) para la Patagonia [Failed Planning and Internal Colonialism in the State Projects of the First Peronism (1943–1955) for Patagonia]. Paper presented at IV Jornadas de Historia de la Patagonia, Santa Rosa, Argentina, May 19 – 20.

Neiburg, F., & Plotkin, M. (2004). The Economists. The Torcuato Di Tella Institute and the New State Elites in the Sixties. In Neiburg, F., & Plotkin, M. (Comp.) *Intellectuals and Experts. The Constitution of Social Knowledge in Argentina*, pp. 231–263. Buenos Aires: Paidós.

Njoh, A. (2006). *Tradition, Culture and Development in Africa*. London: Routledge.

Nordlinger, E. A. (1981). *On the autonomy of the democratic state*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

North, D. C. (1990). *Institutions, institutional change and economic performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

North, D. C. (2005). *Understanding the process of economic change*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Novick, A. (1992). Editorial comments. *Journal of Urology*, *148*(1), 29–30.

Novick, A. (2003). Foreign hires: French experts and the urbanism of Buenos Aires, 1907-1932. In: Nasr, J., & Volait, M. (Eds.) *Urbanism, Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans*, pp. 265-289. Sussex: Willey Academy.

Novick, A. (2009). La ciudad, el urbanismo y los intercambios internacionales. notas para una discusión [The city, urbanism and international exchanges. notes for a discussion]. *Revista Iberoamericana de Urbanismo*, *1*(1), 4–13.

Novick, M., Tomada, C., Damill, M. Frenkel, R., & Maurizio, R. (2007). *In the Wake of the Crisis: Argentina's New Economic and Labour Policy Directions and Their Impact*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Organization.

OFFICIAL BULLETIN OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC. (1944). Decree No. 23.847.

OFFICIAL BULLETIN OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC. (1949). Organic Law on Ministries No. 13.532.

OFFICIAL BULLETIN OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC. (1951). Decree No. 5291.

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT (1996). The Knowledge-Based Economy. Paris: OECD.

Oría, S. (1944). *El Estado Argentino y la Nueva Economía. El intervencionismo Defensivo y la Nueva Economía* [The Argentinian State and the New Economy. Defensive interventionism and the New Economy]. Buenos Aires: Impresores Peuser.

Orren, K. (1991). *Belated Feudalism: Labour, the Law and Liberal Development in the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ortiz, R. (1955). *Historia Económica de la Argentina 1850–1930*. Buenos Aires: Raigal.

Osorio Gonnet, C. (2015). Mecanismos de difusión de los programas de transferencia condicionada en América Latina. El caso chileno [Diffusion mechanisms of conditional transfer programmes in Latin America. The Chilean case]. *Íconos - Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, *19*, 31–48.

Ostrom, E. (1986). An agenda for the study of institutions. *Public choice*, *48*(1), 3-25.

Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the commons: The evolution of institutions for collective action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ostrom, E., Schroeder, L., & Wynne, S. (1993). *Institutional incentives and sustainable development: infrastructure policies in perspective*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Ostrom, E., Gardner, R., Walker, J., Walker, J. M., & Walker, J. (1994). *Rules, games, and common-pool resources*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

Oszlak, O., & O'Donnell, G. (1995). Estado y políticas estatales en América Latina: hacia una estrategia de investigación [State and state policies in Latin America: towards a research strategy]. *Redes*, *2*(4), 99–128.

Othengrafen, F., & Reimer, M. (2013). The embeddedness of planning in cultural contexts: theoretical foundations for the analysis of dynamic planning cultures. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *45*(6), 1269–1284.

Pacheco Vega, R. (2012). Cross-border learning in transboundary water management under climatic change in North America: Seattle-Vancouver and Tijuana-San Diego. In: Seminario Internacional Agua y Fronteras ante el Cambio Climático. México: Monterrey.

Palinkas, L. A., Horwitz, S. M., & Green, C. A. (2015). Purposeful Sampling for Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis in Mixed Method Implementation Research. *Administration and policy in mental health and mental health services research*, *42*, 533–544.

Panizza, F. (2005). *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy*. London: Verso.

Park, C., Lee, J., & Wilding, M. (2016). Distorted policy transfer? South Korea's adaptation of UK social enterprise policy. *Policy Studies*, *38,* 39–58.

Patterson, J., Schulz, K., Vervoort, J., Van der Hel, S., Widerberg, O., Adler, C. Hurlbert, M., Anderton, K., Sethi, M., & Barau, A. (2017). Exploring the Governance and Politics of Transformations Towards Sustainability. *Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions*, 24, 1–16.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2nd Ed.) Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Paz Jajamovich, G. (2012). Intercambios internacionales, estrategias urbanísticas y aspectos políticos: España, Buenos Aires y Rosario (1979-1993) [International exchanges, urban strategies and political aspects: Spain, Buenos Aires and Rosario (1979-1993)]. *Revista Iberoamericana de Urbanismo*, *3*(7), 19–30.

Paz Jajamovich, G. (2013). Miradas sobre intercambios internacionales y circulación internacional de ideas y modelos urbanos [Perspectives on international exchanges and international circulation of ideas and urban models]. Andamios, *Revista de Investigación Social*, *10*(22), 91–112.

Paz Jajamovich, G. (2016). Puerto Madero 'en movimiento': movilidad de políticas y modelos urbanos en América Latina (1999-2012) [Puerto Madero 'on the move': policy mobility and urban models in Latin America (1999-2012)]. *Revista INVI*, *31*(87), 59–84.

Peck, J. (2011). Geographies of policy. *Progress in Human Geography*, *35*(6), 773–797.

Peck, J., & Theodore, N. (2010a). Mobilizing policy: models, methods, and mutations. *Geoforum*, *41*, 169–174.

Peck, J., & Theodore, N. (2010b). Recombinant workfare, across the Americas: transnationalizing "fast" social policy. *Geoforum*, *41,* 195–208.

Peck, J., & Theodore, N. (2015). *Fast Policy: Experimental Statecraft at the Thresholds of Neoliberalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Pérez Alvarez, G. (2016). Poles of Development, Original Accumulation and Capitalist Expansion. A Comparative Study of the Argentine, Brazilian and Spanish State. *Theomai, 34*, n/d.

Perón, J. D. (1946). Introducción [Introduction]. In *Plan Quinquenal de Gobierno 1947–1951*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Primicias.

Persson, M. (2014). *The Dynamics of Policy Formation: Making Sense of Public Unsafety*. PhD Diss. Örebro University.

Peters, B. G., & Savoie, D. J. (Eds.) (1995). *Governance in a changing environment*. Canada: McGill-Queen's Press.

Peters, B. G., & Pierre, J. (1998). Governance without government? Rethinking public administration. *Journal of public administration research and theory*, *8*(2), 223-243.

Peters, B. G, Pierre, J., & King, D. (2005). The Politics of Path Dependency: Political Conflict in Historical Institutionalism. *The Journal of Politics*, *67*(4),1275–1300.

Pierson, P. (2000). Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics. *The American Political Science Review*, *94*(2), 251–267.

Porto de Oliveira, O., & Pimenta de Faria, C.A. (2017). Policy transfer, diffusion, and circulation: Research traditions and the state of the discipline in Brazil. *Novos Estudos CEBRAP*, *36*(1), 13–32.

Porto de Oliveira, O., & Pal, A. (2018). New frontiers and directions in policy transfer, diffusion and circulation research: agents, spaces, resistance, and translations. *Revista de Administração Pública*, *52*(2), 199–220.

Porto de Oliveira, O., Osorio Gonnet, C., & Montero, S. (Eds.) (2019). *Latin America and Policy Diffusion: From Import to Export*. London: Routledge.

Prol, M. (2007). Arreglos Institucionales en el Régimen Político del Primer Peronismo (1946–1955) [Institutional Arrangements in the Political Regime of the First Peronism (1946–1955)]. *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*. Accessed January 27, 2017. Available at http://nuevomundo.revues.org/index12592.html.

Rapoport, M. (2007). *Historia Económica, Política y Social de la Argentina* [Economic, Political and Social History of Argentina]. Buenos Aires: Emecé-Colihue.

Reay, T., & Hinings, C. (2005). The Recomposition of an Organizational Field: Health Care in Alberta. *Organization Studies*, *26,* 351–384.

Reese, E. (2006). La Situación Actual de la Gestión Urbana y la Agenda de las Ciudades en la Argentina [The Current Situation of Urban Management and the Cities Agenda in Argentina]. *Medio Ambiente y Urbanización*, *65*(1), 3–21.

Reese, E., & Catenazzi, A. (2011). Planificación e Instrumentos de Gestión del Territorio [Planning and Territory Management Instruments]. In Ministry of Interior. *Gestión municipal y ciudad: dilemas y oportunidades* [Municipal and city management: dilemmas and opportunities], pp 75–115. Buenos Aires: Programa de Mejora de la Gestión Municipal.

Rein, R. (2008). Los hombres detrás del Hombre: La segunda línea de liderazgo peronista [The Men Behind the Man: The Second Line of Peronist Leadership]. *Araucaria*, *10*(19), 78–92.

Richardson, T. (1996). Foucauldian discourse: Power and truth in urban and regional policy making. *European Planning Studies*, *4*(3), 279–292.

Rigotti, A. (2014). *Las invenciones del urbanismo en Argentina (1900-1960). Inestabilidad de sus representaciones científicas y dificultades para su profesionalización.* Argentina: PhD Thesis, Universidad Nacional de Rosario.

Robinson, S. E. (2007). Punctuated equilibrium models in organizational decision making. In G. Morcol (Ed.) *Handbook of Decision Making*, pp. 133–149. New York: CRC Taylor and Francis.

Rocchi, F. (1998). El Imperio del Pragmatismo. Intereses, Ideas e Imágenes en la Política Industrial del Orden Conservador [The Empire of Pragmatism. Interests, Ideas and Images in the Industrial Policy of the Conservative Order]. *Anuario del Instituto de Estudios Histórico-Sociales*, *13*, 99–130.

Rodriguez Pose, A., & Gill. N. (2003). The Global Trend Towards Devolution and its Implications. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, *21*(3), 333–351.

Roos, C., & Zaun, N. (2016). The Global Economic Crisis as a Critical Juncture? The Crisis's Impact on Migration Movements and Policies in Europe and the U.S. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *42*(10),1579–1589.

Rose, R. (1988). *Why Economic Policies Change Course: Eleven Case Studies*. Paris: OECD Economics and Statistics Department.

Rose, R. (1991). What is lesson-drawing?. *Journal of public policy*, *11*(1), 3-30.

Roy, W. (1999). *Socializing Capital: The Rise of the Large Industrial Corporation in America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rudd, M. A. (2004). An institutional framework for designing and monitoring ecosystem-based fisheries management policy experiments. *Ecological Economics*, *48*(1), 109-124.

Sabatier, P. A. (1987). Knowledge, policy-oriented learning, and policy change: An advocacy coalition framework. *Knowledge*, *8*(4), 649-692.

Sabatier, P. A. (1988). An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy-oriented learning therein. *Policy sciences*, *21*(2), 129-168.

Sabatier, P. A., & Jenkins-Smith, H. C. (1993). Policy change over a decade or more. *The nation's health*, 143-174.

Sako, M., & Kotosaka, M. (2012). Continuity and Change in the Japanese Economy: Evidence of Institutional Interactions between Financial and Labour Markets. In Walter, A. & Zhang, X. (Eds.) *East Asian Capitalism: Diversity, Continuity, and Change*, pp. 132–156. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schienstock, G. (2007). From Path Dependency to Path Creation: Finland on the Way to the Knowledge Economy. *Current Sociology*, *55*(1), 92–109.

Schlüter, A., Van Assche, K., Hornidge, A. K., & Văidianu, N. (2020). Land-sea interactions and coastal development: An evolutionary governance perspective. *Marine Policy*, *112*, Article 103801.

Schmid, N., Sewerin, S., & Schmidt, T. S. (2020). Explaining advocacy coalition change with policy feedback. *Policy Studies Journal*, *48*(4), 1109-1134.

Schön D. A., & Rein, M. (1994). *Frame reflection: Toward the resolution of intractable policy controversies*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Schreyögg, G., & Sydow, J. (2009). The hidden dynamics of path dependence: Institutions and organizations. Basingstoke (UK): Palgrave Macmillan.

Schreyögg, G., Sydow, J., & Holtmann, P. (2011). How History Matters in Organizations: The Case of Path Dependence. *Management & Organizational History*, *6*(1): 81–100.

Scott, J. C. (1998). *Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven (CT): Yale University Press.

Scott, A. J. (2006). *Geography and Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Seabright, P. (2010). *The company of strangers: A natural history of economic life-revised edition*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Seabrooke, L., & Wigan, D. (2016). Powering ideas through expertise: Professionals in global tax battles. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *23*(3), 357–374.

Seidl, D. (2007). General strategy concepts and the ecology of strategy discourses: A systemic-discursive perspective. *Organization Studies*, *28*(2), 197–218.

Selbmann, K. (2015). Explanation of Genesis, Continuity and Change of Policy: Analytical Framework. *Innovative Energy Policies*, *4*(1), 1–9.

Settimi, S. M., & Audino, P. (2008). La Influencia de Keynes en la Evolución de las Ideas Económicas de Raúl Prebisch y su Aplicación en Argentina, 1930–1943 [The Influence of Keynes on the Evolution of Raúl Prebisch's Economic Ideas and their Application in Argentina, 1930–1943]. *Análisis Económico*, *23*(54), 225–237.

Sheldrick, A., Evans, J., & Schliwa, G. (2017). Policy learning and sustainable urban transitions: Mobilising Berlin's cycling renaissance. *Urban Studies*, *54*(12), 2739-2762.

Sheperd, E. (2018). Continuity and Change in the Institution of Town and Country Planning: Modelling the Role of Ideology. *Planning Theory*, *17*(4), 494–513.

Sheppard, E., & Leitner, H. (2010). Quo vadis neoliberalism? The remaking of global capitalist governance after the washington consensus. *Geoforum*, *41*(2), 185–194.

Sidney, M. S. (2007). Policy formulation; design and tools. In Fischer, F., Miller, G. & Sidney, M. S. (Eds.) *Handbook of Public Policy Analysis: Theory, Politics and Methods*, pp. 79-87. New Brunswick, NJ: CRC Taylor & Francis.

Silva Ardila, D. (2020). Global policies for moving cities: the role of think tanks in the proliferation of bus rapid transit systems in Latin America and worldwide. *Policy and Society*, *39*(1), 70–90.

Simon, H. A. (1955). A behavioral model of rational choice. *The quarterly journal of economics*, 69(1): 99-118.

Sorensen, A. (2017). New Institutionalism and planning theory. In Gunder, M. Madanipour, A., & Watson, V. (Eds.) *Routledge handbook of planning theory*, pp. 250–263. London: Routlege.

Sproule-Jones, M. (1993). *Governments at Work: Canadian Parliamentary Federalism and Its Public Policy Effects*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Sotirov, M., & Winkel, G. (2016). Toward a cognitive theory of shifting coalitions and policy change: Linking the advocacy coalition framework and cultural theory. *Policy Sciences*, *49*(2), 125-154.

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Stein, C., Michel, B., & Glasze, G. (2017). Learning from failed policy mobilities: contradictions, resistances and unintended outcomes in the transfer of "business improvement districts" to Germany. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, *24*(1), 35–49.

Stone, D. A. (1989). Causal stories and the formation of policy agendas. *Political Science Quarterly*, *104*(2), 281–300.

Stone, D. A. (1997). *Policy paradox: The art of political decision making*. New York, NY: Norton.

Stone, D. A. (2004). Transfer agents and global networks in the 'transnationalization' of policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *11*(3), 545–566.

Stone, D. A. (2012). Transfer and Translation of Policy. *Policy Studies*, *33*(6), 483–499.

Stone, D. A. (2017) Understanding the transfer of policy failure: bricolage, experimentalism and translation. *Policy & Politics,* 45(1): 55–70.

Stone, D. A., Porto de Oliveira, O., & Pal, L. A. (2020). Transnational policy transfer: the circulation of ideas, power and development models. *Policy and Society*, *39*(1), 1–18.

Strambach, S. (2010). Path Dependency and Path Plasticity: The Co-Evolution of Institutions and Innovation -The German Customized Business Software Industry. In Boschma, R. & Martin, R. (Eds.) *Handbook of Evolutionary Economic Geography*, pp. 406–431. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Streeck, W. & Thelen, K. A. (2005). Beyond continuity: Institutional change in advanced political economies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sultana, R. G. (2011). On being a 'boundary person': Mediating between the local and the global in career guidance policy learning. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *9*(2), 265-283.

Sunkel, O. (1970). *El Subdesarrollo Latinoamericano y la Teoría del Desarrollo* [The latin american underdevelopment and the theory of development]. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.

Surel, Y. (2000). The role of cognitive and normative frames in policy-making. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *7*(4), 495–512.

Sydow, J., Schreyögg, G., & Koch, J. (2009). Organizational Path Dependence: Opening the Black Box. *Academy of Management Review*, *34*(4), 689–709.

Szajnberg, D., Cordara, C., & Bories, C. (2010). Balance de las estrategias de intervención urbanística en los albores del siglo XXI [Balance of urban intervention strategies at the dawn of the 21st Century]. *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, *14*(331).

Taroncher, M. (2009). *El CONADE y el Plan Nacional de Desarrollo, 1965–1969*. [The CONADE and the National Development Plan. 1965-1969]. Paper presented at XII Jornadas Interescuelas/Departamentos de Historia, Mar del Plata, Argentina.

Tasci, A. D., Wei, W., & Milman, A. (2020). Uses and misuses of the case study method. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *82* Article 102815.

Tauber, F., Delucchi, D., & Martino, H. (2006). *La Planificación Estratégica Participativa* [Participatory Strategic Planning]. La Plata: EdULP.

Telechea, J. M., & Zeolla, N. (2014). El pensamiento económico latinoamericano del desarrollo y la industrialización: Estructuralistas y neoestructuralistas ¿giro o actualización? [The Latin American economic thought of development and industrialization: Structuralists and neostructuralists, turn or update?]. *La revista del CCC*, 21: 1–13.

Temenos, C., & McCann, E. (2013). Geographies of policy mobilities. *Geography Compass*, *7*(5), 344–357.

Terán Troyano, F. (1996). Evolución del Planeamiento Urbanístico (1846–1996) [Evolution of Urban Planning (1846–1996)]. *Ciudad y Territorio. Estudios Territoriales,* 28(107–108):167–184.

Tereschuk, N. (2007). Organismos de Planificación y Estado Desarrollista en la Argentina (1943–1975) [Planning Organizations and Developmental State in Argentina (1943–1975)]. Paper presented at I Jornadas de Economía Política, Universidad de General Sarmiento, September 6–7.

Teubner, G. (1993). *Law as an autopoietic system*. Hoboken (NJ): Blackwell Publishers.

Teubner, G. (2011). *Networks as connected contracts*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Tewdwr-Jones, M. (2012). *Spatial Planning and Governance: Understanding UK Planning*. United Kingdom: Palgrave.

Thelen, K. (2003). How Institutions Evolve: Insights from Comparative Historical Analysis. In Mahoney, J. & Rueschemeyer, D. (Eds.) *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, pp. 208–240. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Thelen, K. (2004). *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Thelen, K. (2009). Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies. *International Journal of Employment Relations*, *47*(3), 471–498.

Thorp, R. (2000). El Papel de la CEPAL en el Proceso de Desarrollo de América Latina en los Años Cincuenta y Sesenta [The Role of ECLAC in the Development Process of Latin America in the Fifties and Sixties]. In ECLAC *La CEPAL en sus Cincuenta Años. Notas de un Seminario Conmemorativo* [ECLAC in its Fifty Years. Notes from a Memorial Seminar], 19–32. Santiago de Chile: ECLAC.

Thrift, N. (1999). The place of complexity. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *16*(3), 31-69.

Tommasi, M. (2002). Federalism in Argentina and the reforms of the 1990s. Buenos Aires: Universidad de San Andrés.

Torfing, J. (2009). Rethinking path dependence in public policy research. *Critical Policy Studies*, 3(1): 70–83.

Townley, B. (2002). The Role of Competing Rationalities in Institutional Change. *The Academy of Management Journal*, *45*(1),163–179.

True, J., Jones, B., & Baumgartner, F. (2007). Explaining stability and change in public policymaking. *Theories of the Policy Process*, 155-188.

UNDER-SECRETARIAT OF TERRITORIAL PLANNING OF PUBLIC INVESTMENT (2008). *Plan Estratégico Territorial. Argentina del Bicentenario: 1816-2016* [Strategic Spatial Plan Bicentennial Argentina. 1816-2016]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: MINISTERIO DE PLANIFICACIÓN FEDERAL, INVERSIÓN PÚBLICA Y SERVICIOS. Accessed May 18, 2016. Available at http://www.planificacion.gob.ar.

UNDER-SECRETARIAT OF TERRITORIAL PLANNING OF PUBLIC INVESTMENT (2010). 1816-2010-2016. *Plan Estratégico Territorial Bicentenario* [Bicentennial Strategic Spatial Plan]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: MINISTERIO DE PLANIFICACIÓN FEDERAL, INVERSIÓN PÚBLICA Y SERVICIOS. Accessed May 18, 2016. Available at http://www.planificacion.gob.ar.

UNDER-SECRETARIAT OF TERRITORIAL PLANNING OF PUBLIC INVESTMENT (2011). *Plan Estratégico Territorial Avance II. Libro 1: Planificación Estratégica Territorial*. [Strategic Spatial Plan Advance II. Book 1: Strategic Spatial Planning] Buenos Aires, Argentina: MINISTERIO DE PLANIFICACIÓN FEDERAL, INVERSIÓN PÚBLICA Y SERVICIOS. Accessed May18, 2016. Available at http://www.planificacion.gob.ar.

UNDER-SECRETARIAT OF TERRITORIAL PLANNING OF PUBLIC INVESTMENT (2015). *Lineamientos para la planificación territorial de la República Argentina* [Guidelines for the territorial planning of the Argentine Republic]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: MINISTERIO DE PLANIFICACIÓN FEDERAL, INVERSIÓN PÚBLICA Y SERVICIOS. Accessed September 26, 2017. Available at https://www.mininterior.gov.ar/planificacion/pdf/Lineamientos-planificacion-territorial-.pdf.

UNDER-SECRETARIAT OF TERRITORIAL PLANNING OF PUBLIC INVESTMENT (2016). *Guia de Planificación Territorial* [Territorial Planning Guide]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: MINISTERIO DE PLANIFICACIÓN FEDERAL, INVERSIÓN PÚBLICA Y SERVICIOS. Accessed May18, 2016. Available at http://www.planificacion.gob.ar.

Vaca Ávila, P. (2010). Estrategias de desarrollo local en Argentina Un análisis del caso de Cauqueva (Provincia de Jujuy) [Local development strategies in Argentina An analysis of the case of Cauqueva (Province of Jujuy)]. PhD Diss. Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

Van Assche, K. (2007). Planning as/and/in context: Towards a new analysis of context in interactive planning. *Middle Eastern Technical University JFA*, *27*, 1.

Van Assche, K., Beunen, R., Jacobs, J., & Teampău, P. (2011). Crossing trails in the marshes: rigidity and flexibility in the governance of the Danube Delta. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, *54*(8), 997-1018.

Van Assche, K., Duineveld, M., Beunen, R., & Teampău, P. (2011). Delineating locals: transformations of knowledge/power and the governance of the Danube Delta. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, *13*(1), 1-21.

Van Assche, K., Beunen, R., & Duineveld, M. (2012). Performing success and failure in governance: Dutch planning experiences. *Public administration*, *90*(3), 567-581.

Van Assche, K., Beunen, R., Duineveld, M., & Jong, H. C. de (2013) Co-evolutions of planning and design: Risks and benefits of design perspectives in planning systems. *Planning Theory* 12(2): 177-198.

Van Assche, K., Beunen, R., & Duineveld, M. (2014a). *Evolutionary Governance Theory: An introduction*. Heidelberg: Springer.

Van Assche, K., Beunen, R., & Duineveld, M. (2014b). Formal/informal dialectics and the self-transformation of spatial planning systems: An exploration. *Administration & Society*, *46*(6), 654-683.

Van Assche, K., Djanibekov, N., Hornidge, A. K., Shtaltovna, A., & Verschraegen, G. (2014). Rural development and the entwining of dependencies: Transition as evolving governance in Khorezm, Uzbekistan. *Futures*, *63*, 75-85.

Van Assche, K., Duineveld, M., & Beunen, R. (2014). Power and contingency in planning. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *46*(10), 2385–2400.

Van Assche, K., & Hornidge, A. K. (2015). *Rural Development: Knowledge & Expertise in Governance*. Wageningen: Wageningen Academic Publishers.

Van Assche, K., & Teampău, P. (2015). *Local Cosmopolitanism. Imagining and (re)making Privileged Places*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

Van Assche, K., Beunen, R., & Duineveld, M. (2017). Co-evolutionary planning theory. Evolutionary Governance Theory and its relatives. In Gunder, M., Madanipour, A., & Watson, V. *The Routledge handbook of planning theory*, pp. 221-236. New York: Routledge.

Van Assche, K., Beunen, R., Duineveld, M., & Gruezmacher, M. (2017). Power/knowledge and natural resource management: foucaultian foundations in the analysis of adaptive governance. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, *19*(3), 308–322.

Van Assche, K., Deacon, L., Gruezmacher, M., Summers, R., Lavoie, S., Jones, K., Granzow, M., Hallstrom, L., & Parkins, J. (2017). *Boom & Bust. Local strategy for big events. A community survival guide to turbulent times*. Groningen/Edmonton, Alberta: In Planning and University of Alberta, Faculty of Extension.

Van Assche, K., Beunen, R., Gruezmacher, M., Duineveld, M., Deacon, L., Summers, R., Hallstrom, L., & Jones, K. (2019). Research methods as bridging devices: Path and context mapping in governance. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*. ahead-of-print.

Van Assche, K., Beunen, R., Gruezmacher, M., & Duineveld, M. (2020). Rethinking strategy in environmental governance. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, *22*(5), 695–708.

Van Assche, K., Beunen, R., & Verweij, S. (2020). Comparative planning research, learning, and governance: the benefits and limitations of learning policy by comparison. *Urban Planning*, *5*(1), 11–21.

Van Assche, K., Duineveld, M., Gruezmacher, M., & Beunen, R. (2021). Steering as path creation: Leadership and the art of managing dependencies and reality effects. *Politics and Governance*, *9*(2), 369-380.

Van Assche, K., Verschraegen, G., & Gruezmacher, M. (2021). Strategy for collectives and common goods: Coordinating strategy, long-term perspectives and policy domains in governance. *Futures*, *128*, Article 102716.

Van Assche, K., Gruezmacher, M., & Beunen, R. (2022). Shock and Conflict in Social-Ecological Systems: Implications for Environmental Governance. *Sustainability*, *14*, 610.

Van Duinen, L. (2015). New spatial concepts between innovation and lock-in: The case of the Dutch Delta metropolis. *Planning Practice & Research*, *30*(5), 548-569.

Van Gunten, T. S. (2015). Cohesion, consensus, and conflict: Technocratic elites and financial crisis in Mexico and Argentina. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, *56*(5), 366–390.

Van Wezemael, J. (2017). Assemblage thinking in planning theory. In Gunder, M., Madanipour, A., Watson, V. *The Routledge handbook of planning theory*, pp. 326-336. New York: Routledge.

Verschraegen, G. (2015). Fabricating social Europe: From neo-corporatism to governance by numbers. In Hartmann, E., & Kjaer, P. (Eds.) *The Evolution of Intermediary Institutions in Europe*, pp. 101-119. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Vergne, J. P., & Durand, R. (2010). The Missing Link Between the Theory and Empirics of Path Dependence: Conceptual Clarification, Testability Issue, and Methodological Implications. *Journal of Management Studies*, *47*(4), 736–759.

Vergne, J. P., & Durand, R. (2011). The Path of Most Persistence: An Evolutionary Perspective on Path Dependence and Dynamic Capabilities. *Organization Studies*, *32*(3), 365–382.

Verweij, S., & Trell, E. M. (2019). Qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) in spatial planning research and related disciplines: A systematic literature review of applications. *Journal of Planning Literature*, *34*(3), 300-317.

Vistalli, J. J. (1948). Planificación Integral [Comprehensive Planning]. *Hechos e Ideas*, *7*(48), n/d.

Walker, J. (1969). The Diffusion of Innovations among the American States. *American Political Science Review*, *33*(3), 880–899.

Wallerstein, I. (1974) [2011]. *Modern World System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. California, CA: University of California Press.

Ward, K. (2006). 'Policies in motion', urban management and state restructuring: the trans-local expansion of business improvement districts. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *30*(1), 54-75.

Ward, S. (2002). *Planning the Twentieth-Century City: The Advanced Capitalist World*. West Sussex: Wiley.

Waterhout, B., Othengrafen, F., & Sykes, O. (2013). Neo-liberalization Processes and Spatial Planning in France, Germany, and the Netherlands: An Exploration. *Planning Practice and Research*, *28*(1), 141–159.

Weible, C. M., Sabatier, P. A., & McQueen, K. (2009). Themes and variations: Taking stock of the advocacy coalition framework. *Policy studies journal*, *37*(1), 121-140.

Weick, K. E. (1995). *Sensemaking in organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Whitehead, L. (2002). *Democratization: Theory and Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Whittington, R. (1996). Strategy as practice. *Long Range Planning*, *29*(5), 731–735.

Williamson, O. E. (2000). The new institutional economics: taking stock, looking ahead. *Journal of economic literature*, *38*(3), 595-613.

Wittmayer, J. M., Backhaus, J., Avelino, F., Pel, B., Strasser, T., Kunze, I., & Zuijderwijk, L. (2019). Narratives of change: How social innovation initiatives construct societal transformation. *Futures*, *112*, Article 102433.

Wood, D. M. (2016). Community indicators and collective impact: Facilitating change. *Community Development*, *47*(2), 194-208.

Woods, R. B. (2016). *Prisoners of Hope: Lyndon B. Johnson, the Great Society, and the Limits of Liberalism.* New York: Basic Books.

Workman, S., Jones, B. D., & Jochim, A. E. (2009). Information processing and policy dynamics. *Policy Studies Journal*, *37*(1), 75-92.

WORLD BANK (1998). *Knowledge for Development*. Washington, DC: World Development Report. The World Bank Institute.

WORLD BANK (2004). Benchmarking countries in the knowledge economy. In: *Presentation of the Knowledge Assessment Methodology (KAM)*. Washington, DC: The World Bank Institute.

Wylde, C. (2011). State, Society and Markets in Argentina: The Political Economy of Neodesarrollismo under Néstor Kirchner, 2003–2007. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, *30*(4), 436–452.

Yin, R. K. (1993). *Applications of Case Study Research*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Yin, R. K. (2003). Designing case studies. *Qualitative research methods*, *5*(14), 359-386.

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications. Design and methods*. London: Sage Publications.

Zahariadis, N. (2003). *Ambiguity and choice in public policy: Political decision making in modern democracies*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Zusman, P., & Minvielle, S. (1995). *Sociedades Geográficas y delimitación del territorio en la construcción del Estado-Nación argentino* [Geographic Societies and delimitation of the territory in the construction of the Argentinian Nation-State]. Presented at V Encuentro de Geógrafos de América Latina, La Habana, Cuba.

Zonneveld, W. (2005). In Search of Conceptual Modernization: The New Dutch 'National Spatial Strategy'. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, *20*(4), 425–443.

Appendix 1

Table of interviews and respondents

Respondent	Position	Organisation
R 1	Former FAO officer	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
R 2	Free Lance Consultant	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
R 3	Project Coordinator (Ministry of Planning)	Ministry of Federal Planning, Public Investment and Services
R 4	Technical Consultant (Ministry of Planning)	Ministry of Federal Planning, Public Investment and Services
R 5	External Advisor (Ministry of Planning)	National University/ National Council for Scientific and Technical Research
R 6	Technical Coordinator of land use planning project/ Natural resources management expert	National Institute of Agricultural Technology
R 7	Technical Coordinator of land use planning project/ Agricultural planning expert	Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development
R 8	Former Territorial Development Project Coordinator	National Institute of Agricultural Technology
R 9	University Professor of planning and territorial ordering	National University
R 10	Former chair of Geography at national university/ Professor of planning and territorial ordering	National University/ National Council for Scientific and Technical Research
R 11	Director of Ecology	Provincial Government
R 12	Researcher in prospective studies/ Specialist in public policies	Ministry of Agro-industry
R 13	Coordinator of gender territorial policies programme	Ministry of Public Works
R 14	Expert in geographic information systems and analysis of satellite images for land use planning	National Institute of Agricultural Technology

R 15	Expert in environmental and territorial policies	National Council for Scientific and Technical Research/ Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries
R 16	Project coordinator/ Associate professor of Theory and Economic Policy/ Researcher in history of territorial location strategies of industrial activities	National University
R 17	Technical advisor	National Institute of Agricultural Technology
R 18	Expert in local territorial development and social economy	National University
R 19	Geographer and Historian/ Former member of technical team in land use planning project	National University
R 20	Graduate in Tourism/Former member of Local Development Plan	Municipal Government
R 21	Agricultural engineer/ Farmer/ Former member of Local Development Plan	Association of agricultural producers
R 22	Research coordinator in rural development, socio-environmental conflicts and territorial policies	National university
R 23	Associate researcher in politics, conflict and socio-spatial transformations	National University/ National Council for Scientific and Technical Research

Appendix 2

Basic Interview protocol

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview.

As you know, I am conducting a PhD research and, within that framework, the answers you can give to the following questions will help me develop a deeper understanding of the recent reappearance of national planning policy attempts in Argentina. This interview should take less than an hour and will be recorded so that I can more easily review the notes afterwards. The transcript of this interview will be anonymised. If at any point of the interview you believe it would be helpful to refer me to specific organisations and/or publications for additional information, please do so.

Could you please tell me about your experience in spatial planning?

Did you receive professional training related to this subject?

Have you been involved in any stage of the elaboration of the *Strategic Spatial Plan* ❝*Bicentennial Argentina* ❞? If so, could you share with me your overall impression of that experience?

What were, in your view, the main strengths and weaknesses of the Plan?

Can you mention other factors that might have influenced the performance of the Plan?

According to your point of view, what is spatial planning? What basic concepts, practices and/or body of knowledge does it relate to?

What theoretical-practical tools do you usually use (in activities related to planning)?

Do you remember where you (or your organisation) got those concepts and/or practical tools from?

Who are, from your point of view, the main actors (individuals or organisations) involved in spatial planning at the national level?

How do they relate?

Are there other actors (individuals or organisations) that you identify as important but who are not directly involved in the making of national planning policies? If so, please elaborate on their roles.

In your view, how has participation been played out in recent planning policy attempts?

Do you or the organisation of which you are a part relate to other actors active in planning?

In your experience, what strategies have been deployed so that the perspectives of local actors are taken into account?

Summary

Planning in Argentina has undergone many transformations since the beginning of the 20th Century. State-led planning was attempted several times at the national level in the country and, after more than two decades where decisions regarding spatial organisation were rather market-oriented, it had a surprising return in recent years with the creation of the Ministry of Planning and the publication of the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'* in 2008. The official narrative that accompanied this unexpected reappearance was structured around the disbelief in the superiority of expert knowledge devised in central administration. Such turn is noteworthy, given the long history of centralised steering in the country. The unforeseen revival of State-led planning on a national scale in Argentina is thus a great case to study dynamics of policy development and how policy continuities and change are grasped. On this basis, using the evolution of Argentinian planning policies as a case study, this research aims to contribute to better understand and illustrate how governance configurations (self)transform over time and how this affects the ways in which planning is perceived as well as what it can (expectedly) do.

Several theories contribute to deepen our understanding of the transformation routes of governance systems. Among them, Evolutionary Governance Theory —or EGT— is particularly important here. In EGT, governance is conceived as the taking of collectively binding decisions within a community not only by State actors, but also by civil society and private actors. The context of governance is particularly relevant for understanding continuities and change in policy formation insofar as they do not follow a linear course from conception to implementation but are constantly discussed, ignored, opposed, reinterpreted and reformulated in a 'messy' process which ultimately re-shapes governance. The exploration of a governance path from an EGT perspective entails acknowledging the temporal dimensions of policy processes and comprises dependencies on the past (path dependencies), present (interdependencies), and future (goal dependencies). Under this theoretical lens, governance evolution is assumed to be complex and non-linear as it takes shape in/through the constant changes of its constitutive elements in interplay with each other and with the environment.

This thesis applies and contributes to further develop EGT in a historical analysis focused on the conditions that enabled and constrained the revival of State-led spatial planning at the national level in Argentina at the beginning of the 21st Century. It does so by (a) pointing out the mechanisms that shaped institutional path dependencies in the evolution of Argentinian planning policies during the 20th Century; (b) inquiring about the effects that the growing influence of transnational circuits of policy knowledge exerts over cross-border planning discourses, national policy formation and local level implementation, and; (c) examining how ideals for the future spatial organisation of the country constrain and enable changes in actors/institutions nexus, embody new configurations of power/knowledge and, ultimately, contribute to shape the transformation options for the national planning system in the present.

It is observed, throughout the research, that the formation of planning policies at the national level cannot be fully understood if it is not by connecting with Argentinian political, social and economic history. Such trajectory was not only guided by broad shifts in democratic

The case studied in this thesis also demonstrates how ideologies of national planning, as discourses underpinning steering attempts, can lose and regain explanatory power in relation to an environment always adapting and reacting to shifting narratives and their capacity to convince. The external shock represented by the political and economic crisis of 2001/2002 is particularly relevant here since it opened up a space for path creation. The new management strategy for the *Strategic Spatial Plan 'Bicentennial Argentina'* was based on collective decision-making between provincial representatives reunited around a renovated steering organisation: The Federal Council for Planning and Territorial Ordering (COFEPLAN). COFEPLAN was intended to synchronise the planning activities conducted in different parts of Argentina and to monitor and review the research and practical implementation outputs. The formulation of 'target images' for each of the provinces would operate as a synthesis of an image of future for Argentinian planning, envisioned as more federal and participative. Although the long-standing association of Argentinian planning to the reorganisation of urban arrangements kept power positions in place, thus reaffirming previous bureaucratic privileges, the emergence of new arenas for articulation between decision-makers opens up a possibility to reintroduce reflexivity and awareness of complexity within the national planning system.

This thesis, in a general overview, illustrates how different national planning policies developed throughout the Argentinian history, associated with the rise of State-initiated or market-driven development models, and closely tied to changing understandings of i.a. planning, planners, economy, democracy and the State. The historical trajectory of Argentinian planning against which new plans and planning policies found things to build on and/or to distinguish from can become a motivation for continuity as well as a trigger for change. In the specific context of Argentina, the particular co-evolution of actors, institutions and knowledge rendered the national planning system oblivious to many effects of large infrastructure investments on territorial imbalances. As territorial imbalances got established as a policy problem to be tackled via planning policies, they became ingrained in a power/knowledge configuration which not only affected the assumptions and inherent values embedded in the definitions of the policy problem but also shaped the limits of the policy field. The rationality of the Argentinian planning system can thus be better analysed as stemming from a path of knowing and acting with many actors sharing an interest in maintaining an urban and industrialising focus in State-led planning policy. The association of industrialisation to urban growth, hence, represents a material and cognitive path dependency, strengthened also by the interdependencies formed around it, where several actors defined their task in relation to the urban system in current form. Yet, transformation options always exist, identifying and understanding them implies gaining insights into internal and external shifts in power/knowledge. This quest becomes easier when understanding the basic mechanisms of evolving governance, when both the rigidities and flexibilities that mark such evolution become more transparent. In this regard, this thesis shows that dependencies not only create rigidities that contribute to explain the lack of change in governance paths, but their interplay also enables flexibility and path creation, which emerges out of spaces for contingency and freedom, created within the governance system. The interactions between dependencies are thus as productive as they are limiting. Therefrom, unravelling the specific sorts and weight of path, inter and goal dependencies and their patterns of co-evolution not only contributes to better understand the unique balance

Acknowledgements

It is often said that any project is the result of collective work. Although I cannot think of a more complete example of individual effort than the completion of a PhD project, this thesis is no exception to that statement. That is why I want to dedicate a few lines to thank the many people who, directly or indirectly, have pushed me forward on this fabulous path, full of emotions, which today comes to an end.

Eloisa, since you were born, all the bright moments of this journey carry your face. Everything I do is for you. Ana, you were the main support of our Dutch adventure, without you, there would be nothing. Dad, mom, friends, I always felt your closeness despite the distance and you brought me the best of our country on each visit.

I would like to thank my supervision team, those who were directly involved in the making of this project. Dr. Claudio Minca, my first promotor, thank you for accepting my application without hesitation, for your support and for your valuable advice, especially in my first steps as a PhD candidate. Dr. Edward Huijbens, my current promotor, we barely got to know each other personally, and yet you have always been attentive to my needs, always unquestioningly supportive, thank you very much for that. Dr. Martijn Duineveld, my daily supervisor, from the day I dared to contact you with the idea of visiting Wageningen for a possible candidacy until today you have trusted my abilities, sometimes even more than myself. You have helped me to settle in the beautiful city of Arnhem as soon as I arrived; to grow as a researcher; to leave the prejudices that I carried in my backpack outside the project; to always seek focus; to think how to "give another twist to the screw". A simple "thank you" is not enough, but you will have to settle for that until you come to visit Argentina. Dr. Kristof Van Assche, my co-supervisor. You joined the team when I needed you most, always ready to contribute with new ideas, suggested readings, sharp comments, and positive feedback that have added depth to my arguments. I hope to continue working with you and Martijn after this step.

My sincere gratitude also goes to the current and former members of the GEO family at Wageningen University. I will be forever grateful to each and every one of you. From Lauren, who left Wageningen early, but she welcomed me and my family upon our arrival, to the latest PhD candidate to join the team before my return to Buenos Aires, all of you have left something in me. I will always remember the talks with Iulian, the first PhD candidate I met when I visited in 2014, and the many moments spent in room B.301 with Alexandra, Arjan and Eugenie. Trista, Nowella, Yulia, Christine, Zul, Said, Maurice thank you for creating an atmosphere full of camaraderie. I would also like to thank the research and teaching staff. Rene, Megan, Clemens, Maarten, Roy, Ana, Karolina, Karin, your openness to share knowledge and your willingness to participate in activities like the PhD Day have served as a model for me to shape the academic I want to become. Last but not least, Keen and Pim, you have been vital in simplifying the thing I hate the most: bureaucracy. Thank you for your enormous patience and willingness to help me with that whenever I needed it.

You have all made the treacherous and painful path of completing a PhD a lot easier. I have been blessed to get to know a bit of all of you.

Acknowledgements of financial support

Rodrigo Hernán Alves Rolo

Wageningen School of Social Sciences (WASS)

Completed Training and Supervision Plan

Name of the learning activity	Department/Institute	Year	ECTS*
A) Project related competences			
Proposal writing	GEO	2015	6
Critical perspectives on social theory	WASS	2016	4
Spatial thinking in the social sciences: on the local, the rural and nature	WASS	2016	4
Interpretive Policy Analysis Summer School: Conflict and sustainable futures	WASS	2018	3
B) General research related competences			
Introduction course	WASS	2015	1
Efficient Writing Strategies	Wageningen In ⸮ to languages	2017	1.3
PhD Course: Academic Publication and Presentation for Social Scientists	WASS	2018	4
Wageningen Geography Lectures	GEO	2015-2018	2
Landscape Conversations	GEO	2015-2018	2
'La formación de políticas de planificación territorial en Argentina. Un abordaje teórico-metodológico centrado en las dependencias institucionales'	12° Congreso Argentino de Antropología Social, La Plata (Argentina)	2021	1

'Migraciones discursivas en la formación y transformación de políticas de planificación en Argentina'	XVIII Encuentro de Geografías de América Latina y VIII Congreso Nacional de Geografía de Universidades Públicas de la República Argentina, Córdoba, Argentina	2021	1
C) Career related competences/personal development			
Community-based land tenure and governance in the global south.	INDIGO International Seminar, KU Leuven	2015	1
Presentations GEO PhD symposium	GEO	2016-2017	1
Organizer of GEO PhD symposium	GEO	2016-2017	1
Member of the WASS PhD Council	WASS	2017-2018	2
Member of the WPC PhD Council		2017-2018	2
Organizer & convener WASS PhD Day	WASS	2018	1
PhD Writing Retreat	CSPS/WCSG	2018	1
Total			**38.3**

*One credit according to ECTS is on average equivalent to 28 hours of study load