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TUCUMÁN'S FIRST "GARDEN NEIGHBORHOOD". THE SETTING FOR THE EVOLUTION OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM

EL PRIMER "BARRIO JARDÍN" DE TUCUMÁN.
ESCENARIO DE LA EVOLUCIÓN DE LA
ARQUITECTURA Y EL URBANISMO DEL SIGLO XX

O PRIMEIRO "BAIRRO JARDIM" DE TUCUMÁN.
CENÁRIO DA EVOLUÇÃO DA ARQUITETURA E DO
URBANISMO DO SÉCULO XX



Figura 0. Rationalist aesthetics house of Manzana 20. Source: Photograph taken from the book by Deheza, M. G. (2015).

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RESUMEN

El presente artículo aborda el estudio del primer barrio diseñado y financiado por la Caja Popular de Ahorros, denominado Barrio Jardín y ubicado en la ciudad de San Miguel de Tucumán. Los destinatarios de esta operatoria fueron los empleados de comercio y los trabajadores de la industria de la provincia, a quienes se facilitó el acceso al crédito hipotecario. Ésta fue la primera respuesta dada por la entidad provincial, ante la falta de viviendas, a un sector de bajos recursos de la sociedad. El proyecto de urbanización, inspirado en los lineamientos de la ciudad jardín inglesa, transformados y aplicados en el concepto de suburbio jardín, tuvo su expresión arquitectónica en el chalet californiano. Las tres ampliaciones que experimentó en décadas posteriores siguieron las tendencias del Movimiento Moderno, tanto en lo que respecta a la implantación urbana, como a su arquitectura. La metodología empleada en la investigación fue de tipo cualitativo y el problema se desarrolló desde una perspectiva histórica. Si bien las obras se iniciaron en el contexto del primer gobierno de Juan Domingo Perón (1946-1952), las ampliaciones se llevaron a cabo entre 1962 y 1973, en otras circunstancias políticas y económicas. La unidad de análisis es acotada, el primer barrio jardín de San Miguel de Tucumán, con sus diferentes etapas de ampliación, pero el arco temporal corresponde a las décadas de 1940, 1960 y 1970. El objetivo de este trabajo fue realizar un recorrido por las líneas urbano – arquitectónicas aplicadas en los diseños de Barrio Jardín en sus diferentes etapas, en las que se desarrolló una ocupación del suelo urbano y una arquitectura que fueron producto de los principios imperantes en cada momento.

Palabras clave: Tucumán, ciudad jardín, chalet californiano, urbanismo moderno, arquitectura moderna.

ABSTRACT

This article addresses the study of the first neighborhood designed and financed by the Caja Popular de Ahorros, called Barrio Jardín and located in the city of San Miguel de Tucumán. Its recipients were the province's salespeople and industrial workers, who were given access to mortgages. This was the first response from the provincial entity for a low-income sector; to face the lack of housing. The housing development, inspired by the English garden city structure, transformed and applied to the garden suburb concept, had its architectural expression in the Californian chalet. The three extensions it underwent in subsequent decades followed the trends of the Modern Movement, both in terms of urban layout and its architecture. The research adopted a qualitative methodology, viewing the problem from a historical perspective. Although work began in the context of Juan Domingo Perón's first government (1946-1952), the extensions were made between 1962 and 1973, in other political and economic circumstances. The unit of analysis is limited to the first garden neighborhood of San Miguel de Tucumán, with its different stages of expansion, but the timeline covers the 1940s, 1960s, and 1970s. The goal of this article was to look through the urban-architectural lines applied in the different stages of the Garden Neighborhood's design, where urban land occupation and architecture were the product of the prevailing principles at their times.

Keywords: Tucumán, Garden city, Californian chalet, Modern urbanism, Modern architecture.

RESUMO

O presente trabalho aborda o estudo do primeiro bairro projetado e financiado pela Caja Popular de Ahorros, denominado "Barrio Jardín", na cidade de San Miguel de Tucumán, Argentina. Os destinatários desta operação foram os trabalhadores do comércio e da indústria desta província, que tiveram acesso a créditos hipotecários. Esta foi a primeira resposta dada pela entidade provincial à falta de moradia para um setor de baixa renda da sociedade. O projeto de urbanização, inspirado nas diretrizes da "cidade jardim inglesa", transformado e aplicado no conceito de subúrbio jardim, teve sua expressão arquitetônica no chalé californiano. As três ampliações pelas quais passou nas décadas posteriores seguiram as tendências do Movimento Moderno tanto em termos de implementação urbana quanto de arquitetura. A metodologia utilizada na pesquisa foi qualitativa e o problema foi abordado a partir de uma perspectiva histórica. Embora as obras tenham sido iniciadas no primeiro governo de Juan Domingo Perón (1946-1952), as ampliações foram realizadas entre 1962 e 1973, em outras circunstâncias políticas e econômicas. A unidade de análise limita-se ao primeiro bairro jardim de San Miguel de Tucumán com seus diferentes estágios de ampliação, mas o arco temporal corresponde às décadas de 1940, 1960 e 1970. O objetivo deste trabalho foi percorrer as linhas urbano-arquitetônicas aplicadas nos projetos do "Barrio Jardín" em suas diversas etapas, nas quais houve uma ocupação do solo urbano e uma arquitetura que refletia os princípios vigentes em cada momento.

Palavras-chave: Tucumán, cidade jardim, chalé californiano, urbanização moderna, arquitetura moderna

INTRODUCTION

This article studies the first neighborhood designed and financed by the Caja Popular de Ahorros, Barrio Jardín (Garden Neighborhood), located in the city of San Miguel de Tucumán. It was approached using a historical perspective to tour the urban–architectural design lines applied to this setting.

In the final years of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, urban approaches emerged in Europe looking to find solutions to the chaotic growth of cities, caused by the industrial revolution. Among the different proposals that criticized the poor living conditions of the working classes in the urban peripheries, was the “garden city” model of Ebenezer Howard. The proposal, published in his book, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (1902), sought to blend the benefits of rural and city life in a new urban layout, based on a central city surrounded by garden cities¹. These connected directly with the main hub but were far enough apart to guarantee their independence (Montiel Álvarez, 2015, pp. 120-121). Howard's model, where agriculture and industry were combined, based on cooperative principles, was put into practice by Raymond Unwin (1863-1940) and Barry Parker (1868-1947), in Letchworth (1903-1904), who endowed the garden city with picturesque architectural features. However, the dissemination of Howard's ideas was carried out through the “garden suburb”, namely, low-density urban spaces, far removed from the original proposal of an independent city with a limited size. The article by Blasco (2016), published in the journal, *Historia Industrial*, clearly explains the details of the original garden city plan, and the one by Montiel Álvarez (2015), in the digital journal *Artes y Humanidades*, illustrates precisely how this model influenced the twentieth-century city.

In many European countries, the housing shortage worsened as a result of the First World War, which led to more resolute state intervention, either through loans or direct participation. In this context, new urban approaches were implemented, among which those inspired by the principles of the Modern Movement, matured between the end of the war and the crisis of 1929, stand out (Benévolo, 1996, p. 527). These were based on strict zoning, the disappearance of the urban block and street, and the concentration of housing units in a linear high-rise block, set within extensive green areas. Monclús and Diez (2015), based on this, made a comparative analysis of the modern urban principles of housing complexes of a given complexity for European cities, which can be extrapolated to those applied in Latin America from the second half of the 1940s.

¹ Howard's Garden City considered a maximum population of 32,000 inhabitants, set on a site of about 6,000 acres, of which 1,000 were destined for the city (about four hundred hectares), and the remaining 5,000 acres (more than two thousand hectares), for agricultural activities.

In Argentina, the appearance of the first garden cities occurred in urban developments intended for social classes with high or medium purchasing power, but over time they spread to state-run neighborhoods for the less favored sectors. Ballent (2005) studied these developments and their architecture, promoted by Peronism,

considering their continuity with the 1930s. Similarly, Ballent and Liernur (2014) raised the housing issue in its cultural and historical dimensions, where politics played a fundamental role. Domestic and local housing plans are key to understanding the long process that would culminate in the policies that today show the irreplaceable role of the State in the housing problem. To complete the overview, the works of Cravino (2020; 2016), Gómez (2015), Gargantini (2012), Baer and Duarte (2011), and Larrosa (1947) were reviewed, which address the issue of the country's housing crisis and the different solutions applied, from the end of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth.

The context of Tucumán and the housing deficit were also viewed, using the publications of Páez de la Torre (1987) and Tío Vallejo and Wilde (2017), to grasp the situation in the decades mentioned. The articles by Costa (2020), Blanco (2019), and Jáuregui (2018) were analyzed regarding the political and economic circumstances, under which the initial construction and subsequent extensions of Barrio Jardín took place.

Finally, viewing the publication of Deheza (2015), on the activity of the Caja Popular de Ahorros de Tucumán, was completely necessary, as it outlines the different operations carried out by the credit institution over time.

Working class housing policies in Argentina

The construction of working-class housing neighborhoods had been a hot topic since the late nineteenth century in Argentina, before the arrival of immigrants who settled in the tenements, especially in the coastal cities and Buenos Aires. The industrialization process also induced internal migration from the countryside to the city with the resulting urban growth of the peripheries. These two situations led to the housing capacity being completely surpassed in large cities with the well-known consequences of overcrowding, precariousness, lack of infrastructure, etc.

Despite this, at the turn of the twentieth century, the State did not consider the social housing issue as a matter within its purview, delegating it to the market, in line with the liberal conceptions of the time. Public works were focused on building large-scale equipment such as ports, power plants, and institutional buildings, and also urban infrastructure works, such as the provision of drinking water, sewage disposal, and garbage collection, among others (Cravino, 2016, p. 9).

As for the housing problem, the governments implemented some specific actions, which fell short due to their small volume. Likewise, private, religious, or trade union institutions such as the El Hogar Obrero Cooperative, the Sociedad San Vicente de Paul, or the Argentine Catholic Working Class Union presented their proposals. However, these

were limited to certain sectors of the population, resulting in partial solutions.

The National Mortgage Bank (BHN), which had been created in 1886 to facilitate mortgages throughout the Republic, issuing credit to promote growth, went through different stages without great significance. It would be in the mid-twentieth century that its mortgage activity expanded, facilitating access to housing, and satisfactorily fulfilling its mission.

The coup d'état of 1943, initiated a change in the State's role vis-a-vis working-class housing. In this period, Colonel Juan Domingo Perón gained recognition by holding key positions in the administration that projected him publicly, until his consecration as President of the Nation, in the elections held in February 1946. During his first government, a public policy on mass-scale housing construction was implemented, which was included in the five-year plans. This policy was based, according to Baer and Duarte (2011), on two main pillars: on one hand, direct State construction and a series of measures that affected both the supply and demand of the real estate market and, on the other, its regulation by granting mortgages, controlling the rental market, lifting import duties for construction materials, sanctions of the Horizontal Property Law, and measures aimed at regulating lots. This is how the loans recorded rose from 5,838 in 1945 to 47,379 in 1949. They became widespread, not just in Buenos Aires, but within the country, and promoted operations related to individual housing, collective housing, horizontal property, and cooperative production (Ballent & Liernur, 2014, pp. 285- 288).

Working-class housing in Tucumán

The province of Tucumán, in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, experienced major economic and social transformations with the rise of the sugar industry, which through tariff protection implied the introduction of agribusiness in the national market and insertion into the agro-export model. The transition from an agricultural and commercial economy to an agro-industrial one, derived from the expansion of sugarcane cultivation and industrialization, meant the establishment of new economic, social, and political relations and the integration of numerous activities and actors into this process (Álvarez & Correa Deza, 2013, p. 129).

Its capital, San Miguel de Tucumán, at the beginning of the twentieth century was considered an intermediate city that had been developed in concentric rings, where three differentiated areas were recognized. The first was the "Historic City Center" of 1685, comprising traditional 9 x 9 square-shaped blocks. It was followed by the suburban area or "Liberal center" of the late nineteenth century, marked by four

boulevards, today called "the four avenues", whose layout continued with the block structure. Both sectors constitute a functional and symbolic unit, although they have particular traits regarding the urban fabric and landscape, a consequence of the historical period in which they were built (Paterlini, 2010, p. 58). Then, there was a wide area formed by the neighborhoods or small settlements that emerged independently from the consolidated structure, since often the original layout was not continued. These neighborhoods constituted the first periphery formed, first spontaneously, but, over the years, more planned as State action that provided infrastructure took hold. Between 1935 and 1950, the expansion of the city was directed especially toward the north of the city center, along the railroad and following the area's morphology (Mansilla, 1993-94, p. 78).

Housing policies implemented in Tucumán, until practically the mid-twentieth century, had been unsuccessful, on being isolated actions promoted by some specific sectors. The Provincial Government's first measure on this issue would take place during the administration of Luis F. Nougués (1906-1909), although the whole operation ended in failure. The province's People's Savings Bank (CPA), on the other hand, which had been created in 1915, would not address this issue as an institutional objective. It was only during the first government of Miguel Campero (1924-1928) that a regulation was approved authorizing the investment of 60% of the reserve's funds for the purchase of land for provincial and municipal employees and retirees to have their Own Homes, although, this action had little significance.

In 1938, Law 1728 was enacted, amending the law which created the CPA. This authorized using the reserve's funds for loans to State employees and retirees, including loans to build homes (Deheza, 2015, 43-44). It would facilitate access to housing for population groups who could not access them through other types of loans. Along this line, the *Permanent Board for the Own Home* was created in 1939, with offices in the Popular Savings Bank, and governed by the latter's regulations. Its purpose was to build housing for trade and industrial employees, by granting mortgages for 10, 15, 20, and 25 years. However, this modality did not prosper either.

Tucumán Garden Neighborhood

The arrival of Colonel Juan Domingo Perón to power (1946-1952) meant a change in the direction of policies addressing the housing issue. The first Five-Year Plan empowered different agencies to formulate mass housing plans, in which provincial governments could take part, contrary to the previous centralizing trend of the National Housing Administration (Ballent, 2005, p. 75). This was how, under the flag of mass-scale construction and the plurality of operations of different entities, including provincial ones, management was diversified and the

State's action in different parts of the country emerged in the short term.

In Tucumán, Carlos Domínguez, who closely identified with the national government, had won the February 1946 elections. His administration was characterized by the construction of abundant public works throughout the province. To alleviate the housing deficit, the construction of the "Eva Duarte de Perón", "Juan Domingo Perón", "El Bosque", "San Martín", "Concepción", and "Tafí Viejo" neighborhoods was fostered, located both in the capital and in the surrounding municipalities of Greater San Miguel de Tucumán (Páez de la Torre, 1987, p. 674).

In line with this policy, the CPA implemented direct construction of housing neighborhoods, whereby houses were put up for sale by public tender or by a system where stakeholders signed up beforehand, made an initial down payment, and could pay the balance in the long term.

The first neighborhood financed entirely by the institution was the Juan Bautista Alberdi neighborhood, later called "Barrio Jardín", intended for employees and workers of industry and commerce. It was located in front of the military barracks, northwest of the central area of San Miguel de Tucumán, between Castelli and Viamonte streets, from west to east and Belgrano and Italia Avenues, from south to north, in the Las Muñecas area (Tío Vallejo & Wilde, 2017, p. 141). It was designed following the "garden suburb" urban model, namely, low density. It had fourteen rectangular blocks, each with twenty-eight lots, on which one house per plot was located, on the municipal line, with a small back garden.

The works of the first sector, the largest, began in 1947, with detached individual houses, a square that occupied one block, alongside this, there was a doctor's surgery, a school that occupied another block (in front of the square), a building for the market, a social and sports club. Outside the square, a plot was allocated for the church (Figure 1). The project's plans included the works for the provision of running water, electricity lines, street lighting, and paving.

There were four types of houses. Type A totaling 60m², was designed with an access hall, living-dining room, two bedrooms, bathroom, kitchen, laundry room, and a small hallway (Figure 2). Types B, C, and D had a living-dining room, one bedroom, a kitchen, bathroom, and laundry room and were 48, 50, and 53m², respectively. The last one-bedroom ones, varied very little in their design, only C had a porch or access hall, so its value increased; then came D and, finally, B, the most economical.

The architectural language adopted was the Californian chalet² which, according to Ballent and Liernur (2014), had emerged in the country in the 1920s, as one of the suburban architecture languages of the upper and middle sectors. In the following decade, two models were adopted,

² The Californian chalet owes its name to a domestic architecture that emerged in California, in the United States, in the early twentieth century. Its dissemination occurred after the First World War due to the prevalence of American culture around the world, through magazines, specialized publications, and, especially, through the cinema.



Ubicación de Barrio Jardín

- 1 Sector original de 1947, ubicado entre avenida Belgrano al sur, Italia al norte y calles Castellí al este y Viamonte al oeste.
- 2 Primera ampliación de 1962, sobre avenida Manuel Belgrano al sur, España al norte y Viamonte al este y Juan L. Nougues al oeste.
- 3 Segunda ampliación de 1968, sobre España al sur, Italia al norte y Viamonte al este y Caseros al oeste.
- 4 Tercera ampliación de 1972-1973, dentro del sector original, en la manzana comprendida entre Viamonte y Azcuénaga, de oeste a este, y entre Brandisen y España, de sur a norte.

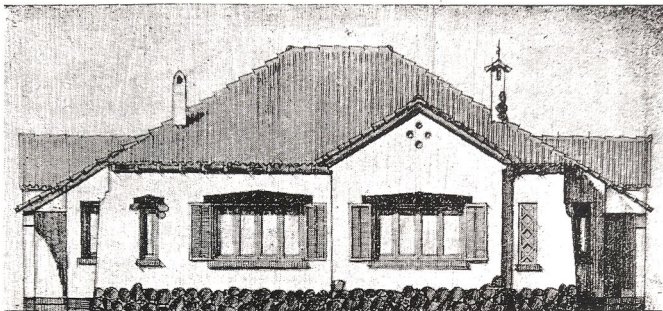


Figure 1. Location of Barrio Jardín with the different extensions. Source: Photograph extracted from Google Maps, worked by the author.

Figure 2. Type A house from 1947. Source: Photograph taken from the book by Deheza, M. G. (2015).

CASA TIPO "A"

VALOR ASIGNADO \$ 8.100

Mensualidad a pagar
\$ 61.30
 incluido:
 Amortización, intereses, seguro de incendio y seguro hipotecario o de vida.

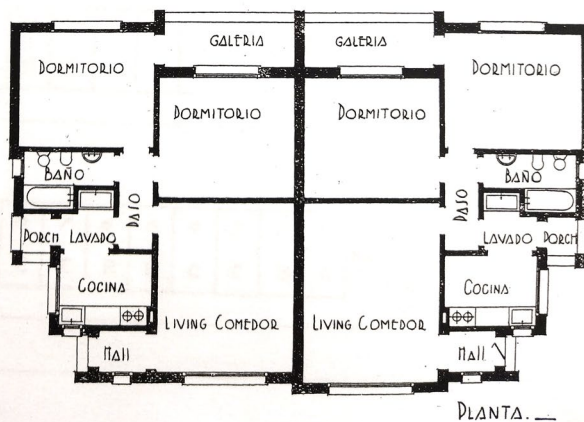




Figure 3. Californian chalet-style house in Barrio Jardín. Source: Photograph by the author..

namely the compact house of rationalist aesthetics for urban housing and the Californian chalet that, along with other rustic and picturesque variants, was the par excellence model for suburban, rural, or summer housing. However, it would undergo formal, functional, and symbolic reformulations at the request of the various social groups that used it, giving rise to large picturesque, small suburban, and popular chalet variants (Chiarello, 2015, pp. 186-187). The elements that characterized these houses were white walls, gently sloped tile roofs, and a low plinth in exposed stone or brick (Figure 3), widely disseminated in some magazines such as *Casas y Jardines (Houses and Gardens)*³, in the 1930s and 1940s.

It is possible to find background information on the type of urban development used by the CPA in the Suboficiales Sargento Cabral neighborhood, built between 1934 and 1937, in Campo de Mayo, Buenos Aires, on the initiative of the Ministry of War. It was conceived as a garden neighborhood, with Californian chalets, an orchard, and a chicken coop, located around collective equipment, among which the church stood out. This synthesis between modernity and tradition and, especially, national identity had been projected by the architects Alberto Prebisch, Fermín Bereterbide, and Carlos Muzio (Ballent, 2005, pp. 20-21).

³ The magazine, *Casas y Jardines (Houses and Gardens)* was a widely read Argentine publication of the Contémpera Publishing House that began its circulation in 1932.

Barrio Jardín's extensions

The rationalist aesthetics house, disseminated in the 1930s for urban housing, began to compete in the following decade with the concept of

"collective room". Both alternatives were debated since the latter was presented as a suitable resource for the Peronist government in its task of democratizing access to one's own housing. With the "pavilion", "block", or "monoblock", an open, exempt formal type of linear variable height development was alluded to, which incorporated community spaces and uses and proposed a new relationship with the street, with the green space, suitably ventilated and visible from the outside (Ballent, 2005, pp. 185-186). A paradigmatic example was the Manuel Dorrego neighborhood, better known as Los Perales (1946-1952), in the city of Buenos Aires. The complex, located in a large green area, in the Mataderos area, broke with the traditional amanzanamiento⁴. It consisted of 46 three-level blocks, with two- and three-bedroom apartments, totaling 1068 units. This was one of the most important undertakings carried out by the Peronist administration, at the beginning of its government.

In 1948, the Horizontal Property Law was enacted, which established the coexistence, in the same building, of individually owned units, sharing common sectors of collective ownership. The year after its passing, through a regulatory decree, a credit line destined for the new system was incorporated into the BHN. This was a stimulus for this type of construction and was widely disseminated (Ballent, 2005, pp. 216-217).

The 1960s was, according to Jáuregui (2017), a period of significant growth in the Argentine economy. The government of President Arturo Frondizi (1958-1962) supported the development of national industry in all sectors and proposed active State participation as a regulator in the economy, but also respected the free market, considering private initiatives as a dynamizing element of growth (Blanco, 2019, 14). During the de facto "Argentine Revolution" regime (1966-1973), modernization was promoted through state-led industrialization. In these years, despite successive political crises, economic planning, energy, industry, transport programs and even architecture for development emerged, understood as the framework of a modernizing or developmental political-economic project (Costa, 2020, 103).

Specifically, in 1962, the first expansion of the Barrio Jardín was proposed at the corner of Viamonte and Avenida Belgrano, already a busy area, which was carried out following the urban model of the Modern Movement. Thus, north-south facing apartment blocks were designed, sufficiently separated to get the best benefits of the sun and ventilation, over a large green area, totally indifferent to the layout of rectangular blocks of the original Barrio Jardín that it faced.

The complex comprised three three-level monoblocks, built under the horizontal property system. Two of the buildings had thirty-six units, and one only twenty-eight, which gave a total of one hundred two-, three-, and four-bedroom apartments of 75m², 80m², and 120m² respectively. The design of the units was in a duplex, namely, two levels, located side by side, facing the horizontal circulation. The architecture belonged to

⁴ Amanzanamiento: term that refers to the design of urban blocks that can be square or rectangular.



Figura 4. Monoblock of Av. Belgrano and Viamonte, towards the end of the 1960s. Source: Photograph taken from the book of Deheza, M. G. (2015).

the "brutalist" current since the reinforced concrete structure and the brick masonry foundations were left exposed, as well as the stairs at the ends of the block, designed as sculptural elements in exposed concrete (Figure 4).

A new expansion occurred in 1968. This involved the construction of twenty single-family homes, in what was called the "Manzana 20 or Block 20". The sites, located on Viamonte Street to the east and Caseros to the west, between Italia and España, behind the monoblocks, occupied three rectangular blocks running perpendicular to the original layout of the neighborhood.

The houses were larger than the first ones of 1947 and their design was more functional. There were three different types: A, B, and C with an area of 90m², distributed in a living-dining room, three bedrooms, a bathroom, and a kitchen with a laundry room; only A had a small rear hallway (Figure 5). Regarding its architectural language, a group of houses was prepared with the rationalist principles of flat roofs and lacking ornamentation (Figure 6). On the other hand, the remaining ones, in the manner of the Californian chalets, had tiled gable roofs, but without the rustic appearance of the 1940s (Figure 7).

A new extension was made between 1972 and 1973. This was the fourth and fifth three-level monoblocks, this time located on a quarter of the west block facing the school, inside the original neighborhood. The first building, on the corner of Azcuénaga and Brandsen, had 36 units of 63m² each one, and the second one, on the corner of Azcuénaga and España (Figure 8), also on three levels, had 24 apartments, with the same area as the former. Each of them was articulated with a smaller volume,

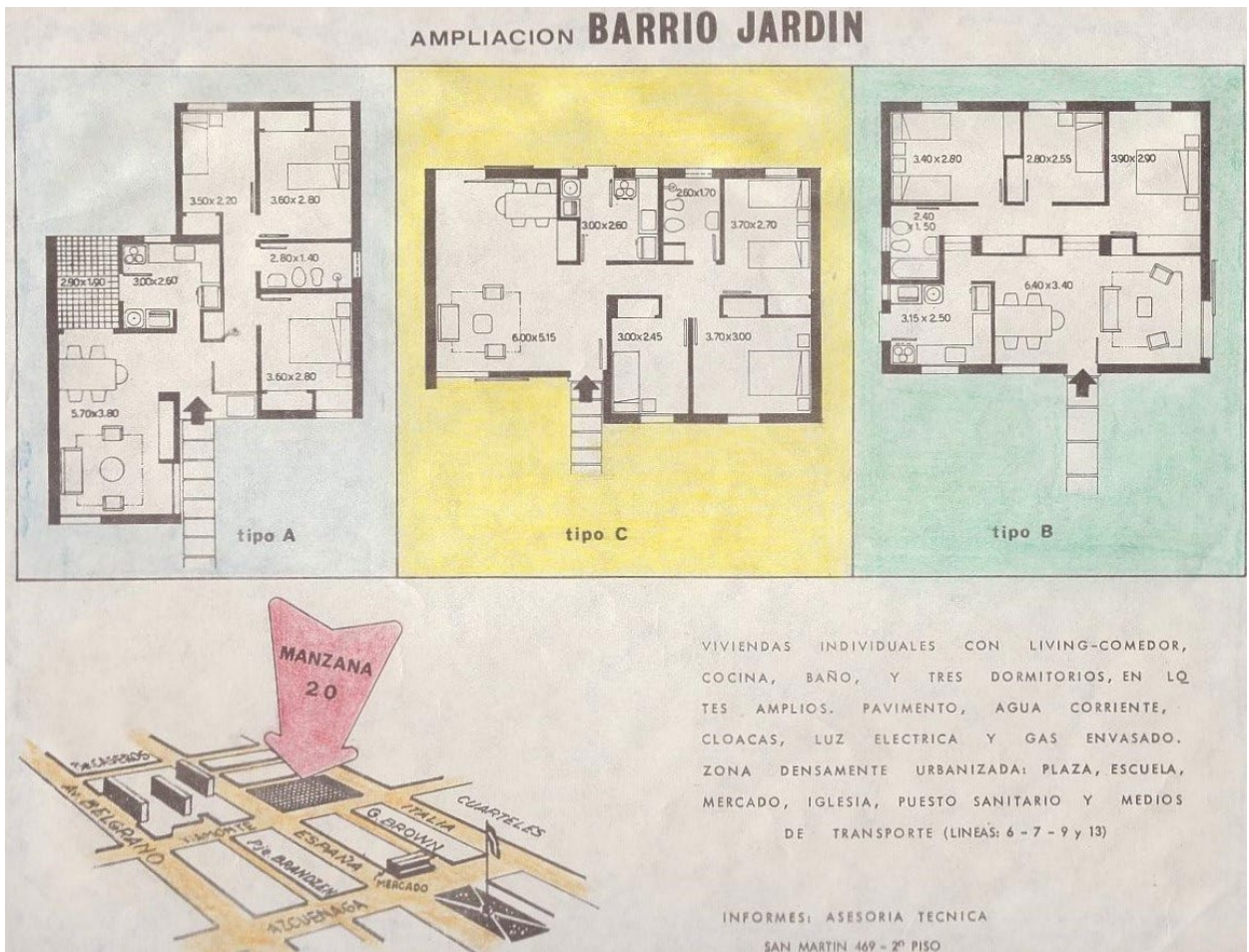


Figure 5. Floor plans of the houses of the Manzana 20 extension. Source: Photograph taken from the book by Deheza, M. G. (2015).

Figure 6. Rationalist aesthetics house of Manzana 20. Source: Photograph taken from the book by Deheza, M. G. (2015).

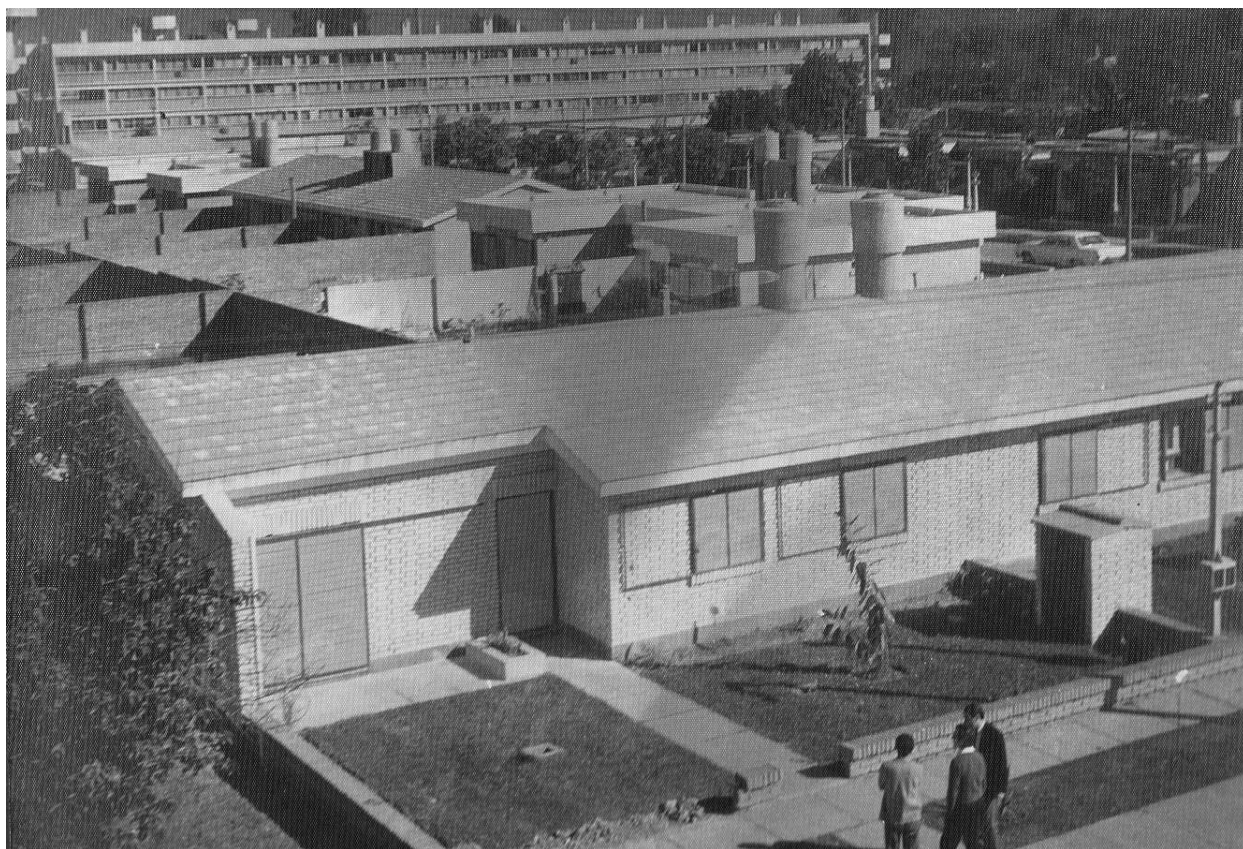


Figure 7. House with a gable roof of Manzana 20. Source: Photograph taken from the book by Deheza, M. G. (2015)

Figura 8. Monoblock on the corner of España and Azcuénaga. The third expansion of 1972-1973. Source: Photograph by the author.



with which they formed more private access spaces for each block, where the staircase was located. Their architecture is simpler and more austere, with whitewashed facades, and lacking any distinctive elements, compared to the whole of the 1960s.

It was in this way that "Barrio Jardín" acquired the characteristics of heterogeneous development, due to the various modes of urban implementation and the variety of architectural languages of the buildings.

The resulting plurality, a manifestation of the dominant urban and architectural principles of each moment, far from affecting the perception of the whole, enriched it, giving the neighborhood unique characteristics.

The proposals to solve the housing deficit of low-income sectors in the city of San Miguel de Tucumán found solutions in the CPA's operations that varied in scale, urban implementation, and architectural language. The political and economic circumstances were key in the creation of "Barrio Jardín" and its three extensions, all of which reveal particular traits. The complex comprising around five hundred houses, intended for employees of the city's public administration, commerce, and industry, was the largest the institution was responsible for in its over 100 years of management.

In the original 1947 design, the garden suburb model prevailed, expressed in the low density, through the delineation of rectangular blocks, with individual lots for each of the houses totaling 324 units. Regarding architecture, an effort was made to satisfy the tastes and aspirations of the less favored sectors of society who longed for their "own house", through the Californian chalet. The incorporation of urban infrastructure and equipment generated the right conditions so that, years later, three extensions could be completed, adding 180 more homes.

The first of these took place at the beginning of the 1960s, with the development of three three-level monoblocks, on a large green space. International examples show that this alternative had its weak points in the denial of the street, the large scale, and the difficulty to administer the green spaces on which they were set. However, in the first expansion of "Barrio Jardín", these problems were not evident due to the small scale of the complex, hence it could be satisfactorily integrated into the setting, a suburb of a small city in northwestern Argentina.

In a second expansion stage, twenty individual houses were built, which returned to the scale and urban model proposed in the first phase of the neighborhood. Although the delineation of the rectangular blocks was done perpendicularly to the original ones, this did not affect the perception of the whole. As for the architecture, the housing was designed following the functionalist principles of modern architecture and devoid of all ornamentation with flat and gabled roofs.

Finally, the monoblocks built in 1972 and 1973 were adapted to the urban structure of the original rectangular blocks, establishing a less categorical mode of occupation than the buildings on Avenida Belgrano. Its architecture is very simple, stripped of any element that could distinguish them.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The validity of the garden suburb and the modern urban models used show that, if the scale is suitable, the buildings are integrated without major difficulties, and the community makes them its own. Likewise, the variety of solutions contributed to avoiding monotony, a distinctive quality of the huge modern ensembles that were harshly criticized from the 1950s onwards.

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