

# A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON PUBLIC PLANNING IN PUERTO RICO

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## INTRODUCTION

ONE MUST ALWAYS MAKE A SPECIAL CASE FOR PRESENTING PUERTO RICAN ALONG with other Latin American studies. With public planning this is even more true. Puerto Rico is, after all, legally a part of the United States, and for many decades its well-being has been intimately tied to both general conditions in the U.S. and to U.S. policies, even those not directed specifically at Puerto Rico. For these reasons, planning by the government of Puerto Rico is very constrained: it must act without any of the options available to independent governments, such as the issuance of money or the control of imports; its laws and procedures must accommodate to the constraints of the U.S. legal system; it must permit U.S. citizens who are not Puerto Ricans to participate under conditions of full equality and mobility in Puerto Rico and between Puerto Rico and the U.S. mainland.

Looked at in this light, planning, in Puerto Rico is to be seen not as an example of *national* policy, but as a useful example of planning for a poor region of a relatively rich nation. Such regional policy has become more and more important in recent years throughout Latin America. Stöhr lists development agencies active today in seventy-five specific regions of fourteen countries, each of which also has a national regional policy office.<sup>1</sup> Hardoy and Geisse, in their recent anthology about sub-national planning in Latin America, devote two of five sections to programs and policies for regional development.<sup>2</sup> Although Puerto Rico's experience is special in some ways, its wealth of experience in dealing with an often indifferent or antagonistic central government, its myriad regional statistics and studies, and its relatively high degree of political autonomy make it an important case to consider.

## PLANNING IN PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rico has developed a rich variety of planning institutions, a history of planning criticism, and experience with plan implementation. For a long time this planning has been of special interest to scholars, policy makers, and professional planners worldwide. While planning has long been the subject of a great deal of activity by practitioners and academics in the Commonwealth and has largely been controlled by them, the island has also served as a testing ground for ideas planners could not sell in other areas, mostly the U.S. Many of these ideas were good and well-intentioned, but others were essentially experimental, in some respects not unlike the efforts by Dr. Arrowsmith in Sinclair Lewis' novel.

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Puerto Rico has embraced planning as official policy since the early 1940s, when the island was poor and underdeveloped. The initial impetus for planning occurred when the essentially populist political movement led by Luis Muñoz Marín allied with the governorship of Rexford Tugwell, which embodied many of the reformist ideas of the early New Deal in the U.S. This period was marked by a consolidation of political power by Muñoz, land reform and resettlement in the rural areas, and the beginnings of public enterprise in manufacturing. These efforts were managed mostly by a small group of Puerto Rican (U.S. mainland educated) administrative entrepreneurs allied with Muñoz and Tugwell, and the influx of foreign or mainland labor and capital was minimal.

At the end of the 1940s, the situation in Puerto Rico began to change fundamentally. Commonwealth status was established, the island was administered no longer by a U.S. appointed governor but by a locally elected one, and its government grew as a result of access to major financing from U.S. federal agencies. While the earlier period was marked by semi-isolation from mainland sources of finance and expertise, not to mention political attention, the late 1940s witnessed a shift, a more or less conscious decision to open up the island to the U.S. in several ways. The government-owned plants were sold to private owners and the government embarked on a program to attract mainland investors and entrepreneurs; a little later, tourism was made into a major industry; and beginning immediately after World War II, migration in both directions between the island and major eastern U.S. cities took on significant proportions.

These changes had their impact on planning, of course. For example, the money available for planning increased as private investors began to build projects and as numerous sectoral agencies spent government funds. Though the motivation to plan had developed with Muñoz' political movement in the 1940s, proliferation of spending for planning did not occur until the later period. A second impact was a fragmentation of planning efforts. The earlier process of making decisions in Puerto Rico appears to have been the affair of a relatively small and cohesive group of public and private figures, and to a remarkable extent they appear to have tried to think through the ramifications of their actions. Thus, even though an official, comprehensive economic plan was never prepared for the Island in the 1940s, it is possible to argue that a comprehensive planning milieu existed, and that concerted attention was paid to general goals and objectives. In the later period, this milieu changed from a reality to a kind of symbol. Administrators typically invoked the idea, but in practice became pragmatic. To the extent planning occurred, it was focused on particular sectors of the economy, small areas of the island, or, even more often, on single projects. The number of professionals and bureaus, offices, and departments doing "Planning" grew, so that in a sense, the "quantity" of planning increased, but the cohesion of public policy probably decreased during the 1950s and 1960s.

This phenomenon, the slide from general, goal-oriented planning to more specific, project-oriented planning, is a shift that can result from a variety of conditions.

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In Puerto Rico, as elsewhere, orientation to grants and loans from outside agencies, interested only in their particular sectors or projects, leads to undue emphasis on these projects and to failure to consider both long-run and more general issues.<sup>3</sup> In Puerto Rico, of course, with the federal agencies granted full legal powers, the impact was more severe than for nations utilizing bi-lateral or multinational loans. This severity potentially applies with equal force to all regional development programs in Latin America.<sup>4</sup>

### A DEFINITION OF PLANNING

For purposes of presentation, we have divided the works here cited into five categories: (I) General works, (II) Economic planning and development, (III) Social planning and development, (IV) Urban and rural development, and (V) Bibliography. Each section is also divided into (a) books and theses, (b) articles, and (c) other items. For the most part, however, we have been more selective than these titles would suggest. From our point of view, there are two major categories of studies.

Examples of planning method comprise the first category. Planning method can be described most simply as a four step process: (1) the analysis of the situation to see what problems exist and what information is available, (2) the design or discovery of possible courses of action, (3) prediction of the consequences of alternative actions, and (4) choice of a course of action in the light of these predictions. As a rough criterion for selection, we made it a rule to include as examples of planning method only those items which included in at least rudimentary form *all* of these four processes. Thus, for example, many collections of data, some proposals for action, and some projections were excluded, though they may have been quite relevant to the work of planners. Nevertheless, "comprehensiveness" was not a primary criterion: several sectoral or agency planning studies have been included. Also, though we have limited the bibliography, we make no pretense about the effectiveness of this rational process we call planning, recognizing that governments make policies for many reasons unrelated to "rational" evaluation of clear alternatives.

Studies *about* planning in Puerto Rico comprise the second category of material. We have included only articles, books, and reports about activities describable as planning method by the criteria just listed. Thus, for example, writing about economic development *per se*, unless the planning component is present, is excluded, as are some works relating to change in the urban environment, traffic problems, and social conditions in Puerto Rico.<sup>5</sup> The only exception is that we have listed a few very well known studies for their value as commentary on the locus of planning in the more general Puerto Rican scene.

### SPECIAL CONSIDERATIONS

A special comment about the Puerto Rico Planning Board and the Economic

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Development Administration (Fomento) is necessary. The Planning Board has over the years released a large number of plans and studies related to planning. Many of these are periodic, some occasional, and others are issued only once. There are so many that we found it impossible to list them all and equally difficult to select the most important. We have therefore chosen to list only a select few, emphasizing early works and peculiar items that may be of special interest. More of these are listed in the preliminary bibliography cited,<sup>6</sup> and more standard items can be found well-catalogued in the library of the Planning Board itself. A similar problem, though more specific, applies to the Economic Development Administration. In this case, though there are literally scores of feasibility studies—for the most part plans for industrial development—we have chosen to list none. They are not entirely public, for one thing, and they are on file in a single location, at the Fomento library. For other agencies of the Puerto Rican government the problem is similar, though in all cases much less important. Hence we have listed only very special or unusual official items. Finally, there are no items listed related to Puerto Rican affairs on the mainland U.S.

There is no comprehensive bibliography on public planning in Puerto Rico; the listing presented here is intended to fill that gap in a partial if specified way. First, it represents a search of the major depositories in Puerto Rico through May 1967: the Institute of Caribbean Studies, the Library of the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras; the Library at the San Juan campus of Inter-American University; and the libraries of the Puerto Rico Planning Board and the Commonwealth Economic Development Administration. Several unpublished items, available in these collections, are thus included in the bibliography; these types of materials are *not* reported on for the period after 1967.

Published materials, which make up the major part of the citations, are included for the period through the summer of 1973. There are the fruit of the 1967 search, cited above, plus a thorough revision done at the Cornell University Library in 1973. For published materials, we believe the two efforts are consistent with one another. With only a very few exceptions, all journals available to us in 1967 in Puerto Rico were available to us, and surveyed, for the 1973 revision.

Where such information is appropriate, items cited in sections C, Pamphlets, Reports, and Unpublished Items, are supplemented with information about their location in Puerto Rican libraries, noted at the end of each citation in parentheses, as follows:

- LIBRARY KEY:**
- A. Institute of Caribbean Studies
  - B. Economic Development Administration, Puerto Rico
  - C. Graduate School of Planning, University of Puerto Rico
  - D. Puerto Rico Planning Board
  - E. Puerto Rican Collection, University of Puerto Rico

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We wish to acknowledge the help of several persons and institutions who aided us in this bibliographical effort over a period of years: The Graduate School of Planning at the University of Puerto Rico supported the effort in 1967. We are indebted to numerous persons then associated with the Program: Salvador Padilla, then Director of the Program, provided financial support, and Cecilia Guiu did much of the bibliographic work. We are also grateful to the institutions mentioned earlier and their librarians, who assisted us in searching through the collections. We also used grants from the Center of International Studies and the Department of Policy Planning and Regional Analysis at Cornell for part of the work in 1973.

### NOTES

1. Walter B. Stöhr, *El desarrollo regional en América Latina: Experiencias y perspectivas*. (Buenos Aires: Ediciones S.I.A.P., September 1972). Tables I and II, 30–51.
2. Jorge E. Hardoy and Guillermo Geisse, eds., *Políticas de desarrollo urbano y regional en América Latina*. (Buenos Aires: Ediciones S.I.A.P., Dec. 1972).
3. It is interesting to note, in this respect, that the national plan of the Republic of Colombia (*Guidelines for a New Strategy*, Bogotá: 1972) complains about the pressure from the World Bank and other lending institutions to concentrate on "Specific projects or at the most [on] sector programs" (p. 70).
4. Albert O. Hirschman, in *The Strategy of Economic Development* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), discusses the special advantages and disadvantages that accrue to regions rather than nations in development policy.
5. In this way, for example, F. Andic's work on income distribution and H. I. Safa's work on family structure have been omitted.
6. Pierre Clavel, William W. Goldsmith, and Cecelio Guiu, "A Bibliography on Public Planning in Puerto Rico," Mimeographed, 31 pp. (Río Piedras: Graduate School of Planning, University of Puerto Rico, 1967). This is on deposit in the library of the University of Puerto Rico Graduate School of Planning.

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