Socially Responsible Practice: The Battle to Reshape the American Institute of Planners

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Abstract

This article explores how events of a particular era, 1959–1974, contributed to the reshaping of ideas about planners' social responsibilities. It describes encounters between Planners for Equal Opportunity and American Institute of Planners (AIP) relating to the need for planners to help protect the disadvantaged and to counter racial or economic oppression in professional practice. It suggests that the years from 1959, when AIP issued a slight revision of its code of professional conduct, to 1974, when it developed a proposal for dispersed advocacy planning, were the setting for major changes in understanding about the need for social justice in planning practice.

Keywords

race relations, social issues, ethics, professionalism, Paul Davidoff, segregation, urban renewal, planning eras/approaches, poverty, advocacy planning

The purpose of this article is to explore ways in which events of a particular era contributed to the evolution of planning thought in the mid-twentieth century, particularly in terms of concepts related to social responsibility in professional practice as promoted by the American Institute of Planners (AIP). The focus is on the years from 1959, when AIP issued a slight revision of its code of professional conduct, to 1974, when it developed a decentralized program for advocacy planning, and by which time it had revised its professional code to include language about the planner's special responsibility to plan for the disadvantaged.

The 1960s and early 1970s in the American urban experience were associated with a number of changes in the larger society. These included increased civil unrest in high-minority central cities, increased consciousness about civil rights, citizen backlash against urban renewal, and federal programs designed to launch a "war" on poverty, but these events did not automatically lead to change for urban planning. The context of these times affected the profession,[1] but purposeful action

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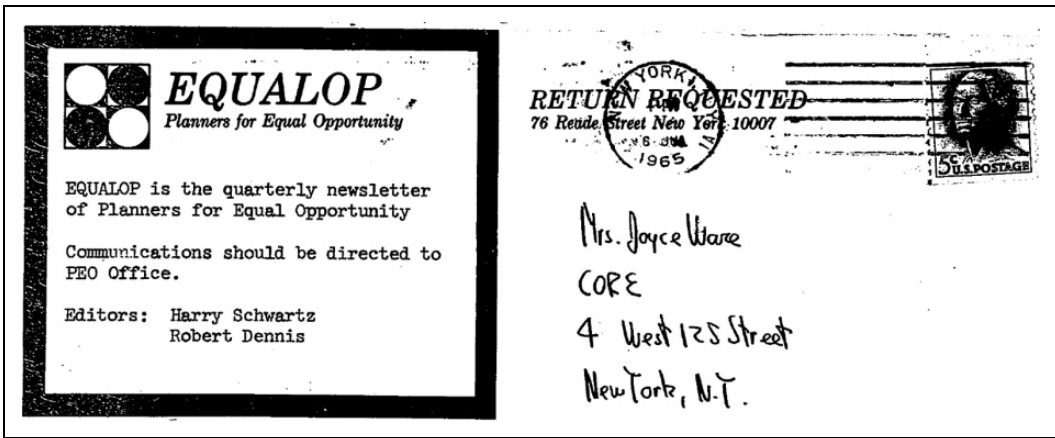Email: thomasju@umich.edu

Figure 1. PEO's newsletter *Equalop*. This image, from Vol. 1, no. 1, shows the logo and an addressee associated with Congress of Racial Equality Papers (CORE). Addressed copy from CORE, Martin Luther King, Jr., Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Atlanta, GA, folder no. 252252-016-1336. Also see newsletters in Planners for Equal Opportunity Records, #3943. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Figure 2. Paul Davidoff. Paul Davidoff Papers, #4250. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

by specific people helped institutionalize such effects for planners and their organizations. Particularly in the 1960s, some in planning saw it as a profession that, with technical expertise informed by rationalism, was aiding central cities to overcome physical, economic, and social distress, and therefore assisting urban residents. Others—including many of those residents and some planners as well—saw planning as a force for the oppression of urban communities. This set up a certain duality within the profession.

This duality affected AIP in part by producing a dissident spin-off, Planners for Equal Opportunity (PEO) (see Figure 1), as some planners pushed for changes internal and external to AIP. A number of changes did take place, including the emergence of the concept of advocacy planning, which acknowledged the existence of multiple publics and the need to serve low-income communities.[2] This process, however, was not without conflict. This article focuses on contested changes related to the profession's social responsibilities as defined by the primary national organization of professional planners at that time, AIP.[3]

Discussion in AIP concerning social responsibility during the period we are examining involved at least three broad topics. These were the code of conduct for professional planners, programs related to equal opportunity (for minorities and the poor) and to advocacy planning, and recruitment of minorities into the planning profession.[4] This article focuses largely on the first topic, the code of professional conduct—later termed the code of ethics (and referred to hereafter as the code of ethics or code)—and, to a lesser extent, advocacy planning.[5]

This article considers a number of questions: what were the specific concerns of US planners who agitated in the mid-1960s for change within AIP, and what motivated their protests? Why was it so difficult for the national community of planners to respond to calls for social justice during this period of civil rights agitation? Why were changes to the code of ethics proposed, and then why did changes take so long? This article suggests that this era uncovered many contradictions within the planning field and that in part through dialogue between AIP and PEO the profession tried to address those contradictions, with varying degrees of success.

The US Professional Code of Ethics for Planners

Professional codes serve a number of purposes such as to define a profession, improve group solidarity, enhance professional reputation, or regulate bad behavior.[6] A profession's code is its statement of shared moral values and "most visible and explicit enunciation of its professional norms."[7] Such codes also serve aspirational purposes, allowing professions, occupations, or businesses to express desired ideals that are not obtainable but to which members can aspire.[8]

The language in such codes evolves with little documentation of rationale required. Codes of ethics in allied professions also tend to mimic each other, making the reasons for specific changes in language difficult to identify.[9] One study that compared professional codes for US planners and architects analyzed recorded revisions from 1940 to 2012. The codes' language over time became more conscious of environmental issues and more gender-neutral, in keeping with larger social change.[10] However, changes in US planners' codes of ethics in 1972, and then later during 1982–1988 as noted in Table 1, were so in keeping with PEOs' expressed 1966 concerns that it seems possible that PEO's criticisms helped change these statements of values, over time.

An early code of professional conduct for US planners published by AIP, dated January 10, 1948, contained some elements that have survived into the twenty-first century, concerning the planner's responsibility to the public, the profession, and the client. That code defined public interest as "the general welfare," a term defined as applicable to more than a few individuals or small groups. It said that the profession focused on "comprehensive arrangements of land uses and occupancy" and on land as a natural resource, and it exhorted members to help educate planning students and mentor planning assistants. Obligations to the client included the need to act as a faithful agent, to refuse work for which the planner was not qualified, and to disclose any opportunity to gain financial interest due to one's professional work.[11] The list of 1948 obligations illustrated what later authors called guild behavior.[12] The obligations to the profession were to avoid unfair competition with other members, unfair criticism of other planners' work, or advertising "in self-laudatory language . . . derogatory to the dignity of the profession." In one provision: "Having stated his proposed

Table 1. Key Events Time Line.

Year	Events (involving PEO, AIP, and its Code of Ethics in bold)
1948	**American Institute of Planners (AIP) publishes a code of professional conduct[a]**
1949	Title I of Housing Act of 1949 funds redevelopment
1954	Title I of Housing Act of 1954 funds urban renewal, conservation, and Section 701
	U. S. Supreme Court rules against school segregation in *Brown v Board of Education*
1959	The Cooper Square Committee organizes to stop urban renewal of New York neighborhood
	AIP publishes revised code of professional conduct, very similar to 1948 version
1961	Jane Jacobs publishes *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*
	AIP study describes major clarity problems with 1959 version of the code
1962	Paul Davidoff and Thomas Reiner publish "A Choice Theory of Planning," *Journal of AIP*
1964	US President Johnson launches Great Society programs, including community action
	President Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act of 1964
	AIP publishes a slightly revised code of professional conduct
	Planners for Equal Opportunity (PEO) holds organizational meetings
	Paul Davidoff gives key presentation on social planning to AIP panel
1965	Violent civil rebellions in Watts, a section of Los Angeles
	President Johnson establishes the US Department of Housing and Urban Development
	Paul Davidoff publishes "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning"
1966	Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966
	Formation of the Black Panthers, Oakland, CA
	PEO holds first annual conference and also holds meetings at AIP
	PEO's Lewis Lubka writes critical analysis of AIP professional code
1967	Civil disorder in Detroit; one of the most violent such incidents in the twentieth century
	PEO holds alternative conference parallel to AIP's; much media coverage
	PEO crashes AIP plenary and presents two sets of resolutions
1968	Assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. leads to civil disorder
	President Johnson signs Civil Rights Act of 1968, with provisions for open housing
	Johnson does not run for reelection; more conservative Richard Nixon elected
	PEO conference includes protests by black attendees
	AIP governing board receives recommendations from committee on minority relations
	AIP draft code presented with few substantive changes
1970–1971	**AIP issues materials encouraging advocacy planning**
	AIP publishes code with few substantive changes, no language on equal opportunity
1972	**AIP adopts code of ethics with provisions for social justice, antidiscrimination**
1974	Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 changes nature of development programs
	Nixon begins second term of office
	PEO disbands
	AIP decentralizes programmatic efforts to address poverty, equal opportunity
1982–1988[b]	**First mention in Code of some suggestions from 1966 Lubka memo, such as need to give people an opportunity to have meaningful input on plans, recruitment of underrepresented minorities**

Source: For AIP and PEO, various sources cited in article, including the Code of Ethics as published in several rosters.
[a]Other versions of the code may have been used in years not listed.
[b]The exact date these provisions were added is not clear; they were not present in the 1982 version but were in 1988.

charge, a member will not reduce the amount in order to offer a lower price than another professional."[13] All of these suggest that fair practices in the consulting environment were paramount.

The 1959 amended version smoothed out the wording of the 1948 code but kept much the same content. The obligations still focused on planners working as consultants, even though by that time

planning jobs in local government were more common because of Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954, which facilitated hiring of professional planners. For example, the 1959 code directed planners not to work for a client who had not finished paying another planner previously hired for professional services.[14] It also said the planner should avoid unfair criticism of colleagues or unseemly advertising as in the previous version. In 1959, however, AIP's president responded to an inquirer that AIP leadership realized the 1959 code needed clarification.[15] In 1961, AIP's director of professional affairs, reporting on a systematic staff review of the 1959 code, indicated that many code provisions were unclear, too idealistic to enforce, and lacking in unifying logic.[16] Staff concluded that the 1959 code still emphasized client and professional obligations rather than public obligations and seemed largely concerned with "group loyalties, group development, and group responsibilities."[17]

In 1964, the board adopted yet another code, but this version used much the same language as in 1959. The 1964 version was different in that it specified even further professional planners' obligations as consultants and gave a clarified set of procedures for handling alleged code violations.[18] The revisions did not change the general tone of defining professional conduct as a matter of safeguarding the public interest but with particular emphasis on relations with fellow planners, clients, and employers. The 1964 version defined public interest even less clearly than in 1948.

By the mid-1960s, reality had changed profoundly for planners and for cities. A statement of planners' responsibilities that focused on fair behavior within the profession in the context of safeguarding a general (presumed unified) public interest and that projected protectionist guild concerns was not sufficient during massive social upheaval.

Context of the Times

The period in question, from 1959 to 1974, involved many forms of social upheaval in the US. Prominent among these was the civil rights movement, which escalated in scale and scope from the 1950s, moving from legal cases and protests aimed at Jim Crow segregation in schools and other public facilities to larger concerns such as equal employment opportunity and open access to housing. Emblematic of this widening scope was the evolving focus of Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), led by Dr. Martin Luther King. SCLC shifted from protest sites such as Selma Alabama in the early 1960s to venues such as Chicago, Detroit, and Memphis in campaigns that fought for equal access to housing and workers' rights in the mid-1960s.[19] Simultaneously, US cities experienced crisis, as inner-city blacks who had faced years of police brutality, segregation, and poverty began to strike out with violent protests that led to loss of life and major destruction or looting of property. As blacks fought against systemic injustice, some young activists pressed for a more radical "black power." One group was the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), gestated in the South's nonviolent protest movement at its start in 1960 but more radical by the mid-1960s. Another was the Black Panthers, founded in 1966 in Oakland, CA, and repressed by police power after a short few years. These relatively small groups of activists broadcast militancy but styled their movements as fights for political power, self-defense, and liberation from racial oppression.[20]

Although these phenomena—the civil rights movement, inner-city civil rebellions, and the black power movement—were separate and profoundly different, the connections were many. One such connection, for example, was the evident mutual tolerance between SCLC and SNCC leaders such as between King and Carmichael.[21] Another link, the US Federal Bureau of Investigation, deemed all these groups as threats and harassed or monitored them accordingly. In addition, inner-city violence broke out in direct response to Dr. King's assassination in April, 1968, showing an affinity for him (if not for the nonviolence that he espoused) that existed in black urban society. Just a few weeks earlier, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders—appointed by President

Lyndon B. Johnson and known popularly as the Kerner Commission—had published a landmark report on the causes of 1967 civil disorders. That report blamed violence not on dissident groups but rather on pervasive racism, police brutality, and lagging socioeconomic conditions for blacks, all problems previously called out by civil rights and black power leaders.[22]

These conclusions were disturbing in part because several initiatives had attempted to address some city problems. In the early 1960s, the Ford Foundation had taken the lead in trying to redefine poverty as a systemic problem rather than one based on the shortcomings of individuals, and it had set up a number of programs related to juvenile delinquency. From these sprang its Grey Areas program, which made grants to central-city organizations in an attempt to help them deal with problems of poverty. This foundational effort generated proposals for community action programs made in the last years of the Kennedy administration but then folded into Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society initiative. Legislation passed in 1964 authorized US$962.5 million for the war on poverty with one-third of that for community action. This budget enabled local grants from what became the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), but phrases in the legislation referring to "maximum feasible participation" generated political conflict as mayors struggled to ensure such participation and yet keep control over programming. The Great Society itself may have been too little, too late, and woefully insufficient to address major problems.[23] The Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, popularly known as Model Cities, initiated central-city redevelopment based on maximum participation by residents in determining social, economic, or physical improvements for targeted neighborhoods. This too became politically controversial, as citizen boards clashed with local government officials, and its scope was never sufficient to remake life for residents in depressed central city areas.[24]

These programs, furthermore, came after several years of top-down redevelopment under Title I of the Housing Act of 1949, later known, after 1954, as the urban renewal program (hereafter "urban renewal"). Many planners worked closely with urban renewal as staff or facilitators, but weak protections against both relocation and displacement were causing considerable distress and disruption, especially in racial and ethnic minority neighborhoods. Sociologist Herbert Gans, in a 1959 *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* article that previewed his later book *Urban Villagers,* documented the social viability of many neighborhoods that planners called slums, and he recounted the deleterious social effects of clearance.[25] Other books and articles such as by Jane Jacobs and Martin Anderson heavily criticized urban renewal, pillorying a program that many professional planners had deemed an acceptable if not laudable way to remake central cities by modernizing them. Not always recognizing planners as an implementation arm for federal and local policy, Jacobs faulted them for intrinsic problems with urban renewal and various other city ills.[26] Citizen protests in many cities, ranging from San Francisco to Detroit and New York, made it clear that urban renewal was increasingly unpopular for many urban residents who were also likely to blame planners.[27] Some planners began to reexamine accepted truths, values, and mechanisms within their own profession, and they did not like what they saw.

Growing Dissent within the Planning Profession

One organization stands out because of its forthright statements on planners' compromised roles and because of its assertive push for change. PEO emerged in 1964 as a voice of planners committed to social reform, including equal opportunity for minority races and modification of urban renewal practices, but also increased activism to address historic problems of poverty, racial discrimination, and oppression. Although several notable people were associated with PEO, four PEO members were especially important for this discussion: Walter Thabit, Lewis Lubka, Frances Fox Piven, and Paul Davidoff, Figure 2. A brief description of the first three, less well known to contemporary planners than Davidoff, is a useful way to start.

Thabit played a key role in organizing and leading PEO, and he wrote a summary report that described PEO's history.[28] He was temporary chair and then president of PEO from 1964 to 1970, and he was a consultant to local community and civil rights organizations in several cities. He also played a pivotal role in community-based planning in New York City. Thabit helped found a citizens' struggle in the Cooper's Square neighborhood, in that city's Lower East side, to fight back against urban renewal displacement. The citizen-driven Cooper Square Committee (CSC) eventually carried out its own plan, building on one initially drafted in 1961 by Thabit. The CSC's struggle helped retain most of the racially and income-mixed people living in the neighborhood, with some room made for new move-ins, but this struggle necessitated extraordinary community-based efforts and lasted for thirty years. Therefore, Thabit was a seasoned community planner/activist who had participated in a neighborhood struggle to oppose top-down urban renewal and then, unusually, to implement an alternative plan.[29]

The second person, Lewis Lubka, was less notable as a practitioner but devoted important effort to supporting PEO's agenda. He worked in several US states and in Nova Scotia, belonged to the Maine National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for a year, organized the Canadian branch of PEO, and authored a critique of the AIP Code of Ethics.[30] Although Lubka had limited immediate success with his proposed code revisions, AIP documents referred to his criticisms, and PEO agitation along with AIP committee support eventually seemed to affect the code's language.

The third person, Frances Fox Piven, the most prominent female PEO activist, was a sociology and political science professor at Columbia University and had strong ties with the national welfare rights movement. She was a consultant to OEO youth programs in New York City, a member of the advocacy group Architects Renewal Committee in Harlem (ARCH), and coauthor of several influential books including *Regulating the Poor* and, later, *Poor People's Movements.*[31] Her involvement in PEO is particularly noteworthy because, as her career would later demonstrate, her passion as a scholar and social strategist clearly lay with welfare rights rather than urban planning. Furthermore, as her 1966 coauthored article concerning how to collapse the nation's welfare system[32] and her future books demonstrated, Piven was a great scholar of social reform movements and of national politics, able to write with strong critical analysis about the motivations of national leaders in setting up programs such as OEO. She designed several PEO programmatic initiatives and in 1971 became PEO's president.

Davidoff is also known because of his writings, especially on advocacy planning, but he was a social activist as well and, like all of the above, prominent in the initiative to reform AIP. During his career, he taught for varying periods at the University of Pennsylvania, Hunter College, Yale, and Queens College, and he was an experienced professional planner, a member of ARCH, and founder of the nonprofit Suburban Action Institute.[33] In later sections, we will report some of his remarks during this era because he voiced the spirit of social reform for planners in the 1960s.

Where Are the Voices of the Planners?

Several changes took place in the national community of planners and planning officials from 1959 to 1974. Eugenie Birch has characterized the preceding period (1946–1960) as an "explosion of planning" caused by both suburbanization and city redevelopment.[34] By 1960, the American Society of Planning Officials (ASPO), which included people who played some role in planning administration, such as planning commissioners, had grown to 3,000 members, and both planning officials and professional planners turned to it for technical expertise since it administered the Planner Advisory Service. AIP, intended as an organization exclusively for professional planners, had grown to 2,900 members. Birch says that for both groups, the next phase started in 1960 with belief in

"scientific management principles" but evolved to a humbler perspective, "a more limited view of what man [*sic*] could achieve in a complex world."[35]

ASPO conference proceedings indicate that, after a long period of ignoring controversial topics,[36] panels in the 1960s began to discuss topics related to race, segregation, and urban renewal relocation. ASPO commentators who raised such matters largely had professional identifies other than traditional planning, however. In a 1960 session, a law school dean reminded the audience of lack of legal support for racial zoning and warned that no master plans were neutral; they supported segregation by race or income, or they did not. He asked planners to support equal access to housing and to consider the human costs, the "uprooting and dislocation," of urban renewal.[37] In 1961, a sociologist warned that "the planner must realize that segregation on a racial basis is bound to create more problems in the long run than it will solve" and counseled his audience to support integrated housing.[38] A fellow panelist, also a sociologist, described black migration to Northern cities and urged planners to assure migrants' equal access to public goods.[39] Speakers addressing similar themes at a 1963 conference included an urban studies professor; a youth official with the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW); a sociologist; a mayor; and the director of the Citizen's Housing and Planning Council of New York.[40] A developer who worked with New York City's urban renewal agency frankly acknowledged that urban renewal's nickname, "Negro removal," was appropriate. In the process of physical improvement, he noted, "human values got lost."[41]

Voices of concern came from planning professionals as well, and these began to organize, in part by urging AIP to lead a reshaping of the planning profession. Birch claimed that PEO, founded by planners dissatisfied with urban renewal, and affected by social movements, caused "a profound effect on the Institute [AIP]." Three specific effects she listed were Davidoff's failed candidacy for AIP presidency, the hiring of an advocacy planner on national staff, and the beginning of a scholarship program for minority students.[42] PEO had other effects as well, but a good place to start to expand her list is with Davidoff.

Davidoff was more than a candidate for AIP presidency; he was also a leader in rethinking the field of planning and its accepted truths. One of Davidoff's first articles, coauthored in 1962 with Thomas Reiner, questioned the hegemony of rational comprehensive planning. The authors did this by delineating three categories of planning and labeling rational planning as only one of them. The other two were "market aid," meaning mechanisms for correcting market flaws, and "widening of choice," meaning opening up opportunities for people with scarce resources. Planners needed to identify both facts and alternative groups' values, they argued, because different values determined different goals for planning.[43] This was in part a preview of the concept of advocacy planning.

Davidoff verbalized what ASPO speakers had only hinted at: planners' failings in the midst of massive social injustice. His remarks at the 1964 AIP conference, held in August in Newark, NJ, were a masterful example. He served on a panel entitled "Should City Planners be Directly Involved in Meeting Social Needs?" Davidoff's talk, entitled "The Role of the City Planner in Social Planning," challenged the session's title. The city is a complex social system, he pointed out, and all planning problems are "social"; these should not be divided from the physical. The AIP planner should be concerned about many social topics, he continued. Planners should support "the establishment of international rule of law; the elimination of poverty; the elimination of racial antagonism and discrimination; the attainment of equal opportunity for all persons. . . ."[44] He questioned the definition of planning as stated in AIP documents, urging AIP to aim for the unified development of urban communities and environs, not just the arrangement of land use. He chided the planning profession as too slow to address issues such as the elimination of poverty and racial discrimination, and he bemoaned the fact that planners had not fostered "revolts": "We have tolerated poverty for too long . . . . From the point of view of a profession it is a great tragedy that we have had such a small part to play in fostering revolts against the accepted means of distributing social benefits and social

justice." The nation was "alive with voices protesting" against deprivation and discrimination, he said; "where are the voices of the planners?" The profession, he diagnosed, was not producing plans for the elimination of racial ghettos nor were planners or their commissioners willing to share their wealth with the materially poor. Planners were instead suffering from "spiritual poverty."[45]

These were strong words, in a dramatic call to action that must have challenged the audience, but then he offered a practical solution: planners needed to *represent* minority groups suffering from slum clearance and other forms of oppression. "The representation of these minority groups, as well as more influential and affluent groups, provides a possible opening for those planners who seek greater political freedom and whose views coincide with a view of the groups they represent. The job for such planners is to act as advocate of the interests of such groups."[46] He elaborated on this concept as a way for planners to become relevant, giving details about possible strategies and funding sources. Sociologist Herbert Gans wrote Davidoff expressing his admiration for the talk and asking him to write an article with a focus on advocacy planning. Gans recommended sending it to the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* but leaving out the part about "spiritual poverty"; ultimately many other concepts were left out as well.[47] The resulting article, published the next year, became a classic exposition of "advocacy and pluralism" but lacked the dramatic, accusatory language of the talk.[48]

In that same talk, Davidoff predicted that if AIP did not act soon to "broaden its scope," then in a few years, "a new professional city planning organization will emerge, one concerned with areas AIP excludes," such as anything other than land use.[49] This was a warning, but events were already in motion to form a group, PEO, that was concerned with the issues that Davidoff had listed.

Planners had gathered a few weeks earlier in New York City to support a rent strike in the Lower East Side, and those gathered had already decided to form an organization designed to support such activities. A charter meeting for City Planners for Civil Rights, later renamed PEO, took place on July 26, 1964, three weeks after the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In August, PEO held its first organizing meeting at the same AIP conference where Davidoff spoke. PEO founders attracted 100 conference attendees to a hotel lobby meeting publicized as an organizing initiative for planners devoted to civil rights. Initiators were "actively working in black and poor communities, individually helping to support rent strikes, giving technical support to civil rights organizations and opposing renewal and other destructive government programs."[50] Those present selected a policy committee composed of nine people including Davidoff, Thabit, and Gans. The committee later expanded to include several other people including Piven.

PEO devoted the years 1964–1966 to organizational matters but struggled to attract members. In December 1964, PEO sent a letter to all 3,652 AIP members; only 29 responded. PEO membership reached 102 by the end of the year. PEO started to establish chapters in major cities as a way to build membership and localism. Piven proposed a summer program that offered planning services to civil rights activists, but several initiatives had difficulties getting started, such as the summer program.[51]

By January 1966, PEO had an agenda for action, authored by Piven and sent to its members. The 1966 program framework included a regular newsletter, a research and policy development initiative to expose planning practices and programs "which work hardships on minorities or the poor," and several educational and direct-action programs.[52] Programs were to include working with civil rights groups, taking stands on "legislative and professional matters affecting equal opportunity," and the following: "the issue of freedom of speech for planners will be raised with the AIP and liberalization of the Code of Ethics be demanded."[53]

PEO held a meeting at the August 1966 AIP conference, where it featured a panel on advocacy planning and passed a resolution "confronting AIP and its conservative policies." The "first annual" PEO meeting took place in New York City in December of 1966, and approximately 213 people attended, half of them from the New York area. Thabit offered a talk that, according to summary proceedings, explained that a major objective of the organization was to reshape planning and

planners in the US. His rhetoric reflected his apparent desire to support activism, as he used language adopted by black power advocates: "let us think militant thoughts, present militant ideas, pass militant resolutions and dedicate ourselves to militant actions."[54] He argued that the US government was not a friend but rather an enemy of blacks and of the poor, that planners needed to support civil rights groups even if these advocated black power, and that the Demonstration Cities bill (which would lead to Model Cities) was not big enough to address the problems that existed. He ended this speech by stating: "we cannot afford to be nice about equal opportunity. We must be tough and determined. We must press the issues with the American Institute of Planners, with our city administrations, with the states and with the federal government. We must demand what is needed and reject that which does not help. We must inject ourselves into the civil rights struggle even if we have to fight for acceptance."[55] In her talk, Piven stated that PEO was formed to goad AIP, which had become "smug and fat," into social action, in a clear statement of PEO's purpose and intent.[56]

The resolutions and recommendations developed by conveners mirrored the concerns expressed in these remarks and called for many levels of reform in the nation and in the national planning community.[57] One set of provisions targeted AIP-PEO relations, discussed in a panel.[58] For this topic, two resolutions, voted on by PEO attendees, were to consider it unethical for a planner to create a document that did not evaluate "impact on minority groups and the poor" and to form a committee to prepare proposals for AIP's fiftieth anniversary conference. The first resolution was a call for an improved code and by implication improved behavior.[59]

As his contribution, Lubka created a two-page critique of AIP's code of ethics. Labeled "Evaluation of AIP Code of Ethics by Lewis Lubka, PEO Conference," his 1966 memo appears as an appendix to a December 1967 report of an AIP Committee on Minority Relations.[60] The memo addressed practically every section of the 1964 code, using wording taken from various PEO documents. For the exhortation that planners promote the general welfare, he suggested a more specific substitute: "the planner should safeguard the rights of minorities, oppose discrimination, and work toward the end that all are provided the opportunity for equal enjoyment of the fruits of this affluent society." Concerning obligations to the public, he recommended adding a statement that "the professional planner shall support the participation in the planning process of those groups materially affected by planning decisions and actions. No planning program shall be undertaken without a study of, and statements regarding, its possible effects upon any minority groups involved." He recommended that the professional planner "encourage the education, employment, and advancement of members of minority groups in the profession." He called for planning students to devote a minimum of three hours to study the professional code as a condition of accreditation for planning schools and for a planning agency to recruit "a fair proportion of its staff among members of minority groups."[61] A companion requirement was investigation of cases of discrimination in planners' employment practices.

Implementing these suggestions would have flipped the code of ethics on its head, turning it into a promoter of social equality rather than a referee of competitive professional behavior. Whether AIP would adopt such a code, of course, would depend somewhat on the influence of its promoters as well as on the power of its detractors. Over a period of many years, well into the 1980s, subsequent iterations of the code did adopt several of Lubka's suggestions as noted in Table 1. Change moved slowly, however, because of the organizational problems PEO faced as a change proponent, value conflicts among planners, and the time necessary for AIP to accommodate change.

PEO and AIP Interact

The time period of strong interaction between PEO and AIP was relatively short, from 1966 to 1968, but intense. An insurgent group was trying to institute organizational change by challenging a larger professional organization's values, a complex task under the best of circumstances, and, according

Table 2. Organizations that Influenced a Sample of Advocate Planners as of 1970-1972.

Organization Indicated as Influential[a]	Average Rating, One- to Seven-point Scale	Mode (%)
Ranked in descending order of influence		
Welfare Rights Organization	4.1	5 (25)
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee	3.9	4 (21)
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	3.8	4 (20)
Students for a Democratic Society	3.6	1 (22)
Congress on Racial Equality	3.6	5 (19)
Planners for Equal Opportunity	3.2	1 (32)
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	2.9	2 (24)
Urban League	2.7	1 (36)
American Institute of Planners	2.2	1 (45)
Young Americans for Freedom	1.4	1 (86)

Source: Revised from Ross (1976).
[a]The question: "Thinking back on the period of approximately 1963–1969 here are some organizations and movements which might have influenced you. Would you rate the influence of each on your activity and/or thinking of from one, no influence at all, to seven, an extremely important influence."

to some scholars, not a very efficient or effective way to make an organization change.[62] Several circumstances were less than ideal for change of the kind promoted by PEO.

Mentioned above was one specific problem that PEO faced, its relatively small size, a maximum of perhaps 400 members.[63] PEO's leaders were asking their colleagues to become proponents of social change at a time when many planners came from fields such as engineering or architecture; this was an era before a substantive shift to planners trained in social science.[64] It was not clear that professional planners in the United States wanted to become reformers, much less militant reformers. Jobs were opening up for traditional planners because of urban renewal and Section 701; the need for change of the specific type promoted by PEO may not have seemed to be immediate for many planners who may have also feared for their jobs if they promoted social justice issues.[65]

Different spheres of location and influence were important as well. PEO's leaders (Thabit, Davidoff, Piven, and Gans) lived on the East Coast, particularly New York City, and many of its members as well. New York City is where planners had experienced a redefinition of planning because of community-driven change and protest, not the least against top-down policies such as those by the city's powerful development czar Robert Moses, opposed by citizen activists in both Greenwich Village and Cooper Square neighborhoods.[66]

PEO planners may have also felt greater affinity with social movements of the day than did other more traditional planners. A study of a sample of 112 advocate planners, carried out in 1971–1972, suggests that this was the case. As Table 2 shows, interviewees—who tended to be in their early thirties—had stronger associations with the Welfare Rights Organization, SNCC, SCLC, and PEO than with AIP, which rated only just above Young Americans for Freedom, a strongly conservative group, in influence.[67] Conversely, many traditional planners worked for suburbs where de facto exclusion by race, ethnicity, or income was ingrained in a system nurtured by Federal Housing Administration, VA, weak enforcement of civil rights laws, and exclusionary zoning. Many planners working for cities were also compromised, since they often led policy makers' redevelopment initiatives. A study published in 1979 based on a survey of 1,178 AIP planners found marked differences in response to hypothetical scenarios between planners who rated themselves as radical and those who rated themselves as conservative or moderate. Radical planners, for example, were much likelier to think it ethical to leak information to a low-income neighborhood leader about

recommendations for major land clearance in that neighborhood.[68] On another scale, concerning sentiments about roles, 27 percent of the sample saw themselves as technicians, with strong faith in value-neutrality and technical expertise, while 18.2 percent were politicians, less likely to rely on technical skills.[69]

While PEO members fought for disadvantaged groups and identified with the black-led social movements of the time, PEO itself was largely white, as was the US planning profession. Thabit himself recognized this problem, as he reflected upon the organization's ambitions to work in support of civil rights groups and black power advocates: "PEO would continue [after 1966] its dedication to equal rights and assistance to civil rights groups. We could support a Black Power movement which would want power equal to their numbers in a population. But Black Power seemed to mean a rejection of white leadership, and this made things more difficult. Yet it had never been easy to work with civil rights groups which were constantly in flux, and deeply suspicious of all 'outside' elements."[70] In 1968, Davidoff sent a letter to PEO members, asking for more black representation within PEO. Thabit could report in 1971 that the PEO policy committee was composed of one-third blacks and that membership of both blacks and women had increased as a percentage of totals. Piven cowrote an article explaining the positives aspects of black power, but such support generated controversy as well.[71]

In 1967, Gans noted that the future of the urban planning profession was uncertain because of a duality, with traditional city planners clinging to physical planning and rational programming as a way to create attractive central cities and with others arguing for progressive politics and planning aimed at social reform that reduced inequality. "It appeared," he noted, "that the profession was being split into progressive and conservative wings."[72]

One way that progressive PEO gained clout in spite of its weaknesses was to take its concerns public. Davidoff sometimes did this as an individual but in keeping with the tone of PEO consultations. For example, during a period of relative inactivity for PEO, during the first half of 1966, Davidoff sent a press release to newspapers in Philadelphia where ASPO was meeting. In a tone of outraged disappointment, he did not hold back: "There is little sense of urgency in contemporary urban planning. There is little empathy for minority groups deprived of the opportunity to lead a decent life. Graduate education in city planning has reflected the practicing profession's indifference to the awful facts of social and economic discrimination."[73] Philadelphia's newspaper *The Evening Bulletin* quoted that press release as an epigram for its April 19, 1966, discussion of the conference. It highlighted Davidoff's statement that "too great a concern with physical amenity, coupled with inadequate understanding of political, social and economic forces, make most city planning mere window dressing hiding the city's decay."[74] The newspaper commented that this was too sweeping an indictment of a profession but suggested that planners should review both happier results and occasional failures of their efforts.

Dual members facilitated dialogue between AIP leadership and PEO. One such person was Louis Dolbeare, a Philadelphia planning consultant and member of the AIP Board of Governors and of PEO. After the 1966 PEO conference, Dolbeare wrote Irving Hand, President of AIP, with a draft of a suggested policy statement on the relationship of the professional planner to minorities, and he proposed creating a new "grey committee" (potentially a reference to Ford Foundation's Grey Areas programming) to prepare appropriate AIP policy statements.[75] This Hand forwarded to the AIP governing board, but at the same time, PEO leaders were pressing forward with a broader strategy. By June 1967, PEO had developed a list of demands for the forthcoming AIP conference. These included PEO slots on the conference program, changes in the code of ethics, and AIP opposition to US defense spending, the war in Vietnam, and discriminatory practices in Housing and Urban Development (HUD). PEO also began to plan for its own alternative, simultaneous conference.[76]

At first, PEO received pushback from both AIP and occasional AIP members. When Thabit wrote AIP asking for meeting space for PEO at the October 1967 AIP conference hotel, AIP denied the

request, noting that some AIP members had dropped their membership when they read about the existence of PEO, implying that the organization was objectionable. Thabit replied revealing hostilities that PEO had suffered; it had received thirty pieces of unsigned mail saying such things as "planners never practice discrimination" and that the idea of PEO was "sick" or "crap."[77]

Undeterred, PEO continued planning for a parallel conference, and it created two sets of resolutions, one developed from the floor of its PEO conference and another labeled more "formal." A PEO representative was able to present October 3, 1967, resolutions, the first set, to the AIP general assembly, but only because guest speaker Bayard Rustin, civil rights leader,[78] yielded his podium to the dissenters, in a show of solidarity. Describing the poor distribution of resources in the United States, one resolution noted that since AIP members played a key role in locating physical resources, they should also help distribute social benefits. Another condemnatory resolution stated that planners should plan "with the people affected by his plans and for their benefit rather than [continue] to perpetuate an oppressive, discriminatory system or to satisfy the narrowly perceived best interests of the planning profession." It was necessary, according to this set of resolutions, to judge planning programs in light of their effects on poor and minority groups, provide advocate planners for such groups, speed up the entry of minorities into the profession, and require planning students to gain experience with citizens' groups.[79]

PEO developed another set of "formal" resolutions as well and presented them to the AIP Board of Governors. These covered six topics: opposition to the war in Vietnam, expansion of the supply of housing and employment centers for the poor and for minorities, support for Demonstration Cities, documentation of program effects on the poor and on minorities, with equal opportunity in all government programs, support of advocacy planning, and support for HUD practices more closely focused on nondiscrimination.[80] In sum, these two sets of resolutions covered a wide range of topics. Some of them asked AIP to put pressure on federal lawmakers, which may have been difficult, and others asked to change the profession's interaction with urban populations, also difficult, requiring a change in values, culture, and roles. For example, the exhortation to look at planning actions in light of people affected rather than "the narrowly perceived best interests of the planning profession" was clearly accusatory and not easy to implement. (The only place such a statement about how to look at planning actions would fit would be within a general statement of values or a code; see last entry, Table 1. The "narrowly perceived" statement fit nowhere.)

Another way that PEO attracted attention was to encourage negative publicity. The alternative PEO conference received much press coverage, from the *New York Times, Washington Post, Philadelphia Bulletin, Architectural Forum*, and others. One article by a *Washington Post* author used the headline "Rebel Planners Ask Fair Deal." It reported on "rebels . . . forced to move out into the autumn sunshine because their original meeting place in a hotel suite was soon dangerously crowded, [who] demanded a voice of the poor in city planning, an end to discrimination and the building of new communities rather than the sprucing up of old ghettos."[81] Two months later, an AIP staff member described the effect: "the PEO conference attracted more attention and press coverage than did the regular AIP conference itself. [AIP President] Irv Hand has attached the highest priority to this effort. In my opinion, we had all better devote a good deal of attention to making this AIP response to the PEO challenge a reality. If we fail on this one, not only AIP but planning as a whole will get a black eye."[82]

A series of actions showed that AIP was responding but that it was not organizationally ready to do so. AIP's governing board met immediately after the conference and reviewed each set of resolutions. Several issues it delegated to the AIP Committee on Minority Relations, others went to committees dealing with planning schools and education, and matters related to social responsibility it forwarded to a committee that was reformulating the code of ethics. By far the largest number went to the minority relations committee.[83] Yet that committee was not functioning well. Justin Gray, involved with PEO as well as AIP, had chaired this committee dating back to 1963 with

members including Davidoff, Piven, and others who met in 1965 and 1966. However, when Robert Heifetz, a PEO member and professor at the University of Illinois Urbana, wrote to AIP staff in September 1967, seeking some information about what the committee had achieved, the response was that no report existed. The file, the respondent said, included "not really much of substance in it except a long history of missed deadlines and apologies from Justin going back to 1963."[84] Piven explained that the committee never issued a report because it could neither get people to perform necessary tasks nor decide on specific recommendations about desegregation.[85]

Not able to depend on that committee, AIP's director of institute development wrote Heifetz, summoning him to Washington to discuss minority relations. AIP then sent Heifetz to New York to meet with PEO and offer funding for a few related activities; it also appointed him as chair of a reorganized Committee on Minority Relations. In December 1967, Heifetz submitted his own working paper, but then convened the committee that included Piven, Davidoff, and several others. Its charge was to focus on four specific areas: considering the social responsibilities of the planning profession in terms of equality of opportunity; investigating the impact of government programs including urban renewal, public housing, and transportation facilities; exploring the status of minority representation within planning; and investigating the implications of advocacy planning.[86]

In January 1968, this group presented, at an AIP board meeting, specific ideas for immediate action, including contacting federal officials about the impact of their programs on minorities, finding funding for advocacy planning, exploring opportunities for improving Model Cities, developing a report on minority membership in the planning profession, and finalizing the membership of the minority relations committee. One set of materials proposed amendments to the code of ethics. The November AIP newsletter contained the complete PEO resolutions and the board of governors' response to them.[87] At least one local chapter, in the Baltimore area, wrote AIP commenting on the various PEO resolutions, largely in support of them.[88] PEO's Thabit, on the other hand, wrote to express unhappiness with planned implementation steps for Heifetz's minority relations committee, claiming they had little relation to PEO demands.[89]

In March 1968, however, PEO faced its own crisis. Among the 400 attendees at its second annual conference, held in Philadelphia, were a number of blacks who participated but charged that PEO was "lily white." The protestors forced PEO's "rebel planners," defenders of equal opportunity for racial minorities, to defend PEO when they demanded that PEO turn the organization over to blacks and support indigenous leadership in local communities. PEO leaders immediately began to recruit additional black members, and it issued a policy statement that pledged greater membership diversity and recruitment efforts to bring minorities into the profession, but the confrontation was clearly a blow.[90]

PEO continued to exist. It held its own conferences, with the sixth annual conference held in 1970s, but it also counted as victories the changed agenda for at least a few years for the annual AIP and ASPO conferences, which focused more on social justice topics than had been the case in the past (as did ASPO). In 1969, PEO fielded a slate of candidates for major offices in AIP, headed by Paul Davidoff as candidate for AIP President, but none of its six candidates won seats. PEO offered a staunch defense of Chester Hartman when Harvard University denied him tenure in 1969, to no avail, and it carried out other activities as well. In 1970, a brochure calling for new members cited the 1968 PEO conference's racially charged confrontation as a demoralizing event and referred to a series of failures in PEO's efforts to gain funding for its programs.[91] Piven became president in 1971, relieving Thabit, but by then enthusiasm was waning, with a 1974 decision to disband.[92] Thabit says that, by 1973, "both ASPO and AIP conference programs were back into master planning and zoning issues."[93]

AIP's minority relations committee functioned at first. By March 1968, actions taken included staff meetings with HEW, review of ideas for funding a study of federal program impacts, appointment of a task force on the national "housing and freedom" budget issue, and a request for feedback

on a proposed AIP policy statement on equal opportunity.[94] At some time during that year, Heifetz stepped down as committee chair, but AIP appointed another chair of what became the AIP Committee on Equal Opportunities.[95]

AIP proceeded with several lines of action, however, particularly a minority fellowship program and a program on advocacy planning. In October 1970, its new chapter administration manual listed advocacy as one of the several programs chapters should adopt and noted that "one of the adopted 1970 objectives [of AIP] is advocacy of poor and minority interests."[96] A 1971 document provided more information about AIP's advocate planner program, and yet defined this initiative as involving input into congressional committee action or court litigation.[97] In 1971, AIP sponsored a "Confer-In," a meeting in San Francisco concerning "The Social Responsibility of Planners: Remedies to Exclusionary Land Use Practices," which Davidoff helped organize. AIP asked graduate planning schools and each AIP chapter president to send a representative to this meeting, designed to launch a new advocate planner program.[98]

AIP appointed an AIP Advocate Planners National Advisory Committee but action lagged. In September, 1972, its chairman Michael Brooks wrote committee members attaching a first draft of a proposed AIP advocacy program but lamenting lack of participation from other committee members.[99] Brooks submitted a proposal to AIP but again complained about lack of committee members' attendance. In March 1973, he wrote members that AIP would not allocate the US$25,000 requested, again urging attendance at a committee meeting. In May 1974, AIP's executive director sent a copy of the committee's report to chapter presidents, noted that the board of governors had accepted the report and endorsed the principles but would not allocate any funds. Instead, the board urged chapters, universities, and other organizations to launch their own efforts "concerned with the problems and needs of low-income and minority citizens."[100] This was, in essence, a pass-off to the local level, absolving the national organization of the need to fund such efforts.

The Code as Statement of Values

During this same period, as various AIP initiatives to respond with necessary changes rose and fell in viability, the code of ethics remained one of several topics of possible reform. Changes to the code, notably, would not require funds and would at least change public statements of the profession's values and aspirations. The committee charged with examining the code considered Lubka's suggestions, and it asked for opinions about this and about other possible code revisions.

Some detractors were blunt in response to Lubka's 1966 critique. Charles S. Ascher, a former professor of political science at Brooklyn College, was one. Ascher served on an advisory panel for the AIP staff division that looked at proposed revisions to the code in 1968 but used very little from Lubka's suggestions. After reacting to the draft revisions, Ascher made the following disparaging comments about Lubka: "I am amused by your suggestion that Mr. Lewis Lubka is a competent critic. I attended the 'First Annual' conference of PEO (as a spy from an older generation) and heard the pathetic report of Mr. Lubka, then located in Bangor, Maine, who had undertaken a report on professional ethics nude, naked, and alone, as though there had never been any previous thought on the subject . . . I hope that Is [Israel Stollman] and his committee have been able to take advantage of [other studies] to get perspective."[101]

The 1968 draft of AIP's code to which Ascher referred contained much of the approach of previous versions. It did attempt to define the public interest differently, indicating that this was "the interest of the many, but it cannot neglect the interest of the few." It also pointed out that "it is the general interest of the wide community but it cannot neglect the local interests of the neighborhood. It is the interest of people who will benefit or suffer from long-run consequences and also the

interest of those immediately." But the draft followed such provisions connected to social equity by then stating that the planner must "devote conscientious labor to continual rediscovery of the public interest that he serves," possibly setting a person up for a confusing search.[102] The one forthright concession to social equity concerns was the following new provision: "A planner shall design his recommendations to serve the goal of equal opportunity and to satisfy the requirement of equal access to public services for all people."[103]

The reactions to the 1968 draft came from several sources. Some of the comments focused on the provision concerning equal access to public services, to which some objected claiming that all people should have a satisfactory level of service. One individual, Norman Williams, Jr., law professor at Rutgers University, said that the language had not gone far enough. Groups most in need of better public services would not press for these, he said, because of chronic underrepresentation. He was surprised to find, "in this day and age, a code of professional conduct with no provision against racial discrimination."[104] In 1969, the AIP Committee on Equal Opportunity responded saying "we would still like to see the equal opportunity amendments suggested by Lewis Lubka in December of 1966 added to the revised AIP Code of Professional Conduct"; this wording implied they had asked for this before.[105]

The revised second draft published in the AIP newsletter in November of 1969, however, closely resembled the 1968 first draft, with nothing additional picked up from the Lubka terminology as requested by the AIP Committee on Equal Opportunity.[106] The code finally adopted and approved, as published in the 1971 AIP membership roster, had even less acknowledgment of matters related to social equity concerns. It divided professional conduct provisions into two parts. The first were statements of norms expressed in general terms, with a more streamlined statement of public interest than in previous drafts, as well as very general statements about the need for integrity, competence, and proper professional conduct. The rules of discipline, the next section, included provisions related to dishonesty, fraud, unprofessional advertising, and competition. The language about equal opportunity had disappeared, as had the careful delineation of the diverse nature of the public interest.[107]

The next year, in 1972, a code was published that included a canon that finally stated, for the first time, planners' responsibilities to "disadvantaged" people, urging action in defense of such people as well. It said: "A planner shall seek to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of disadvantaged groups and persons, and shall urge the alteration of policies, institutions and decisions which mitigate against such objectives."[108] This activist provision, so out of sync with a technician view of the profession, has remained in US planners' codes of conduct ever since. The 1972 version also included in a list of professional obligations the following additional rule, subject to disciplinary action: "A planner shall not directly or indirectly discriminate against any person because of said person's race, color, creed, sex or national origin in any aspect of job recruitment, hiring, conditions of employment, training, advancement or termination of employment."[109] This brought up a topic introduced by both Lubka and Williams and specifically censuring discrimination of many types, including gender. This too has remained in various revisions of the present American Institute of Certified Planners' Code of Ethics.[110]

It had apparently taken six years after Lubka's memo for any of the suggested changes to appear, but this could simply have been a matter of catching up. PEO and internal committees had made several suggestions for changes to AIP, concerning not just the code but also advocacy planning, minority recruitment, and statements on national policy. Considering just the matter of the code, the simple query of the law professor, Williams, who noted the absence of anti-discriminatory language "in this day and age," could have finally had an effect. An even firmer push may have come from Paul Sedway, chair of the AIP Task Force on Social Responsibility of Planners. In 1972, his task force had suggestions for rewording the canon on social responsibility, a separate document

(lengthier than a code of ethics). This task force sought feedback from planners nationwide and then issued a canon that addressed several matters related to equal opportunity.[111] It may have seemed logical to change the code at the same time.

PEO's former members continued to fight for justice, and new ideas arose as well. In 1975, Chester Hartman, activist scholar and former Harvard professor, organized a new beginning for the spirit of PEO, launching a network of progressive planners, Planners Network (PN). This turned out to be a success in terms of longevity, functioning as a membership-driven network, and PN's occasional conferences and regularly published materials raised the social equity standard lifted by PEO. Cleveland planners, led by director Norman Krumholz, developed a 1975 policy plan based on strong considerations of social justice, and Krumholz named that strategy "equity planning"; Davidoff himself expressed frank admiration for the work in Cleveland and for equity planning, an intellectual child of advocacy planning.[112]

Implications

The 1960s marked an important transition for US urban planners who were moving from an era when their skills and technical expertise made them the unquestioned heralds of modernization to a time when planners became more aware of the limitations of their abilities to remake cities and to address specific urban problems. Both the civil rights movement and citizen-driven grassroots movements signaled that a marginalized racial minority and organized urban neighborhoods would no longer accept their fates without agitation. The concerns expressed by advocates such as Davidoff and the PEO mirrored the concerns others were verbalizing about urban renewal, housing and job discrimination, poverty, and racial oppression. One senses in the documents, speeches, talks, and articles written by PEO planners a profound embarrassment, at the planning profession's complicity in the ills of urban renewal; at its failure to support social justice for minority people and communities; at its silence in the face of pervasive poverty and discrimination. AIP, as the national organization of professional planners, seemed to be a logical target in PEO's campaign for social change. As indicated by PEO's resolutions, no one thought that AIP alone could actually make the wide-ranging social change that was called for, but protesting planners felt that at the very least AIP could take a stand against injustice, even if just in the form of statements made to national policy makers.

The planning profession, however, was composed of more people than these activist planners. Several incidents of harassment and unsuccessful attempts to arouse support—membership drives, appeals to AIP leaders for conference space, press releases, scolding, and so on—revealed how difficult it was to generate sustained interest for their cause from their contemporary AIP planners. The problem was surely deeper than simple lack of conscience or "spiritual poverty." The planning profession was not composed of powerbrokers; it was composed of employees and consultants who answered to planning commissioners or mayors or employers. In many cities, planners worked for the very decision makers who were directing urban renewal, and in suburban areas, they worked for commissioners and councils that were determined to exclude rather than to provide equal opportunity for housing for all peoples. Some planners counted themselves as radical, liberal, or political, and as supporters of various social movements, but others did not. For an organization composed of such diverse planners, most of them traditional, to become suddenly champions of the poor or of racial minorities would have required major transformation.

For a more ideologically unified profession, it probably would have been a simple matter to change a published code of ethics in order to ban employment discrimination and to express concern for the disadvantaged. The fact that even such a symbolic change was so fraught with intrigue confirms that US planners were fragmented and that they were struggling to respond to the rapidly changing social context. This is not to say that AIP did not respond; it did indeed, especially when

confronted by negative press and by an insurgent PEO. But even then, as the pressure from PEO diminished because of its own organizational problems, and as the national pro-liberal context of the early and mid-1960s changed, likewise the pace of change slowed for AIP and for the national community of planners. Tentative efforts for the organization to promote advocacy planning faltered, committees assigned to improve minority relations languished, and the code stayed the way the code had been until circumstances led to inclusion of at least a few passages requested by PEO. Perhaps this was inevitable; codes of ethics do not actually govern professionals' behavior. They simply provide acceptable parameters.

This simple tale of attempts to change the profession and its code of professional behavior demonstrates some of the problems involved in social reform of a nascent profession still trying to find its calling. Addressing large matters such as social justice through the vehicle of professional associations loosely organized in order to offer conferences and provide a few other services may have been a doomed strategy. The PEO planners, with their righteous indignation and their desire to connect with the social movements of the day, were not able to move their national organization in significant ways. After a flurry of activity, the larger organization survived, having successfully absorbed criticism.

The larger social context changed as well. The heady days of OEO programs and Model Cities soon gave way to the sober reality of the 1970s. The civil rights movement never quite recovered from Dr. King's assassination, calls for black power diminished as proponents received jail sentences, and a more conservative President Nixon succeeded President Johnson. The nation turned to enhanced police force rather than broader solutions to civil rebellions and social injustice; the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 formally ended urban renewal but also Model Cities; and the nation settled into retrenchment and conservatism.

As for results, much work remains to be done, but it is noteworthy that efforts have been made. The remnants are apparent in both the divisional structure of today's APA, which has essentially institutionalized interest groups, and in the AICP Code of Ethics, although the gap between that code and the principled actions of today's planners may be huge.[113] Rather than a focus on social justice, environmentalism, and similar principles concerning the public interest, conference panels and AICP training sessions on ethics tend to focus on rules of behavior appropriate to planning behavior in mundane situations, such as whether to accept favors from petitioners, or to moonlight, or to leak information to special interest groups.[114] Nevertheless, this code, binding for planners certified by AICP, but available for all to study, at least acknowledges certain key values and states the need for social justice and lack of unlawful discrimination in hiring practices. It urges giving people an opportunity to participate in plans that affect them, as well as supporting opportunities for under-represented groups to become professional planners. The AICP Code of Ethics also states that an AICP planner shall "contribute time and effort to groups lacking in adequate planning resources and to voluntary professional activities." Students in accredited planning degree programs are supposed to study this code (as a Planning Accreditation Board requirement), just as Lubka suggested. Students therefore are able to read and perhaps think about how they will become planners informed by social justice principles.[115] The dialogue about advocacy, equity, and planning's social responsibility continues, helped in no small part by the successor to PEO, PN; by continuing evolution of the theoretical child of advocacy planning, equity planning; and by the tradition of addressing social equity as a legitimate topic in planning theory and practice.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

Notes

1. A number of articles and books have suggested the complexities of US planning during the post–World War II period leading up to the 1980s, for topics such as changing federal programs, support for sub-urbanization versus central-city revitalization, rationalism versus political action, social reformism versus regulatory refinement, and so on. See, for example, chapter 8 of Herbert J. Gans, *People, Plans, and Policies: Essays on Poverty, Racism, and Other National Urban Problems* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 123–44; Robert Goodman, *After the Planners* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972), and Howell Baum, "Problems of Governance and the Profession of Planners: The Planning Profession in the 1980s," In *Two Centuries of American Planning*, ed. Daniel Schaffer (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 279–302.

2. Paul Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* (known hereafter as the *Journal of the American Planning Association*) 31, no. 4 (1965): 331–38.

3. Another major planning organization was the American Society of Planning Officials (ASPO), composed of professional planners, planning commissioners, politicians, and other citizens interested in planning. AIP and ASPO merged in 1978 to form the current American Planning Association, accessed January 2017, http://www.planning.org/apaataglance/history.htm.

4. See American Institute of Planners Records, #4007, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library (hereafter known as Kroch AIP) for extensive documentation of the fellowship program initiatives, a topic deserving of a separate paper. See in particular box 60, as well as American Planning Association Records #4075, Division of Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, (known hereafter as Kroch APA), box 39.

5. Sources used for this article included review of the national archives of the American Institute of Planners and of the American Planning Association, located at Kroch Library, Cornell University, as well as Paul Davidoff papers, also located at Cornell. Sources also include several articles and books written during or concerning this period of time and the proceedings of the American Society of Planning Officials from 1960 to 1972.

6. Mark S. Frankel, "Professional Codes: Why, How, and with What Impact?" *Journal of Business Ethics* 8, no. 2–3 (1989): 109–115.

7. Ibid., 110.

8. Sarah Banks, "From Oaths to Rulebooks: A Critical Examination of Codes of Ethics for the Social Professions," *European Journal of Social Work* 6, no. 2 (2003): 133–44.

9. Margaret Forster, Tim Loughran, and Bill McDonald, "Commonality in Codes of Ethics," *Journal of Business Ethics* 90 (2009): 129–39; Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, "The Iron Case Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," *American Sociological Review* 48, no. 2 (1983): 147–60.

10. Bonnie J. Johnson and Nils Gore, "What Do the Professions 'Profess'? Comparing Architecture and Planning Codes of Ethics," *Architectural Science Review* 59, no. 6 (2016): 449–64.

11. American Institute of Planners, "Code of Professional Conduct of the American Institute of Planners," as adopted January 10, 1948, Kroch AIP, box 31, "Professional Ethics in Practice" folder, 1.

12. Peter Marcuse, "Professional Ethics and Beyond: Values in Planning," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 42, no. 3 (July, 1976): 264–74; and Johnson and Gore, "What Do the Professions 'Profess'?" 2016.

13. American Institute of Planners, "Code of Professional Conduct," 1948, 1–2.

14. American Institute of Planners, "Code of Professional Conduct," as amended July 25, 1959, Kroch AIP, box 31, "Professional Ethics in Practice" folder, 2.

15. Charles Blessing, letter to George Gatter, September 2, 1959, Kroch AIP, box 72, folder 17, 1.

16. Robert Griffin, Jr., memo to W. C. Dutton, February 8, 1961, Kroch AIP, box 72, folder 17, 1–3.

17. Robert Griffin, Jr., "Differences between 1948 Code and 1959 Code," undated (c. 1961), Kroch AIP, box 31, "Professional Ethics in Planning 1961" folder. One page.

18. American Institute of Planners, "Professional Responsibilities," Kroch AIP, box 31, "Code of Conduct—Responses to" folder 3.

19. Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-63* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988).

20. Stokely Carmicheal and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1967); Cleveland Sellers and Robert Terrell, *The River of No Return: The Autobiography of a Black Militant and the Life and Death of SNCC,* 2nd ed. (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1990); Clayborne Carson and David Malcolm Carson, "The Black Panther Party," in *Civil Rights since 1787,* ed. Jonathan Birnbaum and Clarence Taylor (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 615–18.

21. Sellers and Terrell, *The River of No Return,* 229–39.

22. US National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders and Otto Kerner. *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, March 1, 1968).

23. Susan Abrams Beck, "The Limits of Presidential Activism: Lyndon Johnson and the Implementation of the Community Action Program," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 17, no. 3 (1987): 541–57, 545.

24. Bernard J. Frieden and Marshall Kaplan, *The Politics of Neglect: Urban Aid from Model Cities to Revenue Sharing* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1975).

25. Herbert J. Gans, "The Human Implications of Current Redevelopment and Relocation Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 25, no. 1 (1959): 15–26; Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (New York: Free Press, 1962).

26. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Vintage Books edition (New York: Random House, 1992). Martin Anderson, *The Federal Bulldozer* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967). In her brilliant book, Jacobs also tends to conflate urban planners with decision makers, architects, or developers.

27. Chester Hartman, *The Transformation of San Francisco* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld, 1984); June Manning Thomas, *Redevelopment and Race: Planning a Finer City in Postwar Detroit*, 2nd ed. (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2013); Christopher Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal: Postwar Urbanism from New York to Berlin* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011). For blame, see Goodman, *After the Planners*, and a recent description of lingering negative effects of urban renewal on residents, Mindy Thompson Fullilove, *Root Shock: How Tearing up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do about It* (New York: New Villages Press, 2016).

28. Walter Thabit, "A History of PEO: Planners for Equal Opportunity" (Thabit, May 1999). Self-published. Biographies supplied in Appendix A, 43–50, accessed May 14, 2018, https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/41472.

29. Marci Reaven, "Neighborhood Activism in Planning for New York City, 1945–1975," *Journal of Urban History* (2017): Online first, doi: 0096144217705446. See also Tom Angotti, *New York for Sale* (Cambridge, UK: MIT Press, 2014), chap. 4, especially 113–16, and Frances Fox Piven, foreword to Walter Thabit, *How East New York Became a Ghetto* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), ix–xi.

30. Thabit, "A History of PEO," 47. Lewis Lubka eventually moved to Fargo, North Dakota and became a planning professor and local activist. Obituary for his January 6, 2017 death at, accessed January, 2017, http://www.inforum.com/news/4200238-lewis-lubka-life-celebration-jan-21-fargodome.

31. Thabit, "A History of PEO," 48. Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*, 2nd Vintage edition (New York: Random House, 1993). Frances Fox Piven

and Richard Cloward, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail.* Vintage edition (New York: Random House, 1979).

32. Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, "The Weight of the Poor: A Strategy to End Poverty," *The Nation* (May, 1966), accessed May 17, 2018, https://www.commondreams.org/news/2010/03/24/weight-poor-strategy-end-poverty.

33. Thabit, "A History of PEO," 43, and Matthew Rao, "Paul Davidoff and Planning Education: A Study of the Origin of the Urban Planning Program at Hunter College," *Journal of Planning History* 11, no. 3 (2012): 226–41. See also Michael Stegman, "Paul Davidoff: Symbol and Substance," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 51, no. 3 (1985): 375–77, as well as special issue on Davidoff and advocacy planning Journal of the American Planning Association, 60, no. 2 (spring 1994): 139–161.

34. Eugenie Birch, "Advancing the Art and Science of Planning: Planners and their Organizations 1909-1980," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 46, no. 1 (1980): 22–49, 33.

35. Birch, "Advancing the Art," 37.

36. Analysis of pre-1960 ASPO conference topics in June Manning Thomas, "Social Justice as Responsible Practice: Race, Ethnicity, and the Influence of the Civil Rights Era," in Bish Sanyal, Lawrence Vale, and Christina Rosan, co-editors, *Planning Ideas that Matter*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2012, 359-85.

37. Jefferson Fordham, "Planning for the Realization of Human Values," in *Planning 1960: Selected Papers from the ASPO National Planning Conference, Bal Harbour, FL* (Chicago, IL: American Society of Planning Officials), 1–7.

38. Richard Dewey, panel presentation on "Migration, Minorities, and the Implications for Planning," in *Planning 1961: Selected Papers from the ASPO National Planning Conference, Denver, CO* (Chicago, IL: American Society of Planning Officials), 52–57.

39. Clarence Senior, panel presentation on "Migration, Minorities, and the Implications for Planning," in *Planning 1961: Selected Papers from the ASPO National Planning Conference, Denver, CO* (Chicago, IL: American Society of Planning Officials), 57–68.

40. Scott Greer, "Key Issues for the Central City" panel, 123–40; Shelton B. Granger, "Key Issues for Human Welfare" panel, 192–98; Arthur Hillman, "Key Issues for Human Welfare" panel, 213–21; The Honorable John C. Houlihan, "'Human Renewal' A New Dimension in Planning" panel, 221–29; Roger Starr, "Learning about the Community" panel, 246–50; all in *Planning 1963: Selected Papers from the ASPO National Planning Conference, Seattle, WA* (Chicago, IL: American Society of Planning Officials).

41. James Scheuer, "To Renew Cities, Renew Their People," in *Planning 1964: Selected Papers from the ASPO National Planning Conference, Boston, MA* (Chicago, IL: American Society of Planning Officials), 21–25, quote on 24.

42. Birch, "Advancing the Art," 38.

43. Paul Davidoff and Thomas A. Reiner, "A Choice Theory of Planning," *Journal of the American institute of Planners* 28, no. 2 (1962): 103–15.

44. Paul Davidoff, "The Role of the City Planner in Social Planning," Kroch Davidoff, box 1, folder "PD—Newark AIP Speech," 127 of apparent proceedings.

45. Ibid., All quotes from 128.

46. Ibid., 129.

47. Herbert Gans, Letter to Paul Davidoff, August 21, 1964, in Kroch Davidoff, box 1, folder "AIP Address August 1964, Newark), one page.

48. Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," See also Paul and Linda Davidoff, "Advocacy and Urban Planning," in *Social Scientists as Advocates: Views from the Applied Disciplines*, ed. George Weber and George McCall. (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1978), 99–120.

49. Davidoff, "The Role of the City," 126.

50. "What Is Planners for Equal Opportunity?" Paper c. 1970 on PEO letterhead in Kroch Davidoff, box 3, folder "Planners for Equal Opportunity," 1.

51. Thabit, "A History of PEO," 5–7.

52. Ibid., 2.

53. Ibid., 10 for quote, 1–10 for other information.

54. Ibid., 11 for first quote, 12 for militancy quote.

55. Walter Thabit, Keynote address to the conference, 1966 conference proceedings, pp. 6–10, in Kroch Davidoff, box 3, "PEO" folder. The long quotation is from p. 10. See also Thabit, "A History of PEO," 12–13.

56. Piven's comments, Kroch Davidoff, box 3, "PEO" folder, pp. 11–13, with quotation coming from p. 11.

57. Page entitled "First Annual PEO Conference Resolutions and Recommendations of the Conference," Kroch Davidoff, box 3, "PEO" folder. Conveners also passed resolutions on US policies, urging enhanced support for US cities, specifically with greater resources for Demonstration Cities and jobs, and on forming a task force related to the New York State Constitutional Convention. Several other organizational recommendations were not voted on as resolutions but included support for advocacy planning and PEO development.

58. Louis Dolbeare, December 14, 1966 letter to Irving hand, Kroch AIP, box 61, folder 25.

59. "First Annual PEO Conference Resolutions and Recommendations of the Conference," Kroch Davidoff, box 3, "PEO" folder.

60. Lewis Lubka, "Evaluation of AIP Code of Ethics," Appendix of Robert Heifetz, "Working Paper: AIP Committee on Minority Relations," December 1, 1967, in Kroch AIP, box 61, folder 25. Appendix numbered separately, 1 and 2.

61. All quotations in this paragraph from Lubka, "Evaluation of AIP Code of Ethics," 1 and 2.

62. W. Warner Burke, *Organization Change: Theory and Practice,* 4th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2014), chap. 5, 11.

63. Thabit, "A History of PEO," 28. This membership of 400 was apparently during the period 1968–1969.

64. Jerome Kaufman, "Contemporary Planning Practice: State of the Art," in *Planning in America: Learning from Turbulence*, ed. David R. Godschalk (Washington, DC: American Institute of Planners, 1974), 111–37.

65. This may have been the reason that one resolution specifically mentioned the right of planners to speak freely. Thabit's account reports that at least one planner lost his job because of affiliation with PEO.

66. Reaven, "Neighborhood Activism," 2017; Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 1992.

67. Robert J. S. Ross, "The Impact of Social Movements on a Profession in Process: Advocacy in Urban Planning," *Sociology of Work and Occupations* 3, no. 4 (1976): 439 of 425–53.

68. Elizabeth Howe and Jerome Kaufman, "The Ethics of Contemporary American Planners," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45, no. 3 (July 1979): 243–55, see 244, 250.

69. Ibid., 249.

70. Thabit, "A History of PEO," 11.

71. Ibid., 23, 38.

72. Gans, *People, Plans, and Policies*, 139.

73. Press release entitled "Educating Planners to Confront Urban Social Issues," Kroch Davidoff, box 1, folder "PD—ASPO Speech—April 1966," quotes from 1, 2.

74. "The Planners are In." as *The Evening Bulletin*, Philadelphia, April 19, 1966, 16, clipping in Kroch Davidoff, box 1, folder "PD—ASPO Speech—April 1966."

75. Louis Dolbeare, Letter to Irving Hand, December 14, 1966, Kroch AIP, box 61 folder 25.

76. Walter Thabit, "Policy Items Adopted by Policy Committee in Ballot of June 19, 1967," two-page memo in Kroch AIP, box 70, folder 11.

77. Walter Thabit, letter to Robert Williams, August 25, 1967, page 2, Kroch AIP, box 70, folder 11.

78. Bayard Rustin, "From Protest to Politics," *Civil Rights since 1787*, ed. Jonathan Birnbaum and Clarence Taylor (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 523–38.

79. "Planners for Equal Opportunity Resolutions to AIP," October 3, 1967, two-page document in Kroch AIP, box 63, folder 36; see also Thabit, "A History of PEO," 16.

80. Thabit, "A History of PEO," 16.

81. Wolf von Eckardt, clipping in Kroch Davidoff, box 3; see also Thabit, 19.

82. Dave Hartley, letter to Einar Hendrickson, December 1, 1967, Kroch AIP, box 70, folder 11, one page.

83. "Board of Governors Actions on Equal Opportunity Matters," two-page document in Kroch AIP, box 63, folder 36.

84. David Hartley, letter to Robert Heifetz, September 21, 1967, 2, Kroch AIP, box 70, folder 11.

85. Frances Piven, PEO conference proceedings, Kroch Davidoff, box 3, PEO folder, 11.

86. Robert Heifetz, "Working Papers: AIP Committee on Social Impact of Public Programs," December 1, 1967. Kroch AIP, box 61, folder 25. It is not clear if this is a separate committee or the same committee on minority relations, but Heifetz is summarizing and updating the charge of the previous 1963 committee headed by Justin Gray. The membership and charge of the AIP Committee on Minority Relations is available as a memo on AIP letterhead in "Committee on Minority Relations," December 5, 1967, Kroch AIP, box 61, folder 25.

87. David Hartley, letter to Robert Heifetz, October 16, 1967, Kroch AIP, box 70, folder 11. David Hartley, letter to Hendrickson, October 16, 1967, Kroch AIP, box 70, folder 11. Decisions listed in "Action Program on Equal Opportunity Activities," December–January 1967, one-page document in Kroch AIP, box 70, folder 11.

88. Baltimore AIP Chapter, "Executive Board Resolutions re: Planners for equal opportunity resolutions," January 29, 1968, Kroch AIP, box 61, folder 25.

89. Walter Thabit, letter to Bob Heifetz, January 27, 1968, Kroch AIP, box 70, folder 12.

90. Thabit, "A History of PEO," 22–24; the "lily white" phrase is in "What is Planners for Equal Opportunity?" Kroch Davidoff, box 3, "Planners for Equal Opportunity" folder, unpaged but see second page.

91. "What Is Planners for Equal Opportunity?" Kroch Davidoff, box 3, "Planners for Equal Opportunity" folder.

92. Thabit, "A History of PEO," especially 30 to 41 for history from 1969 to 1974.

93. Thabit, "A History of PEO," 35.

94. AIP memo to Robert Heifetz, March 14, 1968, Kroch AIP, box 70, folder 12.

95. Irving Rubin, memo to AIP Board of Governors and Committee Council, "Report on Committee Activities and Plans," Kroch AIP, box 70, folder 12.

96. AIP, "Chapter Administration Manual," page 31, Kroch AIP, box 70.

97. AIP, "Advocate Planners: Action in the Public Interest," June 30, 1971. Kroch AIP, box 62, folder 3.

98. "Advocate Planners at Confer-in," Kroch AIP, box 62, folder 45. This folder also includes a description of the planned activities from Paul Davidoff, letter to Stanley Eisner, July 13, 1971. For general description of the program see Gerald R. Mylroie, "New AIP Advocate Planner Program to Begin in Fall," in *AIP Newsletter*, September 1971, page 3, Kroch AIP, box 62, folder 4.

99. Mike Brooks, memo to members, AIP's Advocate Planners National Advisory Committee, September 19, 1972. Kroch AIP, box 62, folder 39.

100. Mike Brooks, memo to members, AIP's Advocate Planners National Advisory Committee, October 5, 1973. Kroch AIP, box 62, folder 44. See also his memo of March 28, 1973; see also John Joyner, memo to chapter presidents, May 31, 1974. Kroch AIP, box 62, folder 3.

101. Charles Ascher, letter to E. Burke Peterson, April 13, 1968, Kroch AIP, box 72, folder 20. Quote is from page 2 of letter.

102. "Draft for Review: Requirements of Professional Conduct," mimeographed version, 1968, in Kroch AIP box 72, folder 20, 1.

103. Ibid., 2.

104. "Responses to code of conduct," two-page document that listed suggested clarifications from four individuals and one state chapter, February 6, 1970, in Kroch AIP, box 31, "Code of Conduct—Responses to" folder 1. On p. 2, this lists respondents including the Michigan chapter executive committee. But others commented as well. For Williams's comments, not summarized in the above memo, see Norman

Williams, letter to Edmund Burke Peterson, April 19, 1968, Kroch AIP, box 72, folder 20, 3. See next footnote for other comments not summarized in the February 6 memo.

105. AIP Committee on Equal Opportunity, memo to Pres. Alan Voorhees and Board of Governors, January 22, 1969, Kroch AIP, box 60, folder 36, 2.

106. *AIP Newsletter*, November 1969, in Kroch AIP, box 31, folder "Code of Conduct—Responses to," 6–7.

107. American Institute of Planners, *1971 Roster* (Washington, DC: American Institute of Planners), VI and VII.

108. Ibid., VI.

109. Ibid., VII.

110. Once AIP and ASPO merged, forming APA, it was deemed necessary to create an organization to handle certification of professional planners. This is the American Institute of Certified Planners, AICP.

111. Document entitled "The Social Responsibility of the Planner" and appended to Paul Sedway, memo to AIP Board of Governors, September 22, 1972, Kroch Davidoff, box 1, folder "AIP."

112. Paul Davidoff, "Comment," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 48, no. 2 (1982): 179–80.

113. Divisions within APA include Planning and the Black Community, Women and Planning, LGBTQ and Planning, and Latinos and Planning Divisions. Heather Campbell, "'Planning Ethics' and Rediscovering the Idea of Planning," *Planning Theory* 11, no. 4 (2012): 379–99; David Thacher, "The Professional Association's Role," *Cities* 32 (2013): 169–70; Martin Wachs, "The Past, Present, and Future of Professional Ethics in Planning," in *Readings in Planning Theory*, ed. Susan S. Fainstein and James Defilippis (Malden, MA: John Wiley, 2016), 464–80.

114. See for example ethics materials, especially several years' worth of cases of the year, at the AICP ethics page, accessed May 17, 2018, https://www.planning.org/ethics/caseoftheyear/. These cases drive APA conference panels at both the state and national level.

115. The AICP Code of Ethics, applicable to AICP planners (i.e., planners who have passed and maintained certification requirements), is available at https://www.planning.org/ethics/. Milder ethical principles, applicable to all planning participants, are available at the same web page. See requirements for accredited planning programs, for 2012 and for 2017, by accessing accreditation requirement documents for those years at, accessed May 17, 2018, http://www.planningaccreditationboard.org/.

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