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# Advancing the Art and Science of Planning

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# Advancing the Art and Science of Planning

## **Abstract**

The interplay between harmony and conflict focusing on the definition of planning and the financing of promotional activities has characterized the seventy year history of the professional organizations. Despite these currents, foundation support, visionary leadership, and dedicated volunteerism have combined to spread the planning ideal throughout the nation. Nonetheless, the profession remains weakly defined, leaving a challenge for the newly formed American Planning Association.

## **Comments**

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# Advancing the Art and Science of Planning

## Planners and Their Organizations

1909-1980

Eugenie Ladner Birch

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The Hyatt Regency, a glittering, cool island in muggy New Orleans, bordered by the expansive Superdome and its acres of steamy, black asphalt parking lots and hard, hot concrete of Interstate 10 was an appropriate place for the meeting. Brightly colored banners hung gaily from its fifth story atrium. A glass elevator glided up and down carrying young, conservatively dressed, predominantly male conventioners to and fro. Clusters of earnestly talking coffee drinkers, jam-packed meetings with flitting slides and patriotic words, aisles of exhibits demonstrating the accomplishments of award winning towns, mountains of books, maps and census materials, and a bulletin board posting jobs: it was the sixty-first, and the last, annual meeting of the American Institute of Planners.

Several stories above, twenty eight people gathered around a long conference table, chattering nervously yet comfortably. Fred Bosselman, a dignified Chicago lawyer, called the meeting to order. Two quick motions ended the corporate lives of the American Institute of Planners (AIP) and the American Society of Planning Officials (ASPO). Another created the American Planning Association (APA) in their place.<sup>1</sup>

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In this way, on September 30, 1978, the institutional framework of the American planning movement was consolidated into a single organization.

Although the APA with its semiautonomous subsidiary, the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP), was the result of years of thought and negotiation, its basic structure was similar to the 1920 form of the first planning organization, the National Conference on City Planning (NCCP) with its wing, the American City Planning Institute (ACPI).

Like the NCCP, the APA had a twenty-one member board of governors, a single class of membership with a supplemental and selective professional section, publications, a shared executive director, and a nationally based annual meeting.

In addition, as the APA leaders considered its mission, they committed the organization to the original objectives of the NCCP and the later conceived ASPO. In their documents, they reiterated these objectives as "to study and advance the art and science of city, regional and national planning" and to "promote effectiveness in land and community planning through the association of planning commissions, elected government officials, key public administrators and others."<sup>2</sup>

This historic continuity was deceiving. As the APA emerged, it faced a world far different from that of its earliest predecessor. By 1978, planning, so deeply affected by changing political and economic currents, was no longer narrowly concerned with local urban land use, but was broadly involved with

national policy considerations as well. Practitioners, numbering over 16,000, were no longer primarily private consultants but public sector employees.

The associations, particularly ASPO, had been successful in popularizing planning. By the seventies, most American cities had planning commissions, land use plans, and zoning ordinances. Yet the question of how effective these devices were in decision making still remained.<sup>3</sup> The associations, particularly the AIP, had established certain professional standards such as ethical codes, educational guidelines, and qualifying requirements. Yet the issue of whether planning was a profession or an occupation was still debated.<sup>4</sup>

Despite these achievements, over the years the record of the associations had been characterized by one theme: the interplay between harmony and conflict. The peculiar nature of planning had created serious breaches among its supporters. The split had originated in the very basic problem of defining planning and the proper method of promoting it. Organizationally, it was expressed in the creation of separate, sometimes competing, groups which, in turn, had sharp debates over membership qualifications and services. At critical points, these differences became so severe that solutions were found in massive reorganization. Always overshadowing the deliberations was a financial spectre.

In the seventy year history of the planning organizations there were five distinct periods which necessitated the re-organization process. These periods are important because each involved major changes in the definition of planning and its promotion. As adjustments occurred in response to both internal and external challenges, the actions taken by the planning associations would reflect the progress of American planning.

The first period, 1909 to 1919, is characterized by the establishment of the National Conference on City Planning and the first attempts to create a professional association. Foundation financing and dedicated leadership insured that the organization would get off the ground even though its supporters did not hold a common vision of planning.

The second period, 1920 to 1934, witnessed the clear division between professional and citizen supporter. Active practitioners fashioned a clear definition of planning only to be challenged later by younger members engaged in New Deal activities.

The third, 1935 to 1945, with its dramatic expansion of government sponsored planning activities, contained a further division of the movement into citizens, professionals, and public administrators. They grouped in separate organizations representing their interests. Noticeable differences in their impact occurred owing to widely divergent leadership patterns, administrative structures, and services. Founda-

tions played an important role, again, in funding some activities.

The fourth, 1946 to 1960, was a growth period for the associations and saw a dramatic increase in the demand for planning caused by postwar suburbanization and new federal urban programs. The AIP became truly national with the inclusion of a competing California group, decentralized with the development of chapters, and more formally professional with the adoption of self-protective policies covering education, membership, and ethics. For the first time, it engaged in lobbying. Concurrently, ASPO solidified its constituency by marketing vital basic technical services to all levels of government.

Finally, in the fifth period, 1961 to 1978, with major federal programs financing a broad range of activities, the associations expanded rapidly. The AIP, vacillating on professional issues, undertook a major internal review of its purposes. As in earlier periods, ASPO grew steadily. The distinction between the services of the two organizations became increasingly blurred and ultimately they sought consolidation for philosophical as well as practical reasons.

## 1909 to 1919: The American planning movement creates national organizations

City planning gradually evolved from nineteenth century progressive reforms to improve slum housing, beautify cities, and restore honest government. An amorphous group of public spirited citizens, predominantly architects, landscape architects, social workers, engineers, and lawyers, supported the newly emerging interest. Although their efforts were local, they frequently met at national meetings of the National Conference of Charities, the American Civic Association, the American Institute of Architects, and the Municipal Art Society. They soon discovered the need for their own forum.<sup>5</sup> By 1909, they organized the first Conference on City Planning. The conferees assembled in Washington, D.C., from all over: New York settlement houses, the Hartford Planning Commission, the Chicago Commercial Club, and professional offices in Boston, Detroit, Kansas City, and San Francisco. This first meeting with its noteworthy exhibits received so much publicity that the United States Senate Committee on the District of Columbia recorded its sessions.<sup>6</sup> Buoyed by their success, the incipient city planners formalized the organization, calling it the National Conference on City Planning (NCCP) and made the meeting an annual event. In the following years, the NCCP became an ongoing institution. By 1915, it employed an executive secretary, Boston lawyer Flavel Shurtleff, it published a quarterly magazine, *The City Plan*, as well as the full proceedings of its annual meeting, and had a membership of about four hundred.<sup>7</sup>



Its financing came from a variety of sources: dues, contributions from cities hosting the annual conferences, and foundation grants.<sup>8</sup> However, the Russell Sage Foundation actually sustained the Conference. In 1907, Margaret Olivia Sage, a septuagenarian long interested in social reform and heir to her husband's immense fortune, had created the foundation with a ten million dollar endowment.<sup>9</sup> She specified that its annual income, about one-half million dollars, was to be used to "improve the social and living conditions in the United States;" and that a quarter of the sum was to be spent in New York City.<sup>10</sup> Sage and her board of trustees (which included Robert W. DeForest and Alfred T. White, important housing reformers) made sizeable gifts to city planning causes. In addition to the NCCP, the foundation subsidized Forest Hills Gardens, the Pittsburgh Survey, the President's Homes Commission, the Regional Plan for New York and its Environs, the National Housing Association, and important publications such as *Carrying Out the City Plan* by Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. and Flavel Shurtleff, and Lawrence Veiller's *Model Tenement House Law*.<sup>11</sup> Without this initial support, the housing and city planning movements would have been severely retarded.<sup>12</sup>

The NCCP operations mirrored those of other contemporary reform organizations. Its members' primary activity was to legitimize planning, first by fighting for state enabling legislation and later by pressuring cities to create commissions. By 1915, Shurtleff announced that campaigns had been successful in ten states and that over one hundred planning commissions were functioning.<sup>13</sup>

At this time, the NCCP viewed itself as a promotional co-ordinating unit, stating its objectives as furthering general education and facilitating cooperation among professional associations on city planning matters.<sup>14</sup> It did not yet consider city planning a separate profession but rather an activity practiced by professionals of many fields.

This view changed in the next few years. The practitioners within the NCCP, traditionally dominant as members of the Board of Governors, increasingly set themselves apart from general supporters. In 1917, they institutionalized the separation by creating the American City Planning Institute. It was to be the vanguard of the NCCP. Although its members would continue to participate in the annual conference, its main function would be to hold its own meetings which were limited to selected participants. Thus this elite could responsibly advance the art and science of city planning which the NCCP would then propagandize. Explaining the new organization, Shurtleff wrote:

The conviction has been growing in the last few years among those who are interested in city plan-

ning that something besides the annual conference is needed to advance the science of city planning. The conferences have been very valuable stimulators of public thought but give little opportunity for thorough discussion. The Conference would not be fulfilling its mission if it did not arouse the community in which it is held to the importance of planning ahead. For this purpose, much time has been given in the past and will be in the future to a broad and somewhat popular consideration of city planning subjects. The function of the new organization will be to provide times when technical details of the problems may be considered by students and practitioners of the science of city planning.<sup>15</sup>

The ACPI had a very shaky beginning. Although from its founding its members adopted policies reflecting a professional stance, they lacked agreement about implementation. Conflict arose immediately over questions of membership, services, and function. Many members who were drawn from established professions were reluctant to draw exclusive boundaries for a field so new. Others wished to emphasize the educational, rather than the professional, objectives of the association. And finally, the organization was so impoverished that its leaders often let financial considerations determine its direction.

In accordance with professional considerations, the ACPI was to select members who could demonstrate competence by having a degree in a design or engineering field and two years experience. The twenty-one member board of governors (about half the total membership at founding) was given discretion over selection procedures. Yet from the beginning, there were difficulties in distinguishing among candidates. The work requirement was rather ambitious when there were so few opportunities for employment. Ultimately, they settled on the rather vague judgment of whether a prospect had a "city planning point of view."<sup>16</sup> (This casual test would be used by succeeding membership committees until an oral examination was substituted in the 1960s.)<sup>17</sup>

To prevent one professional group from dominating the Institute the charter provided for a rotating presidency among the architects, landscape architects, and engineers. Although lawyers were to play a decisive role in the development of planning, they were relegated to a separate category.

The Institute's primary service was to facilitate communications. Prior to the first meeting, Shurtleff explained the intention: "The aim . . . is to get away from the standard presentation of a subject in a long paper followed by a general discussion and to produce informal discussion closely limited to the technical working out of the subject."<sup>18</sup> Yet the first sessions did not live up to the standard. An irate ACPI

president, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., then Manager of the Town Planning Division of the U.S. Housing Corporation (the World War I housing authority), scolded John Nolen about his handling of a 1918 conference on defense housing.

I do not see much point in saying that you will do what you can to keep the Institute small, informal, and as distinctly technical as possible under the circumstances when you are now definitely committed to the other kind of meeting. . . . I cannot talk freely, lest I be understood as making official announcements of policy. . . . My remarks will necessarily have to be rather discrete and colorless. If it had been a small technical Institute meeting without danger of half baked newspaper reports we could have had a full frank discussion of any or all phases of the question. . . . It is wholly unsafe for government servants to think out loud in a general meeting and thinking out loud in a group of City Planners is much needed right now.<sup>19</sup>

The Institute, as befitting a professional group, studiously avoided politics. This stance was also tied to its attempts to disassociate its work from civic reform. In planning a meeting in Philadelphia the local committee even selected the site with care. B. Antrim Haldeman, the chairman, wrote Nolen:

Our committee feels that at all the sessions, the luncheon and the dinner should be held at the Bellevue Stratford. There seems to be some objection to going to the City Club lest the enterprise be regarded as a "reform" movement.<sup>20</sup>

In the first two years, the Institute almost folded. In 1918, philosophical differences led Olmsted to recommend a reconsideration of the whole project declaring that it was "premature." He was responding to mounting complaints that "the meetings had not carried out the intent," "it was impossible to determine qualifications for membership . . . when there are no definite standards," and "the Institute is now doing propagandist work and is clearly open to criticism."<sup>21</sup> A year later, these problems somehow resolved, the Institute was nearly bankrupt. Its dues had never covered expenses and foundation aid had run out. It was forced to discontinue its magazine. Failing drastic measures, it would not survive. For Olmsted, the only solution was to open the ACPI membership rolls to anyone "experienced in any technical branch of the work which goes to make up city planning even though their grasp of comprehensive city planning as a whole may be quite limited at the time of their admission."<sup>22</sup> The main target was to be the municipal engineer because "engineers . . . have thus far shown themselves, in proportion to their numbers, less apt to grasp and to be influenced by the broad and comprehensive ideas of city plan-

ning than . . . the landscape architects and architects."<sup>23</sup>

Olmsted justified the move with a re-emphasis of the educational purposes of the Institute. He recognized, however, that the decision had important implications for the membership noting that a reduced standard:

implies a distinct renunciation, at least for a long time to come of any attempt to make membership in the Institute a criterion of general professional competence in city planning, in the sense of giving assurance that any member possesses a sufficiently comprehensive and well balanced understanding of the field as a whole to make him a safe director of work in any fairly comprehensive planning effort.<sup>24</sup>

As the period closed, the Institute was in a precarious position. Although its membership drive would be only moderately successful, a timely grant from the Russell Sage Foundation guaranteed the Institute's survival.<sup>25</sup> Still to be resolved was the issue of its role as an organization. Its members had to decide whether to make it a selective professional credentialing society, a small technical discussion group, or some combination of the two.

## 1920-1934: Planning becomes a profession

Planning blossomed in this period. For the first time America's urban population was a majority. The city dwellers experienced unprecedented prosperity measured by all time high personal income and a rapidly rising level of car ownership.<sup>26</sup> The new wealth and mobility put enormous demands on city governments which experienced new waves of suburban growth and stress on internal infrastructure. They were desperate for advice on how to manage these changes. In this climate, city planning, especially as it came to be defined in the twenties, made sense to municipal leaders.

Cities of all sizes hired consultants to create long term plans, now called master plans, emphasizing the central business district and transportation system improvements.<sup>27</sup> Regional planning was cultivated through the well publicized work of the Committee on the Regional Plan for New York and its Environs and the Regional Planning Association of America's experiments with new housing forms and garden cities at Sunnyside and Radburn.<sup>28</sup> Implementation strategies, especially zoning, were gaining favor after the landmark U.S. Supreme Court case, *Euclid v. Ambler*.<sup>29</sup> Further encouragement for local planning came from the U.S. Department of Commerce through its circulation of the standard state enabling acts for planning and zoning legislation.<sup>30</sup>

By 1927, almost four hundred American cities had planning commissions. Frequently, volunteer citizens acting in an advisory capacity staffed them. Only a few municipalities employed full time planners. Many local governments, however, periodically hired planning consultants to solve specific technical problems. For this reason then, the dominant type of planner was the private practitioner. Since there were only a few such specialists, the business was limited to a handful of firms. Among the busiest were the offices of John Nolen, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., Harland Bartholomew, and George B. Ford.

The consultants used the ACPI to fortify their own work. In the process, they developed a clear but limited definition of the character of the profession. By constructing stricter membership requirements, expanding services, creating university programs, and organizing periodic meetings, they slowly increased the usefulness of the ACPI. As in the earlier period, these advances were not achieved without deep struggles. The always shaky financial conditions continued to affect their activities. The membership requirement debates best illustrate the earliest planners' view of the profession. Opposing factions debated the meaning of the affiliation. Some, like Thomas Adams, were adamant that the Institute be a society providing credentials not a promotional group. Adams, who was a surveyor by training, was long experienced in organizational development. He had been the first secretary of the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association (founded in 1913), manager of Letchworth, and a founding member and first president of the British Town Planning Institute. Consequently, he had a clear vision of the ACPI as a professional society. In the midst of one of the bitterest exchanges he stated his views to John Nolen:

I thought we had already agreed that the Institute should, as soon as possible, achieve the position of being a technical institute, in which the members should be practicing city planners. I think that if it is merely to be an association for an exchange of ideas and experience then we should call it a debating society not an Institute.<sup>31</sup>

Furthermore, Adams feared that city planning would never become a profession unless its American practitioners, as had their English counterparts, seized the opportunity to control entry. He wrote:

No profession is so open as City Planning to the danger of being watered down to dilettante level by groups of amateur civic reformers and untrained exponents of civic improvements. Everybody in a sense is a city planner . . . (Yet) City planning needs to be developed as a science. Practice is the basis, for it is the means by which we get our real knowledge.<sup>32</sup>

On the opposing side, George B. Ford, an architect and vice president of the successful Technical Advisory Corporation, was much less concerned with professional development. He favored no objective standard other than personal merit. All should be members, he declared, so long as "they can give fully as much as they get from the roundtable discussions. I would even go so far as to recommend that the by-laws should contain no specific qualifications for membership." Ford's views derived from his broad definition of city planning which he saw as "far too varied and comprehensive in its ranges to make it possible or even desirable to create a distinct technical profession."<sup>33</sup>

In turn, Adams, who by this time was director of the New York Regional Plan, repeated his view. Far from being unsure of the ability of city planning to hold its own as a profession, he considered the ACPI as a guardian of its growth:

There is one fundamental difference between the attitudes of some of the members on this matter. Some of us are looking to the future and considering how the Institute will recruit its membership and become a powerful professional body. Others are allowing their attitudes toward the future be influenced by the fact that a few now preaching are exceptions to the rules proposed to be laid down for the future. I do not see why these exceptions cannot be provided for and thereby permit us to draw up a classification of members based on sound general principles . . . Unless this is done there will be no encouragement for men to train themselves as city planners.<sup>34</sup>

Adams went on to argue forcefully for a firm distinction between practicing planners and administrators. Membership in the ACPI would signify the certification of a planners' having reached the "highest standard of competency."<sup>35</sup>

Ultimately Adams won. In 1927, an amended ACPI constitution specified four membership classes. A full member would have prior technical training in architecture, landscape architecture, and engineering or "special attainments" in city planning and three years experience. A legal member was a lawyer who specialized in zoning. An associate could "be without special professional qualifications" and an honorary member was a distinguished person having an interest in planning. A junior level was established to involve younger but less experienced members. Only the full and legal members had voting privileges. Further tightening occurred by 1931, when a candidate for full membership had to have had eight years of experience. All prospects had to be nominated and endorsed by existing members.<sup>36</sup>

In 1925, the Institute agreed to sponsor a journal, *City Planning Quarterly*. It had the impossible task of

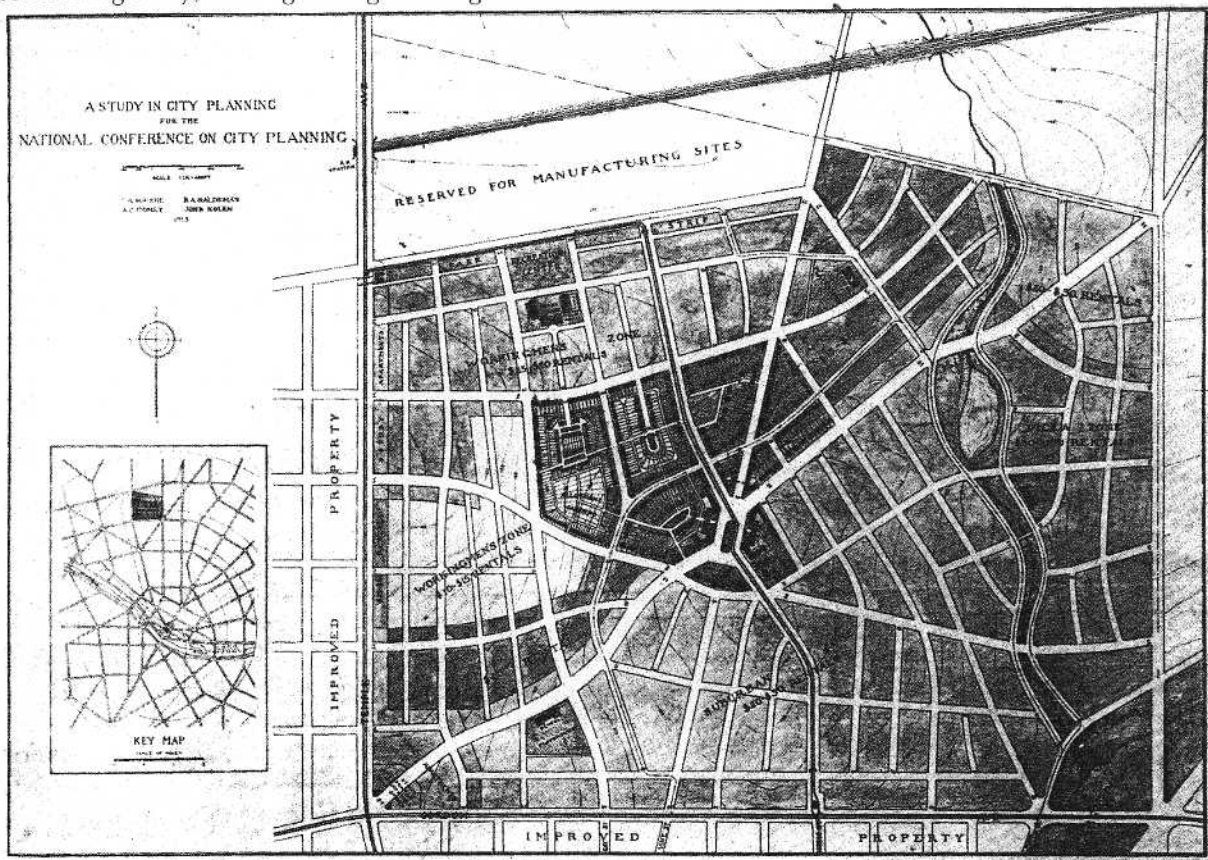


serving "practitioners and students of city planning, municipal officials and city planning committees," and acting as a newsletter for the Institute.<sup>37</sup> Both the NCCP and ACPI (who shared the same treasury) agreed to fund it for two years, donating \$4,000. Harvard professor Henry V. Hubbard, a charter member of the ACPI, acted as editor. Relative to income, this was a large commitment for the organizations for the Institute collected less than \$900 in dues and the NCCP, about \$2,500. Out of this sum, they paid Shurtleff \$3,000 and spent \$1,500 to publish the conference proceedings. By 1927, *City Planning* was bringing in only about \$1,000, but the NCCP-ACPI continued to subsidize it.<sup>38</sup>

The Institute moved only gradually toward taking a stand on professional issues such as education. *City Planning* surveyed university instruction and, of course, reported some details of first degree program started at Harvard in 1929. But the Institute as a group only offered informal advice and friendly criticism.<sup>39</sup> However by 1930, the Board of Governors did take up the matter by passing a resolution declaring that the schools of city planning be urged to arrange their courses with a basic training in architecture, landscape architecture, and municipal engineering.<sup>40</sup> Increasingly the group was acting as a professional society by laying claim for a specialized skill, controlling entry, and regulating training. There

is no mention at this time of ethical codes.

Over time, the Institute meetings became increasingly elaborate. Like other professional societies, the ACPI aimed to "promote fellowship among its members."<sup>41</sup> It is clear that participants enjoyed the convivial as much as the educational aspects. The twentieth conference, for example, was especially noteworthy. Opening in Fort Worth, Texas, it included auto tours of the park system and a new subdivision, and a gala dinner at the local country club. The following day, it moved to Dallas where conferees viewed the accomplishments of the Kessler Plan Association, a private group supporting a 1910 master plan, visited another suburban subdivision, and again dined at the country club. They spent the next three days in serious roundtable discussions, with zoning issues dominating the schedule. They then traveled to Kansas City where ACPI founding member J.C. Nichols guided them through that city's notable projects, most of them built by Nichols' company. Hilarity often softened even the business proceedings. Although reports of these events are few, a description of one gives some hint: "An exhaustive paper on 'Light—Modern Standards and Ancient Law' by Lawrence Veiller was distinguished by his tossing each sheet as read over his shoulder in the style of Theodore Roosevelt and by witty stories and remarks."<sup>42</sup>



An entry to a city planning competition at the 1913 National Conference on City Planning  
 Source: Olin Library, Cornell University

The twentieth conference was also marked by great jubilation as the NCCP and ACPI celebrated the anniversary year. NCCP President John Nolen presented a long list of accomplishments concluding "What does the record of the twenty years mean? . . . First that those who have worked for city planning . . . have done well."<sup>43</sup>

The optimism of the late twenties did not last long. By the end of 1927, the NCCP and ACPI were again in debt. The Russell Sage Foundation rescued them once more by extending a small grant to create a Planning Foundation of America. This foundation (which had to raise matching funds) was to aid in the training of planning administrators and issue technical advice to municipalities. Although Russell Van Nest Black, a young planner who had worked on the 1925 San Francisco Regional Plan, was hired as a field service representative, the foundation never got off the ground.<sup>44</sup> The funds tided the NCCP-ACPI over for a short time.

The Depression put an end to this temporary reprieve. At first, planners were particularly hard hit by the disaster. Cities, asked to provide emergency relief for the thousands of unemployed, were soon bankrupted. In these circumstances, municipal planning became a luxury, easily eliminated, for local government leaders perceived it as an unnecessary service. Concurrently, some nationally known figures such as historian Charles Beard, economist Stuart Chase, labor leader John L. Lewis, and industrialist Gerard Swope, called for a new kind of central planning to direct economic activity. Their views, suggestive to some of the unpopular Russian communism and considered radical by many, represented a far broader interpretation of planning than was generally accepted by the practitioners involved in the NCCP and ACPI, whose aim had been to promote local and land oriented matters. Ultimately, the associations did not survive this chaotic period. Traditional foundation and dues support dried up. By 1933, the financial situation became so grave that the associations were forced to begin re-organization procedures.

Although financial difficulties stimulated the organizational reassessment, there were other reasons spurring the change. The battery of New Deal programs created to meet the emergency had begun to transform the planning movement.<sup>45</sup> No longer was it composed solely of citizen supporters and private consultants. Now, it included an ever enlarging body of public administrators, only some of whom were technical planners. They had new needs which the old organizations could not meet. Ultimately three planning associations evolved: a reorganized ACPI, the American Society of Planning Officials (ASPO), and the American Planning and Civic Association (APCA). This three pronged structure would remain with few changes until the 1978 merger.

Under the presidency of Jacob Crane, a young Illinois state planner, the Institute faced the issue of its own survival. Crane appointed a committee headed by Russell Van Nest Black and including a mixture of old timers (Arthur C. Comey and Harold M. Lewis) and newer members (Charles Eliot, II, and Frederick Bigger) to study the bleak alternatives. After several, soul-searching months they firmly recommended a "complete divorcement of Conference and Institute." They repeated the vision of the Institute as a "technical society" which would "advance planning knowledge and the standards of planning practices" and promote "the general interests of the profession and its members." They rejected any suggestion that it undertake "propaganda and education work." By so delimiting the Institute, the committee had two motives. The first was to reaffirm a basic commitment to the professionalization of planning. The second was to achieve financial retrenchment, for above all, they wanted to maintain its independence.<sup>46</sup>

In addition, the Committee presented a thoughtful implementation plan. First, they recommended that the ACPI become the American Institute of City and Regional Planning. Their efforts to change the title represented their recognition of the expansion of the field and an effort to capture all who were performing planning work, whether it be urban or rural.<sup>47</sup> They now were defining their exclusive skill as a process, untied to a specific geographic location, but still focused on land use:

The field of planning and of planning practice has expanded to a point where 'city' has no real descriptive significance. The word planning has come into such extensive usage as to require descriptive qualification. Inclusion by specific name of all the fields of physical planning is impracticable. It would seem that some such inclusive term as regional be used.<sup>48</sup>

The title change recommendation would touch off a lengthy bitter debate which would not be resolved until 1938 when the organization finally agreed to be called the American Institute of Planners.<sup>49</sup>

A second important change was in the administrative organization. First, the president was to be elected by the membership as a whole rather than by the board of governors. Second, the secretary-treasurer became an elective office separate from the executive secretary. (These two positions would be joined in 1971 with unfortunate results.)<sup>50</sup> Third, the Board was reduced in size—a device to make it a working rather than approving board—and the executive secretary, a salaried employee, was to serve the ACPI exclusively. (By these methods, the committee hoped to engage the growing membership in the governance, and to focus the secretary on the



limited scope of Institute activities. By implication, the Committee was criticizing Shurtleff's inability to keep the NCCP and ACPI separate.) Fourth, dominance of the organization by the large number of members from the northeast was to be counteracted by having an informal regional representation on the board of governors and a meeting schedule locating the sessions in different geographic sections.<sup>51</sup> Fifth, the *City Planning* quarterly was not to continue but another publication would take its place. (Although *City Planning* had been valued as a "house organ," its glossy, picture-filled format was deemed extravagant.) It was to be replaced by a "monthly bulletin of a more current content and more technical nature."<sup>52</sup>

All in all, the committee fashioned an Institute that did not differ substantially in form from its predecessor, the affiliate of the NCCP. With its focus sharpened through a strict circumscribing of its activities, it was still a professional society. As in the past, members would participate in all matters of policy and administration. With the adjustments, it emerged as a more democratic but still quite self-conscious organization. But as they developed the organizational structure, they redefined the field.

The ACPI reorganization occurred relatively smoothly. There had been some dispute at one three hour meeting at which members discussed incorporating with the newly formed ASPO. But ultimately, ACPI leaders dismissed the suggestion on the basis of political neutrality, declaring: "a technical society could not profitably merge with administrators, particularly administrators who might be in office for only a short time."<sup>53</sup>

The planning triad was complete by the end of 1934. The American Planning and Civic Association (APCA) resulted from a consolidation of the NCCP and the American Civic Association. Based in Washington, D. C., and directed toward the general public, its first president was Frederick Delano, the seventy year old uncle of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and member of the important National Resources Board. Although Delano had a successful business career as president of the Chicago-based Wabash Railroad, he was closely involved with planning. He was one of the prime financiers of the 1909 Chicago Plan, a trustee of the Russell Sage Foundation (and a member of its Committee on the Regional Plan of New York), and he had served as chairman of the National Capital Park and Planning Commission for many years. Harlean James, of the American Civic Association was named executive secretary, a position she would hold for over twenty years.<sup>54</sup> Later, the APCA would be absorbed into Urban America, which later would merge with the Urban Coalition to form the National Urban Coalition.

The second organization, the American Society of Planning Officials, was the brainchild of Louis

Brownlow and Harold Buttenheim. Brownlow, a former city manager and consultant to the City Housing Corporation Inc. (sponsor of Radburn, the aborted garden city effort), was head of the newly formed Public Administration Clearing House (PACH). Amply funded by the Spelman Fund, PACH had been created under the tutelage of Charles E. Merriam, famed University of Chicago political science professor and one time good government mayoral candidate.<sup>55</sup> Buttenheim, editor of the *American City Magazine*, active in local town planning efforts in New York and New Jersey, and angered by his rejection for full membership in the ACPI, had long been deeply concerned with the need to educate municipal administrators.<sup>56</sup> Both he and Brownlow had known each other for years, as members of the New York City "Snag Club," a group which met monthly to discuss planning problems.<sup>57</sup>

ASPO arose quickly because of the pivotal positions of its sponsors. Merriam, a trustee of the Spelman Fund, knew personally of the critical needs of the area and was eager to finance projects improving public administration. At the time, he was participating in the highest levels of New Deal policy making. A long-time friendship with Harold Ickes, who had been his campaign manager in his first mayoral attempts, led the newly appointed public works administrator to call on Merriam for advice in setting priorities for his budget. Merriam, who brought in Brownlow, made countless trips to Washington, D.C., and was ultimately responsible for the creation of the National Resources Board—the National Resources Planning Board (NRPB) after 1939. Under the NRPB, a massive network of state and city planning boards developed throughout the nation.<sup>58</sup> Thus ASPO arose to provide the technical advice needed to implement the national planning strategies. It also sought to assure locals that planning was a legitimate and democratic function.<sup>59</sup>

Merriam left the creation of ASPO to Brownlow. Brownlow formed an association quite different in its governance from the ACPI. He provided for a strong executive director and weak membership participation. Membership qualifications were simple. Public officials, elected or appointed, were eligible. Membership carried no significance, for the Association was a service group with clearly articulated functions: to educate, conduct practical research, and exchange information for the benefit of the planning administration.<sup>60</sup> Brownlow's heavy handed organizational style may have been one of the reasons why the ACPI chose to remain independent when confronted with the choice of a well funded ASPO affiliation or impoverished independence.<sup>61</sup>

As 1934 drew to a close, the planning movement had taken on a dramatic new form. However, many questions remained. With the New York base relin-

quished, the ACPI had yet to find a new headquarters and an executive director. Although its members' morale was high, for its last "meeting demonstrated a high degree of interest, *esprit de corps*, and pride in the Institute as a select and valuable technical society," its minimal income of less than \$2,000 severely limited its choices.<sup>62</sup> The newcomer ASPO was in better condition. It moved into the PACH offices, a red brick school house adjacent to the University of Chicago at 850 East Fifty-eighth Street and had a treasury containing a \$20,000 Spelman Fund grant and \$1,000 in dues.<sup>63</sup> Yet its board of governors had not chosen their executive secretary and the success of the organization hinged on the selection of a strong leader.

### 1935 to 1945: Ten years of growth and self-discovery

Although the division of the movement would classify its supporters in ways which would soon be unrealistic, the creation of the three associations met many contemporary needs. In the next few years, planning flourished under wider governmental support than it had ever experienced. (This expansion would be cut short in the early forties with the onset of World War Two, the elimination of the NRPB, and the dismantling of other New Deal programs.) Nonetheless, prior to the war, planners fared well in the federal experiments, particularly the development of the Greenbelt towns, the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the creation of the NRPB state planning network, and the initiation of Works Progress Administration public housing and slum clearance programs. In essence, the nation became a practitioner's laboratory. The field expanded quickly. In 1942, an all time high of 1200 attended the National Conference as membership in the two associations reached about one thousand. Five universities offered degree programs, and there was a declared shortage of trained professionals.<sup>64</sup>

At this time, the associations followed their clearly designated paths. Both ASPO and ACPI (later AIP) had overlapping memberships. Leaders of one group tended to be leaders in the other; yet there was a perceived division between the two groups which would become increasingly unrealistic. During this time, ASPO, with its ample budget, stable administrative structure, and well defined mission, had a major impact on the spread of local planning. While the ACPI, with far fewer resources, showed some progress in accepting its responsibilities to define planning as a profession.

In 1935, former Detroit planning director Walter Blucher became the executive secretary of ASPO. Blucher was a lawyer who had been involved in the

field since 1919 when the Detroit Planning Commission hired him in a stenographic position. While working for the planning commission, he had attended law school at night, learned drafting from his roommate (an engineer), and read all the planning books in the Detroit city hall.<sup>65</sup> Avowedly practical and disarmingly blunt, his byword was "it takes imagination and guts to plan." As executive director, he immediately set out to hawk his brand of planning to local government. He based his strategy on the belief that "what was called planning in those days came from the East and was hardly recognized by anyone west of Buffalo." To sell planning, he believed, "People had to trust you. They did not want any high falutin' language. [And] when they saw we were on a practical level, they came in for services."<sup>66</sup>

As part of its services, ASPO continued to sponsor the annual conference on city planning, which had an average attendance in those years of about 500. The meeting remained the major public forum, attracting such speakers as Charles Eliot II (director of the National Resources Planning Board), Lewis Mumford (noted author and historian), Charles Merriam, and Rexford Tugwell, (city planning director for New York City and later head of the Resettlement Administration).<sup>67</sup> Yet despite the conference discussion of all streams of contemporary planning, ASPO remained basically oriented to the local level. In 1936, ASPO president Alfred Bettman, the Cincinnati lawyer who had written an influential *amicus curiae* brief for *Euclid v. Ambler* and a noted authority on zoning, clearly stated what would be the major aim of ASPO activities:

The tremendous interest in national planning and state planning by virtue of the prestige which of course national action always carries with it and of the men who have engaged in it and the novelty of it, the somewhat thrilling size and magnitude of it and its ideals has tended rather to overshadow city planning. That is something we must counteract because no skill, no high degree of thought, no degree of thoroughness in national, state or interstate planning will provide for the social welfare of the American people unless local planning be kept alive and growing and made effective.<sup>68</sup>

To further these objectives, ASPO developed a special field service. Blucher and his assistants, Charles B. Bennett (a city planner who had worked for the Milwaukee and Los Angeles planning commissions) and Hugh Pomeroy (a brilliant zoning expert) put together what has later been called an impressive "road show."<sup>69</sup> Dispensing a mixture of salesmanship and expert advice, they traveled throughout the nation at a rapid pace. In 1938, Bennett, for example, had a typical assignment in a month long trip to the South. At one point, he had nine meetings in nine





Walter Blucher at the Minneapolis National Conference on Planning, 1938  
Source: Olin Library, Cornell University

South Carolina cities in four and one-half days.<sup>70</sup>

In addition to the field service, ASPO had extensive clearing house activities. In 1937, Blucher, who kept a tally for the Spelman Fund, reported that his small staff wrote 2,500 general letters, 30,000 form letters, answered 251 . . . inquiries . . . and sent out 16 bulletins, in addition to the monthly newsletter." (There were also 43 field trips that year).<sup>71</sup>

By 1938, ASPO and its fifteen sister organizations had outgrown their offices. The Spelman Fund financed the construction of what came to be known as the "1313 building," a multi-story gothic structure adjoining the University of Chicago campus.<sup>72</sup> When ASPO moved from its "three boxlike cells" to "four large offices" Blucher felt he could handle his 600 member constituency with more efficiency and grace.<sup>73</sup> Unlike ACPI, ASPO drew its members from the South, Midwest, and far West and Blucher made the "1313" offices a meeting place for them.<sup>74</sup>

Finally in the early forties, ASPO undertook educational training programs. Hoping to meet the "unparalleled demand for planning technicians creating one of the most serious . . . planning problems of 1943," ASPO used federal financing to establish short programs for lower level administrators.<sup>75</sup>

By 1942, some of the ASPO work was showing progress. In that year, the International City Managers Association published a study of municipal planning. It revealed that of the 412 American cities with populations greater than 25,000, more than 70 percent had planning agencies and zoning ordinances. However, only 22 percent had full time employees.<sup>76</sup> In offering technical advice, Blucher had analyzed the situation correctly.

During this period, the American City Planning Institute increased its efforts to formalize the outlines of the rapidly changing profession. With a larger,



Hugh Pomeroy of ASPO Field Service and past president of AIP  
Source: Olin Library, Cornell University

younger, and iconoclastic membership challenging older definitions of planning, the Institute again engaged in heated debate. At the same time, its budget, about \$1,800 in 1934, limited its services to a modest mimeographed journal.<sup>77</sup> Since the Institute was in effect a "mailing organization" its executive secretary and headquarters could be located anywhere. Harvard's offer of rent free space stemming from professor Henry V. Hubbard's long time ACPI involvement, the excellent library assembled by Hubbard's wife, Theodora Kimball, and the highly regarded city planning research coming from the University's city planning department, made the association with Harvard attractive.<sup>78</sup> Howard Menhinick, a Hubbard protégé and assistant professor of city planning, became executive secretary and, for "purposes of economy and convenience," editor of the *Planners' Journal*.<sup>79</sup> With Menhinick's appointment, the Institute began a twenty year association, broken only for a short period in the forties, with Cambridge and the departments of city planning at Harvard and MIT.

Until 1938, the name change issue dominated all the ACPI meetings. The argument, of course, was deeper than a mere adjustment of title. Nonetheless, as an ever present source of contention, it led to a diversion of more serious Institute activity. At one point, President Russell Van Nest Black was so weary of the issue that he wrote:

I am embarrassed for us that so large a proportion of Institute activity has been in search of an identifying appendage of impossible perfection. We seem momentarily to have forgotten that it isn't the name that imparts the perfume to the rose.<sup>80</sup>

Coupled with the name change was the question of membership requirements. The age old issue of pro-

fessionalization versus propagation was an underlying theme. Some felt the Institute would lose vital input by excluding those who did not meet the eight year work experience requirement. Others, including Black, wished "by intelligent membership requirements, intelligently administered [to] arrive at a point where Institute membership becomes a real badge of professional competency."<sup>81</sup> The arguments were echoes of those of the mid-twenties. As in the earlier period, the professional wing won and strict membership requirements remained.

While the name change and the membership debates were temporarily resolved by the end of the thirties (when the Institute became the American Institute of Planners), the issue of the definition of planning continued to reappear. In 1941, the editor of the *Journal* would still ask "Has the question 'What is planning' been adequately met? The answer is an emphatic 'no'."<sup>82</sup> Nonetheless, the Institute continued to struggle on and attempted to answer the question through its increasingly complicated committee structure.

The most active group, the Committee on Professional Education and Personnel, was chaired by the hardworking Henry Hubbard. Producing three reports in rapid succession between 1936 and 1937, it began the hands off tradition regarding university programs which the Institute would follow for many years.<sup>83</sup> While the committee outlined the necessary features of a professional planning education, it fell short of establishing accrediting criteria.

The Committee's reports served to document the evolving nature of planning. In 1936, they defined the field as:

The application of forethought to the affairs of civilization and that city planning, regional plan-



Harland Bartholomew addressing the ACPI Chicago, 1938  
Source: Olin Library, Cornell University

ning etc. is the process as it applies . . . to whatever geographic unit is concerned.<sup>84</sup>

For the first time, planners stated that social sciences, notably economics and sociology, should be included in the training. In addition, they suggested that master's degree candidates could come from the liberal arts as well as from design, legal, or engineering fields. By the end of an "ideal planning program," the graduate would have an "irreducible minimum of planning training" which would include a comprehensive view of problem solving, mastery of one single subject area, a methodological base for evaluating data and an understanding of "the power of creative comprehensive designs, always including but seldom primarily, esthetic design."<sup>85</sup>

Halting far short of recommending ACPI accreditation, the Committee recommended that the Institute act as a friendly watchdog, putting pressure on a few universities to institute comprehensive curricula, working with the schools to help staff the programs, and encouraging the government to have a proper set of civil service tests for measuring competence in planning. Ultimately, the ACPI was to "keep in full and complete touch with the universities and the government agencies employing planners and make diplomatic, but authoritative, creative suggestions when needed."<sup>86</sup>

The Education Committee was continually active through the early forties. Although its personnel changed somewhat, Hubbard and Frederick Adams (the son of Thomas Adams and a professor of planning at MIT) were always present. By 1945, the Committee fashioned a definition of planning which would hold until 1967. They described it as a concern for:

the unified development of urban communities and their environs and of states, regions and the nation as expressed through the determination of the comprehensive arrangement of land uses and occupancy.<sup>87</sup>

The Committee on Legislation also acted on important issues. In addition to informing members about pertinent legislative proposals, it advanced policy recommendations which anticipated future activities. Since, for much of the period, the Committee was headed by Alfred Bettman, the author of the ASPO-sponsored *Draft Legislation on Urban Redevelopment*, the planners worked on proposals which foreshadowed the 1949 Housing and Slum Clearance Act. Also, they drafted tentative legislation for federal aid for local planning and for the creation of a federal department of urban affairs.<sup>88</sup>

The AIP remained in Cambridge for seven years. Howard Menhinick had resigned in 1938 to work for the TVA and his replacements were Harold Lautner,



executive secretary, and Frederick J. Adams, editor of the *Journal*. When they resigned in 1941, the AIP was left without a headquarters. Eventually, Walter Blucher, an AIP member as well as ASPO executive director, gave the Institute space and the part-time services of his assistant, Barbara Terrett.<sup>89</sup>

The Institute was inactive in this period. The war took everyone's attention. The *Journal* lapsed for about a year and a half, and several meetings were cancelled. One quarter of the membership was in the armed forces.<sup>90</sup> By 1944, the AIP bounced back. It returned to Cambridge where it was housed at MIT and managed by Draveaux Bender, executive secretary, and Paul Opperman, editor of what was now called the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*. With the resumption of the *Journal*, the group again struck a hopeful, allegory filled note:

The goals of our professional society are, we believe firmly, becoming clear and convictions are forming which seem to strike a more positive note. Whether the Institute can weather the storm on its own "inner sea"—not to speak of the hurricane ranging on the wider ocean—remains to be seen. Certainly all will agree, a firm hand at the helm is a major and urgent need, but not a bit less important are teamwork and good will on the part of the entire ship's crew if we are to reach port.<sup>91</sup>

## 1946 to 1960: The explosion of planning

In the immediate postwar years, America experienced important demographic changes. For the first time, suburban growth far outpaced inner city expansion. Regional shifts occurred as millions of people migrated west and an almost equal number left the South.<sup>92</sup> Mass-produced residential developments such as Levittown, Long Island, shopping centers, and ribbons of new high speed highways became regular features of the suburban landscape.<sup>93</sup> Islands of public housing, acres of slums replaced by glittering office buildings, parking lots, and, again, the ever present highways became the new central city image. Federal programs, in particular the 1949 Housing Act and its subsequent amendments, the 1956 Federal Highway Act, and Federal Housing Administration policy helped to create this scene.<sup>94</sup> Planning was involved but not central to the transformation. Initially neither of the new acts incorporated the field. The Housing Act included redevelopment but had no planning provisions until 1954 when it did require comprehensive municipal plans prior to funding.<sup>95</sup> At that time, it also created the "701" grants to fund local planning. The highway act gave minimal recognition to planning until 1962 when it mandated that major cities seeking funds have "comprehensive, co-ordinated, and continuous transportation plans."<sup>96</sup>

In keeping with their divergent functions, the AIP and ASPO met these changes with varying degrees of success. For ASPO, the new programs as well as the explosive suburban growth opened new opportunities from which the Association profited as much by intent as by accident.

For fifteen years ASPO had received a substantial portion of its budget from the Spelman Fund. In 1949, however, the Fund was dissolved and ASPO was left to fend for itself. The situation was not so desperate as it appeared, for over time, the grant had become an increasingly smaller proportion of the expanding ASPO budget.<sup>97</sup> To fill in the gap Blucher, who remained as executive director until his resignation in 1954, raised dues and expanded services.

Two new services became one of the most important ASPO contributions to planning. In 1949, Blucher created the Planning Advisory Service (PAS) and the *Zoning Digest*. (By 1956, his successor, Dennis O'Harrow, former Youngstown, Ohio, planner, would add *Jobs in Planning*, an enlarged version of the long-established employment service.) The PAS and the *Zoning Digest*, sold on a subscription basis, would generate 65 percent of ASPO's income by 1958.<sup>98</sup>

The services, particularly the PAS, had an enormous impact on local planning practices. A subscribing agency would receive twelve technical reports annually. The narrowly focused reports dealt with nitty gritty topics. The first one, for example, was "Building Lines, Mapped Streets, Setbacks, Front Yards." However, taken as a group, they began to form a body of technical information which planners could call their own. This, of course, is a pre-requisite for a profession. The expertise defined by ASPO in the PAS statements would be quite different from the AIP view recorded in the *Journal*. The ASPO contribution tended to be piecemeal, not comprehensive, applied studies solving specific problems,<sup>99</sup> while the AIP input was comparatively more theoretical, less detailed, basic research investigating the limits of the field.<sup>100</sup> (Some have attributed a growing division between AIP and ASPO to these differing approaches while others have pointed to the contrasting organizational styles and purposes to explain the evolving roles of the two associations.)<sup>101</sup> Clearly, ASPO was oriented to service administrators eager for technical information to be used in directing the exploding metropolis, while the AIP was structured to assist the professional planner define his mission in contemporary society. At the same time, the earlier distinctions between administrators and technical planners were beginning to diminish as a larger number of planners were directly employed by the public sector.<sup>102</sup> Thus, planners and government officials alike turned to ASPO for assistance. By 1958, over 60 percent of all large American cities would be subscribers



to the advisory services.<sup>103</sup>

As the demand for the technical bulletins grew, Blucher, and later O'Harrow, increased the ASPO staff. By 1959, it had grown to seventeen. The research division would be an important breeding ground for later planning leaders. In addition, ASPO maintained very strong connections with the newly founded planning program at the University of Chicago, headed first by Rexford Tugwell (the former New Deal official) and later by economist Harvey Perloff. Based on the social sciences, the Chicago program would produce some of the most important leaders of the postwar planning movement. Through these activities ASPO, again, was assuming some professional responsibilities by contributing to the education of planners.<sup>104</sup>

Spurred by financial exigency, ASPO had also begun a membership drive. Its reduced membership requirements, as well as the increased popularity of planning, enabled the association to double its size so that by 1959 its roster numbered 3,000.

From within its membership, ASPO encouraged committee activity. In this period, however, these committees never had the same stature within the organization as the AIP groups, for the basic administration of ASPO was much less democratic. Members did not dictate association policy as they did in AIP.

ASPO continued to be a sponsor of the annual conference. The immediate postwar attendance of about 500 tripled to 1,650 by 1950. The program had over 70 separate meetings with more than 120 speakers and the events were covered by national media. ASPO further increased the visibility of planners by issuing monthly news releases to over 400 newspapers, magazines, and radio stations.<sup>105</sup>

While ASPO grew steadily without major internal difficulties, the AIP also increased its size but its expansion was accompanied by painful inner dissension. One reason for the difficulties was the speed with which AIP developed. Its growth rate was far greater than ASPO's and as a volunteer organization, it was less well-equipped to deal with the onslaught of new members. (Its 1945 membership of 240 exploded to 2,900 by 1960. Its meagre \$5,000 budget swelled to nearly \$100,000.<sup>106</sup>) Additionally, its expansion was due in large part to dramatic structural changes in the association.

In actuality, there were several sources for the growth. One was the 1948 incorporation of the independent California Planners Institute (CPI). Although differences in entrance requirements had prevented an earlier union, these problems were resolved by offering the westerners a grandfather clause. Nearly 150 Californians came into the AIP. With this merger the Institute became a truly national organization for the first time.<sup>107</sup>

The second source was the decision to create local chapters. Not a consciously planned strategy, it was pressed on the Institute by war-time hardships making national meetings impossible. The Institute encouraged local groups to meet informally. These sessions proved so valuable that the AIP, after its usual lengthy debates about the function of the organization, allowed them to continue as chapters under national supervision. The first chapters developed in Washington, Chicago, New England, and California.<sup>108</sup> By 1960 there would be seventeen. The chapter meetings provided ongoing professional exchange and would become a strong factor in membership allegiance to the AIP. Later the AIP, recognizing their value as aids to policy making, would create a chapter presidents council (CPC) to advise the Board of Governors. Still later, the Board of Governors would give the CPC voting representation in its deliberations.

The third source of expansion came from changed membership standards. In 1948, the Institute created a provisional membership category for planning students. The AIP reluctantly included this group responding to pressure from a group called the "Young Planners." Immediately after the Second World War, returning veterans, students, and younger AIP members began to express their dissatisfaction with the profession and the AIP's role in promoting it. This group, which included Martin Meyerson (later to be head of the MIT - Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies), Eric Carlson (later head of planning at the United Nations), and Stuart Chapin (author of the basic handbook *Urban Land Use Planning*), virulently attacked AIP conservatism. They called for membership procedures which would admit the public administrator and social scientist on an equal basis with the physical planner. They attacked the Institute for its failure to influence public policy and called upon it to open its ranks to younger people. The AIP quickly co-opted the group which by 1946 had begun to organize local divisions called Councils for Planning Action in New York, Boston, and New Haven. Old hands Frederick J. Adams and Walter Blucher endorsed their activities. Both the AIP and ASPO gave them sessions at their meetings. The *Journal* printed their complaints.<sup>109</sup> They passionately wrote:

Will this movement of young planners result in a vital and effective new planning organization or is it another youthful rebellion which will subside as its members become mature in civilian life or in the reality of a planning office? Whatever the answer is, one thing is certain: professional planning organizations have missed the boat in not making a welcome place in their ranks for the enthusiasm and fire of young ideas. Young planners have now set out to obtain for themselves what professional

organizations did not offer them: a sense of active participation and a focus for their idealism, a widening of planning vision to embrace allied fields, an opportunity to be effective as a body, inspiration in the use of modern publicity techniques, a dynamic program to put across the planning idea in America<sup>110</sup>

The Young Planners attracted a following—not all based on chronological age—and had a notable impact upon Institute activities. Energetic and idealistic, they joined AIP committees and set about promoting their beliefs. They stimulated moves to enhance the visibility of the profession. Some of the AIP responses were almost pathetic, if not misguided, such as the hiring of a public relations firm to improve the image.<sup>111</sup> Others were more purposeful. For example, by 1951 the Institute leaders began to investigate the possibility of moving the headquarters to Washington, D. C., and staffing it with a full time executive secretary. As always however, these efforts were delayed by the Institute's lack of resources.<sup>112</sup> Nonetheless, the AIP did begin to confront other professional issues with more vigor.

As part of the effort to re-invigorate the organization, the Board of Governors lured Perry Norton, a thoughtful young veteran from the Planning Department of the Chicago Housing Authority and former regional planner in Cleveland, to a part-time executive secretary's position with the promise of a faculty appointment at Harvard. His office was "a little bitty space . . . at the end of a drafting studio room at MIT." His staff was a part-time secretary who "spent a lot of time visiting friends." Nonetheless, Norton worked closely with successive AIP presidents, particularly John T. Howard, to make the Institute responsive to the demands of the expanding membership. After one year, the Governors made him a full time executive director and moved the headquarters to a new office on Brattle Street, near Harvard Square.<sup>113</sup>

Norton was an unusual choice for the AIP. A landscape architect by training and a practicing planner, he did not receive his Master's degree in City Planning until 1959, two years after his resignation as executive director. (The title had been changed during his tenure.) He was the first professional to be appointed in a long time, for in the more recent past the job had had little importance and had been held by secretaries, usually women.<sup>114</sup> Norton also served as editor of the *Journal*. In this latter capacity, he had great vision. He transformed it into a serious professional organ by soliciting substantial articles from both planners and non-planners. Soon it became the outlet for major basic research in the field.

As executive director Norton oversaw a variety of AIP activities. These ranged from facilitating membership procedures—the rolls went from about 800

to 1800 in his five year tenure—to prompting committee work.<sup>115</sup> In addition, he acted as liason between the AIP and its chapters, which were springing up all over the nation.

In this period, the Institute developed more policy positions than ever before. Although in 1950 President Frederick Adams had attempted to start what he called a "white paper" series of policy statements, only one was published. It was not until Norton officially carried out President Frederick J. Clark's directive to use the committees to "reach agreement on basic planning objectives and principles" that a significant number of statements were developed.

Working with twenty-six committees involving 135 people, Norton encouraged them to deal with important professional issues.<sup>117</sup> In 1956, the Committee on Education developed detailed criteria for a recognition program. This program was a follow up of two earlier reports ("The Content of Professional Curricula" and "Recommendations for an AIP Accrediting System") as well as two substantial educational studies written outside of the Committee (Frederick J. Adams' *Urban Planning Education in the United States* and Harvey Perloff's "Education of City Planners: Past, Present and Future") fell short of accreditation because of the Institute's continuing reluctance to propose "an iron-clad system as is used in other professions."<sup>118</sup> It did put some teeth into the evaluation procedures, allowing degrees in "recognized" schools to be used to reduce work experience requirements for membership.<sup>119</sup>

In conjunction with educational policy, AIP committees developed policies governing behavior and employment. By 1953, the Institute had adopted a general "AIP Code of Professional Conduct" and a more specific supplement, "Professional Consultants, Services and Fees."<sup>120</sup> It had also surveyed employment practices and circulated a job classification system outlining four levels of responsibility, with ranks



Early planners at work: John Black, Reg. Issacs, Eleanor Torell, Frank Weise, and Martin Meyerson in Chicago  
Source: Olin Library, Cornell University

from junior planner to executive director. This scheme would be commonly used for employment.<sup>121</sup>

In public policy areas, the urban redevelopment question received the most attention. The AIP's policy statements issued during the period repeated a common theme: the need to expand the comprehensive planning aspects of federal legislation.<sup>122</sup> Ultimately, the 1954 amendments to the Housing Act would include recommended provisions. Although the AIP was not directly responsible for their inclusion, it, along with ASPO, had long provided outlets for their discussion.

Despite the growth of AIP's membership and the increasing sophistication of its activities, Institute members continued the long tradition of self-examination. Countless *Journal* editorials asked the anguished question "What is planning?" again and again.<sup>123</sup> More frequently than in earlier periods, these questions would be stimulated as a result of the failure of implemented planning programs to reflect current theory. The more thoughtful practitioners responded with new theories. For example, when Martin Meyerson, then a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, studied urban renewal in Philadelphia, he found the long range planning ideas not applicable. He then developed what he called "a middle range bridge" to comprehensive approaches. As in the past, the AIP meetings and the *Journal* would provide a forum for new ideas. However, the Institute, though open for discussion, still failed to provide an official definition of planning.<sup>124</sup>

In his final report to the Board of Governors in 1957, Perry Norton censured the Institute for this failure because in his view it weakened AIP's attempts to develop as an effective professional association:

If one examines the documents of the American Institute of Planners, one of the things he discovers is that the Institute does not define planning. We have our statement of purposes. . . . This statement is very broad, but it was of little comfort to the Membership Committee and to the Board. . . . By raising this question, I don't mean to suggest that our stated purposes are necessarily too vague to be useful, but rather I ask them because the direction of the answers is somewhat critical to the future growth of the organization, as far as its broad social role is concerned.<sup>125</sup>

During the presidency of the energetic Louis Wetmore of Illinois, the Institute did commit itself to a new role. It was to become a more forceful proponent for planning by engaging in direct lobbying activities at the federal level. This policy led to the 1957 decision to move headquarters to Washington, D.C. It had been prompted by general discontent expressed by younger members, and by the capital's chapter

whose vocal member Carl Feiss (one-time head of the Community Planning and Development Branch of the Housing and Home Finance Agency) insisted that "the AIP belonged where the action was really at."<sup>126</sup> The Institute, at this point, was easily moved. The story of the event demonstrates the character of the organization and heightens appreciation for its accomplishments. As Norton reminisced:

We closed up shop—Cambridge. I hired a moving truck to get our equipment in. Went to the bank to close our account . . . a balance of \$5,000 or \$6,000. . . . I rented a car and loaded the vital books . . . and drove to Washington and met Bud (Dutton, the new executive director). . . . the Washington chapter hadn't found an office. I got there Friday night and the movers were due to arrive on Sunday morning. So all day Saturday the two of us were going around the city . . . trying to find a place to set up shop for the AIP. Finally, Bud got in touch with somebody he knew. . . . That somebody had . . . a possible basement suite but he could not see us until . . . Sunday morning for some reason. So Sunday morning, before we could meet him, the movers called. . . . [They] said, "We are some place in Maryland and will be there in about an hour. Where are we going?" We said, "When you get to such and such intersection, call us." In that intervening period we saw the place and . . . signed . . . on for it and we had a place to unload the stuff.<sup>127</sup>

With the Institute headquarters now located at 2400 Sixteenth St. N.W., Dutton took over management of the ever expanding membership and budget. He increased the staff, which would eventually number twelve. Although he continued to edit a newsletter, the *Journal* editorship was separated and placed on a rotating basis in a university, for the Institute wished its basic research function to continue. Dutton, however, was instructed to begin lobbying efforts in order to advance the organization's legislative interests. He was particularly active in open space and urban transportation efforts.<sup>128</sup>

In the last years of the period, the Institute created functional departments to replace some of the committees with permanent technically based divisions. This action was not simply an effort to make administration more efficient but a device to accommodate some of the growing separatist elements within the AIP.

The department suggestion had been advanced by the private consultants and supported by the educators, librarians, and researchers. The Board of Governors pondered the question for over two years. On one hand, they feared that separate groups would be divisive. On the other, they recognized the need to accommodate an increasingly diverse membership. Fi-



nally, Governor William Wheaton brought the issue to a vote by declaring:

Let's go ahead and get the Constitutional amendment for departments through. If the membership votes the darn thing down we're not going to have any other functional departments coming up in the near future. The librarians can get along, they're not pressing very hard, anyway. The educators said they don't particularly want it for themselves. The researchers don't show any more interest in this than they do in anything else.<sup>129</sup>

The departments did provide additional forums for certain groups and were successful in promoting technical developments, but they could in no way solve growing divisions, particularly the split between public and private practitioners.

### 1961 to 1978: The joining of the planning movement

The next few years were to continue the demographic trends of the postwar period. By 1970, more than 70 percent of the nation would be counted urban. However, the suburban/urban split, previewed in the earlier years, was intensified by its racial overtones. The civil disorders of the sixties and the ill-fated war in Viet Nam stimulated massive social protest deeply affecting all of American society. By the early seventies, this turbulence subsided. The nation turned to quality of life questions. It became concerned with environmental conservation, historic preservation, and the equitable delivery of basic human services. The era had commenced with a firm belief in human ability to control destiny through planning and the application of scientific management principles. This belief then gave way to a more limited view of what man could achieve in a complex world.

The optimism and tension of these years deeply affected the planning movement. The continuing attack on slum housing and urban renewal gave planners new opportunities to develop the field. Social policy planning was stimulated by the Great Society's "War on Poverty." Advances in transportation and other areas stemmed from the growing use of computers. New management methods such as "planning, programming and budgeting" were also adopted by planners. By the seventies, the planners gravitated to new concerns created by such federal legislation as the National Environmental Policy Act, the Health Resources Act, and the National Historic Preservation Act. As they moved in these directions, the belief that their methodology, not their subject matter, was their trademark, led planners to de-emphasize their focus on land use.

The associations, particularly the AIP, were shaken to their roots by these changes. As seen in the events of earlier periods, the planners involved in the new areas pressed the organizations to adjust their administration, membership policy, and even institutional definitions of purpose to meet contemporary needs.

Concurrently, the management of the associations, particularly AIP, became more independent of their constituencies. With budgets nearing a million dollars and memberships over ten thousand, organization staffs grew increasingly large and some of the administrative decisions made by the executive directors crossed into policy areas.<sup>130</sup> This was not a great change for ASPO, which had traditionally operated in this manner, but it was a complete turnabout for the AIP. The Institute did not benefit for it was hindered by a rapid turnover in executive directors—five in twenty years.<sup>131</sup> In addition, AIP membership continued to equivocate on the Institute's role leaving the executive directors without a strong sense of mission.

The upcoming AIP fiftieth anniversary stimulated a good deal of activity by the Institute. As early as 1960, president Charles Blessing had set 1967 as a target for re-assessment. Addressing the Board of Governors, he urged:

We should not pass up an opportunity to regroup our thoughts and perhaps our emotions and attitudes and make note of that year—that event—in a worthwhile, deepseated, thoughtful, philosophical approach to the event.<sup>132</sup>

Although all of the rather elaborate plans conceived at that time would not come to fruition, the anniversary year would be extremely significant for the AIP.<sup>133</sup> At that time, the membership voted on the first major amendment of the Constitution since 1938. It deleted that section of the purposes which pinned planning to land use.<sup>134</sup>

The Institute had come to this decision after a lengthy period of self-examination. In 1964, desiring to make the AIP more representative of its constituency, the Board of Governors appointed a five member ad hoc Committee on the Restatement of Purposes, headed Louis Wetmore, then professor of planning at the University of Illinois.<sup>135</sup> After months of labor, they presented their findings (based in large part on a 1965 AIP membership survey) at the 1966 annual meeting. Not surprisingly, they reported a new composite picture which showed planners engaged in a broad range of activities, encompassing social and economic as well as physical development in large area units, not just cities. In addition, they discovered that the era of the planning generalist had passed for most practitioners had become specialists.<sup>136</sup> These findings reflected the broadening field which articles in the *Journal* had been demonstrating

for over ten years.<sup>137</sup>

The constitutional amendment had many ramifications for the Institute, the most important being a complete reevaluation of the entrance requirements.<sup>138</sup> Earlier in the sixties, the AIP had streamlined admissions procedures; a reduction of the apprenticeship-like experience requirements, the introduction of an oral examination, preliminary screening by chapters, and the establishment of a National Membership Standards Committee (NMSC) had resulted. By 1969, however, the NMSC totally revamped the classifications to make them reflect the new vision of the Institute. Four classes, member, associate, intern, and affiliate were designated. Most importantly, a prospect for full member standing could now qualify even if he did not have a planning or design profession degree.<sup>139</sup> These changes were responsible, in part, for the great expansion of the membership, which by 1976 had doubled to 11,184.<sup>140</sup> (By that time the Institute again had re-evaluated its membership criteria. It tightened the full membership requirements by increasing the work experience requirement, and it loosened the associate category prerequisites thus making it a general membership category.) Of the 11,000 total, however, only about 4,000 were full members. The organization still retained an elite class.<sup>141</sup>

The changes resulting from the constitutional amendments were too radical for some, but too conservative for others. Perry Norton, chairman of a new committee on the Definition of Planning Practice, correctly diagnosed what would become a major source of dissension in the AIP. Really at issue, he held, was the Institute's attitude towards change. Norton observed:

Most of us who have been drawn into the profession of planning have come because we have reacted to disorder, confusion, inequity. . . . We are concerned with change. But *can* we safely generalize that this is a characteristic concern of the membership of the Institute? We know that many people, many towns and many agencies have espoused planning because it appealed to them as an instrument . . . to thwart change. We know that many professionals have worked most dilligently to assure their employers that planning is "safe" and that it is not about to upset any political entrenchments or profit-making applecarts. It is this condition which has prompted many to observe that we are a conservative lot. To do our work, it certainly is not necessary for us to fling ourselves in wild utopian abandon upon the sensibilities of men. But we more often err in the other directions. . . . I think fairly persuasive arguments could be made in [the] augmenting of the Institute. [Yet] the idea of working in the changemaking environment

will induce stress and complicate the forthcoming dialogue.<sup>142</sup>

Norton had diagnosed one of the internal struggles which seemed to occur with regularity throughout the AIP's history. In the mid-sixties, a group of younger planners including Walter Thabit (a practitioner in the New York metropolitan area) and Paul Davidoff (a lawyer and later head of the Suburban Action Institute, a group working against exclusionary zoning) formed the New York based Planners for Equal Opportunity (PEO). They believed that planners should become advocates for the clients they served, and that they should promote social change even if it meant that they would lose their traditional political neutrality. In addition, they felt that planners, singly and in groups, had a moral responsibility to take stands on public policy issues.<sup>143</sup> Their unhappy experiences with urban renewal programs which had failed to have meaningful citizen participation and their whole-hearted opposition to the war in Viet Nam prompted them to act.

This group, which attracted a following of about two hundred, had a profound effect on the Institute.<sup>144</sup> Like earlier dissident factions, it used traditional routes; it called for extension of the vote to associates and worked to place sympathizers in leadership positions. Paul Davidoff, for example, made an unsuccessful bid for the AIP presidency but was later elected to the Board of Governors. Additionally, the PEO would rate Institute candidates according to their policy statements.

Ultimately, the AIP responded to their pressure. It hired a staff member for advocacy planning. It gave the vote to the associate class. It opened a scholarship program, Aid to Minority Planning Students (AMPS).<sup>145</sup> President Walter Monasch broke with tradition and made an official statement opposing the war in Viet Nam.<sup>146</sup> All of these moves created a great deal of controversy within the Institute.

Throughout this period, the Institute expanded its activities. Among the new endeavors were more strenuous lobbying and active pursuit of research funds. In addition, the AIP continued to sponsor the *Journal* and the *Newsletter* but introduced new publications, the *Planners' Notebook* (a case study series), the *Planners' Roll Call* (a legislative summary), and later the *Practicing Planner* (a current practices magazine).

This growth generated a conflict between members and the national staff over finances and administration for the AIP expansion was extremely costly and revenues did not cover expenses. After 1966, the Institute operated at a substantial loss.<sup>147</sup> To offset the deficit, the Board of Governors authorized a dues hike, borrowing by the executive director, and the pursuit of grant funds. However, continuing financial pressure resulted in disputed membership policy

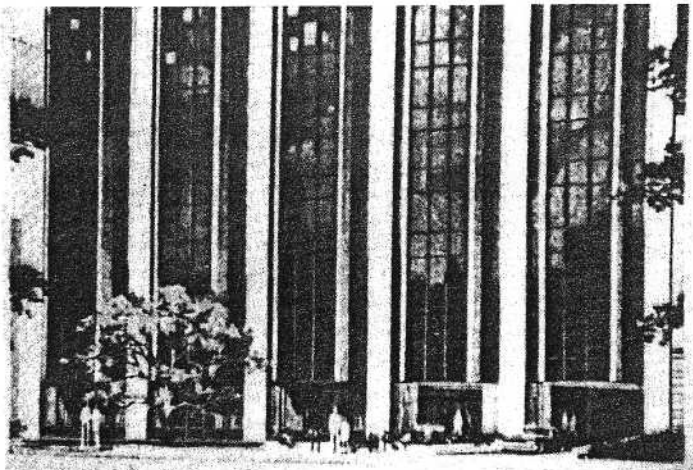




*Yorkship Village—site of the 1918 ACPI field trip  
and meeting  
Source: Olin Library, Cornell University*



*"1313"—ASPO's headquarters in Chicago  
Source: Olin Library, Cornell University*



*AIP's Dupont Circle office, Washigton, D.C.*

and even disagreements about the management of the *Journal*. In the latter instance, the Governors resisted headquarter's efforts to remove the publication from its university base.<sup>148</sup>

Despite the financial difficulties, the Institute continued its earlier tradition of developing policy statements. Since membership had become too large to allow direct participation, the AIP turned to new procedure: the planning policy conference attended biannually by chapter delegates. By 1974, the Institute had published a handbook, "National Planning Policy of the American Institute of Planners."<sup>149</sup> This document, which was stronger on some issues than on others, became the first comprehensive collection of AIP positions on national affairs.<sup>150</sup>

The AIP career oriented policies did not evolve so neatly as the positions on public issues. The Institute continued to debate about its basic objectives. A particularly difficult conflict developed among the public and private practitioners. Although dissension had been growing for a long time as planners were increasingly public sector employees, it became very severe in the late sixties when public planners, constituting 65 percent of AIP membership, became dominant. The private consultants were so frustrated by the Institute's failure to meet their requests that they abandoned the Private Practice Department for which they fought so hard earlier in the decade, and formed their own independent association, the American Society of Consulting Planners (ASCP). The ASCP immediately published a roster, a code of ethics, and a private practice manual.

This was not the first time a faction had formed a separate organization—the academics had created the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) a few years earlier—but it was the first time since 1934 that the practitioners were split so definitively. By 1970, the AIP viewed the action as a mistake and moved to mend the division by creating an AIP-ASCP liaison committee to "iron out some unfortunate issues . . . which have tended to divide the two organizations."<sup>151</sup>

Other internal disputes revolved around questions of entry and education. Liberal permissive stances of the sixties would give way to tightened approaches in the seventies. The accreditation and licensing cases are illustrative. The AIP did not follow the route of the major professions such as architecture, law, or medicine, but adopted positions similar to the minor ones, such as education and social work. While it would update its recognition procedures, it did not move to a strong accreditation program. In fact, it incorporated a highly unusual idea in educational evaluation by creating a supervisory group, the National Education Development Committee, having both AIP and non-AIP members.<sup>152</sup> Although the AIP reversed an earlier stance and began to develop

a registration system, it did not justify the decision with the conviction that it was supposed to lead in the qualifying of practitioners but acted out of fear that others such as the states or some federal agency would step forward to do so. As AIP president Robert C. Einsweiler reported: "The Board saw the Institute's options as either speeding up or slowing down the forces and trends."<sup>153</sup> Thus the AIP acted reluctantly and halfheartedly in defending the profession. As in the past, it always stopped short of hard-line policies definitively outlining the boundaries of the field. Nonetheless, a 1975 *Newsletter* report would promise more than would actually be achieved:

The AIP started on a path which hopefully can create a professionally tight circle to certify to the public both competency in planning practice and offer some way to determine who is a competent planner.<sup>154</sup>

By the early seventies, the AIP decided to change from an association to a corporation. As part of the process it adopted new bylaws which added important changes to the organization. Among them were a geographic representation plan for electing the Board of Governors, a procedure for enforcing the code of ethics, and the placing of the financial responsibilities in the hands of the executive director by eliminating the elective secretary-treasurer position.<sup>155</sup>

The new financial arrangements would be extremely important in the following years. For quite a while, the Board of Governors had established broad guidelines, (one and five year plans) for the budget, leaving the treasurer to prepare the details. These plans, which "were laundry lists of the many kinds of activities the AIP would pursue," ranked priorities. In the early seventies, national affairs (lobbying), advocacy of the poor and minority interests, and planning practice were the main concerns.<sup>156</sup> Institute resources would be directed to public policy rather than purely professional interest.

In accordance with the newly construed Institute purposes, the AIP headquarters were moved to a classy DuPont Circle address properly adjacent to other lobbying organizations and the staff was increased to twenty. In addition, the staff was increasingly drawn from a specialized group of public service administrators rather than planners.<sup>157</sup> The organization had become a big business. It had a 1.2 million dollar budget. The Board of Governors, who met only periodically during the year, began to lose touch with the full scope of AIP activities, so that in 1976, they were astonished to find that the Institute had accumulated a deficit of nearly one-half million dollars. An emergency retrenchment plan reduced staff and some services. Nonetheless, in 1977, the AIP had a projected income of about \$600,000 of which

half was to be used for administrative expenses and only one third for publications. This was a major change from twenty years earlier when the total budget was about \$28,000 and the major expenses were \$6,000 for the *Journal* and \$7,200 for the executive director.<sup>158</sup>

During this period, ASPO also changed but not so dramatically as AIP. Like the Institute, the organization grew explosively. By 1975, it had fourteen thousand members and a 1.5 million dollar budget. Although it provided essentially the same services, it would do so on a grander scale. It did add a rarely profitable contract planning component, undertaking administrative studies for Puerto Rico, Connecticut, and others.<sup>159</sup> Its nuts and bolts approach continued to be successful. In 1960, executive director Dennis O'Harrow explained that "while a good third of ASPO staff time is spent on one or another aspect of zoning," he could justify the effort:

This proportion does however mirror the proportion of time spent in local planning agencies, particularly in the smaller ones. And though planners might decry the efforts spent on zoning, no one has proposed an adequate or acceptable substitute for it. Therefore, so long as zoning retains its importance for planners and planning agencies, so long must ASPO activities reflect this importance.<sup>160</sup>

In these years, however, ASPO did begin to enlarge the scope of its activities. In 1962, it adopted a code of ethics; and although ASPO disclaimed any incursion on AIP grounds—"ASPO does not undertake to police ethics in the planning profession . . . ASPO seeks to promote ethics in planning"—the distinction was unclear at best.<sup>161</sup> Additionally, by 1966 ASPO had begun to develop its own formal policy statements, similar to those of the AIP. Finally, it had new publications—TAB, a published version of the job listings ASPO traditionally handled, and *Planning Magazine*, a broadly expanded and redefined version of the *Newsletter*. Although it did not attempt to develop any equivalent to the *Journal*, the service magazine would provide popular and topical information on contemporary practice.

In contrast to that of AIP, ASPO administrative style remained extremely stable. Up to 1978, it had only three executive directors. Israel Stollman (a former planning director of Youngstown, Ohio, and later head of the Department of City Planning at Ohio State University) became the third, after O'Harrow's untimely death in 1967.<sup>162</sup>

With its well defined organizational vision and its experienced administrators, ASPO adjusted more easily to the turbulence of the sixties than the AIP. For example, when dissident planners sought a forum, the association amended its bylaws, changing election procedures to allow for contested slates.<sup>163</sup> When so-

cial planning and then environmental issues became important, the PAS issued technical papers on the subjects. By 1970, 20 percent of its reports dealt with this area.<sup>164</sup> Finally, in the effort to recognize newly defined forms of citizen participation, ASPO opened a special membership category for those activists who did not hold political positions.

## The consolidation

Over the years, talk of joining the two organizations occurred with periodic regularity. In the early forties, with the Institute located in ASPO offices, tentative, but fruitless, efforts were made in this direction. In the fifties, during the AIP presidency of former ASPO executive director Walter Blucher, the issue arose but never moved forward. Serious note of the idea was not taken again until the end of the sixties. Even then promoters of a merger treated the idea gingerly. By the early seventies, the two organizations made the first firm commitment to the effort but then retreated. Finally, between 1976 and 1978, unique conditions, as well as the persistence of the leadership, turned the proposal into reality.<sup>165</sup>

Honest concern, doubt, and mutual suspicion characterized the activities of the ten years prior to the 1978 consolidation. Nonetheless, there was a pattern of slow but steady progress toward the goal. In the summer of 1968, leaders of the two organizations and of the National Association of Housing and Renewal Officials (NAHRO) met in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, to investigate areas of common interest. Nine hours of discussion led to the decision to initiate joint legislative and research efforts and to meet again in two years. The aim at this time was clear and simple: co-ordination.<sup>166</sup>

Attracted by the idea of cooperation, AIP acted in the next year to insure the idea's continuation. With the resignation of Robert Williams as executive director, AIP selected Thomas Roberts from over one hundred candidates to replace him. Roberts, a well regarded professional, provided an important link between ASPO and AIP based on his long friendship with ASPO's Israel Stollman. Both had begun their careers in the Youngstown, Ohio, planning department. Stollman welcomed Roberts enthusiastically declaring, "I look forward to working with Tom Roberts in continuing to build our strong alliance for planning."<sup>167</sup> In the next three years, the two men sought to create what they characterized as "not [a] merger of organizations but [a] merger of efforts."<sup>168</sup> Their model was the recent coalition of the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors, a union in which the organizations maintained separate identities but shared a combined services staff. The planners investigated the potential for joint conferences, research, legislative programs, publishing,



and regional offices. As they worked, the boards of governors met together informally. By 1970, the governors issued their first formal resolution, a motion dealing with the relatively neutral issue of federal support for minority planning training programs.<sup>169</sup>

Progress continued slowly and quietly. When Roberts resigned to resume practice, the AIP appointed John Joyner in his place. Joyner, a former planner, was most recently deputy director of the Office of Urban Services of the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the structure Roberts and Stollman had been attempting to emulate. Concurrently with the search for the director, the two boards enlarged the scope of previous efforts. Over the course of the year, 1972 to 1973, they agreed to and implemented Paul Davidoff's suggestion calling for the organizations "to investigate the possible areas of cooperation including the possibility of forming one joint organization." They appointed a Joint Task Force headed by Patrick Cusick (former officer of both groups) and including Davidoff, George Marcou (a former business associate of Joyner), and Philip Hammer (the ASPO president who had initiated the Gettysburg meeting) to present a study. Ultimately, the boards agreed to "develop a plan for unifying the organizations and in the interim to move toward joint programming of activities" including the sponsoring of a single annual conference starting in 1976. One witness to these last moves recalled "There was a profound silence in the room as if everyone was saying 'What have we done?'"<sup>170</sup>

The following months were busy and unsettled. Assisting the Task Force in developing the unification plan, Joyner and Stollman worked through the summer, even vacationing together. At the same time, opposition mounted to the union which had been announced to the membership of both organizations. The following fall both boards retreated. By the summer of 1974, even the joint annual conference was called off with a curt announcement in the *AIP News* declaring: "AIP does not wish to be bound to a principle of joint conferences with ASPO after 1976." Leaving some room for re-opening the issue, the notice further stated: "However the AIP Board decision does not mean to eliminate the possibility of select joint conferences in the future."<sup>171</sup>

For the next three years, the two organizations concentrated on internal development, frequently duplicating each others's efforts. For example, ASPO intensified its legislative work, developing a series of "white papers" for national policy recommendations, a project AIP had undertaken the previous year. AIP, in turn, started the flashy quarterly, *Practicing Planner*, in direct competition with ASPO's *Planning Magazine*. Both groups were afflicted with a declining rate of growth in membership and increasing costs. Finally, AIP's financial difficulties

reached crisis proportions, causing Joyner to resign and calling for major internal reorganization.<sup>172</sup>

In the fall of 1976, the ASPO and AIP leaderships decided to take another stab at cooperation. They created a Planning Federation to last six months. They named Stollman its head and ordered him to study union alternatives. Events moved quickly but not smoothly. Stollman's report, "Linking AIP and ASPO" was issued in February 1977 and built the case for unification by stressing the overlapping membership (counted as 40 percent), duplication of services, and common basis of interest. (ASPO's rolls, according to the study, revealed a membership dominated by professionals and supplemented with a tiny citizen component). At the same time, AIP vacillated. Although it replaced Joyner with John Hirten, a staunch supporter of Institute independence, it also ordered him to embark on a more detailed unification study with Stollman.<sup>173</sup>

The results of the directors' work, *AIP/ASPO Linkage Study*, and of a membership survey which had low but favorable response to the unification plans, led to the appointment of a joint negotiating committee to effect a specific consolidation plan. Included were Irving Hand (the AIP president who attended the 1968 Gettysburg meeting) and former AIP director Thomas Roberts (now an ASPO vice president). By the spring of 1978, the boards of governors approved their plan—a masterpiece of compromise—and sent it out to the 23,000 AIP and ASPO members for ratification. Although only half of the membership responded, their vote was overwhelmingly in favor. The official consolidation took place on October 1, 1978.<sup>174</sup>

## Conclusion: seventy years of planning organization

This brief survey of the growth of the associations promoting planning in America demonstrates several findings. First, the movement has always been splintered. Over the years, the original citizen/practitioner split widened as administrators, educators, and private consultants formed separate entities. These divisions, perhaps necessary at the time, became increasingly unworkable as many organizations undertook competing activities in promotion, publications, and professional development.

The current consolidation of the AIP and ASPO into the APA should provide a single focus for the planning movement. Its sheer size (about 20,000 members) gives it a dimension approximating that of the American Institute of Architects (27,000) and the American Society for Public Administration (16,500).<sup>175</sup> These comparisons are somewhat deceiving however, because membership in the APA does

not carry the same connotation as does belonging to the others. A better measure might be the number of members in the American Institute of Certified Planners, the selective professional society having an enrollment of 4,400. Nonetheless, with proper direction, the organization and its components have strength giving it importance in the modern world.

The difference between the numbers of members in the APA and AICP leads to questions about the character and respective roles of the two groups. More important, the gap underscores the need to identify and focus the constituencies falling under the APA umbrella. History shows that this task must be done with care and wisdom if the union is to succeed.

Despite the historic disunity of the movement, its proponents can be credited with having spread planning throughout the nation. In the seventy year span since the creation of the NCCP they have infused the idea in all levels of government on a scale never imagined by the initial supporters. Furthermore, they have helped supply the increasing numbers of specialists needed to fill the ever enlarging demand. Planning today is a multi-million dollar business employing thousands.

A second finding is that the planning associations have been quite receptive to change. This is contrary to some charges, notably Herbert Gans' attack in "The Need for Planners Trained In Policy Formation." The AIP, with its almost generational crises over the definition of planning, repeatedly enlarged the concept to meet current needs. Although this provided flexibility, it also engendered a certain faddish character to the field.

The AIP's continuous obsession with the identity question at times diverted the movement's energy from serious research, self-regulation, and promotion efforts. For example, the adoption of educational and ethical standards occurred relatively late in AIP's development. These problems, as well as vacillation on entry requirements, have resulted in a weakly defined professional group. The source of many of these actions can be traced to the tension between the fundamental goal of the field and the requirements of professionalization. Planners consistently state that their objective is to be comprehensive. The interpretation of this view has led to an ever expanding and shifting view of the field. Yet being professional entails laying claim to a discrete body of knowledge. As planners tampered with the boundaries of their expertise, they increasingly could not exclude those from other specialties who could contribute to the comprehensive view. Thus, with the actual body of knowledge being in question, they could not really move to control entry, regulate ethics, and set exclusive educational standards as rigidly as other professions.

Within the constraints of its organizational pur-

poses, ASPO also responded to the needs of its constituents by issuing technical advice concerned with an ever enlarging scope. With emphasis on administrative aspects of planning, ASPO led in promoting land use controls. In fact, the nature of much of its work enabled it to make substantive contributions to the field. Its input, along with those efforts sponsored by the *AIP Journal* and other association publications, helped create the basic literature of the profession.

In later years, the two associations began to duplicate many efforts in publications, professional development, and policy considerations. One reason for this phenomenon was the changing composition of the practitioner body which had switched from private consultants to public sector employees. With interests in the later period far different from those of their predecessors, they adjusted their associations, particularly the AIP, accordingly.

Another cause of the merging of the functions of the two associations can be attributed to the organizational need to survive. After they depleted their initial foundation funding, both acted to create financial arrangements to keep themselves viable. For the AIP, this meant a heavy reliance on volunteers for leadership. This was an appropriate formula for a self-regulating profession which properly valued the participation of its members, and so structured itself to reflect this idea. In fact, the organization has always had a dedicated core of workers. However, as the membership expanded in the later period, this arrangement became increasingly cumbersome. Chapter and divisional formation were successful devices for relieving some administrative problems but unions based on geographical and technical grounds also contributed to the creation of new tensions among local or specialized groups and the national association.

ASPO developed an entirely different organizational style and structure. From the beginning it had a service function and a strong executive director delegated to initiate activities relatively independent of his constituency. Furthermore, it had more substantial and lengthy foundation support than the AIP. These factors allowed it to build both a membership base and its services systematically. Like the AIP, its growth can be attributed to the dedication and vision of its leaders but, unlike the Institute, its executive directors played a major role.

Thus, as the American Planning Association begins a new era for the movement, it carries with it a rich heritage of accomplishments. However, this progress has been paralleled by the pattern of conflict and harmony characterizing the internal behavior and inter-organizational relations of the planning associations. Many of the issues creating the divisions—defining planning, professionalization, relationship between citizen, administrator and planner to name



a few—have not been resolved but masked by the consolidation. That internal struggles should continue is to be expected; but that resolution of these questions should occur should be equally anticipated. The challenge for the movement is to develop the creative leadership and collective wisdom to move toward a period of harmony, not conflict.

### Author's note

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### Notes

1. Marjorie Macris, telephone interview, August 1, 1979.
2. American Institute of Planners, *Constitution*; American Society of Planning Officials, *Constitution*.
3. International City Managers Association, *Municipal Yearbook 1973* (Washington, D.C.: ICMA, 1974).
4. The definition of planning as a profession has been of great concern to its supporters for many decades. A complete bibliography covering this issue would be too lengthy to include here. However, a few statements reflecting the nature of the debate are: Harvey Perloff, *Education for Planning* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1957), a perceptive analysis of the relationship between the growth of the field and the development of university education; John T. Howard, "City Planning as a Social Movement, a Governmental Function and a Technical Profession," in Perloff (ed.) *Planning and the Urban Community* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961), a classic defense of the parameters of the speciality; Lawrence E. Susskind's "The Future of the Planning Profession," in David Godschalk (ed.) *Planning in America* (Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Planners, 1974), which argues that planning is a "minor profession" and builds upon the work of Nathan Glazer, "Conflict in Schools for Minor Professions," *Minerva*, July 1974. Finally, Robert A. Beauregard in a recent article carefully entitled "The Occupation of Planning: A View from the Census," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, April, 1976, treats the field as a non-professional form of employment.
5. One of the best discussions of the formation of the early planning association is found in Jon A. Peterson, "The Origins of the Comprehensive City Planning Ideal in the United States, 1840-1911" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1967). Mel Scott in *American City Planning Since 1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969) also gives extensive coverage to the early movement.
6. The conference proceedings were published as U. S. Senate Document No. 422 (Washington, D. C: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1909). Included among the twenty-eight participants were settlement workers Jane Addams and Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, landscape architect Charles Eliot, lawyer and president of the New York Charity Organization Society Robert W. De Forest, and financier Henry Morgenthau. Their meetings and exhibit were held on May 21-22, 1909 at the Hotel Raleigh. The exhibit featured a mixture of urban concerns ranging from approved streetlight fixtures to crowded tenement rooms and a model rapid transit study. Charles Mulford Robinson, "The City Plan Exhibition," *Survey*, 22, (May 29, 1909): 313-318.
7. Flavel Shurtleff, Esq. "Six Years of City Planning in the United States," *City Plan*, 1, 3 (Oct. 1915): 33-41.

8. The choice of a city to host the conference was based on "the material offered to the student of city planning [and] what profit the city would have from a meeting of the students of city planning and a discussion of planning problems." ("Executive Committee of NCCP Chooses Meeting Places," *City Plan*, 1, 4, Jan. 1916). However, by 1919 Shurtleff wrote "it has been getting more and more difficult to secure large local contributions, it may be fairly questioned whether the local benefit is worth the amount and at all events the time seems to have arrived when such large local contributions can no longer be obtained." At that time Shurtleff reported that NCCP expenses were about \$3,000 while receipts were \$2,500 dues and sales of proceedings and about \$3,000 cash contribution from the cities where conferences were held. (Flavel Shurtleff to John Nolen, April 1, 1919, John Nolen papers, Cornell University—hereafter referred to as J.N. Papers).
9. Russell Sage died in 1906 leaving his wife \$65 million and a farseeing legal adviser, Robert W. De Forest. In a memorandum to her about the foundation, De Forest had correctly diagnosed her interests as "social betterment—improvement of the hard conditions of our working classes, making their lives happier, giving more opportunity to them and their children." Consequently, she devoted the foundation to these causes. (John M. Glenn, Lillian Brandt, and Frank Emerson, *Russell Sage Foundation 1907-1946*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947, p. 7).
10. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
11. The Russell Sage Foundation made the following grants to urban causes:
 

National Conference on City Planning and the American Civic Association	\$ 267,551
Regional Plan of New York	1,186,768
President's Homes Commission (Study of Washington, D.C. housing)	5,000
Pittsburgh Survey and publication of the <i>Survey</i> magazine (Pittsburgh Survey \$27,000)	355,100
National Housing Association (1910-1936)	295,425

 In addition, it published other city planning texts: Edward Bassett's *Zoning* (1936) and *The Master Plan* (1938), and Thomas Adams, *Outline of Town and City Planning*. (In John Glenn, *Russell Sage*, pp. 685-697).
12. The Russell Sage Foundation was headed by John Glenn, a Baltimore lawyer involved in charity work for about 25 years (1909-1931) in the critical years of the housing and planning movements. Serving on the Board of Trustees in this period were other active supporters including Charles Dyer Norton and Frederick Delano, sponsors of the 1909 Chicago Plan, and Lawson Purdy, housing reformer.
13. "City Planning Commissions in the United States," *City Plan*, 1, 3 (Oct. 1915): 10. The planning commissions were concentrated in Massachusetts (45), Pennsylvania (17), Connecticut (6), New York (6), California (6), and New Jersey (4).
14. "1915 NCCP Meeting," *City Plan*, 1, 3, (1915): 15. The journal recorded "Emphasis was placed on the need of a more general education of the public in the fundamentals of city planning and of a much more effective cooperation between national organizations whose work is in the field of city planning." The report continued "Thirty-one delegates attended, officially appointed to consider the possibilities of cooperating in extending the knowledge of city planning."
15. "The American City Planning Institute," *City Plan*, 3, 2, (August 1917): 1.
16. Scott reports that the charter members of the ACPI included fourteen landscape architects, thirteen engineers, six lawyers, five architects, four realtors, two publishers as well as writers, tax specialists, land economists, educators, and public officials. Among them were Thomas Adams, Harland Bartho-

- lomew, Alfred Bettman, George Ford, Henry Hubbard, John Nolen, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., Lawson Purdy, and Lawrence Veiller. (*American City Planning*, p. 164). In 1917, Shurtleff wrote Nolen, "It is particularly difficult to draw the line in the case of engineers. . . . but we tried to base the test of membership on whether the particular engineer was using his work the point of view of city planning." (Oct. 30, 1917, J. N. papers).
17. Perry Norton, interview, January 1979; T. Ledyard Blake-man, telephone interview, January, 1979.
  18. Flavel Shurtleff to John Nolen, Nov. 24, 1917, J. N. Papers.
  19. Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. to John Nolen, Feb. 18, 1918, J. N. Papers.
  20. B. Antrim Haldeman to John Nolen, Feb. 5, 1918, J. N. Papers.
  21. "Memorandum from Mr. Olmsted, Mr. Veiller, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Haldeman," March 15, 1918, J. N. Papers.
  22. Frederick Law Olmsted to John Nolen, April 1, 1919. J. N. Papers.
  23. Ibid.
  24. Ibid.
  25. "To the Members of the National Conference on City Planning from Nelson P. Lewis," July 23, 1919; Glenn, *Russell Sage*, p. 689.
  26. Between 1914 and 1929 car ownership, measured in numbers of registered vehicles, rose from 1.3 to 26.7 million. Between 1920 and 1929, 5.6 million housing units were constructed in urban areas. During the twenties, government expenditure on streets and highways constituted its second highest budget item and between 1922 and 1929 federal highway funds amounted to \$1.3 billion and about 5 million miles of road were surfaced. Although the U.S. Bureau of the Census did not collect income data until later, it did record the growth rate of the gross national product which was 4.3 per cent between 1920 and 1929, peaking to 5.2 per cent in 1926. Between 1920 and 1930, the number of urban places increased by about 450 to 3,165, while urban population grew about 15 million. Thus the overall picture of this period was one of growth and prosperity. (James J. Fink, *The Car Culture*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1975, pp. 141, 144; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States*, Washington, D. C.:U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961, Series A 43-56, A 57-72, F 31, N156-169, Q50-63, Q64-68).
  27. In 1927, John Nolen reported that about one hundred and sixty new plans had been written for American cities such as Fall River, Mass., St. Paul, Minn., and Poughkeepsie, N. Y., since 1910. ("Twenty Years of City Planning Progress in the United States" in National Conference on Planning, *Planning Problems of Town, City and Region*, Washington, D. C., 1927). A more comprehensive survey of planning is found in Theodora Kimball Hubbard and Henry Vincent Hubbard, *Our Cities, Today and Tomorrow*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929.
  28. Two studies of these enterprises are Harvey A. Kantor, "Charles Dyer Norton and the Origins of the Regional Plan of New York," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 39, 1; Roy Lubove, *Community Planning in the 1920's*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1962.
  29. Mel Scott's discussion of zoning is particularly useful.
  30. Herbert Hoover and his assistant John De Gries were responsible for the publication of these two documents. Again Scott has an ample discussion.
  31. Thomas Adams to John Nolen, October 22, 1926, J. N. Papers.
  32. Ibid.
  33. George B. Ford to John Nolen, October 20, 1926, J. N. Papers.
  34. Thomas Adams to John Nolen, April 19, 1927, J. N. Papers.
  35. Ibid.
  36. *American City Planning Institute*, 1927, J. N. Papers.
  37. "Prospectus of City Planning, The Official Organ of the American City Planning Institute," (n.d.), J. N. Papers.
  38. National Conference on City Planning "Balance Sheet," June 20, 1927, J. N. Papers.
  39. Charles Eliot II, "City Planning Instruction in American Colleges and Universities," *City Planning*, 1, 2, (July 1925): 113-118; "Institute Midwinter Meeting," *City Planning*, 5, 2, (April 1930): 145.
  40. Ibid.
  41. *American City Planning Institute*, 1927, J. N. Papers.
  42. "The Texas Conference," *City Planning* 4, 3 (July 1928): 246-248; "National Conference on City Planning, Buffalo and Niagara Falls, May 20-23, 1929," *City Planning* 5, 3: 201. In 1927 the conferees heard an illustrated lecture "Re-birth of Imperial Rome," describing the replanning of Rome under the supervision of Premier Mussolini. ("Comment on the Washington Conference" *City Planning* 3, 3: 241).
  43. Nolen, "Twenty Years," p. 19.
  44. Planning Foundation of America, "Report," Russell Van Nest Black papers, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.
  45. An excellent description of the rise of national planning can be found in Otis L. Graham, *Toward a Planned Society*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
  46. Russell Van Nest Black et al., "Committee Recommendations for Reorganization of the American City Planning Institute," Oct. 21, 1934, Walter Blucher papers, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.
  47. By 1938, the Institute expressed this idea clearly, "There seems to be a general feeling that planners in the rural field, whose primary concern is with the proper uses of land and the correction of land abuses are akin to planners in the urban field. . . . I take it there is also a feeling among many of our members that unless this kinship is soon recognized by inclusion of competent rural planners in the membership of this Institute, there is apt to be created a separate technical society . . . somewhat competitive in character." ("To the Board of Governors, ACPI," January 17, 1938, American Planning Association Archives, Washington, D. C.)
  48. Black, "Committee Recommendations," p. 3.
  49. Russell Van Nest Black, "President's Report" presented at the annual meeting of the American City Planning Institute, Princeton, N. J., Dec. 29, 1937, *Planners' Journal* 4, 1, (Jan. 1938): 19-22.
  50. The combination of the secretary-treasurer's job with the executive director's appointment occurred when the AIP incorporated in 1971.
  51. Black, "Committee Recommendations," pp. 3-6.
  52. "Supplementary Note to Accompany Report of Reorganization Committee," Walter Blucher papers, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
  53. "Meeting of Joint Committee of Directors of the National Conference on City Planning and Governors of the American City Planning Institute," October 21, 1934. Walter Blucher papers, Cornell University. Henry Hubbard was particularly opposed to a merger of the two groups. One reason for his opposition was Brownlow's refusal to continue the *City Planning* quarterly. Brownlow made his position quite clear at the meeting that it was "PACH policy . . . not to support magazines but rather to give informational service in frequent bulletins." Not all ACPI members were in opposition. Harland Bartholomew and Alfred Bettman, for example, "pointed out that planning was closely allied with government and rather thought that the learning of planning would not be handicapped if mixed up with administration."
  54. "An Expression of our Appreciation," ASPO *Newsletter* 9, 9 (Sept. 1943): 74.
  55. Barry D. Karl, *Charles E. Merriam and the Study of Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974); Louis Brownlow,

- A Passion for Anonymity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).
56. Flavel Shurtleff to John Nolen contains a discussion of the Bутtenheim membership decision; Charles Ascher, interview, Jan. 30, 1979.
  57. Flavel Shurtleff to John Nolen, May 17, 1927, J. N. Papers; Brownlow, *Passion*, p. 57.
  58. Karl, *Charles E. Merriam*, pp. 177, 227; Brownlow, *Passion*, passim.
  59. Walter Blucher, telephone interview, July 22, 1979.
  60. American Society of Planning Officials, *Constitution*, 1934; Blucher, interview.
  61. "Meeting of Joint Committee," pp. 2-3.
  62. Jacob Crane, "To the Members of the American City Planning Institute," November 26, 1934, Walter Blucher papers, Cornell University.
  63. The Spelman Fund was a residual from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. The memorial had been funded with \$73,000,000 in 1918 by J. D. Rockefeller in memory of his wife. In 1929 those funds were consolidated with the Rockefeller Fund. However, \$10,000,000 was put into the Spelman Fund of New York to "complete a number of undertakings and to explore the possibilities . . . for improvement of public administration." (Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial *Final Report*, New York, 1933). The Spelman Fund existed from 1929 to 1950. During its most active years it was headed by Beardsley Ruml, former student of Charles E. Merriam. Together, the two men pumped millions of dollars into the Public Administration Clearing House and its sister organizations known as the "1313" group. (Spelman Fund of New York, *Annual Reports*, 1935, 1938, 1940, 1944-1948; Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, New York: Harper Bros., 1952).
  64. ASPO *Newsletter* 8, 6 (June 1942): 1.
  65. Walter Blucher, interview, July 22, 1979.
  66. Ibid.
  67. National Conference on Planning, *Proceedings of the Conference Held at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 12-14, 1941* (Chicago: ASPO, 1941); Charles E. Merriam, "Planning in a Democracy" in National Conference on Planning, *Proceedings of the Conference Held at San Francisco, May 10-12, 1940* (Chicago: ASPO, 1940) pp. 168-181.
  68. Alfred Bettman, "Introduction" in *Planning for City, State, Region, and Nation, Proceedings of the Joint Conference, May 4-6, 1936* (Chicago: ASPO, 1936) pp. 1-3.
  69. Edward Wilkins, interview, January 29, 1979.
  70. "Field Service in Southern States," ASPO *Newsletter* 5, 11, (Nov. 1939); "ASPO's Services," ASPO *Newsletter* 3, 1, (Jan. 1937): 5.
  71. Walter Blucher, "An Open Letter to Our Members," ASPO *Newsletter* 4, 5, (May 1938): 1.
  72. "A Center for Public Administration," ASPO *Newsletter* 3, 4, (April 1937): 29.
  73. Blucher, "An Open Letter," p. 1.
  74. In 1938, ASPO had 614 members with high representation from California (76), Michigan (48), Illinois (45), Ohio (25), Wisconsin (19), Kansas (10), Minnesota (10), North Carolina (10). As would be expected, there were many members from the East also: New York (82), Massachusetts (33), Washington, D. C. (34), New Jersey (17), Pennsylvania (19). (ASPO *Annual Report* December, 1938, Walter Blucher papers, Cornell University). For the same period the ACPI had a membership of about 150 with New York (27), Massachusetts (18) and Washington, D. C., and Maryland (25) having almost half the membership. California (10), Ohio (9), Missouri (8), and Tennessee (7) contributed only about twenty percent. (1937 "Institute Register," *Planners' Journal* (Jan.-Feb. 1937): 26-28).
  75. "Education for Planning," ASPO *Newsletter*, 10, 1 (Jan. 1944): 14; Walter Blucher, "How Will They Get Started?" ASPO *Newsletter* 11, 8 (Aug. 1945): 1.
  76. International City Managers' Association, *Municipal Yearbook* (Washington: ICMA, 1942) p. 30.
  77. Jacob L. Crane, Jr., "To The Members of the American City Planning Institute," Jan. 30, 1935, Russell Van Nest Black papers, Cornell University; Jacob Crane, interview, March 22, 1979.
  78. ACPI, "Minutes of Board of Governors," Jan. 22, 1935, American Planning Association Archives, Washington, D. C.
  79. Crane, "To the Members."
  80. Black, "President's Report," *Planners' Journal* 4, 1 (Jan.-Feb. 1938): 19.
  81. Ibid. p. 20. Black at this time even suggested the use of examinations as a measure of competence for entry into the Institute.
  82. Russell S. Riley, "Looking Ahead in Planning," *Planners' Journal* 7, 4 (Sept. 1941): 2.
  83. Henry V. Hubbard, "Report of the Committee of the ACPI on Professional Education," Oct. 9, 1936, Russell Van Nest Black papers, Cornell University; "Committee's Agenda for Discussion, Appendix," Jan. 1, 1943, Jacob Crane papers, Cornell University; Committee on Professional Education, "Reports," January 15, 1937; May 25, 1937, Russell Van Nest Black papers, Cornell University.
  84. Hubbard, "Report," p. 1.
  85. Ibid. p. 5.
  86. Ibid. p. 8.
  87. "Report of the Committee on Education and Personnel Standards," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 11, 1 (Winter 1945): 40.
  88. Alfred Bettman, "Planning Legislation: Review and Recommendations, Report of the Committee on Legislation," *Planners' Journal* 9, 1 (Jan.-March 1943): 3-8. This report discussed H.R.-7782 which Congressman Alfred H. Beiter introduced into Congress in 1942. It would have authorized the expenditure of \$75,000,000 for grants to local planning agencies. In addition, it dealt with the position of the local planning agency in municipal government and outlined a recommended form of urban redevelopment legislation.
  89. Lautner and Adams each received \$300 for their work. "Minutes, Board of Governors," meeting by mail Jan. 20-31, 1938, APA archives, Washington, D. C.; Blucher, interview, July 22, 1979. Several other proposals had been made for the executive secretary's position including Thomas Mackesey of Cornell University. ("Minutes, Board of Governors," Washington, D. C. Jan. 25, 1941, APA Archives, Washington, D. C.) There were no minutes of the Board of Governors meetings between Jan. 1941 and April 1944. Possibly they were kept at the Chicago ASPO office.
  90. "War Demands Cancel AIP Fall Meeting," *Planners' Journal* 8, 3 (July-Sept. 1942): 32; Harold M. Lewis, "President's Editorial," *Journal of The American Institute of Planners* 10, 1 (Autumn 1944): 1.
  91. "Editor's Comments," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 10, 1 1 (Autumn 1944): 2.
  92. "The Bureau of the Census reported . . . the West gained 2,000,000 new residents while the South lost 1,500,000 persons. . . . The thirteen largest cities increased in population by 10.6 per cent, but their suburbs showed an increase of 19.2 per cent." (Scott, *American City*, p. 452).
  93. One of the better studies of the phenomenon was Christopher Tunnard and Boris Pushkarev's *Man-Made America, Chaos or Control* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963).
  94. The planners did not play important roles in the forming of these policies. Mel Scott observed "In the largest construction program in American history, the planning profession and



- the city planning function had been overlooked. . . . The planners for the most part thought of it as a revelation of their own inadequacies as exponents of the ideas of foresighted consideration of alternatives and rational choice of means to ends." (*American City Planning*, p. 539). The planners were not particularly satisfied with the housing act either. For many years, they refused admission to redevelopment officials. (T. Ledyard Blakeman, interview, Feb. 10, 1979; Perry Norton, interview, 1979).
95. The 1954 amendments to the Housing Act included a seven point workable program requirement. Local communities were mandated to have, in addition to their comprehensive plan, a relocation program, implementation procedures such as code enforcement programs, and citizen participation. (H.J. Aaron, *Shelter and Subsidies*, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1972).
  96. The Highway Act of 1962 required that after 1965, the Secretary of Commerce could approve federal aid for cities 50,000 and above only if the proposed projects were part of a long range plan developed by state and local governments. The force of this requirement intensified planning efforts in many regions, notably in the Boston and Baltimore areas. (John W. Dickey, *Metropolitan Transportation Planning*, Washington, D.C.: Scripts Book Co. 1975; Scott, *American City*, p. 585).
  97. The ASPO income grew from \$21,000 to about \$45,000 between 1935 and 1950. At the same time, the Spelman Fund proportion of the budget decreased from 96 percent in 1935 to 85 percent (1940) to 53 percent (1945) to 0 (1950). Dues income in the period grew from less than 1 percent (1935), to 14 percent (1940), 45 percent (1945), to 34 percent (1950). (*ASPO Newsletter* 25, 5 (May 1959): 47).
  98. By 1950 special services would contribute 63 percent of the revenues, and in 1955, 72 percent of revenues which by this time were about \$90,000. (*ASPO Minutes 1935-55*, Walter Blucher papers, Cornell University; *ASPO Newsletter* 14, 10 [Oct. 1948]: 78; 19, 10 [Oct. 1953]: 92; 25, 5 [May 1959]: 47).
  99. By 1972 ASPO had issued almost 300 reports. In addition, a PAS subscriber could call on ASPO for advice on individual problems. ASPO also would begin a series of "short reports on various subjects not requiring the in-depth treatment of research reports" and issue periodic special publications. (*Planning Advisory Service, 1972 Index of Planning Advisory Service Reports and ASPO Publications*, Chicago: ASPO, 1972).
  100. Like all generalizations, this statement must be tempered with a cautionary word. The content of the *Journal* varied under different editors. Donald A. Krueckeberg in his article, "The Story of the Planners' Journal, 1915-1980" appearing in this issue of the *Journal* deals with this topic in more detail.
  101. Norton, interview; Louis B. Wetmore to Eugenie L. Birch, September 19, 1979.
  102. Perry Norton, "Report to the Board of Governors," June, 1958, APA Archives, Washington, D. C.
  103. *ASPO Newsletter* (May 1959): 47.
  104. Harvey S. Perloff in *Education for Planning* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1957) discusses the University of Chicago experiment and the role of ASPO in helping develop it.
  105. Walter Blucher, "A Report to ASPO Members," *ASPO Newsletter* 17, 1 (Jan. 1951): 1; "ASPO in 1958," *ASPO Newsletter* 25, 10 (May 1959): 20.
  106. "Minutes, Board of Governors," APA archives, Washington, D. C.; Perry Norton, "Past and Present Operations—the Figures," Report to Board of Governors, 1952.
  107. Harry Bergh, "ACP-CPI Merger," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 14, 1 (Winter 1948): 46-47; "Resolution," adopted at the Annual Meeting of the American Institute of Planners, Chicago, January, 1948, APA archives, Washington, D. C.
  108. Earl O. Mills, "A Word of Appreciation by a Retiring President," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 14, 1 (Winter 1948): 2-3.
  109. Discussion of the "Young Planners" occurred in both ASPO and AIP meetings. See "Highlights from the National Planning Conference," *ASPO Newsletter* 12, 6 (June 1946): 1; Roland B. Greeley, "Regional Conference at Fontana," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 12, 4 (Fall 1946): 42-45; "Highlights from the National Planning Conference," *ASPO Newsletter* 13, 6, (June 1947): 54.
  110. Mark Fortune, "Editorial," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 12, 3 (Summer 1946): 3-4.
  111. "Minutes, Board of Governors, March 4, 1950," APA Archives, Washington, D. C.; "Cleveland Meeting," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 15, 4 (Fall 1949): 51. The AIP hired Henry Nadig at a fee of \$1,000. By 1951, they had discontinued his contract. ("Minutes, Oct. 16, 1951" APA Archives).
  112. Frederick J. Adams, "President's Report for 1951-2," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 18, 2 (Spring 1952): 97-98.
  113. Perry Norton, interview, February 10, 1979; John T. Howard to Eugenie L. Birch, September 12, 1979; "Kit for the Board of Governors," 1952, APA Archives, Washington, D. C.; "Minutes of the Board of Governors," April 24, 1952, APA Archives, Washington, D. C. Peter Nash, interview, October 13, 1979.
  114. "Minutes, Board of Governors," Oct. 16, 1951, APA Archives, Washington, D. C.; Norton, interview; Frederick P. Clark, "Annual Report," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 19, 3 (Summer 1953): 184.
  115. Norton, interview; Perry Norton, "Planning and the American Institute of Planners. Report to the Board of Governors," August, 1957.
  116. Frederick P. Clark, "The Opportunity for Growth," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 18, 3 (Summer 1952): 104.
  117. Clark, "Annual Report," p. 184.
  118. Frederick J. Adams, *Urban Planning Education in the United States* (Cincinnati: The Alfred Bettman Foundation, 1954); Harvey S. Perloff, "The Education of City Planners: Past, Present and Future," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 14, 1 (Winter 1948): 4-6.
  119. "Recommendations for an AIP Accrediting System," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 16, 2 (Spring 1950): 97-99. For a discussion of AIP policy in this period see Harvey Gold, "The Professionalization of Urban Planning," Ph.D Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1965.
  120. American Institute of Planners, "Code of Professional Conduct," adopted by the Institute, Jan. 10, 1948; *Professional Consultants' Services and Fees*; Gold, "The Professionalization," p. 128 ff.
  121. *Ibid.* p. 61
  122. Some of the public policy statements issued during this period were: "Report of the Committee on Urban Land Policies," *Journal of The American Institute of Planners* 12, 2 (Spring 1946): 36-43; "Statement of Principles for Federal Urban Redevelopment Legislation," *Journal* 14, 4 (Fall 1948): 44-50; "Statement of Policy on Urban Development and Expansion," *Journal* 16, 2 (Spring 1950): 93-97 "Urban Renewal, A Policy Statement of the American Institute of Planners," *Journal*, (Nov. 1959): 217-221. In addition the *Journal* began to publish searching analytical pieces such as William C. Wheaton's "The Housing Act of 1949," (15, 4 [Fall 1949]: 36-41) and later a regular research section edited by Martin Meyerson, "Research and City Planning," (20, 4 [Fall 1954]: 201-205).
  123. Lawrence Orton asked "Why is planning so hard to define?" in his "Editorial," *Journal of The American Institute of Planners* 12, 4 (Fall 1946), while a few years later Francis Violich made

- "A Plea for a Definition of Terms" in the Spring 1952 issue of the *Journal* (18, 2). That same year, G. Holmes Perkins wrote, in "The Art of City Planning" in the *Journal* (18, 4 [Fall 1952]) that planners were "wont to apologize for the youthfulness of the science of city planning and to bemoan a lack of a solid core of knowledge such as has strengthened our sister professions." John T. Howard observed in the *Journal* (20, 2 [Spring 1954]) that "The AIP is concerned about this continuing struggle to establish and maintain the identity of the planning profession." Finally, Carl Feiss in "Crisis in Planning," (*Journal* 20, 4 [Fall 1954]) bemoaned that "The planning profession is faced with several dilemmas at this point. In the first place, we must make two basic assumptions . . . first that there is a planning profession and second that we know what a planner does."
124. Martin Meyerson, "Building the Middle Range Bridge for Comprehensive Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 22, 2 (Spring 1956). See also the discussion in Scott, *American City Planning*, pp. 527 ff.
  125. Norton, "Planning and the AIP," pp. 46-67.
  126. Norton, interview; William C. Dutton, interview, October 13, 1979.
  127. Ibid.
  128. "Minutes of The Board of Governors," Chicago, Oct. 16, 1957, APA Archives, Washington, D.C. Dutton was paid substantially more than Norton but was not named editor because the governors were clearly redefining the functions of the executive director.
  129. For a few years, Dutton recorded the Board of Governors meetings verbatim. These notes give a deeper insight into the types of discussions that must have characterized the meetings since 1934. ("Minutes, Board of Governors," Bal Harbor, Florida, May, 1960, APA Archives, Washington, D.C.).
  130. "Minutes, Board of Governors" through the period, but see particularly Washington, D.C., Feb. 19, 1977, APA Archives, Washington, D.C. By the early sixties, the Board of Governors still met periodically and had the impossible task of voting on over sixty items in two days. Even though the Executive Committee met frequently, the AIP was becoming too large to be managed in this manner.
  131. The directors were: W.C. Dutton (1957-63), Robert Williams (1963-69), Thomas Roberts (1969-72), John Joyner (1972-76), and John Hirten (1976-78).
  132. Charles Blessing, "Minutes, Board of Governors" Bal Harbor, Florida, May, 1960.
  133. The original plans for the celebration would be toned down considerably because of the lack of funds. Although Harland Bartholomew, Chairman of the Committee, rigorously solicited foundations and individual chapters, he was unable to raise the budgeted quarter of a million dollars. Nonetheless, the anniversary did stimulate two important publications: Mel Scott's *American City Planning Since 1890* and Russell Van Nest Black's *Planners and the Planning Profession: The Past Fifty Years, 1917-1967*. (Washington: AIP, 1967.)
  134. The constitutional amendment defined the purposes of the AIP as follows (the deletion is in parentheses): "The purposes of the Institute shall be to study and advance the art and science of city, regional, state and national planning; to further the interests of the profession; and to promote fellowship among its members. Its particular sphere of activity shall be the planning of the unified development of urban communities and their environs and of states, regions and the nation. (As expressed through the determination of the comprehensive arrangement of land uses and land occupancy and the regulation thereof.)" (*AIP Newsletter*, April, 1966). It is also interesting to note that somewhere in the course of AIP constitutional changes, the phrase "art and science of planning" had been switched from the original 1919 statement "science and art" just as planning was rejecting art and emphasizing science.
  135. See "Minutes of Meeting of the Committee on Restatement of Institute Purposes," Chicago, Feb. 5, 1956, APA Archives, Washington, D.C.
  136. AIP Committee on Restatement, "Report," March 15, 1966, *AIP Newsletter* April, 1966.
  137. Richard May, Jr. in a letter to executive director Williams was one who recognized this: "I . . . could only add the comment that much if not most of the research and writing as reflected in the *Journal* during the past few years already reflects much (that is) proposed." (July 14, 1966, APA Archives, Washington, D.C.)
  138. The report stimulated response from every division in the Institute. See for example, Lachlan Blair, Division of Professional Standards, "Implications of Restatement," July 6, 1966; Willard B. Hansen, Division of Planning Research, "Implications of Restatement," July 6, 1966; Walter L. Johnson, Division of Planning Education, "Implications," June 1, 1966; Peter H. Henderson, Division of Institute Organization, June 20, 1966; and Robert L. Williams to Irving Hand, July 11, 1966; APA Archives, Washington, D.C.
  139. "AIP's Oral Membership Exam: Who, Why, When, Where and What?" *AIP Newsletter*, Oct. 1969, p. 10; "AIP Announces Revision of Membership Standards," *AIP Newsletter*, May, 1969, p. 4-3; Gordon D. Jacoby, "One and One Half Years of the AIP Oral Exam," *AIP Newsletter*, Nov. 1970, p. 6.
  140. Reginald W. Griffith, "Proposed Amendments to AIP Membership Explained Here," *AIP Newsletter*, June, 1975, pp. 22-23; "Special Meeting of the Board of Governors to Consider Financial Issues," March 13-14, 1976, APA Archives, Washington, D.C.
  141. AIP, "AIP/ASPO Linkage Study," August, 1977, p. 2.
  142. Perry Norton to Irving Hand, June 3, 1966, APA Archives, Washington, D.C.
  143. For a statement of their beliefs see Paul Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* (November 1965): 331-337; Lisa R. Peattie, "Reflections on Advocacy Planning," and Richard S. Bolan, "Emerging Views of Planning," in *The Comprehensive Planning Process: Several Views* (Washington, D.C.: AIP, 1977).
  144. "Planners for Equal Opportunity Resolutions to AIP and AIP Board of Governors Response," *AIP Newsletter* Nov., 1967, pp. 12-14.
  145. "Minutes, Board of Governors," Detroit, Aug. 16, 1972, APA Archives, Washington, D.C.; "New AIP Officers and Members of the Board of Governors Begin Terms," *AIP Newsletter*, Oct. 1968, p. 1. In 1969, with the lowest turnout ever, the elections for the president went to the Board. The membership had cast 858 votes for R. Young, 857 for W. Monasch, and 706 for P. Davidoff. Ultimately the Board voted Monasch. (*AIP Newsletter*, Oct. 1969, p. 1; 12.) The Planning Foundation was originally designed to undertake such activities as the anniversary celebration but later incorporated the scholarship efforts. ("Planning Foundation Gears for Action," *AIP Newsletter*, June, 1968.)
  146. Monasch's letter stimulated so much controversy that he was forced to explain his position in the *Newsletter*. ("Editorial: The War and My Letter of May 20," June, 1970 p. 12).
  147. "Memorandum from John Joyner to AIP Board of Governors," March 8, 1976, APA Archives. According to AIP minutes between 1965 and 1970 the AIP had the following financial picture:
 

1965	+\$ 1,985.81
1966	(15,754.19)
1967	( 4,617.23)
1968	(68,122.76)
1969	(86,102.89)
1970	(68,365.63)