

Paul Davidoff and Planning Education: A Study of the Origin of the Urban Planning Program at Hunter College

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Abstract

While he is often remembered as a tireless advocate, few modern planners remember Paul Davidoff as an educator. In the mid-1960s, Hunter College of the City University of New York conducted a nationwide search for the best possible candidate to develop and head the school's new graduate program in Urban Planning, and they selected Paul Davidoff. The author of "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," who inspired a generation of young planners to represent the disadvantaged, saw himself as a "planner-scholar-professor" who could shape the field by changing the way that planners were taught. This article looks closely at the founding of the planning program at Hunter to explore Paul Davidoff's relationship to and interest in the field of planning education, as well as his ability to use this program to implement his educational ideals.

Keywords

Paul Davidoff, Hunter College of the City University of New York

Introduction

In the mid-1960s, Hunter College of the City University of New York conducted a nationwide search to find the best possible candidate to develop and head the school's new graduate program in Urban Planning. As a result of this search, Hunter selected Paul Davidoff, a dynamic young planner and attorney from the University of Pennsylvania with a reputation as a captivating speaker, inspiring teacher, and advocate for social justice. In his writings, Davidoff articulated strong arguments that the field of planning needed to widen its focus from the physical plan to the many aspects of the urban political system, and he often contended that an integral component of this was the development of a different type of planning education. With this position at Hunter, it would appear that Davidoff received the perfect opportunity to create this new type of planning program he espoused.

Yet when modern planners look back at Davidoff's legacy, his time at Hunter does not receive much attention. Davidoff is perhaps best remembered for his seminal article, "Advocacy and

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Figure 1. Paul Davidoff in an Undated Portrait. Source: The Paul Davidoff Papers, Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections.

Pluralism in Planning,” which captured the spirit of a new movement in the field and inspired a generation of young planners to represent the views of the disadvantaged (including the future Planning Director of Cleveland, Norman Krumholz).¹ Also better known of Davidoff’s work is his role in the landmark *Mount Laurel I* case against exclusionary zoning in New Jersey in the early 1970s, but by this time he had left Hunter to found and run his nonprofit organization, the Suburban Action Institute (SAI). “Advocacy” was published in September of 1965, just as Davidoff was preparing the Hunter program for its February 1966 debut. In an interview at the time, Davidoff boasted that Hunter’s program would feature “major educational innovations” that related physical planning issues to economic development and social welfare.² In 1967, Davidoff went further, calling Hunter “perhaps the first planning school to conceive of the role of the planner in such broad terms.”³ The purpose of this article is to look closely at the founding of this program at Hunter and to determine the extent of Paul Davidoff’s ability to implement his educational ideals. It will also explore Davidoff’s relationship to and interest in the field of planning education, which I believe is a less-examined feature of Davidoff’s legacy.⁴

Advocacy Planning in Context

The advocacy planning movement arose both as a response to top-down planning efforts of the 1940s and 1950s and in the spirit of social change that engulfed American society in the 1960s. As articulated by Davidoff in his seminal article, advocacy planners challenged the traditional notion that planning was a value-neutral activity and that any one plan could represent the public interest. Instead, they argued that planners should recognize the diverse values of a pluralistic society and work with groups of stakeholders to create plans that represent the interests of each.⁵ In the early postwar years, the planning establishment followed the traditional approach by focusing on physical redevelopment to combat urban problems, embarking on large-scale slum clearance projects to modernize urban housing and transportation systems. The dislocation that resulted from these efforts, however, both revealed and exacerbated an array of social problems for the residents of many poor and minority urban communities. In response to this, some planning officials developed targeted social outreach programs—such as the Grey Areas Program in New Haven under Edward

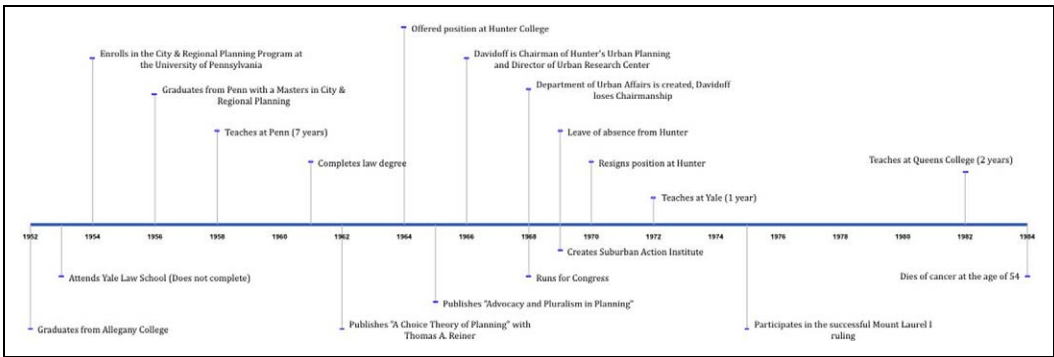


Figure 2. Timeline, Paul Davidoff and planning education. *Source:* Interviews and Joseph Berger (1984).

Logue—and neighborhood advocates began to protest demolition projects and call for alternatives to be examined.⁶ In the 1960s, the War on Poverty under presidents Kennedy and Johnson created several federal funding streams designed to support disadvantaged urban communities, including the Special Impact Program and the Model Cities Program. These initiatives enabled a growing body of planners in municipal agencies, consulting firms, and universities to support grassroots neighborhood improvement efforts and to develop plans reflective of community interests.⁷ Among planning students in the 1960s, interest in advocacy planning was high, and some academic institutions such as Harvard and Pratt developed community design centers to provide planning services to neighborhood organizations.⁸ In a time marked by social movements for civil rights, gender equality, and the environment, advocacy planners sought to apply the tools of the planning profession in a similar manner for disadvantaged urban populations.

Before Hunter: The University of Pennsylvania

Paul Davidoff officially held positions at Hunter College from 1964 to 1970, although he took a leave of absence in 1969 and also ran for Congress (unsuccessfully) in 1968. Prior to coming to Hunter, Davidoff worked as an assistant professor of Planning at the University of Pennsylvania's School of Fine Arts, where he received his planning degree in 1956 and also completed his law degree in 1961.⁹ While at Penn, Davidoff worked closely with Thomas Reiner, a regional scientist with whom he taught planning theory and collaborated to write "A Choice Theory of Planning" in 1962. In this article, Davidoff and Reiner frame planning theory in the context of real-world processes and values, and they argue that a planning education should accordingly focus on teaching practical planning methods. Planning schools at the time, according to Davidoff and Reiner, provided a base of academic knowledge but not the skills needed to understand and apply it.¹⁰

Davidoff's students at Penn spoke highly of his teaching. My interviews described him as an inspirational speaker who was committed to social justice and strongly believed that planning was a value-laden field; one former student described Davidoff as "a man with enormous range" who "infused planning with social meaning and purpose."¹¹ Davidoff often worked in partnership with another lecturer in his courses, a structure that allowed him to focus on discussion and intellectual debate while his colleague focused on the traditional curriculum.¹² He also developed several new courses that were unique to Penn's program, such as an experimental class on poverty reduction as well as a policy workshop on issues relating to the Philadelphia police department. In jest, one interviewee described Davidoff as "an over-eager young professor who gave us too much work."¹³

It is notable that those who spoke of Davidoff's time at Penn described him as fully committed to teaching and intellectual pursuits, because modern planners do not often remember Davidoff for his role as an educator. One respondent in academia attributed this to the fact that, in his view, Davidoff published fairly little aside from his best-known articles.¹⁴ Developing a detailed publication list is an important component to success in a university setting, and it is possible that Davidoff was too preoccupied with his broader social concerns to dedicate the necessary time to this. My interviews revealed two recurring themes in Davidoff's life that may have ultimately impeded his success in academia: (1) difficulty with organization and (2) difficulty with institutional politics. At Penn, Davidoff was often in structured situations that allowed him to exercise his creativity; when he arrived at Hunter, he may have faced difficulty creating this structure from scratch. Because he was so focused on his passions, Davidoff may have also missed cues to learn or adapt to his environment. His Socratic teaching style, while engaging, reportedly intimidated the design-oriented students at Penn, and perhaps to the displeasure of his superiors, Davidoff participated with several other planners in a revolt against physical studios in the planning curriculum. Although the exact reason for this is uncertain, Davidoff was ultimately one of several assistant professors in the School of Fine Arts who did not receive tenure.¹⁵

The most significant factor that influenced Davidoff at this time, however, was the tragic loss of his wife and son in a car accident. Several respondents believed that this event was the primary reason why he left Philadelphia as well as one reason why he subsequently dedicated so much energy to social causes. Although a passionate, dedicated, and optimistic person, one friend also described Paul Davidoff as a man with "enormous hurt."¹⁶ One secondhand account from a friend who knew Davidoff through the 1960s commented that his academic growth seemed to have slowed when he moved to Hunter, and she reasoned that the intense emotional damage from this accident was the cause.¹⁷ Before moving to New York, Paul married one of his students from Penn, a woman named Linda Greenberg, who would act as a stabilizing force in his life and would coauthor and edit much of his writing.

Writing and Educational Philosophy

As referenced earlier, Davidoff's theoretical writing centered on the role of values in planning and the use of these values to advocate for the disadvantaged in society. Davidoff also produced a significant number of policy reports that provided direct recommendations on how to achieve residential integration and reverse social and economic inequalities. Many of Davidoff's articles and interviews included a section specifically dedicated to the ideal structure of a planning education, where he consistently argued that contemporary planning programs did not provide their students with the correct set of skills. The components of an ideal planning education, as taken from Davidoff's writing, are as follows: (1) teach the planner to function in the broader urban system; (2) include a strong level of fieldwork and community involvement; and (3) incorporate economic development and social justice issues to alleviate social ills.¹⁸

While Davidoff positioned his proposals as novel compared to contemporary efforts, he notably supported the structure of the university and the "intensive intellectual pursuit" that it made possible.¹⁹ As mentioned previously, his argument in "A Choice Theory of Planning" was not to deemphasize the knowledge base but to provide the skills necessary to apply that knowledge in the field. Davidoff also continued to write about the ideal structure of a planning education even after he left Hunter. In 1984, the year of his death, he circulated a draft syllabus for a new course titled "Introduction to Planning Equity" at the annual meeting of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning.²⁰ This lends further support to the notion that Davidoff had a strong commitment to planning education throughout his career, even though his direct involvement in it varied throughout his life.

Hunter College

The Urban Planning program was one of several applied professional programs that Hunter College created in the mid-1960s. The creation of the planning program in particular followed a recommendation by the Regional Planning Association, which stated that the region needed an urban planning program housed in a public university to solve an “acute need” for professionals in the field.²¹ It is interesting to speculate whether Hunter’s role as a public institution was of particular interest to Davidoff, both because of its public mission and because of its potential ability to reach the less advantaged populations for whom he advocated. Respondents who taught or attended Hunter during several different time periods indicated that Hunter’s planning program has consistently drawn students from less affluent backgrounds than the other planning programs in the New York area.²² At the same time, however, respondents were quick to mention that this has not necessarily been correlated to a greater interest in the type of social justice planning that Davidoff promoted, as many of these students have focused more on acquiring technical skills that ensure job security.

This perceived disconnect between skills and practice would play prominently in the formation of the Hunter program. When Davidoff arrived, he hired several full-time faculty members and was able to create some aspects of the ideal program he described in his literature. In the program’s first year, Davidoff created a community-oriented planning studio in East New York in partnership with Pratt Institute’s planning program and the Central Brooklyn Model Cities office.²³ It was in 1967, one year after the program’s founding, that Davidoff described Hunter’s planning program as one that “sees City Planning as concerned with all areas of public interest, including the social, the political, the economic and the physical.”²⁴ His presence at Hunter brought the program instant notoriety, with his department receiving hundreds of applicants from top-tier schools and some apparently regarding it as among the best in the country.²⁵ As the head of Hunter’s Urban Research Center, Davidoff produced several policy documents such as his comprehensive *A Housing Program for New York State* that combined his fiery rhetoric for social justice with concrete policy proposals.²⁶ Asked to describe Davidoff’s influence on Hunter at the time, one respondent used the term “ambient,” creating an aura of idealism that attracted socially minded individuals and was very beneficial to the school.²⁷

At the same time, however, it appears that Davidoff faced organizational and institutional difficulties at Hunter just as he did at Penn, and that these challenges ultimately handicapped his ability to succeed. According to several respondents, Paul Davidoff quickly fell into disfavor with Dean Ruth Weintraub, the person who hired him. This conflict was at least partially attributed to disagreements about the ultimate direction of the planning program, which is surprising considering the openness with which Davidoff espoused his views on an ideal planning education. On one side, Davidoff wanted a program that fully integrated students in neighborhood service, characterized by one respondent as “operating out of a storefront in the Lower East Side.”²⁸ On the other was a desire among the Dean and others in the administration to create a more traditional planning program that their educational peers could respect and that provided a strong foundation of technical planning skills.

It is very interesting to consider this conflict in light of Davidoff’s writing, because he often described his ideal planning education as integrating both of these themes, practice and knowledge. It is possible that Davidoff’s philosophies were less balanced in implementation than they were in writing. According to one respondent, “There was the feeling of the planning educational community in New York City that Paul Davidoff was fighting the good fight, getting students out to the field, but perhaps to the detriment of other parts of their education.”²⁹ Another possibility was that the administration was simply uncomfortable with Davidoff’s orientation. One respondent believed that Davidoff became more frustrated and radicalized over time at Hunter, partially due to his conflicts with the administration and partially due to the general political climate.³⁰ Indeed, Davidoff’s

files suggest a time of significant unrest at Hunter in the late 1960s, a sample of which includes student letters demanding that Hunter hire more minority faculty and decrying “a pattern of racism in the American educational system” that was “imbedded in Hunter college.”³¹ According to interviews, Davidoff sympathized with these student concerns and chose to march alongside them in protest against the faculty.³² A review of Davidoff’s publications and speeches made while Chairman at Hunter reveals a passionate and combative style that did not hesitate to criticize elected officials or government policy. By pursuing these measures, in which Davidoff doubtlessly believed, he showed little sensitivity to his institutional constraints and may have helped to facilitate his downfall. To put this behavior in context, I asked a friend of Davidoff if this language and style were typical for the time. Davidoff may not have been alone in writing this way, she explained, but that does not mean that those in power approved.³³

In addition to conflicts with the administration above him, Davidoff was reportedly a poor administrator within his own department. One respondent described Paul Davidoff as a passive manager who was inattentive to issues of budgeting and finance.³⁴ This contention is supported by files from the Cornell archives, which include several references to overdrawn accounts and unpaid invoices.³⁵ This respondent also expressed the opinion that Davidoff’s classes were not well run—that their reading lists were limited, their discussions revolved around “war stories,” and that some of the faculty Davidoff recruited were not well qualified to teach.³⁶ It is possible that some of this criticism is reflective of the philosophical divide between Davidoff and the administration and may not directly reflect class quality. Indeed, this stands in contrast to the positive reviews of Davidoff’s teaching style from his students at Penn. At the same time, this criticism would be consistent with Davidoff’s difficulty with organization and with the theory that he lost his academic focus somewhat after the death of his first wife. At Penn, Davidoff appears to have done well teaching within an established, structured curriculum, which he was then able to adapt to suit his teaching style. At Hunter, his abilities were perhaps less well suited to creating and managing an academic program from the start.

A turning point in Davidoff’s conflict with the Dean came in 1968, when the Dean created the new academic department of Urban Affairs and placed this department above Urban Planning in the academic hierarchy. As a result of this, Paul Davidoff was no longer responsible for administrative decisions such as recruiting faculty and setting the overall direction of the program. As a technical issue, this decision posed a problem for the planning department’s recognition from the American Institute of Planners (AIP), since the chair of the planning department must be directly responsible to a dean or equivalent official according to AIP guidelines. A copy of these guidelines was included in Davidoff’s files with this particular requirement highlighted in the margin.³⁷ One colleague at Hunter mentioned this issue as a particular point of contention between Davidoff and the Dean—one that he was unable to win and left him feeling particularly disempowered.³⁸

Perhaps because of these frustrations at Hunter, Paul Davidoff eventually diverted his attention to other efforts, first with a run for Congress in 1968 while he was still on the faculty at Hunter. He ran as a Democrat from his home district in Westchester County, and his platform revolved around the issues that he had promoted for much of his career: residential integration and social justice, with a focus on the suburbs. At the AIP Conference in Pittsburgh in October of 1968, Davidoff gave an impassioned campaign and policy speech in which he integrated his work from the Hunter Urban Research Center to promote his agenda.³⁹ According to the American Society of Planning Officials (ASPO) newsletter that chronicled the conference, Davidoff “received the loudest and most prolonged ovation remembered in recent planning conferences.”⁴⁰ On October 30 of that year, Davidoff received a letter from Hunter’s president, Robert Cross, wishing him luck in the election but noting that “Selfishly, I have mixed feelings about your winning.” This letter then goes on to congratulate Davidoff for a “bravura performance on Alumni Day” and invites him to give a twenty-minute speech on the topic of his choosing at the upcoming mid-year commencement. This invitation suggests that Davidoff still had support from parts

March 8, 1970

Dear Ruth,

This is to give notice formally of my decision not to return to Hunter College next year.

I have enjoyed being away from an academic position for a year; but I have struggled long in determining whether or not to return to Hunter in September. I feel strongly that I would like to contribute further to the development of Hunter's urban program. But my present work is of such great importance that I believe I could not now give it up in order to return to an academic position in September.

I would like to ask for an additional year's leave of absence. I can understand, however, why from Hunter's perspective it might be best to find a permanent replacement. Thus I would leave the decision in your hands as to whether to accept my resignation now or to grant further leave.

In either case, I want you to know how very much I appreciate all that you have done to make possible the creation of a strong program of planning at Hunter. Without your efforts one of the significant developments in graduate education in planning would not have commenced.

It has always been exciting working with you. I can not thank thank you enough for permitting me to start the program, and I look forward with you to its continued growth.

I'll stop in to see you in the near future.

Best wishes,

cc: Seymour
Dean

Figure 3. Davidoff's resignation letter and handwritten draft (Figure 3a). The draft includes an additional line to the Dean not in the final version: "... but I have struggled long (perhaps too long—considering my decision—from your point of view) in determining whether or not to return to Hunter in September." *Source:* The Paul Davidoff Papers, Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections.

of the university administration even as he conflicted with the Dean and after he had lost his chairmanship of the department.⁴¹ Ultimately, Davidoff lost the congressional election by a sizable margin, receiving 44,084 votes while his Republican opponent, the incumbent, received 118,344.⁴²

After the election, Davidoff took a leave of absence from Hunter in 1969 to work on establishing the SAI, a nonprofit that would promote his agenda of integration and social justice through what he referred to as "clientless advocacy."⁴³ One year later, on March 8, 1970, Paul Davidoff submitted his resignation letter to Dean Weintraub. In the letter, Davidoff appears torn, mentioning that he struggled with his decision and would like to return to Hunter, but that his work with SAI is "of such great importance" that he "could not now give it up in order to return to an academic position." He then proceeds to ask for an additional year's leave of absence but also adds that he would understand if the department needed to find a permanent replacement. He concludes by thanking the Dean for

This is to kindly give
 notice of my decision not
 to return to Hunter College
 next year.

First, I must thank
 you for all that you
 did to make possible
 the creation of a strong
 graduate program of planning.
 Without your efforts
 one of the significant
 developments in graduate
 education in planning would
 not have commenced or
 developed. I felt ~~at~~
~~at the time I had been~~
 but

I have enjoyed being
 away from ~~the~~ in academic
 position for a year; ^{but I}
 have struggled long (perhaps
 too long—considering my decision
 —from your point of view)
 in determining whether or
 not to return to Hunter
 in September. I feel

Figure 3a. Source: The Paul Davidoff Papers, Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections.

helping him to realize “one of the significant developments in graduate education in planning.”⁴⁴ A handwritten draft from Davidoff’s files includes an additional line to the Dean that Davidoff chose to omit, saying that he had “struggled long (perhaps too long—considering my decision—from your point of view)” when deciding whether or not to return.⁴⁵ Although Davidoff is diplomatic through

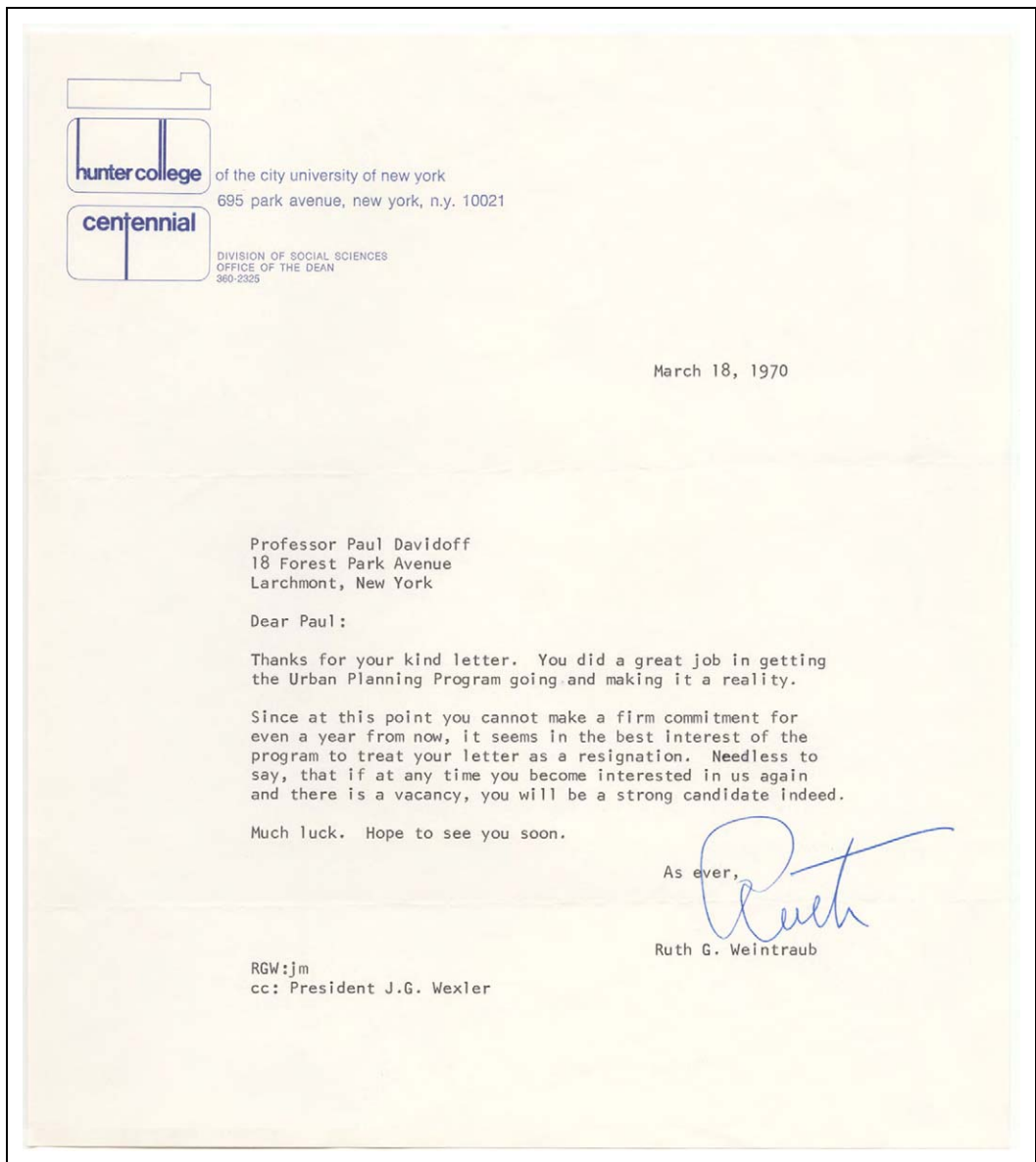


Figure 4. Dean Weintraub's response to Davidoff. *Source:* The Paul Davidoff Papers, Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections.

much of his letter, this omission does provide a glimpse of the tension between him and the Dean. The Dean's response, dated ten days later, thanks Davidoff for his hard work and accepts the letter as a resignation, promising that he would be a "strong candidate indeed" should he decide to apply again and there be a vacancy. While politely worded, one could also interpret this response as a slight to Davidoff, as the Dean makes no attempt to accommodate him and even mentions that he would have to "apply again" if he ever wished to return.⁴⁶

In interviews, several people mentioned the decision to leave Hunter as a particularly difficult one for Paul Davidoff. Although he was deeply committed to the work of his SAI, one can also see

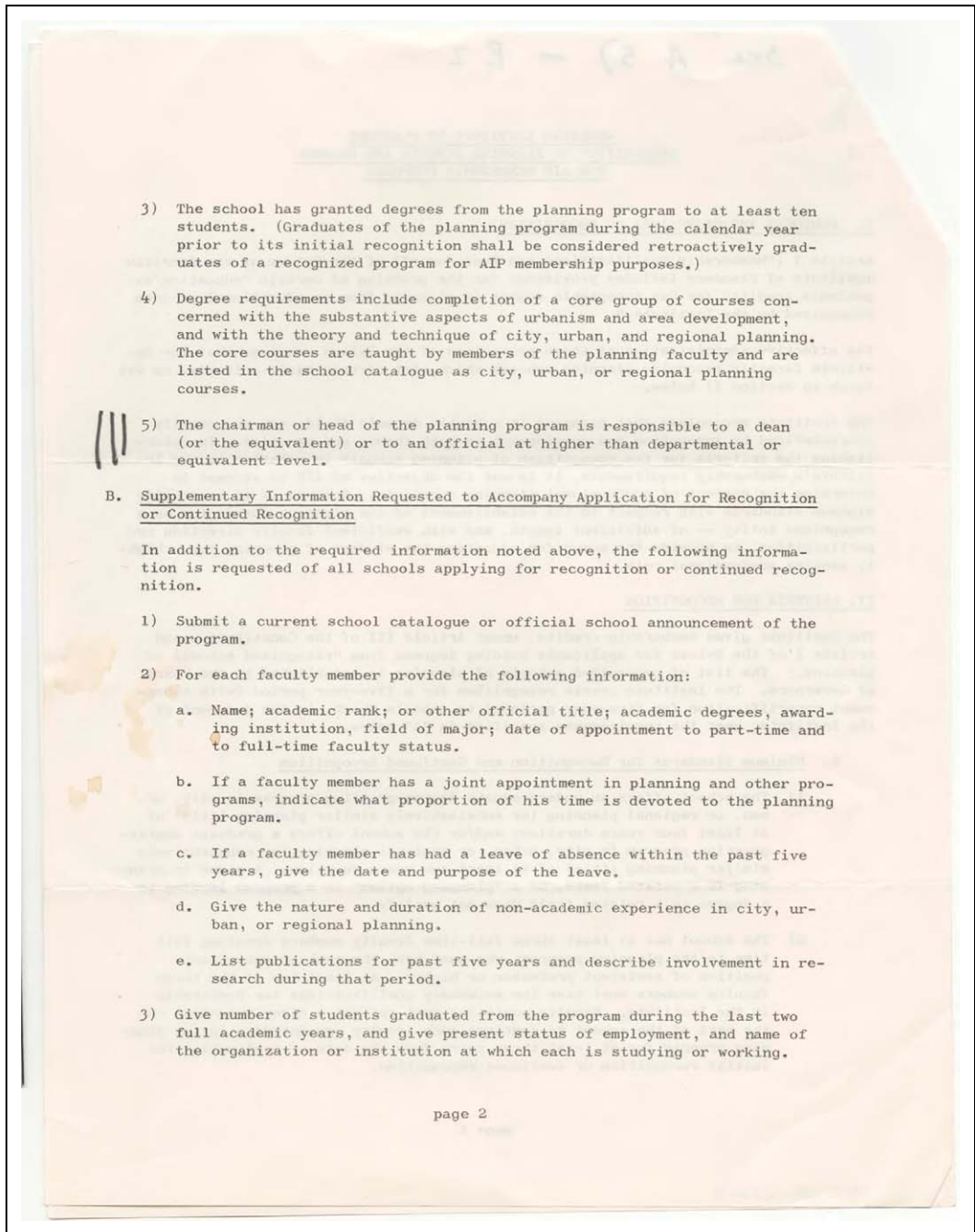


Figure 5. Selection from Davidoff's AIP Membership Guidelines. Davidoff has highlighted the regulation requiring the Chairman to be directly responsible to the Dean with a marking in the margin. Source: The Paul Davidoff Papers, Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections.

Davidoff's commitment to education, and what he was trying to accomplish at Hunter, in his resignation letter, even if the program never reached the ideal that he described in his writing. Indeed, it is interesting to note that Paul Davidoff continued to speak about an ideal planning education in

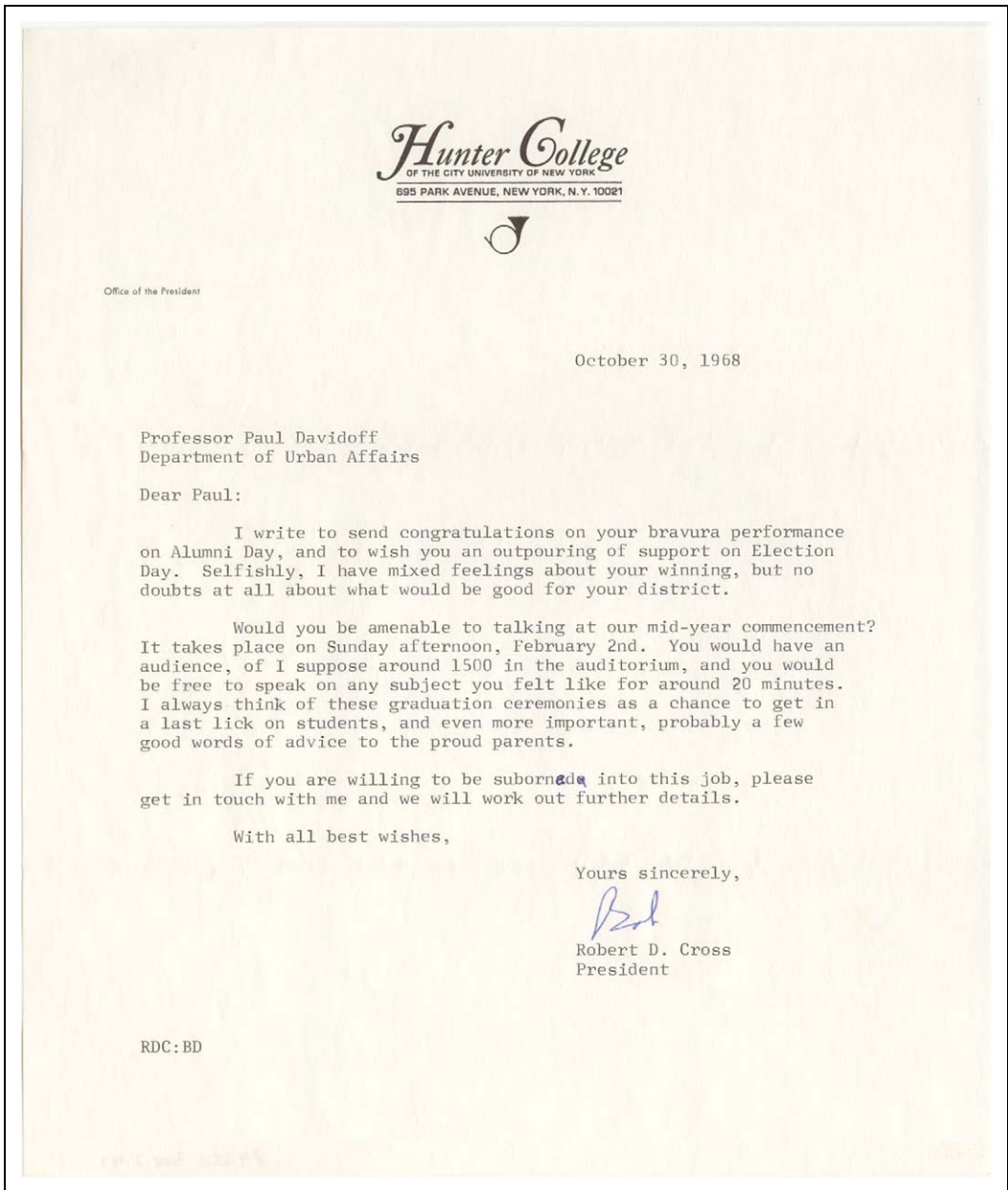


Figure 6. Letter from Hunter College President Robert Cross to Paul Davidoff. This letter invited Davidoff to speak at Hunter's mid-year commencement in 1969 and was sent after Davidoff lost his chairmanship of the department, suggesting that he still had supporters within the university administration. *Source:* The Paul Davidoff Papers, Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections.

subsequent writing and interviews; one notable example was published in 1971 but actually conducted on March 2, 1970, just six days before Davidoff submitted his resignation. It devotes two pages to Davidoff's comments on planning education, where he again focused on the importance of combining on-the-ground fieldwork with the "intensive intellectual pursuit" of a university. In spite of the difficulty that Davidoff faced in realizing this model, he still professed his faith in it even

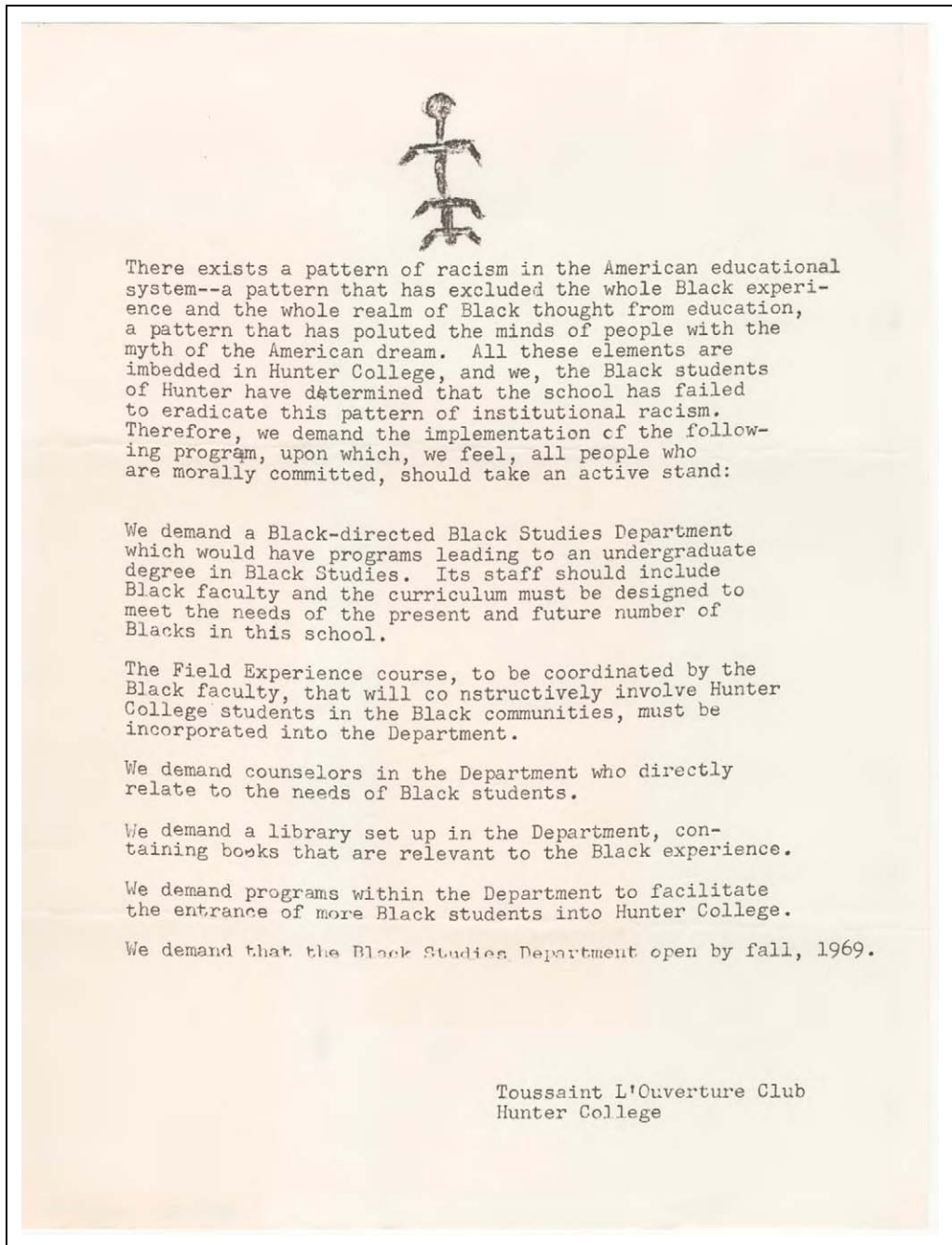


Figure 7. Student protest letter from Davidoff's files. Source: The Paul Davidoff Papers, Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections.

as he prepared to resign.⁴⁷ Davidoff also dedicates a passage to speak about the “planner–scholar–professor,” which is the perfect embodiment of the educational system that he promoted and which may well represent what Davidoff strived to be. One year before he died, in 1983, Davidoff submitted one final article entitled “Peace and Justice in Planning Education”

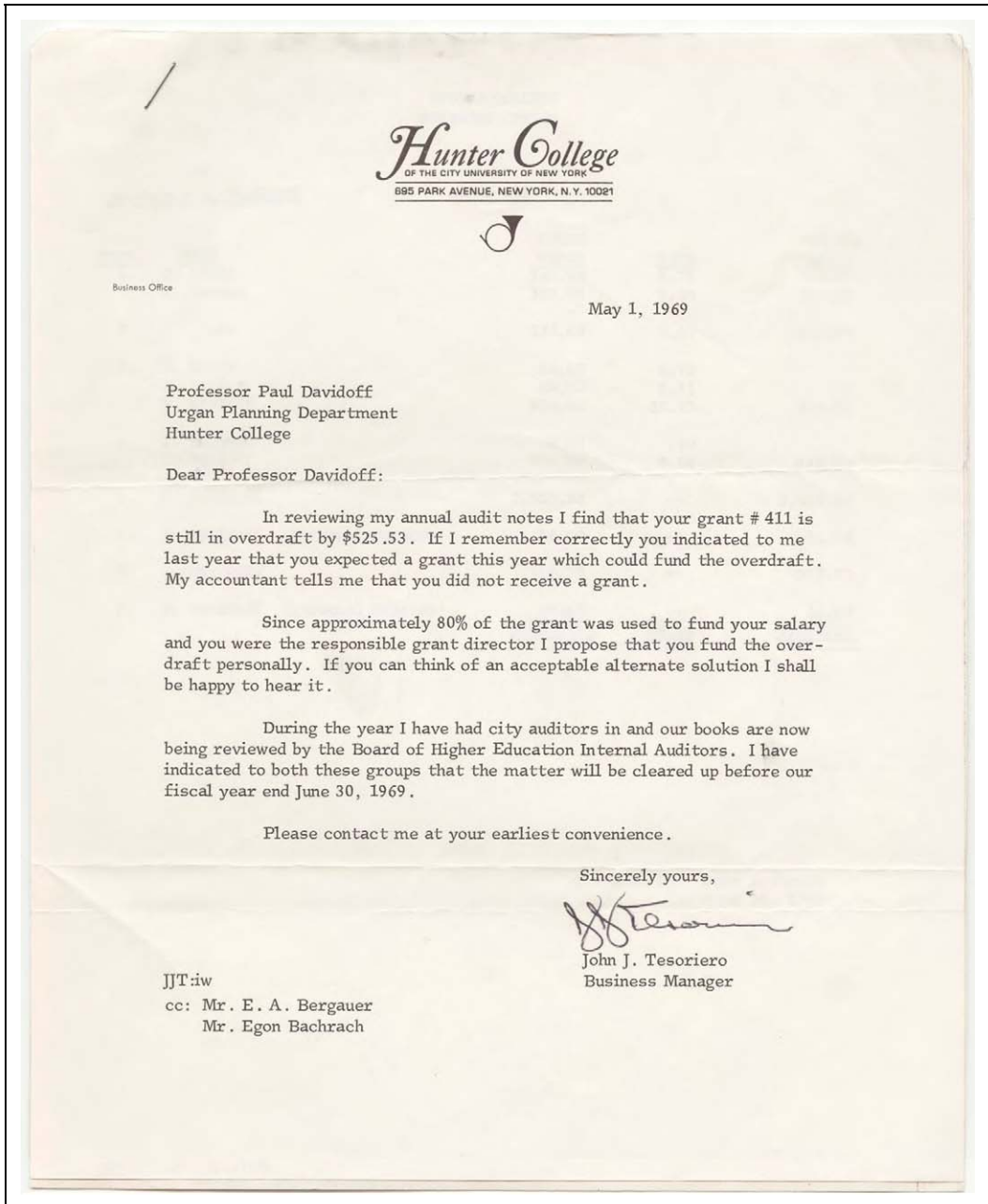


Figure 8. Letter from the Hunter Business Office to Davidoff about an overdrawn grant. Source: The Paul Davidoff Papers, Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections.

to the *Journal of Planning Education and Research*. Here, Davidoff called once again for the inclusion of social and racial justice in the planning curriculum but also added that these schools should train their students to promote peace and disarmament through the use of community planning methods.⁴⁸ For someone whom modern planners do not often remember as an academic, it is notable that this should be one of his last written statements to the profession.

Davidoff and Academia after Hunter College

After leaving Hunter, Davidoff sought to make concrete policy improvements through his work with the SAI, most notably succeeding with his participation in the *Mount Laurel I* case in the early 1970s. At the same time, though, Davidoff returned at least twice to academia to play the role of planner–scholar–professor. In 1971, Davidoff commuted to New Haven to teach at Yale’s City Planning program for the last year of that program’s existence, where he was free to teach social justice planning without fear of administrative reproach.⁴⁹ In 1982, Davidoff moved his SAI to Queens College, where he taught in the Urban Studies Department until his death in 1984. To several respondents, these decisions were indicative of Davidoff’s continued interest in education and reflect how difficult it must have been for him to leave his position at Hunter, where he had in fact received tenure. Several of those interviewed commented that Davidoff was not a scholar or an academic, primarily because he published relatively little or because he did not do well dealing with academic politics. His colleagues viewed him instead as an advocate, the person he described in his writings who was tirelessly committed to a social cause. Yet, it is interesting that his peers did not see him as the other person he described in his writings, the planner–scholar–professor. Perhaps, Paul Davidoff could not find the necessary balance to realize this persona, or perhaps he was simply not at the right place for this to happen in the way he desired.

Regardless of the final outcome at Hunter, one can still admire Davidoff for his consistent dedication to planning education. His writings addressed planning education because he was deeply committed to the profession, and he saw the appropriate training of planners as an essential component of improving the field. The educational goals that Davidoff addressed in his writing—to take a comprehensive view of the urban system and combine theory and practice for students and faculty—are now axiomatic in planning and could describe any top-ranked graduate program today, including Penn’s. For these reasons, I would argue that Paul Davidoff’s legacy extends beyond the inspiration embodied in his seminal articles to include concrete and now well-accepted contributions to the pedagogy of the field. These contributions were an integral part of his work on advocacy and social equity, just as they were important to him on a personal level. If not a success story in implementation, Paul Davidoff’s experience at Hunter is still a guide for those hoping to have a lasting impact on the profession: contribute to the theory and practice of planning education and strive to be the planner–scholar–professor.

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Notes

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2. “New Urban Planning Graduate Program to Coordinate Social and Physical Factors,” *Urban Affairs Review* 1 (1965): 86.
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the files I obtained from Cornell, so I have relied primarily on interview accounts to reconstruct the curriculum and issues surrounding it. It is worth noting that every one of my respondents who knew Davidoff held him in very high regard, regardless of whether they had agreed with him or shared his views. Those interviewed for this article but not directly cited include: Barbara Fife, Friend of Davidoff; Lynn McCormick, Associate Professor and Program Director, Hunter College Department of Urban Affairs and Planning; and Sigmund Shipp, Associate Professor, Hunter College Department of Urban Affairs and Planning.

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23. Interview with Ronald Shiffman, Professor, Graduate Center for Planning at Pratt Institute, in discussion with the author, December 3, 2009.
24. Davidoff (1967): 159.
25. Interview with Peter Salins, Former Chairperson, Hunter College Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, in discussion with the author, November 18, 2009.
26. Paul Davidoff, Neil Newton Gold, and Harry Schwartz, *A Housing Program for New York State* (New York, February 1968).
27. Interview with Peter Salins.
28. Ibid.

29. Interview with Hans Spiegel, Former Colleague of Davidoff at Hunter College, in discussion with the author, December 4, 2009.
30. Interview with Peter Salins.
31. Letter from the Toussaint L'Ouverture Club, The Paul Davidoff Papers, n. 4250, "Hunter College," Box 2, Folder 49, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
32. Interview with Peter Salins.
33. Interview with Denise Scott Brown.
34. Interview with Peter Salins.
35. Letter to Paul Davidoff from John J. Tesoriero (Business Manager at Hunter College), May 1, 1969, The Paul Davidoff Papers, n. 4250, "Hunter College," Box 2, Folder 49, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
36. Interview with Peter Salins.
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42. Benjamin J. Guthrie, Comp., *Statistics of the Presidential and Congressional Election of November 5, 1968* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1969).
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44. Letter to Ruth Weintraub (Dean of the Division of Social Sciences, Hunter College) from Paul Davidoff, March 8, 1970, The Paul Davidoff Papers, n. 4250, "Hunter College," Box 2, Folder 49, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
45. Letter to Ruth Weintraub (Dean of the Division of Social Sciences, Hunter College) from Paul Davidoff (handwritten draft), The Paul Davidoff Papers, n. 4250, "Hunter College," Box 2, Folder 49, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
46. Letter to Paul Davidoff from Ruth Weintraub (Dean of the Division of Social Sciences, Hunter College), March 18, 1970, The Paul Davidoff Papers, n. 4250, "Hunter College," Box 2, Folder 49, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
47. Davidoff (1971): 7–8.
48. Davidoff and Boyd (1983): 54.
49. Interview with Denise Scott Brown.

Bio

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