Housing Well-Elderly: A Case Study and Critique of Planning in an Intermediate Jewish Community*

JEFFREY SCHWAMM, PH.D.
Assistant Professor, Graduate School of Social Work, The University of Texas at Arlington
Postdoctoral Fellow at the Benjamin S. Hornstein Program in Jewish Communal Service, Brandeis University, 1982–83

. . . although the limitations of the classical model of planning may never be resolved, its major value of comprehensiveness can be somewhat maintained with mechanisms allowing for a cross-section of views and information throughout the planning process. This more critical awareness of planning should move us toward the most effective path for serving American Jews.

OLDER Americans are having increased difficulties in finding adequate living arrangements. Many face skyrocketing housing costs coupled with a reduction in housing stock. Elderly individuals, a heterogeneous population, share many overlapping needs, e.g., medical, transportation, housing. Even those requiring institutional care share things in common with those less dependent. Recognizing these needs, numerous community groups, especially those sectarian in nature, are taking greater responsibility for planning and delivering alternative living arrangements for this population.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a perspective on planning that should facilitate meeting the total care needs of Jewish elderly. More specifically, the paper, using an actual planning episode in an intermediate Jewish community, examines the planning process for housing a well-elderly population. What are the characteristics of the problem of housing well-elderly? How are these people served? What planning strategies were used to develop a program for them? How was the planning process influenced by the social context in which it took place? And lastly, which planning model best satisfies the needs of the well-elderly and the system impacting upon them? A basic assumption is that the match between client (ie., elderly tenant) needs and services is related to organizational and contextual factors. The strength of this relationship is the target of the findings and discussion of the case under review.[1]

Planning Models

The purpose of planning is to provide rationality in decision-making. A rational planning model, according to Warren, "confines itself exclusively to the substantive aspects of the formulation of objectives, the allocation of resources, the disposition of effort, and the appraisal of goal attainment."[2] Characterized as *abstract* and *rational,*

* Research funds provided by a 1981 Gerontological Society of America Research Fellowship in Applied Gerontology to Jeffrey Schwamm and supported by a grant from the Administration on Aging to GSA.

[1] Carol L. Estes, "Barriers to Effective Community Planning for the Elderly," *The Gerontologist,* 1973, *13,* 178–183; Bernard Warach, "Matching Services and Activities to Meet the Varied Needs of Older People," *Journal of Jewish Communal Service,* 1977, *53,* 250–260.

[2] Roland Warren, "Two Models of Social Planning," In Warren (Ed.), *Truth, Love and Social Change.* Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1971, 54–71.

this classical model of planning follows an idealized sequence of events:

1. The individual, in adapting to his environment, continually scans his surroundings and seeks to modify those parts that impinge on him in some fashion—offering either limitations or opportunities with respect to his needs or gratifications. He evaluates his environment in relation to a value set he has acquired from prior experience and cultural or social traditions.
2. After determining circumstances he seeks to modify (either to overcome a hardship or seize an opportunity), he establishes goals to be achieved.
3. From this, he designs as many alternative methods of achieving his goals as time and resources permit.
4. A full and complete set of probable consequences is predicted for each alternative means.
5. Each alternative means is evaluated to determine which method maximally accomplishes the desired goals with minimum cost or effort.
6. On the above basis, a method of goal achievement is selected and acted upon.
7. Over time such rational process becomes a part of the individual's experiential makeup. Thus, either implicitly or explicitly, there tends to be a reevaluation of a past decision as a guide to the next.[3]

The rational model assumes information is entirely adequate, all alternative sets of means and ends and all possible consequences can be predicted.

Planning occurs in a social context where many factors do impinge upon the idealized steps of the rational model; thus, an alternative model of planning emphasizes "gradualism, improvement, the social process of group problem-solving and plan implementation."[4] Described as *concrete* and *social,* the model:

> . . . cannot assume that the planning process can free itself of the restraint of actual social reality, of the potentials of actual implementation, as these are mediated, sooner or later, in legitimation, in participation, and in the modifying, accepting, and implementing aspects of the planning process. It assumes a plurality of centers of goal-setting and policy formation, thus not positing even in its logical prerequisites, a centralized authority with sufficient control to enforce totally integrated planning. Finally, in its more modest scope, in its continuous feedback and modification, in its open subjection to the waxing and waning of specific economic and political forces, it permits a selection of planned activities which corresponds closely to the size and scope that practical wisdom and technological skills can accommodate.[5]

Knowledge and action coincide. Each decision during the planning process anticipates constraints in carrying out the process to its logical conclusion—successful implementation of the plan. Uncertainty is a given.

Of major concern in this paper is presenting those factors leading to a higher degree of rationality in community planning, being especially sensitive to the cognitive demands made upon the participants engaged in the planning process and the social context in which they must work.

Method of Analysis

A qualitative research design which investigates "naturally occurring phenomena in their naturally occurring states," was adopted for this case study.[6] This system level analysis, conducted during the summer of 1981, examined the entire planning process through the opening of the apartments.

Ten individuals were identified as key participants in planning the housing. All agreed to personal interviews which were tape-recorded and transcribed. Questions were of four types: (1) experience/behavior; (2) opinion/value;

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[3] Richard Bolan, "Community Decision Behavior: The Culture of Planning," In Faludi (Ed.), *A Reader in Planning Theory*. New York: Pergamon Press, Inc., 1973, 371–394.

[4] Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[6] Michael Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation Methods*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980, p. 41.

(3) knowledge; and (4) background/demographic. All questions were open-ended. Content analysis of the transcribed interviews was used to elicit a refined picture of the planning process, including patterns of experience which decision-makers bring to the process, patterns characterizing their participation in the process, and patterns which have or should characterize the process. Patterns are presented in representative personal quotes throughout the analysis.

Written documents include the HUD application, board and committee meeting minutes and reports. They were content analyzed to substantiate information gathered in the interviews.

The Apartment Complex

On June 1, 1981, a $4 million, 120 unit apartment complex for well-elderly was opened, which was sponsored by the Jewish community and financed through the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Completely rented within six months, occupancy as of December 1, 1981 indicated American Jews occupied 69 units (9 occupied by couples); American Non-Jews occupied 25 units (2 occupied by couples); and Soviet Jews, Soviet Non-Jews and Israeli Jews occupied 26 units (14 occupied by couples). There are 25 units occupied by couples; 79 occupied by women living singly; and 16 occupied by men living singly. Application for residence requires a person to be 62 or older (unless handicapped), to be in good health, and to meet federal regulations in income eligibility and rental subsidy. All apartments are one-bedroom; several have modifications for handicapped elderly.

Application for HUD financing was submitted by the Jewish Federation in 1977 but the initial undercurrents for establishing such a facility predate the application by several years. All of the constituent agencies of the Federation—Home for Jewish Aged, Jewish Family Services, Jewish Community Center and Jewish Vocational Counseling Service—had some investment in the elderly. The Home's deep concern in housing well-elderly dates back to the 1960's.

Defining the Problem

A basic problem confronting elderly in the community has been locating affordable housing for an expanding older population, many of whom are on fixed incomes. The conversion of numerous apartments to condominiums has forced many Jewish elderly out of their homes; they simply are unable to invest a major portion of their savings to secure permanent residences:

> The problems were an acknowledgement by a number of creative people that (1) we had an increasing population of the elderly; (2) that, in fact, there was not adequate housing; (3) that available housing was shrinking rather than expanding. . . . The reason for the shrinking was the strong trend toward condominium conversion. . . . The elderly either did not have the money to buy them or it just made no economic sense for them to tie up everything they had in an overpriced apartment that was now being sold to them as a condominium. They were being forced to move to less and less desirable places, and move more and more frequently which is a very traumatic experience for an older person to leave familiar surroundings. That really accelerated and accentuated a need for the community to do something. (Interviewee I)

The lack of sufficient and adequate housing for elderly Jews, in particular, stimulated discussion within the Jewish community about the costs of new housing and available financial resources:

> . . . the Jewish community was probably not in a position to go out and provide a facility such as this on its own. Interest rates were high. We have all of these other needs in the Jewish

> community. We already had a tremendous amount of our dollars going to bricks and mortar, whether it be a community center, additions to the Home, congregation building new buildings, and adding on to old buildings; so to pull more major funds out of the Jewish community to provide this roof over people's heads would have been a major problem had we not been able to find another resource—being the use of government borrowed funds at low interest rates. (Interviewee D)

While there was a general consensus on the basic problem—affordable housing for Jewish elderly—the lines were being drawn as to the feasibility of the Jewish community underwriting a new capital expenditure. Federal versus private funding and subsequent control over the apartments presented differing ideological options. To those supportive of private funding, the desire for greater control and predictability of consequences was paramount. Accepting federal dollars undermined such control but left the prevailing distribution of community resources virtually intact for other Jewish needs.

The Jewish community was also aware of service delivery issues beyond the provision of new housing:

> The first choice for location was the property adjoining the existing Community Center to the west . . . that would have been the prime location in the entire city for this particular project. It would have called upon the resources and amenities that the Jewish community had to offer better than any other possible location. It would have tied in the joint use of the Center, close to the Federation building, close to the Jewish population of the city, it had all of the amenities. (Interviewee D)

> . . . it's more than just an apartment house. I think it should provide a form of decent living for people . . . a place where they can meet some of their social needs, some of the emotional needs, if you will, set up a support system among each other . . . if it's to be really successful, it really has to help people live independently for a long time. (Interviewee H)

According to the above comments, some elderly need more of the services which the Jewish agencies can provide, especially those aimed at reducing the likelihood of physical, psychological and social disabilities and dependencies. Physical proximity to the primary Jewish communal agencies, families and relatives could facilitate serving these people more efficiently. Another by-product of location could be improved integration and coordination of the Jewish agencies, yielding greater effectiveness in providing services that maintain one's independence.

The Social Context of Planning

Many of the planning decisions were orchestrated by a select group in the Jewish community:

> . . . its always been my opinion that any communal function of substance never comes from the great unwashed masses. There is always a core leadership group that perceives a need, rightfully or wrongfully, and brings it to a point where it can then become more broader based. (Interviewee C)

As with any select group, certain interests prevailed over others:

> From my vantage point, what we had was a Federation that was committed to fundraising for Israel, and that historically and traditionally, it did not do any social planning; it was very, very cautious about developing services because they felt that these services would compete dollar-wise with money that might go overseas. We had some very, very influential people here for a long time who were strong supporters of Israel and a don't-rock-the-boat kind of philosophy. If they were saying, 'I'm giving my money because I want it to go to Israel,' then the growth of the social agencies . . . was really delayed. (Interviewee F)

Israel's needs frequently take precedence over domestic needs in the Jewish community. The Federation was apparently unable to rationalize equitable support of Jewish communal services.

In contrast to the active involvement of this select group, there is little evi-

dence that the elderly target population was involved in the planning:

> . . . in large measure, we selected people who were particularly attentive to the needs. It was not an insensitive planning body at all, quite the contrary. There were people who have had long-standing interest in commitment to providing services to the elderly, so I want to make sure I'm not misunderstood. There were folks like that but in terms of what we might have done differently, in retrospect, I think we would have had more from both the seniors and their children who would most likely benefit and utilize these services. (Interviewee A)

This response reflects the almost complete absence of the elderly, particularly future tenants, in planning. The Social Planning Committee of the Federation had formal responsibility for determining the need for housing of well-elderly and subsequent plan of action. It and its many subcommittees—Housing for the Elderly, Apartment House for the Elderly, Site Selection, Architect and Builders, Support Services, and Interagency Professionals—reflected minimum involvement of elderly on major decisions. Attendance at committee meetings consistently underscored their poor representation. One might ask, however, whether the outcomes would have been different if a representative sample of elderly lay persons and family members were privy to all the "critical" discussions and deliberations pertaining to housing well-elderly? One can make the argument that in the interest of time (which usually translates into money) it was necessary to find alternatives to a more widespread, decision-making process.

If not the elderly, then who represented their interests? Could it be the constituent agencies which have served the elderly in the Jewish community for many years? The Social Planning Committee had seemed ambiguous about the role(s) of these agencies. In February, 1977, almost one year after the Social Planning Committee had formally recognized housing of elderly as a problem, it suggested enlarging its Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly by inviting representatives of the various agencies. In addition, the Social Planning Committee, which was a lay committee, accepted a proposal in September, 1977 to change its membership to include presidents and executive directors of the constituent agencies plus members-at-large.

Housing well elderly parallels many other community problems. There characteristically tends to be a jockeying for maintenance and expansion of an organization's domain by pushing its perspective on the definition of a problem and its solutions. Interorganizational conflict frequently emerges:

> Family Services was interested because they felt there was a need for that in the community, that the Home filled one need but there was the one for the well-elderly. I think they really had the idea it would be a Family Services project in some way. (Interviewee J)

> . . . the most important role I played was in keeping the Federation role very clear . . . that we were the sponsoring body that had the responsibility for carrying this thing through and to make sure, that in some sense, we would have a very strong influence, if not full control, on the final administrative body, on the board of the non-profit corporation. (Interviewee H)

> When we offered some assistance we were told that they would come to us when they needed us. You ever get hit in the face with a wet towel? There are many things about the apartments that should have been done differently but when we tried to point them out we were told we were imposing. (Interviewee F)

These comments highlight an uncertain, if not turbulent, interorganizational field. The Home for Jewish Aged was designated the managing agent of the apartments. The tensions between certain Jewish agencies, coupled with a scarcity of resources, implied a very difficult, if not untenable, situation for the Home as manager. For example,

the social services program of the Management Plan for the Apartments submitted to HUD indicated that Jewish agencies having a history of serving the elderly agreed "to incorporate the tenants . . . into their clientele," and further, "there will be no fee or salary for these services."[7] But the Plan does not sufficiently address mechanisms for coordinating these activities, not to mention those activities of non-Jewish agencies and organizations. Does no fee for services mean that the constituent agencies will pick up the tab for transporting tenants to them? Or, is transportation a luxury item not accounted for in the social services program?

Planning decisions involved a number of participants. Those having greatest influence on the decision outcomes usually received the sanction of the organized Jewish community by virtue of some legitimating factor(s) such as position, organization or role. The planning of the apartments presented a diversity of roles:

> . . . the guiding spirit . . . the one who encouraged . . . the spiritual leader of this whole project. (Interviewee G)

> . . . has always had an interest, particularly in the area of rent control and subsidy of Section 8, making sure we were calling whomever we could at HUD or whatever to make sure that those folks were cared for. (Interviewee A)

> . . . got a lot of credibility with the Old Guard. He's a fiscal conservative . . . got all the right credentials to be trusted by the decision-makers. (Interviewee H)

> . . . they communicated the feelings and the needs of the elderly very effectively . . . probably through their own personal experience with their own parents in addition to being active in the community . . . (Interviewee D)

Every role played exemplifies either cognitive or social process planning skills. Both seem to be necessary requisites to a successful planning endeavor.

In every planning experience there usually emerges at least one individual who integrates many roles, but more than anything else, blends three major attributes—motivation, opportunity and skills:

> . . . had something that none of the others had. He was able to maintain support of Federation leadership when things got really rough . . . able to keep a lot of different factions working together. He got a real ability as a facilitator . . . a real feel for people, real feel for older people. (Interviewee H)

> . . . was the nexus, the glue, the mortar, that kept this thing together . . . He had to take the Jewish committees' wishes and translate them, their irrational longings, into pragmatic answers that would be compatible with HUD's needs. (Interviewee B)

Highly motivated, extremely skilled, and given the opportunity, the above individual was a vital force and possibly the most significant person in bringing the housing to fruition.

Planning Strategies

The Jewish community sought to establish housing for well-elderly which would allow the existing distribution of resources to Jewish agencies to go undisturbed. A strategy of minimum intervention and maintenance of the status quo seemed to have guided the actions of key participants. Such intervention primarily altered the individual circumstances of living for the elderly electing to reside in the new apartments.

There were definite barriers to adopting a more profound strategy which might have effected major change in the Jewish and larger communities. One most discussed barrier centered on commitment of funds:

> . . . maybe we should have said, we should have made the promises differently. That's the cutting edge. To the extent possible, we would

[7] *Management Plan Submitted to HUD (Exhibit 14).* Home for Jewish Aged, November 1979.

create a facility which would cost this community very little. To the extent possible, we would create a facility that would be as largely self-supporting as it can be, but if the community is called upon to, in some small measure, assure quality of life, that would make the difference between a community facility and a warehouse. They wanted to build a warehouse! (Interviewee F)

Originally, when the concept was presented to the Federation Board, it was presented with the understanding that the Federation would not be involved monetarily. This was a mistake because even though the rents collected should pay for the maintenance of the building and so forth, people who move out into a facility of this type need support services which cost money. It's been a little difficult to explain the fact that the Federation Board, at that time when the concept was first presented, was sold on the idea that the Federation would spend no money. We've had to come back and say, 'Yes but . . .' (Interviewee E)

A related barrier centered on apartment site. The Federation decided that it was not in the Jewish community's best interests to contest the City Planning Commission's disapproval of a change in zoning which would have permitted the building of the apartments on the "best" available site. Such action might have pitted the economic and social interests, e.g., property value, of certain residents against the Jewish community.

Opportunism prevailed. Although the Federation did make efforts to find another suitable site in the primary area it eventually selected a site which presented few, if any, serious barriers to its approval:

We took the Home as a fall-back position for 3 reasons: (1) We had available land there; (2) There was no zoning problem whatsoever. We could encompass it within the then existing zoning; (3) That we would then have available some of what we would have had available at the other site which was immediately adjacent to the Center, and that is a means . . . of delivering certain other services or facilities or outreach or whatever might be needed which we either saw or didn't foresee but felt might occur. (Interviewee C)

Whenever opportunity strikes, however, one frequently loses sight of the forest while looking at the trees:

It's remote from the synagogues and temples; it's remote from the Community Center; it's remote from the concentration of Jews . . . (Interviewee I)

Well, with regard to the logistics—the building, the physically 12 to 14 miles away—nothing changes that. What has changed, I think, is efforts to try and tie in, or network the facility with other things in the Jewish community. The single largest problem almost in any services to the elderly is transportation, and the moment you begin to locate people that far away you have to provide some kind of transportation services. (Interviewee A)

In selecting land adjacent to the Home for Jewish Aged the apartments were physically separated from their connectedness to an overall system to serve well-elderly. How psychologically, socially and culturally segregated the apartments are from the Jewish community has yet to be determined.

Information upon which decisions were reached may be weak and open to criticism, especially when problems emerge during implementation. By then, however, it is usually too late to alter the decisions in any significant way:

. . . we could have done a better job in terms of gleaning information from existing projects all over the country in terms of what they did well and what they did badly, what problems did they encounter in the organization and the operation. (Interviewee F)

Back to planning, I think we missed three points that we should have taken into account. One is that we need to get our statistics sorted out a little better, to have a little harder statistics about what population we were planning for. I just know we have a lot of overlap and duplication and maybe some guesswork or wishful thinking . . . Secondly, we didn't plan at all for competition and we got it . . . The third is we didn't have a lot of choice, but we didn't expect, and therefore, I guess, we didn't plan that the location impact would be as severe as it is. (Interviewee I)

Breadth or depth, comprehensiveness or selectivity, long-term horizon or an immediate one are various ways to characterize collected information for a given planning strategy. The quality of the information, implied in the above comments, may be related to the chosen strategy and time required to accomplish it.

Several participants contributed to the overall data collection and analysis. Many reports had the stamp of professional input. On the surface, decisions seemed greatly based upon these reports but what seems to be lacking was the early coordination and integration of these data collection efforts and their interpretations, especially the following reports: "Housing for the Jewish Elderly," prepared by the Subcommittee on Housing of the Federation's Social Planning Committee; "Problems in Housing for Jewish Elderly," prepared by staff of Jewish Family Services; "Support Services for Housing for the Elderly: A Survey," prepared by staff of the Federation; "Comparative Study of 12 Independent Living High Rise Apartments," prepared by a graduate student for the Board of Directors of the Home; "Background Information re: the Home's Request to the Jewish Welfare Federation re Center for Aged Living Apartment Project, 1962–65"; and "The Jewish Community Study, 1974" prepared for the Jewish Federation. These documents laid the foundation for the following goals developed by staff at a meeting of agency professionals in late 1977:

> (a) to provide housing for senior citizens, 62 and over, who cannot obtain affordable housing elsewhere, live in neighborhoods that changed or are changing, or want housing in a Jewish environment;
>
> (b) to maintain and foster the independence of tenants. Independence is defined as the ability to carry out the activities of daily living and the ability to make decisions and act upon them;
>
> (c) to create a Jewish atmosphere in the apartment house.[8]

These goals were reinforced in two visits by lay leadership and professionals to Covenant House for Well Elderly, sponsored by the Jewish Federation of St. Louis. Here was a facility located next to the Jewish Community Center, accommodating the fullest integration into the Jewish community. A feeling for the importance of location was garnered through these personal visits, something not always possible in survey data of the sort captured in the above reports. All the data for decisions being made, however, almost exclusively focused on Jewish elderly. The target population changed with the use of federal funding; the extent of change and its implications apparently were not examined in any sophisticated and analytical fashion.

Discussion

It must be remembered that the Jewish community did accomplish what it had set out to do, that is, to build housing for needy elderly Jews. But housing is one of many needs for these people. The assumption was made at the outset of this paper that the match between client needs and services is related to organizational and contextual factors. This planning experience lends support to this statement inasmuch as organizational and contextual factors were inadequately addressed in planning for client needs.

Which model, abstract-rational or concrete-social, is best suited for planning for elderly? And, in Jewish communities? Imperatives like money and organizational domains in planning housing for well-elderly in this commu-

[8] *Social Planning Committee Minutes.* Jewish Federation, September 28, 1977.

nity underscore a process geared toward incrementalism; however, the imperative of accountability to clients suggests the importance of a more comprehensive examination of a problem.

Housing well-elderly, like many long-term care projects, has primarily operated at the client level of planned intervention. The focus of long-term care demonstrations has been on specification of an ideal range of services, identification of subpopulations of clients and matching clients to an appropriate package of services.[9] System level analysis, in contrast, includes estimating the universe of need, mapping the local delivery system prior to initiating the project and documenting the system intervention. It provides a much wider terrain for analyzing client outcome. Mapping, for example, reduces uncertainty in implementation:

> If it is possible to determine early on that significant resistances are present, resistances that threaten the potential for project implementation and goal attainment, costly failures might be avoided . . . The nature of interagency relationships, if known sufficiently well at the site selection stage, provide important guidance for implementation strategies and for design of the intervention in terms of scope and span of authority and the possible presence of cost containment incentives.[10]

Both mapping and estimating the universe of need are integral to a well-formulated planning process, and are employed prior to plan implementation. Documenting the system intervention remains feasible through the planning stages of implementation and evaluation; emphasis would be on how plans were developed, operationalized and altered over time. Important in any long-term care project is "identifying significant interactions among contextual, organizational and client variables."[11]

In the Jewish community's desire to accomplish the difficult task of building housing for the elderly, many decisions at various points in the planning process demonstrated a limited recognition or apparent disregard of their consequences. Several opportunities to take another path may have impacted differently upon the Jewish elderly. Well-elderly, for example, was never clearly defined in the initial planning stages. Well-elderly, integrated into a long-term care continuum serving all elderly, would appear to have had greater validity and practicality to service providers and users. Prevention, emphasizing the reduction of the incidence of elderly in need of long-term care, would stand alongside treatment and rehabilitation in methods of meeting the individual and overlapping needs of all elderly. The greater attention to the well-elderly and their levels of functioning from the outset of planning would have raised questions often overlooked regarding organizational demands and financing.

Information concentrated primarily on Jewish elderly in non-institutionalized settings. There was no examination of relationships between the population in need and organizational and contextual factors affecting outcomes, e.g., interagency relations, zoning. Had the planning process included a wider spectrum of views and information on the problems of well-elderly, it might have instigated intervention at a system level. Rather than having the well-elderly conform to the needs of the service providers and financial dictates, the organized Jewish community would have had to consider possible organizational and other changes to accommodate the target population.

[9] J. Greenberg, D. Doth, A. Johnson and C. Austin. *A Comparative Study of Long-term Care Demonstrations: Lessons for Future Inquiry (Draft).* Minn.: Center for Health Services Research, 1981, p. 7.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

Questions either not raised or given lip-service during the formulation of the problem of housing Jewish well-elderly might have been expressed and examined if a representative sample of well-elderly were included throughout the planning process. This certainly would have been a radical departure from the way things were being done for the elderly since it tests the domain of professionals and voluntary leadership in planning for the Jewish community.

Organizational and contextual factors are vital to understanding the social reality surrounding the implementation of plans. These factors should be integral to rational planning in the classical sense, stimulating the participants in the planning process to an increased emphasis on the questions needing to be answered. Only when the appropriate questions are raised from the beginning of a planning endeavor should the methods of data collection be considered; otherwise, the answers may be predetermined.

What's to prevent more in-depth analysis of some issue or problem through the use of such research techniques as interviewing, participant observation and content analysis? These techniques would complement quantitative data collection and provide information on the system level of intervention. Case in point, this study uses qualitative, naturalistic inquiry, heavily dependent upon information derived in interviews. The exchange between interviewer and interviewee makes this form of knowledge-gathering a dynamic one; there is constant feedback, orienting and re-orienting the focus of the study. A problem can be looked at in richer detail than, for instance, what had been possible under the methods selected in the planning of housing well-elderly.

Finally, although the limitations of the classical model of planning may never be resolved, its major value of comprehensiveness can be somewhat maintained with mechanisms allowing for a cross-section of views and information throughout the planning process. This more critical awareness of planning should move us toward the most effective path for serving American Jews.