

ments by our hosts. In one day, a staff member was offered three lunches by three families and the time of day was of no consequence. We all gained a better understanding of the warmth and openness of the Russians as people.

The most positive aspect of our experience was observing and hearing about the desire of these families to become part of the Jewish community. Many of the families had brought with them from the Soviet Union some sense of Jewish identity and a desire, whether explicit or submerged, to be recognized as Jews. This could only aid in their resettlement.

Dr. Maria Pfister-Ammende of the World Mental Health Association points out:

There are always two poles involved in any process of resettlement, and the manner in which they come together will have a decisive effect upon the relations of the parties concerned. The success of resettlement therefore, will depend on whether the new settlers and the inhabitants of the country clash in a violent impact, embittered, mute and tense, or whether they meet in a spirit of friendliness.¹²

Our experience seems to confirm Dr. Pfister-Ammende's statement. We have been able to resettle large numbers of Soviet Jews based on our understanding of their needs and their desire to become part of the Cleveland Jewish community. Their move toward integration rather than isolation reflects the commonality of Jewish identity which this group of Soviets brings with them to a community with its own Jewish identity. Although there was an initial clash of cultures, there are healthy signs that this immigrant population longs for a deeper involvement in the Jewish community. They see themselves as Jews. Have we hopefully imagined this or is it true?

¹² Dr. Maria Pfister-Ammende, "Uprooting and Resettlement as a Sociological Problem" in *Uprooting and Resettlement*, London: World Federation for Mental Health, 1960, p. 22.

We selectively invited 14 immigrants to attend an informational and educational meeting about the Cleveland Jewish Welfare Fund Drive. The meeting was held at a lay leader's home and all of those invited came to the meeting. After much active discussion about community services and how Jewish community funds were utilized, the participants wanted to continue with how they could be helpful. One individual surprised us all by suggesting that they (the Russians) should reach out to their friends and other Russians to participate in the community's efforts to raise funds for Jewish needs. After this meeting, three more parlor meetings were planned by the people themselves and a total of 47 Soviet individuals were contacted for the Jewish Welfare Fund Drive. For a group who had little or no experience with voluntary fund-raising by an organized Jewish community, they reacted with a desire to be involved and to help. These meetings came at the end of the campaign and will lead to more planning for next year. Also, further efforts will be planned on a community level to offer opportunities to Soviet families for community involvement and responsibility.

We have only touched the surface of trying to understand the motivations, goals, and attitudes of the Russian population. Our experience has shown us the need for deeper and more systematic research into the adjustment and attitudes of the Soviet immigrants.

Who can say what amount of time the resettlement process takes? There will always be individuals who adjust and are absorbed quickly and those who are at the lower end of the spectrum. The Russians have shown us their hopes and frustrations, and have given us encouragement for the future. This group of people is not lost to the Cleveland Jewish community. They want to be part of the mainstream of Jewish life.

Some Techniques for Evaluating Planned Community Change in an Israeli Development Town

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. . . if a planning unit is to be initiated in any local community, it is excellent policy that the activity be subject to independent evaluation at regular periods. It is equally vital that some form of baseline measurement of conditions be established before the project is activated . . .

Introduction

Evaluating community development projects is one of the most difficult aspects of social research. The problems involve such basics as identifying agreed upon project goals, developing measurable criteria for change, defining what is in fact to be measured, and demonstrating causality. Furthermore, such evaluation must be undertaken within realistic time, budgetary, and manpower limitations. Despite these difficulties, no reasonable approach to community planning can have any justification without objective evaluation.

In this paper, we shall present a number of techniques developed and implemented by the authors to evaluate planned community change in an Israeli development town. A few findings, primarily in footnotes, are used to illustrate these techniques.

The Community Setting

Or-Yehuda, the community under discussion, is a town of over 12,000 population. It grew out of five transit camps for new immigrants, in three abandoned Arab villages, to which some of Israel's early immigrants were directed. It became a "Local Council" in 1955. It is located in what today is the greater Tel-Aviv Metropolitan Area, not distant from suburbs, satellite cities, and other towns and villages. Like many development towns, Or-Yehuda has long had to contend with severe social and communal problems. It has also been plagued with a persistent difficulty in attracting professional personnel to staff its services.

At the invitation of the Ministry of Social Welfare and as part of a United Nations consultation program in community development, Dr. Meyer Schwartz of the University of Pittsburgh studied conditions in Or-Yehuda.¹ His report of August 1968, recommending a demonstration community development project, was approved by an inter-ministry committee for social services. In August 1969, it was decided to establish a Social Planning Service in the community. It was to formulate, as well as to implement and coordinate, short-term and long-term programs and policies.

Background

When attempting to evaluate the impact of a four-year social planning effort in Or-Yehuda, the researchers had to take a number of factors into account. Five such factors are described below:

The Planning Model in Or-Yehuda

Susan and Norman Fainstein, in their article "City Planning and Political Values," categorize a number of planning activities which are helpful in understanding what took place in Or-Yehuda. Among their various types, they identify *traditional* planning.² Based on

¹ Meyer Schwartz, *Or-Yehuda—A New Immigrant Development Satellite Town in the Conurbation of Tel Aviv-Yafo* (Jerusalem: Ministry of Social Welfare, Aug. 20, 1968), Mimeo.

² Susan S. Fainstein and Norman I. Fainstein, "City Planning and Political Values," *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 6 (March 1971), 341-362.

the theories of technocracy, traditional planners "engineer" changes from the top down. The planner, responsible both for goals and means, comes to the job with special interest biases, being based on scientifically derived or objective standards and a sense of public good which are translated finally into legislation.³ Such an approach, based as it often is on a distrust of the lower classes or the populace, takes the form of a paternalistic (scientific managerial) elite.

The Fainsteins identify another category, *user-oriented* planning. In this instance, users, clients, or "the people" provide the goals, while the planner executes the plan and implements it. This is derived from democratic theory. It favors citizen participation or public involvement in goal setting through delegate bodies, activist leadership, referenda and the like.⁴ In theory, the planner is the servant of an informed citizenry. He strives for balance among the conflicting interest groups in any community as well as for some sense of the public interest. A more extreme form of this approach is categorized advocacy planning. In this instance the planner actually functions as the advocate for the views of his clients, the poor, or the lower-class.

These differences are also reflected in Gurin's terms. In 1969, at an Interdisciplinary symposium at Bar-Ilan University, Arnold Gurin identified two models for municipal social planning. One type, exemplified in Beit Shemesh and Netivot, concentrated on the mechanism of "Voluntary Development Councils", composed of local volunteers and community leaders aided by professional staff. The second model, the Pilot Project initiated in Or-Yehuda in consultation with Meyer

³ In his "Policy Planning Models . . .," *Journal of Education for Social Work*, 8 (Fall 1972), 30-39, M. Gruber identifies Technocratic and Techno-Political planning rationalities which are similar to what the Fainsteins call traditional planning.

⁴ William Petersen makes a useful, and similar, distinction between deductive planning and "planning as process" in his article "On Some Meanings of Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 32 (May 1966), 130-142.

Schwartz, worked through the local political authority. This approach was undertaken with the explicit assumption that "it will take official political intervention to deal with the basic problems of the community." These are two points of view that run through much of the literature.⁵

The evidence from our analysis points to the existence of traditional planning in Or-Yehuda. Furthermore, the indications are that such traditional (technocratic or deductive) planning was well done. However, a distancing of the planning from what the general public was aware of, or seemed to prefer, also occurred.

Ethnic Politics

This type of paternalistic planning fits well the ethnic nature of Israeli politics, especially on the local level. Deshen has described this process quite extensively.⁶ Israeli society is composed of a series of ethnic groups based on country of origin and order of arrival. Ethnic identification has undergone considerable modification over the years. From minority identification as Jews overseas, country of origin and particular traditions became the significant identifying factors for the new immigrant in the land of the Jews. As he and particularly his children acclimated, the old ways began to lose their significance. The group, however, continued to retain significance through family attachments which became important elements in the social structure. In the political arena, groupings became blocs of voters over whom the various political parties have vied on the national and especially the local level. Thus, party loyalties have been based largely on ethnic group attachments rather than ideology.

The Mayor

There seems to be general agreement that

⁵ A. Gurin, "Prospects for Social Planning in Israel," *Social Problems in Urban Renewal*, Ed. Dan Soan (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University School of Social Work, 1969), pp. 1-12.

⁶ Shlomo Deshen, *Immigrant Voters in Israel*, (Manchester University Press, 1970), pp. 172-199.

the mayor of Or-Yehuda during the project period was an active, socially-concerned individual who placed complete confidence in the recommendations of his social planner. He was also known as a "solo operator" who not only handled everything himself but enjoyed this patriarchal role within the dominant Iraqi ethnic group. In fact, he often governed through his ethnic position and connections, not on the basis of rationally conceived social planning. He seemed to have little patience for committee process (the backbone of planning and coordination), and often saw himself as the local champion who had to do battle with the unresponsive national bureaucracies.

The close interrelationship between community social planning and the local political system seems, especially in Israel which lacks a tradition of voluntarism, eminently sensible. A strong and interested mayor can fight the entrenched bureaucrats of public services, and is irreplaceable in many implementation situations. A sophisticated politician would agree with the mayor that such planning in no way interfered with his work. In some cases, planning took on beneficial political implications for the party or coalition in power at the same time it promoted the program. Certainly, his personal interest and backing account for the ultimate progress of the program in the area of education.

It is obvious that in a development town dominated by one ethnic group for many years, things get moving if the mayor is from the dominant group, and if his personal commitment is behind the program. If he (or the deputy in charge) is distracted by re-election demands, poor health, obligations as a member of Knesset (Parliament), trips to Europe or America, etc. the local planning process suffers. Such political leaders are seldom amenable to social work programs of widespread citizen involvement. Furthermore, the public, primarily of Iraqi origin, was more used to paternalistic political leaders and officials than to democratic participation. If there was a public committee, it was usually

dominated by party-ethnic political ward-healers. For their part, ethnic politicians were unwilling to tolerate independent citizen organizations. They preferred to run things in classic patriarchal and personal style. Local department heads, like most Israeli officials, saw themselves as experts for whom citizen input was inconsequential. They did not believe in this "artificial" or imported American idea, and were convinced that it could not work in Israel generally or with "low-level" Or-Yehuda residents specifically. The planner himself, starting as a political scientist rather than a social work planner, initially had little patience for citizen involvement.

National and Public Initiative

Although the mayor was quick to realize that an experimental planning program could bring to his community resources hitherto unavailable, the initiative for the program came essentially from the national level. Funding was from the Ministry of Social Welfare. Committees largely involved administrators who represented regional or even country-wide public sectors. The subjective initial impression that few local citizens or even local officials were involved in the planning project was confirmed in the course of the evaluation.

Underdeveloped Local Social Service Resources

The planner, and other informants, pointed out repeatedly that Or-Yehuda may have been an unfortunate choice as a demonstration community because of its very limited social service resources. Like many development towns, the personnel of its various services not only had minimal professional qualifications but were also inadequate in number.⁷ It follows that local staff of Immigration, or Recreation-informal education, and of the Department of Education were quite limited in

⁷ Three department heads were replaced during the project period (one as a direct result of planning efforts).

their ability to follow through. Even after a program plan was evolved and approved, there was seldom anyone to implement it. If implementation did take place, the planner himself had to do it, leaving him with less time for plan-making and coordination.

The planner was further frustrated by the lack of local community-work staff. Although some 30 community-work students from a nearby University had done their field work in Or-Yehuda since 1969, only one chose to take employment with the local welfare office, and this for less than a one-year period. Little help was forthcoming from the Amidar housing worker. Social work students, placed for a period of one academic year, may have accomplished many important things, but they could not substitute for permanent local staff. This lack of professional workers no doubt limited the kind and number of things which the planning office could undertake.

Is Or-Yehuda Representative?

In comparing Or-Yehuda with other development towns, there is little to indicate the peculiar needs of this community which justified a unique program here rather than in another community. There is reason to believe that conditions in Or-Yehuda are typical of development towns with large (young) families, a relatively unskilled labor force, and limited community facilities. All of these features are present in other towns of similar background. Furthermore, the problems posed to the researchers by these circumstances are no doubt typical of problems faced in communities in many parts of the world.

Specific Research Complications

Delay of the Evaluation

The Schwartz proposal recognized that periodic evaluation must be an integral part of the planning process. In line with this, the planner's *Survey of Community Services* was issued in October 1970. Dr. Schwartz himself returned for an on-the-spot field visit in June 1971. A more formal evaluation was anticipated at about the mid-point in the five year demonstration project. This report is based on

that intended mid-point evaluation. Unfortunately, four years passed before it was undertaken.

Operationalizing Project Goals

The second difficulty faced by the researchers was to determine what had been the objectives of the Or-Yehuda planning project when it was initiated, four years prior to their involvement in evaluating its progress. Efforts were made to read all early documents, and to interview key persons who had been involved from the project's inception, before specifying the first tentative list of goals. It was necessary to exert care to ensure that these decision-makers were not now influenced by selective memories, or that project goals were not distorted by current developments. The following goals were identified:

- 1) *Setting up a social-service planning office*
- 2) *Conducting a survey of current community services;*
- 3) *Setting up a representative citizen advisory committee;*
- 4) *Expanding local health services;*
- 5) *Public housing for large families;*
- 6) *Recreation service for youth;*
- 7) *Services for the aged;*
- 8) *Services for immigrants;*
Comprehensive program of community education:
- 9) *Family life education*
- 10) *Programs at well-baby clinic*
- 11) *A toy and games library*
- 12) *Special program for school dropouts*
- 13) *Mental health service for youth.*

These specific program recommendations were taken to represent the initial goals set forth for the planning project. The researchers therefore undertook to evaluate the stage of advancement of each specific program, as well as of the overall planning thrust.

Once these goals were described in terms which gained universal agreement, they had to be translated into operational or measurable terms. Again the danger of current impact or retrospective distortion was taken into account, since these procedures had to be devised ex-post facto. The original planning project did not include any research-oriented

precision in the area of goal determination or goal operationalization.

The Lack of Baseline Measurements

Equally distressing to the evaluators was the fact that no baseline measurements had been made of community or service conditions before the special planning interventions were initiated. Lacking such documentation, it was difficult to indicate with any certainty the extent of changes brought about by the project—or to pinpoint those changes which had taken place since the project got underway. Various alternative procedures were devised to assess the extent of community change, as is documented below.

Evaluation Procedures Used

In recognition of the limitations of any single baseline measurements for evaluating the Or-Yehuda project, the researchers proposed a four-level investigation, utilizing existing as well as newly generated data.⁸ Some of these measures could provide a "self-control," comparing the current situation in Or-Yehuda with the one prior to initiation of the project. Outside controls could be introduced by other procedures; e.g. comparisons with national standards and/or with similar non-project communities, as available.

Specifically, this four-level proposal for evaluation of developments in Or-Yehuda included:

A. Use of Secondary Data:

1) Community Facilities:

Available community facilities were to be compared with the pre-1967 situation in Or-Yehuda, as well as with other similar

⁸ Such use of multiple controls is described by H. Hyman, C. Wright, and T. Hopkins, "Principles of Evaluation," *Applications of Methods of Evaluation* (University of California Press, 1962), pp. 3-86; D.T. Campbell, "From Description to Experimentation: Interpreting Trends as Quasi-Experiments," *Problems in Measuring Change*, C.W. Harris, Editor, (University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), pp. 212-242.

communities and with national standards (where available). This included recreation and park areas per population unit, community and youth centers, school rooms, number of children per class, etc. Indicators chosen were broadly related to various project goals.

2) Indices of Pathology and School Problems:

Again relying on existing data sources, this measure was to compare present rates of social pathology with those before the project began—both in Or-Yehuda and in other communities. These rates included welfare cases, school drop-outs, juvenile and adult crime, incidence of selected diseases, overcrowding in housing units, out-migration, etc.

The proposal called for comparison of facilities and indices of social need related to the various programs of the project, based on secondary data. The plan was to compare Or-Yehuda, before initiation of the planning project and since, with several similar development towns, and wherever possible with national averages or standards. The towns selected were Shderot, Kiryat Gat and Kiryat Ono, the latter having been included in the original survey of Or-Yehuda services (done in 1970).

Extensive investigation of available data revealed the shortcomings of this approach. Year-by-year comparisons are usually impossible because of the lack of ongoing data collection. What one typically finds is a onetime survey of a particular community with regard to some variable, but no reexamination. It is also difficult to find comparable data from one community to the next.⁹

Thus, from an extensive search and large number of variables originally proposed, only a small number could be located, and these did not necessarily provide a clear cut picture. The Israeli government maintains social statistics systematically through registration (vital statistics), enumeration (last census was con-

⁹ This problem is not unique to the Israeli situation. See *Handbook of Vital Statistics Methods*, (Studies in Methods . . . , Series F no. 7, New York: Statistical office of the United Nations, Dept. of Economics and Social Affairs, April 1955), pp. 5-7.

ducted in 1972) and periodic surveys of sample populations. However, since the data needed is sometimes not available on a local level, and data is often not current, internal comparability is fragmentary at best. In addition, many of the data on characteristics needed in community evaluation are simply not available to the researcher. Thus, it becomes necessary to generate original data through survey sampling if a baseline for objective evaluation is to be established.

B. Content Analysis of Correspondence and Minutes

Minutes and correspondence for years 1971-73, on file in the planning office, were analyzed for each specific planning program. In each case, the data were coded for initiator of the document, number and administrative rank of participants, number of social services involved, frequency of communication, and program's attained stage of advancement (initial planning through implementation). Various nominal and ordinal scales were then developed in order to shed light on the coordination functions of the planning office.

From central documents and files supplied by the planner, we found 23 minutes (of meetings) and 144 letters for the period under study. Of the minutes, 16 were prepared by the planning office, 7 by other sources; of the letters, 52 were from the planning office, 92 were sent to the office by other initiators. Granting that these records may not encompass the entire scope of activity, the researchers were impressed by the volume of correspondence and minutes on file. These records were seen to indicate the attention given to the various planning programs in Or-Yehuda during the study period. Other sources such as interviews confirmed this assumption.

Community programs were analyzed according to two sets of criteria. The first was indicated on a *Scale of Program Progress* (SoPP) for each goal-related planning program. These levels were defined as:

1. Description of the initial (problematic) situation.
2. Definition of needs.
3. Identification of key decision-makers.
4. Initiation of planning processes for the program.
5. Arrival at policy, goal, or strategy decisions.
6. Creation of an implementation system.
7. Earmarking of resources to the program.
8. Activation of volunteers.
9. The actual giving of service.
10. The existence of specific numbers of regular service-users.
11. Prediction of prospects for the future of the program.

It was argued that these eleven steps were essentially sequential, so that the attainment of any one of them included all the previous ones. Although this model was created for the quantification of the content of written documents, it proved amenable for evaluating data from all other sources, too. It enabled the researchers to judge the state of progress of the over-all community project, as well as to compare each individual planning program with the others.¹⁰

The second analytic criterion used to analyze the planning projects was the administrative level of the decision-makers who represented the 17 different services involved in the meetings or in the letters. These were categorized on a *Decision-Makers Involvement Scale* (DMIS), as follows:

¹⁰ Using this analytic tool (S.O.P.P.), the researchers were able to determine that, of the 13 planning programs in the Or-Yehuda project, six were executed fully to stage 11, and one other reached stage 10. Of the remaining six programs, two bogged down at level 7, three at level 5, and one at level 3.

Level of Participation	Planning Actors	Actors in Other Services	Actors in Municipal Politics
0	Local Citizen	Local volunteer	Neighborhood party contact
1	Community Workers or university students	Local Staff person	Party secretariate
2	Field Instructor of university students	Local Supervisor (within the local service or agency)	Member of City Council or City Administration
3	Or-Yehuda's Planner	Director of local services or agency	Mayor
4	Consultants or Supervisor from Ministry of Welfare	Regional Supervisor or Consultant	
5	National-office personnel from Ministry of Welfare	Person from national office of various services	Member of Knesset
6	International personality	International personality	

With such an analytic model, it was possible to summarize the over-all involvement pattern of 658 participants, and to determine the modal type of persons involved in the total planning project as well as in each of its sub-problems.¹¹

C. Interviews of Key Participants

Over a period of eight months, intensive interviews were conducted with 12 actors who had been intimately involved with the Or-Yehuda planning project (e.g. members of various planning committees, the mayor, university faculty members, special consultants, professionals in the Ministry of Social Welfare, and staff persons from various Or-Yehuda services) since its inception. Six

¹¹ By using this analytic tool (D.M.I.S.), the researchers determined that of 658 person-contacts during the study period, only 10% were from levels 0-1, 7% were from level 2, 61% were from levels 3-4, 21% from level 5, and 1% from level 6. These findings confirm that traditional or technocratic planning was typical of the Or-Yehuda project. Similar analyses of persons involved was done for each of the thirteen programs within the over-all planning project.

additional interviews were held with the planner.

Each correspondent was asked to comment on items from a prepared list of programs (central to the over-all project goals during the preceding four years) in which he may have been active or about which he was knowledgeable. Respondents were specifically asked to detail the progress of programs in which they had been key actors. Although interviews were based on a schedule, they were open-ended enough to include appropriate probes. Researchers strove as much as possible to capture the richness of the planning process for each of the programs outlined in the research goals. Most interviews lasted 1½ to 2 hours. Besides providing additional factual information, the interviews supplemented official documents through experiential material, provided insight into the personalities and perceptions of key participants, and clarified precise matters not fully explained in the written records.

Data obtained from these interviews were organized around crucial themes which emerged from a look at the totality. Under each theme, illustrations were taken from

specific community planning programs which were part of the Or-Yehuda project. Deliberate efforts had to be devoted to protecting the identity of the respondents.

D. Community Survey

In order to find an indicator of how the project's various outputs were reflected in the lives of Or-Yehuda citizens, a stratified probability sample of the population was interviewed. A total of 258 households were selected from the water-tax lists of each of seven neighborhoods into which the community is divided. This constituted almost a 10% sample of most neighborhoods, and 20% of the one neighborhood with a very small population. Each family on the list was visited by a local interviewer who spoke with the head of the household or his spouse. In cases where the selected family could not be interviewed after two attempts, a predetermined alternative was selected.

After much deliberation, the researchers decided that local high-school student interviews could best attain rapport with potential respondents. They were used despite the greater possible skill of outsiders. Thus the interviews had to be highly structured. Because of these conditions, interviewers received a precise orientation before they set out, and careful follow-up was maintained on the interviewers' activities.

Included in the interviews were questions about respondents' over-all satisfaction with Or-Yehuda, the priority they attached to various community programs, their awareness of and involvement in the social-service agencies now available in their community, and their awareness of the existence of the planning project.

Using computer analysis, the results were related to such independent variables as neighborhood, occupation, size of family unit, Western-Eastern background, and years in Or-Yehuda. In this way, we sought the differential impact of the program on the various segments of the population.

Community-wide planning is important, but a community the size of Or-Yehuda is rarely a single homogeneous population group. It follows that "needs" might be more accurately determined on a neighborhood basis. Since neighborhood communities often have particular ethnic and demographic characteristics, such information is also useful for the planner and the implementor who are interested that their services be properly used by the various parts of the community.

Such a survey should actually have been undertaken at the start of the program to provide a baseline for comparison, but it was not. While no comparisons could be made to previous findings, the results of this opinion survey are of immense value as a baseline for any future evaluation of the project or of the community generally.

Summary

In this paper, the authors have described a number of instruments which they applied to the problem of evaluating the course of community planning in an Israeli development town. Given the realities typical of such settings, it was necessary for the researchers to develop a multiplicity of tools by which to measure the progress made. In fact, the authors used four instruments for such purposes:

1) *Secondary Data* - Comparisons were made horizontally, with other communities and with objective (national) standards, as well as vertically, at a time prior to the project and at subsequent points in time during implementation.

2) *Analysis of Documents* — content analysis was done of minutes and correspondence, in order to determine the stages of development on the Scale of Project Progress and the Decision-Makers' Involvement Scale. Both these instruments enabled the evaluators to quantify their findings regarding the planning process' impact.

3) *Interviews of Key Actors* — interviews were used to complete the picture of planning process, from the viewpoint of various persons

who participated in it.

4) *Community Survey* — a neighborhood by neighborhood sample was selected in order to achieve community feedback regarding the planning topics stressed by the project in particular, and regarding citizens' attitudes towards community issues in general.¹²

The four-fold approach to evaluating the Or-Yehuda Community Planning Project has many potential advantages. Multiple measures can yield an assessment of the progress of a community program which would be unattainable through any single measure. Not only is this multiple-measure approach important in monitoring the current status of a program,

¹² Survey findings confirmed that there were great differences from neighborhood to neighborhood, both in characteristics and attitudes. It can be said that Or-Yehuda residents had a number of concerns which were related to the programs in the project generally, but some substantial differences turned up in concerns regarding sanitation, streets, parks and transportation. In fact, a recent unpublished survey of 15 development towns confirms public concern about such items as sanitation and employment in Or-Yehuda as well as other towns. It also confirms great public confidence in the Well-Baby Clinics, dissatisfaction with Kupat Cholim, and a general interest in recreation Centers for all age groups (see M. Lissak, *Emdat HaUchlushiah Halronit DeYisrael Klapei Maarechet Sherutei HaRivacha*, Tel Aviv: HaHistadrut Haklalit, 1973, Mimeo). Within such over-all aspects, neighborhood differences were so great that one could easily pinpoint small target populations for specific programs related to those neighborhood needs.

but it can also provide a replicable baseline for future evaluation of the program and its impact. In this way, one can expect to move beyond good intentions, practice knowledge, or intuition regarding a planning process. With periodic objective assessment of the effectiveness of an investment of limited community resources, based on measurable criteria instead of impression, we can make effective use of the remaining project years, as well as plan creatively for the future.

Another advantage related particularly to neighborhood by neighborhood feedback through a community survey is the possibility of tailoring future development of a large-scale program to specific population groups. This could be the springboard for demonstrating research-related social planning in a way which has rarely been possible in the community. Even within the framework of elitist planning, these tools can have value in enabling the genuinely concerned public official to keep his finger on the community pulse.

In general terms, if a planning unit is to be initiated in any local community, it is excellent policy that the activity be subject to independent evaluation at regular periods. It is equally vital that some form of baseline measurement of conditions be established before the project is activated, so that evaluation of results at a later date makes possible accurate measurements of change. This paper suggests some ways in which this can be effectively accomplished in less than ideal conditions.