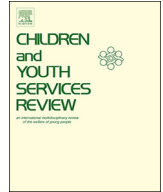




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## Understanding the evolution of national child welfare policies: The case of Israel

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### ABSTRACT

Numerous models for policy analysis focus on understanding an existing or proposed policy. However, reviews of comprehensive welfare policies from a socio-political and historical developmental perspectives are rare. Further, most policy analysis studies are narrowly focused. Reading through many policy analysis approaches, we elicited five analytic themes that appeared in most and that are longitudinally socio-political-historical in nature: (1) the socialist/collectivist – capitalist/individualistic continuum, (2) transition from denial of child abuse and neglect to recognition, (3) the professionalization of care, (4) transition from out-of-home placement to community solutions, and (5) transition from first punishing, then protecting and providing rights. In this paper, we first present these five analytic themes with special reference to child welfare policies. Then, as a case study, we apply these themes to understand the evolution of child welfare policies in Israel. We refer to the wider gamut of social welfare that usually includes only child protective services while we also include child education, civil rights, child allowances, and social development policies. When the policies are children- and youth-related, some of the general policy trends take a softer, less-punitive, and expanding stances as compared to the welfare of adults. We conclude with suggestions regarding ways to analyze the evolution of other policies in other societal contexts.

### 1. Introduction

The evolution and formation of social policy, regardless of the population or society studied, is the result of many forces: historical developments, demographic changes, local cultures, religious influences, economic trends, ideologies, political struggles, armed conflicts, and even foreign influences (Axinn & Stern, 2012; Trattner, 1998). Child welfare policies are no exception. Various countries have different laws and policies regarding the welfare of children and youth. They differ with regard to the age one becomes an adult, what constitutes juvenile delinquency and how to handle it, the minimum age for youth employment and relevant labor regulations, public fiscal support for raising children, what is acceptable parental discipline of children, what education is guaranteed and/or mandatory, what is and how to handle child abuse and neglect, when and where to remove a child from parents' control, and many other aspects of children and youth welfare policies. The differences are not only between countries but also within countries along the time axis.

Our emphasis is on understanding one country (Israel) one comprehensive yet specific welfare policies (child welfare) and their usually

nonlinear evolution. To that end, we propose five themes which, based on analytic synthesis of the literature, can best be used to understand local welfare policies. The five analytic themes each has a time dimension which allows one to assess clear historical and ideological changes over time. The themes we elicited summarize the progressive changes common to many welfare policies in Western democracies, although these themes are not limited to such countries. The five themes to be presented are: (1) the socialist/collectivist – capitalist/individualistic continuum, (2) transition from denial of child abuse and neglect to recognition, (3) the professionalization of care, (4) transition from out-of-home placement to community solutions, and (5) transition from first punishing, then protecting and providing rights. The quest for a comprehensive policy analysis model is not new. Some scholars attempted to delineate welfare regimes (Esping-Anderson, 1990; Flora & Heidenheimer, 1981; Gough, 2013; Salamon & Anheier, 1998; Taylor-Gooby, 1996; Titmuss, 1976), yet fail to provide a sufficient account of children and youth national policies and their development. However, these and other models place the United States, Canada, and Great Britain in the same welfare group while their youth and children policies are very different. Furthermore, grouping countries together shifts

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the focus away from national nuances and historical developments.

Some sources we consulted while eliciting the five guiding themes were books that analyze the history of welfare systems in a given country, for example, Axinn and Stern (2012), Day and Schiele (2012) and Trattner (1998). These authors relied on themes like national ideologies and values, industrialization and post-industrialization, urbanization, military conflicts, and the strength of the economy to explain the expansion or contraction in the US national commitment for welfare. These authors, however, did not focus on one specific welfare topic (such as child welfare) but aimed to provide a comprehensive welfare picture and often moved from one policy arena to another. In contrast, we explored general welfare trends in developed societies as they specifically affect comprehensive child welfare policies.

There are a few authors who detailed the history of child welfare in the US (cf. Murray & Gesiriech, 2004; Myers, 2008). However, the majority of them focused on a very narrow band of child welfare; most often child protective services. For example, Murray and Gesiriech (2004) focused on child welfare legislation history, including: social security grants, depended children aid, child abuse and neglect act, adoption, foster care and more, but did not address juvenile delinquency issues or preschool education. Similarly, Myers (2008) focused only on the history of child protection in America. One exception is Jenson and Fraser, (2015).

Our aim was a bit more ambitious. We aimed to analyze the evolution of the wider child welfare field with reference to all its sub-areas. To that end, we review a host of policy analysis models and the sources listed above. From our reading, we came up with five themes that are interwoven to form a given national child welfare policies.

As the evolution of welfare policies is more idiosyncratic to a given society, we applied a five-theme model to analyze a specific national welfare policy and its changes over time. We identified five key themes that, to certain extent and varying levels of importance, are found in most national child welfare policies. Furthermore, these five themes help distinguish different countries' child welfare evolution as they account for local historical, political, and cultural variations. While noting differences in the historical and cultural contexts, we found these themes to be common across countries and welfare sub-fields. These five themes are based on classical models of policy analysis (Chambers, 2010; Dobelstein, 2002; Gil, 1973; Gilbert & Terrell, 2002; Hacker, 2002; Popple & Leighninger, 2004) as well as upon some key child welfare textbooks (Downs, Moore, McFadden, & Costin, 2009; Gelles, 2017; Lindsey, 2003; Stalford, 2012). In the current study, we aimed to illustrate our five themes model on the evolution of Israeli child welfare policies over time. In the next section we briefly define and illustrate our five-themes and their continuum. We intentionally tailor some of the themes specifically to fit child welfare policies.

## 2. Proposed general model for welfare policy evolution

### 2.1. Theme 1. The socialist/collectivist – capitalist/individualistic continuum

Not all countries progressed with their concerns for the welfare of others at the same pace. Then and now, there are countries that are more generous than others. However, since the dawn of the 20th century, we can identify three key phases (Kettunen & Petersen, 2011). Until WWII, most countries develop some but limited forms of public welfare services. First, models of social security for example were introduced and some basic social services were established.

Post WWII, state responsibility slowly evolved as an agreed upon concept in most advanced societies (Marshall, 1965). The era from 1945 to the mid-1970s can be viewed as the height of collectivism and public responsibility. The concept of the welfare-state gained popularity and shaped welfare developments in most advanced democracies in this era. Grounded in the landmark Beveridge report, most advanced societies developed new and larger welfare schemes. The British phrase

“from cradle to grave” epitomized public acceptance and expectation that the state will provide a wide network of services to meet as many human needs as possible. In this era, socialism or collectivism won the day (Castles, Leibfried, Lewis, Obinger, & Pierson, 2010).

However, in the mid-1970s the rise of neo-liberal ideology and the ramifications of the oil-embargo burst the welfare state bubble (Esping-Anderson, 1990; Starke, Kaasch, & Van Hooren, 2013). Additionally, the advent of modernity reduced collectivist sentiment and enhanced individualism (Inglehart, 1997). In an individualist approach, one's personal interests and benefits outweigh public or communal interests (Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003). Since 1975, few new welfare programs were introduced, many programs were shrunk, or outright eliminated, and public opinion shifted away from collectivism to individualism. Public spending for welfare, in most countries, dwindled and social responsibility was transferred from government to private and non-profit entities (Petersen, Hjelmar, & Vrangbæk, 2017). Not surprisingly, welfare recipients were viewed as untrustworthy and politicians are avoiding support for welfare-related expenditure.

Clearly each country shed its welfare commitment in the past four decades in different ways and magnitudes (McFate, Lawson, & Wilson, 1995). Some countries that had little welfare state, like the US, cut much of the existing welfare programs (Levy, 2010). Scandinavian countries are still most generous but less so than before. Child welfare services, however, may be an exception.

### 2.2. Theme 2. Abuse and neglect; from denial to recognition

The common reaction to atrocities is to expel them from the consciousness; however, the atrocities refuse be buried. This denial is an attempt to preserve social order (Herman, 1997). Often, both governments and individuals first ignore the emotional ravages of those traumas, rejecting the victims and sometimes even blaming them for their sufferings. (Solomon, 1995). In many societies people refused to acknowledge that parents or other caregivers, not to mention clergy, can abuse or neglect children.

Formal recognition of child abuse began in the late 19th century. Organized child protection emerged from the rescue in 1874 of 9-year-old Mary Ellen Wilson, who was routinely beaten and neglected by her guardians (Myers, 2008). Momentum on this issue reached a tipping point in the last half century, with perception and treatment of child abuse progressing from denial to recognition. Prior to the 1960s, medical schools provided little or no training on child abuse, and medical texts were largely silent on the issue. The major attitude changes in social perception of child abuse occurred after the 1962 publication of the blockbuster article “The Battered-Child Syndrome” by pediatrician Henry Kempe and his colleagues (Kempe, Silverman, Steele, Droegemueller, & Silver, 2013). Kempe played a leading role in bringing child abuse to national attention during the 1960s and 1970s. Today, in most advanced countries, child protection is the domain of social work, assisted by law enforcement, mental health, medicine, nursing, law, and education (Myers, 2008).

One major step forward in creating international standards was the United Nations Convention on Rights of the Child (1989). With the passage of the convention and its ratification by most countries, children moved from being defenseless property of parents to human beings with rights.

The recognition of child abuse and neglect as a problem gradually led to the need for professionals to identify and treat abuse. Our next theme discusses the professionalization of care that is the natural outgrowth of recognition of a social problem and the creation of policy to address it.

### 2.3. Theme 3. The professionalization of care

Helping people in need was for generations the province of good-hearted people and members of the clergy. The idea that special

training is needed to help people in need or vulnerable populations is a relatively new phenomenon since the late 19th century and part of the process of the increasing bifurcation and specialization of the labor market (Lubove, 1965). The process of deciding who is capable of caring for various populations in need has involved several cycles of professionalization and de-professionalization (Duyvendak, Knijn, & Kremer, 2006). The rise of professionalism in human services includes professions such as social work, psychology, education, psychiatry, nursing, occupational therapy, and others. The assumption behind the rise of these professions is that helping people in need is best provided by experts who use evidence-based practices (Littell & Shlonsky, 2010; Shlonsky, Noonan, Littell, & Montgomery, 2011).

In a historical analysis of child welfare services in the U.S., (Ellett & Leighninger, 2006, p. 3) suggested that “De-professionalization has resulted in lowering the professional credentials of child welfare staff, increasing levels of employee turnover, the formulation of questionable policies, all affecting the quality of services to children and families”. Recently, given the high cost of professional workers, many agencies seek to employ case-managers with basic education and avoid the need for costly professionals. As such, most child-welfare employees in the US are para-professionals who serve for a few years as child welfare workers and then move on (Barth, Lloyd, Christ, Chapman, & Dickinson, 2008; Institute, 2011; Whitaker, 2012).

While there is no clear trajectory one-way or the other, retaining highly educated professionals in direct care roles usually indicates a societal commitment and willingness to pay for the care of a certain population in need. At the same time, it also reflects the power of a given profession in a given country to hold its society responsible to the highest professional standards. When studying the evolution of any specific welfare policy the role of professionals over time is a good indication of the importance of the field and the interplay between various forces in that society.

#### 2.4. Theme 4. From out of home placement to community solutions

Ever since the passing of the Elizabethan Poor Laws (1601), the attention of welfare policy has shifted between indoor and outdoor relief (Rothman, 1971). While the old welfare language talked of indoor and outdoor relief, the more modern vernacular refers to this dichotomy as community versus institutional care or in-home versus out of home placement.

As a society, we aim to create conditions in which different children and adults can grow up and live securely and productively. The last one hundred years saw a clear trend of moving away from institutional care to community solutions known as deinstitutionalization. This shift was predicated on cost saving coupled with humanistic preferences and started with people with intellectual disabilities (e.g., Hunter and Storey, 2013) and continued into the field of mental health (e.g., Bassuk & Gerson, 1978) and child welfare. The rationale behind deinstitutionalization is that quality of life of individuals will improve as a result of being moved from institutions to community-based care settings (Chowdhury & Benson, 2011) and followed the principle normalization

In the field of child welfare, one of the main trends is the movement from out of home solutions to keeping children at home and a focus on community care interventions. By the 18th century, the first permanent orphanage was established. The poor conditions in those institutions raised public attention and as a result, a system of placing needy children in private homes and family care begun to replace institutional treatment (Trattner, 1998). The trend from the first orphanage institutions of the 18th century until nowadays led to community-based programs for children. Prevention and intervention work focused on parents keeping their children at home is now the aim of most child welfare services in advanced democracies. The priority is the family, followed by foster care, and last institutional care. The goal is to keep children in their communities, preferably with their families (Gelles,

2017).

This theme shows an evolution from moving people to segregated spaces away from society to community inclusion for everyone. Child welfare evolves from creating “safe” institutional spaces to improving conditions in the family or community. As children were often more obedient there was less need to attend to them. Adolescents, however, started to look like adults but tend to rebel and were presumed problematic adults in need of discipline. When child abuse and neglect gained professional and public attention, the focus shifted to the younger children who had no ability to protect themselves (Stalford, 2012). Later policies such as foster care and adoption were also focused initially more on younger children as teenagers were considered beyond adoption age and more difficult to place because of presumptions that it is harder to overcome years of trauma. A study by the Ministry Welfare and Social Services in Israel reveals that in the past ten years, no child older than six years old was placed in an adopting family (Rabinowitz, 2018).

The move from out of home solutions for abused children to community solutions, is also considered to happen because of the strong movement of de-institutionalization that placed pressure on policy makers not to place children at risk out of home, wherever possible. That movement emphasized the damage of institutions for children and the advantage of their stay with their families. In such case, the State still direct great resources for helping those children, but in the community.

The exception is juvenile delinquency, where – at least in the U.S. – incarceration is a frequent remedy and adolescents accused of serious crimes are sentenced as adults (Bishop, 2000; Kurlychek & Johnson, 2010; Miller & Applegate, 2015).

#### 2.5. Theme 5: The pendulum of punishing vs. protecting

Societal care for people who seemed deviant or threatening the moral order was initially punitive but became supportive and/or rehabilitative later as the roots of delinquent or deviant behavior was linked to earlier experiences of trauma (Bean, 2013). Many countries are now transitioning back to punitive approaches (Beckett & Western, 2001).

The pace of shifting societal attention from shaming people and treating them with punitive practices to accepting diversity and supporting the rights of others is not uniform between countries and among populations in need. Yet, a trend is emerging in which social policies are transitioning from discriminating, punishing, and exclusion towards equality and human rights for many disadvantaged populations. However, in some countries and with regards to certain populations the trend may be mixed or reversed.

While the first half of the 20th century saw a trend of preferring rehabilitation over punishing of juvenile delinquents, from the 1970s, juvenile justice models operating in most countries in the Western world endorsed a welfarist ideology that adopted policies that were needs-oriented and child-centered in nature. The welfarist approach considered state institutions responsible for creating a healthy environment in which future citizens would be nourished (Muncie, 2005). A punitive turn, developing in the 1970s and 1980s, advocated formal, justice-based and offence-focused measures, and led many countries to adopt harsher punishments, marginalizing the welfare model. In the USA juvenile incarceration increased by 43% during the 1990s (Muncie, 2008). The trend to judge juveniles as adults if committing serious crimes gained popularity in many countries and the return of capital punishments in the US are examples of the reemergence of punitive ideology over rehabilitative one (Bowman, 2013).

### 3. Model summary

The five themes we described above are intertwined. For example, the theme of *'From denial to recognition'*, is related to *out of home*

placements, the more society and policy makers became aware of the problem of child abuse, the more policy focused on younger children who cannot protect themselves and should not stay in their home. In the theme, *'From out of home placement to community solutions'*, community care also relates to the fourth themes *'professionalization of care'*, because of the need of professional knowledge for tailoring individual community care; and, to the first theme, *'The socialist/collectivist – capitalist/individualistic continuum'*, as the transfer of responsibility from the state to private contractors and local authorities reduced the public commitment to welfare. In the fifth theme: *'The pendulum of punishing vs. protecting'*, we described the transitions between punishing and protecting certain needy populations. As mentioned before, from 1970 there was a punitive turn in United States and other countries and we can see a stronger punitive approach even towards youngsters. This parallels to the first theme as neo-liberalism change that occurred in those years impacted commitment to welfare. The punitive ideology coincides with the ideology individual responsibility. Together these trends, when applied to the welfare development of any country, can explain how its welfare policies were originated and where they are at present.

In the next part of this paper, we will demonstrate how to use our analytic five theme model by analyzing the evolution of child welfare services and policies in Israel. As stated above, to understand the current child welfare policies, one needs to understand historical and ideological shifts. In the case of Israel, the country was under Ottoman rule for centuries and then under the British mandate for a few decades. Our analysis starts from before the state of Israel was established in 1948; specifically, the analysis begins during the late period of Ottoman Rule, which extended until 1917 and covers the British mandate period from 1917 to 1948.<sup>1</sup> Each period impacted the child welfare arena differently and left its footprint on child welfare policies for years after each colonial period ended. We demonstrate that with regard to the child welfare policies in Israel, the five themes are essential for analyzing changes, though the progression was anything but linear. We also show that what may be applicable to other social welfare policies has a somewhat different trajectory when it comes to children and youth. We conclude with implications for local as well as cross-national analysis of social welfare policies.

#### 4. Methods

This is a policy paper based on historical events. As such for this paper, we reviewed all Israeli laws pertaining to children and youth since 1900, parliamentary discussions, national committees reports, government regulations, Ministry of Welfare annual budgets, Ministry of education regulations, expert opinions, and any available newspaper (daily, weekly, and monthly) articles.

To analyze the trends and developments of child and youth services in Israel we gathered and analyzed data from various sources. These included documents regarding child welfare in the pre-state era, the Youth Law (1960) and its subsequent legislative amendments, as well as other related laws, social affairs ministry directives on the application of the law. Our research covered the relevant laws under the Ottoman Empire (pre-WWI) and the British mandate (until 1948) as well as the state of Israel as many laws migrated into the Israeli legal system from

<sup>1</sup> The territory discussed here was known as the Western part of Palestine until 1948 and Israel thereafter. This is somewhat confusing as in the past thirty some years, the term Palestine is associated with Arabs living in the occupied territories and recently also to Arabs living in the State of Israel. For the purpose of this paper, Palestine is used in its older meaning; that is the jurisdiction that is parallel to the State of Israel until 1948. In both cases, the child welfare policies were applicable to both Jews and Arabs who lived in the geographical areas of the state of Israel. Where the services for Palestinians citizens of Israel were different from those of Jewish-Israeli citizens, we make the distinction clear.

previous eras before they were gradually replaced. We also surveyed the minutes of the Israeli parliament (Knesset) committees discussing issues relevant to the Youth Law (1960) and analyzed the Supreme Court decisions regarding the Youth Law (1960). We reviewed four official reports of the national commission to assess the state of laws and services for children and youth: the Katz Prime Minister Committee Report (1973) for Children and Youth in Distress, the Rot-Levi Subcommittee on the Treatment of Minors in the Criminal Process (2003), and the Silman Committee on Out of Home placement (2014). Finally, we analyzed the data using the five themes. We also reviewed various scholarly papers written on child welfare policies and services in Israel and other Western countries, particularly the U.S. and U.K. Our discussion here outlines the evolution of Israeli policy using the five themes and its potential merit for future policy analyses. The findings in this paper are based on a synthesis of all these sources.

##### 4.1. Theme 1. The socialist/collectivist – capitalist/individualistic continuum

In Palestine, under the British mandate, Jewish socialist ideology dominated child welfare. Yet all Jewish ideological streams emphasized the commitment of the individual to the collective interests (Horowitz & Lissak, 1978). The main difference between those parties was about how to gain statehood rather than how to provide social care; they all agreed that the communal authorities had to care for the needs of the people (Horowitz & Lissak, 1978).

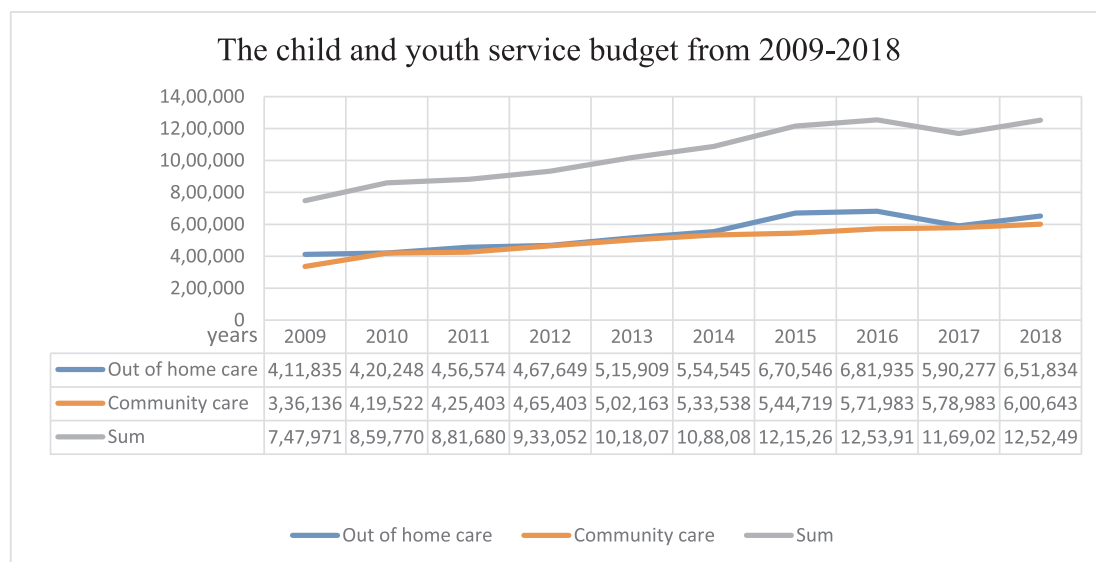
After the establishment of the State of Israel, the role of voluntary organizations declined and state services both for Jews and Arabs became the formal policy. Since 1948, Israel established a vast network of social welfare services such as: the institution of social security (provides universal children and elderly allowance or selective allowances such as unemployment), compulsory education law, personal welfare services, health services and more (Doron & Kramer, 1992). From 1959, children's allowances started in Israel in order to support large families with 4 or more children and help reduce the cost and burden of raising children. In 1975, after a reform, children's allowances became universal and applied even to families with one child. However, to for a long period, Arab families were barred from benefitting from this program.

However, like the trends in the Western world, in the 1980s, a change began in social policy and there was a reduction in social security expenditure (Doron, 1991). In addition, services became more selective and privatization of social services emerged (Rozenhak, 2006). Israel gradually moved from a collectivist socioeconomic framework to a neo-liberal agenda, minimizing the state's role in the market (Shalev, 2000). Support for the welfare state gradually lessened and many health, education and welfare services were privatized, and their scope decreased (Gal, 1994). Connected with neo-liberal ideology is the concept that in protecting children from abuse, the state should not over-impose itself. Interference with private lives is mandated only where the law demands it. However, assigning priority to protecting children from abuse, has often been an exception (Buckley, 2000).

Those changes were strengthened in the 21st century mostly due to political changes as the labor-oriented parties lost power. We can see this trend in the massive cuts in the children's allowances, although they stay universal. On the other hand, in 2017, Israel started a new policy that requires all parents to place part of the children's allowances in savings that only the children can use when they reach age 18.<sup>2</sup> The fact that there are still universal children's allowances and the state obligates parents to save for the children's direct use shows that some of the socialist policies pertaining to children have remained yet with a neo-liberal twist.

The conclusion on the application of the socialist/collectivist theme

<sup>2</sup> <http://haotzarsheli.mof.gov.il/Documents/english.pdf>



**Fig. 1.** The child and youth service budget from 2009 to 2018.

on children policy in Israel is complex. On some levels, we can see the same movement towards neo-liberal attitudes, but on the other hand, there are still public child protective services, universal children's allowances in Israel, and increasing public expenditures dedicated to children and youth services as Fig. 1 shows (2009–2018).<sup>3</sup>

Many Western countries, who, like Israel, shed their welfare commitment in the past four decades did so in different ways and magnitudes (McFate et al., 1995). Some countries that had minimal social welfare ideology, like the US, cut much of the existing welfare programs. Scandinavian countries are still the most generous but less so than before. In many countries, the commitment for welfare is no longer a given or is at a lower level than it was post- WWII. The next theme will add another perspective on the child-welfare development and review the trend from child abuse denial to recognition.

#### 4.2. Theme 2. Child abuse and neglect; from denial to recognition

Although child abuse existed for ages, the attention to child welfare issues emerged only in the 1960s (Pfohl, 1977). Like societies in other countries, the Israeli society went through a process of transition from denying child abuse to full recognition of the problem. Under the Ottoman rule and the British Mandate, child abuse was considered non-existent, it was not recognized as a social problem. Jews and Arabs alike assumed that all parents were doing their best for their children (Kadman, 1992). Disciplining children corporally was normative. The authorities in Israel focused almost exclusively on teenagers and young adults who were more likely to be runaways and be involved in criminal activities (Neipris, 1981) of children and youth policies was limited to education, labor, and delinquency statutes.

In the Israeli Youth Law (Care and Supervision) of 1960 legislation minutes, the welfare minister, Yosef Burg, explained that the initiation of this law was a reaction to immigrant's neglected youth and their parents' request to send them to institutional care due to their financial distress (Divrey Haknesset, 30). In those minutes, there was very little reference to child abuse and in the law itself there was no mention of it. One parliament member described one child abuse case, but it was regarded as an unusual case and received little attention. It is important to note that this law was aimed towards Jews from Asian and North

African countries who were considered "uncultured" and in need of socialization to become part of the modern society. The boarding schools run by Western (Ashkenazi)<sup>4</sup> Jews were regarded as capable of providing appropriate care and socialization. The idea of child abuse, even in its limited form, was only conceivable for those who were considered as others - non-Ashkenazi Jews - as the elite group was assumed not to abuse its children and youth. The at-risk youth that was reflected in the Knesset minutes focused mostly on economic-based neglect (Ben-Arieh, 2006), but children's basic rights were mentioned formally for the first time.

Parallel to the spark of child abuse recognition in United States, the next phase in child abuse recognition in Israel occurred as a result of a pediatrician's work. A. Russell, head of pediatrics at Hadassah Hospital, Jerusalem, observed neglected children and injuries inflicted by parents. After he overcame his own denial of this phenomena, in 1970, he founded, along with other Jerusalem pediatricians, the society for protection of children (Doron, 1976).

The Katz Prime Minister Committee (1973) for children and youth in distress examine reasons for increases in youth delinquency. Although very few of Katz Committee recommendations were implemented, it raised public awareness of children and youth at risk and brought the topic into public discourse. It also led to new programs and welfare services for abused and neglected children (Ben-Arieh, 2006). Yet, the idea of child abuse was only conceivable for "others" (the Arab minority and non-Ashkenazi Jews). Still, the elite group was assumed to not be able to abuse children and youth.

In the early of 1980, two voluntary organizations were established to deal with children's rights. These organizations were active in bringing the problem of child abuse to public attention. At that stage, child abuse was finally recognized as a serious social problem that afflict all ethnic and socioeconomic groups of the Israeli society.

The next shift in breaking the social denial chain was in 1988 as a result to the tragic case of Moran Denemias, a three-year-old girl who was hospitalized due to major head injuries after domestic physical and sexual abuse. A few months later she died from her injuries. Moran's story was a wakeup call for the Israeli society. The vast media coverage of Moran's story aroused an active public debate on child abuse (Morag, 2000). Questions raised included where was this poor child's supportive

<sup>3</sup> [https://www.gov.il/blobFolder/reports/molsa-social-services-review-decade-2009-2018/he/SocialServicesReview\\_decade-2009-2018\\_molsa-cahpter2-part1-decade-reveiw.pdf](https://www.gov.il/blobFolder/reports/molsa-social-services-review-decade-2009-2018/he/SocialServicesReview_decade-2009-2018_molsa-cahpter2-part1-decade-reveiw.pdf).

<sup>4</sup> Ashkenazis are a group of Jews whose origins is from East Europe, Russia, Germany or Holand. This group was the political, social, cultural and media elite.

environment when the abuse occurred, and why didn't anyone stop it before this tragic consequence. Following this public outcry, a new committee was assembled in 1989 by the Knesset to discuss child abuse in Israel headed by Knesset member Itzhak Levi. The Levi Committee recommended in 1989 a new amendment to the Penal Code (1977): the obligation of all citizens to report any kind of suspicion of child abuse (Penal Code, clause 367D). Until this amendment passed (1989), the term "child abuse" was not mentioned in any Israeli law (Kadman, 2010). At the same year, a law passed the Knesset. This law, 'the Protection of Minors and the Helpless Act' (1989), reflected the changed public sentiments regarding child abuse. This act set clear punishments for abuse of minors and the helpless (Penal Code, clause 26). Those two pieces of legislation demonstrate that the wall of silence and denial regarding child abuse was shattered. These new legislations impacted the Israeli society. In 1998, there were 21,765 reports of children at risk and by 2008 it doubled to 44,425. Furthermore, in 1985 the police opened only 88 records of child abuse offenders and by 2008, there were 7913 active cases.

In summary, the Israeli society progressed from denying that child abuse exists to recognizing the problem and developing ways to deal with it. Finding solutions involves creating policies, procedures, and developing staff capable of effectuating new ways of protecting children. This, in turn, has led to the professionalization of care, which will be discussed next.

#### 4.3. Theme 3: The professionalization of care

During the Ottoman period, all social matters were dealt with formally by the police and courts or informally by families and neighbors. That was also the case for most of the British Mandate period, for both Jews and Arabs living in Palestine. Professional social work was born in Palestine in 1931 when the Jewish National Council established the social work department headed by Henrietta Szold. The first social workers in the municipal welfare departments were German immigrants (Doron, 2004). The first professional training course started in 1934 (Duetch, 1970), and in 1937 the social workers' union (Association of Social Workers) was established (Spiro, 2012). The main contribution of the British Mandate to the local social work profession was the establishment of the probation services (Elad & Weiner, 1995). Before the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, there were already a large number of social welfare departments that gave financial aid and cared for Jewish children and families.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel, the number of social workers has risen. The 1948 Arab–Israeli War, the Holocaust survivors, and the vast immigration to the State of Israel required a fast development of social work services and responses to massive and complex needs (Neipris, 1989). In 1958, the first social work academic department opened at Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In the next decades, several child-related professionalization trends took place: more professional training; more research and structuring of new knowledge; more power to the Israeli Association of Social Workers; and, creation of a professional code of ethics (Spiro, Sherer, Korin-Langer, & Weiss, 1998).

In the past few decades, a series of laws was established to define and reframe the roles of social workers. In 1980 with the legislation of Income Support (Havtahat Hachnasa), social welfare workers in public services departments were released from their role as public financial assistance providers (Spiro, 2012). This change influenced the evolution of the social work profession in Israel and consequently, social workers now focus more on counseling, therapy, and developing social programs (Weiss, 2000).

In the United States, the social work professionalization seed were sown with serving the poor (Lubove, 1965). By the twentieth century, the professionalization of social work, in United States, tended more towards counseling and psychotherapy (Specht & Courtney, 1995). This trend affected Israeli social work. In Israel, movement towards

therapeutic treatment became stronger due to the Americanization of the Israeli social work academia; most of the Israeli faculty members earned their terminal degrees in the United States. Furthermore, the origins of the literature for teaching social work practice came from the United States and so the Israeli social work adopted psycho-dynamic American models (Prager, 1987). However, while the US used para-professionals rather than social workers as frontline of child welfare workers, in Israel, as we show below, the process was the reverse (Barth et al., 2008; Littell & Shlonsky, 2010; Institute, 2011; Shlonsky et al., 2011; Whitaker, 2012).

The Youth (Care and Supervision) Law (1960), and the Domestic Violent Prevention Law (1991) obligated social workers to intervene in children at-risk situations. The Youth Law (1960) defined and designed for the first time in Israel social workers' roles in child protection. Before the Youth Law was passed, there was no authority that assembled interventions for at-risk minors. In the Knesset minutes, the Welfare Minister noted that this law is another step in the clarification of the responsibilities of social workers in Israel (Divrey Haknesset, 30). These legislations strengthened social workers' authority and status, sometime leading to public and legal criticism (Supreme Court ruling, from 2002, number 6041/02).

The new amendments to the Penal Code in 1989 stated the obligation of all citizens to report any suspicion of child abuse, consequently, social workers' case load has increased. Even so, the number of social workers who deal with child abuse has not changed to meet increased demand. The heavy caseload has reduced the worker's ability to provide quality professional care; for example, they do not invest in rehabilitating the children's families after removing them from home (Silman Committee, 2014).

In 1996, the Knesset legislated the "Social Workers Law," which defines social work as a profession in the welfare domain that aims to improve one's personal and social function through therapy, rehabilitation and advising (Pinchasi & Michaeli, 2012). This law also discusses ethics and confidentiality for social workers.

Unlike many countries where child welfare workers became less professional and more like low-level case managers (Littell & Shlonsky, 2010), social workers in Israel succeeded in advocating for a higher tier of social workers specializing in child welfare. These special experts are known as welfare officers for certain laws or populations. In order to become child protector worker in Israel, one must be a licensed social worker after special training of a year and a half course (Weissberg-Nakash, 2011). Several studies describe child welfare workers' characteristics: their average seniority ranged from 8 years and most of them have MSW degree while the rest are holding a BSW which is the practice degree in most non North-American countries (Dagan, Ben-Porat, & Itzhaky, 2016; Dolev, Sabo-Lael, & Ben-Rabi, 2008). In addition to their special training, through the years, they go to various forms of mandatory continuing education programs (Dolev et al., 2008). Hence, child protection workers in Israel are highly professional. When the Association of Social Workers in Israel managed to negotiate this new tier with the state and private employers, special welfare officers for children were also appointed. The higher tier of professionals offers high-level supervision and consultation to the professional field social workers who work with children and youth. The system, as of now, does not employ para-professionals and/or low-qualified case managers. Retaining highly educated professionals in direct care roles usually indicates a societal commitment and willingness to pay for the care of a certain population in need. At the same time, it also reflects the power of a given profession in a given country to hold its society responsible to the highest professional standards.

The trend of professionalization of social workers who treat children and youth in Israel is opposite that of other countries. For example, Healy, Meagher, and Cullin (2009) reported that in Australia, England, and Sweden due to turnover most workers are novices. In Israel, child welfare position is highly coveted and seniority of employees is high. In Israel, the role of professionals and youth specialists was enhanced. It

means that public commitment for children trumps other considerations and hence, resource allocations follows. This difference may in part be due to the Jewish cultural values regarding professional service and especially a priority for children who are the future of society. For example, there is an Israeli myth that there is nothing greater than the Jewish family. The common perception is that the Jewish family puts the child interest above all (Kadman, 1992).

#### 4.4. Theme 4. From out of home placement to community solutions

The general use of institutional care for populations in need lasted in Israel longer than in most modern countries. For example, even today, psychiatric hospitals are common in Israel though community care is fast emerging (Aviram, 2007).

In the past, the rate of boarding school education in Israel was wide-scale relative to the rest of the world (Rosenfeld & Kedem, 1999). The high esteem to which boarding institutions were held in Israel has historical and cultural origins. In the Orthodox Jewish culture, there is an old tradition of encouraging young adults to learn and be educated out-of-home. The best Jewish boy scholars went to boarding “yeshiva,” a Talmudic school, and spent their teen years in these orthodox single-sex institutions (Stadler, 2009). Furthermore, for historical and ideological reasons whose origins are rooted in the Zionist ideology of the early 20th century, Israel developed a tradition that supported educational residential care settings as the dominant solution for children (Kashti, Shleski, & Ariel, 2000). The idea was that in such institutions, young Jews could be molded to become the brave new citizens of the state. Orthodox Jews kept going to their own educational residential care, but the Arab population lacked such options. This was especially true in the years before the establishment of the Israeli state and in the few years afterwards. During the Ottoman era the first non-religious Jewish school was established, focusing on agriculture in 1870 (‘Mikve Israel,’ near Jaffa). This educational residential care was an organized institution to prepare elite secular Jewish youth to become successful farmers.

In 1933, a new Zionist organization was established called “Aliyat Hanoaar.” This organization helped youths to immigrate to Palestine and to get a certificate allowing them to enter and live in Palestine under the British Mandate. These youths were thus saved from the Holocaust. Those youths received their education in boarding schools, especially in Kibbutzim (Rosenfeld & Kedem, 1999). Institutional care had proven to be successful arrangement in the absorption, socialization, and education of young immigrants who came to the country during the late 1930s and beyond.

In the communal living arrangement of the Kibbutzim, all the children used to eat, bath, and sleep together and apart from their parents in communal children houses. This kind of arrangement was rooted in the collectivist ideology that characterized the Kibbutz until the 1980s when children returned from communal to family care (Sagi & Dolev, 2001). This is an example, unique to Israel, of the transition from institutional care to family care.

In those years, educational residential care played an important role in resettling immigrant Jews and holocaust survivors. The educational residential care aimed to strengthen Zionist values. These institutions were maintained by the major political parties, usually labor and religious groups, and instilled those parties’ ideologies (Kahane, 1986). In fact, the ruling parties in the coalition developed a system by which a proportional number of children would be referred to their respective boarding schools.

After the establishment of the State of Israel, there were two separate systems educational residential care settings: one funded by the Ministry of Education and the other by the Ministry of Welfare and Social Services. As mentioned earlier, the 1960 Youth Law (care and supervision) demonstrates the fundamental idea of society’s responsibility to protect adolescents through institutionalization. This Law expanded public responsibility from focusing almost exclusively on the

field of juvenile justice to focusing on welfare and educational care by placing at-risk children in residential care where they could receive “proper” education in a safe environment. The aim of this solution was twofold: protection and treatment.

In Israel 74% of children in out-of-home placements live in residential care. Unlike many other Western countries, many children removed from home were placed in a residential facility and only about 25% were placed with foster families (2369 of 9143 children in 2014) (NCC, 2014). Many families prefer to place their children in residential homes where educators do not replace the birth family and pose less of a threat to their image as good parents (Del Valle, López, Montserrat, & Bravo, 2009).

In 2004, the Ministry of Social Affairs and Social Services began to operate a new policy titled “facing the community,” which emphasizes solutions for children at-risk within the community (Zemach-Marom, Halaban-Eilat, & Szabo-Lael, 2012). This new policy allows local social welfare departments to use resources to develop community treatment programs instead of using those resources for out-of-home placements. Furthermore, this policy restricts the length of time that children considered at a low level of risk can stay in residential care. Fig. 1, above, illustrates the reflection of this policy change in the steadily increasing budget for community services for children and youth in the last decade.

Since 2004, the implementation of this policy, there has been a decline in the number of children at low risk in residential care, but an increase in the number of children with more severe problems in residential care. Parallel to this process, there has been a major increase of 58% of children at-risk who have been treated within their community (The Social Services review, 2016). Today, most of the children who do go to residential care are older children for whom therapeutic interventions in the community failed (Lev-Sadeh, 2012). Like many countries, in the decade between 2000 and 2010, the number of reports of children at-risk significantly rose. Consequently, in this period, the number of children cared for by the social welfare departments grew. Even so, as a sign of the decreased emphasis on out of home placements, there was a decline in the general numbers of out-of-home placement solutions (Zemach-Marom et al., 2012).

Since 2016, the welfare ministry and the ‘Joint Distribution Committee’ of Israel operate two programs whose purpose is to ensure permanent and steady homes for children at foster families or residential care. The top priority of those programs is to return the children to their original natural homes and to prevent another out-of-home placement by strengthening and rehabilitating the family. In these programs, the families themselves are at the center of the interventions (<http://ashalim.org.il/metiva>, 11.3.2018).

The conclusion that emerges from this review of the Israeli residential care for children is that although institutional solutions for children is rooted in the Israeli culture, ideology and history, there has been a change in the perception and practice over time. Following worldwide trends, after 2004 there was a change in formal policy that has contributed to a decline in out-of-home placement for children and to the development of community-based services.

Part of this shift to community-based solutions relates to the trend from punishing juvenile delinquents to protecting and rehabilitating them. Our next theme focuses on this topic.

#### 4.5. Theme 5: First punishing, then protecting and providing rights and back to punishing again?

During the Ottoman rule, the authorities only intervened when children and youth broke the law and the form of intervention was usually arrest and imprisonment. The same rules applied to all children and youth as well as adults, regardless of age or ethnic affiliation. The British model put responsibility for preventing juvenile delinquency and neglected youth on the educational authorities (Brew, 1943). Later, after the declaration of independence, the welfare ministry included a

special department for treating and caring for neglected Jewish children and youth (Anoch, 1951). It took many years before such care was provided to the Arab citizens of Israel.

The probation services were established in 1932 when the first probation officer came from England to Palestine to build this service. In 1937 the "Juvenile Offenders Ordinance" law was introduced. It also contained reference to supervision and treating youngsters in need. As such, the probation service dealt with both juvenile delinquents and neglected youngsters (Sebba, 1981). The youth probation officers were responsible to produce reports on juvenile delinquents before their court appearance and judges referred to these reports in their verdicts. The Israeli law inherited the system bequeathed by the outgoing British Mandatory government, as laid down in the Juvenile Offenders Ordinance of 1937. During the British Mandate, professionals, mostly educators, took it upon themselves to identify and treat juveniles in distress and young delinquents. In 1937, probation officers became part of the judicial procedure and were authorized to submit a pre-sentence report (Ajzenstadt & Khoury-Kassabri, 2013). Article 12 of the 1937 Ordinance explicitly allowed for the punishment of juveniles through 'corporal punishment', among other means, as alternatives to imprisonment. Article 16 was special because it did not refer to delinquents but to minors, mostly neglected ones, who need court intervention in order to develop properly (Qafisheh, 2011). The emerging probation system for juveniles was formulated by the British Mandate in 1937 with the enactment of the Juvenile Offenders Ordinance (Bensinger, 1998).

Only in 1960 with the legislation of Youth Law (Care and Supervising, 1960) was there a separation between the criminal and treatment domains. The objective of this law was to determine when the state needed to protect minors, maintain a safe physical and mental environment for children to grow (Doron, 1976), the minors' rights in this procedure, and the social workers' responsibilities regarding protecting minors. Indeed, it may be surmised that one reason for introducing an independent law in 1960 was specifically to avoid the stigmatization of needy children as delinquent (Sebba, 1981).

The 1937 "Juvenile Offenders Ordinance" was replaced in 1971 with the Youth Act (Trial, Punishment and Modes of Treatment Act). Hence, in the first years of the young Israeli state, except for 'Compulsory education law' (1949), minors still did not have any special reference in the law unless they were criminal offenders. The new youth Act (1971) and its accompanying regulations were based on the welfarist youth approach, treating juvenile delinquents as victims of drives beyond their ability to control, who thus had to be cared for by the state (Ajzenstadt & Khoury-Kassabri, 2013). The first half of the 20th century saw a trend of preferring rehabilitation over punishment of juvenile delinquents.

In the 1980s, in many countries there was a return to a punitive approach (Muncie, 2008; Sebba, 1981). Compared to United States and England, in Israel, this trend was more moderate and not swiping. On the one hand, there were severe budget cuts to major social welfare programs, including those dealing with juvenile offenders. This change indicated a neo-liberal approach. On the other hand, the neo-liberal ideas of individualization and focus on personal responsibility did not penetrate the juvenile delinquency arena. Rather, a renewed welfarist discourse was formed in Israel due to a strong attachment to the traditional belief in rehabilitation and treatment of children in a child-centered culture (Ajzenstadt & Khoury-Kassabri, 2013).

While Israel makes movements toward neo-liberal influences, these influences do not come to full fruition. Israel has been resistant to hegemonic neo-liberal influences regarding matters of juvenile delinquency and youth legal responsibility. Pressures to introduce harsher punishments for teens, that started on the 1990s have been resisted. For example, members of parliament called for responding severely to children who committed crimes, they suggest introduction of minimum penalties, the enactment of curfew laws, and an increase in monitoring and surveillance measures in places where young people gather (Ajzenstadt & Khoury-Kassabri, 2013). One possible explanation for

resistance to harsher punishments for teens is that in Israel there is a deep sense of obligation to children and a strong belief that the state is responsible for their wellbeing. Israelis' also see child-rearing functions as a national resource, a means of securing the existence of Israel (Fogiel-Bijaoui, 2010). In addition, the Jewish traditions stress communal responsibility to its members, in contrast to the expectations of individual responsibility common in the U.S. (Schneider & Wittberg, 2011).

Israel is closer to Italy and Scandinavian states where there is more tolerance for minors in deciding punishment and there is more focus on children's rights (Goldson & Hughes, 2010). These attitudes towards juvenile delinquency still retain strong links to the core principles and beliefs of the welfare state, which are deeply rooted in the Israeli society and its strong concerns for children. Consequently, the law enforcement institutions maintain welfare values and combine rehabilitation and treatment attitudes regarding children and youth.

Due to the Israeli values supporting treatment and rehabilitation, the actual budget cuts in welfare and probation services were met by the formation of private and non-profit agencies which play an important role in various preventive, assessment, and treatment programs. These new providers offer services such as hostels for juvenile delinquents, treatment of juvenile sexual offenders, and family conferencing interventions (Israel, The State Comptroller, 2008).

The rights discourse considers the state responsible not only for guaranteeing juvenile delinquents' rights in the criminal process, but also for expanding the rights framework to include rights to have access to treatment and, even further, to the rights of children to be raised in a proper, healthy environment that prevented them from engaging in crime.

The United Nation's Convention was an inspiration for new laws in Israel and marks the shift in the legislation from laws with a protective attitude to laws focusing on children's rights. One example of this new trend is from an amendment to the Youth Law amendment (1995) that gave minors the right to be presented by lawyers on involuntary hospitalization procedures. Other examples are the law to test for HIV in minors (1996), which gives the minor the right to be checked without the guardian's permission or the Family Court Law (1995), which gives minors the right to initiate an appeal in court. The School Student Rights Law (2000) is a unique Israeli law, the first one in the world, which defines students' rights in the educational system, including anti-discrimination rights. These examples illustrate diverse ways to preserve minors' rights, such as the right to be heard and anticipate procedures as relates one's life, equality and health.

The Rotlevi Committee of 2003 aimed to examine legislation on children rights. In 2004, the committee submitted its recommendations. The main recommendations of the Committee focused on the need to promote a central Children Act that legislates the state's responsibility towards children and promotes their rights according to the Union Nation convention. This law would centralize the separate laws that deal with children and create a treatment continuum through their lives. Implementation of the Rotlevi Committee's recommendations were partial or not implemented at all, for example, promoting a general children's rights law (Knesset's Center of Information, 2010). Despite the lack of full implementation, there are clear references to the Rotlevi committee's recommendations in court decisions regarding their unique rights (Morag, 2009) and regarding children participation in family court procedure.

In this theme, we can see that the Israeli trend is different from the trend in the Neo-Liberal Western world. In Israel there was no trend of harshening the treatment nor public sentiments towards treating adolescents as adults. The leading approach to treat juvenile delinquents remained consistently rehabilitate rather than punitive in contrast to countries like the USA (Mero & Benekos, 2010) or UK (Pitts, 2001). The Israeli policy toward young delinquents focuses more on rehabilitation and sees juvenile delinquency as part of poverty and distress issues that the state is obligated to address (Ajzenstadt & Khoury-Kassabri, 2013).



If we define welfare versus legalistic approaches on a continuum, rather than in opposition to one another, then the Israeli society is closer to the welfare side. Like many countries, Israel/Palestine started on the punitive/legal side but shifted towards protection and rehabilitation. The current public opinion and social practices are to treat children and youth as an investment and to prefer prevention and rehabilitation over legal punishment.

## 5. Discussion and conclusions

Very few studies attempt to analyze the development of one field of social welfare (child welfare in our case) along the axis of time within one country. We contend that social policies in any given society are not progressing linearly and are the result of historical, social, political, and professional developments. In this paper, we presented a five-theme model that can help future scholars aiming to understand the evolution of specific welfare policies in any country or compare the evolution of certain welfare policies among countries. We elicited these five themes based on a thorough literature review. We then applied the model to child and youth welfare policies in Israel from 1900 until today. Israel and the period were chosen as they cover three different governments (Ottoman, British mandate, and the State of Israel) with a changing population that saw the Jews becoming the dominant group bringing with them American-European influences and technologies. This second part of the article demonstrate how our five-theme model helps to make a multi-dimensional analysis of one specific welfare policy through time. We have shown the extent that Israel followed the world trends and instances when it developed its own unique policies.

Israel is still oscillating between a socialist and neo-liberal ideology. While the trend is shifting towards neo-liberal ideology, the socialist ideology the first Jewish settlers brought with them from Eastern Europe is still pervasive. Most Israelis expect the government to provide social services to meet basic human needs. As such, the services of caring for children and youth are staffed by professional social workers directly or indirectly paid by the government; moreover, there are special programs to train qualified social workers in child welfare and that lead to financial rewards for working in the child welfare arena. Israel is one of the few places (in contrast, for example to the US), where only professional social workers are allowed to practice in the sub-fields of juvenile justice, adoption, and response to abuse and neglect. This training and financial remuneration reflect Israel's commitment to and recognition of the importance of these sub-fields.

The evolution of child welfare services in Israel saw a trend of extending the number and type of programs, enlarging the scope of those eligible for care, safeguarding the wellbeing of children and youth, and regardless of other welfare and fiscal trends, the allocation for child welfare did not decrease. What can explain this unique status of child welfare as compared to other welfare programs that did not see such growth and protection against budget cuts? One possible explanation is the Jewish nature of the country where children and youth are revered. In Judaism, children and youth are considered the future of the tribe and it is a dictum to invest in them (Jaffe, 1993). The various politicians who came to power holding neo-liberal ideologies assessed that while they can cut welfare benefits to poor families or the unemployed, children are publicly supported as a true deserving population that should not be subject to welfare cuts. The various parties that maintain political control of the Ministry of Welfare and Social Services knew that cutting child welfare services would bring negative press and would hurt their standing in the polls. Israel also borrowed ideas and was influenced by international developments and international treaties. In the case of child abuse and neglect, Israel followed other western countries. Similarly, signing the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child brought about new international influences that already started to percolate. There is no single explanation or theory that can account for the 100+ years of child welfare development in Israel. However, assessing the development through the proposed

themes allows for a foundation of conceptual understanding that may lead in years to come to a refined theory of social welfare policy development.

Aspects of institutional isomorphism also were detected in our analysis. Israeli experts who were trained abroad brought back the latest trends and newly recognized fields of study and, as part of the world community, Israel was made to reassess its services for children and youth. No democracy is insular and small countries like Israel, by nature, follow trends from other leading countries. In the area of advocacy for children and youth, for example, a US trained social worker established the Israel National Council for the Child. Observing similar organizations in other countries enables the establishment of such an organization in Israel.

The target population of child welfare policies receives special consideration from policy makers and politicians. Children and youth, neither able to protect themselves nor expected to be gainfully employed, are always considered worthy poor (Knutsson, 2017; McDaniel & Lescher, 2008). Historically, and especially since the Elizabethan Poor Law (1601), children and the elderly are considered worthy of public social care. Viewing children as worthy, coupled with the local religions' preferences for children and youth, create a political environment in which governments would be forbidden to sacrifice the interests of children. Children who are not yet exposed to the real world and are the future of society are especially favored when in need.

As Ajzenstadt and Khoury-Kassabri (2013) have shown in the area of juvenile justice, children are treated favorably and less harshly in Israel than adults. This is likely true in many countries where children are not held to the same harsh standards as adults in the criminal justice system. We found that this compassionate approach towards children is not limited to the criminal justice system but extends to other child welfare policies. Relatively more resources are directed in Israel for child welfare services than for social service for other target populations. Moreover, in keeping with the societal predisposition and value preference to the young, the Israeli public expects such generous allocations.

The quest for the Jewish nation also influenced the formation of child welfare policies. The Jewish settlers who started moving to Israel at the dawn of the 20th century brought with them the socialist ideology discussed above but also the quest for a Jewish state. It was understood that a state requires the organized provision of social services to needy populations. The pre-state model was a British one, since the UK had a UN mandate over Palestine. When the State was established in 1948, it established social services that mirrored the European model, especially the UK one. In the following years, the quest was to have one unified Jewish state. As such, children were placed in large institutional facilities that were designed to shed the diaspora and instill the new Israeli culture, language, and pride. Child welfare services were harnessed to serve the mission of forming a Jewish state. Not surprisingly, it also meant limited or no services to the Arab citizens of Israel. The first years of the new state were under Israeli military rule and basically no public services were allocated to the Arab population. With the following years, services were provided to the Arab citizens of Israel but at a lesser quality and fewer resources. This resulted in an increased service provision by indigenous religious nonprofit organizations (Eseed, in press). Currently, Jewish political parties, especially those representing religious constituents, have child welfare services as part of their platforms; their members, on average, have more children than the rest of society.

We are not aiming to predict what future child welfare services and policies will look like. Prediction is beyond the scope of this paper. Our aim is to build a model that focuses on evolution of social services and apply this model to various social services. It is our contention that using this model will help students of welfare worldwide to better analyze their own welfare policies. As any country, Israel child welfare services are not constant, nor do they progress linearly. In this paper, we described and analyzed the evolution of the set of child welfare

policies along time and showed how five conceptual themes enable us to understand this evolution. We hope that similar undertakings will enable scholars and policy makers to better understand social welfare policies, to better assess their own welfare policy's evolution, and to be better able to shape it in the future. We recognize that our analysis lacks the ability to predict the future. However, understanding how policies evolved and modified can assist reformers in shaping the future.

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