

Working to support policy change through an advocacy coalition in Israel

A case study

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1. Introduction

In the early hours of 18 July 2018, the Israeli Knesset¹ was considering legislation in its final session before the summer recess. Time was running out for one particular bill regarding daycare supervision that had been discussed for decades, but never passed. In the corridors outside the main chamber, Member of Knesset (MK) Yifat Shasha-Biton was talking through options with members of the Coalition for Education from Birth (the Coalition), a group of individuals and organisations advocating for an improved early years (children aged 0 to 3) system in the country. The Coalition, which had only been set up two-and-a-half years earlier, had spent the last two months organising demonstrations, petitions and media engagements to lobby for a new law on daycare supervision. This increased urgency followed the death of one-year-old Yasmin Vinta in a private, unsupervised nursery as a result of abuse by her carer. The need for change in the system was palpable, and the Coalition had increased its work across all channels with the aim of ensuring that a change in the law would be passed in the current Knesset's session. As the final session on 18 July progressed, Yifat Shasha-Biton MK and a handful of Coalition members coordinated a final push, sending fresh petitions and making last-minute calls to their networks. That night, 35 MKs voted in the Daycare Supervision Law (the Supervision Law) with no opposition.

This legislation was one of several changes the Coalition worked for, including the establishment of the Israeli National Early Childhood Council (the Council). This case study tells the story of the Coalition's work on these important developments in the field of early childhood, from its formation in December 2015 to early 2019, when interviews for this case study took place. It considers the factors that facilitated the passing of the Supervision Law and related legislative changes in this relatively short space of time. It looks at the Coalition's creation, its implementation, and how its advocacy work has contributed to achieving legislative changes in the field of early childhood development (ECD).

The case study forms part of the Bernard van Leer Foundation's (BvLF) wider research programme on funding at-scale interventions in the field of ECD (further detailed at the end of this case study).² Specifically, the purpose of the case study is to document and identify lessons from the Coalition's approach, helping to explain the process of setting up and running a coalition to effect policy change. It is based on evidence collected through a document review and 20 interviews with Coalition members, non-Coalition members, policymakers and a journalist. Interviewees are referred to throughout the case study, either directly in the text or in endnotes attached to a point made or a quotation. ANU's chief executive officer (CEO) and chief operating officer (COO) interviewed are no longer in post and thus referred to as the "former" CEO and COO. Further details on the methodology are set out in the Appendix.

The case study focuses on factors considered by stakeholders as critical to the Coalition's success. It is set out as follows: Section 2 provides an outline of the history of the Coalition and its current membership, as well as its key successes to date; Section 3 considers the importance of diversity and representing the grass-roots, and Section 4 looks at how the Coalition has managed these diverse perspectives; Section 5 identifies the advocacy tactics and activities the Coalition has employed;

Section 6 describes the challenges for the Coalition in meeting its objectives; Section 7 considers trade-offs and compromises, and Section 8 looks ahead to the future work and next steps for the Coalition.

2. Background and work to date of the Coalition for Education from Birth³

In 2015 there was no single governmental programme that assumed responsibility for all 0–3 year-old children in Israel, whether in government regulated care or otherwise (i.e. private care or staying at home).⁴ The Ministry of Finance was responsible for childcare settings for this age group,⁵ with the Ministry of Education only taking responsibility for education for children aged 3 upwards. Only 23% of children under the age of 3 were in public, subsidised and regulated childcare – a relatively low rate compared to other OECD countries.⁶ There was reported excess demand for formal childcare services in Israel,⁷ with some population groups, such as Orthodox Jewish and Arab minorities, underrepresented.⁸ As such, the care of children under the age of 3, and particularly those from the country's minority groups, lacked oversight by the government and the safety mechanisms associated with government regulation.

This situation attracted the attention of the Bernard van Leer Foundation (BvLF), an organisation with a history of funding in Israel that had run ECD programmes in the country since the 1970s.⁹ Even before this, the Van Leer name was recognised in Israel, as BvLF's chief funder, the Van Leer Group Foundation, founded the renowned Van Leer Jerusalem Institute in 1959.¹⁰ In 2015, BvLF aligned its strategy in Israel with its wider organisational strategy of investing at scale.¹¹ It assigned a country representative with a mandate to explore how to progress its strategy in Israel. Following a scoping phase that included interviewing over 80 people from different sectors and geographic areas,¹² the country representative identified issues and gaps in childcare and education for the 0–3 age group as an area of strategic focus for BvLF's future work in Israel.

2.1. Identifying the format of an advocacy coalition

During the scoping phase, BvLF's country representative identified organisations undertaking work relevant to the delivery of BvLF's strategy in Israel. One of these was ANU – meaning 'We' or 'Us' (not an abbreviation) – a non-profit organisation that offers campaigning and organising tools for social change, and which has expertise in building coalitions focused on four dimensions – advocacy, media, grass-roots and knowledge.¹³ For the purposes of this case study the coalition building approach is referred to as the building of an 'advocacy coalition'.

Based on the country representative's assessment and BvLF's previous knowledge of the country, BvLF identified advocacy coalition building as its preferred way of contributing to the field of childcare and education for the 0–3 age group in Israel. BvLF chose this approach at least partly because it felt that it had the potential to bring together different stakeholders to deliver a more powerful message about the need for change. In addition, the emphasis ANU placed on building partnerships with different stakeholders, empowering activists, giving local actors ownership of solutions, and engaging with grass-roots were particularly attractive for BvLF. It was felt that this approach struck a balance between contributing to policy improvement and giving local protagonists the power to make the changes they seek.¹⁴

2.2. BvLF gave ANU a grant to form a coalition and plan a campaign

Discussions between ANU and BvLF led to ANU reaching out to a group of activists and organisations working in the field of ECD who had already been collaborating on advocacy activities. ANU recognised this group as passionate and interested activists for ECD. An agreement was struck between the three entities to collaborate, and the group of activists and organisations became ‘the Coalition’.

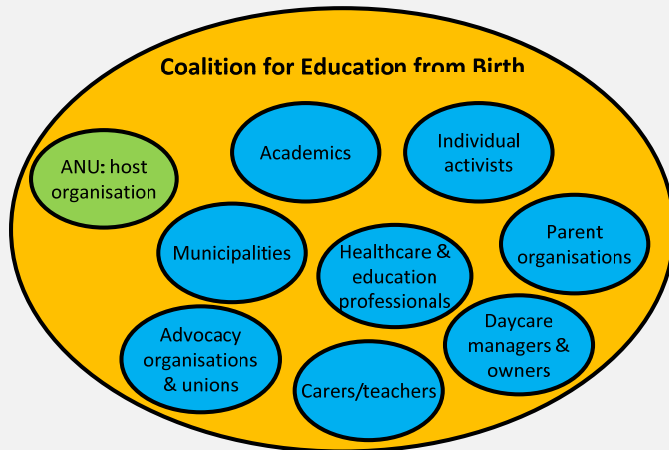
In December 2015 BvLF gave ANU an initial grant to develop this collaboration. In the first six months following the Coalition’s creation, ANU hired key staff, carried out stakeholder mapping, defined its strategy and developed an organisational identity. Already during this period, the membership of the Coalition began to grow. A number of members met with MKs, attended government committee meetings and generated over 35 media items.¹⁵ Following the initial six-month grant, BvLF made a further two-year implementation grant, followed by a third grant in 2018 that is due to end in August 2020.¹⁶

The boxes below set out a brief overview of the Coalition – Box 1 describes its membership and network and Box 2 describes the key roles within the Coalition.

Box 1: Coalition membership, network and leadership

The Coalition comprises a diverse membership of over 250 people. It has over 5,000 Facebook followers approximately 70,000 contacts and reaches over 300,000 people through members' networks.

As of March 2019 the Coalition has approximately 250 members,¹⁷ including a range of stakeholders shown in the figure below.¹⁸ These are all individuals, some of whom represent organisations and others who are members in a personal capacity. The members' respective networks – namely their groups and contacts – are estimated by ANU to reach over 300,000 people.¹⁹ In addition to its membership, as of March 2019 the Coalition has approximately 70,000 contacts who have signed petitions and receive ANU newsletters, as well as approximately 5,000 individual followers on the Coalition's Facebook page.²⁰



The Coalition has a central leadership team and dedicated resources at ANU.

Of the Coalition's 250 members, approximately 30 sit on the Steering Committee, which represents the wider membership and forms a leadership group. The committee meets regularly and interacts on a WhatsApp group²¹ to conduct various discussions and take decisions on strategies and actions.²² Some Steering Committee members are more involved than others. One activist in particular has been especially involved and vocal, and as a result was given a bigger role to play in the Coalition. This was not a formal role, but for the purposes of this case study this person is referred to as 'the Lead Activist'.²³

The Coalition has benefited from the experience and expertise of its host organisation, ANU,²⁴ which was already established as a leader in building advocacy coalitions in Israel. Although ANU's previous experience is not specifically in the area of ECD, the former chief operating officer (COO) explained that its coalition-building expertise is more important than subject matter expertise. However, fortuitously ANU's former chief executive officer (CEO) had taken a leading role – as a volunteer – in the founding of the National Parents' Committee, later becoming the chair. This had additional advantages for the Coalition.²⁵

Interviewees external to the Coalition were not always clear about the difference between ANU and the Coalition (from a legal perspective there is a clear difference, as the Coalition is one of a number of campaigns/initiatives run by ANU).²⁶ Arguably this has been advantageous to the Coalition as it has benefited from the reputation of ANU, but there is also a risk of negative associations with the host organisation. For example, in 2019 ANU supported a liberal stance on a topic not connected to the Coalition, which risked alienating elements within the membership and affecting ANU's reputation among coalition members.

Box 2: Roles, skills and characteristics fundamental to the Coalition's operation

The following roles have been identified by interviewees as fundamental to the Coalition's operation:

- **A well-connected CEO:** Several interviewees stressed the importance of the connections that ANU's former CEO had to policymakers.²⁷ As explained by the former COO, the CEO was *"focused on opening doors, making contact with key government officials"*.²⁸ The CEO also played other roles valued by the Coalition, for instance providing a perspective from outside the Coalition²⁹ and undertaking ongoing strategic assessments.³⁰
- **Coordinator with strong people skills:** Having a dedicated coordinator (the Coordinator) was mentioned by eight interviewees as important. The coordinator facilitates all activities and in a sense empowers Coalition members without taking authority or credit for their actions. Key attributes of the Coordinator identified by interviewees were strong interpersonal skills, the ability to mediate and manage internal struggles, the ability to give people a sense of belonging and the ability to empower Coalition members.³¹ The Coordinator explained that *"the beauty of a coordinator is to know how to be in the background... You have to be very modest in this role, to give the platform to all the people."*³²

These qualities were emphasised not only by Coalition members, but also by all three non-Coalition members interviewed, who represented organisations with which the Coalition has developed effective working relationships. BvLF also view the Coordinator as key to *"allowing everyone to feel they have their place, their voice"*, giving as an example the success of the Coordinator in getting the Israel National Council for the Child (NCC) to join the Coalition.³³ Given these important attributes of the Coordinator, it is not surprising that one Coalition member described the choice of Coordinator as critical,³⁴ and another thought the Coordinator was the key to the success of the Coalition.³⁵

- **Passionate lead activist:** All activist members of the Coalition are volunteers, and their importance within the Coalition has already been emphasised. However, as mentioned in Box 1, the Lead Activist was seen as being of particular importance by Coalition members, policymakers and non-Coalition members. Three interviewees described the Lead Activist as being devoted to the cause, with several using the word 'crazy'³⁶ – for instance: *"[She] is crazy...she has 30 hours a day...you need to find the right people to be able to do that... She is everywhere, she goes to every committee meeting, she always speaks her mind and represents the coalition... She managed to have close contact with most policymakers and politicians who are in this field of early childhood."*³⁷ This shows how the Lead Activist has been a champion for the cause, dedicated vast amounts of time to public activity and has high levels of passion. Policymakers who have engaged with the Lead Activist explained that to have success *"you need a hyperactive person, has to be an activist, that you know they will run no matter what... [The Coalition has] people with a lot of passion."*³⁸
- **Campaigner:** ANU work with a marketing agency with expertise in online media campaigns. It has been helpful for the Coalition to have a media campaigner who knew how to draft messages and communicate them to the wider audience of policymakers and the general public.³⁹

2.3. Identifying clear, feasible but ambitious goals has contributed to the perceived success of the Coalition

From the beginning, ANU worked with the Coalition to formulate a shared cause that all members could agree on, which related to their commonly held belief *"that there should be a good system for the early years"*.⁴⁰ To address this, the Coalition developed ambitious⁴¹ but practically achievable objectives⁴² that were limited in number and thus easy to communicate to different audiences.⁴³ They formulated the aim of addressing *"quality and affordability of care for children under three through a regulatory framework, increased investments and expansion of services"*.⁴⁴ The Coalition's vision is

that *“Early Learning Frameworks from birth to 3 years old will be regulated, organised and accessible to the entire population.”*⁴⁵

The Coalition sees these objectives as being based on the needs of parents and children,⁴⁶ and as having the *“potential to interest the public”*.⁴⁷ The focus on very specific policy targets has been well received by policymakers, with one MK explaining that the Coalition *“is very clear on what they're doing, it's in their name, it's a message... by putting the finger on education from birth it says 'this is a very important critical period in the life of every child'. This was quite a novel approach and very significant...”*⁴⁸

2.4. The Coalition has kept developing and reflecting on its strategy over time

The Coalition summarised its original 2016 Workplan⁴⁹ in a policy statement that outlined three goals:⁵⁰

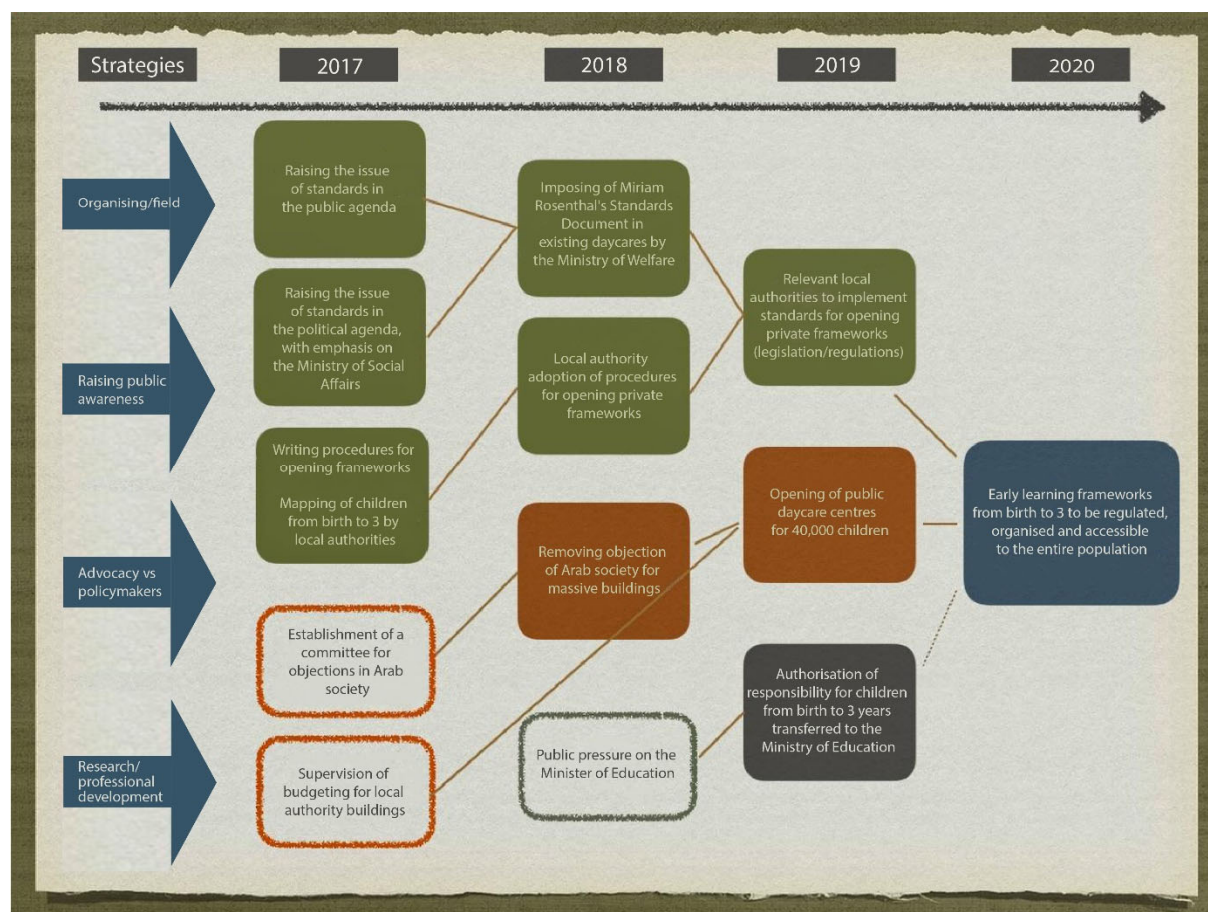
- Regulation: implementing government regulation for educational facilities for children under 3.
- Expansion: expanding the scope of daycare facilities to accommodate all children in need of daycare, with these facilities being guided and supervised by trained staff.
- Delegation: transferring jurisdiction for education for children under 3 from the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services to the Ministry of Education.

To help achieve these goals the Coalition developed a strategy to advocate for two new laws. The first was to set up a council that would bring together all relevant stakeholders for the early years. This part of the strategy developed due to the aligned interests the Coalition had with those pursuing this policy ask (principally Manuel Trajtenberg MK).⁵¹ The second law was to improve the supervision of daycares for children under 3. The Coalition still saw the delegation goal as important, but deprioritised it for strategic reasons that are further elaborated below.

In 2018 the Coalition reflected on and updated its strategy. The Steering Committee attended a retreat where they reviewed their approach with the help of a professional external facilitator, and devised a workplan for the period 2018–2020.⁵² This workplan comprised four interconnected tactics in line with ANU's wider approach to coalition building, and focused on 'grass-roots organising', 'media', 'advocacy' and 'academia'.⁵³ The former COO explained that this four-pronged strategy was focused on making the issue known in the public domain⁵⁴ so that people are aware of and supportive of the desired change.

During the 2018 retreat the Coalition's workplan was also given a conceptual and graphical grounding in a theory of change, shown in Figure 1 (this is not elaborated in this case study but illustrates how the Coalition reflected on its work). More recently, ANU's new CEO convened a dedicated day for the Steering Committee to review the Coalition's strategy and theory of change, which suggests the development of an evaluative mindset within the Coalition and a concerted effort to reflect on how it works.

Figure 1: The Coalition's theory of change, 2018



Source: ANU, translated and amended by RAND Europe.

2.5. Putting the child at the centre and being perceived as independent has helped the Coalition gain support

A common element across the Coalition's strategy, objectives and goals has been 'putting the child at the centre'. As one Coalition member explained, this approach has aimed to make the child the priority – focusing on their social and emotional development – rather than other policy priorities, such as how the state can support parents returning to work.⁵⁵ This reflects the Coalition's focus on the *"greater good...[avoiding] political messages or messages specific to one ethnicity or one individual"*.⁵⁶ Interviewees emphasised the Coalition's purposeful avoidance of taking a political perspective.⁵⁷ One policymaker explained that from their perspective the Coalition *"do it for a higher purpose. It's very easy to agree with them. Their agenda is 'comfortable'...what's most important for the Coalition is the child. This is also true for the Minister [of Welfare and Social Services]."*⁵⁸

This prioritisation of the child is visible in the Coalition's messaging – as a non-Coalition member explained: *"They make their voices heard – but more importantly make the voice of the child heard."*⁵⁹ The message of 'putting the child at the centre' has also worked well in terms of dealing with the different voices within the Coalition, which is further explored below.

The Coalition is therefore seen as politically independent by external observers.⁶⁰ The Lead Activist explained that she sees independence as allowing the Coalition to follow *“a true internal agenda, not external agenda”*.⁶¹ The former CEO and COO explained the Coalition’s approach was for its members to take the lead as much as possible.⁶² This arguably contrasts with organisations regulated or funded by government, which interviewees described as being less likely to challenge the government’s policies due to their financial dependence.⁶³ While the Coalition receives funding from an external body (i.e. BvLF), this has not appeared to carry the same level of stigma as dependence on government funding.⁶⁴

2.6. The Coalition has developed its network by supporting parents and carers on individual matters

In addition to its membership, the Coalition has a wider network of supporters and followers, such as parents and carers. One way in which the Coalition has supported this network and kept it interested is shown by the Coordinator’s willingness to serve as what she called a ‘hotline’ for individual concerns – making herself available to listen to and respond to individual requests for information and support. The Coordinator explained that despite it being time consuming and somewhat of a distraction, she saw being available as strongly connected to ‘at scale’ impact as it provides information gathering opportunities that can then be used in advocacy. In her words, it has given the Coalition *“the power to influence...an opportunity to pull together information”*.⁶⁵ She also explained the importance of all interactions: *“I learn from everything.... Even if only one person arrives [at an event] they can give me a world [of information]...it's not quantity but quality.”*⁶⁶ In addition to valuing all voices she described how the support she provides has at times reaped unexpected rewards. For instance, there were a number of parents that the Coalition originally assisted to seek ministerial subsidies, and who later agreed to be included in reports and take part in demonstrations.⁶⁷

Other Coalition members and one of the policymakers felt that this support on personal matters was a contributory factor to the Coalition’s success.⁶⁸ The support provided by the Coalition was felt by wider actors to be genuine, with a non-Coalition member remarking that she could *“see that carers feel they are supported by the coalition”*.⁶⁹

2.7. The Coalition has already met several of its goals

In just over three years since its inception, the Coalition has been involved in numerous policy developments covering both public and private childcare services, including increased investment in the construction of childcare facilities and increases in the salaries of daycare workers.⁷⁰ However, the highest profile and most significant achievements that the Coalition has contributed to have been three milestone pieces of legislation. In addition to the Supervision Law,⁷¹ the Coalition supported MKs by successfully advocating for a number of policy changes which it saw as aligned with its objectives, not only in terms of the substance of the legal changes, but also because it helped to foster a relationship with these MKs, which was seen to be of strategic importance.⁷² The principal one was a law creating the Council for Early Childhood Law (the Council Law), passed in July 2017. This law created *“a new body that aims to take overall responsibility for government services for young children”*.⁷³ The Coalition played an important role in its passing by setting up a meeting between Manuel Trajtenberg (then MK and former head of the early childhood caucus in the Knesset until

October 2017⁷⁴) and the Minister of Welfare and Social Services, Chaim Katz. The role of the Coalition in achieving these legislative changes was acknowledged by the MKs involved.⁷⁵

In addition the Coalition has supported other initiatives, including a law requiring (in all but a few exceptions) daycares to be fitted with security cameras to help protect children, passed in December 2018, shortly before the recess for the 2019 elections.⁷⁶ Again, the Coalition worked with Yifat Shasha-Biton MK to draft this legislation and get it passed.

3. Diversity of membership

When the Coalition first sought to grow its membership it purposefully aimed to engage the full spectrum of the population to be as diverse and representative as possible. As a result, the Coalition is diverse in three complementary ways. First, it has diverse voices, which the Lead Activist emphasised the importance of, saying *"the more you take a range of diverse voices the more you will succeed"*.⁷⁷ This is evidenced in the case study by the examples of contrasting views within the Coalition, for instance there were internal debates about the morality of different campaign materials. Second, the Coalition has a variety of ethnic backgrounds representing different populations in the country, for instance Arabs and Orthodox Jews.⁷⁸ Third, the Coalition has diversity in terms of expertise.⁷⁹ The benefits of this were explained by a number of interviewees who identified the value of complementing topic knowledge⁸⁰ with academic support, organisational consulting⁸¹ and legal expertise.⁸²

To grow the Coalition's membership, ANU set about identifying and reaching out to relevant organisations through the main stakeholders in the field. A significant juncture in the development of the Coalition's community was the forming of a partnership with a key activist in the field who had been independently advocating for extended maternity leave and had a Facebook group with 300,000 parent followers. In the lead-up to the voting on the 2018 Supervision Law, ANU approached this activist about the possibility of her supporting the Coalition by sending requests to her followers to participate in petitions. The Coalition's emphasis on the urgency of the matter given the upcoming reading at the Knesset helped convince her to engage. She agreed to mobilise her Facebook group to sign petitions and send emails to policymakers.⁸³ Similarly, the Coalition formed an association with the mother of a child who had died in daycare, and whose own campaign aligned well with the Coalition's goals.

These two instances of other online groups joining forces with the Coalition were crucial given the emphasis the Coalition placed on representing the field. As Yifat Shasha-Biton MK explained, she was drawn to work with the Coalition because it represented the main stakeholders in the field. She was therefore supportive of the Coalition's approach to *"organise as many partners as possible"*.⁸⁴

It is also important for the Coalition to work with stakeholders who have different perspectives, as expressed across all interviewee categories.⁸⁵ Bringing diverse voices together has been a deliberate tactic, and the Coordinator stressed that she sees it as important to *"always run with partners, not alone"*.⁸⁶ Similarly, the former CEO explained that the *"idea is to put the ego aside and bring as many players as we can to the table, sharing a goal..."*⁸⁷ and the Lead Activist described how *"cooperation is the very essence of the Coalition. It IS the coalition..."*⁸⁸

3.1. Passion for the same cause has drawn together the membership, and its grass-roots nature helps it to be seen as representative

When engaging potential members the Coalition has often found that a shared passion draws new members together and is a key feature of the Coalition.⁸⁹ The Coordinator explained that it is important to include *“those who have the heart and passion for the cause...those who are ‘crazy’ enough about working to make a difference...those who are willing to get out of their home particularly in this sector, as many parents find it a challenge to arrange childcare”*.⁹⁰ The different members’ shared passion for the same cause helps tie them together. This passion has also drawn in policymakers, as Yifat Shasha-Biton MK noted: *“my sense of them [the Coalition members] is that they are people who really want to help, and if I see people like that it makes me want to help them”*.⁹¹

Perhaps connected to this passion, the membership is seen as representing the ‘grass-roots’ – i.e. people directly affected by ECD policy.⁹² This has helped to create the interface between people on the ground and policymakers.⁹³ Policymakers have seen this representativeness as important, in part because it indicates that the membership understands the subject matter.⁹⁴

3.2. The Coalition has given members a voice and accepted their viewpoints

At the outset of ANU’s first grant its CEO explained to the BvLF country representative that the advocacy coalition model requires them both to commit to a member-led approach. The CEO summarised the principle guiding the Coalition’s work as *“putting the activist at the front”*,⁹⁵ essentially meaning being ‘volunteer-led’. He explained that it was key to show Coalition members that *“we are there to help them make the change, not them there for us”*.⁹⁶ The former COO similarly emphasised the principle of empowering Coalition members as *“they are the change makers”*.⁹⁷

In practice, this has meant that the members, rather than ANU or BvLF, typically speak on behalf of the Coalition at meetings, conferences and media. As the host organisation, ANU has provided leadership by administering and managing strategy and tactics, and engages members to feed into these. This shows commitment to a member-led approach, and means that content is often considered particularly compelling as it is delivered by activists directly affected by the issues. As Manuel Trajtenberg MK explained, *“the Coalition knows how to ride on the authentic voices and that is their added value”*.⁹⁸

BvLF and ANU have consistently followed this principle, showing wherever possible a degree of flexibility in working to implement the members’ vision and avoiding the temptation of trying to influence the Coalition. The former CEO explained that *“it’s up to the group to see what changes they want to achieve. This was pioneering for BvLF [as they had not taken this approach previously]”*.⁹⁹ The Coordinator’s approach of taking *“a backroom role”*¹⁰⁰ has embodied this, as she has focused predominantly on coordinating and formulating partnerships.

3.3. Strong interpersonal skills, effective communication and support have been essential to attracting new members

Communicating effectively was seen by interviewees as particularly important when seeking to attract new members with higher stature or those with opposing views. For instance, the Coordinator’s interpersonal skills were seen as particularly important in the successful engagement of the ‘landmark

additions' to the Coalition's membership, described below.¹⁰¹ Similarly, the Lead Activist reflected that previous attempts to engage new members might have been more successful if she had better explained the background and reasoning for the Coalition's approach. When the Coalition has communicated well, it has been successful in recruiting new members and giving them the confidence that their voice will be heard.

The open nature of internal communication is also attractive for new members. The leader of an organisation serving as a private carers' union (the Union) explained that the fact that the Coalition is open to everyone means that members can both influence and be influenced. For her this was a factor not only in the Union joining, but also remaining a member. She explained that *"...when I first sat down at the table, some members didn't think I should be there. They felt I could be drawing them back. But because of the fact that they were open, instead of me influencing too much I was influenced myself."*¹⁰²

3.4. Landmark additions to the Coalition's membership have boosted the chances of policy success by working with previously opposing voices

The Coalition has engaged as members a number of leading organisations in the field of ECD in Israel, such as the NCC and the Israel Organization for Early Childhood, who have helped the Coalition develop its profile as an organisation representing the field.¹⁰³ One particularly significant addition was the engagement of an organisation that had previously been opposed to the Coalition's goals: the Union, which joined the Coalition in 2017. This is particularly noteworthy as its opposition was identified as a significant barrier to previous attempts at passing the Supervision Law.¹⁰⁴

Recognising the importance of speaking in one voice, the Coordinator reached out to the Union leader and explained the reasoning and importance of the change the Coalition was working for.¹⁰⁵ The leader of the Union agreed to allow the Coalition to attend one of their conferences and put up a stall with a poster about the Coalition, which showed the Union's members that their organisation was engaging with the Coalition.¹⁰⁶ At the same conference, the Union leader agreed to give Yifat Shasha-Biton MK an opportunity to take to the stage and explain to the audience *"why the [supervision] law is a good thing to pass.... This got the [Union's members] onside."*¹⁰⁷ An interviewee from the Union explained how, following this, the Union increasingly cooperated with the Coalition.¹⁰⁸ In 2018, despite its previous opposition to the Supervision Law, the Union became a member of the Coalition.

This example shows that when such organisations joined the Coalition there was a sense from all involved that it represented a breakthrough. Adding members, particularly those previously opposed to the Coalition's campaign, has been crucial to speaking in one voice and making a compelling case to policymakers. One non-Coalition member explained: *"I think the reason that previous versions of the bill failed was that the public was basically against it. Even those that now do support the bill previously objected to it."*¹⁰⁹ In the case of the Union, one of their concerns had been about onerous new regulations for small-scale, home-based carers. This was addressed in part by compromising on the content of the desired legislation so that it only applies to settings caring for seven or more children. Even more important in the final decision of the Union to join the Coalition was the recognition that public opinion was in favour of the law, and that the general population felt that there was an urgent need for change in the aftermath of Yasmin Vinta's death. Yasmin died in a setting that would have been covered by the new bill.

4. Dealing with diverse perspectives

The growing number and diversity of the Coalition's membership and network inevitably means that part of its work is to unify diverse perspectives, and on occasion play the mediator. The former CEO explained that it was by no means certain that there would be consensus among the organisations and activists in the Coalition.¹¹⁰ ANU has therefore adopted tactics to bring the membership together. It tends to discuss plans in a small group, often engaging Steering Committee members with relevant expertise, before sharing ideas and proposals with the wider Coalition. For instance, in planning advocacy for the Supervision Law, ANU first met with the NCC and Yifat Shasha-Biton MK to make a plan for a multilateral approach. It agreed a plan with the Steering Committee and then presented it to the wider membership.¹¹¹ One consideration when planning in smaller groups is the importance of being sensitive to the wider members' concerns.¹¹² The Coordinator role was seen by interviewees as crucial to this as she is *"very attentive to the [membership]"*.¹¹³

Another tactic to achieving a unified voice was for the Steering Committee to jointly agree a policy statement,¹¹⁴ which *"created a language, the same messages, a unified approach"*.¹¹⁵ An instance when such written statements have helped members develop a unified approach was the development of the Coalition's theory of change, mentioned above.

4.1. Coalition leadership has had to resolve conflicts between different viewpoints

The member-led approach of the Coalition is balanced with a set of commonly agreed rules. The Coalition's former COO explained that this was about curbing certain ideas and giving others freedom, depending on the circumstances. In practice, the Coalition often has to find common ground related to different opinions on *"the most important thing to target at different times"*.¹¹⁶ The Coordinator often takes the lead in mediation, and the former COO described this role as one of *"bringing people back who do not want to be part of something...working as a nurturing professional"*.¹¹⁷

An example of dealing with diverse perspectives is related to a Coalition plan to release a poster with the caption *'Elohim Yishmor, but who will look after our children?'¹¹⁸* (*Elohim Yishmor* is a cultural phrase meaning 'God will look after [us/you]') to raise awareness of the lack of supervision of settings caring for children in early years. However, some Orthodox Jewish Coalition members found the religious aspects of this messaging problematic, and ANU felt that it had to intervene to balance the diversity of views in the Coalition and make a decision on whether to use the poster. On balance, it decided not to go ahead with the poster. Those members of the Coalition who supported the poster may have been upset by the decision, but the Orthodox Jewish members felt that this showed that the Coalition *"is truly multi-cultural. They could take on our opinion even though it was against their previous one."*¹¹⁹

Another example of how ANU resolved internal disputes was in the first year of the Coalition's operation, when one member wanted to use shocking images of neglect and abuse at daycares in advocacy materials, due to their powerful effect. ANU thought that this was not the right tactic and did not authorise the materials.¹²⁰

In addition to dealing with internal diverse perspectives, the Coalition worked to agree messages with those outside the Coalition. A non-Coalition member described how they appreciated being approached to discuss messaging in advance of presentations at committee meetings, as *"all interest groups should feel that they were consulted"*.¹²¹

4.2. Continually reinforcing and engaging with members has maintained active participation

The Coalition's ability to represent a diverse range of perspectives was seen by interviewees as one of its core strengths. In this respect, an important part of ANU's role is to emphasise to members the benefits of taking part in the Coalition and using it as a vehicle for their agenda.¹²² The Coalition seems to have been successful in doing this, with one Coalition interviewee explaining that *"there are things we can gain together"*.¹²³ Those outside the Coalition also described seeing the benefits of combining forces.¹²⁴ The former CEO gave an example of how he used the benefits of being part of the Coalition: *"When I just said I was going to make a big tactical move, people said they didn't want to be involved. But if I arranged a special meeting and I told them that they can be a part of that, and if I said that I was doing an advertisement and that they can have their logos on it then it's an easy decision for them."*¹²⁵

The Coalition also aims to keep members engaged by making them feel appreciated, and interviewees stressed the importance of fostering and cultivating a sense of being involved. The Coordinator emphasised the importance of *"giving people a feeling that they are a part of [the campaign] and contribute to it"*.¹²⁶ Similarly, the former COO stressed the importance of giving true credit to the activists, as she felt that being appreciated for the time and work they have given meant a lot to them. The Coalition does not pay any of the activists¹²⁷ as it was felt that this could create an impression that the Coalition is responsible for their actions¹²⁸ and could lead to difficult situations regarding the amount paid to different activists.¹²⁹ However, the Coalition shows their appreciation for activists' work through teambuilding events,¹³⁰ taking activists to lunch,¹³¹ and providing training, for example on effective external communications.¹³² The former CEO said that he thought it was *"crucial"* to allocate some budget to these activities.

4.3. Speaking in one voice makes for a more compelling message

The effective management of internal disagreements regarding messaging means that the Coalition's members are able to present at a range of external events with a unified voice.¹³³ As Chair of the Committee for the Rights of the Child, Yifat Shasha-Biton MK noticed this and began to sense that the time was right to press for a law on supervision of daycares. She explained that *"when there are debates and the different members speak in their own right the situation becomes more complicated...[when] they all speak with one voice and use the same language it's much easier"*.¹³⁴ This shows how the messages presented by the Coalition have been seen by policymakers as more compelling and generating more pressure when agreed on by the diverse and representative membership.

As such, 6 out of 13 Coalition members and all 3 policymakers agreed that a key feature of the Coalition that contributed to its success was 'unifying diverse organisations with different voices, working together on common challenges'.¹³⁵ All three policymakers emphasised the importance of speaking in

one voice, with Manuel Trajtenberg MK explaining that the organisations in this field "*can be dispersed but when they focus, it works best, as was the case on the Supervision Law*".¹³⁶ Another policymaker suggested that "*the best advice on any topic that you want to progress is to talk in one voice*".¹³⁷ In policymakers' view, having evidence of a common, agreed voice of stakeholders reduces the risks of being exposed to public criticism.

However, one non-Coalition member highlighted a potential risk in the Coalition's efforts to unify all members behind a single message – that it might unintentionally support politically motivated attempts by some in government to "*disperse the power of the [dissenting] organisations*".¹³⁸ This is an important consideration, especially given the emphasis placed on the Coalition being perceived as politically independent, and indicates that there are careful judgements to be made in seeking consensus. Regardless of this, it appears as though the ability of the Coalition to speak in one voice helped both the field of ECD and government ministries arrive at a position where policy progress was more likely.

5. Advocacy tactics and activities

In the days following the June 2018 indictment of a daycare teacher for the manslaughter of one-year-old Yasmin Vinta,¹³⁹ the Coalition's Steering Committee met to discuss if and how to respond. On the one hand, members had previously agreed not to conduct what some felt to be 'negative campaigns', such as the decision not to use shocking images in campaign material. BvLF also had a preference for emphasising the positive outcomes of policy change rather than using graphic or upsetting images or messages. On the other hand, this tragedy reiterated the urgency to improve the supervision of daycares, and although it was not the first death in an Israeli daycare centre,¹⁴⁰ it came at a time when there was a growing public awareness of the issues surrounding supervision. On balance, the Steering Committee decided that this was a case when a concerted effort in response to Yasmin's tragedy was the right course of action to help generate a sense of urgent need for the supervision law. This event was met with a planned response from the Coalition, with concrete demands made to the government in an organised manner.¹⁴¹

Despite the abovementioned issues surrounding 'negative campaigning',¹⁴² in the end the Coalition decided that a response in this case was right on balance, given the urgency of the policy and field environments at the time. Policymakers have acknowledged that "*even though it was tragic it really helped them, and all of us, to make the law...it was really a fight that came from the gut. Anyone can identify with that...*"¹⁴³ A non-Coalition member did not think the law would have passed without the death, emphasising the ability of the Coalition to use a "*crisis to generate a political will to make the change*",¹⁴⁴ while the journalist explained that the law was "*sadly also due to negative events, but it leads to positive actions*".¹⁴⁵ The value of ANU and the Coalition was in knowing how to take such 'positive actions', employing as they did a number of tactics to create public pressure.

5.1. Generating public pressure and awareness has put the topic on the policymaking agenda

The Coalition understood that the ground had to be "*ripe*" before legislative change could take place,¹⁴⁶ and following Yasmin's death employed tactics to influence public opinion and ripen relevant

issues, putting pressure on policymakers.¹⁴⁷ As a result there was a sense that *“the power of the many, of the public influence on policymakers”* had changed the discourse.¹⁴⁸ This was corroborated by policymakers. Yifat Shasha-Biton MK described the importance of *“public pressure”* to the success of the Supervision Law being passed.¹⁴⁹ She gave credit to the Coalition, saying that they *“helped with the lobby.... They mainly helped me with the public forces...mostly in the raising of awareness.”*¹⁵⁰ She elaborated that public awareness of childcare issues was important for creating the necessary pressure for her to bring forward legislation in the Knesset: *“For the government to agree the process it was very important for me that there was the public noise. While I was fighting for this in government they mobilised the public pressure. It was on the daily agenda, we created a state of commotion [slang word of 'balagan'] in the country.”*¹⁵¹

Similarly regarding the Council Law, Manuel Trajtenberg MK described how the Coalition was instrumental in raising awareness, as well as having a contributory role: *“There’s no question that these spontaneous and grass-roots organisations play a role. It’s not something that you can do top-down.... Whenever we need pressure, we could ask them to create the pressure and they would.”*¹⁵²

Input from non-Coalition members provide further evidence of the contributions made by the Coalition to the legislative changes. A university lecturer explained that issues would not be adopted by policymakers without public pressure and support: *“It’s important to recruit public opinion to make a significant change. Because there are so many needs and interests, the ones that in the end get promoted are the ones that...gain public support.”*¹⁵³ Another non-Coalition member explained that the Coalition was adept at generating the necessary public support for the *“importance of childhood support and the goals they are trying to achieve... They have helped to bring the subject to the agenda and make politicians interested in the subject, a crucial step in policy change.”*¹⁵⁴

The Coalition explained that its approach to creating public pressure in practice is to *“flood the topic”*,¹⁵⁵ meaning to raise it in the public discourse to a point where it becomes a part of the agenda. They did this by being persistent and with a number of specific tactics, including demonstrations, using the media, petitions and online activities, and effectively leveraging conferences. These tactics were used throughout the campaign, but increased at certain time points – such as following Yasmin’s death. Specific tactics are discussed in Box 3 below.

Box 3: Specific tactics to generate public pressure

Demonstrations



The Coalition organised demonstrations at key time points, responding to developments on the ground. Yifat Shasha-Biton MK described how, following Yasmin Vinta's death, the Coalition coordinated with her in advance of organising a demonstration so that she was ready to use the public pressure created as a result. She explained: *"...I really need this public pressure to bring about the law, because there was also opposition in the Knesset. It was also the going out to the media. And because of that it was possible to generate the legislation.... When*

*this death happened, it was clear that the public demonstrations are the background [to the growing public pressure]."*¹⁵⁶

Several interviewees pointed to demonstrations as a contributory factor for the Coalition's results,¹⁵⁷ with one (non-Coalition member) explaining how small demonstrations can still have an impact: *"I saw that they did a demonstration. I don't always see that lot of people attended it, more of the 'usual suspects' 100 people who came. Wasn't a nationwide protest...but it had an impact on its own."*¹⁵⁸



Media

The Coalition had particular success in the media, and this was identified by interviewees from a range of stakeholder groups, including all three policymakers, as a critical success factor in ripening the issue.¹⁵⁹ The journalist described the media effect as *"a tailwind"*.¹⁶⁰

Between 2016 and 2018 the Coalition generated over 100 media items.¹⁶¹ These included all types of media engagements, from pieces in the written leading dailies to primetime television and radio appearances.¹⁶²



Petitions/online activities

Engaging the public could be challenging as many of those who might be interested in engaging had childcare responsibilities. As such, *"you need to find creative ways...can do things online, petitions, newsletters with the communities"*.¹⁶³ The Coalition used its online followers to great effect, asking them to sign petitions and send emails to policymakers.¹⁶⁴ The former COO stressed the important contributory factor of the approximately 70,000 contacts mentioned in Box 1. In one example this online community was mobilised to send hundreds of emails to Yifat Shasha-Biton MK¹⁶⁵ – who saw these as evidence of public support for her policies.¹⁶⁶

Conferences

The Coalition used conferences for different purposes, from raising its own profile to positioning itself as a mediator and attracting new members. Examples of conference engagements are provided throughout this case study, and their effectiveness referred to, for instance the Negev conference.

5.2. Persistence and ongoing attendance at meetings has been noticed by policymakers

One characteristic of the Coalition when employing these different tactics is ‘persistence and consistency, motivation and will to succeed’.¹⁶⁷ The Coordinator described how the Coalition continuously kept the pressure on policymakers, saying the important thing was “*never to give up, these things take time, need to be stubborn*”.¹⁶⁸ Manuel Trajtenberg MK was also taken with the Coalition’s persistence and remarked: “*They were there all the time, they were persistent and present... They were noticeable and you could not afford not to notice that.*”¹⁶⁹ Similarly, Yifat Shasha-Biton MK described first getting to know the Coalition through their attendance at her committee’s meetings.¹⁷⁰

Interviewees from all categories agreed that the Coalition’s persistent presence at committee meetings has been instrumental to it being seen as representative of society.¹⁷¹ As one non-Coalition member explained, “*I know that every time I participated in parliamentary committees they were there.*”¹⁷² However, the content of contributions at meetings is clearly just as important as the persistent attendance, if not more so. As one policymaker emphasised, what makes the difference for him is seeing “*...people who are intelligent and passionate. So, when I see that I am more likely to be open and generous.*”¹⁷³

5.3. Being adaptable and open to new opportunities has reaped rewards

The Coalition and its members have had to balance their focus on pre-agreed specific objectives with the need for flexibility, and have found that a key feature of effective working is being open to new opportunities. The Coordinator explained that “*we never said no to anything, we are accessible to everyone*”.¹⁷⁴ Similarly, the former CEO explained that “*you should have the fingers on the pulse. When there are new opportunities you should act. If there is a new minister then you should act [to engage with that minister].*”¹⁷⁵ Regardless of whether these new opportunities were within the Coalition’s original objectives, the point stands that the Coalition has adapted and responded with agility.

5.4. The Coalition has developed and benefited from effective working relationships with government

A key aspect of the Coalition’s success has been its ability to form relationships with government – not only with MKs but also with clerks in different ministries. As described above, it has worked in close coordination with bill promoters including Yifat Shasha-Biton MK, Manuel Trajtenberg MK and representatives of government bodies including the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services and the Ministry of Education.

The Coalition has worked hard to develop these relationships, placing a strong emphasis on obtaining the trust of policymakers. Several interviewees emphasised the relationships of the Coalition with (and recognition by) government as a key result of its work.¹⁷⁶ As a non-Coalition member explained, “*I’m sure that they [the Coalition] had a weight and a role to play. They were in the Knesset and published, and they influenced and worked with Trajtenberg.*”¹⁷⁷ The former CEO underlined this priority in his interview, stressing in his final comment three words of advice to anyone considering the model of a coalition: “*Trust, trust, trust.*”¹⁷⁸

Trusting relationships were seen by interviewees as mutually beneficial. The relationship with Yifat Shasha-Biton MK was particularly illustrative of this, as on the one hand she was the policymaker who promoted the Supervision Law at the Knesset, but equally, as the Lead Activist described, she *“really used the ground, the Coalition gave her the wind on her back”*.¹⁷⁹ The Coalition and Yifat Shasha-Biton MK cooperated effectively, conducting early discussions (together with the NCC) about how to generate public awareness. Describing how the roles worked in practice, Yifat Shasha-Biton MK said: *“everyone did their own thing.... They made the public noise...I submitted the law... Eventually we met on the committee table [when] the coalition was there for these discussions.”*¹⁸⁰

Similarly, the relationship with Manuel Trajtenberg MK was felt to be mutually beneficial. He explained how the Coalition helped his efforts by generating public support, while he *“shined a light on them by organising conferences or sessions in the Knesset where they were invited to speak”*.¹⁸¹ In this way, they worked together for the Council Law.

Another element of the Coalition’s role is to act as an intermediary or a conduit, facilitating the relationship between ministers and the general public. As explained by the Lead Activist, the Coalition works *“as a bridge between the ground and parties in the ministries”*.¹⁸² One of the contributions from the Coalition agreed on by all three policymakers is that they provide comments from the field both internally in planning the submission and externally at the Knesset debate.¹⁸³ Ministers saw it as in their best interests to listen to the Coalition. Interestingly, two Coalition members contrasted this experience of being listened to with the fact that they felt they were listened to less by the ministries in question before they were Coalition members.¹⁸⁴

The Coalition has also helped MKs by providing them with knowledge and materials.¹⁸⁵ For example, *“Katz [Chaim Katz, Minister of Welfare and Social Services] used our wording in his speech in the Negev conference”*.¹⁸⁶ Materials were also provided to Manuel Trajtenberg MK in the lead-up to the Council Law, in return for which *“he gave us a lot of power”*,¹⁸⁷ such as name-checking and crediting the Coalition in a speech at the Knesset.¹⁸⁸

In terms of benefits for the Coalition, they have been able to increase governmental awareness of their objectives – one of the Coalition’s key results¹⁸⁹ – and have benefited from ministers championing their cause in the Knesset. In addition, the Senior Advisor for the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services explained that he *“can sometimes help with navigating the bureaucracy. It’s not nepotism because we try to help everyone who reaches out to us.”*¹⁹⁰ While remembering the feelings of one Coalition member of being listened to more when representing the Coalition, the point stands that the ministry has been able to assist the Coalition with their work within the system.

5.5. Bringing together different policymakers helped to overcome an impasse

A decisive moment in the Coalition’s journey came at the Negev conference, which took place in 2017 in the lead-up to the voting on the Council Law. The Negev conference was happening at a time when Chaim Katz MK, the Minister of Welfare and Social Services, was not yet supportive of the Council Law. The former COO explained that the Coalition had heard that NCC *“was holding a conference in the Negev. We had some money for a conference. So, we decided to leverage their conference and get their buy-in. We were like sponsors, which meant we could have our own panel, and position our brand as the experts in that field.”*¹⁹¹ At the conference, the Coalition spotted an opportunity to put Chaim

Katz MK and Manuel Trajtenberg MK in one room. The Coalition knew from their previous engagements with Manuel Trajtenberg MK that he supported their agenda. It was at that meeting that Manuel Trajtenberg MK was able to explain the importance of the Council law to Chaim Katz MK, who as a result softened his stance.¹⁹²

This bringing together of opposing policymakers and finding a solution was identified by several interviewees as being one of the key achievements of the Coalition.¹⁹³ It can also be seen as evidence of the effectiveness of the Coalition's advocacy approach of openness to opportunities and flexibility of approach (in this case, the creative way of using the conferences budget).

6. Challenges

The Coalition has faced several challenges when implementing its strategy.

6.1. The variety of members' interests has made it necessary to invest time in finding agreement

The Coalition's former COO explained that the Coalition "*appreciates that everyone is going to be there for their own interests. When you understand that and leverage it then you can be successful.*"¹⁹⁴ Among Coalition members, 9 out of 13 said that the biggest challenge for the Coalition is to achieve a unified voice and mediate between different policy and political interests, although as described above the Coalition has been able to meet this challenge. Where possible, a middle ground has been identified, and in other cases the Coalition has had to resolve the matter one way or another. Its approach to meeting this challenge has been to stick to established principles, to mediate where possible, and to keep open the possibility of working together again if mediation is not possible.

6.2. The interests of organisations dependent on government funding have not always been aligned with the Coalition's interests

At times the Coalition has found it challenging to cooperate with daycares and umbrella organisations regulated by government (which at the time of writing were responsible for providing childcare for approximately 23% of children under 3¹⁹⁵). Interviewees explained that this was due to the accountability of these organisations to government, and an associated sense that they are under pressure not to criticise the government due to their financial reliance on government funding.¹⁹⁶ A particularly challenging time in the Coalition's engagement with these organisations came in 2016, when there was a breakdown in the relationship with one organisation due to a disagreement about communication on a public strike.¹⁹⁷ The Lead Activist explained that "*to overcome this, [the Coalition] need[ed] to continue engaging with them*",¹⁹⁸ and indeed both the Coordinator and the representative of that organisation reported improved ongoing cooperation.

6.3. There have been administrative and practical challenges

Between 2015 and 2018 a number of Coalition personnel, including the CEO and COO, left their roles (all for different reasons), and there was a marked reduction in the role of the Lead Activist. These individuals contributed to the Coalition's success in different ways and there was a risk that the relationships they had developed with key stakeholders would be lost, meaning that simply recruiting

new staff may still leave a gap. It is therefore unsurprising that several Coalition members stressed the importance of retaining or replacing individuals as a key challenge for the Coalition.¹⁹⁹ The Coordinator acknowledged this, saying that it was important to have *“a few people [with similar skills/attributes] to help with redundancy”*.²⁰⁰

In terms of practicalities, two interviewees explained that they found it challenging to attend meetings due to hurdles of geographical access.²⁰¹ Despite the undoubted value of online platforms like WhatsApp, some meetings do take place in person. This means a practical hurdle in terms of transport and geographic availability for some Steering Committee members, who include leaders of childcare institutions from all over Israel, and risks eroding the representativeness of the Coalition members participating in important decision making.

7. Trade-offs and compromises

In its work to achieve policy change the Coalition has made numerous decisions, in some cases involving difficult trade-offs and compromises. This section highlights three examples of these.

7.1. The Coalition has for some time deprioritised calls for the transfer of responsibility for early years to the Ministry of Education

The most obvious outstanding goal the Coalition set itself (at the time of writing) is the transfer of responsibility for the early years to the Ministry of Education. This strategic objective was purposefully deprioritised following early engagements with the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services. Interviewees offered different rationales for this, including the complexity of the matter,²⁰² the need for time, patience, restraint and persistence,²⁰³ and politics itself being a challenge.²⁰⁴ Above all, the former COO explained the need to be pragmatic, explaining *“I think we were smart in being pragmatic...we have to work with the decision makers that are currently in power. And if you push the [policy to transfer responsibility to the Ministry of Education] then you are antagonising them.”*²⁰⁵

7.2. The Supervision Law and the Cameras Law do not include all measures asked for by the Coalition

The passed Supervision Law and Cameras Law are not as comprehensive as some Coalition members had campaigned for. In fact, interviewees from all stakeholder categories highlighted the limitations of the legislation, including its restricted scope. Describing the Supervision Law, a non-Coalition member was adamant that *“this bill is not the realisation of all our dreams, it's a very big compromise, it's far from the version that we professionals would recommend, and it will lead to problems in implementation”*.²⁰⁶ One policymaker echoed this, saying: *“If it was up to us the supervision law could've been much wider.”*²⁰⁷ The Cameras Law does not apply to all daycares and does not require the recording of sound.²⁰⁸

Interviewees highlighted that the Coalition made compromises on, or did not make the progress it had hoped for (whether via the above laws or otherwise), in the following areas: satisfying parental demand for carer qualification/standards,²⁰⁹ reducing the ratio of number of children per carer,²¹⁰ increasing service levels in Arab society,²¹¹ improving carer training and salaries,²¹² and streamlining daycare managers' accountability channels (e.g. regarding planning and supervising).²¹³

There were inevitably different reasons for these compromises, but some of the eventual lower-than-sought-for results may be due to a lack of awareness by the Coalition. For instance, the Coalition has legal expertise in its Steering Committee, but the fact that ANU does not have a dedicated legal expert working specifically for the Coalition may have meant that the level of legislative detail which the Coalition became involved in was limited. This was supported by a Coalition member, who reflected on the Supervision Law: *“I think they could've been more present in the debate if they had their own advocacy. Because I have two hats, when I spoke I represented [my organisation], not the Coalition specifically.”*²¹⁴

7.3. The Coalition was not given a place on the Council for Early Childhood

Despite advocating for the Council Law, the Coalition does not have representatives on the Council itself. There was therefore a sense of having missed out,²¹⁵ given the Council's important role and power regarding government services for the early years. However, the Council has already involved the Coalition in its committee meetings, and in parallel the Coalition has continued to ask for its representatives to be given a place on the Council.²¹⁶

8. Looking ahead

Having met arguably its most important objective in the passing of the Supervision Bill, at the time of writing in September 2019 the Coalition was at somewhat of a crossroads and was focusing on clarifying and securing agreement on its key priorities for the coming years. This included considering whether to reprioritise the objective of transferring responsibility for the early years to the Ministry of Education. Doing so could risk damaging relations with the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services, and the decision to pursue this objective – following demonstrable success associated with deprioritising it – is not necessarily something on which all Coalition members agree.

A future strategic priority more clearly agreed on is to maintain the momentum surrounding the legislative achievements to date. Manuel Trajtenberg MK explained that even though the Supervision Law was on the statute books, there was a need for legislation to implement it. In his estimation this was *“the real challenge for the coalition...[entailing] a struggle that comes down to details”*.²¹⁷

Another consideration looking ahead is the sustainability of the Coalition. The current BvLF funding is available until August 2020, and ANU is undertaking engagements with other funders, including those who have previously co-funded one-off events such as a conference in March 2019. It remains to be seen where the longer term funding for the Coalition will come from.

Time will tell whether the Coalition will be able to maintain its momentum, keep its diverse membership and stakeholder network engaged, and continue applying its advocacy approach to achieve other policy changes to improve at-scale improvements in ECD in Israel. The Coalition has shown that it can contribute to such landmark policy changes. Despite a political situation in which inconclusive elections left a government largely unable to implement new legislation, at the time of writing the goals of the Coalition were supported by all parties, with all promising that after the election they would promote at least some of these.²¹⁸

¹ The Knesset is the Israeli parliament.

² Bernard van Leer Foundation (2018) Annual Report 2017. p.18. As of 28 January 2020: <https://issuu.com/bernardvanleerfoundation/docs/bvlf-annualreport17-digital-pages>

³ Where not specifically referenced, the narrative in Section 2 is based on ongoing consultation with BvLF and ANU.

⁴ The Coalition for Education from Birth (2016) Policy statement: Government responsibility for children from birth to age three.

⁵ Travelsi-Hadad, T. (2016) History for Early Childhood. *Yediot Achronot*, 18 January 2016.

⁶ On average across all OECD countries approximately 33% children under the age of 3 attend early childhood education and care services (ECEC – a similar if not directly comparable statistic). OECD (2019) OECD Family Database: PF3.4: Enrolment in childcare and pre-school. As of 28 January 2020: https://www.oecd.org/els/soc/PF3_2_Enrolment_childcare_preschool.pdf

⁷ Ynet Online News (2016) Only 1 in 5 infants and toddlers in Israel has a place in a daycare centre. English translation. As of 28 January 2020: <https://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4841850,00.html>

⁸ About the Law of Supervision, ANU internal document.

⁹ <https://bernardvanleer.org/country/israel/> (accessed in June 2019). An example of BvLF's work in Israel on ECD was a project in the south working with communities to improve quality of life for children in the 1970s – see Hugh, P. and Chetley, A. (1988) A Small Awakening. The Work of the Bernard van Leer Foundation: 1965-1986. Bernard Van Leer Foundation, The Hague. p. 72.

¹⁰ Van Leer Jerusalem Institute webpage. As of 28 January 2020: <https://www.vanleer.org.il/en/node/1519>

¹¹ 2016-2020 Transition to Scale strategy. See Bernard van Leer Foundation (2018) Annual Report 2017, p.18. As of 28 January 2020: <https://issuu.com/bernardvanleerfoundation/docs/bvlf-annualreport17-digital-pages>

¹² Consultation with BvLF.

¹³ ANU website. As of 28 January 2020: <https://anu.org.il/node/4572>. Note: ANU had recently had a successful spell in advocating for the enforcement of a law for mandatory public preschool (also known as the Trachtenberg Law), consultation with BvLF.

¹⁴ Bernard van Leer Foundation (2018) Annual Report 2017, p.18. As of 28 January 2020: <https://issuu.com/bernardvanleerfoundation/docs/bvlf-annualreport17-digital-pages>. For more on coalition building see, for example: Wolff, T. (2001) Community coalition building – contemporary practice and research: Introduction. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol. 21, No. 2.

¹⁵ On television, radio and in the written press – ANU Progress Report, June 2016.

¹⁶ Proposal from ANU for the period 2018–2020.

¹⁷ Figure based on number of members of a WhatsApp group, the principal tool used to organise the Coalition (Interview with Coalition Coordinator).

¹⁸ Stakeholder list derived from ANU internal document (Proposal ISR-2018-024). Graphic designed by RAND Europe.

¹⁹ Interview with Coalition Coordinator.

²⁰ Based on interview with Coalition Coordinator and figure provided on the ANU website. As of 28 January 2020: <https://anu.org.il/taf/home>

²¹ Interview with Coalition's former chief executive officer, consultation with BvLF Israel representative.

²² Interview with Coalition Coordinator.

²³ Originally there were two activists who could be described as 'lead activists'; one of these left and the Lead Activist has recently reduced her level of commitment to the Coalition.

²⁴ Mentioned as a key success factor by 3 out of 13 Coalition members.

²⁵ Interview with Coalition's former chief operating officer.

²⁶ One example being interview with non-Coalition member number 1.

²⁷ 4 out of 13 Coalition members.

²⁸ Interview with Coalition's former chief operating officer .

- ²⁹ Interview with Coalition member number 8.
- ³⁰ Interview with Coalition's former chief operating officer.
- ³¹ 5 out of 13 Coalition members, and 3 out of 3 non-Coalition members.
- ³² Interview with Coalition Coordinator.
- ³³ Consultation with BvLF.
- ³⁴ Interview with Coalition member number 8.
- ³⁵ Interview with Coalition member number 1.
- ³⁶ Interview with Coalition member number 8, interview with non-Coalition member number 2, interview with Coalition Coordinator.
- ³⁷ Interview with non-Coalition member number 2.
- ³⁸ Interview with Manuel Trajtenberg MK.
- ³⁹ Interview with Coalition's former chief operating officer.
- ⁴⁰ Interview with Coalition's former chief executive officer.
- ⁴¹ Interview with Coalition's former chief executive officer.
- ⁴² 4 out of 13 Coalition members.
- ⁴³ Interview with Coalition Coordinator.
- ⁴⁴ Bernard van Leer internal document (2018) Birth to 3 Cluster Report, 2018. See also the Coalition's Policy Statement in which it defined an overarching aim to address "*the challenge of care for children aged three and under*" (internal document: Birth to 3 Coalition Overview).
- ⁴⁵ ANU theory of change presentation, see Figure 1.
- ⁴⁶ 3 out of 13 Coalition members.
- ⁴⁷ Interview with non-Coalition member number 2.
- ⁴⁸ Interview with Manuel Trajtenberg MK.
- ⁴⁹ The 2016-2018 Workplan outlined three strategic objectives: "*Government Regulation for Educational Facilities for Children Aged Three and Younger... Expanding the Scope of Daycare Facilities... Transferring Responsibility [for the early years]... to the Ministry of Education...*". See ANU (2015) The Coalition for Early Childhood Education - Workplan 2016-2018.
- ⁵⁰ The Coalition for Education from Birth (2016) Policy statement: Government responsibility for children from birth to age three.
- ⁵¹ Interview with Coalition's former chief executive officer.
- ⁵² ANU (2017) 2018-2020 Workplan. Internal ANU document.
- ⁵³ Interview with Coalition's former chief executive officer and interview with Coalition Coordinator. The 'academia' tactic is not elaborated in the current case study, but refers to developing research to provide evidence for advocacy and policy. 'Grass-roots' is described in a subsequent section.
- ⁵⁴ Interview with Coalition's former chief operating officer.
- ⁵⁵ Interview with Coalition member number 5.
- ⁵⁶ Interview with Coalition's Arab Society Coordinator and Coalition member number 7.
- ⁵⁷ 2 out of 13 Coalition members, 1 out of 3 policymakers, and the journalist.
- ⁵⁸ Interview with the Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services
- ⁵⁹ Interview with non-Coalition member number 3.
- ⁶⁰ 2 out of 3 non-Coalition members.
- ⁶¹ Interview with Coalition's former Lead Activist.
- ⁶² Interview with Coalition's former chief executive officer and former chief operating officer.
- ⁶³ Interview with non-Coalition member number 3.
- ⁶⁴ This comment is based on the authors' impression, and was not mentioned by interviewees..
- ⁶⁵ Interview with Coalition Coordinator.
- ⁶⁶ Interview with Coalition Coordinator.

⁶⁷ Interview with Coalition Coordinator.

⁶⁸ 4 out of 13 Coalition members, and 1 out of 3 policymakers.

⁶⁹ Interview with non-Coalition member number 3.

⁷⁰ Birth to 3 Coalition Board visit September 2018, ANU- BvLF Progress Report May 2017 final.

⁷¹ The Supervision Law was passed at the first reading in the Knesset in July 2018. See Knesset webpage on the Daycare Supervision Law. As of 28 January 2020: <https://main.knesset.gov.il/Activity/Legislation/Laws/Pages/LawBill.aspx?t=lawsuggestionssearch&lawitemid=2073729>. It then completed its second and third readings in October 2018 – see Zieve, T. (2018) Bill to provide daycare center oversight passes into law. *The Jerusalem Post*. As of 28 January 2020: <https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Bill-to-provide-daycare-center-oversight-passes-into-law-570031>. Knesset website confirmation of the law's passing. As of 28 January 2020: <https://m.knesset.gov.il/News/PressReleases/Pages/press22.10.18hs.aspx>

⁷³ Bernard van Leer Foundation (2017) Advocacy leads to new legal framework in Israel. As of 28 January 2020: <https://bernardvanleer.org/cases/advocacy-leads-to-new-legal-framework-in-israel/>

⁷⁴ Knesset notice board confirming Manuel Trajtenberg MK retirement. As of 28 January 2020: <https://main.knesset.gov.il/News/PressReleases/Pages/press01.10.17.aspx>

⁷⁵ For example Manuel Trajtenberg MK's speech at the second and third reading of the Council Law at the Knesset. As of 28 January 2020:

<https://www.facebook.com/paz.cohen/videos/pcb.10154807684912919/10154807671272919/?type=3&theater>

⁷⁶ Knesset press release – Final passing: Obligation to install cameras in daycare centres. As of 28 January 2020: <https://m.knesset.gov.il/News/PressReleases/pages/press24.12.18ec.aspx>

⁷⁷ Interview with Coalition's former Lead Activist.

⁷⁸ Interviews with Coalition member number 8, interview with Coalition Coordinator, interview with Coalition's Arab Society Coordinator and Coalition member number 7, interview with Coalition member numbers 3 and 4, consultation with BvLF.

⁷⁹ Interview with Coalition member number 8.

⁸⁰ 3 out of 13 Coalition members and the journalist.

⁸¹ Interview with non-Coalition member number 2.

⁸² Interview with Coalition member number 1.

⁸³ Interview with Coalition's former chief operating officer.

⁸⁴ Interview with Yifat Shasha-Biton MK.

⁸⁵ 6 out of 13 Coalition members, 2 out of 3 policymakers, 2 out of 3 non-Coalition members, and the journalist.

⁸⁶ Interview with Coalition Coordinator.

⁸⁷ Interview with Coalition's former chief executive officer.

⁸⁸ Interview with Coalition's former Lead Activist.

⁸⁹ 5 out of 13 Coalition members, 3 out of 3 non-Coalition members, and 2 out of 3 policymakers.

⁹⁰ Interview with Coalition Coordinator.

⁹¹ Interview with Yifat Shasha-Biton MK.

⁹² Some interviewees described 'grass-roots' as being 'unheard voices' and others as 'parents' (3 out of 13 Coalition members, 1 out of 3 policymakers). A definitional discussion of the term is outside the scope of this case study, and the formulation of 'people directly affected by ECD policy' is based on the authors' understanding of the different contexts and fields affected.

⁹³ 2 out of 13 Coalition members, and 3 out of 3 policymakers.

⁹⁴ Interview with Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services.

⁹⁵ Interview with Coalition's former chief executive officer.

⁹⁶ Interview with Coalition's former chief executive officer.

- ⁹⁷ Interview with Coalition's former chief operating officer.
- ⁹⁸ Interview with Manuel Trajtenberg MK.
- ⁹⁹ Interview with Coalition's former chief executive officer.
- ¹⁰⁰ Interview with Coalition Coordinator.
- ¹⁰¹ Consultation with BvLF.
- ¹⁰² Interview with Coalition member number 5.
- ¹⁰³ Consultation with BvLF.
- ¹⁰⁴ Interview with non-Coalition member number 2.
- ¹⁰⁵ Interview with Coalition member number 5.
- ¹⁰⁶ Interview with Coalition member number 5.
- ¹⁰⁷ Interview with Coalition member number 5.
- ¹⁰⁸ Interview with Coalition member number 5.
- ¹⁰⁹ Interview with non-Coalition member number 2.
- ¹¹⁰ Interview with Coalition's former Chief Executive Officer.
- ¹¹¹ Interview with Coalition Coordinator.
- ¹¹² Interview with Coalition member number 1.
- ¹¹³ Interview with Coalition's former chief operating officer.
- ¹¹⁴ The Coalition for Education from Birth (2016) Policy statement: Government responsibility for children from birth to age three.
- ¹¹⁵ Interview with Coalition's Lead Activist.
- ¹¹⁶ Interview with Coalition member number 8.
- ¹¹⁷ Interview with Coalition's former chief operating officer.
- ¹¹⁸ Interview with Coalition's former Lead Activist.
- ¹¹⁹ Interview with Coalition member numbers 3 and 4.
- ¹²⁰ Interview with Coalition's former Chief Operating Officer.
- ¹²¹ Interview with non-Coalition member number 1.
- ¹²² 1 out of 13 Coalition members, 1 out of 3 non-Coalition members.
- ¹²³ Interview with Coalition member number 5.
- ¹²⁴ Interview with non-Coalition member number 2.
- ¹²⁵ Interview with Coalition's former chief executive officer.
- ¹²⁶ Interview with Coalition Coordinator.
- ¹²⁷ Interview with Coalition's former chief executive officer.
- ¹²⁸ Interview with Coalition's former chief operating officer.
- ¹²⁹ Interview with Coalition Coordinator.
- ¹³⁰ 2 out of 13 Coalition members.
- ¹³¹ Interview with Coalition's former chief executive officer.
- ¹³² Interview with Coalition's Arab Society Coordinator and Coalition member number 7.
- ¹³³ Interview with Coalition's Arab Society Coordinator and Coalition member number 7.
- ¹³⁴ Interview with Yifat Shasha-Biton MK.
- ¹³⁵ Also mentioned by 2 out of 3 non-Coalition members and the journalist.
- ¹³⁶ Interview with Manuel Trajtenberg MK.
- ¹³⁷ Interview with the Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services.
- ¹³⁸ Interview with non-Coalition member number 1.
- ¹³⁹ Winer, S. (2019) Daycare teacher sentenced to 17 years for smothering toddler to death, *The Times of Israel*. As of 28 January 2020: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/daycare-teacher-sentenced-to-17-years-for-choking-toddler-to-death/>
- ¹⁴⁰ Betterem statistical overview 2008-2011 (2011). As of 28 January 2020: <http://www.beterem.org/download/files/00007407.pdf>

- ¹⁴¹ Interview with Coalition's former chief executive officer.
- ¹⁴² Interview with Coalition Coordinator and interview with non-Coalition member number 3; consultation with BvLF.
- ¹⁴³ Interview with the Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services.
- ¹⁴⁴ Interview with non-Coalition member number 2.
- ¹⁴⁵ Interview with a journalist at the *Maariv* newspaper.
- ¹⁴⁶ Interview with non-Coalition member number 1.
- ¹⁴⁷ 3 out of 13 Coalition members, 3 out of 3 non-Coalition members, and 2 out of 3 policymakers.
- ¹⁴⁸ Interview with Coalition member number 1.
- ¹⁴⁹ Interview with Yifat Shasha-Biton MK.
- ¹⁵⁰ Interview with Yifat Shasha-Biton MK.
- ¹⁵¹ Interview with Yifat Shasha-Biton MK.
- ¹⁵² Interview with Manuel Trajtenberg MK.
- ¹⁵³ Interview with non-Coalition member number 2.
- ¹⁵⁴ Interview with non-Coalition member number 2.
- ¹⁵⁵ 2 out of 13 Coalition members.
- ¹⁵⁶ Interview with Yifat Shasha-Biton MK.
- ¹⁵⁷ 2 out of 13 Coalition members, 1 out of 3 non-Coalition members, and 1 out of 3 policymakers.
- ¹⁵⁸ Interview with non-Coalition member number 1.
- ¹⁵⁹ 5 out of 13 Coalition members, 1 out of 3 non-Coalition members, 3 out of 3 policymakers and the journalist.
- ¹⁶⁰ Interview with a journalist at the *Maariv* newspaper.
- ¹⁶¹ Numerous examples based on BvLF cluster report.
- ¹⁶² No data were available at the time of writing about the audience reached with these engagements.
- ¹⁶³ Interview with Coalition Coordinator.
- ¹⁶⁴ Interview with Coalition's former chief operating officer.
- ¹⁶⁵ Interview with Coalition's former chief operating officer.
- ¹⁶⁶ Interview with Yifat Shasha-Biton MK.
- ¹⁶⁷ 2 out of 13 Coalition members, 1 out of 3 non-Coalition members, 1 out of 3 policymakers, and the journalist.
- ¹⁶⁸ Interview with Coalition Coordinator.
- ¹⁶⁹ Interview with Manuel Trajtenberg MK.
- ¹⁷⁰ Interview with Yifat Shasha-Biton MK.
- ¹⁷¹ 3 out of 13 Coalition members, 2 out of 3 non-Coalition members, and 3 out of 3 policymakers.
- ¹⁷² Interview with non-Coalition member number 2.
- ¹⁷³ Interview with the Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services.
- ¹⁷⁴ Interview with Coalition Coordinator.
- ¹⁷⁵ Interview with Coalition's former chief executive officer.
- ¹⁷⁶ 6 out of 13 Coalition members and 3 out of 3 policymakers.
- ¹⁷⁷ Interview with non-Coalition member number 1.
- ¹⁷⁸ Interview with Coalition's former chief executive officer.
- ¹⁷⁹ Interview with Coalition's former Lead Activist.
- ¹⁸⁰ Interview with Yifat Shasha-Biton MK.
- ¹⁸¹ Consultation with BvLF.
- ¹⁸² Interview with Coalition's former Lead Activist.
- ¹⁸³ 2 out of 13 Coalition members, 3 out of 3 policymakers, and the journalist.
- ¹⁸⁴ Interview with Coalition member numbers 3 and 4.
- ¹⁸⁵ 7 out of 13 Coalition members, 1 out of 3 non-Coalition members, and 2 out of 3 policymakers.
- ¹⁸⁶ Interview with Coalition's former chief operating officer.
- ¹⁸⁷ Interview with Coalition member number 8.

¹⁸⁸ Manuel Trajtenberg MK's speech at the second and third reading of the Council Law at the Knesset. As of 28 January 2020: <https://www.facebook.com/paz.cohen/videos/pcb.10154807684912919/10154807671272919/?type=3&theater>

¹⁸⁹ 5 out of 13 Coalition members, and 1 out of 3 policymakers.

¹⁹⁰ Interview with the Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services.

¹⁹¹ Interview with Coalition's former chief operating officer.

¹⁹² Interview with Coalition's former Lead Activist.

¹⁹³ 5 out of 13 Coalition members, 1 out of 3 non-Coalition members, and 1 out of 3 policymakers.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Coalition's former chief operating officer.

¹⁹⁵ On average across all OECD countries approximately 33% children under the age of 3 attend early childhood education and care services (ECEC – a similar if not directly comparable statistic). OECD (2019) OECD Family Database: PF3.4: Enrolment in childcare and pre-school. As of 28 January 2020: https://www.oecd.org/els/soc/PF3_2_Enrolment_childcare_preschool.pdf

¹⁹⁶ Note this is a translated explanation of the term *kesef tsavua* (painted money). Quote from interview with Coalition member numbers 3 and 4. Challenge mentioned by 3 out of 13 Coalition members.

¹⁹⁷ Interview with Coalition's former Lead Activist.

¹⁹⁸ Interview with Coalition's former Lead Activist.

¹⁹⁹ 5 out of 13 Coalition members.

²⁰⁰ Interview with Coalition Coordinator.

²⁰¹ 2 out of 13 Coalition members.

²⁰² 3 out of 13 Coalition members.

²⁰³ 4 out of 13 Coalition members.

²⁰⁴ 2 out of 13 Coalition members and BvLF representative.

²⁰⁵ Interview with Coalition's former chief operating officer.

²⁰⁶ Interview with non-Coalition member number 2.

²⁰⁷ Interview with the Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services.

²⁰⁸ Azulai, M. and Alon, A. (2018) 'A moment before the Knesset's recess: The law on camera installation in daycares has been passed'. Ynet article, 24 December 2018. As of 28 January 2020: <https://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-5432703,00.html>

²⁰⁹ 1 out of 13 Coalition members.

²¹⁰ 1 out of 13 Coalition members.

²¹¹ 2 out of 13 Coalition members.

²¹² 2 out of 13 Coalition members.

²¹³ Interview with Coalition member number 5.

²¹⁴ Interview with Coalition member number 1.

²¹⁵ Interview with Coalition Coordinator.

²¹⁶ Interview with Coalition's former chief executive officer and interview with Coalition Coordinator.

²¹⁷ Interview with Manuel Trajtenberg MK.

²¹⁸ See, for instance, a July 2019 media item on the current approach to be taken by Prime Minister Netanyahu: Livnat, O. and Begano, Y. (2019) Netanyahu: The responsibility for daycares will transfer to the minister for education. *Maariv online*. As of 28 January 2020: <https://www.maariv.co.il/news/Education/Article-707287>

Appendix: Scope and methodology

The findings in this case study should be read with appropriate recognition of the complex nature of achieving policy change, with the Coalition being but one of a number of stakeholders advocating for the changes achieved. Additionally, this case study reports on features of the Coalition *perceived by stakeholders* to have contributed to legislative change. The research team is able to report on the extent to which there was consensus or disagreement about the perceived contribution of the Coalition to the changes achieved, but it should be noted that this case study is not focused on establishing a causal connection between the Coalition's input and the changes achieved (this would be more of an evaluative approach that engages a different study design and was out of the scope of this case study).

The research team and BvLF selected a series of case studies to meet the research objective of ensuring that lessons on 'what works' in operating at scale were systematically captured, assessed and made available for other governments, practitioners and foundations to use. The project began with an inception phase that aimed to develop an understanding of the research objective, and select and develop a plan for the case studies. For the Coalition case study this involved consultations with a BvLF representative, a desk review of 53 documents related to the Coalition (including BvLF and ANU strategy documents, ANU's progress reports, and media items), and a consultation to identify categories of key informants (and identification of specific key informants). Categories of key informants were selected based on their relevance and ability to verify data. As such, Coalition members were selected as the best-placed to describe the work of the Coalition, non-Coalition members were selected to give the perspective of others working in the field on the work of the Coalition, policymakers were selected on the basis that they were the target of much of the Coalition's work, and a journalist was selected as the Coalition sought to work with the media. Given the scope of the case study, the number of interviews was kept to a maximum of 20. Interviews were carried out between March and June 2019 with key informants from all categories, as follows:

- 13 Coalition members, including past and present ANU staff (the Coalition's Coordinator, the Arab Society Coordinator, the former chief executive officer and the former chief operating officer), the Lead Activist, managers of daycares, activists, and representatives of leading organisations in the field – the Council for Wellbeing of the Child and the Union of Private Daycares.²¹⁸
- Three non-Coalition members.
- Three policymakers (Yifat Shasha-Biton MK, Manuel Trajtenberg MK and an advisor for the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services – note that Manuel Trajtenberg MK was

accompanied by an adviser who has not been counted in the total mentioned above of '20 key informants').

- A journalist at the *Maariv* newspaper).

All interviewees were given a random code, with the exception of the two MKs (who gave specific permission to have quotes attributed to them), the advisor to the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services (who gave permission to have quotes attributed to them as the 'Senior Advisor for the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services'), past and present ANU staff, the Lead Activist and the journalist at the *Maariv* paper (being the only journalist interviewed, this person was referred to as 'journalist'). Coalition members were given a code from 1 to 8, and non-Coalition members were given a code from 1 to 3.

The majority of these interviews took place on a four-day field visit in Israel in March 2019, with the rest taking place subsequently by phone. The focus of interview protocols was not limited to specific dates. The interviews were considered the best possible tool to elicit the depth of understanding of the local context and capture perceptions of different aspects of the Coalition. Interviews were recorded except where no permission was given (in two of the interviews), and notes taken and elaborated following the interviews using the recordings. Data from interviews and the document review were analysed first by method (i.e. analysing documentary data on their own, and then interviews on their own), which led to summaries of interviewee responses by category of respondent. The interviewee categories were Coalition members, non-Coalition members, policymakers and the journalist. All data were then thematically analysed to develop cross-cutting themes, which were then used to organise this report's structure.

Throughout this report, points made by more than one interviewee are recorded clearly, specifying the number of people in a particular category of respondent who made that point. This information is provided either in-text (where the authors deemed the number was of particular importance), or set out in a clearly marked endnote.

Points made by Coalition members should be read with an appreciation that there is a risk of bias in their responses, as it is in their interests for the Coalition to be painted in a good light. The nature of the face-to-face semi-structured interviews was considered to alleviate some of this, but it is clearly still a consideration to be acknowledged when analysing data from this category.

The 2019-2020 case studies and the Bernard van Leer Foundation's focus on early childhood education

The Bernard van Leer Foundation is an independent foundation working globally to inform and inspire large-scale action to support the health and well-being of babies, toddlers and the people who care for them. In 2019, they commissioned RAND Europe to deliver a set of case studies to document learning about implementing early childhood development programmes at scale. The objective of these case studies is to ensure that lessons on 'what works' in operating at scale were systematically captured, assessed and made available for other governments, practitioners and foundations to use. In particular, the Foundation was interested in learning about the critical conditions for achieving sustainable impact at scale in early childhood development.