The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
NEVET Greenhouse and the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work and Social Welfare

The Perceptions and Agentic Practices of 'Family Group Conference (FGC)' Coordinators in Israel (Olim LaDerech - KEDEM Program)

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for The Master's Degree (M.A)

Advisor: Dr. Orna Shemer

Submitted by: Jordan Shaibe

September 2022

Acknowledgments

I wish to convey my deepest gratitude to the research participants, the coordinators who invested time and effort to share their knowledge. Your stories, perspectives and practices inspired me, and words cannot express my appreciation for your contribution to this research.

I am deeply indebted to the FGC "Kedem - Olim LaDerech" team, who allowed this research to come to life with their support, advice, and facilitation. Thank you to Anat Eshel, Ruth Nachenson, Becky Sereche, and Michal Yitmano.

This endeavor would not have been possible without my advisor, Dr. Orna Shemer. Thank you for the opportunity and privilege to research and learn under your mentorship. I am eternally grateful for our journey together, for your support, patience, and invaluable guidance.

I am also immensely grateful to Professor Dorit Roer- Strier, the director of the Nevet Greenhouse, for her unending support, direction, and encouragement from the very beginning of my journey till the last moment. Thank you for showing me the way.

Additionally, I would like to express my deep appreciation for the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work and Social Welfare for providing generous funding for this study.

My sincere thanks to the FGC research group. It has been a joy collaborating with you. Thank you to Hadar Baron, for inducting me into the world of social workers. Thank you to Netanya Mischel, for taking the time to share with me advice from your own research experience. Thank you to Ahlam Abo Karen, for sharing your knowledge on FGC. Finally, thank you to the entire team - my thesis sits on the shoulders of your great work.

I am also grateful to my seminar classmates and Nevet members, for being my community. Thank you for your moral support and encouragement, and for the opportunity to broaden my horizons through your research. I would also like to acknowledge my seminar TA, Waed Ghantous. Thank you for being a role model to look up to.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. Thank you to my parents, for ensuring education was a privilege always available to me. Thank you to my loving partner, for your humor when all I could speak of was my thesis, and for keeping me calm through the process. I am grateful for you. Thank you to our wonderful relatives and friends, for your patience, support, and advice. Thank you to my amazing siblings, I love you all dearly. Finally, to my grandparents, thank you for always reflecting your belief in my own agency to me, I carry you with me in my heart.

Contents

Abstract

Family Group Conference (FGC) is a participatory model of decision making for families with children[1] at risk. It was first developed in New Zealand in the 1980s in response to criticisms of the welfare system. In Israel, FGC is known as "Kedem - Olim LaDerech" (in Hebrew: " עולים לדרך – קד"ם"). It is run by the Ministry of Welfare and Social Affairs in partnership with JDC Israel Ashalim and Mosiaca. The pilot program offers FGC as an alternative for the conventional decision-making committee used in planning, intervention and evaluation for families with children at risk.

To achieve the purpose of child protection, FGC brings together the family, their chosen social network members, and relevant professionals to come to family-led decisions pertaining to the children. In its initial stages, FGC is organized by coordinators, whose role centers on accompanying the families in formulating their own decisions and family plans for the welfare of their children. Thus, to reach participatory decisions, coordinators are tasked with implementing agentic practices to encourage family decision-making.

This research is done as a part of a research team within the Nevet Greenhouse of Context-Informed Research and Training at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and as a continuation of a larger evaluative study of the Israeli FGC pilot program.

To study and determine the coordinators' principles of action, the research examined what are the coordinators' perspectives on agency as it pertains to the family and to their own role, what challenges do they face in bolstering the families' agency and what coping strategies do they use, and how do they implement the FGC theory into practice.

These research questions were explored using the qualitative, action-oriented methodology. Thirteen semi-structured, in-depth interviews were used along with two research group discussions to learn about the FGC coordinators' perspectives and practices. The research data was analyzed using the thematic method and an action-oriented methodology to bring forth the participants' perceptions and practices.

The findings indicate that the coordinators' perception of the families' agency brings together the two ideas of knowledge and ability, that they perceived this agency to be constricted by the family's social, political, cultural, and psychological contexts, including the families'

[1]Throughout this thesis, the term children at risk will be used to refer to children, youth, and adolescents at risk.

harsh circumstances, sense of isolation, and fear of exposure. In addition, the participants had conflicting views on the role of professionals and family supporters in the FGC process and in the family's life. For example, some participants emphasized the importance of receiving social network support for the family's independence, while others expressed the view that support was detrimental to the family's independence. The coordinators' perceptions and values translated into three main principles of action: to affirm the family's control and responsibility, to highlight the family's ability, and to orient with the family towards the future.

The discussion explores the findings' implications and critically examines the conception of agency and its relationship with the social structure as it can understood from the coordinators' narratives. Finally, the participants' practices were analyzed according to this dual perspective of agency and structure to discover how the coordinators navigated the complex dynamic between highlighting the family's agency and acknowledging the family's social structure. This uncovered a threefold model, such that participants implemented strategies meant to transform the social structure, to enhance the family's sense of capacity, and to address the relations between the family and their social structure.

The current research has significant potential contributions. The study offers a new, agentic lens through which to understand the FGC model and more specifically the coordinators' work. This understanding can strengthen the model, its purpose, and the practices of the professionals who organize the model. Moreover, the current study contributes to the body of knowledge about the practices of FGC coordinators. Finally, the study offers a context-informed understanding of agency as one that encompasses both the person's conception of their own knowledge and ability, as well as their conception of their social structure and their relations with it. Thus, the study contributes to the body of knowledge on agency and the context-informed perspective.

In terms of contribution to practice, using the action-oriented methodology allowed the study to uncover a variety of principles for facilitating family agency in the FGC context. Thus, the principles of action identified in the current study hold potential extrapolative value for professionals navigating other participatory models.

Finally, the study may hold potential value for the continued implementation and expansion of the FGC program, and the welfare system in general, as it offers an examination of the practices that facilitate agency and participative processes.

Introduction

This research focuses on the program Family Group Conference (FGC) as it appears in Israel in the case of child protection. Specifically, the study strives to learn about the practices coordinators, the professionals tasked with organizing and executing the model, use to achieve the model's purpose of a family-led decision-making dynamic. To this end, the study introduces the agentic lens through which to understand the FGC model, a conception which highlights a person's purposive knowledge and ability to control and direct their own life towards a future of their choosing, whilst operating within their social structure. The thesis begins with a literature review on the relevant concepts and theories and then proceeds to detail the research methodology. Following this, a chapter is dedicated to the research findings regarding the participants' perspectives and practices, which are then explored and analyzed in the discussion.

This research is done as a part of a research team within the Nevet Greenhouse of Context-Informed Research and Training at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the literature review is based in parts on the literature review of the FGC model compiled by the Hebrew University's Nevet research group (Shemer et al., 2020).

Literature Review

Using the theoretical framework of the context-informed perspective, the following literature review examines the concepts and theories significant to this research. The chapter begins with a conceptual review on families with children at risk in Israel, the FGC model in child protection, its specific implementation in Israel, and the role of the coordinators. Following this, the review introduces the theories significant to the research. First, the review presents the participative theories that are the lens through which FGC is generally examined. Finally, to introduce the agentic perspective as a new frame through which to understand FGC, the review focuses on theories and research on human agency, how they are understood in the context of social work, and how they are relevant to the FGC model in particular.

Theoretical Framework: The Context-Informed Perspective

The context-informed perspective acknowledges the complex matrix of nationality, socio-economic background, religion, gender, ethnicity, and culture that defines the human experience. The influence of this matrix on people's lived experiences shapes the way people give meaning to their experiences and changes as the different contexts change, develop, and intersect. This perspective acknowledges and examines the power dynamics between individuals,

groups, and systems, while highlighting the strengths of communities, families, and individual persons. Thus, this framework is essential to the current research as it focuses the study on the importance of social contexts, the power dynamics inherent to child protection programs, and on individuals' and families' agency (Nadan, & Roer-Strier, 2020; Nadan, & Roer-Strier, 2021; Roer-Strier & Nadan, 2020; Roer-Strier & Nadan, 2021).

Conceptual Review

The following chapter examines in-depth the literature available on families with children at risk in Israel, the FGC model as it is used for child protection around the world and in Israel, and finally the role and importance of the coordinators within the model and in its various stages.

Families with Children at Risk

Children at risk are defined as such when they are exposed, in their family and environment, to situations that endanger them and impair their ability to exercise their rights as they are defined by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations [UN], 1989). The risk refers to risk to the physical existence of the child, the well-being and emotional health of the child, the child's sense of belonging and social relations, their learning and skill acquisition, and risk to the protection from others and from the child's own endangering behavior (Schmid, 2006; United Nations [UN], 1989). This is the definition that has been adapted by the Israeli Ministry of Welfare and Social Affairs in an attempt at establishing a uniform definition (Szabo-Lael, 2017; Yablberg, 2013).

Examination of this definition clarifies that there are many contexts and situations that are considered as risky to children's welfare. The literature on the subject refers to risk related to the family ties, such as concerns relating to the parents' ability to provide the necessary services or enrichment for their child, their ability to give proper supervision as well as cope with the child's behavior, and their emotional bond with the child. Risky and dangerous situations also include physical and sexual abuse within and outside the family, as well as exposure to dangerous behaviors. Risk to the child's emotional wellbeing may include the child's low self-esteem and other emotional difficulty, and the child's difficulty in forming social relations. Children at risk because of concern for their learning and skill acquisition include children with low academic outcomes and dysfunctional school attendance. Finally, the child's own behavior may place them at risk, such as self-harm, drug or alcohol abuse, and sexual conduct that is not age appropriate (Ben Noon, 2017; Etzion & Romi, 2015; Szabo-Lael, 2017).

While the definition provided is an attempt at arriving at a universal, uniform understanding of the term risk in the context of child welfare, this understanding has been called to question. From a context-informed perspective, it becomes apparent that what situations are deemed as harmful to children may be understood differently by people from different life contexts. Families with children at risk are as diverse as the population in general. In Israel, this diversity includes ethnic, religious, national, and socio-economic diversity, and these contexts may intersect and hybridize. As such, it can be argued that the conventional understanding and treatment of families with children at risk is one that is focused on the individual from a western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic (WEIRD) perspective, while disregarding the context (Henrich et al., 2010; Roer-Strier & Nadan, 2020).

In conclusion, while the general accepted definition of risk and the situations that produce it have given rise to certain services provided for families with children at risk, the discourse questioning this traditional understanding has led to other services, such as FGC. The following sections reviews the conventional services provided in Israel, and then focuses on the model of FGC as it pertains to child protection.

The Services Provided for Families with Children at Risk

As of today, many programs exist in Israel that aim to support and care for families with children at risk. Children at risk are provided protection services both within the community and in out-of-home placement. The Ministry of Welfare's 360^{o} National Program for Children and Youth at Risk, one of the central of these programs, is active in 185 districts and its purpose is to prevent and reduce the risk to children from early childhood to eighteen, with a focus on early intervention (Monikendem-Giv'on, 2019; Szabo-Lael, 2017).

In Israel, one of the current conventional welfare procedures for the care of families with children at risk involves the Planning, Intervention and Evaluation Committees (in Hebrew: וועדת תכנון טיפול והערכה) (Alfandari, 2019; Gottfried & Ben-Arieh, 2019). In certain circumstances, such as a continuation of concerns for the child following intervention, this committee is convened and various professionals as well as the family are invited. The committee's purpose is to examine the risk to which the child is exposed and the family's ability to provide the protection the child requires, and to make decisions regarding the future care plan of the child. These committees place the well-being of the child as their goal and are based on the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Banbanishti et al., 2012; Social Workers' Code of

Ethics 8.9, 2017). Moreover, the stated policy of the Israeli Ministry of Welfare and Social Affairs is one that emphasizes the importance of investing in the family to allow children to grow in their home and be raised by their parents (Leibovitch & Lev-Sadde, 2016). Despite this stated policy, the ultimate responsibility for decision making in these committees is placed on the social workers. Furthermore, previous research has found that in the examined committees, about half of the discussions ended with the decision to remove the children to alternative care (Ben-Rabi et al. 2015). Moreover, Alfandari's (2017) qualitative study indicated that formal committees are often characterized by low levels of partnership with parents, such as by coercion being used to influence parents' decisions.

While this is the conventional welfare route and it is similar in Israel to the welfare care provided in other countries, other models for decision making in the care and protection of children have been introduced internationally. Among these is the FGC model, which will be expanded upon in the following section.

Family Group Conference in Child Protection

The FGC model was first developed in New Zealand in the 1980s in response to criticism of the welfare system from members of the Māori community. At the time, New Zealand relied on a system that emphasized the assessments and decisions made by professionals on the needs of children, which led to many children being placed in out-of-home care (Connolly, 2006a). According to the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective (1986), this disregarded the Māori family and social structure, and detached children from their culture.

The FGC model became part of the law in New Zealand in 1989 with the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act in response to these criticisms, such that all families of children who the welfare system recognized as needing protection or care must participate in the program. The model stands in contrast with the conventional route that emphasizes the social workers' and welfare services' responsibility in decision making. This contrast is achieved by bringing together the nuclear family, along with the extended family, significant social network members and the applicable professionals to discuss the concerns for the child and to design together a shared plan of action for the child's protection and well-being (Connolly, 1994; Connolly, 2006a).

Following the model's success in New Zealand, it was adopted and adapted in various renditions in over thirty countries, including various US states, Sweden, Norway, Australia, England and recently also Israel (Kim et al., 2020; Nixon et al., 2005; Shemer et al., 2020).

Family Group Conference in Israel

For the past twenty years existed in Israel an FGC program in the field of youth justice (Rivkin & Shmaia Yadgar, 2007). Later, in 2016, the Ministry of Welfare and Social Affairs in partnership with the Ministry of Aliyah and Integration and the Joint Ashalim organization (in Hebrew: ג'וינט אשלים) launched a pilot program based on the FGC model for child protection that was named in Hebrew "קד"ם – עולים לדרך." In 2018, Mosaica – The Center for Conflict Resolution by Agreement was chosen to operate the FGC program in Israel, and they provide training and mentoring for the coordinators. The Nevet Greenhouse was chosen as the researching organization. As a pilot program, FGC has been launched in five regions to examine its place as an alternative to the conventional evaluation committees (Shemer et al., 2020).

To understand how FGC strives to bring together the family, their social network, and the professionals to come to a joint decision, it is important to understand the structure of the model and the key roles it includes. As such, the following section describes the mechanism of the model, while emphasizing the role of the coordinator within it.

The Family Group Conference Model

The FGC model brings a new framework with which to work with families with children at risk. This framework introduces a new role, the coordinator, who does not take part in conventional evaluation committees. The coordinators, who are the focus of the current research, are tasked with organizing and mediating the FGC model. As such, their role is defined by specific characteristics and entails certain responsibilities. The following section will describe the structure of the model and its three stages - the pre-conference, conference stage, and post-conference stages – and the role of the coordinators within this structure.

The Pre-Conference Stage. The initial stage, known as the pre-conference stage, is the stage during which the coordinator is charged with providing the family with essential information to make informed decisions during the agreement phase. As such, the coordinator explains the FGC model to the family, and the family identifies the concerns regarding the child that will be addressed during the conference. In addition, the family is welcomed to ask questions regarding the concerns. This is an important stage as it is during this time that the

family must learn what it means to go through the FGC process and understand the responsibilities this model places on them (Connolly, 2006a).

During this phase and after meeting with the parents, the coordinator is also tasked with speaking with the children themselves as well as identifying the family supporters or advocates from the family's social network through discussions with the family (Fuchs, 2000). Following this, the coordinator meets with the family supporters, to explain to them the FGC process, and hear their concerns and the possible support they may offer to the family (Havnen & Christiansen, 2014; Sundell et al., 2001).

Finally, the coordinator encourages the family to take a central role in planning the conference such as in deciding on the time and place and the refreshments that will be served. This is an important stage that involves many moving parts, and its duration varies in different renditions of the model (Shemer et al., 2020; Sundell et al., 2001). However, in every model this stage leads up to the conference stage.

The Conference Stage. This stage (in Hebrew: "היוועדות"), which is moderated by the coordinator, is further divided into three phases. In the first phase, the information-sharing stage, all the conference members are present, including the family and its supporters, the coordinator, the social worker, and other relevant professionals. During this phase, each of the conference members shares what they view to be the strengths of the family in a sharing circle. Following the strengths circle, the social worker as well as the other professionals share their concerns regarding the child. The rest of the conference members are also welcomed to share their concerns. Finally, the various attendants share possible methods and resources to address the specific concerns raised (Connolly & Masson, 2014; Shemer et al., 2020).

Following this initial stage, the family and their supporters have time alone for private deliberation, while the professionals remain nearby to clarify any issues or concerns that arise. During this time, the family decides which resources to choose to address the concerns raised (Sundell et al., 2001; Sampson, 2020).

The final stage of the conference is the agreement stage, during which the coordinator and social worker return to the room. Sometimes other professionals also return. The family members present their decision regarding the family's plan to address the concerns raised. This plan is discussed, and the coordinator is tasked with ensuring that all the members involved in the plan understand what their role entails. When an agreement is reached on the family plan by

all the members, it is finalized and signed. Significantly, in the FGC model the social workers and professionals are required to support and accept the plan the family decided on unless this plan poses a serious harm to the child. Finally, during this discussion the family also decides on an evaluation method for their plan (Connolly, 2006a; Huntsman, 2006; Meijer et al., 2019).

The Implementation Stage. The third and final stage of the FGC model is the implementation and evaluation stage, during which the family's plan is executed, and its effectiveness and success in addressing the concerns raised during the conference are evaluated (Sampson, 2020). While this stage is considered important to the model, as many family plans face challenges during the execution period, it also varies in its execution from country to country (Bredewold & Tonkens, 2021; Fox, 2018). For example, in the UK the coordinator arranges a follow-up conference dedicated to evaluating the execution and progress of the plan with the family and the social worker (Sampson, 2020). In Norway as well, a follow-up conference or even two conferences are scheduled to evaluate the implementation of the plan, often by the same coordinator (Havnen & Christiansen, 2014).

In Israel, a second conference is not conducted, and instead the social worker is tasked with following up with the family. As such, the Israeli coordinators are directed to explain to the family at the end of the conference, once the plan has been accepted, that their role as coordinators has finished and that continued contact will be with the social worker. Generally, around six weeks following the conference, a second meeting is established with the social worker to ensure the plan has been started. Another unique aspect to the Israeli model that is particular to the implementation stage is the introduction of another figure, the family companion (in Hebrew: מלווה משפחה). If the family chooses to accept the family companion resource, then their role is to assist the family in the execution of the plan, such as by aiding in contacting government agencies (Eshel et al., 2021).

The Coordinator

The coordinator is a neutral figure, neither related to the family nor the welfare system. In Israel, the role includes an initial training and practicum process as well as monthly group meetings and one-on-one mentoring. The coordinators' role in FGC is to oversee the organization and execution of the model up to the approval of the family's plan. As such, they are entrusted with the responsibility to prepare the family and the family supporters ahead of the conference, to mediate the discussion and to assist in the decision-making stage (de Jong et al.,

2015; Macgowan & Pennell, 2002; Natland & Malmberg-Heimonen, 2014). Thus, they take on an essential role in the FGC model, and so it is important to understand what their role entails.

Research examining coordinators' perceptions found that they themselves also emphasized the importance of their neutrality to the family, to the welfare system and to the other professionals, as it allows them to ensure the family decisions are not compromised (Connolly, 2006a; Natland & Malmberg-Heimonen, 2014). For example, coordinators found that their independence allowed them to challenge the various conference members, whether they were family, social workers, or professionals. Thus, not only is the coordinators' neutrality a principle put forth by the model, but coordinators themselves find that it has practical value to their work. While they emphasized the importance of challenging members of the conference when that is needed, coordinators also stressed that they must strive to create a sense of safety in the conference, not just for the family but for the social workers as well.

The guiding principles of the model also demand that a coordinator be a person who is culturally competent. Indeed, when examining the model's cultural competence, it was found that the coordinator's familiarity with the family's culture, their attentiveness to the family's needs, and their willingness to adapt to these needs positively influence the coordinators' cultural responsiveness (Barn & Das, 2016; Waites et al., 2004).

In addition, in a qualitative study based in New Zealand, Connolly (2006b) explored what motivated coordinators to choose their profession and stick with it. She discovered that they were driven by a belief in the FGC model as a positive step for change. In addition to the belief in the model's values, coordinators also emphasized the importance of practical experience with FGC to improve and adapt their practices so they may be more effective in facilitating the conference.

In the study described above, Connolly (2006b) also emphasized that the role of organizing and mediating the conference while ensuring the process is family-led demands that the coordinators face and manage many conflicting and challenging dynamics. On this topic Connolly expanded in another paper (2006a), where she described in detail what challenges the coordinators identified in their role. These challenges included fraught dynamic between the family and the social worker, hindering behaviors from welfare professionals, and confrontations between family members.

When the coordinators were asked how they manage these challenging dynamics, the participants in both studies emphasized the importance of speaking with the family in a clear and

practical manner with regards to the concerns for the child as well as the possible resources, so as to give the family all the necessary information as plainly as possible. Other practices that the coordinators emphasized include reducing the family's anxiety, before the conference by preparing them adequately, and during the conference by using humor when appropriate (Connolly, 2006a; Connolly, 2006b). Finally, an important practice that was mentioned by Connolly and expanded upon by Schout and de Jong (2017) in their study is encouraging the family to speak up, ask questions and give feedback so they can make their voices heard.

The above review highlights how essential the coordinator's role is to the FGC model. Moreover, that "the coordinator should be a gifted citizen with natural abilities to mobilize groups" (Schout & de Jong, 2017, p. 1198) is apparent from the eclectic skills required of the coordinator as well as the strategies they implement. As for the former, the coordinators need to be neutral, culturally competent, and hold strong belief in the family's power, and the latter includes that they learn from past experiences, that they appropriately prepare the family, that they manage to be practical as well as personable, and that they encourage the family to voice their opinions. To understand these demands on the coordinator, the following chapter will explore participative theories, followed by a focus on agentic theories. In the current study, these theories will stand at the basis of understanding the practices the coordinators use to implement the FGC model and to cope with the challenges they face in their role.

Theoretical Review

The following section examines the main theories relevant to the research, including theories on participation followed by a focus on theories and research pertaining to agency.

Participatory Approaches

The accepted lens through which FGC is generally viewed is the participatory lens. Theories on participation point to a scale of degrees, from no participation in the form of manipulation, to the highest degree of participation, termed citizen control (Arnstein, 1969). FGC speaks of partnership, which in Arnstein's (1969) model falls within the scope of true participation, what she terms as 'citizen power' (Clarijs & Malmberg, 2012; Meijer et al., 2019)

Citizens' participation in their own governing is the very bedrock of democracy (Arnstein, 1969). The FGC model, based on the democratic principle of power redistribution so it is shared with the family, strives to create an environment that promotes participation of the various parties, and in specific the family's participation. Thus, the model comes as a

transformation of values and attitudes, as the conventional approach before the mid-nineties of the twentieth century had been one that emphasized the responsibility of the state to save the children from their at-risk situation. In this, FGC is in accordance with the shifting views and language guiding social work to ones that focus on working with families in participation (Clarijs & Malmberg, 2012; Connolly & MacKenzie, 1998; Merkel-Holguin, 2004).

Finally, the form of partnership the FGC coordinators are tasked with facilitating is not a reductionist one where families are activated towards participation, but a democratic one, where the participation is the starting point from which the work begins. As such, it follows that the family members must be viewed as active agents in and of themselves (Roose et al., 2013). To understand this agentic perspective, and its implications on the practices and action strategies coordinators implement, the following section explores the theories on human agency, personal agency, agency in the context of social work, and its relevance to the FGC model.

Human Agency

To the researcher's knowledge, agentic theories have not been used to understand and study the FGC model before. The current study draws the connection between FGC and agency as the model is a strengths-based approach that uses language of power, ownership, self-reliance, resilience, and autonomy (see for example: Bredewold & Tonkens, 2021; Connolly & Masson, 2014; EU FGC Network, 2012; Meijer et al., 2019; Merkel-Holguin, 2004; Metze et al., 2015). For instance, in the European FGC Network website, FGC is defined as based on "the right of citizens to remain in control of their own lives" (European FGC Network). This language of power, control and autonomy is emblematic of the agentic approach (Peters et al., 2022).

Human agency is a widely discoursed concept. The modern conception of agency received traction in the Enlightenment period with philosophers such as Descartes and Kant and was expanded upon through the centuries by philosophers such as Hegel and Marx, as well as sociologists and psychologists (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998; Littlejohn & Foss, 2009; Sayers, 2007; Seligman, 2021; Williams et al., 2021). In sociology, the discourse especially pertains to human actions within social structure, significantly by Weber, Bourdieu, and Giddens among others (Campbell, 2009). While agency is still a highly debated concept, in sociological terms it can be defined as a person's "capability of doing" with the implication of their power to exert change (Giddens, 1984, p. 9).

Psychologists have also added to the concept of agency and expanded the understanding on people's own sense of agency, which can be termed as personal agency (Alper, 2020; Gallagher, 2012). Specifically, Bandura (2018) bases his social cognitive theory on human agency and expands the term to encompass a person's capacity for forethought, self-regulation, and reflection. These mechanisms, according to Bandura (1999), enable a person's agency, or their "power to influence their own actions to produce certain results" (p. 154).

The definition that will be used in this research, which brings together the sociological and psychological understandings of the terms, is Amitay and Rahav's (2020) definition of agency as "the belief that one can direct one's life toward desired goals and aspirations despite severe life circumstances and trajectories, encompassing the feeling that one is in control of one's choices and decisions and responsible for their outcomes" (p. 136). Using this definition, agentic practices used by professionals acknowledge and respect people's agency, counter alienation, and powerlessness, and enhance the service users' sense of ability. This definition is particularly relevant in the context of FGC where families with children at risk work together with their social network towards a plan of their own choosing, thus transforming the conventional welfare power dynamic.

Poverty-aware social work places agency at its core as it sees people living in poverty as "agents who resist poverty under conditions of severe lack of economic and symbolic capital" (Krumer-Nevo, 2016, p. 1796). Lister (2016) further highlights the importance of acknowledging people's agency to understand their experience. Similarly, research on well-being and life satisfaction emphasize the importance of agency (Hojman & Miranda, 2018; Kahana et al., 2012; Kotan, 2010; Langer & Rodin, 1976; Mirowsky, 1995; Moore, 2016; Smith et al., 2000; Victor et al., 2013). Moreover, research has found sense of agency to be an important protective and coping mechanism in various groups including families with children at risk (Jones & Prinz, 2005; Okech et al., 2012; Raikes & Thompson, 2005; Rodrigo & Byrne, 2011) and young adults (Nunes et al., 2022), and in the contexts of crime desistance (Lloyd & Serin, 2012), refugee (Karam et al., 2021; Obschonka & Hahn, 2018) and Covid-19 (Tuason et al., 2021).

Finally, Amitay and Rahav's (2020) study indicates the positive influence of professionals' agentic practices in the context of risk. In the context of FGC, research done by Rasmussen and Sandgaard (2021) indicates the positive influence of FGC on children's agentic expression.

Thus, the above theoretical review highlights the importance of understanding the agentic perspective, and the need to consider what agentic practices feature in the FGC model and how they can assist coordinators in managing the challenges brought on by the FGC dynamic.

In conclusion, the literature review examined the concepts and theories pertinent to the research. These included an overview of families with children at risk, FGC in child protection as an alternative to conventional welfare services, the role of coordinators within FGC, and the relevance of participatory and agentic theories to FGC. The above review also highlights the importance of further research on the theoretical underpinning of the FGC model, and specifically how it could be understood through an agentic lens. Moreover, learning about the coordinators' experiences, challenges, and strategies during the pre-conference and conference stages may help in formulating guiding principles for agentic practices. Such guiding principles present an important contribution to the body of knowledge currently available on agentic theories and on the FGC model, to coordinators and FGC professionals in planning for future conferences, and to welfare services in general.

Research Questions

Based on the above literature review and the aim of the study to expand the agentic understanding of FGC, the research questions are:

1. What are the perspectives of FGC coordinators on agency as it pertains to their own role and to the family?
2. What challenges do FGC coordinators face and what are their coping strategies as it pertains to bolstering the families' agency?
3. How do coordinators implement the FGC theory in practice? Specifically, what do the coordinators perceive to be their guiding principles and how do they bolster the agency of the families that participate in FGC?

Methodology

While the literature review points to FGC being an extensively researched model, the perceptions of coordinators on their work, what challenges they face and what strategies assist them requires further study. To contribute to this body of knowledge, the current research asks questions that pertain to the perspectives of the FGC coordinators vis-à-vis agency, the principles that guide their work, and the challenges they face and coping strategies they implement. As such, the qualitative methodology is best suited to study these research questions.

The qualitative methodology is characterized by reflecting and learning about the everyday experiences of people in a holistic, context-aware manner, through deep study of the particular, referred to as 'thick description' (Geertz, 2008). This paradigm is focused on studying individuals' experiences through their perception of these experiences. This method is relevant to the research questions as it is an inductive method that works towards creating new ideas, which the current research strives to do. Finally, the nature of the qualitative methodology that focuses on the intentional actions participants take and the meanings they give to these actions is at the very bedrock of the current study's questions (Shaw & Gould, 2001).

These aspects of qualitative research are essential for this study as they allow researchers to learn about the participants' practices, explore these practices and discover possible recommendations. Moreover, as this thesis explores questions on agency, the qualitative methodology that emphasizes the importance of respecting the participants as people who have agency themselves is an essential framework (Higgs et al., 2009).

The current study uses the language and perspective of the action-based inquiry or action-oriented research, which reflects on the actions the research participants take to produce actionable knowledge - knowledge that is easily translatable to how one should act in a specific situation (Schön, 1984; Schön, 1987; Shemer, et. al, 2016; Yang, 2012). Action-oriented research focuses on learning through reflection on actions and their consequences as a method to confront certain challenges or questions (Higgs et al., 2009). Specifically, the study was conducted in the learning from success methodology. As such, it strove to learn from the successes of coordinators in facilitating families' agency to reveal and highlight a collection of agentic principles of action (Schechter et al., 2008; Shemer et al., 2016).

The principles of action, or actionable knowledge, produced by this study oriented towards the action needed to take to achieve a specific outcome, which is the agency of the families who will participate in the FGC process in the future (Schön, 1984; Schön, 1987). As FGC is still in its initial stages in Israel, in addition to the research question on the practices the coordinators perceive as successful, the study also asked the coordinators what challenges they have faced in their practice, and what actions did they find not to be successful.

In addition to being conducted in the spirit of action-oriented research, the current study strove towards a participatory inclusion of the coordinators in the research. Winter and Munn-Giddings (2001) define Participatory Action Research (PAR). as the "study of a social situation

carried out by those involved in that situation to improve both their practice and the quality of their understanding" (p. 8). In other words, this form of action research strives to address social issues and involves researchers and community members or practitioners working together to improve practices in a collaborative manner (Higgs et al., 2009; Koshy et al., 2010). This approach sets a goal to learn from practical actions so that specific development can be achieved.

There are various models for PAR, all of which emphasize the participatory nature of the approach and involve stages of action, collaborative evaluation, and change, followed by action again (Elliot, 1991; Kemmis & McTaggart, 2007; O'Leary et al., 2004). This approach is not set in stone but a process that emerges, develops, and changes with the developing understanding and the collaborators (Koshy et al., 2010). In the spirit of this approach, the participants were invited to take part as co-researchers in the form of a research group that explored what they would like to discover through the research and what was eventually found. The participants' feedback was then incorporated in the findings and discussion.

Research Participants and Sampling Method

The research participants were FGC coordinators that have experience conducting the FGC process. The study was open to all the FGC coordinators active in Israel, which at the time of the data collection included fifteen people.

Thirteen coordinators were interviewed, and two coordinators who did not participate in the interviews did join the research group discussions (see Appendix A for participant list). The data analysis was conducted alongside the data collection to ensure that the number of participants allowed for data saturation (Sargeant, 2012). The participants were readily available through the research group's contacts with the Mosaica organization that trains and accompanies the coordinators. To give a broad and diverse view on the subject matter, the sampling included men and women with varied occupational backgrounds, as well as participants with experience working with families of different cultural backgrounds (Koerber & McMichael, 2008).

Data Collection Method

In-depth, semi-structured interviews that lasted about one hour each were used for data collection (Lietz & Zayas, 2010). In the spirit of action-oriented research, the researcher strove to engage with the coordinators as active, equal participants in the interviews (Fern, 2012). In-depth interviews allowed the researcher to collect the thick description through prolonged engagement, which is paramount for the constructivist, qualitative paradigm. These interviews were audio-

recorded and then transcribed to account as closely as possible the participants' meanings and stories (Lietz & Zayas, 2010).

The interview guide can be found in Appendix B. The interview questions asked the participants to describe situations they have experienced in FGC that they found challenging, and what coping strategies they used to handle them. In addition, the researcher asked the coordinators to share situations they perceived as successful, and which of their actions did they think contributed to the success. Following these questions, the coordinators were asked how effective they found their actions to be, and how do they think the families perceived their actions. In addition, the coordinators were asked to share their understanding of the abstract theories that sit at the basis of FGC, such as "family-led" and "family's choice," terms the coordinators often used to describe their process.

Finally, in the spirit of PAR, while questions were prepared by the researcher in advance, before the interviewing process the researcher sat with the coordinators' research group to discuss with them the topic and establish the research and interview questions together with them. Following the last interview, an additional group discussion was conducted with the coordinators to discuss the research findings, receive their feedback, and integrate their perspectives further into the data collection (Chiu, 2003; Linhorst, 2002).

The Researcher

The researcher is a kindergarten teacher and a master's student of Early Childhood (MA) in the School of Social Work's Schwartz Program at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. During her degree, the researcher trained in qualitative research methodologies in various courses and worked as a research assistant. She is Jewish and Israeli American, and she has not worked with the welfare services in any capacity. However, the researcher has worked with families with children at risk in her work as a teacher, and her field of interest is agency and agentic practices.

For the researcher, the research process involved an intensive emersion into the world of social work, through literature research, continuous discussions with research group members, welfare professionals, and FGC members, and participation in international FGC conferences.

Data Analysis

The transcribed interviews were analyzed using two main methods, thematic analysis and action-oriented analysis, in an attempt to explore the meanings, commonalities and uniqueness

that can be found in the participants' experiences, perceptions and recalled actions (Braun & Clarke, 2012; Carey, 2017). The researcher used both methods in conjunction and cyclically, to understand the themes and action principles that emerged distinguishably, while still being able to overlap and superimpose them.

The thematic analysis was used to draw out the themes in the participants' perspectives on agency as it pertains to the family and to their own role as coordinators. This analysis focused on the parts of the interviews where coordinators shared views, perceptions, and thoughts (Braun & Clarke, 2012). The second analysis methodology was action-focused and demanded from the researcher ingenuity in her analysis. The method involved focusing specifically on the sections in the interviews where the participants shared their story recollections to discover what agentic practices they used. The researcher asked the participants to share the stories "as though she was in the room with them when it happened," and indeed participants shared stories in a sequence of 'I did this, and the family reacted this way, so I did that' and so forth. The researcher in turn analyzed these segments as though she had conducted an observation, identified specific actions as codes, and groups of actions based on the same principle as action principles (Ngulube, 2015). These action principles are the way the participants implemented their values and guiding principles into action (Shemer et al., 2016).

Both analysis methods shared the same cyclical process through the six steps that were suggested by Braun and Clarke (2012). First, the researcher familiarized herself with interviews by conducting and transcribing them herself and reading them over in depth. In the second stage, the researcher reread the interviews and explored initial codes by identifying main ideas in every sentence or several sentences spoken by the participants. In this stage, the researcher put aside her research questions, and allowed herself to be emersed in and led by the participants' words. In these two stages, the researcher formed a deep connection to the coordinators and their experiences and based on this connection developed a personal sense of responsibility to authentically share their knowledge and voices.

Next, the researcher sought out themes and action principles. This involved drawing many thematic maps, that first included many thin branches symbolizing all the various codes, which then slowly evolved into thick branches that held several codes. This process involved extensive and continuous discussion with the Nevet research team members, who assisted the researcher in triangulating the themes and action principles. During this stage, the researcher

identified not only common patterns, but ideas significant to the subject explored. To achieve this, the researcher created several thematic documents into which she placed quotes removed from their interview context and grouped them with quotes from other interviews. This process, and rereading and rechecking these documents, allowed the researcher to step into a more objective stance that examined the ideas through a questioning lens.

Stage four occurred consecutively with the previous stage and involved checking and rechecking the themes to ensure they truly captured the data. Beyond reviewing the thematic documents and maps generated, the researcher also reread the interviews, and analyzed them anew with her generated themes in mind to compare to her initial review and thus ensured that her bottom-up analysis was reversible.

Naming the themes, in the next stage, again involved researcher triangulation. First, the researcher named the themes using the participants' own words, to remain as true to their perceptions and actions as possible. The next step involved exploring whether she could find a title that more precisely identified the codes held within the theme. This stage consisted of constant back and forth, as the researcher felt pulled between these two poles.

Finally, after creating a thematic map that was generated solely through bottom-up analysis, the researcher explored how to present the themes in the research report. This reporting required the presentation of both the perceptions and meanings the participants shared regarding the family's agency, as well as the action principles that were coded.

The participants' perceptions regarding their own agency, the family's agency, and the challenges they faced in their work were reported using themes identified as overarching in the coordinators' interviews. These emerged from the participants' words, and yet called upon different agentic theories that the researcher used to interpret the findings in the discussion.

To answer the research question regarding the strategies and actions the coordinators used to bolster the families' agency, the researcher combined both bottom-up and top-down analysis methods and told the story of the research through Amitay and Rahav's (2020) existing definition of agency, which can be found in the literature review on human agency. In particular, the researcher used a bottom-up, inductive analysis, during which she discovered how the participants' practices and actions come together to tell a cohesive story of agency. She then used this story to present the data. The researcher chose this method for several reasons, after much deliberation and exploration of various bottom-up presentations of the data. First, the current

study suggests agency as a new lens through which to understand the practices of FGC coordinators, and so the research question focuses specifically on agentic practices. As such, it follows the actions reported would be ones that are agentic (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Leeming, 2018). Additionally, by using the extensive bottom-up analysis described above, the researcher found that indeed the actions the coordinators' described acknowledged, facilitated and bolstered the families' agency. Specifically, the researcher found that Amitay and Rahav's (2020) action-oriented definition manifests through the participants recalled practices.

Just as agency was used as a new lens through which to examine FGC in the current study, other researchers have also used top-down analyses to illuminate new aspects and perspectives of a study subject using a specific theoretical frame. Dowling and Pontin (2017) for example, found that the theoretical frame of liminality was useful in highlighting the transitioning period of breast-feeding mothers. Sperka (2018) explored the impact of neo-liberalization on education through Bernstein's theory on sociology of pedagogic voice, a lens new to her subject matter. According to Sperka (2019), this theoretical framework informed every step of her research, including her data analysis. Finally, Amitay and Rahav (2020) in their study examining teachers' agentic practices used a similar data analysis process to the current research, which involved an initial bottom-up, inductive analysis followed by a top-down analysis of the teachers' practices to determine which and whether they were agentic.

In the current study, the researcher found that the definition of agency elucidated how the participants' actions, no matter how small or disjointed they may initially seem, come together to form a cohesive story. Concurrently, the coordinators' practices expand upon and deepen the understanding of agency. These added layers were reported in the findings and their implication on the definition of agency was examined in the discussion. Using the existing definition as a theoretical framework in a top-down analysis helped enhance even further the importance of this unique process and the coordinators' actions, and highlighted significant challenges, conflicts, and power dynamics the coordinators face in their work, which might have remained hidden from both the researcher and the participants if not for this framework. As such, the researcher found that this method was the clearest, most candid way to present the data (Bradbury-Jones et al., 2022; Kitto et al., 2008; Leeming, 2018; Sperka, 2019; Tai & Ajjawi, 2016).

Trustworthiness

The study used several methods to maintain its trustworthiness. First, the researcher kept a field diary to assist her in maintaining reflexivity, by documenting and reflecting on her experiences during the research with the purpose of remaining aware of the possible influences she has as a qualitative researcher on the research data. In addition, discussions with the fellow researchers in the research group to analyze the data helped in researcher triangulation. In case of disagreement on the themes and categories extrapolated from the data analysis, the researchers discussed until an agreement was achieved (Koch et al., 2014; Lietz & Zayas, 2010). For example, the researcher at first grouped all codes related to manners of speech under one large theme of agentic language. A fellow member from the Nevet team pointed out that the codes within this theme should be pulled out and categorized under other themes based on the principle guiding the code. This discussion continued until both researchers felt satisfied that all the codes were nested within their fitting themes.

To triangulate the data, the findings were compared to previous results found by the research group. The thick descriptions that were collected during the interviews also helped to maintain the study's trustworthiness by presenting as authentically as possible the account of the participants' perceptions and thoughts. Member checking was done both during the interviews and afterwards, by asking the participants if the researcher understood them correctly during the interview itself, and later, following the data analysis, when the researcher met with the participants to check with them if they perceived the findings to accurately portray their experiences and practices (Connelly, 2016; Davies & Dodd, 2002; Lietz & Zayas, 2010).

While the thesis was written in English, the data collection was done in Hebrew. To ensure authentic representation of the participants narratives, perceptions and words, the data was analyzed in the original Hebrew, which also allowed for member checking with the research members who speak Hebrew (Abfalter et al., 2021). The translation of the findings was done alongside and after the data analysis to ensure the integrity of the participants' voices (Nurjannah et al., 2014). Language is essential to qualitative research, as it not only expresses the subjective experiences that the research means to study, but also informs and shapes those very experiences. As such, the researcher took great care to situate the translated findings into their social context, and to convey the participants' meanings clean of any interpretation (van Nes et al., 2010). To that end, the researcher took particular care to check with the participants that she understood

their meaning correctly. During the translation, the researcher also ensured to capture the pragmatic meaning of the message the participants conveyed, beyond the literal translation, and used italics to highlight words that the participants emphasized to ensure the meaning of their message was not lost. Finally, the translated quotes, themes, action principles and practices were subsequently translated back to Hebrew, to ensure the translation was accurate.

Ethical Issues

Several possible ethical issues could have arisen during the research. First, confidentiality is a significant concern for qualitative research, and even more so in this study that dealt with a small pilot program. In addition, the subject matter is sensitive, and participants could have felt uncomfortable either sharing it or at prospect of the information being traced back to them. To address these ethical issues, several strategies were used.

First, an application form was submitted for approval of the ethics committee at the Hebrew University. Second, before the beginning of the interviews and the research group discussions, the participants were given an informed consent form (Appendix C & D) detailing the relevant information for the research, the researcher's contact details, declaration that participation is voluntary and that the participant may stop participating at any time, and a promise to maintain the confidentiality and privacy of the participants. This form was also read aloud to the participants.

Following the data collection, the confidentiality and privacy of the participants was ensured by transcribing the audio-recordings without identifiable markers, following which the recordings were deleted. In the beginning of the interviews, the participants were asked to avoid giving identifiable details about the families they worked with, and during the transcription any details were further erased to protect the privacy of the families as well. Only the members of the FGC research group had access to the transcriptions, following the removal of all identifiable details, and these were kept secure behind passwords on their personal devices (Shaw, 2003; Carey, 2017). The demographic questionnaires were encrypted and used the coordinators' assigned pseudonyms to ensure anonymity and security (Appendix E). Finally, considering the significantly small coordinator population in Israel, which included fifteen people at the time of the study, and to ensure their anonymity, the researcher decided not to include any personal details regarding the participants such as age, ethnic background, or work experience.

Findings

The research questions asked what the participating coordinators' perspectives on agency in relation to the families they work with are, what challenges do they face in relation to bolstering the families' agency, and what principles and agentic practices do they implement to overcome these challenges.

To answer these research questions authentically, the findings are detailed and described using the participants' own words regarding their perceptions, experiences, and practices. To address the agentic perspective, the findings are framed and organized within the theory of agency, as the ability "to direct one's life toward desired goals and aspirations despite severe life circumstances and trajectories, encompassing the feeling that one is in control of one's choices and decisions and responsible for their outcomes" (Amitay & Rahav, 2020, p. 136).

As such, the first theme describes the participants' perceptions of the families' agency, their perceptions of the families' context, and their perception of the relationship between agency and social support. The three subsequent themes comprise the principles of action and practices the participants used to facilitate the families' agency.

Theme One: The Coordinators' Perspectives in Relation to Agency

The following theme details the perceptions the participants shared regarding the families they worked with and their own role, specifically as they relate to the agentic framework. On this topic, participants shared their perception of the family's valuable knowledge of their own life, and of the families' ability to achieve their goals and aspirations. That notwithstanding, the coordinators also shared their perception of the family's context and life experience as a challenge to their agency, including the family's day-to-day struggles, their fear of exposure, and their sense of isolation. Lastly, the participants' words pointed to disagreement on the role of the professionals and the family supporters in the FGC context and in the family's life.

1.1 The Families' Knowledge and Ability

The family's knowledge and ability were subjects all the coordinators shared their perspective on, and these are the two main ideas that formulate the participants' perception of the families' agency. These ideas arose repeatedly, when coordinators described their perception of families, their perception of their own role and their practices, and their perception of the relationship between the social workers and the families. Specifically, the values the participants described as guiding them in their work with the families, including participation, the family's

choice, the family's ability, and trust in the family, all involved the coordinators' perceptions of dynamics of knowledge and ability.

The Family Knows Best What Concerns Them. The topic of knowledge and who holds it in the context of FGC was one of the most dominant themes to emerge from the interviews. Indeed, while referring to what they know, what the family knows, and what the family's social network knows, the coordinators used the word family of 'know' over three hundred times. This emphasis on knowledge highlights how critical the participants perceived this subject to be.

All the coordinators emphasized that the families they worked with had the knowledge and awareness of what concerns them and what would be best for their family, and that this knowledge needed to be recognized and respected. An example of this perception can be found in Avi's words, when he described how important he believes the family's knowledge is since:

> They are not people who come from outside, continue to the next case and pass by. It is *the family* that stays with the children, and they *know* [the children] from before the children were even *born*! (Avi, research group, emphasis in original)[2]

This statement Avi made in an urgent tone, emphasizing his strong belief in his perception of the value of the family's knowledge. Avi's reference to the boundaries of inside and outside the family also highlights how he believes there is a unique quality to the family's knowledge, as they are the most familiar with their own life. Moreover, this inside-outside distinction suggests that he believes the family is by far the most invested in their own life, as he frames people 'from outside' as passers-by who come and go, without serious stakes in the family's success. Thus, Avi appears to perceive the family's knowledge as more legitimate than the professionals involved in their case. Indeed, he goes on to emphasize that their knowledge is certainly more valuable than his own as a coordinator.

Avi's perception is one that was similarly reiterated by the rest of the participants, and it is one most of the coordinators distinguished from that of the social workers. Indeed, most of the coordinators shared that in their perception social workers had limited knowledge on the family, and several participants shared their perception of the social workers as overvaluing their own knowledge, and dismissive of the family's knowledge. This perception was also voiced during the group discussions.

---

[2] Words in italics indicate where the research participant placed emphasis in tone

An example of this perception can be found in the story Rachel shared about a time a mother communicated with her the concerns she had for her children. When Rachel shared these concerns with the social workers, they replied, "Well, it isn't surprising, that those are the concerns [the mother] presented. She is presenting the material concerns, and not the *real* concerns that exist" (personal interview, emphasis in original). Rachel described her shock at hearing the social workers' reply. According to her, the mother's knowledge of her own concerns was authentic and legitimate, and the social workers' words were not only critical but also invalidated the mother's concerns. Rachel went on to describe how in her perception both the mother's concerns and the social workers' concerns were both legitimate and complementary in creating a complete picture regarding the family.

Avi's and Rachel's quotes together portray the range of the participants' perceptions of the knowledge dynamic existing in FGC. This knowledge dynamic concerned who holds the knowledge or who has claim to more of it and what is the nature of this knowledge. Thus, the scale of perceptions regarding who holds the knowledge spanned from a perception that believed the family "knows best" in Tamar's words and has the most authentic, valuable knowledge, to a perception that the family and the social workers are equal holders of knowledge, both legitimate and distinct. Regarding the nature of the family's knowledge, there was a consensus among the participants that this is knowledge regarding what concerns the family and what would be best for the family. Still, participants also shared where they perceived to be gaps in the families' knowledge, as will be expounded upon more in the rest of the chapter.

The Family's Capacity to Execute Their Plan. Like the topic of knowledge, the subject of ability also dominated the findings. Indeed, the family word of 'able' starred even more than that of 'know' in the participants' narratives. All the participants emphasized their perception of the family as able to organize their own plan and execute it to address their concerns and achieve their goals, and they shared this perception as a basic premise for FGC.

For example, Noa described how she worked with a family struggling following domestic violence, and that this was not an easy process, but that she believes that:

> Even with the most difficult stories… [*sic*] It almost doesn't happen that we say, "Here there is no chance, no chance, I don't have what to work with here." Even if the violent father were still in the picture, we could still have come from a neutral place, a place that speaks, that listens, and that believes, believes that every person wants to change for his [*sic*] children. (Noa, personal interview)

When speaking of a situation where she would feel she cannot proceed further, Noa's tone was quiet and suggested hesitance. In contrast, when she stated her belief that even a parent who has harmed in the past can change, her tone was loud and strong, further emphasizing how strongly she believes in this principle. Noa's phrasing of 'what to work with' suggests that she views the parents' love for their children as what lies at the core of their ability to change.

As the 'family's ability' was so dominant an idea in all the interviews, it is necessary to ask what exactly the coordinators meant by it. Upon analysis, participants used this term particularly to highlight potentiality, as well as one side of a polar dynamic. Like in the above quote describing a change in behavior from violent to loving and caring, other participants used the word 'able' to distinguish what could be in the future from what is in the present. Examples from the coordinators' interviews include the family being able to invite supporters when they did not or could not include people in their concerns in the past, family members' starting to study, to work or to go out when they did not or could not in the past, and the family trusting the welfare and education professionals when they did not or could not in the past.

It is important to note that while all the coordinators shared that they believed every family has the knowledge to provide the plan that would address the concerns for the children, as well as the ability to change and execute this plan, this perception was complex as the participants also acknowledged the overwhelming challenges the families faced. This relates to the coordinators' perception of their own role and the purpose of FGC as "bridge builders" between the family's knowledge and ability and the implementation of their plan.

1.2 The Family's Context as a Hurdle to Their Agency

While the above category detailed the participants' perspectives on the families' knowledge and ability, they also shared what challenges they thought stood in the way of families becoming proactive in changing their own life. For the coordinators, these challenges came about as a consequence of the families' social, political, cultural and psychological contexts, and included the families' day-to-day struggle to survive, the families' fear of sharing their concerns with the 'outside world,' and the families' sense of aloneness in facing the world.

The Families' Day-to-Day Struggle to Survive. While every coordinator highlighted their positive perception of families' knowledge and ability, they all also emphasized the struggles and harsh circumstances families faced. Often, participants would acknowledge these two aspects of the family's life in the very same breathe, suggesting that for the coordinators one

facet highlighted the other. Indeed, participants shared many difficult stories, including extreme social isolation, harsh immigration situation, high-conflict divorce, childhood trauma, domestic abuse, sexual assault, and addiction.

The coordinators nearly always shared these stories in quiet tones. Sometimes, participants could not complete their sentences or give voice to the word describing the situation, and a few took moments to compose themselves after sharing the stories. This challenge the coordinators experienced in sharing their perspective on the families' harsh contexts indicates how difficult they found the subject matter to be and the pain they felt for the families. For example, Gali shared how she felt following one of the family conferences she organized:

> I thought if it had been me … In the conference people mentioned things that weren't easy, concerns for the family, about the mother's ability, about her ability for the future, to care for her children… They didn't talk about taking the kids out of the home, but about whether she can really give them the life she wants to give them, considering she is always in survival. (Gali, personal interview)

Gali's words, spoken quietly in a distraught tone, indicate the duality in her perception of the mother. By comparing herself to the mother, Gali implies how strong and admirable she found the mother to be, perhaps even stronger than Gali herself. Yet, Gali expresses the concerns for the children, and while they were raised by others it seems she shared them as well. According to Gali, neither a lack of knowledge of the concerns for her children and what would be good for them nor a lack of strength are what prevents the mother from addressing the concerns. Instead, it is the extent of her daily struggle with poverty that stands in her way.

The theme of survival and surviving was prevalent in the participants' stories, and involved various other battle, war, and crisis metaphors. For example, coordinators described the families' lives as busy with "putting out fires," the parents as "fighting for their children," and significant people in the families' social network as "bridgeheads" that could assist the families in achieving their goal. Moreover, this imagery of life as a battlefield was overlaid with the participants' perception of families as struggling with a sense that their life will not change. This perception was conveyed by words such as "day after day," "constant," and "always." Thus, the participants perceived not only that many of the families they were working with were living in a state of survival, but also that the families could not "see the light" in the end of the tunnel.

The families' plight led to participants feeling a deep sense of empathy for the families as can be seen in the above quote. This in turn motivated coordinators to establish a deep connection with the family, which seemed to add another layer to their perspective on their role.

As such, many coordinators described going above and beyond in assisting families, whether that be with emotional support or practical assistance, though the scale of the support they thought right to provide differed. For example, participants shared how they felt the need to stand up for families when they saw them being disrespected or overlooked by bureaucrats or welfare professionals, how they called in the name of a parent to governmental institutions to assist the family in receiving necessary information or support, and how they maintained contact after the conference with families that were living in social isolation.

The Families' Fear of Exposure. Another aspect of the families' life that all the coordinators perceived and described as one of the families' main struggles was their fear of sharing their concerns with the outside world. This fear came in the form of hiding some of their struggles or the extent of their struggles from the coordinator, the social worker, and the family's social network. Thus, coordinators often learned about aspects of the family's life that were unknown before the process, and sometimes finished the process with the sense that, as Rachel put it, "the family had not shared everything." Moreover, some coordinators also discovered that the family's relatives, friends, the educational staff, and even nuclear family members, were not aware of the extent of the family's concerns.

According to the participants, the families' fear of exposure was expressed not only in withholding concerns, but also in the family's worry over inviting the coordinator or relatives and friends to their house, and especially in the family refusing to invite family supporters to the FGC process. Participants shared many reasons why they thought families feared exposing their concerns to others, including a sense of shame, a desire not to burden friends and relatives, and a belief that no one would help them even if the concerns were known. Several coordinators perceived that the reason families did not share was that their life experience has taught them to fear and distrust the welfare system and their social network. Noa, for example, described how she felt the biggest challenge in one of her FGC processes was to win the mother's trust:

> In everything the mom felt that she was exposing her difficulties, so she is exposing herself to the possibility that they would take her children. So, she is terribly terribly cautious, terribly terribly cautious in the beginning. (Noa, personal interview)

Thus, in Noa's view, the mother did not only struggle with day-to-day challenges, but she was also in a constant state of alertness and defense. Indeed, Noa's repetition of the word 'terribly' emphasizes the great extent of wariness she perceived in the mother. To Noa's understanding,

instead of the welfare services acting as a support system for the family, the mother perceived them as a threat that she needed to protect both herself and her children against.

The participants' negative descriptions of the relationship between the families and their social workers were so prevalent that only one coordinator described a relationship between a family and their social worker as positive and appreciative on both sides, with the family considering the social worker as a source of help. All other relationships between the family and the welfare system were described as either hostile or distant, cold, and controlled.

Significantly, while participants perceived more positive dynamics between the family and other professionals in their life such as the educational staff, several coordinators still described relationships that they perceived to be characterized by judgement on either one or both sides, by lack of familiarity, and by the family's shame or fear of sharing their concerns. For example, Orli shared how a mother struggled conducting with her son an activity a teacher assigned but felt too embarrassed to ask the teacher for clarification. This perspective on the family's experience of their world led almost all the participants to perceive the issue of the family supporters as one of the most dominant challenges of their role.

To Noa's understanding, the fear of exposure stood behind repeated statements she heard from families that "one should not air their dirty laundry in public." This sentiment repeated itself in other interviews and the discussion groups as a sort of moto many families used. According to coordinators who encountered this statement, it pointed to the guarded nature of the families they worked with and an unwillingness to share and therefore rely on others.

Like with the previous category, this shaped the participants' perception of what their role entails and expanded the scope of the coordinators' practices to include the family's social network and the welfare professionals involved. Thus, coordinators did not only seek out to encourage families to trust in the welfare system and work with their family supporters, but also worked directly with professionals and family supporters to teach them the FGC language and explain to them their role in the process. Participants worked with family supporters to motivate them to be part of the family's journey, and some coordinators shared with professionals the practices they found successful in working with the family. This work often meant extensive "courting" after social network members, with participants repeatedly seeking out contact with the family's relatives, friends, social network members and relevant professionals.

The Families' Sense of Isolation. The coordinators' perception of families as living in an isolated world was a theme that repeated itself in the descriptions of the families they worked with, and that tied in with the families' challenging life circumstances and their fear of exposure. Moreover, these three challenges seemed to exacerbate each other in the participants' stories. The families' life circumstances and fear of exposure often led to a more isolated social life, while concurrently the family's sense that they could not rely on others prevented them from sharing their concerns with others and intensified their struggles.

For instance, Ayala described how when she asked a mother she worked with to think of supporters to invite to join the FGC process, she discovered that:

> It was like the mother was living all alone! And she didn't want anyone to know, that no one would hear, even not a friend! We tried to explain the rationale, of this mental support, that someone would sit next to her, even if he doesn't give a resource, just that he comes [*sic*] [to the conference]. This way there would be someone with her so that she could feel secure. (Ayala, personal interview)

Ayala's quote refers to the fear of exposure, as the mother does not want anyone to know the concerns her family is facing, but also goes beyond that to describe the family's pervasive sense of isolation. Ayala's tone when describing this isolation she perceived the mother to be living in indicated both her shock and her sorrow, which she emphasized by expressing her grief that the mother did not feel she could rely even on her friends. Ayala's words also convey her perception of the importance of family supporters and a social network, not only as a mechanism through which to receive quantifiable resources, but also as a source of emotional support. According to Ayala, the mother's sense of aloneness could undermine her sense of security and confidence, especially in the challenging situation of facing the welfare professionals in the conference.

While Ayala was the only coordinator to term this as 'mental support,' almost all the other participants referred to the importance of not feeling alone, whether that be by the family feeling surrounded by friends and relatives, or the family feeling supported by the professionals. Several coordinators shared that they perceived that some families felt not just alone in facing their struggles, but also that the families felt shame as though they alone faced struggles and needed assistance to overcome them. Therefore, coordinators emphasized that they thought it was important to alleviate the family's sense of inferiority by sharing with the families the coordinators' own struggles or stories of families facing similar challenges.

In conclusion, this sense of isolation, like the fear of exposure, led many families according to the coordinators to resist bringing in family supporters to the FGC process. Indeed,

several participants described how they felt like they needed to "force" families to choose supporters to complete one of the basic steps of FGC. Thus, the participants perceived the families' agency as comprised of their knowledge and their ability, and yet as challenged by the families' context featuring ongoing struggle, fear of exposure, and isolation.

1.3 The Interplay Between Agency and Social Support

The previous section touched on the importance some participants saw in social support; however, the coordinators had differing views on the families' support-seeking behaviors when families did voice their need and ask for assistance. Some participants only described the family seeking support positively, as they considered social support to be essential for every person's well-being. In contrast, a few coordinators described the family's support-seeking behaviors as overdependent and harmful to the family's independence. Finally, some coordinators described these as possibilities existing on a scale.

Social Support as Fundamental and Necessary. About a third of the coordinators described social support as foundational for a person's independence. These participants pointed out that they themselves seek help and assistance from others in their own life, and conveyed happiness and even pride when the family sought out help.

For example, throughout her interview, Noa described the dual dynamic of the family both gaining more independence and relying more on others assistance. When the researcher asked Noa how she explains this duality to a family that expresses their desire to go about their plan alone and with no assistance, she replied:

> Everyone is always asking for help! Even the strongest people! The *strongest* know how to ask for help. And that does not harm their independence. On the contrary, it just strengthens their independence! Because think of a woman who wants to leave the house to work, and she has children. If she doesn't know how to ask for help from her network, she wouldn't be able to be independent and strong *for* her children. (Noa, personal interview, emphasis in original)

Thus, Noa conveys how in her opinion, social support and independence complement each other, such that independence is sustained through social support. Indeed, by emphasizing the word 'strongest,' Noa suggests that she thinks knowing how to use one's social support is a vital characteristic of an independent person. Moreover, her urgent tone while explaining this perspective to the researcher indicates how important she perceived a strong and supportive social network to be for the family. Her strong feelings on the matter portrayed by her tone also suggest that this is not a foregone conclusion for Noa, but a fundamental belief.

Noa was not the only coordinator who expressed the perception of social support as foundational to a person's independence, and this perspective led her and other coordinators to emphasize the importance of changing the family's narrative regarding social support and to convince them of the value in family supporters. These participants positively described the families reaching out and sharing when they had not before, inviting family members and friends to the conference, and taking steps to involve their social network in addressing their concerns. As such, these coordinators described how they encouraged these behaviors by expressing admiration to the family when they behaved so.

Social Support in Opposition to Independence. In contrast to the participants who emphasized the complementing nature of social support and independence, a fourth of the coordinators conveyed a vastly different perception of the families' support-seeking behaviors. These participants perceived independence as standing in sharp contrast to social support, such that for them the family would be considered independent when they reduced their amount of reliance on their social network and the welfare system. One participant described this contradicting nature of independence and social support with regards to seeking help from family supporters, one coordinator described this in reference to seeking help from welfare services, and one coordinator referred to both support from family supporters and the welfare service.

This perception of independence standing in sharp contrast to social support and the tendency to describe the family's support-seeking behavior as overdependence appeared to be more in line with the perspective many coordinators believed that the social workers had of families referred to FGC. This perspective emphasized one of FGC's purposes as reducing the family's overdependence on the welfare services.

For example, Alona's perception of FGC's purpose was to reduce the overdependence of the family. She described how in her perception:

> For so many years [the families referred to FGC] were dependent on the tables of others, because without it they wouldn't have survived. And they don't believe it can be different. Maybe they don't even know, as sometimes it's already second or third generation of relying on the tables of others. So, there's a fear to remove a leg from the table, because then their table won't be stable. At least in all the mess, this gives them some stability, even if it isn't good or independent. (Alona, personal interview)

Alona's words emphasize her empathy for the family's need for social support and how she understands why families seek it out and do not try to become more independent. According to Alona, becoming independent is a challenging endeavor, as it creates instability in an already

difficult and 'messy' context. However, her metaphor of 'relying on the tables of others' conveys a message that social support is akin to taking food away from others. Thus, she clarifies that she does not consider receiving support, without at least giving back in equal measures, as healthy for the family. Indeed, her words go as far as to imply that she perceives receiving this support as harmful to both the family and their community.

The idea of independence and social support as opposing each other seemed to have challenged the participants when it came to addressing the issue of including social supporters to the FGC process, as it added the coordinators' own resistance to the family's often already existing reluctance to invite family supporters. These participants also tended to emphasize the importance of clarifying to families the boundaries of the coordinator's role as well as of other professionals, as they perceived that this could assist in preventing overdependent behaviors.

The Relationship Between Social Support and Independence as Dynamic. The coordinators who did not describe independence and social support as complementary or in opposition still described their perception of the relationship between the two. However, they described this relationship as complex and changing. These participants described situations where social support came hand-in-hand in their perception with independence, and situations where they thought families exhibited overdependence. Thus, they conveyed that while social support might not negate independence, it is the nature of the support and how the family sought the help that determined whether this support would be conducive to the family's independence or lead to overdependence.

Ayala described her understanding of the interplay between social support and independence regarding the resources the family chooses thus:

> Yes, [the family has] strengths, but there are also concerns that need care for! And you can't deny that and there are people who help give resources for that, including professionals and family supporters. And so, because it is a matter of strengths, there's less shame, less neediness. Instead, it comes more from partnership. That's the ideal, to bring them as much as possible to a level of partnership, so they don't feel, "Here, I'm being helped." (Ayala, personal interview)

In the above quote, Ayala emphasizes that the family's concerns are part of their life, and by stating that they cannot be denied she suggests that pretending the concerns do not exist is both disingenuous and unhelpful to the family. According to Ayala, since these concerns must be addressed, social support can be one mechanism through which to do so. However, Ayala explains that not all social support is beneficial, as she believes it can also cause the family to

feel disempowered. Her tone of helplessness when she voiced the family's perspective, saying 'Here, I'm being helped,' suggests that in Ayala's view a dynamic of disempowerment, with the family feeling shame over needing assistance, is one that is recurring in families' life.

To address this sense of powerlessness, Ayala sees acknowledging the family's strengths as foundational to the FGC process, as it enables the formation of a relationship characterized by equality and not one that features an unbalanced power dynamic of a helper and a person in need. Later in the interview, Ayala added that forming an equal partnership requires both sides of the relationship to come with that mindset. According to her, if the family does not believe in their own ability and is not confident in their own perspective, the support dynamic formed would not be balanced. Similarly, if the family supporters and professionals do not actively work towards equality, they could undermine the family's belief in their own knowledge and ability and thus leave them disempowered. Therefore, participants like Ayala emphasized the importance of seeking out "quality" family supporters.

This perception, which echoed in several interviews, brings together the two understandings of the relationship between independence and social support, such that while social support characterized by equality and participation is essential for a family to take proactive steps to address their concerns, unconducive social support that reinforces an unbalanced power dynamic could lead to overdependent behavior.

The coordinators' perceptions of social support and its interplay with independence is not only relevant to the relationships between the family supporters and the welfare professionals with the family, but also essential to the coordinators' own relationship with the family. For example, two participants who did not refer to the family's overdependence in relation to the family supporters or the welfare service, did refer to it regarding their own relationship with the family. Specifically, they used the term 'overdependence' to describe the family's search for contact with them after they have finished their role as a coordinator in the family's FGC process. However, they did not use this term to describe the family seeking support from them in the preparation or conference stage. This suggests that another dynamic that influences whether seeking support was perceived as positive or not by the participants was whether the behavior fell within their role's boundaries.

In conclusion, the above theme described the participants' perceptions of the families they worked with vis-à-vis agency. These included a strong belief in both the family's

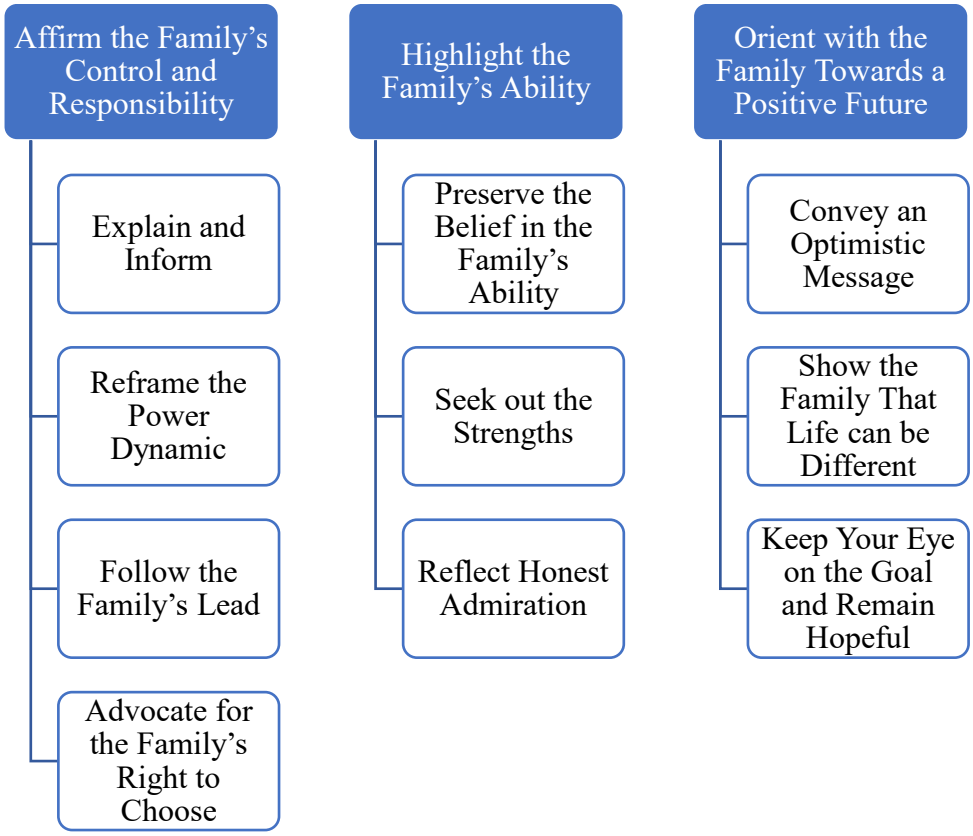
knowledge of what concerns them and what direction they want to take their life towards as well as a belief in the family's ability to execute their plan. That notwithstanding, the participants also shared their perception of the challenging aspects of the families' lives, including the family's day-to-day struggles, their fear of exposure, and their sense of isolation. The participants perceived these three aspects of the families' lives as the main hurdles to their agency. Lastly, the theme explored the varied perspectives the participants shared regarding the relationship between social support and the family's independent action.

The coordinators' perceptions of the families and the purpose of their own role shaped the practices they used during their time with the families. These practices and the principles of action guiding them are illustrated Figure 1 below and are described in the following section.

The model highlights how each principle of action and individual practice were equally significant in the coordinators' narratives. Moreover, in the final discussion group, the participants emphasized that these practices are interconnected and interdependent, and that they strive to adapt and individualized their actions to the person and situation.

Figure 1

The Coordinators' Agentic Principles of Action and Practices



Theme Two: Affirm the Family's Control and Responsibility

One of the main principles all the participants emphasized as a driving force behind their actions is the family's control and responsibility over the choices made throughout the FGC process. This principle came across both in direct reply to the researcher's question regarding what principles stand at the basis of their work, and through the action strategies the participants shared in their stories. The first strategy that the coordinators implemented guided by this principle was to take the time to clearly explain all pertinent information so that the family can make informed decisions. Second, according to the participants, throughout the process they used language that shifted the locus of control to the family. Once the family came to a decision, the coordinators described how they strove to respect it, and lastly, coordinators advocated to the professionals and particularly the social workers for the family members' right to choose.

2.1 Explain and Inform

To ensure the families could make informed decisions, the participants emphasized the importance of explaining every element of the process, including what the process involves, the FGC's various stages, the distinct roles in the process, every step they took, and what is required of the family.

For example, in his interview, Odi clarified that he ensures to explain "why [the process] needs to happen this way? What is special in this process? Where did the process come from and what happens after?" Odi's words highlight how detailed the explanations the coordinators give to the families are. Moreover, his words convey a sense of respect to the family's position in the process, as they place the responsibility of clarifying on the coordinator, while the family is given the power to choose whether this process speaks to them.

From the participants' stories, this practice is carried out throughout the FGC process. Indeed, participants described how they would explain and inform when they arrived at crossroads with families, to ensure the family is who picks the direction. For example, Natan shared how he faced a breakdown in trust with a father and tried repeatedly to initiate a telephone conversation to address the conflict. When this failed, Natan arrived at the father's workplace and managed to find a moment to speak with him. He said to the father:

> Now I want to explain to you my situation, so you'll know what happened, I need you to know this. Afterwards, at the end, you judge, after you've heard me. Understand what happened, and then you tell me, if you wouldn't have behaved in the same way. (Natan, personal interview)

Natan's words portray how even when Natan considered his own position as the correct one, he did not make the decision for the father, but let the father decide whether to proceed with the FGC process. Still, Natan did not leave the father to decide without knowing all the details, and instead went to great lengths to ensure the father had all the information necessary to make his choice. In this manner, Natan not only respected the father's choice, but also enabled him to make a true one by providing the father with all the available information. Like Natan, other participants did not only invest time in explaining about the FGC process, but also explained their own behaviors, thoughts and emotions in a manner that humanized their connection with the family and deepened their relationship and trust.

This practice also came up in reference to passing on to the family information shared with the coordinator. For example, coordinators described how when social workers, educational staff, or social network members shared with them concerns, they would pass this on to the families. Finally, the participants did not just explain, but also used specific, deliberate language that shifted the power to the family's hands. This is explored further in the following category.

2.2 Reframe the Power Dynamic

The participants' agentic language, which shifts the focus of control from the welfare system, the social workers, the social network, or the coordinators themselves to the family was evident throughout the interviews, both in their descriptions of their role and the FGC process and in their recollected stories. This language came to play in the coordinators' internal monologue, in "you decide" statements, in asking after the family's perspective, and in giving the family time to consider.

The Coordinators' Internal Monologue. While answering the interview questions and sharing their stories, participants regularly spoke in a stream-of-thought manner, expressing their perceptions, experiences, and feelings. During this stream of thought, the participants sometimes made statements that perpetuated a power dynamic with the family in a powerless position or that emphasized the coordinators' own power over the process. When this occurred, the coordinators would seem to snap out of their stream of thought, reconsider, and then reframe the statement in such a way that emphasized the family's control over the decision-making. For example, Miriam recalled how she explained to the family about the FGC conference by saying:

> Miriam: "In the conference there is the part when you sit by yourselves, when you need to do things for the social workers to approve the plan."
>
> Interviewer: What does the family need to -

> Miriam: No! They do not *need*, I thought the sentence wasn't phrased right, I always phrase it… "This is what you want? ... Then write that, but explain the concern behind it, why you need it…" (Miriam, personal interview, emphasis in original)

Miriam's framing of the process as imposed on the family by using the term 'need' suggests how ingrained the conventional dynamic of the family as powerless in a welfare situation is in day-to-day welfare conversations, even of paraprofessionals such as the coordinators. However, Miriam's emphasis on the word 'no,' by stating it loudly and interrupting the researcher's question to do so, highlights how strongly she felt about the principle of the family making their own decisions and leading the process. Her effort to rephrase her explanation to the family also underscores her desire to shift the power dynamic, to the point that she seems to try and train herself to speak with language that transfers the power to the family. Yet, Miriam still does not disconnect the process completely from the welfare dynamic, as she ends her explanation by advising the family to explain why they choose a certain resource.

Another example of a coordinator rephrasing their thoughts can be found in Natan's description of his role as a coordinator:

> You [the coordinator] take, you motivate [the family], you make them change. And... I don't motivate them! They motivate themselves! All I do is say, "Listen, they're looking at you at eye level [*sic*], they believe in you, don't go against the system. Understand, the system wants to help. It's not perfect, but it wants to help." (Natan, personal interview)

In the above quote, Natan begins by stating repeatedly 'you,' meaning the coordinator, to emphasize what a coordinator does, and his words imply a transformation that a coordinator pushes for in the family. Yet, Natan then corrects himself, and does so like Miriam in an urgent tone, stating that it is not him the coordinator who is active, but the family, as they are the ones who 'motivate themselves.' He further reduces his own control over the situation by saying that all he does is talk with the family.

The above two quotes are examples of when participants rephrased the power dynamic between the family and the welfare system or when they rephrased the power dynamic between themselves and the family. In this manner, many of the participants reworded their thoughts to shift the power to the family. This suggests that coordinators invested time and effort in not only practicing the principle of respecting the family's decision directly with the family, but also in transforming their own internal conception of this power dynamic.

"You Decide" Statements. The participants' agentic language arose not only in their internal monologue, but also in direct statements they made to the family, which emphasized the

family's control over the process. For example, while recalling how she discussed with a mother a concern for her children, Tamar described saying:

> We want to find a way that will be good for you and for him, you will decide what, but you need to find the way that will be the best, both for you and for your children. (Tamar, personal interview, emphasis in original)

Thus, Tamar did not shy away from explaining to the mother the concern there was for the children. Indeed, she described how she went into detail when explaining the concern to the mother and went as far as to give her physical evidence for the risk. At the same time, Tamar did not tell the mother how she thought this needed to be solved or what she thought the mother should do. Instead, as can be seen from the stress Tamar put on the word 'you,' she emphasized that mother is the one who will make the decision for herself and her children. Yet, by saying 'we,' Tamar conveyed that the mother is not alone in the process. Thus, the mother will decide, and Tamar will accompany her in the process. Finally, by emphasizing the decision should be one that is right for both the mother and the children, Tamar highlights the wholistic nature of this choice, which considers every family member and does not focus on anyone in particular.

The coordinators' "you decide" statements were prevalent in their recollected stories of FGC processes. Indeed, analysis reveals that participants used some variation on the idea in their initial explanation of the FGC process to the family, in their closing words with the family at the end of the conference, and along with other practices throughout their process with the family, especially in situations of conflict or stress such as when the family did not want to invite family supporters, were unsure as to whether to continue the process, or disagreed with the social workers over which resources to include in the family plan. This statement also often came along with a question regarding what the family wants, as is described in the following category.

"What is Your Perspective?" Questions. A question that repeated itself over and over in the interviews and came hand in hand with the "you decide" statements was asking the family and each member specifically what their perspective is regarding each aspect of the process and every decision. All but one coordinator of the coordinators particularly highlighted the importance of asking the family members for their perspective regarding the concerns, as they perceived that the families' concerns often differed from the concerns emphasized by the welfare system. For example, Noa stated that honesty and deep connection were at the core of every conversation she had with the families she worked with, as she would ask family members questions like, "What concerns you? With what are you struggling? What would help you?"

Noa's questions emphasize the importance of hearing the subjective perspective of the families participating in FGC, a theme that repeated itself in all the interviews. Indeed, the practice of seeking out the family's perspective arose in every context and every stage of the process, from asking the family if they agreed with concerns raised by other FGC members as Tamar did, to asking about "Which supporters do you want?" as Rachel did, to repeatedly asking, "Is there something more you want to ask?" as Ayala did. Orli added that if the family shared with her concerns, she does not immediately provide them with solutions. Instead, she listens, reflects, seeks out advice from colleagues and the social workers, and then:

> I return to the family and say, "Listen, I thought about what happened and what you shared with me, and it evoked in me many thoughts, and as a result I asked and consulted, and I have an idea, this, and this and that [*sic*]. What is your opinion?" I offer her, "But you don't have to, it's your choice, if you think it will help." (Orli, personal interview)

Orli's explanation to the family of how she arrived at her suggestion highlights how honest she is with the family regarding her process and conveys a message of humility, such that she does not have all the answers, and that she strongly believes in consulting others and considering their opinion. This suggests that Orli is modeling a certain process of decision making to the family, as in her words she is also framing herself as a person the family can consult with. Thus, with her own willingness to accept others' advice she perhaps reduces how threatening her own advice is perceived by the family. Lastly, she finishes by again asking for the family's perspective.

Many participants also highlighted the importance of using this practice during the conference stage itself, to emphasize the family's voice and opinions and have them be heard by the family's social network. Together with the practice of "you decide" statements, this was the main practice participants shared in reference to the conference that did not entail technical aspects such as keeping track of time and hanging signs that direct to the conference room.

By asking for the family's opinion and desire, the coordinators emphasized the power that the family has over the decisions made during the FGC process. This is especially clear when participants asked family members what they want despite the coordinators' own opinion on what would be the right choice for the family. This dynamic also highlights the respect the coordinators have for the families' knowledge, and their strong belief in the family's responsibility, as the open questions leave the process in the family's hands.

Give the Family Their Time. Several coordinators emphasized that they do not urge the families to make immediate decisions, or even answer their questions immediately. Instead, they

organized the process according to the individual family's timeline and clarified that with direct statements to the family members. For example, Noa described how after asking a question:

> It's okay if they don't have what to say, but I want [the family] to stay with that thought "until our next meeting, and when I come next, that you [the family] share with me and tell me what would help you improve your lives." (Noa, personal interview)

Thus, Noa clarifies that the family does not only have the control over the process because they make the decisions, but also because they control the timeline. She does this by consciously striving not to place pressure or urge the family to make a choice or answer one of her questions. This practice both emphasizes how important the coordinators consider the family's answers to be, as they want the family to invest time and thought into the answer and works in tune with the explanations the participants provide the family to ensure they can make informed decisions after weighing all their choices.

Finally, by allowing the family to control the timeline of the process, participants described trying to convey the message that they genuinely cared for the family and were willing to dedicate themselves to the family, as opposed to quickly ticking one step after another in the process. Participants emphasized that this practice meant the FGC process and timeline needed to be individualized for the family at the pace that is right for them. Finally, once families have decided, the participants' next step was to follow the family's lead and listen to their decision.

2.3 Follow the Family's Lead

The importance of preventing the continuation of the conventional power dynamic between the families and the welfare service repeated itself in all the interviews. According to the participants, this dynamic involved the welfare service making demands on families without asking them what they would want, or asking in an inauthentic manner, such that the family would reply with their choice, but the welfare service would not actually listen. As such, all the participants highlighted following the family's decision as at the very basis of FGC, so much so that when asked if there is a requirement for families to join FGC, Natan answered that the only requirement is "that the parents want the FGC process, first and foremost."

An example for listening to the family's decision can be found in Orli's story of how a mother was offered therapy treatment for a year free of charge, yet she chose private, short-term therapy that she would have to finance once the FGC budget ran out. Orli explained that:

> [The mother] realized that she needed it in [her first language]. This wasn't offered to her, it was offered to her in Hebrew, and she felt that she couldn't undergo treatment in Hebrew [...] this is a very striking example of how the mother received both the insights

> and the power to decide what's best for her, even though the social worker offered her a completely different resource. (Orli, personal interview)

Thus, Orli highlights the importance she saw in ensuring the mother has the space and the power over the process to make her own decisions. Moreover, though the welfare's suggestion might have seemed better to the social worker, and Orli also saw the benefits to that option, she understood and appreciated the mother's considerations and so stood by it. Indeed, Orli's story suggests that even if the welfare's option had its advantages, the mother's choice was the better one by virtue of being her choice.

In contrast to Orli, some coordinators encountered family decisions they disagreed with. For example, in her interview, Abigail described how a mother did not want to invite her into the family's home, and when asked where they should meet, the mother replied, "in the garden." Abigail believed that meeting at home was essential for the process, and that the mother's refusal to meet at home was a sign of her lack of trust. Yet, she followed the mother's lead. To Abigail's joy, when she arrived at the meeting, the mother said, "You know what? Come on inside."

This story emphasizes how Abigail set aside her own opinion to follow the family's lead. She did not only leave the space open for the family to make the choice, but she also followed through and listened to the family. Like in Abigail's story, other participants shared how the practice of following the family's decision led to the best situation in the end, whether that be by the family in the end choosing what the coordinator wanted like in the above story, or by the family's choice turning out to be even better for the family.

The practice of following the family's choice even if the coordinators disagreed was particularly apparent when choosing family supporters, which as mentioned earlier posed a challenge to families who struggled with a sense of isolation and fear of exposure. To uphold the families' requests, participants creatively navigated the FGC model such as by including only one or two supporters as some families requested, relying on teachers as supporters for the family, and inviting representatives from non-profit and community-based organizations that could provide support for the family. Thus, listening to the family's decision encouraged creative, "out-of-the-box" solutions that the family would be comfortable with.

Finally, several coordinators clarified that for them the family's right for self-determination was fundamental, and as such they would always follow the family's lead, regardless of what the outcome might be. Indeed, some coordinators shared situations where they believed the family made the wrong choice, and at the time of the interview they did not see a

positive outcome to it, but for them, after they had informed and explained their own opinion, the family's other options, and the consequences of the family's choice to the family, then following the family's decision was the right practice, regardless of the outcome. This came up especially when families decided to exit the FGC process. Still, following the family's decision was often not solely up to the coordinator and involved the social workers as well. This dynamic is explored in the following category.

2.4 Advocate for the Family's Right to Choose

According to all the participants, collaborating with the social worker was at least an inescapable part of their job, if not an essential one. They described their interactions with the social workers as extensive, including discussions of the family's concerns, strengths, and resources. As mentioned earlier, the power dynamic that the coordinators described between the social worker and the family was varied, with some coordinators describing a positive or neutral relationship while others describing a controlling, unequal relationship. However, all the coordinators stated that social workers with experience in FGC tended to understand and follow the principle of letting the family decide, while social workers newer to the process often needed repeated reminders of what the participants considered the essence of the program.

Miriam explained how she stressed the importance of letting the family decide by recalling a lengthy process she had to undergo with the social workers so that they would understand that they need to let the family decide on the FGC plan:

> Most professionals, when I tell them, "The family wants a psychologist for the child," [in the voice of the professional:] "No! the child needs a psychiatrist." … [in the voice of the coordinator:] "But wait a second! Why tell them that he doesn't fit this system? How can you? They don't know the system yet! Let the family know the place, go to it, let's see! If the family asks, usually they know, what they want and what they are talking about… Here we are coming together for the family, so we need to let the family lead." (Miriam, personal interview)

Thus, Miriam shared how she vehemently advocated for the family's right to decide. By stressing the word 'no,' Miriam clarifies how strongly the social workers fought with her over the family's choice and how much she objects to this form of power dynamic with the family as powerless. Still, she did not argue with the social workers over their professional advice. Instead, she explained why imposing their choice on the family, without letting the family learn about their possibilities, is not the right course of action in her opinion. She stressed that the family needs to have the information about the different options, through seeing and experiencing, so

that they can make informed decisions. Finally, by stating the purpose of FGC as 'coming together for the family,' Miriam flips the power dynamic, placing herself and the social workers in the role of supporters, with the family in the position of control as the leaders of the process.

Several other participants encountered social workers who disagreed with the family's concerns or chosen resources, as mentioned in the first category of theme one. By advocating for the family's choice, coordinators suggested that while the social workers might have the right diagnosis, their actions invalidate the family's control over their own life and so cause more harm than good. Moreover, participants reminded social workers that while it is true that they have extensive knowledge in their field, the family too has knowledge that the coordinators consider as equally valid and important as that of the social workers, even if it is different.

During the discussion group, participants raised the importance of this practice as ensuring the family's control is maintained following the conference and after the FGC process finishes. This practice also influences the nature and ownership of responsibility in the context of child welfare. As such, it conveys a belief that the social worker's responsibility is to share their expertise but listen to the family's decision, and the family's responsibility is to make decisions that are best for the children.

The above theme explored the coordinators' perception of the family's choice and responsibility as a guiding principle in their work, and what action strategies the coordinators implemented based on this principle and to acknowledge and enhance the family's sense of control. These practices included explaining to the family all necessary information and using language that reframes the power dynamic, whether that be in the coordinator's own thoughts and conceptions, in the way they speak to the family, or in the amount of time available for the family to decide. Once the family has come to a decision, the next essential stage according to the participants is to listen to the family. Finally, the coordinators found that they must also act to convince the social workers to let the family decide.

Theme Three: Highlight the Family's Ability

A guiding principle all the participants mentioned as foundational to their work along with affirming for the family's choice is their trust in the family's ability to guide their own life. Some coordinators stated this as their main guiding principle, while most others referred to it as a basic premise for FGC. This belief was translated into the coordinators' actions, presented in the following category, including working to preserve their own personal belief in the family's

ability, seeking out the family's strengths, and reflecting honest admiration of the family members to the family, the professionals, and the family's social network.

3.1 Preserve the Belief in the Family's Ability

All the participants described the importance they saw in the emphasis FGC places on the language of strengths, and how they put effort into seeking out those strengths in every family they worked with. Several coordinators also stated that this was based on a belief in the good in all people, and that in every person lies strength, even if it may be hidden. This belief guided the participants when they sought out the family's strengths, and they described how they worked hard to maintain sight of it, though it was sometimes challenged by what they observed of or heard from the family or heard about the family from their social network or the professionals. To preserve this belief, coordinators used two practices: remaining neutral and setting aside their own perceptions and putting themselves in the family's shoes to understand their perspective.

Maintain an Objective Perspective to Remain Neutral. The importance of remaining 'neutral,' a term participants used repeatedly, through the suspension of judgement arose in some form or another in all the interviews. This practice was used especially when the participants' belief in the family's ability was put to the test intensely. For example, Gali described how she found it difficult to maintain her belief in what she termed the family's "potential" when she first spoke with the social worker before meeting the family:

> She describes to you the family and it looks… like *wow!* Like, wow, wow, the last family, wow… But then, you meet the family, meet the mother, meet her partner, with their whole story, and you see that they are people. First, a mother. And what strengths she had! What survival! What a battle she waged for her children! (Gali, personal interview, emphasis in original)

Gali's repetition of the word 'wow' indicated the lengthy list of concerns the social worker shared with her. Moreover, Gali's sense of helplessness upon hearing these concerns is emphasized by how she did not state it in words and instead conveyed it with exclamations expressed in a breathless tone. The concerns for the family seemed to Gali to be beyond help and made her feel as though the family did not have the ability to proceed with the FGC process. However, Gali put these feelings aside, and allowed herself the opportunity to get to know the family with a clean slate. By doing so, Gali was able to see the humanity in the family she worked with, beyond the casefile the social worker introduced her to.

This process, of discovering an overwhelming concern, using self-talk to remind oneself of the belief in the strength that can be found in every person, and then giving the process a

chance by getting to know the family further repeated itself in the coordinators' interviews as a practice to maintain perspective and remain neutral. Several participants also shared that seeking guidance from their mentors or discussing the situation with their colleagues helped them in achieving this neutrality. Finally, in cases when coordinators described being deeply shaken by an observed concern, especially when they felt a parent's behavior was placing their child at risk, coordinators described how they reminded themselves of their role and its boundaries. The importance of this practice was further emphasized by the coordinators' and FGC staff's feedback during the group discussions.

Put Yourself in the Family's Shoes. A second strategy some participants shared they used to preserve their belief in the family's ability was to empathize with the family's situation. In these cases, instead of setting aside their own perspective on the situation to remain neutral, coordinators tried gaining a new perspective by putting themselves in the family's shoes.

Rachel, for example, was told by school staff that they were concerned about the family as the child arrived "every day to school dirty and smelly." Rachel was shocked by this description, as was evident both from her tone and from her words, and she was not sure how she could proceed further with the process. However, then she reflected and asked herself:

> "Wait, if suddenly someone came to me and told me that *my son* comes to school dirty and smelly, how would I reply as a mom?" And I realized, no way would such a concern be accepted, by anybody, in anyway. (Rachel, personal interview, emphasis in original)

By emphasizing the words 'my son,' Rachel conveyed that she truly identified with the parent, to the point that the critical words personally offended her. By empathizing with the mother, Rachel was able to pinpoint what the true concern was – not the teen's hygiene, but his emotional state. This assisted not only her but also the school staff in suspending their judgement of the family.

Many of the participants highlighted this practice as important not only for their own understanding of the family's situation, but also for the formation of a relationship of trust between the family and the coordinator. As such, they did not only empathize with the family internally but voiced out their understanding of the family's concerns through reflection, agreement and action based upon their understanding. Abigail even described this practice of putting herself in the family's shoes as "speaking in the family's voice."

Thus, the coordinators used two distinct, even contradicting, practices to preserve their belief in the family's ability to undergo the FGC process and guide their own life. The participants either put their opinions, thoughts, and emotions aside to try and engage with the

family from a neutral place and thus suspend any doubt they had over the family's ability, or the coordinators did the opposite, and emotionally engaged with the situation to try and understand the family's perspective and so regain their belief in the family's ability.

3.2 Seek out the Strengths

Most of the participants considered identifying the family's specific strengths as part of their role, and they all described practices they used to seek those strengths out. Thus, while preserving their belief in the family, the coordinators also used quiet observation, conversation and direct questions, and ingenuity to discover the family's strengths.

Take the Time to Observe the Family in Their Day-to-Day Life. All the coordinators mentioned that one of the advantages of the FGC process and the coordinator's role is the ability to spend a great deal of time with the family, and thus get to know them closely. According to the participants, one of the ways this slow process allowed them to get to know the family was by enabling them to invest time in simple observation, which uncovered hidden strengths that might not have come across in conversation. For example, Gali described how she learned about the family even before speaking with them, as she:

> Arrived at their home, and even just entering the home, and you see, that is already a lot, that already tells you plenty about people. How their home is organized… And even though it's a rented apartment - first of all, it's nice, pleasant, [the mother] decorated it. You see that there is someone here that with all of life's hardship, she still invests in her aesthetic sense. That's first of all. But second, we really discovered a *woman*, a *mother*. (Gali, personal interview, emphasis in original)

As she described the family's home, Gali's tone took on an admiring quality, emphasizing how she deeply appreciated this strength she discovered in the mother to invest time and effort into creating a pleasant home. Moreover, the emphasis Gali placed on the word 'woman' suggests how the practice of observation allowed her to identify the humanity in the family. Similarly, the emphasis on the idea of home, a theme that repeated itself throughout the interviews, further highlights how this strength Gali and the other coordinators seek is a human trait that can be seen in people's everyday life. Finally, the quote emphasizes how for the coordinators, the family members' strengths are those capacities that indicate their love for the children and their ability to work towards a brighter future for their family.

Most of the other participants described how they took the time to notice these observable strengths in a similar way to Gali. These included observing the family's home, as well as paying attention to interpersonal gestures and hidden nuances, no matter how small. As

such, coordinators spent long lengths of time with the nuclear family members as well as members of their social network, such as relatives, friends, and schoolteachers, to learn about the physical, social, and emotional experience of the family.

Converse, Ask Questions and Listen. Together with quiet observation, all the coordinators emphasized the importance of conversing with the family, what Noa described as "creating deep conversations, to intimately get to know the strengths and concerns of the family we are working with." The coordinators encouraged these deep conversations using two main strategies. Some coordinators described how they used everyday conversations, and then reflected on and sought out indicators of what strengths the family has with which they can address the concerns for the child, while others described using specific, purposeful questions to find these strengths. For example, Chaim described using the first strategy:

> I come and I just "be" with them [*sic*]. What to call it? A sort of "open conversation." Like that, they speak freely, they speak about themselves, about the family, about what they do, about their work, how do you say? A conversation about life. (Chaim, personal interview)

Chaim shared how after he has this undirected conversation with the family, he spends time reflecting on what was said and what that has taught him about the family. While Chaim describes what could be an ordinary conversation between people, it is clear he also remains especially attentive during the conversation. He comes into the conversation with the premise that the family has some strengths that can be identified, and asks himself throughout the conversation and afterwards, 'what does this tell me about the family's positive capabilities?'

In contrast, Orli described using direct questions. Orli shared how she asked the daughter of the family she worked with many questions, and when the daughter asked why, Orli explained the purpose of the questions by saying:

> "Come look what I wrote! You ever asked yourself these things? What do you love about yourself? What do you love to do? Look how many strengths you have! Wow! It's amazing!" And then she understood that the questions are important. Not that it was easy for her, but yes, asking questions. It's something very significant, because it helps [the family members] to really really reflect. (Orli, personal interview)

Orli's tone when recalling what she said to the girl was appreciative and excited, suggesting she genuinely believed that what she wrote down in her notes from the daughter's answers were admirable strengths. This quote also clarifies further what the participants consider to be strengths – not only actions the family managed to take despite all odds, but also personality traits that the family members admire about themselves, and activities they enjoy doing. The

questions that Orli mentioned in her story were questions that came up repeatedly in most of the interviews, and like Orli, other coordinators also emphasized how these questions can help the family reflect on and identify their abilities. According to Orli and other participants, these questions often either revealed to the family strengths they had not realized in themselves or in their family members or reminded them of their own capacity that they might have forgotten when overwhelmed by harsh circumstances.

Finally, while some coordinators emphasized the strategy of open conversation and others emphasized the use of direct questions, most described using and adapting both strategies, depending on the situation and the person sitting across from them, as nearly all the participants emphasized that they believe their process needs to be flexible and individualized.

Engage with Family Members Creatively. Several participants described situations where observation, open conversation and asking questions were not enough to identify the family's strengths. In these cases, coordinators used unique means, which they formulated for the specific family member they were working with, to seek out that family member's strengths.

For example, Natan struggled in communicating with a teenage son. According to Natan, the boy was quiet and closed-off. Indeed, Natan expressed the frustration he felt when all he saw the teenager doing was to use his smartphone hour after hour. Finally, Natan had an idea:

> I said, "Tell me, come, come here, show me, what are you doing?" And when I saw what he was doing, I said to myself, "Wow, this boy is a genius!" And all this time everyone saw him as… [*sic*] So I took this, and I told him, "Listen, send me a text message, about what you know to say about some singer." And then I saw the things he wrote, and it came to him from his own mind! And I told myself, "Wow, this is impossible!" (Natan, personal interview)

Natan's story shows how he found a way to engage with the son digitally, a means that spoke to this boy, instead of observing or conversing as he would in most instances. This story further highlights how participants considered it a foregone conclusion that family members have admirable qualities, and that they just need to uncover what is concealed. From Natan's words, the boy's abilities were hidden to the extent that Natan did not feel comfortable to voice how everyone in the family's social network thought of the boy, as can be seen by him not completing his sentence. Indeed, perhaps even Natan himself thought similarly about the boy initially. Finally, Natan's admiring tone and repeated exclamations when he discovered the boy's ability to express himself in writing highlighted that Natan found this ability truly commendable. The

importance of the coordinators being honest regarding their admiration of the strengths they identified in the family was emphasized by all participants.

The practice exemplified in this quote, of identifying the family members' interests, in this case music, and engaging them through this interest was one many participants described directly or alluded to in their stories. Moreover, several participants emphasized this practice as useful in engaging with children. For example, Chaim described how he engaged with a daughter who was at first shy by asking her older sister to sit with them to converse in the daughter's room, where she felt safe. There, Chaim saw the daughter's artwork, and by asking her questions about it he encouraged her to open up. Thus, he engaged with the girl both through her interest and by finding her safe space. Similarly, while guided by their belief in the family's ability, other participants adjusted their practices so that they could engage the specific family member in the most conducive manner. The importance of this practice was also emphasized by the coordinators in the discussion group.

Participants used observation, conversation, direct questions, and creative strategies to seek out family members' authentic strengths. It appears that the strengths the participants spoke of have some ineffable quality, as often coordinators described them not with words but with exclamations and nonverbal gestures such as excited facial expressions and body language. Still, a common thread in all the interviews is that these strengths are admirable qualities, admired either by the family, the coordinator, or the family's social network, and included personality traits, talents, and past achievements or positive actions. Finally, according to the participants, once these strengths are identified, it was important to reflect them back to the family.

3.3 Reflect Honest Admiration

Once the coordinators have sought out and identified the family's strengths, all the participants emphasized the importance of passing on their admiration to the family members themselves, to the professionals involved, and to their social network.

Reflect the Strengths Identified Back to the Family. This is a practice all the participants mentioned, and a majority emphasized it as one of their most important practices. Indeed, when the researcher asked the coordinators what message is important to them to convey to the families, they all shared a message of belief in the family's ability, and that the family should believe in their own ability as well. For example, Ayala described how when parents shared with her their worry that they would not be able to execute the FGC plan, she replied:

> "Everything is okay! You wrote the plan relying on your strengths, and together with the surrounding support that we built, that you built!" And that way to convey to them that everything will be okay. Even if it doesn't succeed some part of the work they already did. They're already not in the same spot they were in the beginning, they already made progress. (Ayala, personal interview)

The calming tone Ayala used with the family could be heard in her recalled words to assuage their worries. This was followed by her admiring tone when she emphasized that they had built a plan using their own abilities, and that they have already showed that they can execute the plan during the preparation process. Thus, Ayala has identified specific actions she admired in the family, and she reflected her admiration to the family. Ayala also emphasizes the importance of the social network, which she goes on to say also believes in the family's ability as she does. According to Ayala and other participants, reflecting this admiration, both on her part and on the social network's part, to the family enhances their belief in their own ability.

Thus, the practices of preserving their belief in the family and seeking out the family's hidden strengths come together in this strategy when the participants shared their genuine awe of the family members. Most of the participants emphasized that this practice is important especially when family members shared painful memories or feelings of hopelessness and helplessness, as was the case in the above example. Thus, the participants use honest admiration to counteract the family's sense of powerlessness.

Highlight the Family's Strengths to the Welfare Professionals. According to most of the participants, reflection of admiration does not end with the family, but extends to the welfare professionals involved. As was mentioned in the previous action principle of affirming the family's sense of control and responsibility, the work with the social worker came up in all the interviews and group discussions. Indeed, several participants emphasized that one of FGC's strengths is that the social worker's familiarity with the family is deepened through the information and stories the coordinators share. Miriam for example, shared that:

> To the social workers, I pretty much represent the family. I present to them the concerns the family has, but also the *strengths*. I also understand the social worker, each one works with 150-180 families, they don't manage to get to know the family, let alone the kids. Many haven't even met the kids. So, I come from a place, a place of "to help you see the family from a different perspective. I'm not coming to try to tell you what to do, I am coming to tell you about another narrative in addition to the narrative you know." (Miriam, personal interview, emphasis in original)

Miriam's emphasis on the word 'strengths' highlights how important it is in her opinion to share the admiration she cultivated for the family with the social workers. For her, this is crucial as she

has had the time to get to know the family deeply, while the social worker has their time split between many families, and so probably could not invest as much time as her in the family. This special familiarity the coordinator fosters with the family, and its consequential importance in sharing with the social worker, came up in almost all the interviews.

The above quote also touches on the importance coordinators ascribed to humility when speaking with the social worker to ensure the social worker does not feel threatened by the process. From Miriam's words, it becomes clear that she practices this humility by empathizing with the social worker's difficult job and by not only emphasizing the family's strengths but also reflecting admiration of the social worker. Miriam maintained this humility by phrasing her words as assistance and not a directive. Thus, she ensures to place the social worker and herself in at least a balanced power dynamic, if not one that is favored towards the social worker. These practices were used by other participants as well to share in a non-threatening way the strengths they found in the family, as well as concerns the family raised or resources they wanted.

For many of the coordinators this is one of their more important roles as they believe it can help change the language the social workers use with the families, and perhaps even impact the welfare system at large. For these participants, as the social worker will be the person the family will continue working with in the future, changing the social worker's perspective on the family is exceedingly important. Indeed, several coordinators shared how after their conversations with the social worker, they saw an observable difference in their behavior with the family. Only one coordinator stated that she was so disheartened by the unbalanced power dynamic between the social worker and the family that she felt no action on her part would impact the relationship. However, she expressed hope that her reflection of admiration planted seeds for future positive changes.

Encourage the Family's Social Network to Appreciate the Family. While all the participants emphasized the importance of reflecting admiration to the family, and most spoke about the social workers, several coordinators interviewed also mentioned that this was an important practice to engage with the family's social network – whether they be one family member to another, family supporters, educational staff, or community members. Indeed, Gali emphasized that involving the social network is one of the biggest strengths she sees in FGC:

> Here suddenly there is a person looking in the family's eyes, someone who really sees them, and speaks with all the people surrounding the family, I see how much that affects the people and their supporters, and the educational staff. Suddenly everyone sees the

> family in a sort of light. We ask [every member of their network], "What are the family's strengths?" And every person starts… And suddenly, they see that this family does have**,** they have, they have, *they* have. (Gali, personal interview, emphasis in original)

Gali describes how the same strategies the coordinators use with the family to seek out the strengths and then reflect them, they also implement with the family's social network. The strengths that the participants identify both from the family themselves and their social network, they then share both with the family and the social network. According to Gali, sharing the strengths she identified with the family's social network changes their perspective on the family, and she emphasized this change by repeating the words 'they have,' each time louder.

Like with the social workers, participants were careful of how they shared the family's strengths, so they do so in the most conducive manner. Thus, participants described how with they used humble language with social network members, acknowledging that they might not know the family as well as the person sitting across from them, and emphasizing that they are not professionals. At the same time, from the participants' words and as is implied in Gali's quote, they strove to share strengths that specifically put to the test the social network's perspectives that the coordinators deemed to be wrong or even harmful. According to the coordinators, this was a way to encourage future change in the relationships between the network members and the family, changes that some coordinators even witnessed during the FGC process. The importance participants saw in this practice was also highlighted in the discussion group.

Significantly, reflecting honest admiration was a practice several participants highlighted as important for the conference itself, as they could "really speak to the [family member]" in Gali's words, yet be heard by all the family's social network. According to the coordinators, this encouraged other conference members to adapt more positive, admiring language as well and express their admiration of the family.

In conclusion, highlighting the family's ability is a principle that guided all the participants in their work. To preserve their belief in the family's ability, coordinators strove to remain neutral or used empathy to put themselves in the family's shoes. By observing the family, conversing with them, and seeking out creative means to engage with them, the participants managed to identify personality traits, talents, and past achievements or positive actions that the coordinator, the family, or the family's social network found admirable. Finally, once participants sought out the family's strengths, they ensured to share them with the family and the

people around them. Indeed, throughout the interviews, the researcher herself experienced how much the coordinators admired the families they worked with.

Theme Four: Orient with the Family Towards a Positive Future

The third principle that arose from all the coordinators' narratives was to orient towards the future and work together with the family to make a positive change. The family's control and sense of ability are fundamental for this, as the coordinators emphasized that the family chooses what their own positive change looks like, and the family members have the ability to work towards that chosen future. However, from the participants' words, their actions also go beyond the previous two principles of action by encouraging the family to take active steps. These practices included the coordinators conveying an optimistic message to the family, showing the family through action that life can be different, and maintaining sight of what their own goal is,

4.1 Convey an Optimistic Message

All the coordinators interviewed emphasized either directly or with their recalled actions the importance of encouraging the family to act based on a purposeful sense of optimism. Noa framed this optimistic language as "staying always with the face forward towards the future." This optimistic message came across in how they carefully choose what to say, how they positively phrased their messages, in the tone they used, and in their focus on seeking out a purpose together with the family.

Carefully Choose Your Words to Avoid Causing Harm. Many of the participants, sometimes by directly acknowledging and sometimes implying in their stories, shared with the researcher that they are careful to filter their words with the family. For example, when the researcher asked Chaim whether he shares with the family concerns that he has, he answered:

> It's very individual. You need to be careful, not to step on mines. In almost all the cases you need to be wary of minefields. So, the wisdom is to know how to bring them to the point that they bring it up. I don't want to talk about anything that they don't want, but to bring them to talk about it. (Chaim, personal interview)

This Chaim said quietly and slowly, suggesting that like with the situation he was describing, he was carefully choosing his words. His hesitance possibly even signaled some discomfort, which the researcher sensed also in other coordinators who shared situations when they were not completely upfront with family, even if it was only for a period of time until they felt the family was ready to hear what they had to say. Chaim's words also point out how he shares with the

family what he deems would be conducive to their process, and not what he thinks may harm them or the process.

When the researcher asked the coordinators how they shared difficult information if they did choose to do so, such as concerns raised by the social network or professionals, they explained that they do so slowly, only after earning the family member's trust so that they know what is and is not okay to say, and what can be said carefully. They also invested time in planning how to explain the concern in a nonharmful manner, and consulted with colleagues, mentors, or the social workers if they were not sure. Lastly, when the coordinators shared concerns, they strove to do so with a positive frame, as is discussed in the following practice.

Find What to be Glad for. A practice that repeated itself in almost all the participants' stories was to seek out a bright side to harsh situations. This came up especially when the coordinators shared situations that either involved the family expressing concern, or the coordinators were worried over how the family would react to their message. For example, Alona shared that one of the mothers she worked with told her she felt insecure about her ability to return to work. When asked how she replied to the mother's worry, Alona said:

> In another meeting, the mother told me that when she worked [in a previous workplace], it was very hard, but she blossomed there. So, I look for that blossoming… I remind her of it. She also told me she wanted to work [in a certain field]. I don't look for that resource for her. When she told me that, I simply told her, "Let's look together, where can you study [that]?" And during the meeting, we found a place, there, near her home. You know, it's something like that, that gives hope. (Alona, personal interview)

Alona's words describe how when a family member shares with her a concern or a worry, she tries to find a positive side or spin to it. This practice, of acknowledging the difficulty, yet seeking out and highlighting an aspect of the situation that can be seen as beneficial, helpful, or important for growth, was emphasized as important by many of the participants. Additionally, when the mother shared her hope, Alona did not disclose to the mother whether she had concerns regarding this choice, or whether it would be difficult, which relates to the previous action strategy of choosing one's words carefully. Instead, Alona focused on how to actively achieve it.

Thus, Alona used two practices to create a positive frame to the difficult situation. First, she searched for successes from the past, and then she infused them with hopes for the future. These practices appeared in various forms in most of the other interviews and highlight how the participants searched together with the families for what to be glad for. Finally, the 'blossoming'

coordinators sought out emphasizes the hope they wanted to convey to the families and relates to the following action strategy.

Maintain an Optimistic Tone. The previous two practices focused on the content of the coordinators' words; however, it is not only with verbal messages that they conveyed their optimistic message. The optimistic tone, which repeated itself in almost all the interviews, is emphasized in Ayala's words regarding her goal to change the family's perspective on life:

> They no longer see their life as they once did – "everything is lost, there is no hope, and this boy is not going to, this girl can't-" "You have the strengths! And these strengths are in front of your eyes, and they are yours! They are yours!" Understand? And suddenly, it's like a positive light… how do they say it? A little bit of good, a little bit of good, from all there was. (Ayala, personal interview)

Ayala's words when repeating what the family told her regarding their sense of hopelessness were said so quietly that the researcher barely heard her speak. In contrast, her own words to the family were spoken loudly, almost as if to be heard above the worry. Indeed, hearing this loud tone in the recalled exchange, the researcher felt that Ayala believed in her words so strongly she was nearly moved to convey them physically, to stand up and take action to convince the family to see their life from her perspective.

The metaphor of seeing 'light' amongst all the hopelessness conveys the message that the coordinator wants the family to walk towards that light. This theme repeated in the interviews, in the form of an idealized future participants, with their words and their tone, encouraged the families to think of and walk towards. For example, Alona in her interview described how "so many times doors close on [the family]," so for her the resources in the family's plan are a "hope" for the future, since they give "new opportunities." Thus, this inspiration the participants sought to pass to the family came with both an acknowledgement of the challenges and a strong purpose. The participants' overwhelming belief in the families, a fire burning behind the words, could be heard in all the coordinators' words, and led the researcher to tell the coordinators repeatedly how she too felt inspired by them as well.

Seek out a Purpose Together with the Family. Implied in the optimistic language and tone detailed above is the coordinators' purpose-driven focus. Indeed, half of the coordinators directly referred to identifying a purpose together with the family as an important practice in their work. Seeking out a purpose was a strategy participants used especially in challenging situations, when they found they needed to motivate the family to act. Avi for instance shared

how in moments of crisis, he found it important to convey to parents an optimistic message that has a clear orientation towards the future, by saying:

> Your children deserve to live in happiness like every other child in the world, and we can give them that hope, and we will put in all the effort, because they have the right to live in happiness… We need to give them the most all-encompassing resources, whether that be support in school, mentoring, therapy, all the available opportunities to open for them the possibility of building a happy, good life. (Avi, personal interview)

Avi's words and urgent tone do not just convey an optimistic belief that the parents can make a positive change for their children, but also a determined focus on practical steps to achieve this goal. Avi later explained that the goal of the children's happier future, which he emphasized repeatedly in the quote, is what the family decided as right for the children and the family. This purpose repeated itself in all the interviews as one through which coordinators motivated family members to take action. Some coordinators even used this purpose to motivate family members or supporters to join the FGC process in the first place, and it is this same purpose that the participants themselves shared to have led them to become coordinators.

Avi's words in the above quote could be construed as too forceful or harsh. By repeatedly using the word 'we,' he ensures a sense of togetherness in action, as the family is not left alone to go through the process. Indeed, the use of plural first person was ubiquitous in the coordinators' narratives, as they described their process with the families in terms of "we," such as Miriam saying, "we'll manage," Tamar saying, "we want," and Ayala saying, "we already did the work" in reference to the family and themselves together.

Finally, by emphasizing the practical steps to achieving their purpose, Avi and other coordinators turned the message of purposeful hope into one that is real and tangible, as opposed to distant and unimaginable. Thus, participants described encouraging families to focus on an idealized future as their purpose, and to accompany this with practical steps to achieve this goal, such as finding a nearby extracurricular activity for the children like Alona, going through the family's budget to plan out expenses like Tamar, seeking out and "courting"" family supporters like Odi, and healing the relationship with the social worker like Gali.

Thus, the participants acted throughout their process with the families to convey a message of optimism, by carefully choosing their words, finding what to be glad for, using a hopeful tone, and seeking out a purpose the family can stand behind.

4.2 Show the Family that Life can be Different

All the coordinators spoke of the importance of not leaving the message of optimism at the level of talking and instead to take active steps to change the family's perspective. Several coordinators termed this as giving the family "proof" - proof that the coordinator is different from other professionals they have met before, proof that the FGC process works towards a different power dynamic, and proof that the family's life could be different. The agentic practices the participants used to actively show the family this potential change included providing help when the family asked for it, offering relevant assistance when the coordinators themselves identified a need, and finding opportunities for the families to experience success.

Provide the Family with the Help They Asked for. All the participants conveyed their determination to go above and beyond for the families they worked with, both by directly stating this and with their described actions. According to most of the coordinators, it is not their role to address concerns for the family or provide them with resources, and yet at the same time, they all described being driven by a deep sense of caring for the families. Thus, while participants focused on assisting the family in identifying their own resources, in an extreme situation, when a family asked for immediate assistance, they provided it.

Gali for example, shared how a mother she worked with called her in tears, asking that some of the FGC budget money be diverted to their rent, as they were on the verge of eviction. Gali knew that the budget is usually reserved to resources for the children, and so:

> I consulted my mentor and much to my joy she said, "Listen, there are things, where we do use FGC budget for SOS situations. If it's an electric bill so their electricity doesn't go out or help with rent. To prevent a situation that the family is thrown out on the streets. If that happens, how can they even think about the future?" (Gali, personal interview)

When Gali shared the mother's situation, her voice shook, and when she shared her mentor's advice, her relief was evident in her voice, both indicating how much she cared and worried for the family. Moreover, the mentor's reasoning for assisting the family in an urgent situation so that the family would have the ability to think about the future highlights how instrumental this action strategy is to principle of orienting with the family towards the future.

This practice highlights how for many of the participants their role transcended the practical focus on preparing for the conference and extended to seeing the family's present concerns and addressing them. From the coordinators' words, it can be understood that this understanding came both from a deep connection and commitment to the family, and a belief that

experiencing their concerns being addressed fosters in the family the belief that other concerns could and would be addressed in the future.

Support Organically as Need Arises. While there were cases when the family asked for specific help like in the category above, the coordinators also shared instances where they identified a concern without the family asking for help. Natan for example, shared how in a conversation with a teenage son, he asked what the boy would enjoy doing, and discovered he wanted to travel to a nearby city. When Natan asked why he has not done so yet, the teenager shared that he did not know how to use the public transportation system. In response, Natan said:

> No problem! I'll teach you how to ride the bus. Let's go to the bus stop. This is the bus stop where you will get off [Natan mimed pointing to a smartphone, suggesting he showed the teen a map]. This is the bus number. You travel there now; I'll drive and meet you there. (Natan, personal interview)

Natan explained that after this assistance, though it was not asked for and was unrelated to the initial referral reason to FGC, the boy learned how to use smartphone navigation applications and began traveling and exploring his community using the bus system. This freedom, in Natan's view, enabled the boy to then think about the future, and motivated him to invest in FGC and return to the high school he had dropped out of. Moreover, Natan believed that the teenager's actions motivated his parent to also begin higher studies and start working.

Thus, Natan's assistance was a catalyst in motivating the family to become more positively proactive. Natan's story repeated in different variations in many of the other interviews. Similarly, other assistance coordinators described involved providing family members with tools that would assist them in the future, and usually arose from either an observed need or a conversation through which the coordinators discovered some hidden desire the family member had. For example, coordinators helped families reconnect with estranged relatives, explore new hobbies or interests, and receive governmental assistance.

Find Opportunities for the Families to Experience Success. Many of the participants described how the families they worked with arrived at the FGC process after having experienced failure after failure in life, and as described in previous themes, many families shared with coordinators feelings of helplessness and hopelessness. According to several participants, one of the agentic practices that they used to alleviate these feelings was to seek out experiences of success for the family.

For example, in her interview, Rachel described how she worked with a family that did not want to invite anyone to join the FGC process, as they did not believe their social network members would help them, and in fact worried that sharing their concerns with others would worsen their situation. When the researcher asked Rachel how she responded to the family's concerns, Rachel answered that she shared with the family successes other families experienced through FGC, especially families who had the very same concern. Yet, according to Rachel, while this helped the family in changing their perspective, she thinks:

> The true understanding happens in the conference when you actually see it happen. There's the strengths circle, every person says something, and suddenly you are not alone there in front of the welfare service. Instead, you are with people who really care about you. I remember in my first conference, […] suddenly the mother stood up and said, "I never thought that I interest, that my family interests, so many people. I was sure I was all alone, and now that I am here, I understand that I am not alone in this world." (Rachel)

As she repeated the mother's words, Rachel's voice shook, and she shared how in the conference, she struggled with holding back her tears. Rachel's strong emotions upon recalling the story convey how deeply she still cared for the family. The researcher also believes that Rachel felt so strongly about this moment because she considered it a transformative moment of success for the mother, which changed her perspective on her life and on her future.

Rachel's story emphasizes a theme that repeated in nearly all the interviews, which is that words may encourage a change of thought, but for a true feeling of optimism about the future, the words must be translated into actions. Coordinators engaged in proactive steps to find opportunities for the families they worked with to experience success, not only in the FGC conference but throughout the process, and in their day-to-day lives. According to the participants, this practice along with providing the family with relevant assistance when either the family asked for it or the coordinator identified a need together turn the idealized future into a real possibility by showing present positive change. Finally, the participants also worked to preserve their own belief in a positive future, which is explored in the following category.

4.3 Keep Your Eye on the Goal and Remain Hopeful

The idea of success was one that repeated itself throughout the interviews, and all the participants shared what they perceived as a successful FGC process. One coordinator shared that success for her is a successful conference. However, this coordinator also agreed with the other participants who described success for them as the family making a proactive change, in a manner that the family decided on, and towards a goal of their choosing.

Indeed, two coordinators described processes that they viewed as successful because the family made their own decision, despite the family not proceeding to a conference. When asked why he considered a process a success, Natan answered that for him success is when "the family takes her life in her hands [*sic*], and then you *see* changes, you *see* a process. Things changed" even if not all the concerns identified were addressed (emphasis in original).

The repetition of the verb 'to see' in the above quote, a term that repeated itself in almost all the interviews, emphasizes a recurring theme in all the coordinators' interviews, which was a focus on visible positive change. This again raises the idea of "proof" discussed earlier. Indeed, when the researcher asked participants to share with her what do they mean by the family making a change, they shared actions they witnessed the family taking, such as contacting the social services, starting a new job, returning to school, and reconnecting with family members. For example, Tamar described how she knew she achieved her goal of the mother making an active change in her life because on the day of the conference she noticed that:

> The mother already arrived before [everyone else], and she moved tables! Now, I saw her hair done up, she was dressed so nicely, and I… I… my jaw dropped! My jaw dropped! She set the table as though fit for royalty! Simply, these are the physical things, that you see. (Tamar, personal interview)

Tamar's words highlight that for most of the coordinators, the purpose they saw to FGC was not specifically to complete the conference but to undergo a process with the family that encourages them to take active steps towards a future of their choosing. Her words also emphasize how she maintained sight of her purpose and her optimistic belief in the future by seeking out observable behavioral changes that indicated to her that the mother was becoming proactive beyond the participation in FGC.

Finally, Tamar's words convey the joy and optimism she felt at the change she saw in the mother. This positive outlook, which expressed belief in a bright future for the family, was a thread that connected all the interviews, and the coordinators took active steps to convey that optimism to the family. Finally, the participants' positive view of both the families' future and the influence of their own work drove them onwards, as nearly all the coordinators described their work as a "calling," "mission" or "vocation."

The above principle of action explored the participants' practices that looked to the future. These strategies were based on the coordinators maintaining their belief that their purpose transcends the end of their own work with the family at the conference. Thus, their practices

orient with the family towards the future that is beyond the conference, and they maintained sight of this purpose by looking for proactive behaviors exhibited by the family. To orient with the family towards the future, the participants shared how they conveyed their own sense of optimism to the family, while also translating their words into actions. In other words, the participants combined language that orients towards the future with actions that showed the family what this future could look like.

In conclusion, this chapter explored the participants' varied perspectives in relation to agency on the families that participated in the FGC process, which included the coordinators' perception of the families' valuable knowledge and inherent ability, the families' challenging circumstances and experiences, and the role of social support in the families' lives. The participants' perceptions of the families and of their own role along with what they stated to be their guiding principles translated into principles of action during the preparation and conference stages of FGC. These principles included affirming the family's control and responsibility over their own lives, highlighting the family's ability, and orienting with the family towards the future. The following chapter explores the research findings in relation to existing literature to reveal what the findings suggest regarding agency, how agency interplays with the social, cultural, political, and psychological contexts, and the coordinator's role within the FGC process.

Discussion

The current research sought to answer what are the coordinators' perspectives on agency in relation to the FGC model, what challenges do they face in facilitating the families' agency, and what principles and agentic practices do they implement to overcome these challenges. The findings uncovered that the participants' perception of the families' agency comprises of the ideas of knowledge and ability, that they perceive this agency to be challenged by the family's life experience, and that they have conflicting thoughts on the role of professionals and family supporters in FGC and in the family's life. These perceptions translated into three main principles of action: to affirm the family's control and responsibility, to highlight the family's ability, and to orient with the family towards the future. These three principles come together to explain the concept of agency as it is understood by the study's participants.

To understand the implication of the coordinators' perceptions and practices on the concept of agency and on the FGC process, the discussion delves into and unravels the complex and delicate dynamic woven between the FGC members and asks how the coordinators navigate

the line between facilitating the family's sense and expression of agency and acknowledging the influences of the social structure within which they operate.

Thus, this chapter examines the conception of agency and social structure as it arises from the participants' perceptions, and the agentic practices they implemented whilst walking the line between agency and structure. The discussion culminates in a model of agentic practices as illustrated by Figure 2 (page 71), which highlights how participants operated on three planes - in working with the family's social structure, in working directly with the family, and in working on the relations between the family and their social structure.

Understanding Agency as Composed of Knowledge and Ability

The literature review on agency highlighted its widely discoursed and complex nature. While agency has been understood in many ways throughout history (Seligman, 2021; Zhao et al., 2022), the findings indicate that the coordinators perceived the families' agency as composed of two main elements - knowledge and ability – and as limited by the families' contexts. The following section discusses how the coordinators' perceptions and actions concerning these two subjects relate to literature available on agency and FGC, and critically examines the implications of the participants' narratives and practices on their role and the FGC process.

Self-Knowledge and Family Knowledge

As immerged from the findings, the participants perceived knowledge to be of profound importance to the FGC process. Particularly, the participants emphasized the power dynamics that they perceived to result from varied knowledge, and the importance of highlighting the family's knowledge. Self-knowledge, one's conception of themselves and their life, is also prominent in the discourse on human agency in philosophy, sociology, psychology and social work, and the following section analyzes how the coordinators' perceptions of knowledge relates to the literature on human agency and the FGC process (Gertler, 2010; Gertler, 2018). Lastly, this section analyzes the implications of the participants' perceptions of knowledge on the FGC process, and questions what may lie hidden in the study's findings.

The Importance of the Family's Knowledge to the FGC Process. Cogito, ergo sum, Descartes famous declaration, highlights the importance of knowledge to human existence. Subsequent philosophers have expanded on this understanding to include agents' meta-cognition, their awareness that they are thinking, and linked gaining knowledge from external experiences to rational thinking and decision-making (Barker, 2003; Smit, 2019; Stone, 1993). Giddens terms

this agentic quality as 'knowledgeability,' or people's knowledge of what they do and why they do it. He further clarifies the agentic element in Descartes's statement by saying that "to be a human being is to be a purposive agent, who both has reasons for his or her activities and is able, if asked, to elaborate discursively upon those reasons" (Giddens, 1984, p. 3).

This view of human beings as having purpose, knowledge, and the ability to explain their purpose and knowledge lies at the very heart of not only democratic philosophy but the FGC model specifically. At its core, FGC upholds the belief that families have invaluable, private, and unique knowledge and understanding of their own lives, and that this knowledge must be respected and brought to the forefront as it may provide more creative and relevant plans than those of welfare professionals (Bredewold & Tonkens, 2021; Lupton, 1998; Metze et al., 2015).

This perception of knowledgeability as an inherent quality of human beings is apparent in the study's findings, such as in the category detailing the participants' positive perception of the families' knowledge. When considered alongside the practices the coordinators detailed regarding reframing the power dynamic and following the family's lead, it becomes clear that, according to the participants' perception, acknowledging, respecting, and highlighting the family's knowledge is quintessential to forming a participative, agentic process.

The study's participants contrasted their own view of and approach to the family's knowledge with their perception of the conventional welfare services' approach. Their emphasis on minimizing and setting aside their own knowledge by remaining neutral and humble stands in sharp contrast to conventional professional-client relationship that highlights the professional's expertise (Krumer-Nevo, 2016). This relates to Freire's model of "banking" in education, which describes teacher-student relations as the teacher, like a banker, holding all the knowledge, and the student in the role of a passive recipient of this knowledge. This dynamic hinders equal participation and involvement (Freire, 2018).

Viewed through the lens of social work, in conventional, conservative welfare relations the social worker is the holder of expertise, and the family is left passive (Krumer-Nevo, 2016). According to Freire (2018), the people in power working within this model consciously or subconsciously reproduce the passivity of those in a recipient role, as the bankers' very existence is legitimized by the continued need of the recipients. This understanding aligns with the findings regarding the participants' perspective on the social workers dynamic with the families,

as well as the practices they described implementing to try and enhance the social workers' positive view of the family's knowledge, which will be analyzed later in the chapter.

The way the participants perceive their own power dynamic with families would be what Freire (2018) considers revolutionary, as it works towards participation between equal partners. Both according to the research participants and Freire's theory, acknowledging and respecting the families' knowledge is foundational for the formation of a partnership that recognizes the families' agency and does not dehumanize them. Yet, the participants' narratives and existing FGC research demand to critically consider whether the relations between families and coordinators are truly balanced in power, as is explored next.

Tensions Regarding Knowledge: Delving Below the Surface. Freire (2018) warns how the very revolutionaries working to transform the system can be taken in by the narratives of the oppressive system. This is particularly important to note as this study's participants were solely coordinators, and as can be seen from the above analysis, they painted quite a powerful picture of equality and participation between themselves and the families. Yet, previous Nevet and international research on the perceptions of families participating in FGC does not paint as utopic an image, with some parents and children describing feeling forced into situations that made them uncomfortable, such as feeling exposed in the conference or abandoned due to lack of direction (Ney et al., 2013; Shemer et al., 2022).

Indeed, critical analysis of the findings suggests that some of the participants may have had unequal power dynamics with the families they worked with. For instance, some coordinators spoke critically of families' support-seeking behaviors as overdependent not only towards the social welfare system but towards the coordinators themselves as well. As a dependent relation is not one that is balanced in power, this suggests that participants were not 'as equals' with the families. Moreover, the participants' comparison between themselves and the social workers suggests that while in theory the nature of their role is independent and neutral, it does not necessarily translate to practice. For example, in describing their interactions with the social workers, participants tended take on the family's perspective. As such, in the effort to respect the family's knowledge, they may have reproduced the unequal power dynamics by perpetuating a conflict between two sides - the family against the welfare system.

Their comparison of their role to that of the social worker also raises questions regarding the 'professionalization' of the study's coordinators. While details on work experience and

education level were not disclosed to maintain the anonymity of the participants, the sample group included participants with academic degrees and experience in therapy, care, and teaching professions. Additionally, some participants offered advice and assistance to families based on their professional experience outside of the FGC context. Thus, there may exist unbalanced power dynamics between the coordinators and the families, even if they are hidden and unspoken. This unbalanced dynamic is particularly highlighted in the findings when participants described feeling as though they were forcing families to invite supporters, and its masked nature is perhaps further suggested by the discomfort expressed by a couple of participants during the final discussion group regarding the term 'power dynamics.'

Finally, it is important to ask whose knowledge the participants truly listened to. Despite the repeated moto of the 'family knows,' the family is not a single unit but a collective of members who may have conflicting perspectives and desires. Indeed, as was detailed in the literature chapter, Connolly's (2006a) study on coordinators' perspectives identified conflicts between family members as one of the main challenges in their role. Yet, upon analysis, it becomes evident that most of the stories the participants shared, particularly in relation to practices and action strategies, revolved around their work with mothers.

Few participants shared stories that involved their work with fathers, and even fewer shared stories that showcased their practices when working with children. Previous FGC research has asked whether children's voices are heard in the FGC process, and the current study appears to corroborate the need to address this issue (Merkel-Holguin et al., 2020; Mischel, 2021). On this topic, both during the interviews and the group discussions, coordinators expressed their uncertainty regarding the right practices to use with children, particularly younger ones, and their desire to receive further training in working with children.

Regarding the subject of fathers, it is difficult to say whether their lack of presence in the current study arises from the limited sample size, the single-parent family structure predominant in the FGC program, or as a symptom of a larger phenomenon that involves a passive or negative perception of fathers in the context of families with children at risk, both from the side of the professionals and from the families themselves (Brandon et al., 2019; Clapton, 2009; Goff, 2012). All these possibilities were suggested by the participants during the discussion on the findings. Still, the dominance of stories involving mothers in the findings does raise the question of whether the participants' perceptions and practices reproduce a power structure that

emphasizes the knowledge of parents and particularly mothers in the context of child welfare. Indeed, during the participants' group discussion, it was suggested that working with mothers is more common as it is their 'comfort zone.'

In conclusion, the participants' perceptions and recalled practices highlighted knowledge as one of the main components of agency, and the importance and value of the family's knowledge to democratic, participative processes. However, critical analysis of the findings, especially in the context of the research limitations and literature on FGC, suggests that these findings may mask perceptions and practices that reproduce power dynamics characterized by conflict between families and the welfare service, and family members being left unheard and disempowered. The following section explores the idea of ability, the second component of human agency that the participants highlighted.

The Family's Capacity to Act Within Their Social Structure

The second component of agency as it can be understood from the participants is the ability to act. The following section discusses the implications of the participants' perceptions and practices on the understanding of agency and the FGC process, and particularly how these perceptions and practices can be understood in the context of the families' social structure.

Ability as an Inherent Human Trait. The participants' perception of the families they worked with as capable, in the sense that they can act towards their chosen goal, arises clearly from the participants' narratives. This can be seen in the repeated use of words such as 'trust' and 'belief' in the coordinators' narratives when describing their perception of the families' capability. Participants portrayed this perception of the families' intrinsic ability to achieve their goal as a premise for their work, and as such it is a guiding principle based on which they began their process with the families.

This perspective describes in essence Giddens's definition for agency, as referring "not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing those things in the first place" (Giddens, 1984, p. 9). Thus, acknowledging the families' knowledgeability enables the formation of an equal partnership, and this partnership assumes the capacity of the families to be active participants in the processes related to their lives (Freire, 2018).

The participants' perspectives and practices further align with Giddens's (1984) theory on human agency with regards to intentionality. As clarified, while Giddens disagrees with the perception of agency as describing a person's intention, he does hold that a person's intentional

expression of their agency is influenced both by their knowledgeability and their scope of control. This perspective can be seen in the coordinators' practices that explain, inform, and ask reflective questions, which expand the family's knowledgeability, and the coordinators' actions meant to transform the social structure, thus extending the family's scope of control. These practices are analysed further later in the chapter.

Thus, coordinators strove to engage with families based on their belief that the families are capable and able to guide their lives towards their chosen future. However, as can be seen from the findings, this belief was often put to the test, and participants perceived their work and the families' ability to act towards their desired goal as challenged by the significant constraints and limitations placed on the family's agency. This is explored in the following section.

Social Structure and the Constraints on Human Action. In sociological theories on human agency, there is extensive discussion concerning the constraints placed on human action by the social structure. In other words, people's power to act is influenced, limited, or bounded by the rules of the social systems and contexts within which they exist (Giddens, 1984; Semb et al., 2021; Veronese et al., 2022). For example, Barghadouch et al. (2022) found in their qualitative study with parents seeking asylum in Denmark that though they wanted to follow the child health nurses' advice for the care and support of their children, their expression of agency was limited by social and political structures such as poor living conditions, repeated relocations, and the legal status of asylum seekers.

The current study's participants did not phrase their perceptions of the challenges the families faced as limitations on the families' agency; instead, when asked what challenges the coordinators faced in their work with the families, they raised these as the main obstacles to a successful FGC process. Even so, the participants' perception of the families they worked with as living in daily struggle whilst feeling shame and isolation aligns with the idea of a low sense of agency impacted by oppressive social structures.

This context-informed perspective is essential to the FGC process as the model strives to be culturally competent and relevant, and previous research highlighted the importance that coordinators understand the family's culture (Barn & Das, 2016; Macgowan & Pennell, 2002). Indeed, acknowledging the influence of structure is essential to social work in general, as a functionalist agency paradigm that idealizes the power of agency can lead to neo-liberal, individualistic, or conservative approaches that place the responsibility for their lives solely in

the hands of the individual people. As such, these approaches can lead to a culture that blames the victim of oppression for their inability to escape it (Ferguson & Lavalette, 2004; Krumer-Nevo, 2020; Lavalette, 2020; Lister, 2016; Lupton, 1998; Parsell et al., 2017). Significantly, such paternalistic approaches were found amongst some of the FGC members in previous Nevet and international research, and in the perceptions of some of the current study's participants who emphasized the importance of unsupported, independent action (Shemer et al., 2022; Ney et al., 2013).

To study the impact of structure on agency, it is important to understand that a person's sense of agency forms through continuous monitoring and reflection on their actions and the outcomes of said actions (Giddens, 1984). According to the coordinators, the families they worked with experienced through their day-to-day struggles a lack of efficacy, as their actions did not bring about the outcomes they expected or hoped for. This, especially when accompanied with a sense of difficulty, or an overwhelming effort invested into desired outcomes, contributes to a person's low sense of agency (Lukitsch, 2020). In this manner, adverse past experiences, which limit and oppress a person's agency expression, can influence a person's sense of ability and control (Dumont et al., 2022; Krumer-Nevo, 2020).

This aligns with the current study's findings, as according to the participants, the families' lived experience led many to feel isolated and afraid of exposure. This, to the coordinators' perception, inhibited the families from taking active steps in the FGC process. Indeed, other studies on FGC found families' shame and sense of isolation to be central challenges to successful FGC processes (Bredewold & Tonkens, 2021; de Jong et al., 2018; Schout et al., 2017) These all interplay and leave the family disbelieving in their own capacity to act and pessimistic regarding their ability to influence the course of their life in the direction of their choosing (Alper, 2020; Bandura, 2018; Proust. 2013; Seligman, 2021).

The families' sense of isolation and fear of exposure could also be attributed to the perception families expressed to several coordinators of the welfare system as a source of threat. Particularly, participants described how families feared that the welfare system would remove their children from their home, and this was again emphasized in the final group discussion. Both the fear of exposure and the fear of removal were found in previous studies conducted by the FGC Nevet research group (Cohen, 2021; Elkayam, 2019; Mischel, 2021; Shemer et al., 2022). Thus, the current research and previous studies highlight the alienation, which is a sense of

powerlessness and loss of control, experienced by families with children at risk (Ferguson & Lavalette, 2004; Hornsby, 2004). This alienation can in turn form internalized, psychological structures that further limit people's sense of agency (Anaf et al., 2013; Jo, 2013; Lister, 2016).

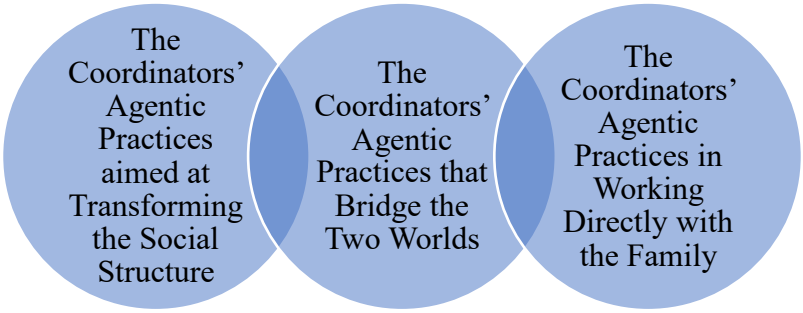
Lister (2016) offers a typology which addresses the topic of agency and the influence of structure on its expression. She divides the expression of agency to actions that are everyday as opposed to strategic, and actions that are personal as opposed to political or citizenship focused. According to this typology, one form of agency expression is not higher on a ranked ladder than another. Instead, these forms of expression are all significant and noteworthy, and can be understood within the context of their structure. The families' expression of agency described by the participants and that can be understood from previous Nevet research (Shemer et al., 2022) is what Lister termed as 'getting by.' This is the everyday, survival-focused agency expressed by people coping with the hindering obstacles placed on them by their structure. Actions related to this form of agency expression are often dismissed and overlooked, and their associated stigmatization can lead to isolation and shame, just as was found in the current study (Krumer-Nevo, 2020; Lister, 2016; Lister, 2019).

While the participants expressed admiration of the families' 'getting by' expression of agency, their discourse regarding 'change' and 'transformation' conveys their desire that families move to the 'getting out' quadrant of the typology. This is a strategic form of agency expression that includes action meant to overcome the barriers placed by structure (Lister, 2016). Indeed, not only do the participants' narratives and practices suggest an expectation for this form of agency expression from the families, but the very structure of FGC that involves the family formulating and implementing their own family plan describes strategic agency expression.

This analysis raises the question of how the coordinators respect and acknowledge the families' agency, whilst working with them to overcome their structural barriers and, in Lister's (2016) words, 'get out.' Particularly, how do the participants' practices facilitate the family's strategic agency expression, without this focus on the family's agency overemphasizing the family's responsibility, and thus leaving families feeling criticized, abandoned, and unheard (Ney et al., 2013). The following chapter analyzes the model of agentic practices developed from the research findings, to understand the complex dynamic the coordinators traverse between facilitating the family's agency and acknowledging the family's context.

Figure 2

Threefold Model of Agentic Practices



Walking the Line: What does Navigating Agency and Social Structure Entail?

The current study's findings convey a conception of agency that highlights the families' self-knowledge and capacity to act, whilst acknowledging the influence of social systems on the expression of agency. This perception translates into the agentic practices participants incorporated in their work. Analysis of the findings reveals that the participants' practices lie on a continuous, overlapping spectrum, from practices focused on working directly with the family to practices that focus solely on transforming the families' social structure. This dynamic is illustrated by Figure 2 above.

The left circle in the model encompasses those actions the participants described implementing in their attempt to transform the family's structure to reduce the external obstacles and enhance the social support. The right circle encompasses practices the coordinators' perceived as meant to enhance the family's sense of power and ability. Finally, the circle in between and overlapping these two circles symbolizes the participants' actions to positively connect the family with their social structure. The following section discusses the agentic practices found in this study through this intertwined social network and family approach.

The Coordinators' Agentic Practices aimed at Transforming the Social Structure

Several of the coordinators' practices navigated the delicate dynamic between encouraging the family's expression of agency and acknowledging the social structure by transforming the system to ensure the families' negative liberty, which is the freedom from hurdles and obstacles placed by the social system (Berlin, 2017). These are the practices that according to the participants were meant to transform the family's context, so that the conference would not be just a "performance" as one coordinator described it, but so that the family's social structure truly would become more positive and supportive. These practices included ones aimed at the FGC process itself and ones aimed at the family's social network.

Practices Focused on the FGC Process. The practices identified in the findings point to the participants' efforts to ensure the FGC system is itself a conducive social structure. These practices integrated two of the participants' main perceptions: the vitalness of the family having the pertinent information regarding available resources to make informed decisions, and the importance of acknowledging the family's self-knowledge. These practices can be seen as pre-requisites of agency expression, as they aim at facilitating the families' free choice and control over the process by explaining the process, asking for the family's perspective, and allowing the family time to make their decisions (Cauce & Gordon, 2012).

The coordinators' practice of 'explain and inform' particularly calls to mind the subject of informed consent and transparency. Withholding information is a basic tool for influencing and manipulating service users' behaviors. Thus, it limits the family's agency by creating an unbalanced power dynamic that coerces families towards decisions not freely made, even if service providers view the withholding as done for the families' benefit (Arnstein, 1969; Berlin, 2017; Blaug, 1995; Hugman et al., 2011). Indeed, experiences of coercion devoid of consent have been shown to reduce people's sense of agency (Caspar et al., 2016), and research has found such dynamic in Planning, Intervention and Evaluation Committees (Alfandari, 2017).

However, it is important to acknowledge that ensuring the families are informed is not enough to remove external obstacles and thus establish a process that respects the families' agency. Instead, providing the relevant information can be seen as opening the grounds for agency expression, by ensuring an initial starting point that is free from coercion (Berlin, 2017). This understanding is essential considering the extensive earlier discussion on structure that emphasized the relational and bounded aspect of human agency (Semb et al., 2021; Veronese et al., 2022). In other words, the social context following the practice of informing the families can still be coercive and oppressive in a manner that limits the families' control and power over the process. Moreover, as described above, a person's self- and social-conceptions are affected by oppressive social structures and influence the expression of their agency (Stoljar, 2011).

To this end, participants took positive steps to ensure the FGC model remained non-coercive throughout the process. For example, coordinators actively reframed their language in a way that shifted the control back to the families, not only in their conversations with the families but also in their own internal conceptions of the FGC process. Similarly, when families expressed feelings of shame, insecurity, and fear, which indicate a low sense of agency and

alienation, the participants described how they reiterated their foundational belief that the family decides what is best for them, and that the family knows what this 'best' entails. Coordinators supplemented this with continuous questions that focused on the families' control and subjective experience, further emphasizing in whose hands the power lies. Importantly, participants used this practice throughout the process, from asking the family what concerns them, to asking the family how they want to address their concerns.

Finally, by emphasizing the importance of letting the family dictate the timeline of the process, participants ensured the families could engage in serious evaluations of their concerns and the resources available to them (Stoljar, 2011; Taylor, 1985). These practices, founded on respect for people's self-knowledge, align with one of the basic tenets of poverty-aware social work to recognize and respect the knowledge of people living in poverty (Krumer-Nevo, 2020). Thus, the participants strove to remove obstacles to the family's agency from the FGC process. In addition, the participants' practices also extended outward to the social network.

Practices Focused on the Social Network. In acknowledgment of the importance of structure to the expression of agency, participants did not only work to ensure the FGC process was not coercive, but also worked with the families' social network. These practices are exemplified in the findings on social support, where participants described seeking out, recruiting, and motivating "quality" family supporters who would truly support the family through a relationship founded on equality and participation. Another practice the participants used was to teach the FGC philosophy and purpose to the family's social network, as can be seen in the practice of advocating for the family's choice. This is a significant finding, as previous FGC literature has focused on the importance of social network interventions, yet to the researcher's knowledge few studies have been dedicated to what specific practices coordinators implement to involve the family's social network in the FGC process (Burns & Fruchtel, 2014; Fuchs, 2000).

Still, it is important to note that most of the coordinators' practices relate to focusing on their own FGC process or on the family; thus, though all the participants emphasized the value of working with at least one aspect of the family's social network, whether that be the welfare professionals, the family supporters, the educational staff or others, this social network intervention did not receive as much attention. Moreover, the study found that many families did not want to include family supporters, that some coordinators felt they needed to force families

to invite supporters, and that some participants did not think family supporters fit with the FGC model. This suggests cultural perceptions of agency as characterized by autonomy. It also raises the question of whether the FGC process truly respects the families' agency or does the language of extending the social circle mask practices that disregard the family's decisions and autonomy. Coordinators in the current study addressed this issue using the practices of asking the family for their perspective and listening to their choice, which meant adapting the FGC process by including fewer family supporters or using educational staff and representatives of non-profit organizations as family supporters.

It is also important to note that at the time of the research, FGC in Israel is a pilot program. Additionally, the coordinators are not operating alone, but are supported and trained by mentors. As such, during the presentation of the findings to the FGC staff, they shared that they recently began extensive training using ecological frameworks to expand the coordinators' work with the family's social network.

In conclusion, one of the methods the coordinators used to facilitate the families' agency while not disregarding the influences of structure was to address those structural systems directly and transform them. Participants did this mainly by ensuring their own FGC process remained one that affirmed the families' power over the process, but they also implemented practices directed at the family's social network. As the discussion above highlighted the negative influence of an oppressive structure on people's agency, it is recommended to further research coordinators' social intervention practices.

The Coordinators' Agentic Practices in Working Directly with the Family

The participants' agentic strategies when working directly with families aimed at facilitating the families' agency by seeking out the families' strengths, reflecting honest admiration to the family, and suspending their own judgement. These practices aim at actively enhancing the family's own perception of themselves as capable and admirable. The following section explores how these practices worked to turn the process of FGC from one of opportunity, where the family's negative freedom was ensured through a non-coercive framework, to one of exercise, where the family's positive freedom to act is actualized.

First, the study's participants described how they went to great efforts to enhance the family's sense of ability by seeking out their strengths through observation of and conversation with the family, and by engaging with family members creatively. Mitchell (2020) in a

qualitative study on the perception of FGC participants found this practice to help both social workers and coordinators in gaining a positive perception of the families. It also corresponds to visibility, a practice that Amitay and Rahav (2020) identified as countering alienation.

According to the current study's participants, the elevated level of family visibility facilitated by their practices allowed them to identify the family members' particular talents, abilities, and admirable qualities. Participants found this highly valuable as it allowed their subsequent reflection of admiration to the family to be honest and authentic. In addition, the coordinators' practice of open dialogue and asking questions could assist in the processes of monitoring and reflection on one's own actions, which formulate a person's sense of agency (Giddens, 1984). In other words, reflective questions that encourage people to engage in positive evaluations of their own abilities can enhance their sense of agency (Crowhurst, 2021)

Importantly, the students in Amitay and Rahav's (2020) study also felt that high visibility impinged on their privacy. This again raises the issue of exposure and suggests the need for further research on the ethical boundaries of the coordinators' role and the impact of exposure on the families participating in FGC. One of the coordinators in the current study addressed this specific issue, when she shared how a father questioned why she was writing down everything he said. Sensing his distrust, the coordinator used the practice of 'explain and inform' to clarify to the father why she was writing down all that he said, and who has access to this information subsequently. This example highlights how valuable the study's findings can be to current and future coordinators in handling the challenging dynamic created by the FGC process.

The discussion on visibility aside, seeking the family's strengths and reflecting admiration to the family relate to psychological processes in FGC that are thought to increase the family's sense of capacity and self-worth (Metze et al., 2015). Moreover, research has indicated that using self-reflection to perceive oneself as capable can positively influence motivation and behaviors (Contento et al., 2007). Indeed, Kawano et al.'s (2021) study suggested that intervention by nurses meant to enhance patients' sense of agency was effective particularly when nurses ascribed agency to the patients' actions and reflected this to the patients. Thus, by reflecting honest admiration of the families' agency to the families, coordinators could enhance the families' sense of agency and control over the FGC process and their life at large.

Another practice participants used to highlight the family's positive capacity and reduce the possible detrimental influence of visibility was to remain neutral, which they used to preserve

their belief in the family's ability. This practice relates to the coordinators' independent nature, which is considered an inherent part of the coordinator's role in FGC literature (Bozic, 2017; Havnen & Christiansen, 2014; Heino. 2009). However, participants also empathized with the family by putting themselves in the family's shoes.

These two practices assisted the participants in suspending their judgement and understanding the family's perspective. Suspension of judgement was identified by Amitay and Rahav (2020) as an agentic practice that opposes alienation and feelings of abandonment and enhances a person's sense of capacity. Moreover, they identified this as one of the practices that established the sense of belonging of the students in their study. Similarly, the coordinators framed their own practices that preserved their belief in the family's ability as ones that helped them in fostering a relationship of trust and closeness with the families. Thus, by acknowledging the families' positioning, knowledge, and context, and concurrently reflecting on their own moral judgements, the participants described maintaining their nonjudgmental stance (Gray, 1996). This allowed them to continue with other practices whilst establishing FGC as a safe space for the families.

However, it is important to note that several coordinators described how challenging they found suspending their judgement to be. This was particularly true when participants encountered parental behaviors or family situations they viewed as putting the children at risk. These moments led to breakdowns in trust between families and coordinators, which were challenging to return from. This further highlights the importance of identifying practices that assist coordinators in suspending their judgement.

In conclusion, the current study's participants described how they implemented action strategies in their direct work with the families aimed at enhancing the family's sense of agency by highlighting their admirability. These practices were challenged by the coordinators' own conceptions, and so they invested effort into preserving their belief in the family's ability so that they could reflect it back to the family by remaining neutral and empathizing with the family. Next, the practices that bring together the family and social structure are analyzed.

The Coordinators' Agentic Practices that Bridge the Two Worlds

The study found that the participants' practices also operated on a third, in-between layer of relations between the family and their social structure. These are practices that aimed at encouraging families to believe in the possibility of a more supportive relationship with their

social network, enhancing the families' familiarity with the welfare system and other bureaucratic structures, and bolstering the families' social resources. The following section analyzes how these practices could bridge the gap between the family and their social structure and enhance the family and their social network's collective agency (Bandura, 2000).

Practices Aimed at Enhancing the Family's Positive Belief in the Future. The conception of human agency suggested in this study is not a stagnant or solely present-focused idea of ability, nor is it completely dictated by the social structure. Instead, it is conception that speaks of possibility, as is clear from Amitay and Rahav's (2020) definition, which highlights "aspirations" (p. 136). Likewise, when agency is framed within a life course conception, it can be seen as composed of a person's perceived capacity and perceived life trajectory or possibility. In other words, people's sense of agency is influenced by what they believe they can expect from their future, their possible self (Hitlin & Kirkpatrick Johnson, 2015; Markus and Nurius, 1986).

Markus and Nurius (1986) frame their concept of possible selves as within a person's self-knowledge, and research has shown how past experiences and harsh circumstances can lead to negative perceptions of possible self, in turn reducing people's sense of agency (Bryant & Ellard, 2015; Dumont et al., 2022; Erikson, 2007). This conception of agency arises from the findings, such as in participants' perception of families they worked with as living with feelings of hopelessness, which coordinators framed as one of the biggest challenges to the FGC process.

One of the methods the participants described using to address this sense of hopelessness was to encourage the family to believe their life can be different, by conveying a message of hope with their words, their positive reframing, and their optimistic tone. For instance, coordinators described avoiding harboring on past failures and difficulties and instead highlighting successes and achievements.

These practices align with research on positive conception of the future self, which have shown to improve people's sense of agency (Grishutina & Kostenko, 2021; Healy, 2014; Midtgaard et al., 2007; Murru & Martin Ginis, 2010). Specifically, searching for what to be glad for together with the families and encouraging families to direct their life towards their idealized future align with positive psychology's gratitude-focused interventions and interventions that use King's (2001) idea of the best possible self, or the hoped-for self (Altintas et al., 2020; Liau et al., 2016; Loveday et al., 2018).

Alongside the practice of conveying an optimistic message, coordinators also described searching for opportunities for the families to experience success. Participants used this practice to show the families they worked with that their life could be different and thus enhancing their belief in their future ability. This meant opportunities for family members to overcome structural obstacles, such as learning how to use public transportation or receiving a desired service from a bureaucratic institution. This aligns with Amitay and Rahav's (2020) analysis, which found that experiences of success enhance students' sense of competence. When considered within the frame of self-knowledge, these experiences of success provide opportunities for new self-reflection and monitoring that inform a person's sense of agency through their experiences of efficacy and effort (Bandura, 2018; Lukitsch, 2020). In terms of relations to the social structure, these experiences could foster belief in better relations with the social structure in the future.

Another practice coordinators used to show families that life can be different was to provide them with relevant assistance, whether it was asked for or identified by the participants. Amitay and Rahav (2020) identified this practice as agentic and classified it as fostering a sense of belonging. Similarly, the coordinators explained that providing families with relevant assistance conveys to them that their relationship with professionals could be different and more positive than they had experienced in the past. In previous Nevet research, Elkayam (2019) also highlighted the coordinators' practice of translating words into action, already in the preparation stage, as assisting in establishing mutual trust between the coordinators and the families.

This practice, accompanied by the coordinators' encouragement to trust in the welfare system and in their supporters, aimed at alleviating the family's sense of alienation and changing their narrative on the welfare services and social support. This is particularly significant as unequal power relations with professionals can create a negative conception of possible self (Rix & Paige-Smith, 2008), and Nevet research indicates that some families do experience volatile and negative relationships with their social workers (Cohen, 2021; Elkayam, 2019; Gutman, 2019). However, it is again important to note the earlier observation that unequal power dynamics may also exist between the coordinators and the families, which emphasizes the importance of further research on families' perceptions of their relations with coordinators.

In conclusion, the study's coordinators described how they strove to bridge the gap between the family's life and the social structure by enhancing the families' positive future-

thinking. The following section discusses another method the coordinators used to bridge this gap, which was to enhance the families' social and personal tools.

Practices aimed at Providing Personal and Social Tools for the Future. While the previous section emphasizes the idealistic future the participants described encouraging the families to envision, they also emphasized the importance of maintaining a realistic view of the family's context. To this end, participants described mapping out with the families practical steps to achieve the families' plans, sharing information with families regarding the welfare system as well as other bureaucratic institutions that could offer resources to the family, and assisting family members in gaining personal tools such as communication and problem-solving skills.

The practice of mapping out with family members practical steps towards a goal is reminiscent of positive psychology's hope theory model, which highlights the importance of 'pathway thinking,' the capacity to think of strategies to achieve desired goals (Snyder et al., 2002). This practice came up especially when families described a goal they were uncertain how to achieve, or when they expressed discouragement due to various obstacles. Detailed plans have been shown to be related to positive perceptions of future self, and research on hope-based interventions, including in the context of social work, have shown positive influences on coping, problem-solving skills, depression, and more (Collins, 2015; Dumont et al., 2022; Kashdan et al., 2002).

Another practice participants described using to enhance the families' social and personal tools was to explain and inform, as they used it to share opportunities, resources, and useful tools with the families. For example, coordinators described how they explained to families how to access government websites, receive information from various institutions, and even which school staff to contact to receive assistance.

Finally, participants described how when they noticed conflicts between family members, they would assist and provide advice to resolve the conflict. Participants highlighted the importance of this practice during the final discussion group particularly in relation to communication between children and their parents.

In all the practices described above, coordinators often described accompanying them with questions meant to encourage family members to come to a solution on their own, as several participants expressed hope that this would assist families in solving issues in the future.

Thus, coordinators described using a twofold strategy to facilitate the families' agency when it came to their relations with their social structure, particularly with the emphasis on forward-thinking. These strategies included practices the coordinators believed would enhance the family's positive future expectations, as well as practices meant to assist family members in gaining practical tools to achieve their aspirations. During discussion with the research group, participants resonated with these practices and suggested they align with the idea of collective agency, or the belief in shared power to produce joint outcomes (Bandura, 2000).

Finally, the coordinators' own relationship with the families merits one last mention. The participants described their work as highly challenging and taxing, both practically and emotionally. The coordinators' own sense of agency was tested repeatedly, by bureaucratic challenges, uncertainty, and feelings of powerlessness when facing the staggering obstacles standing in the way of the families' future. Yet, the participants' words convey a deep-seated belief in the families' positive future. While participants did describe this belief being shaken occasionally, they also described how they kept their eyes on their goal and maintained their optimism by continuously finding tangible signs to substantiate their belief.

This realistic hope has been found as important not only for families with children at risk, but also for the professionals working with them. Not only does this hope sustain the professionals' sense of agency, but it also positively influences their relationships with the people they work with (Collins, 2015; Lipschitz-Elhawi, 2009). On this topic, Krumer-Nevo (2020) writes that, "being committed to 'making a difference' in the current sociopolitical context is not possible without hope" (p. 9). Thus, though Krumer-Nevo considers engaging in hopeful action a choice, she stresses that for professionals to engage in meaningful, transformative work, this choice is a necessary one.

In conclusion, the research found that the participants' practices were guided by the principles of affirming the family's control and responsibility, highlighting the family's ability, and orienting with the family towards a positive future. These principles were informed by the coordinators' perceptions of the families as both knowledgeable and capable, and by their perception of the bounded nature of agency within the social structure. Further analysis of these practices revealed their layered nature, such that the participants described practices they implemented to transform the families' social structure, practices meant to enhance the family's sense of capacity, and practices meant to enhance the collective agency of the families and their

social structure. This threefold dynamic is illustrated by Figure 2, which highlights the intertwined nature of all three layers. The model also highlights how each layer of action is equally significant, how they are all necessary within the scope of the model, and how one does not supersede the other.

Finally, the practices the coordinators described during this research were almost all focused on the preparation phase of the FGC process, with few, more technical practices mentioned regarding the conference. Thus, the current study highlights how when implementing the FGC theory into practice, the participants transformed it into a process-focused model, where the importance is placed on the recognition of the family's knowledge and ability, refining the family's personal and social resources, and transforming the welfare system so that the family is an equal participant in the decisions made regarding their lives. In this process, the nature of the conference transforms from the end goal of the coordinator's job and the starting point of the family plan's implementation to a roadside checkpoint that confirms the family is already on their decided-upon path.

Research Limitations

The current study had several limitations. First, the research had limited sample size, as FGC is still in its infancy in Israel. This also meant the number of coordinators with experience in organizing the program was small. Indeed, the most veteran coordinators had three years of experience at the time of the data collection. As such, the researcher took care to emphasize the grounded nature of the study and that the FGC process is still new to Israel and to the participants. Particularly, two coordinators with very limited FGC experience were not interviewed but were present during the group discussions. Thus, the use of both data collection methods allowed for all voices to be heard.

Additionally, it is important to note that the current study is qualitative in nature, and so does not seek generalizability. Instead, the small sample size allowed closer, more continuous contact between the researcher and the participants, which allowed more in-depth familiarization (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). However, the small population of coordinators did limit the ability to share contextual information about the participants. Thus, the influence of personal and work experience on the coordinators' perceptions and practices could not be examined.

Another research limitation that arose from the action-oriented methodology was that it relied on the motivation and morale of the participants, and a change in motivation during the

research had the potential to impact the study's results (Hammad et al., 2019; Vilaça, 2017). Indeed, two coordinators participated in the interviews but not in the research group discussions.

Another limitation was that most of the stories the participants shared related to their work with mothers, such that few coordinators shared stories that involved their work with a father or direct work with children. This limited the ability to analyze whether different practices are more successful when working with different family members and particularly what practices do coordinators use to encourage child participation.

Research Implications and Value

The current research has the potential to contribute both practical and theoretical value and holds potential contribution to policy and FGC implementation.

Theoretical Contribution

This thesis introduces a new agentic lens through which to examine the FGC model. As such, the study offers a theoretical underpinning for FGC that helps to explain the model's purpose, goals and structure, and the practices of the professionals who organize the process. This contributes to the body of knowledge on the FGC program in Israel and internationally.

Moreover, this study offers an examination of the perceptions and practices of the FGC coordinators. As such, it adds to the body of knowledge on street-level bureaucrats, those professionals who come into direct contact with the citizens they serve and so are the true face of policies and laws (Burns & Fruchtel, 2014; Lipsky, 1980). Particularly, the current study offers a look into how the coordinators themselves understand the theory of FGC and how they translate it into practice, especially considering the challenges they face in their role. This perspective on FGC highlights the process and continuity of the model and looks beyond the bureaucratic structure of the model to the human, interpersonal developments, thus contributing to participatory and agentic theories.

The findings indicate that the coordinators perceive the families they work with as self-knowledgeable and intrinsically capable. In addition, the participants perceived the families' agency expression to be limited by the social structure within which they live, both through external harsh circumstances and internalized sense of isolation and fear. Yet, the coordinators also perceived the possibility of the families' social network acting as a facilitating mechanism for the families' sense and expression of agency. Thus, the study offers a context-informed theoretical model for human agency that integrates the family's intrinsic knowledge and ability

with the grounding element of structure. In other words, the study offers a new understanding of agency, as extending beyond the person's conception of themselves, to include their conception of their social structure of their future relations with their social network.

Contribution to Practice

Using the action-oriented methodology allowed the study to identify a variety of action strategies and principles for facilitating families' agency in the FGC context and for countering alienation and powerlessness. This has value for coordinators and FGC professionals in future FGC processes, and extrapolative value for other participatory social work programs, as it translates the participative and democratic values of modern social work and FGC into actionable knowledge. These action principles include to affirm the family's control and responsibility, highlight the family's ability, and orient with the family towards the future.

Analysis of these principles of action revealed a secondary, layered understanding of the coordinators' agentic practices. This analysis highlights the importance for coordinators to work not only with the families themselves, but also with their social networks. Feedback on the findings from the Israeli FGC staff and coordinators indicated that the action model and the theory of agency hold potential value for planning of future coordinator trainings.

The findings also suggest the need for further training for coordinators on how to involve children and fathers in the FGC process. Indeed, during the final discussion group, participants expressed their aim to dedicate further focus to these two family members.

In addition, the process-focused perspective shared in this study suggests the need for continuity between the various stages of the FGC model. Indeed, many participants described the challenge of exiting the process at the end of the conference after having formed deep connections with the families. Some coordinators expressed how this is emotionally challenging, while others described how the lack of official updates regarding the progress of the family's plan reduces their ability to be reflective and critical of their own practices. Moreover, some participants suggested that their sudden departure may impact the family's sense of safety and trust in the process. Thus, it is recommended to consider how to create a smoother transition between the preparation and the implementation stages. This could be done by conducting a second conference midway through or following the implementation stage or by changing the family companion's role to include accompanying the family from the beginning of the FGC process alongside the coordinator, so that the families see a familiar face throughout the process.

Contribution to Policy

The study has potential significance for future policies and directions for the general welfare system in Israel, as it offers an examination of the agentic practices that facilitate a participative process. By shedding light on the knowledge of coordinators who devote their time and effort to making a difference, the study has the potential to contribute to the continued implementation and expansion of the FGC model, as well as inspire the continued movement pushing for a welfare system that respects and acknowledges the agency of its citizens.

Recommendation for Future Research

The current study was conducted as a continuation of an evaluative research on the Israeli FGC pilot program. It asked what the coordinators' perceptions are regarding agency, what challenges do they face in their work, and how do they implement the FGC theory into practice.

As such, a recommendation for future research would be to perform a similar study with families who participate in FGC. This research could examine what are the families' perception of agency, and whether it aligns with the coordinators' perceptions. Moreover, it could ask what practices families engage in to facilitate their own participation and ensure their agency is acknowledged. Finally, it could examine whether the coordinators' perception of the process as enhancing the families' agency expression is perceived by the families themselves.

In the context of the Israeli FGC program, it is recommended to study the family companions, who join the process during the implementation stage, and examine what agentic practices they implement in their work. Examining whether the implementation stage requires different practices from the preparation stage by comparing the companions' practices to those of the coordinators could produce valuable lessons for the FGC model.

An important recommendation for future study arises from the lack of stories showcasing fathers in the current research, which suggests the need for research focusing on the place and visibility of fathers within the FGC process. Likewise, the limited practices related to children demand further research on practices coordinators use to encourage child participation.

Another recommendation that arises from the research limitations is to expand the research population to coordinators from other countries as well. In this manner, the influence of personal and work experience on the coordinators' perceptions and practices could be examined. This could aid in evaluating the possible professionalization of the coordinators' role indicated

by the current study. Similarly, future research could examine the use of the agentic lens as a theoretical framework for FGC programs internationally.

Finally, the study's participants described the challenge of recruiting family supporters to the FGC process. It is recommended for future research to focus specifically on the social network intervention practices of FGC professionals, and how those can be conducted in a culturally relevant, non-coercive manner.

Epilogue

My research journey has been one of self-discovery. While the thesis asked about the agency of the FGC coordinators and families, I learned no less about my own agency. As I spoke with the research participants regarding their perceptions, I discovered my own perceptions of myself as a child, as a young woman, as a kindergarten teacher, and as a human being.

As a child, I sought out to be seen with eyes that saw humanity, that saw my knowledge and my ability, and that wanted to hear my story, my desires, and my aspirations. As a young woman, I know the struggles of overcoming external structural limitations and internalized perceptions of low agency. As a kindergarten teacher, I deeply connect with the participants' perceptions of agency and their effort to acknowledge the agency of the people they work with.

I hope readers of this thesis resonate with the coordinators' stories as I had. I hope this study inspires its readers and conveys to them the participants' deep sense of respect for people's humanity and strong belief in people's right to live life in happiness. Finally, I hope that the participants' words and practices will be heard by welfare professionals, academics, policymakers, and families, so that the coordinators' vision for the future spreads and contributes to 'the quiet revolution' they are a part of.

"If you have come here to help me, you are wasting your time. But if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together."

- Aboriginal activist group, Queensland, 1970s

References

Abfalter, D., Mueller-Seeger, J., & Raich, M. (2021). Translation decisions in qualitative research: A systematic framework. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *24*(4), 469-486. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2020.1805549

Alfandari, R. (2017). Partnership with parents in child protection: A systems approach to evaluate reformative developments in Israel. *British Journal of Social Work*, *47*(4), 1061-1077. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcw101

Alfandari, R. (2019). Multi-professional work in child protection decision-making: An Israeli case study. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *98*, 51-57. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.11.003

Alper, S. (2020). Personal agency. In V. Zeigler-Hill & T.K. Shackelford (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Personality and Individual Differences*, 3500-3502. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-24612-3_1871

Altintas, E., Karaca, Y., Moustafa, A., & El Haj, M. (2020). Effect of best possible self intervention on situational motivation and commitment in academic context. *Learning and Motivation*, *69*, 101599. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lmot.2019.101599

Amitay, G., & Rahav, G. (2020). Being a meaningful presence in the world: Applying successful agentic practices among youth in distress. *Preventing School Failure: Alternative Education for Children and Youth*, *65*(2), 135–145. https://doi:10.1080/1045988x.2020.1848777

Anaf, J., Baum, F., Newman, L., Ziersch, A., & Jolley, G. (2013). The interplay between structure and agency in shaping the mental health consequences of job loss. *BMC Public Health*, *13*(1), 1-12. https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-13-110

Arnstein, S. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 35*(4), 216-224. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944366908977225

Banbanishti, R., Zaira, A., & Atar-Shwartz, S. (2012). Children and youth in out-of-home placement in Israel - Issues and challenges. *Mifgash: Journal of Social-Educational Work, 36*, 9-16. [Hebrew]

Bandura, A. (1999). A social cognitive theory of personality. In L. Pervin & O. John (Ed.), *Handbook of personality* (2nd ed, pp. 154-196). Guilford Publications.

Bandura, A. (2000). Exercise of human agency through collective efficacy. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *9*(3), 75-78. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8721.00064

Bandura, A. (2018). Toward a psychology of human agency: Pathways and reflections. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *13*(2), 130-136. https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691617699280

Barghadouch, A., Skovdal, M., Norredam, M., & Vitus, K. (2022). 'This is not what I want for my children': Agency and parenting in Danish asylum centres. *European Journal of Public Health*, *32*(3), 379-383. https://doi.org/10.1093/eurpub/ckac036

Barker, C. (2003). *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*. SAGE.

Barn, R., & Das, C. (2016). Family group conferences and cultural competence in social work. *The British Journal of Social Work*, *46*(4), 942-959. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcu105

Ben Noon, R (2017). Research report - Mapping of teen and young people (ages 13-25) at risk NPOs. Ministry of Labor, Welfare and Social Affairs, Center for Research, Planning and Training. [Hebrew]

Ben-Rabi, D., Navot, M., Szabo-Lael, R., & Shrok, Y. (2015). *The services network for children at risk and their families according to research of the Brookdale Institute*. Myers-JDC-Brookdale. RR-737-17. [Hebrew]

Berlin, I. (2017). Two concepts of liberty. In D. Miller (Ed.), *The liberty reader* (pp. 33-57). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315091822-3

Blaug, R. (1995). Distortion of the face to face: Communicative reason and social work practice. *The British Journal of Social Work*, *25*(4), 423-439. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.bjsw.a056199

Bozic, A. (2017). *Family Group Conference – Innovative model of support for children, youth and families at risk in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Five years programme implementation assessment report*. In Foundation - a foundation for social inclusion of children and youth in Bosnia and Herzegovina. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.11740.18563

Bradbury-Jones, C., Herber, O. R., Miller, R., & Taylor, J. (2022). Improving the visibility and description of theory in qualitative research: The QUANTUM typology. *SSM-Qualitative Research in Health*, *2*, 100030. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmqr.2021.100030

Brandon, M., Philip, G., & Clifton, J. (2019). Men as fathers in child protection. *Australian Social Work*, *72*(4), 447-460. https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407x.2019.1627469

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77-101. http://dx.doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2012). Thematic analysis. In H. Cooper, P. M. Camic, D. L. Long, A. T. Panter, D. Rindskopf, & K. J. Sher (Eds.), *APA handbook of research methods in psychology, Vol. 2. Research designs: Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological, and biological* (pp. 57–71). American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/13620-004

Bredewold, F., & Tonkens, E. (2021). Understanding successes and failures of family group conferencing: An in-depth multiple case study. *The British Journal of Social Work*, *51*(6), 2173–2190. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcab062

Bryant, J., & Ellard, J. (2015). Hope as a form of agency in the future thinking of disenfranchised young people. *Journal of Youth Studies*, *18*(4), 485-499. https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2014.992310

Burns, G., & Fruchtel, F. (2014). Family Group Conference: A bridge between lifeworld and system. *British Journal of Social Work*, *44*(5), 1147–1161. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcs192

Campbell, C. (2009). Distinguishing the power of agency from agentic power: A note on weber and the "black box" of personal agency. *Sociological Theory*, *27*(4), 407–418. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9558.2009.01355.x

Carey, M. (2017). *Qualitative research skills for social work: Theory and practice*. Routledge.

Caspar, E. A., Christensen, J. F., Cleeremans, A., & Haggard, P. (2016). Coercion changes the sense of agency in the human brain. *Current Biology*, *26*(5), 585-592. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cub.2015.12.067

Cauce, A. M., & Gordon, E. W. (2012). Toward the measurement of human agency and the disposition to express it. *Gordon commission on the future of educational assessment.* Princeton, Educational Testing Service.

Chiu, L. F. (2003). Transformational potential of focus group practice in participatory action research. *Action Research*, *1*(2), 165-183. https://doi.org/10.1177/14767503030012006

Clapton, G. (2009). How and why social work fails fathers: Redressing an imbalance, social work's role and responsibility. *Practice: Social Work in Action*, *21*(1), 17-34. https://doi.org/10.1080/09503150902745989

Clarijs, R. & Malmberg, T. (Eds.). (2012). *The quiet revolution: Aggrandising people power by Family Group Conferences*. SWP Publishers.

Cohen, V. (2021). *Perceptions of participants on the stages of preparation and group conference in the Family Group Conference (FGC)* [Master's thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem]. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem Library. [Hebrew]

Collins, S. (2015). Hope and helping in social work. *Practice: Social Work in Action*, *27*(3), 197-213. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09503153.2015.1014335

Connelly, L. M. (2016). Trustworthiness in qualitative research. *Medsurg Nursing*, *25*(6), 435-436.

Connolly, M. (1994). An act of empowerment: The children, young persons and their families act (1989). *The British Journal of Social Work*, *24*(1), 87-100. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.bjsw.a056042

Connolly, M. (2006a). Up front and personal: Confronting dynamics in the family group conference. *Family Process*, *45*(3), 345-357. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.2006.00175.x

Connolly, M. (2006b). Fifteen years of family group conferencing: Coordinators talk about their experiences in Aotearoa New Zealand. *British Journal of Social Work*, *36*(4), 523–540. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bch273

Connolly, M., & MacKenzie, M. (1998). *Effective participatory practice: Family group conferencing in child protection*. Transaction Publishers.

Connolly, M., & Masson, J. (2014). Private and public voices: Does family group conferencing privilege the voice of children and families in child welfare? *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law*, *36*(4). 403-414. http://doi.org/10.1080/09649069.2014.967989

Contento, I. R., Koch, P. A., Lee, H., Sauberli, W., & Calabrese-Barton, A. (2007). Enhancing personal agency and competence in eating and moving: Formative evaluation of a middle school curriculum: Choice, control, and change. *Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior*, *39*(5), S179-S186. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jneb.2007.02.006

Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Sage publications.

Crouch, M., & McKenzie, H. (2006). The logic of small samples in interview-based qualitative research. *Social Science Information*, *45*(4), 483-499. https://doi.org/10.1177/0539018406069584

Crowhurst, P. (2021). An agentic perspective in assessment and evaluation of play-based learning. *Teachers' Work*, *18*(1), 5-11. https://doi.org/10.24135/teacherswork.v18i1.322

Davies, D., & Dodd, J. (2002). Qualitative research and the question of rigor. *Qualitative Health Research*, *12*(2), 279-289. https://doi.org/10.1177/104973202129119793

de Jong, G., Schout, G., & Abma, T. (2018). Understanding the process of Family Group Conferencing in public mental health care: A multiple case study. *British Journal of Social Work*, *48*(2), 353-370. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcx037

de Jong, G., Schout, G., Meijer, E., Mulder, C. L., & Abma, T. (2015). Enabling social support and resilience: Outcomes of Family Group Conferencing in public mental health care. *European Journal of Social Work*, *19*(5), 731–748. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691457.2015.1081585

Dowling, S., & Pontin, D. (2017). Using liminality to understand mothers' experiences of long-term breastfeeding: 'Betwixt and between', and 'matter out of place'. *Health*, *21*(1), 57-75. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363459315595846

Dumont, A., Lanctôt, N., & Paquette, G. (2022). "I had a shitty past; I want a great future.": Hopes and fears of vulnerable adolescent girls aging out of care. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *134*, 106374. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2022.106374

Elkayam, M. N. (2019). *Family Group Conference (FGC) in child welfare – Case study in the Jewish ultra-Orthodox community is Israel* [Master's thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem]. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem Library. [Hebrew]

Elliot, J. (1991). *Action research for educational change*. Open University Press.

Emirbayer, M., & Mische, A. (1998). What is agency?. *American Journal of Sociology*, *103*(4), 962–1023. https://doi.org/10.1086/231294

Erikson, M. G. (2007). The meaning of the future: Toward a more specific definition of possible selves. *Review of General Psychology*, *11*(4), 348-358. https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.11.4.348

Eshel, A., Brover, E., Yitmano, M., Cohen Hatav, M., Lavav Yaton, N., Nachenson Ankri, R. & Sereche, B. (2021). *Package for FGC for youth protection coordinators*. Internal Mosaica and Joint Ashalim report: Unpublished. [Hebrew]

Etzion, D., & Romi, S. (2015). Typology of youth at risk. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *59*, 184-195. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2015.10.017

European FGC Network. (2012). *Family Group Conferences purpose, values and processes*. https://fgcnetwork.eu/fgc/

European FGC Network. (n.d.). *Homepage*. FGC European Network. Retrieved November 8, 2021, https://fgcnetwork.eu/

Ferguson, I., & Lavalette, M. (2004). Beyond power discourse: Alienation and social work. *British Journal of Social Work*, *34*(3), 297-312. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bch039

Fern, E. (2012). Developing social work practice through engaging practitioners in action research. *Qualitative Social Work*, *11*(2), 156-173. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325010387672

Fox, D. (2018). F*amily group conferencing with children and young people: Advocacy approaches, variations and impacts*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Freire, P. (2018). The banking concept of education. In E. B. Hilty (Ed.), *Thinking about schools* (pp. 117-127). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429495670-11

Fuchs, D. (2000). Social network theory, research, and practice implications for family group conferencing. In G. Burford & J. Hudson (Eds.), *Family Group Conferencing* (pp. 131-139). Routledge.

Gallagher, S. (2012). Multiple aspects in the sense of agency. *New Ideas in Psychology*, *30*(1), 15-31. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.newideapsych.2010.03.003

Geertz, C. (2008). *Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture*. Routledge.

Gertler, B. (2010). *Self-knowledge*. Routledge.

Gertler, B. (2018). Self-Knowledge and rational agency: A defense of empiricism. *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, *96*(1), 91-109. https://doi.org/10.1111/phpr.12288

Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. University of California Press

Goff, S. (2012). The participation of fathers in child protection conferences: A practitioner's perspective. *Child Abuse Review*, *21*(4), 275-284. https://doi.org/10.1002/car.2226

Gottfried, R., & Ben-Arieh, A. (2019). The Israeli child protection system. In L. Merkel-Holguin, J. D. Fluke & R. D. Krugman (Eds.), *National systems of child protection* (pp. 139-171). Springer.

Gray, M. (1996). Moral theory for social work. *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 32*(4), 289-295.

Grishutina, M., & Kostenko, V. (2021). *Variety of possible selves: The role of agency and empirical evidence review*. (Paper No. WP BRP 126/PSY/2021). National Research University Higher School of Economics. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3938051

Gutman, D. (2019). *Family Group Conference (FGC) in Child Welfare - Case study of immigrants from the Former Soviet Union and immigrants from Ethiopia* [Master's thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem]. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem Library. [Hebrew]

Hammad, S., Alunni, A., & Alkhas, T. (2019). Reflections on the potential (and limits) of action research as ethos, methodology and practice: A case study of a women's empowerment programme in the Middle East. *Action Research*, *17*(2), 162-185. https://doi.org/10.1177/1476750318759778

Havnen, K. J. S., & Christiansen, Ø. (2014). *Knowledge Review on Family Group Conferencing*. Uni Research.

Healy, D. (2014). Becoming a desister: Exploring the role of agency, coping and imagination in the construction of a new self. *British Journal of Criminology*, *54*(5), 873-891. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azu048

Heino, T. (2009). *Family group conference from a child perspective: Nordic research report*. National Institute for Health and Welfare. Terveyden ja hyvinvoinnin laitos (THL).

Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). The weirdest people in the world?. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, *33*(2-3), 61-83. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X0999152X

Higgs, J., Horsfall, D., & Grace, S. (Eds.). (2009). *Writing qualitative research on practice*. Sense Publishers.

Hitlin, S., & Kirkpatrick Johnson, M. (2015). Reconceptualizing agency within the life course: The power of looking ahead. *American Journal of Sociology*, *120*(5), 1429-1472. https://doi.org/10.1086/681216

Hojman, D. A., & Miranda, Á. (2018). Agency, human dignity, and subjective well-being. *World Development*, *101*, 1-15. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2017.07.029

Hornsby, J. (2004). Agency and alienation. In M. De Caro & D. Macarthur (Eds.), *Naturalism in Question* (pp. 173–187). Harvard University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv22jnrf5.12

Hugman, R., Bartolomei, L., & Pittaway, E. (2011). Human agency and the meaning of informed consent: Reflections on research with refugees. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *24*(4), 655-671. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fer024

Huntsman, L. (2006). *Family group conferencing in a child welfare context: Literature review*. NSW Department of Community Services.

Jo, Y. N. (2013). Psycho-social dimensions of poverty: When poverty becomes shameful. *Critical Social Policy*, *33*(3), 514-531. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018313479008

Jones, T. L., & Prinz, R. J. (2005). Potential roles of parental self-efficacy in parent and child adjustment: A review. *Clinical Psychology Review*, *25*(3), 341–363. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2004.12.004

Kahana, E., Kelley-Moore, J., & Kahana, B. (2012). Proactive aging: A longitudinal study of stress, resources, agency, and well-being in late life. *Aging & Mental Health*, *16*(4), 438-451. https://doi.org/10.1080/13607863.2011.644519

Karam, F. J., Barone, D., & Kibler, A. K. (2021). Resisting and negotiating literacy tasks: Agentive practices of two adolescent refugee-background multilingual students. *Research in the Teaching of English*, *55*(4), 369-392.

Kashdan, T. B., Pelham, W. E., Lang, A. R., Hoza, B., Jacob, R. G., Jennings, J. R., Blumenthal, J. D., & Gnagy, E. M. (2002). Hope and optimism as human strengths in parents of children with externalizing disorders: Stress is in the eye of the beholder. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, *21*(4), 441-468. https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.21.4.441.22597

Kawano, M., Takamura, Y., Tachihara, M., Yokota, K., & Yozu, A. (2021). The relationship between motivation for rehabilitation and sense of agency in patients with cerebrovascular disease, and nurse support for patient agency. *International Journal of Affective Engineering, 20*(3), 143-151. https://doi.org/10.5057/ijae.ijae-d-20-00029

Kemmis, S., & McTaggart, R. (2007). Communicative action and the public sphere. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*, (3rd ed., pp. 559-603). Sage publications.

Kim, J., Choi, M. J., Trahan, M. H., Bellamy, J. L., & Pierce, B. (2020). Does parent engagement enhance children's emotional well-being in family team conference? Not a panacea for families with intimate partner violence. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *118*, 105479. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2020.105479

King, L. A. (2001). The health benefits of writing about life goals. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *27*(7), 798-807. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167201277003

Kitto, S., Chesters, J., & Grbich, C. (2008). Quality in qualitative research: Criteria for authors and assessors in the submission and assessment of qualitative research articles for the Medical Journal of Australia. *Medical Journal Australia*, *188*(4), 243-246. https://doi.org/10.5694/j.1326-5377.2008.tb01595.x

Koch, L. C., Niesz, T., & McCarthy, H. (2014). Understanding and reporting qualitative research: An analytical review and recommendations for submitting authors. *Rehabilitation Counseling Bulletin*, *57*(3), 131-143. https://doi.org/10.1177/0034355213502549

Koerber, A., & McMichael, L. (2008). Qualitative sampling methods: A primer for technical communicators. *Journal of Business and Technical Communication*, *22*(4), 454-473. https://doi.org/10.1177/1050651908320362

Koshy, E., Koshy, V., & Waterman, H. (2010). *Action research in healthcare*. Sage.

Kotan, M. (2010). Freedom or happiness? Agency and subjective well-being in the capability approach. *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, *39*(3), 369-375. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socec.2009.11.003

Krumer-Nevo, M. (2016). Poverty-aware social work: A paradigm for social work practice with people in poverty. *British Journal of Social Work*, *46*(6), 1793-1808. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcv118

Krumer-Nevo, M. (2020). *Radical Hope: Poverty-Aware Practice for Social Work*. Bristol University Press. https://doi.org/10.46692/9781447354925

Langer, E. J., & Rodin, J. (1976). The effects of choice and enhanced personal responsibility for the aged: A field experiment in an institutional setting. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *34*(2), 191-198. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.34.2.191

Lavalette, M. (2020). Karl Marx: Capitalism, alienation and social work. In C. Morley, P. Ablett, C. Noble & Cowden, S. (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Pedagogies for Social Work*, (pp. 19–31). https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351002042-2

Leeming, D. (2018) The use of theory in qualitative research. *Journal of Human Lactation, 34*(4), 668-673. https://doi.org/10.1177/0890334418794666

Leibovitch, S. & Lev-Sadde, D. (2016). Out of home placement of children and adolescents at risk. *Society & Welfare*, *36*(2), 253-259. [Hebrew]

Liau, A. K., Neihart, M. F., Teo, C. T., & Lo, C. H. (2016). Effects of the best possible self activity on subjective well-being and depressive symptoms. *The Asia-Pacific Education Researcher*, *25*(3), 473-481. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40299-015-0272-z

Lietz, C. A., & Zayas, L. E. (2010). Evaluating qualitative research for social work practitioners. *Advances in Social work*, *11*(2), 188-202. https://doi.org/10.18060/589

Linhorst, D. M. (2002). A review of the use and potential of focus groups in social work research. *Qualitative Social Work*, *1*(2), 208-228. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325002001002620

Lipschitz-Elhawi, R. (2009). Ways of enhancing hope among social workers working with adolescents in residential treatment centres. *British Journal of Social Work*, *39*(3), 451-466. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcm159

Lipsky, M. (1980). *Street level bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the individual in public services*. Russell Sage Foundation. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7758/9781610447713

Lister, R. (2016). 'To count for nothing': Poverty beyond the statistics. In J. Carsten & S. Frith (Eds.), *British Academy Lectures 2014-15* (pp. 139-165). https://doi.org/10.5871/bacad/9780197265987.003.0005

Lister, R. (2019). Poverty and agency: From getting by to getting organized (A. Levkovitch & M. Krumer-Nevo, Trans). *Social Security*, *106*, 33-74. (Original work published in 2004) [Hebrew]

Littlejohn, S. W., & Foss, K. A. (Eds.). (2009). *Encyclopedia of communication theory* (Vol. 1). Sage.

Lloyd, C. D., & Serin, R. C. (2012). Agency and outcome expectancies for crime desistance: Measuring offenders' personal beliefs about change. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, *18*(6), 543-565. https://doi.org/10.1080/1068316X.2010.511221

Loveday, P. M., Lovell, G. P., & Jones, C. M. (2018). The best possible selves intervention: A review of the literature to evaluate efficacy and guide future research. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *19*(2), 607-628. http://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-016-9824-z

Lukitsch, O. (2020). Effort, uncertainty, and the sense of agency. *Review of Philosophy and Psychology*, *11*(4), 955-975. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13164-020-00486-6

Lupton, C. (1998). User empowerment or family self-reliance? The family group conference model. *The British Journal of Social Work*, *28*(1), 107-128. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.bjsw.a011302

Macgowan, M. J., & Pennell, J. (2002). Building social responsibility through family group conferencing. *Social Work with Groups*, *24*(3-4), 67-87. https://doi.org/10.1300/J009v24n03_06

Markus, H., & Nurius, P. (1986). Possible selves. *American Psychologist*, *41*(9), 954–969. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.41.9.954

Meijer, E., Schout, G., & Abma, T. (2019). Family Group Conferencing in coercive psychiatry: On forming partnership between the client, social networks and professionals. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*, *40*(6), 459- 465. https://doi.org/10.1080/01612840.2018.1563254

Merkel-Holguin, L. (2004). Sharing power with the people: Family group conferencing as a democratic experiment. *Journal Sociology & Social Welfare*, *31*(1), 155-173. https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw/vol31/iss1/10

Merkel-Holguin, L., Schwab-Reese, L., Drury, I., Allan, H., & Hollinshead, D. (2020). Nothing about me without me: Children and young people's experiences with family group conferences. *Child & Family Social Work*, *25*(1), 27-36. https://doi.org/10.1111/cfs.12648

Metze, R. N., Abma, T. A., & Kwekkeboom, R. H. (2015). Family group conferencing: A theoretical underpinning. *Health Care Analysis*, *23*(2), 165-180. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10728-013-0263-2

Midtgaard, J., Stelter, R., Rørth, M., & Adamsen, L. (2007). Regaining a sense of agency and shared self-reliance: The experience of advanced disease cancer patients participating in a multidimensional exercise intervention while undergoing chemotherapy–analysis of patient diaries. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, *48*(2), 181-190. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9450.2007.00562.x

Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare. (1986). *Puao-te-Ata-tu (Daybreak)*. Wellington, New Zealand: Department of Social Welfare.

Mirowsky, J. (1995). Age and the sense of control. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *58*(1), 31-43. https://doi.org/10.2307/2787141

Mischel, N. (2021). *Youths' perspectives on 'Getting on Track – Family Group Conference (FGC)' (Olim LaDerech – KEDEM Program)* [Master's thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem].

Mitchell, M. (2020). Reimagining child welfare outcomes: Learning from family group conferencing. *Child & Family Social Work*, *25*(2), 211-220. https://doi.org/10.1111/cfs.12676

Monikendem-Giv'on, (2019). *360º national program for children and youth at risk*. The Knesset Research and Information Center. [Hebrew]

Moore, J. W. (2016). What is the sense of agency and why does it matter?. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *7*, 1272. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2016.01272

Murru, E. C., & Martin Ginis, K. A. (2010). Imagining the possibilities: The effects of a possible selves intervention on self-regulatory efficacy and exercise behavior. *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology*, *32*(4), 537–554. https://doi.org/10.1123/jsep.32.4.537

Nadan, Y., & Roer-Strier, D. (2020). A context-informed perspective of child risk and protection: Deconstructing myths in the risk discourse. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *12*(4), 464-477. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12393

Nadan, Y., & Roer-Strier, D. (2021). Context-informed treatment: Theoretical conceptualization and clinical implications. *Crossings – Journal of Psycho-political & Cultural Thought*. [Hebrew]

Natland, S., & Malmberg-Heimonen, I. (2014). A study of coordinator positionings in family group conferences. *Nordic Social Work Research*, *4*(2), 158-172. https://doi.org/10.1080/2156857x.2013.826142

Ney, T., Stoltz, J. A., & Maloney, M. (2013). Voice, power and discourse: Experiences of participants in family group conferences in the context of child protection. *Journal of Social Work*, *13*(2), 184-202. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468017311410514

Ngulube, P. (2015). Qualitative data analysis and interpretation: Systematic search for meaning. In E. R. Mathipa & M. T. Gumbo, (Eds), *Addressing research challenges: Making headway for developing researchers* (pp. 131-156). Mosala-MASEDI Publishers & Booksellers. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.1375.7608

Nixon, P., Burford, G., Quinn, A., & Edelbaum, J. (2005). *A survey of international practices, policy & research on family group conferencing and related practices*. American Humane Association.

Nunes, F., Matos, P. M., Ferreira, T., & Mota, C. P. (2022). Romantic and parental attachment, psychosocial risk, and personal agency in emerging adulthood. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 39*(3), 549–569. https://doi.org/10.1177/02654075211042317

Nurjannah, I., Mills, J., Park, T., & Usher, K. (2014). Conducting a grounded theory study in a language other than English: Procedures for ensuring the integrity of translation. *Sage Open*, *4*(1), 1-10. https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244014528920

Obschonka, M., & Hahn, E. (2018). Personal agency in newly arrived refugees: The role of personality, entrepreneurial cognitions and intentions, and career adaptability. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *105*, 173-184. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2018.01.003

Okech, D., Howard, W. J., & Kim, J. (2012). Efficacy and agency among poor families with and without children. *Child & Family Social Work, 18*(4), 417–428. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2206.2012.00861.x

O'Leary, C., Rao, S., & Perry, C. (2004). Improving customer relationship management through database/internet marketing: A theory-building action research project. *European Journal of Marketing, 38*(3/4), 338–354. https://doi.org/10.1108/03090560410518585

Parsell, C., Eggins, E., & Marston, G. (2017). Human agency and social work research: A systematic search and synthesis of social work literature. *British Journal of Social Work*, *47*(1), 238-255. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcv145

Peters, L. E., Kelman, I., Shannon, G., & Tan, D. (2022). Synthesising the shifting terminology of community health: A critiquing review of agent-based approaches. *Global Public Health*, *17*(8), 1492-1506. https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2021.1938169

Proust, J. (2013). *The philosophy of metacognition: Mental agency and self-awareness*. Oxford University Press.

Raikes, H. A., & Thompson, R. A. (2005). Efficacy and social support as predictors of parenting stress among families in poverty. *Infant Mental Health Journal, 26*(3), 177–190. https://doi.org/10.1002/imhj.20044

Rasmussen, B. M., & Sandgaard, A. M. (2021). *Evaluation and research report, part 3: increased well-being, participation and understanding from family and networks: a larger quantitative analysis of family counseling in Esbjerg Municipality 2014-2020*. Esbjerg Municipality and UC SYD. [Danish]

Rivkin, D. & Shmaia Yadgar, S. (2007). *Evaluation of Kedem program: Family Group Conferences for youth offenders*. Myers-JDC-Brookdale. DM-491-07. [Hebrew]

Rix, J., & Paige-Smith, A. (2008). A different head? Parental agency and early intervention. *Disability & Society*, *23*(3), 211-221. https://doi.org/10.1080/09687590801953952

Rodrigo, M. J., & Byrne, S. (2011). Social support and personal agency in at-risk mothers. *Psychosocial Intervention*, *20*(1), 13-24. https://doi.org/10.5093/in2011v20n1a2

Roer-Strier, D., & Nadan, Y. (2020). *Context-informed perspectives of child risk and protection in Israel*. Springer.

Roer-Strier, D., & Nadan, Y. (2021). Children at risk: Revisiting myths in the risk discourse in light of a context-informed perspective. *The Social Security Journal, 115*, 19-39. [Hebrew]

Roose, R., Roets, G., Van Houte, S., Vandenhole, W., & Reynaert, D. (2013). From parental engagement to the engagement of social work services: Discussing reductionist and democratic forms of partnership with families. *Child & Family Social Work*, *18*(4), 449-457. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2206.2012.00864.x

Sampson, M. (2020). Can the Family Group Conferencing model alleviate tensions between social workers' dual responsibility of child protection and family support?. *New Vistas*, *6*(2). https://doi.org/10.36828/newvistas.123

Sargeant, J. (2012). Qualitative research part II: Participants, analysis, and quality assurance. *Journal of Graduate Medical Education, 4*(1), 1–3. http://dx.doi.org/10.4300/JGME-D-11-00307.1

Sayers, S. (2007). Individual and society in Marx and Hegel: Beyond the communitarian critique of liberalism. *Science & Society*, *71*(1), 84-102. https://doi.org/10.1521/siso.2007.71.1.84

Schechter, C., Sykes, I. & Rosenfeld, J. (2008). Learning from success as leverage for school learning: lessons from a national programme in Israel. *International Journal of Leadership Education*, *11*(3). 301-318. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603120701576274

Schmid, H. (2006). *Account of the public commission for disadvantaged and at-risk children and youth*. Submitted to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Welfare. [Hebrew]

Schön, D. A. (1984). *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action*. Basic Books.

Schön, D. A. (1987). *Educating the reflective practitioner: Toward a new design for teaching and learning in the professions.* Jossey-Bass.

Schout, G., & de Jong, G. (2017). Collecting feedback as a tool to reduce care paralysis: Something for family group conferencing coordinators?. *Child & Family Social Work*, *22*(3), 1197-1206. https://doi.org/10.1111/cfs.12336

Schout, G., Meijer, E., & de Jong, G. (2017). Family Group Conferencing—Its added value in mental health care. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*, *38*(6), 480-485. https://doi.org/10.1080/01612840.2017.1282996

Seligman, M. (2021). Agency in Greco-Roman philosophy. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, *16*(1), 1-10. https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760.2020.1832250

Semb, R., Sælør, K. T., & Borg, M. (2021). Resist or adapt? A narrative analysis of endeavors for belonging among young adults with co-occurring substance use and mental health problems. *Journal of Psychosocial Rehabilitation and Mental Health*, *8*(3), 273-285. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40737-021-00221-z

Shaw, I. & Gould, N. (2001). *Qualitative Research in Social Work.* SAGE Publications.

Shaw, I. F. (2003). Ethics in qualitative research and evaluation. *Journal of Social Work*, *3*(1), 9-29. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468017303003001002

Shemer, O., Aboud Halabi, Y., Serdtse, Y., & Roer-Strier, D. (2022). *Evaluation research report: Concluding the pilot phase of "Olim Laderech-Kedem" (Family Group Conference)*. Internal Nevet Research Group Report, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem: Unpublished. [Hebrew]

Shemer, O., Biton, G., Gutman, D., Elkayam, M. & Sari-Levy, B. (2020). *Literature review: KEDEM model (Family Group Conferences) for child wellbeing*. The Hebrew University, NEVET Greenhouse. [Hebrew]

Shemer, O., Rosenfeld, J. M., Dahan, O. & Daniel-Hellwing, A. (Eds.) (2016). *What have we actually done? Success stories of support centers for students with learning disabilities.* Mofet. [Hebrew]

Smit, H. (2019). Kant's "I think" and the agential approach to self-knowledge. *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, *49*(7), 980-1011. https://doi.org/10.1080/00455091.2019.1615682

Smith, G. C., Kohn, S. J., Savage-Stevens, S. E., Finch, J. J., Ingate, R., & Lim, Y. O. (2000). The effects of interpersonal and personal agency on perceived control and psychological well-being in adulthood. *The Gerontologist*, *40*(4), 458-468. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/40.4.458

Snyder, C. R., Rand, K. L., & Sigmon, D. R. (2002). Hope theory: A member of the positive psychology family. In C. R. Snyder & S. J. Lopez (Eds.), *Handbook of positive psychology* (pp. 257–276). Oxford University Press.

Social Workers' Code of Ethics 8.9 (2017). *Instructions - Planning, Intervention and Evaluation Committee – Its role and structure*. State of Israel. Ministry of Welfare and Social Affairs. [Hebrew]

Sperka, L. (2018). *The impact of the outsourcing of health and physical education on curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment* [Doctoral dissertation, The University of Queensland]. UQ eSpace. https://doi.org/10.14264/uql.2018.762

Sperka, L. (2019). Selecting, understanding and applying theory as a neophyte researcher. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, *11*(3), 348-363. https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2018.1510430

Stoljar, N. (2011). Informed consent and relational conceptions of autonomy. *Journal of Medicine and Philosophy*, *36*(4), 375-384. https://doi.org/10.1093/jmp/jhr029

Stone, J. (1993). Cogito ergo sum. *The Journal of Philosophy*, *90*(9), 462-468. https://doi.org/10.2307/2940860

Sundell, K., VinnerlIjung, B., & Ryburn, M. (2001). Social workers' attitudes towards family group conferences in Sweden and the United Kingdom. *International Journal of Child & Family Welfare, 6*(4), 327-336.. https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1365-2206.2001.00216.x

Szabo-Lael, R. (2017). *Children and youth at risk in Israel*. Myers-JDC-Brookdale. RR-748-17. [Hebrew]

Tai, J., & Ajjawi, R. (2016). Undertaking and reporting qualitative research. *The Clinical Teacher*, *13*(3), 175-182. https://doi.org/10.1111/tct.12552

Taylor, C. (1985). *Philosophical papers: Volume 1, human agency and language.* Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139173483

Tuason, Ma. T., Güss, C. D., & Boyd, L. (2021). Thriving during COVID-19: Predictors of psychological well-being and ways of coping. PLoS ONE, *16*(3), e0248591. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0248591

United Nations. (1989). Convention on the Rights of the Child. *Treaty Series*, 1577, 3.

van Nes, F., Abma, T., Jonsson, H., & Deeg, D. (2010). Language differences in qualitative research: is meaning lost in translation?. *European Journal of Ageing*, *7*(4), 313-316. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10433-010-0168-y

Veronese, G., Montali, L., Cavazzoni, F., & Mattiuzzi, D. (2022). Toward a culture-informed conceptualization of child agency in a context characterized by political and military violence: A qualitative exploration throughout experts' voices. *Child Indicators Research, 15*(4), 1379-1403. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-022-09932-6

Victor, B., Fischer, E. F., Cooil, B., Vergara, A., Mukolo, A., & Blevins, M. (2013). Frustrated freedom: The effects of agency and wealth on wellbeing in rural Mozambique. *World Development*, *47*, 30-41. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2013.02.005

Vilaça, T. (2017). A multiple case study based on action-oriented sexuality education: Perspectives of the Portuguese teachers. *Health Education, 117*(1), 110–126. https://doi.org/10.1108/he-02-2016-0006

Waites, C., Macgowan, M. J., Pennell, J., Carlton-LaNey, I., & Weil, M. (2004). Increasing the cultural responsiveness of family group conferencing. *Social Work, 49*(2), 291-300. https://doi.org/10.1093/sw/49.2.291

Williams, R. N., Gantt, E. E., & Fischer, L. (2021). Agency: What does it mean to be a human being?. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *12*, 1-12 https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.693077

Winter, R. & Munn-Giddings, C. (2001). *A Handbook for Action Research in Health and Social Care*. Routledge.

Yablberg, Y. (2013). *Children and adolescents at risk – Background*. Machon Do-It. [Hebrew]

Yang, K. (2012). Further understanding accountability in public organizations: Actionable knowledge and the structure–agency duality. *Administration & Society*, *44*(3), 255-284. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095399711417699

Zhao, Y., Seligman, M., Peng, K., Ye, L., Liang, C., Wang, H., & Gao, H. (2022). Agency in ancient China. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, *17*(4), 457-471. https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760.2021.1926533

Appendices

Appendix A

Research Participants List

	Pseudonym	Participated in:
1.	Abigail	Personal interview, research group
2.	Alona	Personal interview
3.	Avi	Personal interview, research group
4.	Ayala	Personal interview
5.	Chaim	Personal interview, research group
6.	Dana	Research group
7.	Gali	Personal interview, research group
8.	Miriam	Personal interview, research group
9.	Natan	Personal interview, research group
10	Noa	Personal interview, research group
11	Odi	Personal interview, research group
12	Orli	Personal interview, research group
13	Pinchas	Research group
14	Rachel	Personal interview, research group
15	Tamar	Personal interview, research group

Appendix B

מדריך ריאיון איכותני למתאמי תכנית "קד"ם - עולים לדרך" - Interview Guide

מבוא

שלום_____ (שם המתאמ.ת),

שמי ירדן, ואני חלק מצוות המחקר הלומד את התהליך שנעשה בתוכנית "קד"ם - עולים לדרך." במחקר זה אני מבקשת להבין כיצד מודל קד"ם מונחל הלכה למעשה ומה העקרונות והכלים שאת.ה תופס.ת כמנחים אותך בעבודתך. בנוסף, אני מעוניינת ללמוד על המפתחות להצלחה, האתגרים העומדים בפניך בעבודתך ואסטרטגיות ההתמודדות שבהן את.ה נוקט.ת.

אני מודה לך על שהסכמת להקדיש זמן ולהתראיין. כל הפרטים ישמרו בסודיות ושום פרט מזהה לא יוזכר בתהליך העבודה על הנתונים או בעבודת המחקר.

אשמח שתעלה.י נושאים שחשובים לך בהקשר לתהליך ביצוע קד"ם. אין כאן תשובות נכונות או לא נכונות. יש חשיבות רבה למחשבות, לרגשות ולתובנות שלך.

אודה על חתימתך על טופס הסכמה.

נתחיל במספר פרטים כלליים ולאחר מכן נעבור לשיחה פתוחה יותר.

- שם המתאמ.ת: _____
- עיר בה פועל.ת: _____
- מספר שנים בתפקיד: _____
- תאריך הראיון: _____

<u>שאלות מנחות</u>:

1. בבקשה ספר.י לי על עבודתך כמתאמ.ת? מה לדעתך כוללת הגדרת התפקיד של מתאמ.ת?
   a. (שאלה מגשרת) איך את.ה מבינ.ה את מודל קד"ם ועקרונותיו?
      i. האם יש עקרונות במודל קד"ם שאת.ה מתחבר.ת אליהם במיוחד / שאת.ה חושב.ת משמעותיים במיוחד?
      ii. כיצד עקרונות אלו באים לידי ביטויי בתפקידך?
2. בכדי להבין כיצד המושג יכולת פעולה (בראיון אשתמש במושגים איתם המשתתפים תאירו את קד"ם) מתקשר לקד"ם, בבקשה ספר.י לי על מקרה בו הרגשת שעקרון זה היה מוצלח במיוחד. בבקשה תאר.י את המקרה בפירוט. (אם הזמן מאפשר, לבקש שתיים-שלוש דוגמאות למקרים כאלו)
   a. מה הרגשת שתרם להצלחה מבחינת מעשייך? (לתאר בפירוט, לשאול: מה עשית ? איך הגבת ? מה ענית ?)
   b. איך לדעתך המשפחה חוותה את מעשיך? כיצד פעלת עם תומכי המשפחה? עם העו"ס?

3. בעקבות השאלה הקודמת, אשמח שתשתפי איתי כיצד את.ה חושב.ת שהמושג של יכולת פעולה (בראיון אשתמש במושגים איתם המשתתפים תאירו את קד"ם) מתקשר לעבודתך כמתאמ.ת בקד"ם באופן כללי?
   a. כיצד את חושב.ת שזה בא לידי ביטוי בקשר שלך עם המשפחות איתן את עובד.ת?
   b. כיצד את חושב.ת שזה בא לידי ביטוי בקשר עם הארגון?
   c. כיצד את חושב.ת שמושג זה מתקשר לעבודתך עם העו"ס?
4. בבקשה ספר.י לי על היוועדות שהייתה מאתגרת במיוחד?
   a. מה היה מאתגר בה מבחינתך וכיצד התמודדת עם מצב זה?
   b. מה את.ה חושב.ת שניתן ללמוד מהיוועדות זו?
5. האם יש אלמנטים מסוימים של קד"ם שאת מרגישה שהם מאתגרים במיוחד? (למשל, דינמיקה משפחתית, התמודדות עם אנשי מקצוע)
   a. מה ניתן ללמוד מאתגרים אלה?
   b. מה נדרש ממך ומאחרים בכדי להתמודד איתם?
   c. מה לדעתך יסייע לך למלא היטב את תפקידך כמתאמ.ת (למשל מעגל רחב של תמיכה מקצועית)?
   d. מה את.ה צריכ.ה בהדרכה שאת.ה מקבל.ת בכדי להיות מתאם?
6. הייתי רוצה לשמוע על שלב הסיום של ההיוועדות לתפיסתך?
   a. איזה מסר חשוב לך להעביר למשפחה בסיום ההיוועדות? לעו"ס ולמלווה המשפחה שמחליפים אותך?

סיכום הראיון, תודות למשתתפת, מילוי שאלון דמוגרפי ובקשת פידבק לגבי הראיון

לשאול אותה איך היה לה

אפשר לאפשר לבחור שם בדוי

Appendix C

Informed Consent Form for Interviews - טופס הסכמה מדעת

שם המחקר: פרקטיקות ותפיסות של המתאמים בתכנית "קד"ם - עולים לדרך."

שם החוקרת האחראית: ד"ר ארנה שמר

אנו מודות לך על שהסכמת להשתתף במחקרינו העוסק בהערכת תוכנית "קד"ם - עולים לדרך."

מחקר זה בא ללמוד על נקודות המבט של המתאמים לגבי תפקידם בתכנית "קד"ם-עולים לדרך", כיצד הם מנחילים את המודל הלכה למעשה, ומה הם תופסים כעקרונות המנחים אותם בעבודתם. בנוסף, אנו מעוניינות ללמוד על האתגרים העומדים בפני מתאמי התכנית ואסטרטגיות ההתמודדות שלהם.

ישנו מחקר מועט אודות עקרונות הפעולה של מתאמי קד"ם, והשתתפותך תתרום רבות לגוף הידע המעשי והתיאורטי על המודל ויישומו. בנתונים שיאספו מהראיונות יעשה שימוש לצרכי המחקר. ממצאי המחקר יתרמו להרחבת עולם הידע התיאורטי של מודל קד"ם, ובפרט יקדמו את פיתוח הידע הפרקטי בהקשר לעבודת המתאמים.

משך הראיון כשעה. השתתפותך היא על בסיס התנדבותי. זכותך להפסיק השתתפותך במחקר בכל עת ו/או להימנע ממתן תשובות לשאלות מסוימות, ללא סנקציה כלשהי, מכל סיבה שהיא.

הראיון יערך באמצעות תכנת זום (ZOOM) או מפגש ישיר במידה והדבר יתאפשר. הריאיון יוקלט ויתומלל תוך השמטת כל פרט מזהה שלך. יחד עם זאת חשוב לציין שהכניסה לזום מתבצעת באופן שמזהה פרטים שלך כמשתתף (שם, דוא"ל, כתובת IP). לעוד פרטים אתה מוזמן להיכנס למדיניות הפרטיות של זום בקישור הבא http://zoom.us/privacy. מיד לאחר תמלול הריאיון (בטווח של לא יותר מ-30 יום) יושמדו ההקלטות. כל הנתונים המזהים שלך יישמרו חסויים. שמך יופיע בטופס הזה בלבד, אשר ישמר אצלי בנפרד משאר הנתונים.

תודה רבה על שיתוף הפעולה!

אני מאשר/ת כי פרטי המחקר וזכויותיי כמשתתף/ת הובהרו לי וכי אני מסכים/מה להשתתף במחקר

_____	_____
חתימת המשתתף/ת	תאריך
_____	_____
טלפון	אימייל

לפרטים נוספים ניתן לפנות לחוקרות האחראיות: ד"ר ארנה שמר, האוניברסיטה העברית ירושלים, ירדן שייבה.

בברכה,

ירדן שייבה וד"ר ארנה שמר,

חממת המחקר נבט, בית הספר לעבודה סוציאלית, האוניברסיטה העברית

Appendix D

Informed Consent Form for Focus Group - טופס הסכמה מדעת

שם המחקר: פרקטיקות ותפיסות של המתאמים בתכנית "קד"ם - עולים לדרך."

שם החוקרת האחראית: ד"ר ארנה שמר

אנו מודות לך על שהסכמת להשתתף במחקרינו העוסק בהערכת תוכנית "קד"ם - עולים לדרך."

מחקר זה בא ללמוד על נקודות המבט של המתאמים לגבי תפקידם בתכנית קד"ם, כיצד הם מנחילים את המודל הלכה למעשה, ומה הם תופסים כעקרונות המנחים אותם בעבודתם. בנוסף, אנו מעוניינות ללמוד על האתגרים העומדים בפני מתאמי התכנית ואסטרטגיות ההתמודדות שלהם.

ישנו מחקר מועט אודות עקרונות הפעולה של מתאמי קד"ם, והשתתפותך תתרום רבות לגוף הידע המעשי והתיאורטי על המודל ויישומו. בנתונים שיאספו מהראיונות יעשה שימוש לצרכי המחקר. ממצאי המחקר יתרמו להרחבת עולם הידע התיאורטי של מודל קד"ם, ובפרט יקדמו את פיתוח הידע הפרקטי בהקשר לעבודת המתאמים.

משך הקבוצה כשעה. השתתפותך היא על בסיס התנדבותי. זכותך להפסיק השתתפותך במחקר בכל עת ו/או להימנע ממתן תשובות לשאלות מסוימות, ללא סנקציה כלשהי, מכל סיבה שהיא.

במסגרת המחקר ניפגש במרחב קבוצתי באמצעות תכנת זום (ZOOM) או מפגש ישיר, במידה והדבר יתאפשר. המפגש יוקלט ויתומלל תוך השמטת כל פרט מזהה שלך. יחד עם זאת חשוב לציין שהכניסה לזום מתבצעת באופן שמזהה פרטים שלך כמשתתף (שם, דוא"ל, כתובת IP). לעוד פרטים אתה מוזמן להיכנס למדיניות הפרטיות של זום בקישור הבא http://zoom.us/privacy. מיד לאחר תמלול הריאיון (בטווח של לא יותר מ-30 יום) יושמדו ההקלטות.

כל הנתונים המזהים שלך יישמרו חסויים. שמך יופיע בטופס הזה בלבד, אשר ישמר אצלי בנפרד משאר הנתונים. כל משתתפי הקבוצה יתחייבו לשמור על סודיות הדברים שיאמרו בקבוצה.

תודה רבה על שיתוף הפעולה!

אני מאשר/ת כי פרטי המחקר וזכויותיי כמשתתף/ת הובהרו לי וכי אני מסכים/מה להשתתף במחקר

_____ _____

חתימת המשתתף/ת תאריך

_____ _____

טלפון אימייל

לפרטים נוספים ניתן לפנות לחוקרות האחראיות: ד"ר ארנה שמר, האוניברסיטה העברית ירושלים, ירדן שייבה.

בברכה,

ירדן שייבה וד"ר ארנה שמר,

חממת המחקר נבט, בית הספר לעבודה סוציאלית, האוניברסיטה העברית

Appendix E

Demographic Questionnaire - שאלון דמוגרפי

תאריך מילוי השאלון: __ / __ / __

שם	
מגדר	
גיל	71-80 / 61-70 / 51-60 / 41-50 / 31-40 / 21-30
השכלה	
מקצוע	
מקום מגורים	
מספר שנים בתפקיד המתאמ.ת	

משוב על הריאיון:___ _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

תקציר

תכנית 'עולים לדרך - קד"ם' (קבוצת דיון משפחתית – Family Group Conference, FGC) היא מודל השתתפותי של קבלת החלטות עבור משפחות עם ילדים[3] במצבי סיכון. היא פותחה לראשונה בניו זילנד בשנות ה-80 של המאה העשרים כדי לתת מענה לביקורת נגד מערכת הרווחה מצד חברי הקהילה המאורית, והיא פועלת כתוכנית פיילוט בישראל מאז 2018. התוכנית מנוהלת על ידי משרד הרווחה והביטחון החברתי בשיתוף עם ג'וינט אשלים ומוזאיקה כעמותה מפעילה. תוכנית הפיילוט מציעה את קבוצת הדיון המשפחתית כחלופה לוועדת תכנון טיפול והערכה, המהווה את ההליך השגור לקבלת החלטות בעבודה עם משפחות עם ילדים במצבי סיכון.

כדי להשיג את מטרת הגנת הילד, התכנית מפגישה בין המשפחה וחברי הרשת החברתית והמשפחתית הקרובה שהם בחרו, יחד עם אנשי מקצוע רלוונטיים, כדי להגיע להחלטות המובלות על ידי המשפחה בנוגע לילדים. המודל מובל על ידי עובדת סוציאלית ומבוצע בשלביו הראשונים על ידי מתאמים. תפקידם ממוקד בליווי המשפחות בגיבוש החלטות ותוכניות-משפחתיות משלהן באירוע ההיוועדות בו מתכנסת קבוצת הדיון המשפחתית. לכן, כדי להצליח להגיע להחלטות שיתופיות של המשפחה, על המתאמים ליישם אסטרטגיות ופרקטיקות מכוונות יכולת פעולה[4] (agentic practices) בשלבי ההכנה וההיוועדות.

המחקר הנוכחי נעשה כחלק מקבוצת מחקר של חממת נבט למחקר והכשרה מודעי הקשר, וכמחקר המשך למחקר הערכה רחב שחקר את תכנית קד"ם בישראל. על מנת לבחון לעומק ולהמשיג את הפרקטיקה הנוצרת על ידי המתאמים, המחקר ביקש לברר מהי נקודות מבטם על יכולת פעולה, מהם האתגרים ואסטרטגיות ההתמודדות המאפיינות את עבודתם, וכיצד הם מיישמים את מודל קד"ם על עקרונותיו הלכה למעשה.

שאלות מחקר אלו נחקרו באמצעות מתודולוגיה איכותנית, כמחקר מכוון-פעולה. ממצאי המחקר נאספו דרך 13 ראיונות עומק מובנים-למחצה ובנוסף, באמצעות שני דיונים עם המתאמים כקבוצת מחקר. נתוני המחקר נותחו באמצעות מתודולוגיה תמטית ושיטה מכוונת-פעולה שעוצבה עבור מחקר זה. שימוש בשתי שיטות ניתוח אלו אפשר לקודד את התפיסות והפרקטיקות של המשתתפים.

ממצאי המחקר מצביעים על כך שהמתאמים תופסים את המושג של יכולת פעולה כמורכב משני הרעיונות של ידע ויכולת. בנוסף, נמצא שהמשתתפים תופסים את יכולת הפעולה כמושפעת ואף מוגבלת על ידי ההקשר החברתי, הפוליטי, התרבותי והפסיכולוגי של המשפחה, כולל מצבי חיים מורכבים, תחושת בדידות וניכור, וחשש מחשיפה. נמצא כי למשתתפים היו תפיסות שונות לגבי תפקידם של אנשי המקצוע ותומכי משפחה בתהליך של קד"ם ובחיי המשפחה. למשל, חלק מהמשתתפים הדגישו את החשיבות של קבלת תמיכה מאנשי מקצוע ותומכי משפחה כדי שהמשפחה תהיה עצמאית, ולעומתם משתתפים אחרים תפסו תמיכה ועצמאות כמנוגדים והדגישו את החשיבות של הפחתת התלות של המשפחה בסביבה. התפיסות והפרקטיקות של המתאמים תורגמו לשלושה עקרונות פעולה עיקריים:

---

[3] כל הכתוב במסמך זה מתייחס לכל המגדרים, גם אם לעתים הדברים כתובים בלשון זכר או בלשון נקבה; בתזה זו, המושג ילדים מתייחס לילדים ונוער כאחד.

[4] למושג agency מספר תרגומים לעברית, כולל סוכנות, פועלות, ופעלנות יוזמת. במחקר זה נבחר המושג "יכולת פעולה" שהוצע בתרגום מאמרה של רות ליסטר (Lister, 2019).

לתמוך ולהגן על השליטה והאחריות של המשפחה, לשים זרקור על תחושת המסוגלות של המשפחה, ולהתכוונן יחד עם המשפחה לקראת העתיד שהמשפחה רוצה עבור עצמה.

בעקבות זאת הדיון התמקד בבחינה של ההבנה של יכולת פעולה כפי שעולה מהתפיסות והפרקטיקות של המתאמים, כמושג המתייחס לידע וליכולת והמושפע מהמבנה החברתי בו המשפחה חייה, ובהשלכות של הבנה זו על מודל קד"ם ותפקיד המתאמים. בנוסף, פרקטיקות המשתתפים נידונו לגבי השילוב בין הדגשת יכולת הפעולה של המשפחה לבין הכרה במבנה החברתי והשפעותיו על המשפחה. ניתוח זה חשף מודל המורכב משלושה מישורים המבטאים אסטרטגיות שנועדו לחולל שינוי במבנה החברתי הסובב את המשפחה, להעצים את תחושת המסוגלות של המשפחה, ולהיטיב את היחסים בין בני המשפחה למבנה החברתי בה היא חייה.

למחקר הנוכחי תרומות והשלכות מבחינת תיאוריה, פרקטיקה ומדיניות. המחקר מציע זווית תיאורטית חדשה להבנת מודל קד"ם הממוקדת ביכולת הפעולה של המשפחות, ובאופן ממוקד – בעבודת המתאמים. הבנה תיאורטית זו יכולה לחזק את המודל, יעדיו, והפרקטיקות של אנשי המקצוע הפועלים בו. כך, המחקר תורם לגוף הידע על תכנית קד"ם בישראל ובעולם. יתרה מכך, המחקר הנוכחי תורם לגוף הידע לגבי הפרקטיקות שמפתחים המתאמים. לבסוף, המחקר מציע הבנה מבוססת קֶשר של יכולת פעולה, כזו המקיפה הן את תפיסת האדם את הידע והיכולת של עצמו, והן את תפיסתו את המבנה החברתי שלו ואת יחסיו עם הרשת החברתית שלו. לפיכך, המחקר תורם לגוף הידע בנוגע לגישה מודעת הקשר ובנוגע ליכולת פעולה.

מבחינת תרומה לפרקטיקה, שימוש במתודולוגיה מכוונת-פעולה אפשרה למחקר לחשוף מגוון של אסטרטגיות ופרקטיקות המכירות ביכולת הפעולה של המשפחות בהקשר של קד"ם. מכאן, לעקרונות הפעולה שאותרו במסגרת מחקר זה יש פוטנציאל להעשיר את ההבנה של אנשי מקצוע הפועלים במסגרת מודלים השתתפותיים אחרים. לבסוף, למחקר עשויה להיות תרומה להמשך והרחבת היישום של מודל קד"ם, ולמדיניות מערכת הרווחה בישראל בכלל, שכן הוא מציע בחינה של פרקטיקות המעצימות את יכולת הפעולה ותהליכים שיתופיים.

האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים
בית הספר לעבודה סוציאלית ורווחה חברתית על שם פאול ברוואלד

התפיסות והפרקטיקות של מתאמי תכנית "עולים לדרך-קד"ם" לקידום יכולת הפעולה (agency) של המשפחות

עבודת גמר לקראת תואר מוסמך בלימודי הגיל הרך (M.A)

בהנחיית ד"ר ארנה שמר

מגישה: ירדן שייבה

ספטמבר 2022